

Outline and Notes on Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: 1995).

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PREFACE

Israel agrees with Pieter Geyl “that there was no specifically Dutch or northern Netherlands identity before 1572, nor any specifically southern Netherlands awareness... Yet, despite this, political, economic, and geographical factors had rendered north and south separate entities long before the ‘Revolt of 1572.’ Seen against the backcloth of the later Middle Ages, and early sixteenth century, there is an important sense in which 1572, and the final separation of north and south, merely completed—were the logical outgrowth of—a duality which had, in reality, existed for centuries” (p. vi).

--“During most of the history of the United Provinces, allegiance and identity were based on provincial, civic, and sometimes also local rural sentiment rather than attachment to the Republic as a whole” (p., vi).

-Thus the loose federal structure that evolved was well suited to prevailing attitudes.

--The Dutch speaking provinces, including Flanders, Brabant and Limburg, constituted a single culture in language, art, and literature, which was broken by the Calvinist Reformation in the North. Catholic and Protestant cultures were antagonistic to each other.

--There was no hard and fast boundary between Germany and the Netherlands until the 18th century.

PART I THE MAKING OF THE REPUBLIC, 1477-1588

INTRODUCTION

--Contemporaries were impressed by the Republic’s innovations but not by its multiplicity of religions, the excessive liberties of women, servants and Jews, and the bourgeois flavor of its culture. Moreover, many saw the Republic’s culture as a seedbed of theological, intellectual and social promiscuity.

--Important features of the Dutch Republic

-1590 to 1740—primacy in world shipping and trade

-Technological leader in Europe

-Agricultural innovation

-Low levels of crime

-Military revolution from 1590s to 1648, and then from 1672 to 1713

-Many visitors came for intellectual and artistic pursuits—such as Descartes, Locke, Bayle, Lipsius, Spinoza, Grotius, Rembrandt, Vondel, Huygens, and Vermeer

