

Sir William Temple, "Of the Rise and Progress of the United Provinces," 1673

Introduction: Sir William Temple (1628-1699) served as the English Ambassador to the Dutch Republic and provided one of the most penetrating analysis and vivid descriptions of the Republic in his *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, first published in 1672. In 1667 he was the chief English negotiator at Breda, which brought the Second Anglo-Dutch War to an end. He was sent to The Hague as the English Ambassador in 1668 and played a key role in arranging a Triple Alliance among the Dutch Republic, Great Britain and Sweden aimed at restraining Louis XIV's ambitions for France. When Charles II joined Louis XIV in declaring war on the Dutch Republic in 1672, it appeared that Temple's efforts to align England with the Republic had failed. However, Temple's Anglo-Dutch policy triumphed in 1674 when Charles II abandoned Louis XIV by concluding a separate peace treaty with the Republic. Temple returned as ambassador to The Hague and helped to negotiate the Peace of Nijmegen of 1678-79, which for a decade kept Louis XIV's goal to defeat the Republic in check. When reading Temple's 1672 account of the rise of the Dutch Republic, it is important to keep in mind that the Republic's crisis in 1672 led many observers to believe that the Dutch Republic's Golden Age was over and that its Republican experiment could not compete with the growing power of national monarchies in Europe. Although the Republic survived the crisis of 1672, and remained a leading economic power for another century, it had become clear to Temple and many others that it could not ultimately survive without an alliance with England. This alliance was cemented by the Stadholder William III, when his forces invaded England in 1688 and he and Mary assumed the English throne. While there is no doubt that Temple was an admirer of the Dutch Republic, and his book praises its accomplishments, he also sought to identify the Republic's fundamental flaws, which, he believed, threatened its very survival. The book was very successful at the time and was widely translated. The following selections are from the 1673 English edition. Temple's spelling was idiosyncratic and has not been changed.

Preface

Having lately seen the State of the United Provinces, after a prodigious growth in Riches, Beauty, extent of Commerce, and number of Inhabitants, arrived at length to such a height (by the strength of their Navies, their fortified Towns and standing Forces, with a constant Revenue proportion'd to the support of all this Greatness), As made them the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.

We have this Summer [Temple wrote this while the Dutch Republic was at war with both England and France and the latter's armies threatened its survival] past, beheld the same State, in the midst of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength, and Vigor, Almost ruin'd .and broken to pieces in some few days and by very few blows; And reduced in a manner to its first Principles of Weakness and Distress; Exposed, opprest, and very near at Mercy. Their Inland-Provinces

swallowed up by an Invasion, almost as sudden and unresisted, as the Inundations to which the others are subject. And the remainders of their State rather kept alive by neglect or disconcert of its Enemies, than by any strength of Nature, or endeavours at its own recovery.

Now because such a Greatness, and such a Fall of this State, seem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and hardly conceived even by those who have lately seen them; I thought it might be worth an idle man's time, to give some account of the Rise and Progress of this Commonwealth, The Causes of their Greatness, And the steps towards their fall: Which were all made by motions perhaps little taken notice of by common eyes, and almost undiscernable to any man that was not placed to the best advantage, and something concerned, as well as much inclin'd to observe them.

The usual Duty of Employments abroad, imposed not only by Custom, but by Orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare some formal Account of this Countrey and Government, after Two years Embassy in the midst of so great Conjunctures and Negotiations among them. And such a Revolution as has since happen'd there, though it may have made these Discourses little important to His Majesty, or His Council; Yet it will not have render'd them less agreeable to common eyes, who, like men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, though they would not look out of their Windows to see it in a Calm. . .

And whereas the greatness of their Strength and Revenues, grew out of the vastness of their Trade, into which, Their Religion, their Manners and Dispositions, their Scituation, and the form of their Government, were the chief Ingredients. And this last had been raised partly upon an old foundation, And partly with Materials brought together by many and various Accidents; It will be necessary for the survey of this great Frame, to give some account of the Rise and Progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable occasions of the first, and periods of the other. To discover the Nature and Constitutions of their Government in its several parts, and the motions of it from the first and smallest wheels. To observe what is peculiar to them in their Scituation or Dispositions, And what in their Religion. To take a survey of their Trade, and the Causes of it; Of the Forces and Revenues which composed their Greatness; And the Circumstances and Conjunctures which conspired to their Fall. And these are the Heads that shall make the Order and Arguments in the several parts of these Observations.

