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Economics 301Y1:

The Economic History of Later-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe

Topic No. 10 [23]

**The 'Economic Declines' of Spain and Italy during
the 'General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century': c. 1618 - c. 1740**

READINGS:

Within each of the following sections, all readings are listed in the chronological order of original publication, when that can be ascertained, except for some collections of republished readings.

A. The Debate About the Seventeenth-Century 'General Crisis'

- ** 1. Eric Hobsbawm, 'The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century: I', Past & Present, no. 5 (May 1954), 33 - 53; and 'The Crisis of the 17th Century: II', no. 6 (November 1954), 44 - 65. Republished as 'The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', in Trevor Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560 - 1660: Essays from Past and Present (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 5 - 58.
- * 2. Roland Mousnier, Les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1954; 3rd edn. Paris, 1961). This book, along with Hobsbawm's articles of the same year, sparked the ensuing debate.
- 3. H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the 17th Century', Past & Present, no. 16 (November 1959), 31 - 64. Republished in Trevor Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560 - 1660: Essays from Past and Present (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 59 - 96.
- * 4. E.H. Kossmann, E.J. Hobsbawm, J.H. Hexter, Roland Mousnier, J.H. Elliott, Lawrence Stone, H.R. Trevor Roper, 'Symposium: Trevor Roper's 'General Crisis'', Past & Present, no. 18 (November 1960), 8 - 42. Excerpts [Mousnier, Elliott, Trevor-Roper] republished in Trevor Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560 - 1660: Essays from Past and Present (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 97 - 116.
- * 5. Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Seventeenth Century in the Development of Capitalism', Science and Society, 24 (1960), 97-112.
- 6. Pierre Chaunu, 'Le renversement de la tendance majeure des prix et des activités au XVIIe siècle', in Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani, Vol. IV (Milan, 1962).
- 7. Ruggiero Romano, 'Una crisi economica, 1619-1622', Rivista storica italiana, 74 (1962). Reissued in English translation as: 'Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Economic Crisis of 1619-1622', in Geoffrey Parker and Leslie Smith, eds., The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1978), pp. 165-225.
- 8. Ruggiero Romano, 'Encore la crise de 1619-1622', Annales: E.S.C., 19 (1964), 31-37.

- ** 9. Trevor Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560 - 1660: Essays from Past and Present (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965):
- (a) Christopher Hill, 'Introduction', pp. 1-4.
- ** (b) Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 5-58. Republished from Past and Present, Nos. 5-6 (1954).
- * (c) H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 59-96. Republished from Past and Present, No. 16 (1959).
- (d) Roland Mousnier, J.H. Elliott, H.R. Trevor Roper, 'Trevor Roper's 'General Crisis': A Symposium', pp. 97 - 116. Republished as excerpts only from Past & Present, no. 18 (1960), 8 - 42. [The original contains other comments, by E.H. Kossmann, E.J. Hobsbawm, J.H. Hexter, and Lawrence Stone, as well.
- (e) Michael Roberts, 'Queen Christian and the General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 195 - 222. Republished from Past & Present, no. 22 (July 1962), 36 - 59.
10. Pierre Chaunu, 'Réflexions sur le tournant des années 1630-1650', Cahiers d'histoire, 12 (1967).
11. Ruggiero Romano, 'L'Italia nella crisi del secolo XVII', Studi Storici, 9 (1968), 723-41. Reissued in translation as 'Italy in the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', in Peter Earle, ed., Essays in European Economic History (Oxford, 1974), pp. 185-98.
- * 12. Alexandra E. Lublinskaya, French Absolutism: the Crucial Phase, 1620-1629, translated by Brian Pearce (Cambridge, 1968). Chapter I: 'The Theory of the General Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 1-82. A criticism of the Hobsbawm thesis (esp. pp. 39-81) by another, but very unfriendly Marxist. Not to be accepted uncritically.
- * 13. J.H. Elliott, 'Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe', Past and Present, no. 42 (Feb. 1969), 35 - 56.
- * 14. Theodore K. Rabb, The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe (Oxford, 1975). Chapter II: 'Scholarly Fragmentation and the Origins of the 'Crisis' Thesis', pp. 7-16; Chapter III: 'Proponents and Critics of the 'Crisis'', pp. 17-28; Chapter IV: 'Defining Terms', pp. 29-35.
15. P.J. Coveney, ed., France in Crisis, 1620 - 1675 (Totawa, New Jersey, 1977). A collection of essays by Mousnier, Porchnev, and others on French 17th-century history.
- * 16. Geoffrey Parker and L.M. Smith, eds., The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1978).
- * (a) Geoffrey Parker, 'Introduction', pp. 1-15.
- (b) Niels Steensgaard, 'The Seventeenth-Century Crisis', pp. 26-56. Republished in translation from 'Det syttende Arhundredes Krise', Historisk Tidsskrift (Dansk), 12 (1970), 475 - 504.
- (c) Geoffrey Parker, 'The Dutch Revolt and the Polarization of International Politics', pp. 57 - 82. Republished from Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis, 39 (1976), 429-44.