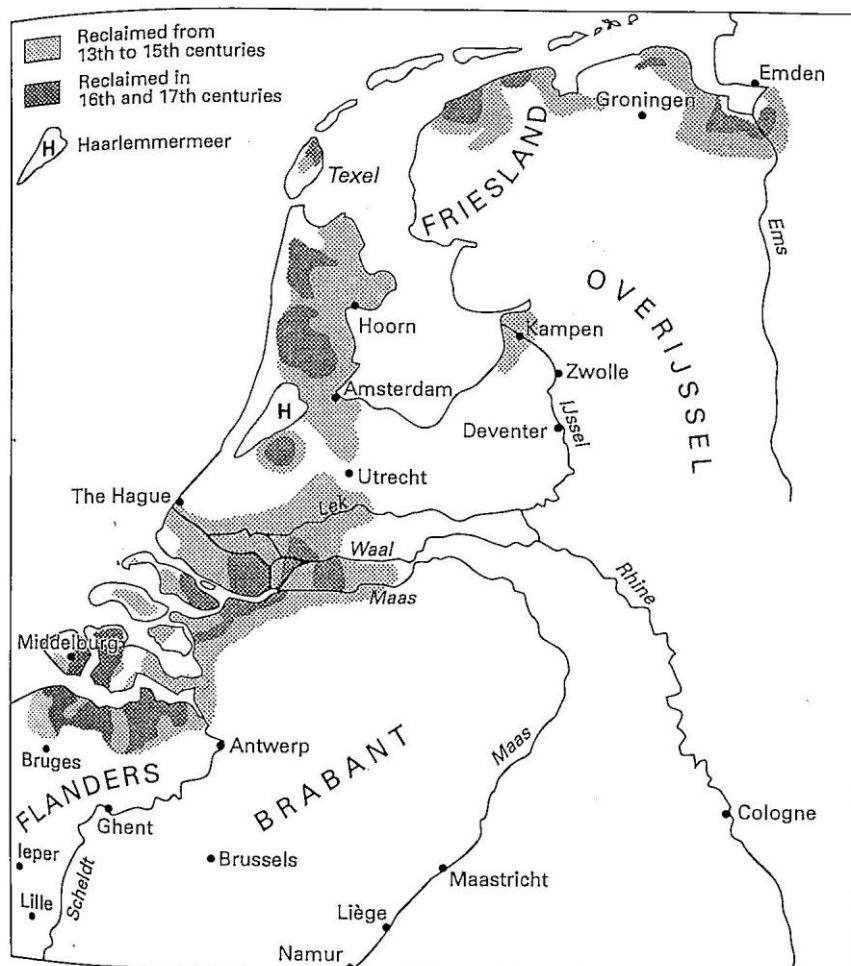
-Freedom of thought and religion

-Freedom was the banner of the Revolt under William the Silent and freedom, *Vryheid*, was the reason given for the Perpetual Edict of 1667 that banished the hereditary Stadholder in Holland

2) ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE MODERN ERA

The Rise of Holland

Before about 1200, the principal towns north of the big rivers were Utrecht, Kampen, Deventer, Zwolle, Nijmegen and Zutphen. The low-lying areas from the Scheldt to the Ems estuary were thinly populated.



The Low Countries, showing main rivers and areas reclaimed from the sea, river estuaries, and lakes in medieval and early modern times (p. 11)

The Rise of Holland dates only from the early 13th century with diking and drainage schemes. The main schemes took place between 1590 and 1650 and then again after about 1850.

--*Heemraadschappen*—local boards with representatives of villagers, towns and local nobles arose to manage land reclamation and defense. Above these were *hoogheemraadschappen* overseen by a *dijkgraaf*, or dike count, usually nominated by a count.

--Holland's expansion began with the annexation of West Friesland and control over Zeeland in the late 13th c.

--By the late 15th c. Holland's population was 44% urban, but Brabant and Flanders were still the most populous and highly developed.

--Holland's maritime trade in the 15th c was confined to the bulk carrying trade, grain in the Baltic and salt in France and Portugal, and herring, using fully rigged ships.



Holland in the 15th and 16th centuries (p. 17)

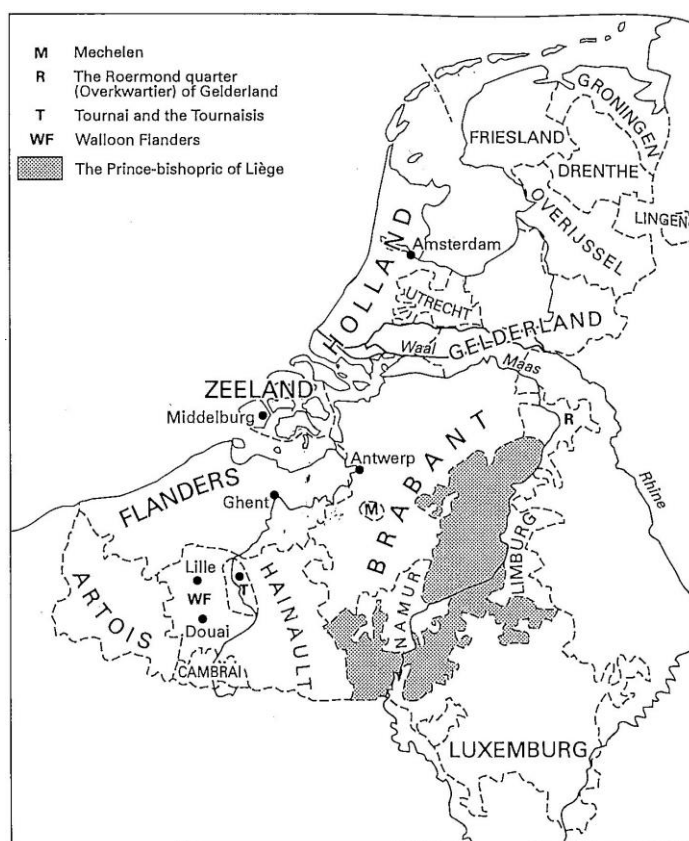
--Flanders and Brabant depended on the Hansa towns such as Kampen, Deventer and Zwolle, for their 'rich' trade with the Baltic.

--Political conflict of *Cabeljauwen* (cod) and *Hoeks* went on in Holland from 1350 to 1500, with the former eventually becoming identified with the upper classes,

Under the Burgundians

Duke Philip the Good acquired Holland in 1428. Burgundy became the overwhelming power in the Low Countries.