Chapter I

Of the Rise and progress of the United Provinces

[Introduction: This chapter provides a history of the Netherlands from earliest times, which emphasizes the revolt against Spain and the creation of an independent Dutch Republic.]

... Holland being an Island made by the dividing-branches of the ancient Rhyne, and called formerly Batavia, was esteemed rather a part of Germany, than Gaul (between which it was seated), in regard of its being planted by the Catti, a great and ancient people of Germany, and was treated by the Romans rather as an Allied than Subjected Province; who drew from thence no other Tribute besides Bands of Soldiers, much esteemed for their Valour, and joined as Auxillaries to their Legions in their Gallick, German, and British Wars. 'Tis probable this Island changed in a great measure Inhabitants and Customs, as well as Names, upon the inroads of the barbarous Nations, but chiefly of the Normans and Danes, from whose Countreys and Language the Names of Holland and Zealand seem to be derived. But about the year 860, a Son of the Count of Frize, by a Daughter of the Emperor Lewis the second, was by him instituted Count of Holland, and gave beginning to that Title; which running since that time through so many direct or collateral Successions and some Usurpations, ended at last in Philip the second, King of Spain, by the defection of the United Provinces...

Wherever they past, and seated their Colonies and Dominions, they left a Constitution which has since been called in most European Languages, The States; consisting of Three Orders, Noble, Ecclesiastical, and Popular, under the limited Principality of one Person, with the stile of King, Prince, Duke, or Count. The remainders at least, or traces hereof, appear still in all the Principalities founded by those people in Italy, France, and Spain; and were of a piece with the present Constitutions in most of the great Dominions on t'other side the Rhyne: And it seems to have been a temper first introduced by them between the tyranny of the Eastern Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the Grecian or Roman Commonwealths...

This Constitution of the States had been establisht from time immemorial in the several Provinces of the Low-Countreys, and was often assembled for determining Disputes about

succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; For deciding those between the great Towns; For raising a Milice [militia] for the defence of their Countreys in the wars of their Neighbours; For advice in time of Dangers abroad, or Discontents at home; But always upon the new Succession of a Prince, and upon any new Impositions that were necessary on the people. The use of this Assembly was another of those Liberties whereof the Inhabitants of these Provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient Priviledges already mentioned of their Towns, were Concessions and Graces of several Princes, in particular Exemptions or Immunities, Jurisdiction both in choice and exercise of Magistracy and Civil Judicature within themselves; or else in the customs of using none but Natives in Charges and Offices, and passing all weighty Affairs by the great Council composed of the great Lords of the Countrey, who were in a manner all Temporal, there being but three Bishops in all the Seventeen Provinces, till the time of Philip the second of Spain...

The most frequent Wars of the Counts of Holland, were with the Frisons [Frisians], a part of the old Saxons; and the fiercest battels of some of the Counts of Flanders, were with the Normans... How (I say) these Nations, which seemed to spawn in every Age, and at some intervals of time discharged their own native Countreys of so vast Numbers, and with such terror to the world, should about seven or eight hundred years ago leave off the use of these furious expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill Climates. But I suppose we owe this benefit wholly to the growth and progress of Christianity in the North; by which, early and undistinguisht Copulation, or multitude of Wives, were either restrained or abrogated; By the same means Learning and Civility got footing among them in some degree, and enclosed certain Circuits of those vast Regions, by the distinctions and bounds of Kingdoms, Principalities, or Commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder lives, spent without other cares or pleasures than of Food, or of Lust, and betook themselves to the ease and entertainment of Societies: With Order and Labour, Riches began, and Trade followed; and these made way for Luxury...

By this great extent of a populous Countrey, and the mighty growth of Trade in Bruges, Gant [Ghent], and Antwerp, attributed by Comines to the goodness of the Princes, and ease and safety of the people; both Philip and his Son Charles the Hardy, found themselves a Match for

France, then much weakned, as well by the late wars of England, as the Factions of their Princes. And in the wars with France, was the House of Burgundy under Charles and Maximilian of Austria (who married his Daughter and Heir), and afterwards under Charles the Fifth, their Grandchild, almost constantly engaged; the course, successes, and revolutions whereof are commonly known.