- (d) Ivo Schöffer, 'Did Holland's Golden Age Coincide with a Period of Crisis?' pp. 83 - 109. Originally published in Bijdragen en mededelingen van het historisch genootschap, 78 (1964), 45-72; and republished in translation in Acta Historiae Neerlandica, 1 (1966), 82-107.
- * (e) J.H. Elliott, 'Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe', pp. 110-33. Republished from Past and Present, no. 42 (Feb. 1969), 35 - 56.
- (f) A. Lloyd Moote, 'The Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Did They Really Exist?' pp. 134 - 64. Republished from The Canadian Journal of History, 8 (1973), 207-34.
- (g) Ruggiero Romano, 'Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: the Economic Crisis of 1619-22', pp. 165-225. Republished in translation from 'Una crisi economica, 1619-1622', Rivista storica italiana, 74 (1962).
- * (h) John A. Eddy, 'The 'Maunder Minimum': Sunspots and Climate in the Reign of Louis XIV', pp. 226-68. Republished from Science, 92 (1976), 1189 - 1202.
17. I. Wallerstein, 'Y a-t-il une crise du XVIIe siècle?', Annales: E.S.C., 24 (1979), 126-44.
18. Henry Kamen and Jonathan K. Israel, 'The Seventeenth Century Crisis in Spain: Myth or Reality?', and John TePaske and Herbert Klein, 'A Rejoinder', Past and Present, No. 97 (Nov. 1982), 144-56, 156-61.
- * 19. John Day, 'The 'General Crisis' and the Great Depression', Annali della Facoltà di economia e commercio della università di Bari, nuova serie, 30 (1991), pp. 31-35.
20. Bartolomé Yun, 'Economic Cycles and Structural Changes', in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 113-46.

B. The Marxist Debate on 'The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism'

1. Maurice Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism (New York, 1946), Chapters 2-5.
2. Paul M. Sweezy, 'The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism', Science and Society, 24 (1949-50).
- * 3. Rodney Hilton, ed., The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism (London, 1978). Contributions by various historians, mostly Marxists: Rodney Hilton, Paul Sweezy, Maurice Dobb, Kohachiro Takahashi, Christopher Hill, Georges Lefebvre, Giuliano Procacci, Eric Hobsbawm, John Merrington. See in particular: Rodney Hilton, 'Introduction', pp. 9 - 30.
4. Rodney Hilton, Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History (London: The Hambleton Press, 1985). See in particular:
- (a) no. 19: 'Was There a General Crisis of Feudalism?' pp. 239 - 246. Republished in translation from 'Y-eut-il une crise générale de la féodalité?' Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 6 (1951), 23-30.
- (b) no. 22: 'Capitalism -- What's in a Name', pp. 268 - 77. Republished from Past &

Present, no. 1 (February 1952), 32 - 43.

- (c) no. 23: 'Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism', p. 278 - 94. [Original publication not given, repeating in error the source for no. 22]

C. More General Studies on the Seventeenth-Century European Economy

- * 1. Herman Van der Wee, Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries, Vol. II (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), pp. 389-426. Good insights into some of the causes of economic difficulties in 17th century Europe from 16th century expansion.
2. Fernand Braudel, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1960). Republished in translation by Sian Reynolds as The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 vols. (London: Collins; New York: Harper and Row, 1972-73).
3. Henry Kamen, The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe, 1550-1660 (London, 1971), Parts 3 and 4.
- ** 4. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economies (London, 1973), Chapter 6, 'The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Population, Prices and Incomes', pp. 88 - 107; and Chapter 7, 'Agriculture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', pp. 108 - 124.
5. Clyde Reed, 'Transactions Costs and Differential Growth in Seventeenth-Century Western Europe', Journal of Economic History, 33 (1973), 177-90.
6. Carlo Cipolla, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1974).
7. Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1974), Chapters 3-6.
8. Peter Earle, ed., Essays in European Economic History, 1500-1800 (Oxford, 1974). Most are on the 17th Century.
- (a) Fernand Braudel, 'The Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 1 - 44. Translated from La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1960), Vol. I, pp. 383 - 420; and republished in translation by Sian Reynolds as The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 vols. (London: Collins; New York: Harper and Row, 1972-73).
- (b) Hermann Kellenbenz, 'Rural Industries in the West from the End of the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century', pp. 45 - 88. Translated from 'Industries rurales en Occident de la fin du moyen âge au XVIII siècle', Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 18 (1963), 833 - 82.
- (c) Jean Meuvret, 'Monetary Circulation and the Use of Coinage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France', pp. 89 - 99. Translated from 'Circulation monétaire et utilisation économique de la monnaie