- Created the States General, central Chamber of Accounts, and the order of the Golden Fleece.
- Built a ducal palace in Brussels in 1451 and a university in Leuven in 1425.
- Holland and Zeeland were placed under stadholders who served as provincial governors.
- Towns dominated Holland and Zeeland. The *States* of Holland, with no prince, served as cohesive governments for the six main towns—Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Amsterdam, Delft and Gouda.
- By the mid 15th century, the more democratic elements of town government were repressed and the urban patricians became dominant.
- The Burgundian state reached its zenith under the harsh rule of Charles the Bold, 1467-77.
- Succeeded by Mary of Burgundy (1477-82), who was forced to grant the *Grand Privilege*, 1477, which allowed the Estates General to meet without her consent. This was accompanied by another *Great Privilege*, which excluded ‘strangers,’ chiefly Flemish and Brabanters, from office in Holland and Zeeland. The States of Holland also used only Dutch as their official language while the Habsburgs used French.
- Mary married Maxmillian of Habsburg (1459-1519), who sought to claw back some central authority with the support of some of the great nobles.
- Maxmillian was recalled to Vienna to be the Holy Roman Emperor. His son Philip, a Netherlander, was installed in Brussels in 1493.
- Upon Philip’s death, his son Charles was installed as Duke of Brabant and Habsburg ruler in the Netherlands in 1515. In 1516 he became king of Spain after the death of his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon.



The provinces of the Netherlands under Charles V (p. 36)

- Margaret of Austria was installed as a regent in Brussels and served from 1517-30. Mary of Hungary followed her from 1530 to 1540.
- Charles set up Council of State, whose members were 12 great magnates, a Secret Council run by professional bureaucrats, and Stadholders who served as the crown's governors in each of the Provinces.
- The greatest of the Stadholders was Hendrik of Nassau's son, who became Rene de Chalons, when he inherited the principality of Orange (in the south of France) in 1538. He was the first to have the title of Prince of Orange and was the uncle of William the Silent.
- The administration of the Netherlands was chiefly done with links between the central councils and the provincial high courts, the *baljuws* or *drosten*. In Holland, they gradually ceased to be nobles in the 16th century and were the links between the provincial courts and rural districts. The *schout* served as the local agent, or police. In towns, the *raad*, or *vroedschap*, was headed by a *burgomeester*.
- Above these local officials were the provincial *States* and, for the Netherlands as a whole, the *States General*.
- Charles V's revenues quintupled during his reign in a period when prices doubled. Thus, the Netherlands constituted a formidable adjunct to Habsburg wealth and power.

3) HUMANISM AND THE ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION, 1470-1520