In the time of Maximilian, several German-troops were brought down into Flanders for their defence against France; and in that of Charles the Fifth, much greater Forces of Spaniards and Italians, upon the same occasion; a thing unknown to the Low-Country-men in the time of their former Princes. But through the whole course of this Emperor's Reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his Greatness and Fame encreasing together, either diverted or suppressed any discontents of his Subjects upon the encrease of their Payments, or the grievance of so many Forreign Troops among them. Besides, Charles was of a gentle and a generous nature; and being born in the Low-Countries, was naturally kind and easie to that people, whose Customs and Language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great men in the Charges of his Court, his Government, or his Armies, through the several parts of his vast Dominions; so that upon the last great Action of his life, which was the resignation of his Crowns to his Son and Brother, He left to Philip the Second, the Seventeen Provinces, in a condition as Peaceable, and as Loyal, as either Prince or Subjects could desire...

But Philip a Spaniard born, retaining from the Climate or Education of that Country, the Severeness and Gravity of the Nation, which the Flemings called Reservedness and Pride; Conferring the Offices of his House, and the Honour of his Council and Confidence, upon Spaniards, and thereby introducing their Customs, Habits, and Language, into the Court of Flanders. Continuing, after the peace [with France in 1559], those Spanish and Italian Forces, and the demand of Supplies from the States, which the War had made necessary and the easier supported; He soon left off being lov'd, and began to be feared by the Inhabitants of those Provinces...

And therefore at his departure for Spain, and substitution of his natural Sister the Dutchess of Parma, for Governess of the Low Countries, assisted by the Ministry of Granvell; He left her instructed to continue the Forreign Troops, and the demand of money from the States for their

support, which was now by a long course of War grown customary among them, and the Sums only disputed between the Prince and the States: To establish the Fourteen Bishops, he had agreed with the Pope, should be added to the Three that were anciently in the Low-Countries, To revive the Edicts of Charles the Fifth against Luther, publish't in a Diet of the Empire about the year 1550, but eluded in the Low-Countries even in that Emperors time; and thereby to make way for the Inquisition with the same course it had received in Spain; of which the Lutherans here, and the Moors there, were made an equal pretence. And these Points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the first Commotions of mens minds in the Provinces.

The hatred of the people against the Spaniards, and the Insolencies of those Troops, with the charge of their support, made them look't upon by the Inhabitants in general, as the Instruments of their Oppression and Slavery, and not of their Defence, when a general Peace had left them no Enemies; And therefore the States began here their Complaints, with a general Consent and Passion of all the Nobles, as well as Towns and Country. And upon the Delays that were contrived, or fell in; the States first refused to raise any more moneys either for the Spaniards pay, or their own standing-Troops; and the people run into so great despair, that in Zealand they absolutely gave over the working at their Dikes, suffering the Sea to gain every Tide upon the Country; and resolving (as they said) rather- to be devoured by that Element, than by the Spanish Soldiers...

In the midst of these ill Humours stirring in Flanders, the Wars.of Religion breaking out in France, drove great numbers of Calvinists into all those parts of the Low-Countries that confine upon France, as the Troubles of Germany had before of Lutherans into the Provinces about the Rhyne; and the Persecutions under Queen Mary, those of the Church of England into Flanders and Brabant, by the great commerce of this Kingdom with Bruges and Antwerp.

These Accidents and Neighbourhoods filled these Countries in a small tract of time with swarms of the Reformed Professors: And the admiration of their Zeal, the opinion of their Doctrine and Piety, the compassion of their Sufferings, the infusion of their Discontents, or the Humour of the Age, gain'd them every day many Proselytes in the Low-Countries, some among the Nobles, many among the Villages, but most among the Cities, whose Trade and Riches were much increased by these new Inhabitants; and whose Interest thereby, as well as Conversation,

drew them on to their favour.