dans la France du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle', Études d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 1 (1947), 15 - 28.

- (d) Pierre Vilar, 'The Age of Don Quixote', pp. 100 - 112. Republished in translation from 'Le temps du `Quichotte', Europe, 34 (1956), 3 - 16.
- (e) Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, 'The Atlantic Economy and the World Economy', pp. 113 - 26. Translated from 'Économie atlantique, économie mondiale', Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, 1 (1953), 91 - 104.
- (f) Jerzy Topolski, 'Economic Decline in Poland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries', pp. 127 - 42. Translated from 'La regression économique en Pologne du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle', Acta poloniae historica, 7 (1962), 28 - 49.
- (g) Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, 'A Long Agrarian Cycle: Languedoc, 1500 - 1700', pp. 143 - 64. Translated and abridged from the final chapter of Les paysans de Languedoc (Paris, 1969): from The Peasants of Languedoc, translated by John Day (Chicago, 1974).
- (h) Jean Jacquart, 'French Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', pp. 165 - 84. Translated from 'La production agricole dans la France du XVIIe siècle', XVIIe siècle (1960), 21 - 46.
- (i) Ruggiero Romano, 'Italy in the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 185-98. Translated from 'L'Italia nella crisi del secolo XVII', Studi storici, 9 (1968), 723-41.
- (j) J.G. Van Dillen, 'Economic Fluctuations and Trade in the Netherlands, 1650 - 1750', pp. 199 - 211. Translated from Van rijkdom en regenten: Handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederlands tijdens de Republiek (The Hague, 1970), chapter 23.
- * 9. Theodore K. Rabb, The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe (New York, 1975). Chapters II - IV; and IX: 'Economics, Demography, and Social Relations', pp. 83-99. The whole book, 150 pp. of text, is on this 'General Crisis'.
- * 10. Jan De Vries, The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600-1750 (Cambridge, 1976), especially Chapter 1, pp. 1 - 29.
11. Hermann Kellenbenz, Economic History of Continental Europe, 1500-1750 (London, 1976), Part II (from page 196).
12. Geoffrey Parker, Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648, Fontana History of Europe series (Glasgow, 1979), Chapter I: 'European Society and the Economy', pp. 17-48; Chapter II: 'European Society and the State', pp. 49-75.
- ** 13. Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System, Vol.II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750 (New York, 1980). 'Introduction: Crisis of the Seventeenth Century?' pp. 2-11; Chapter 1, 'The B-Phase', pp. 12-35; Chapter 3, 'Struggle in the Core--Phase I: 1651-1689', pp. 74-127; Chapter 6, 'Struggle in the Core -- Phase II: 1689-1763', pp. 244-89.
14. Philip T. Hoffman and Kathryn Norberg, eds., Fiscal Crises, Liberty, and Representative

Governments, 1450 - 1789 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

15. Hans Pohl, 'Economic Powers and Political Powers in Early Modern Europe: Theory and History', The Journal of European Economic History, 28:1 (Spring 1999), 139-68.
16. Jan Glete, Warfare at Sea, 1500 - 1650: Maritime Conflicts in the Transformation of Europe (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
17. E. Brix, K. Koch, and E. Vylonzil, eds., The Decline of Empires, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik Wien, Oldenbourg-Munich, 2001.
18. Molly Greene, 'Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century', Past & Present, no. 174 (February 2002), 42-71.