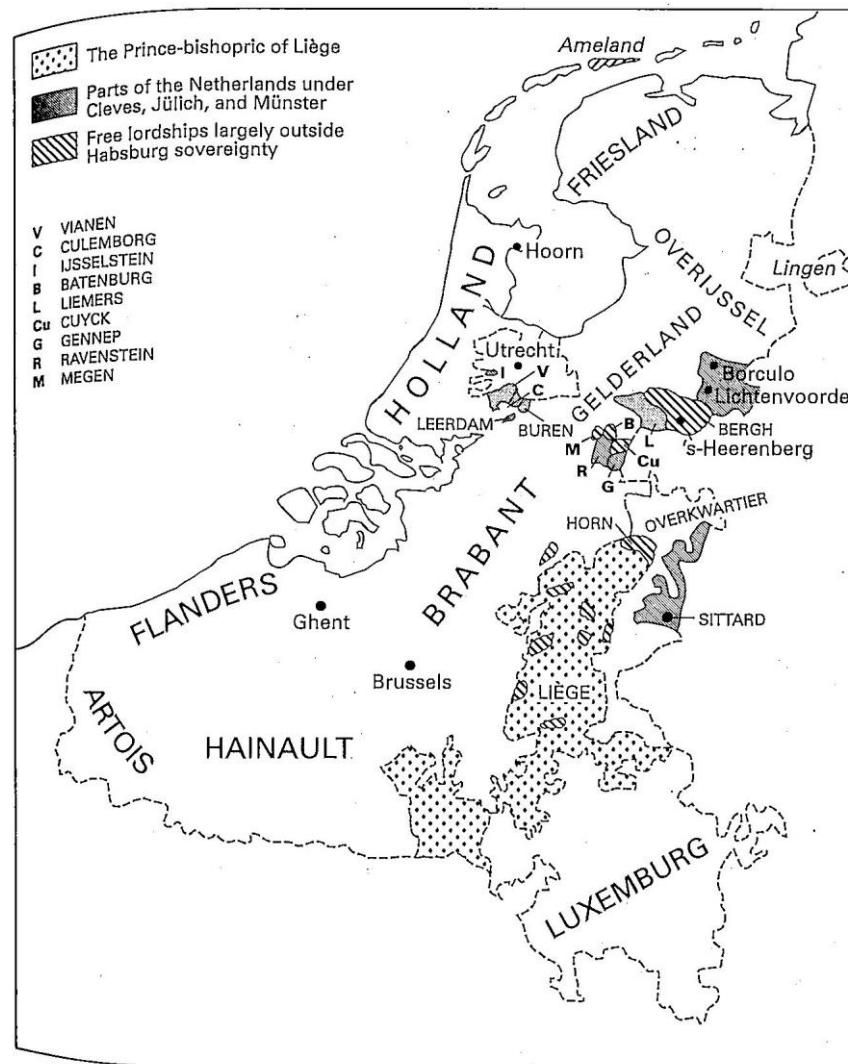
- North European Christian Humanism was one of the crucial cultural shifts in western history. It began in *circa* 1470 as the *Devotio Moderna* in Overijsel and Groningen. It originated with Geert Groote, a devout burgher in Deventer, during the late 14th century. It stressed the inner development of the individual and did not involve itself in church dogma or organization.
- Thomas á Kempis (1379-1471), *The Imitation of Christ*, paved the way for Erasmus. The *Devotio Moderna* emphasized literacy and schooling but did not challenge conventional religious forms.
 - Rudolph Agricola, born in Groningen, was the founder of northern humanism by spreading Italian humanist exegesis of scripture in the north.
 - Christian humanism pervaded the civic Latin Schools in the northeast. Erasmus attended the Latin School in Deventer, 1475-84. He completed his education at the Latin School in s'Hertogenbosch. He stayed in Holland until 1493. He believed that a preoccupation with the ancients could lead to paganism and argued that a humanist scholar could only be purified with a zealous commitment to Christ. His Greek *New Testament* was published at Basel in 1516.
 - Humanism captured the schools and found many adherents in civic government. In art, a passionate absorption with Christ emphasized the crucifixion of Christ, the Virgin and popular saints. The Northern Humanistic artistic tradition continued with Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, who depicted a world of sacred happenings and gestures.
 - In Haarlem, the first important center of painting in the North, Lucas van Leyden, Jan van Scorel, and Maarten van Heemskerck, rejected the emphasis on the old religious scenes and turned to biblical scenes of moral education during the 16th century.
 - Erasmus initially secretly supported Luther's attacks, especially on monasticism, but feared his radicalism and to Christian humanist scholarship. In 1519 he deplored the anti-Luther campaign in Holland. He left Holland for good in 1521 and settled in Basel. His insistence that the that the exposition of scripture lay with the Christian humanist scholar had in fact usurped the claim of the Church that it had the sole authority to interpret scripture. His views had immense influence among the educated.

-Erasmus' open break with Luther spread his influence in the Netherlands because its reformation was much more varied than that of the increasingly dogmatic and authoritarian Lutherans.

4) TERRITORIAL CONSOLIDATION, 1516-1559

Habsburg policy was to concentrate power in the Low Countries in Brussels. Flanders would not allow its resources to be used militarily north of the great rivers. Thus, it was Holland that led the consolidation of territory north of the rivers.

--The Batavian myth, described by Tacitus, told that Claudius Civilis had successfully led the revolt of the Batavians against Rome in the name of freedom north of the rivers. It became popular in Dutch Humanism around 1500 and became a potent cultural factor in the creation of a new identity in the north.



The separate sovereignties and autonomous lordships of the Netherlands after 1543 (p. 71)

--A series of wars saw the Habsburgs, using mainly Holland resources, annex Friesland, Groningen, Gelderland, Overijssel, Drenthe, Utrecht and Cleves by 1548.