This made work for the Inquisition, though moderately exercised by the prudence and temper of the Governess, mediating between the rigor of Granvell, in straining up to the highest his Master's Authority and the execution of his Commands upon all occasions; And the resoluteness of the Lords of the Provinces, to temper the King's Edicts, and protect the Liberties of their Countrey against the admission of this New and Arbitrary Judicature, unknown to all ancient Laws and Customs of the Countrey; and for that, not less odious to the people, than for the cruelty of their executions. For before the Inquisition, the care of Religion was in the Bishops; and before that, in the Civil Magistrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry Debates in Council, but chiefly upon the universal Ministry of Granvell, a Burgundian of mean birth, grown at last to be a Cardinal; and more famous for the greatness of his Parts, than the goodness of his Life. The chief Lords of the Countrey (among whom the Prince of Orange, Counts Egmont and Horn, the Marquess of Bergen and Montigny, were most considerable) grew to so violent and implacable a hatred of the Cardinal (whether from Passion or Interest), which was so universally spread through the whole Body of the People, either by the Causes of it, or the Example; That the Lords first refused their attendance in Council, protesting, Not to endure the sight of a man so absolute there, and to the ruin of their Countrey: And afterwards petitioned the King in the name of the whole Countrey, for his removal: Upon the delay whereof and the continuance of the Inquisition, the people appeared upon daily occasions and accidents, heated to that degree, as threatned a general Combustion in the whole Body, when ever the least Flame should break out in any part...

In the beginning of the year 1566, began an open Mutiny of the Citizens in many Towns, hindring Executions, and forcing Prisons and Officers; and this was followed by a Confederacy of the Lords, Never to suffer the Inquisition in the Low-Countreys, as contrary to all Laws, both Sacred and Prophane, and exceeding the Cruelty of all former Tyrannies. Upon which all resolutions of Force or Rigor grew unsafe for the Government, now too weak for such a revolution of the people; and on the other side, Brederode in confidence of the general Favour came in the head of Two hundred Gentlemen, [from] the Provinces to Brussels, and in bold terms petitioned the Governess for abolishing the Inquisition, and Edicts about Religion; and that new

ones should be fram'd by a Convention of the States.

The Governess was forced to use gentle Remedies to so violent a Disease; to receive the Petition without show of the resentment she had at heart, and to promise a representation of their Desires to the King; which was accordingly done: But though the King was startled with such consequences of his last Commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet whether by the slowness of his nature, or the forms of the Spanish Court, the Answer came too late: and as all his former Concessions, either, by delay or testimonies of ill-will or meaning-in them, had lost the good grace; so this lost absolutely the effect, and came into the Low-Countreys when all was in flame by an insurrection of the meaner people through many great Towns of Flanders, Holland, and Utrecht; who fell violently upon the spoyl of Churches, and destruction of Images, with a .thousand circumstances of barbarous and brutish fury; which with the Institution of Consistories and Magistrates in each Town among those the Reformed Profession, with publike Confederacies and Distinctions, and private Contributions agreed upon for the support of their Common Cause, gave the first date in this year of 1566, to the revolt of the Low-Countreys...

But the King was unmoveable; so that in the end of the year 1567, the Duke of Alva arrived there with an Army of Ten thousand, the best Spanish and Italian Soldiers, under the Command of the choicest Officers which the Wars of Charles the Fifth, or Philip the Second, had bred up in Europe; which with . Two thousand Germans the Dutchess of Parma had raised in the last Tumults; and under the Command of so Old and Renowned a General as the Duke of Alva, made up a Force, which nothing in the Low-Countreys could look in the face with other eyes, than of Astonishment, Submission, or Despair.

Upon the first report of the Expedition, the Trading-people of the Towns and Countrey began in vast numbers to retire out of the Provinces; so as the Dutchess wrote to the King, That in few days above a Hundred thousand men had left the Countrey, and withdrawn both their Money and Goods, and more were following every day: So great antipathy there ever appears between Merchants and Soldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under Laws, which the other pretends shall be subject to his Sword and his Will. And upon the first Action of the Duke of Alva after his arrival, which was the seizing Count Egmont and Horn, as well as the suspected death of the Marquess of Berghen, and imprisonment of Montigny in Spain (whither some

Months before, they had been sent with Commission and Instructions from the Dutchess), she immediately desired leave of the King to retire out of the Low-Countreys.