D. Warfare, Rebellion, and Social Unrest in Continental Europe

- * 1. J.V. Polisensky, 'The Thirty Years' War', Past and Present, No. 6 (November 1954), pp. 31 - 43.
2. Roland Mousnier, 'Recherches sur les soulèvements populaires en France avant la Fronde', Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 4 (1958), 88-113.
3. R. Mandrou, 'Les soulèvements populaires et la société française du XVIIe siècle', Annales: E.S.C., 14 (1959), 756-65.
4. Boris Porchnev, Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648 (trans. from the Russian: Paris, 1963).
5. L. Bernard, 'Popular Uprisings under Louis XIV', French Historical Studies, 3 (1964), 454-74.
6. Roland Mousnier, Fureurs paysannes: les paysans dans les révoltes du XVIIe siècle: France, Russie, Chine (Paris, 1967). Republished in translation, by Brian Pearce, as Peasant Uprisings in the Seventeenth Century: France, Russia, and China (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).
7. J. V. Polisensky, 'The Thirty Years' War and the Crises and Revolutions of Seventeenth-Century Europe', Past & Present, no. 39 (April 1968), 34 - 43.
8. Henry Kamen, 'The Economic and Social Consequences of the Thirty Years' War', Past and Present, No. 39 (April 1968), 44-61.
9. Alexandra D. Liublinskaya, French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase, 1620-1629, translated by Brian Pearce (Cambridge, 1968). [N.B. Her name is given as both Liublinskaya and Lublinskaya, in library cataloguing.]
10. Isser Woloch, ed., The Peasantry in the Old Regime: Conditions and Protests, in the series European Problem Studies (New York, 1970).
- * 11. M.O. Gately, A.L. Moote, and J.E. Wills, 'Seventeenth-Century Peasant 'Furies': Some Problems of Comparative History', Past and Present, No. 51 (May 1971), 63-80. A review article on Mousnier (1967).
12. J.V. Polisensky, The Thirty Years' War (London, 1971).

- * 13. A. Lloyd Moote, 'The Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Did They Really Exist?', The Canadian Journal of History, 8 (1973), 207-34. Republished in Geoffrey Parker and Leslie Smith, eds., The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century (1978), pp. 134-64.
- 14. Geoffrey Parker, 'The 'Military Revolution, 1560 - 1660': A Myth?' Journal of Modern History, 48 (1976).
- 15. J.V. Polisensky, War and Society in Europe, 1618-1648 (Cambridge, 1978).
- * 16. G. Benecke, 'The Thirty Years' War and its Place in the General Crisis of the XVIIth Century', Journal of European Economic History, 9 (Fall 1980), 491-500. This is a review article discussing Polisensky (1954, 1971, 1968, 1978).
- 17. Jan Glete, Warfare at Sea, 1500 - 1650: Maritime Conflicts in the Transformation of Europe (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
- 18. Jan Glete, War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500 -1660 (Routledge: London, 2002).
- 19. Michael J. Levin, 'A New World Order: The Spanish Campaign for Precedence in Early Modern Europe', Journal of Early Modern History: Contacts, Comparison, Contrasts, 6:3 (2002), 209-32.
- 20. Mark Potter, 'War Finance and Absolutist State Development in Early Modern Europe: French Venality in the Seventeenth Century', Journal of Early Modern History: Contacts, Comparison, Contrasts, 7:2 (2003), 120-47.

E. Population and Agriculture: Demographic Problems during the 'General Crisis' Era

- 1. Roger Mols, Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIVe au XVIIIe siècles, 3 vols. (Louvain-Gembloux, 1954-56). See Vol. I on methodology.
- * 2. Karl Helleiner, 'The Vital Revolution Reconsidered', Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 23 (1957). Republished in Eversley and Glass (1965).
- 3. Karl Helleiner, 'New Light on the History of Urban Populations', Journal of Economic History, 18 (1958), 56-61. A review-article concerning the Mols volumes (1954-56).
- 4. Fernand Braudel, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1960). Republished in translation by Sian Reynolds as The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 vols. (London: Collins; New York: Harper and Row, 1972-73). Vol. I (London, 1972), Part Two: I.2, 'How Many People?' pp. 394-417.
- 5. E. A. Wrigley, Industrial Growth and Population Change (London, 1961).
- 6. Carlo Cipolla, The Economic History of World Population (London, 1962), pp. 24-31, 62-72, 73-117.
- * 7. B. H. Slicher-Van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850 (London, 1963), pp. 18-28, 144-45, 192-205, 205-39; but especially Part III, Section A, 'Population', pp. 77-97.