--The Pragmatic Sanction of 1548 recognized the Habsburg Netherlands as a separate entity and that this sovereignty would pass down through the Holy Roman Empire's heirs. The articles were passed and sworn to by all the provincial assemblies.

--There remained a number of counties, mostly in the east, that were not fully integrated and retained separate jurisdictions within the Empire, especially the bishopric of Liege's holdings.

--Geography remained important. Neither Flanders nor Brabant south of the rivers had participated in this Hapsburg effort of unification. Charles had hoped to centralize authority in Brussels, had used Holland's resources, but had not been able to limit the relative political autonomy of Holland.

---The language of the Empire's court in Brussels was French. In the late middle ages there were five variants of Dutch—Flemish, Brabants, Hollands, Limburgs and Oosters (northeast). In the north it was Hollands that was gaining ground. This was greatly aided by its printing industry, especially of the Bible.

5) THE EARLY DUTCH REFORMATION, 1519-1565

The Netherlands Church on the even of the Reformation

--The early Dutch reformation was a bottom-up phenomenon. Calvinism was not a major factor before 1550.

-Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authority was weak for three million people with five bishops, only two of which, Liege and Utrecht, were in Dutch speaking areas and all were under the archbishop-elect of Cologne, a vassal of Charles V.

-The Church remained wealthy in 1500 but its influence and number of clergy were diminishing. Absenteeism was rampant and scandals were numerous,

The Impact of Luther

--Luther's works circulated widely in the Netherlands with its high level of literacy, urbanization, and the prevalence of Christian humanism. About 50 of Luther's works quickly appeared in Dutch. Antwerp was one of Europe's chief printing centers.

--The Emperor responded with public book burnings and the setting up of an Inquisition. By 1525, repression had limited Lutheranism and had driven the Reformation underground. By the late 1520s many areas in Germany had an organized Lutheran Church structure but not in the Low Countries.

Fragmentation

The distinctiveness of Dutch Protestantism was its intense spiritual outlook and its decentralization. It was not primarily undogmatic and Erasmian, as has often been claimed, but "pluriform and radically decentralized" (p. 85).

--Only the Dutch Anabaptists separated themselves from the wider community. They were small fractious groups and were mercilessly persecuted for three decades. Dutch Anabaptism began in the northeast with the arrival of Melchior Hoffman in Emden from Zurich.

--Jan of Leyden in Munster, 1534, was famously radical but there were also zealots in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Delft, and in the north.

--The pacifist strain of Anabaptism, exemplified by Menno Simons, who fought with the pen in Dutch, became its main expression in the Netherlands by the 1540s. In Friesland, perhaps a quarter of the population was Anabaptist.

--By the 1550s the broad response of the Netherlands elites was to attempt a theological *via media* while outwardly conforming to Catholicism. Only in the Walloon part of Liege and French speaking areas was support for Catholicism strong.

Spiritualism and the Impact of Persecution

The position of William the Silent on religion was fairly common among the elite. He argued that the state had no right to interfere with individual consciences. The State should support toleration of freedom of conscience. This was the *politique* position. Dutch religion by 1560 emphasized personal spiritualism and mysticism combined with outward conformity with the established church.

--Internalization of the Reformation flourished as the repression of heresy intensified. In 1545 Charles V set up regional tribunals to repress the reformation. Between 1523 and 1565 1,300 people were executed for heresy in the Netherlands.

The Rise of Calvinism in the Netherlands

The organizers of Calvinism in the Netherlands chiefly came from Dutch Protestant exiles in London and Germany. It was organized around Calvin's *Institutes* and its clear exposition of doctrine, discipline and organization. By the 1550s a Dutch Calvinist organizational structure appeared in the Netherlands, first in the exile churches. In 1561 a Netherlands Confession of Faith, *Confession Belgica*, was approved at a clandestine synod in Antwerp.

Calvinism, however, never fully replaced the looser and more diffused religious tendencies of the past, creating a deep tension between tightly controlled and 'libertine' tendencies in Dutch Protestantism that remained to the modern era (p. 105).