This was easily obtained, and the Duke of Alva invested in the Government, with Powers never given before to any Governour: A Council of Twelve was erected for tryal of all Crimes committed against the King's Authority, which was called by the people The Council of Blood. Great numbers were condemned and executed by Sentence of this Council, upon account of the late Insurrections; More by that of the Inquisition, against the parting-advice of the Dutchess of Parma, and the Exclamations of the people at those Illegal Courts. The Towns stomached the breach of their Charters, the people of their Liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the Charters of their Order, by these new and odious Courts of Judicature; All complain of the disuse of the States, of the introduction of Armies, but all in vain. The King was constant to what he had determined; Alva was in his nature cruel and inexorable; the new Army was. Fierce and brave, and desirous of nothing so much as a Rebellion in the Countrey; The people were enraged, but awed and unheaded; All was Seizure and Process, Confiscation, and Imprisonment, Blood and Horror, Insolence and Dejection, punishments executed, and meditated Revenge: The smaller Branches were lopt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down. Count Egmont and Horne, lasted several Months; but at length in spight of all their services to Charles the Fifth, and to Philip; as well as of their new Merits in the quieting of the Provinces and of so great Supplications and Intercessions as were made in their avour both in Spain and in Flanders, They were publicly beheaded at Brussels, which seemed to break all patience in the people; and by their end, to give those commotions a beginning, which cost Europe so much Blood, and Spain a great part of the Low-Countrey-Provinces.

After the process [trial]of Egmont and Horne, the Prince of Orange, who was retired into Germany, was summoned to his Trial for the same crimes of which the others had been accused; and upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed Traytor, and his whole Estate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in Burgundy) seized upon as forfeited to the King. The Prince treated in this manner while he was quiet and unarmed in Germany, employs all his Credit with those Princes engaged to him by Alliance, or by common fears of the House of Austria; throws off all obedience to the Duke of Alva, raises Forces, joins with great numbers flocking to

him out of the Provinces; All enraged at the Duke of Alva's cruel and arbitrary Government, and resolved to revenge the Count Egmont's death (who had ever been the Darling of the people). With these Troops he enters Friezland, and invades the outward parts of Brabant, receives succours from the Protestants of France then in arms under the Prince of Conde: And after many various Encounters and Successes, by the great Conduct of Alva and Valour of his Veterane Army, being hindred from seizing upon any Town in Brabant (which both of them knew would shake the fidelity of the Provinces), he is at length forced to break up his Army, and retire into Germany...

[In Flanders] the Officers and the Guards are ready to begin the Executions, when news comes to Town of the taking of the Briel by the Geusses [the Sea Beggars], and of the expectation that had given of a sudden Revolt in the Province of Holland...

These men spread in great numbers through the whole extent of the Provinces, by the accidents and dispositions already mentioned; After the appeasing of their first Sedition, were broken in their common Counsels; and by the Cruelty of the Inquisition, and Rigor of Alva, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at least such as had means or hopes of subsisting abroad: Many of the poorer and more desperate, fled into the Woods of the upper Countreys (where they are thick and wild), and liv'd upon spoil; and in the first descent of the Prince of Orange his Forces, did great mischiefs to all scatter'd parties of the Duke of Alva's Troops in their march through those parts. But after that attempt of the Prince ended without success, and he was forced back into Germany; the Count of Marcke; a violent and implacable Enemy to the Duke of Alva and his Government, with many others of the broken Troops (whom the same fortune and disposition had left together in Friezland), mann'd out some Ships of small force, and betook themselves to Sea; and with Commissions from the Prince of Orange, began to prey upon all they could master, that belonged to the Spaniards. They sometimes sheltered and watered, and sold their Prizes in some Crekes or small Harbours of England, though forbidden by Queen Elizabeth (then in peace with Spain); sometimes in the River Ems, or some small ports of Friezland; till at length, having gain'd considerable Riches by these Adventures; whether to sell, or to refresh; whether driven by storm, or led by design (upon knowledg of the ill blood which the new Taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the Island of the Briel [near

Rotterdam], assaulted and carried the Town, pull'd down the Images in the Churches, professed openly their Religion, declared against the Taxes and Tyranny of the Spanish Government, and were immediately followed by the revolt of most of the Towns of Holland, Zealand, and West-Friezland, who threw out the Spanish Garrisons, renounced their obedience to King Philip, and swore Fidelity to the Prince of Orange...