8. E. A. Wrigley, ed., Introduction to English Historical Demography from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries (1964).
9. B. H. Slicher Van Bath, 'Die europaischer Agrarverhältnisse im 17. und der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis Bijdragen [A.A.G.], 13 (1965), 134 - 48.
- * 10. Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London, 1965; 2nd edn. 1971):
- (a) Chapter 4, 'Births, Marriages, and Deaths', pp. 84-112.
 - (b) Chapter 5, 'Did the Peasants Really Starve? Famine and Pestilence in Pre-Industrial Society', pp. 113-34.
- ** 11. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley, eds., Population in History (London, 1965). See the following essays:
- Part i: General**
- (a) D.V. Glass, 'Introduction', pp. 1-22. [Original essay].
 - (b) D.E.C. Eversley, 'Population, Economy, and Society', pp. 23-69. [Original essay.]
 - (c) Louis Chevalier, 'Towards a History of Population', pp. 70-78. [Reprinted from Population, 1 (1948), 245-56.]
 - (d) Karl F. Helleiner, 'The Vital Revolution Reconsidered', pp. 79-86. [Reprinted from The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 23 (1957), with minor revisions.]
 - (e) J. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', pp. 101-43. [Original essay.]
- Part ii: Great Britain**
- (a) H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Economic History of Modern Britain', pp. 147 - 58. [Reprinted from The Journal of Economic History, 18 (1958), 486-501
 - (b) D.V. Glass, 'Two Papers on Gregory King', pp. 159 - 220.
 - i) 'Introductory Note', pp. 159 - 67.
 - ii) 'Gregory King and the Population of England and Wales at the End of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 167 - 83. [Reprinted from Eugenics Review (Jan. 1946), 170 - 83.
 - iii) 'Gregory King's Estimate of the Population of England and Wales, 1695', pp. 183 - 220. [Reprinted from Population Studies, 2 (1950), 338 - 74.]
- * (c) D.V. Glass, 'Population and Population Movements in England and Wales, 1700 to 1850', pp. 221-46. [Unpublished paper, written in 1945.]
- (d) T.H. Hollingsworth, 'A Demographic Study of the British Ducal Families', pp. 354 - 78. [Reprinted from Population Studies, 11 (1957), 4 - 26. See also the revised and extended article, 'The Demography of the British Peerage', Population Studies, 18 (1964).

- (e) J.T. Krause, 'The Changing Adequacy of English Registration, 1690-1837', pp. 379-83. [Original publication.]
- (f) D.E.C. Eversley, 'A Survey of Population in an Area of Worcestershire from 1660 to 1850, on the Basis of Parish Registers', pp. 394 - 419. [Reprinted from Population Studies, 10 (1957), 253-79.]

Part iii: Continental Europe

- (a) Pierre Goubert, 'Recent Theories and Research in French Population between 1500 and 1700', pp. 457-473. [Original essay, translated by Margaret Hilton.]
- (b) J. Meuvret, 'Demographic Crisis in France from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', pp. 507-22. [Original essay, translated by Margaret Hilton.]
- (c) Carlo Cipolla, 'Four Centuries of Italian Demographic Development', pp. 570-87. [Original essay, translated by David Rees.]
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- * 13. Fernand Braudel, Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1967). Republished, in translation by Miriam Koch, as Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800 (London, 1973). See Chapter 1, 'Weight of Numbers', pp. 1-64; and also Chapters 2-3, pp. 66-190.
- ** 14. Karl Helleiner, 'Population of Europe from the Black Death to the Eve of the Vital Revolution', in E.E. Rich and Charles Wilson, eds., Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. IV: 16th and 17th Centuries (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 58-95.
15. M.R. Reinhard, André Armengaud, Jacques Dupâquier, Histoire générale de la population mondiale (Paris, 1968).
- * 16. E.A. Wrigley, Population and History (London, 1969), Chapters 3-4.
17. A.C. Kelley, 'Demographic Cycles and Economic Growth: The Long Swing Reconsidered', Journal of Economic History, 19 (1969).
18. Michael Drake, ed., Population in Industrialization (London, 1969). Read especially Drake's introduction, pp. 1-10.
19. Harry Miskimin, The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460 (1969: reissued Cambridge, 1975), Chapter 2, 'Recovery: Population and the Money Supply', and Chapter 3, 'Agriculture: the Rising Demand for Food', pp. 20-82 (but especially pp. 20-28).
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- * 21. J.D. Chambers, Population, Economy, and Society in Pre-Industrial England (London, 1972), Chapter 1, 'The General Course of Population Change, 1086-1801', pp. 9-32. But see also Chapters 2 ('Marriage and Mobility'), 3 ('Marriage and Fertility'), 4 ('The Chances of Life and the Autonomous Death Rates'), and 6 ('Population and the Economy in Pre-Industrial England: A Summary').