[Temple goes on to describe the progress of the rebellion against Spain, which resulted in the creation of the Union of Utrecht and the Union of Arras in 1579. The former became the defacto independent Republic of the United Provinces and the latter remained under the Spanish crown and later became the Austrian Netherlands. His detailed account of the revolt ends in 1609 with the signing of a truce with Spain .]

I thought so particular a deduction necessary to discover the natural causes of this Revolution in the Low-Countreys, which has since had so great a part, for near a hundred years, in all the Actions and Negotiations of Christendom; And to find out the true Incentives of that obstinate love for their Liberties, and invincible hatred for the Spanish Nation and Government, which laid the foundation of this Commonwealth: And this last I take to have been the stronger passion, and of the greater effect, both in the bold Counsels of contracting their Union, and the desperate Resolutions of defending it. For not long after, The whole Council of this new State being prest by the extremities of their Affairs, passing by the form of Government in the way of a Commonwealth, made an earnest and solemn Offer of the Dominion of these Provinces both to England and France; but were refused by both Crowns: And though they retain'd the Name of a Free People, yet they soon lost the ease of the Liberties they contended for, by the absoluteness of their Magistrates in the several Cities and Provinces, and by the extream pressure of their Taxes, which so long a War with so mighty an Enemy made necessary for the support of their State.

But the hatred of the Spanish Government under Alva, was so universal, that it made the Revolt general through the Provinces, running through all Religions, and all Orders of men, as appeared by the Pacification of Ghent; Till by the division of the Parties, by the Powers of so vast a Monarchy as Spain at that time, and by the matchless Conduct and Valour of the Duke of Parma. This Humour, like Poyson in a strong Constitution, and with the help of violent Physick,

was expell'd from the heart, which was Flanders and Brabant (with the rest of the Ten Provinces) into the outward Members; and by their being cut off, the Body was saved. After which, the most enflamed spirits being driven by the Arms of Spain, or drawn by the hopes of Liberty and Safety, into the United Provinces out of the rest, the hatred of Spain grew to that heighth, that they were not only willing to submit to any new Dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no Master to protect them, and their Affairs grew desperate, they were once certainly upon the Counsel of burning their great Towns, wasting and drowning what they could of their Countrey, and going to seek some new Seats in the Indies. Which they might have executed, if they had found Shipping enough to carry off all their Numbers, and had not been detained by the compassion of those which must have been left behind, at the mercy of an incensed and conquering Master.

The Spanish and Italian Writers content themselves to attribute the causes of these Revolutions to the change of Religion, to the native stubbornness of the people, and to the Ambition of the Prince of Orange: But Religion without mixtures of Ambition and Interest, works no such violent effects; and produces rather the Examples of constant Sufferings, than of desperate Actions. The nature of the People cannot change of a sudden, no more than the Climate which infuses it; and no Countrey hath brought forth better Subjects, than many of these Provinces, both before and since these Commotions among them: And the Ambition of one man could neither have designed nor atchieved so great an Adventure, had it not been seconded. with universal Discontent: Nor could that have been raised to so great a heighth and heat, without so many circumstances as fell in from an unhappy course of the Spanish Counsels, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to Head such a Body, and give it so strong a principle of Life, and so regular Motions, without the accident of so great a Governour in the Provinces, as Prince William of Orange; A man of equal Abilities in Council and in Arms; Cautious and Resolute, Affable and Severe, Supple to Occasions, and yet Constant to his Ends; of mighty Revenues and Dependance in the Provinces, of great Credit and Alliances in Germany; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely lov'd and trusted by the people, who thought him affectionate to their Countrey, sincere in his Professions and Designs, able and willing to defend their Liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any Ambition of his own. Yet all these Qualities

might very well have been confin'd to the Duty and Services of a Subject, as they were in Charles the Fifth's time; Without the absence of the King, and the peoples opinion of his ill-Will to their Nation and their Laws; Without the continuance of Forreign Troops after the Wars were ended; The erecting of the new Bishops Sees, and introducing the Inquisition; the sole Ministry of Granvell, and exclusion of the Lords from their usual part in Counsels and Affairs; The Government of a man so hated as the Duke of Alva; The rigour of his Prosecutions, and the insolence of his Statue: And lastly, Without the death of Egmont, and the imposition of the Tenth and Twentieth part [new taxes, gainst the Legal Forms of Government in a Countrey, where a long derived Succession had made the people fond and tenacious of their ancient Customs and Laws... The Causes of its succeeding Greatness and Riches being not to be fought for in the Events of their Wars, but in the Institutions and Orders of their Government, their Customs and Trade, which will make the Arguments of the ensuing Chapters...

As the Dutch Commonwealth was born out of the Sea, so out of the same Element it drew its first strength and consideration, as well as afterwards its Riches and Greatness : For before the Revolt, the Subjects of the Low-Countreys, though never allowed the Trade of the Indies, but in the Spanish Fleets, and under Spanish Covert; yet many of them had in that manner made the Voyages, and become skilful Pilots, as well as verst in the ways, and sensible of the infinite gains of that Trade. And after the Union, a greater confluence of people falling down into the United Provincess than could manage their Stock, or find employment at Land; Great multitudes turn'd their endeavours to Sea; and having lost the Trade of Spain and the Streights, fell not only into that of England, France, and the Northern Seas, but ventur'd upon that of the East-Indies, at first with small Forces and Success; But in course of time, and by the institution of an East- India Company, This came to be pursued with so general application of the Provinces, and so great advantage, that they made themselves Masters of most of the Collonies and Forts planted there by the Portuguesses (now Subjects of Spain). The Dutch Sea- men grew as well acquainted with those vast Seas and Coasts, as with their own, and Holland became the great Magazine of all the Commodities of those Eastern Regions.

In the West-Indies their attempts were neither so frequent nor prosperous, the Spanish Plantations there being too numerous and strong; But by the multitude of their Shipping set out

with publique or private Commissions, they infested the Seas, and began to wait for, and threaten the Spanish Indian Fleets, and sometimes to attempt their Coasts in that new World (which was to touch Spain in the most sensible part), and gave their Court the strongest motives to endeavour a Peace, That might secure those Treasures in their way, and preserve them in Spain, by stopping the issue of those vast sums which were continually transmitted to entertain the Low-Country Wars...

[Temple concludes his narrative of the story of the rise and progress of the Revolt of the Netherlands with the observation below that a constant political rivalry within the Dutch Republic was between those who favored a purely Republican and confederated state, he calls the Arminians and identifies Barneveldt, Johan Oldenbarneveldt, 1547-1619, as their leader, and those who favored a more powerful state led by supporters of the later Princes of Orange.]

By what has been related, it will easily appear, That no State was ever born with stronger throws, or nursed up with harder fare, or inured to greater labours or dangers in the whole course of its youth; which are circumstances that usually make strong and healthy bodies: And so this has proved, having never had more than one Disease break out, in the space of Ninety three years, which may be accounted the Age of this State, reckoning from the Union of Utrecht, entered by the Provinces in 1579: But this Disease, like those of the Seed or Conception in a natural body, Though it first appeared in Barneveldt's time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with Spain, and seemed to end with his death (who was beheaded not many years after); yet has it ever since continued lurking in the veins of this State, and appearing upon all Revolutions, that seem to favour the predominancy of the one or other Humour in the Body; And under the Names of the Prince of Orange's, and the Arminian Party, has ever made the weak side of this State; and whenever their period comes, will prove the occasion of their Fall.

The ground of this Name of Arminian was, That whilst Barneveldt's Party accused those of the Prince of Orange's, as being careless of their Liberties, So dearly bought, as devoted to the House of Orange, and disposed to the admission of an Absolute Principality, and in order thereunto as promoters of a perpetual War with Spain: So those of the Princes Party, accused the others, as leaning still, and looking kindly upon their old Servitude, and relishing the Spaniard both in their Politicks, by so eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown; and in their Religion, by

being generally Arminians (which was esteemed the middle part between the Calvinist and the Roman Religion). And besides these mutual Reproaches, the two Parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, One of the true and purer Reformed Religion; and the other, of the true and freer Liberties of the State.