- * 22. Roger Mols, 'Population in Europe, 1500-1700', in Carlo Cipolla, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1974), pp. 15-82.
23. Thomas McKeown, The Modern Rise of Population (London, 1976).
24. Jan De Vries, The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600-1750 (Cambridge, 1976), Chapter 1, 'The Age of Crisis', and Chapter 2, 'The Agrarian Economies on Divergent Paths', pp. 1-83, but especially pp. 4-16.
- * 25. Charles Wilson and Geoffrey Parker, eds., Introduction to the Sources of European Economic History, 1500-1800 (London, 1977). See the population tables commencing each section: for Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Low Countries, British Isles, France, Germany.
- ** 26. Wilhelm Abel, Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur, 3rd edn. (Berlin, 1978). Translated by Olive Ordish and reissued as Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries (London, 1980). Part II, Chapters 4-6: 'Changes in the Agrarian Economy of Western and Central Europe from the Sixteenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Century', pp. 99-196.
27. W.R. Lee, ed., European Demography and Economic Growth (London, 1979).
28. Fernand Braudel, Les structures du Quotidien: Le possible et l'impossible (Paris: Librarie Armand Colin, 1979). Translated by Sian Reynolds and republished as Civilization and Capitalism, 15th - 18th Centuries, Vol. I: The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible (New York, 1981), chapter 1: 'Weight of Numbers', pp. 31 - 103.
29. David B. Grigg, Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective (Cambridge, 1980). Part One, 'Methodology' (chapters 2-5), pp. 9 - 48; Part Two: 'Malthus Justified', chapters 6-9, pp. 49-114; especially chapter 8, 'England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', pp. 102 -14.
- ** 30. E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction (London and Cambridge Mass., 1981; 2nd edn. with new introduction, Cambridge and New York, 1989).
- * 31. Michael Flinn, The European Demographic System, 1500-1820 (Baltimore, 1981).
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33. Roderick C. Floud, 'Economics and Population Growth: A Comment', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 14 (Autumn 1983), 439-44.
34. Jacques Dupâquier and A. Fauve-Chamoux, eds., Malthus Past and Present (London, 1983).
35. P. R. Galloway, 'Annual Variations in Deaths by Age, Deaths by Cause, Prices, and Weather in London, 1670 to 1830', Population Studies, 39 (1985), 487-505.
36. R. D. Lee, 'Inverse Projection and Back Projection: A Critical Appraisal, and Comparative Results for England, 1539 to 1871', Population Studies, 39 (1985), 233-248.
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- The fully revised and expanded English-language version of this essay is also available on my Home Page, as an Economics Department Working paper (no. 440), with the title:
- The Rise, Expansion, and Decline of the Italian Wool-Based Textile Industries, ca. 1100 - 1730: a study in international competition, transaction costs, and comparative advantage*
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QUESTIONS:

1. To what extent did the Spanish and Italian economies suffer economic decline in the 17th century? In what sectors, principally? Were their demographic slumps or stagations a cause or consequence of that decline?
2. What were the causes of these economic declines: exogenous or endogenous to the Spanish and Italian economies? In what ways were the economic declines related; and in what ways did they differ?
3. Were these 'economic declines' manifestations of the 'general crisis of the 17th century'? Or were they completely independent phenomena?
4. Was there an 'economic crisis' of the 17th century -- or rather in the period ca. 1620-ca. 1740? Consider the following options:
 - (a) Was there a true crisis or series of crises that resulted in a secular downswing, marked by periodic depressions?
 - (b) Or was there merely a relative stagnation, or just a slower rate of economic growth, in comparison with the preceding rate of economic growth, in comparison with the preceding Price Revolution era, and the succeeding Industrial Revolution?
 - (c) Or was there, on the contrary, a general if slow secular upswing that provided a continuity between the Price Revolution and the Industrial Revolution eras?
5. If there were economic crises, depressions, or a secular downswing, which sector of the European economy was the most seriously affected: agriculture, industry, commerce and finance?
6. If you believe that there were economic crises and/or a secular downswing, what were the basic causes: exogenous or endogenous?
 - (a) demographic causes--and demographic consequences?
 - (b) monetary forces and price movements: again distinguish causes from effects;
 - (c) 'built in' or internal defects of the expanding European economy in the 16th-century;
 - (d) disruption and dislocation from famines, plagues, warfare, etc.;
 - (e) government policies, economic nationalism, and Mercantilism.