6) SOCIETY BEFORE THE REVOLT

Land, Rural Society and Agriculture

--From the 12th century onwards, the Low Countries gradually freed the peasantry from feudal ties and obligations. Land reclamation and colonization led the Church and the nobility to offer attractive terms for free status. Thus, earlier than in France or England, it became usual in the Low Countries, north and south, to lease land for money terms without seigniorial control.

--The Prince of Orange was the largest landowner in the Netherlands, mostly south of the big rivers. The nobility in Holland consisted of about 200 families who owned just 5% of the land. The Church owned 10%. About a third of the land was owned by town dwellers and leased as family farms. The peasantry owned about 45% of the land in the maritime areas. In the sandy and wooded areas of the east, the nobility and church owned more of the land, in some areas more than half.

--The maritime zones had the highest crop yields in Europe and by 1500 had already experienced an agricultural revolution, chiefly through sophisticated drainage, extensive use of manure, and high urban demand for dairy products, cereals, meat and beer, as well as industrial crops such as hops, flax, hemp and madder. Baltic grain imports rose by five times between 1500 and 1560 but arable farming also expanded.

-A large proletarian rural population engaged in fishing and the maritime sector.

Urbanization

Up to 1500, a thinly settled north had the highest percentage of urban dwellers in Europe, about 50% in Holland.

-A population of about one million in 1500 in the area of what would become the Dutch Republic

-In the south the urban economy was based on the 'rich trades'—textiles, spices, metals, and sugar-and associated industries, including woolen cloth, linen, tapestries, sugar refining and metalworking. The latter was based in Liege. In the north, the wealth of the towns was based on the bulk trades in grain and timber, salt, fishing, and old style cloth production. Shipbuilding was a major industry.

--*Fluit* ships were an important innovation. They were relatively small, but sturdy, cheap, and required a small crew.

--Another important early industry in Holland was brewing, especially in Haarlem, Delft and Gouda.

Institutions of Civic Life

--Importance of urban guilds—they restricted entrance to the trades, enforced adherence to stipulated work practices, and provided welfare to its members.

--Guilds resulted in a highly town regulated urban economy.

--Militia companies, *schutterijen*, maintained order, defended the town, and were part of social life.

--Chambers of Rhetoric, *Rederijkskamers*, were culturally important. They were quite common and heavily influenced by humanism and were characterized by a generic low-key Protestantism.

-Perhaps a third to 40% of the population was too poor to pay property taxes in the early 16th century. Traditional poor relief was designed to deal with local problems and to exclude strangers. Because of a growing urban population, a critique of charity developed because of an unrestricted giving to beggars, the humanist criticism of monks and nuns, and the decline of church wealth. Instead of seeing charity as a sacred value, the emphasis shifted to reducing idleness, vagrancy and poverty. In some Flemish towns, endowment funds for the relief of poverty were transferred to civic institutions. Despite the sweeping away of church connected charities and endowments, no major reorganizations of charity took pace in the north until after the Revolt.

Regents

Regents were the urban elite who participated in civic government as members of the *vroedschappen*, or town councils in Holland, the *raad* in the eastern provinces, and *magistraat* or *wet* in Brabant. It was never an oligarchy strictly defined by birth or social status, although they worked at becoming a closed patrician oligarchy. What defined them was holding office in civic government. They were natives of the province and often of the town. They were officially appointed by the Burgundian dukes, or the Habsburg Stadholders, from a double list of candidates submitted by town governments. Generally, they were appointed for life.

--The *schepenen*, town magistrates, were elected for one-year terms by the town council.

--The regent class was drawn from the wealthy and prominent but generally did not constitute the wealthiest merchants and industrialists since town government was quite time demanding.

7) THE BREAKDOWN OF THE HABSBURG REGIME, 1549-1566.

The Seeds of the Revolt

The Habsburgs were relatively successful in creating an integrated governing bureaucracy run by university-trained officials during the first half of the 16th century.

--In Holland turning the Hof into a central government staffed by university trained lawyers ended the earlier practice of relying on the local nobility.

-Brussels also deliberately placed officials from lesser provinces in important government positions.

--The anti-heresy campaigns increased social tension.

--During the 1540s the Netherlands was drawn into war with France as the Hapsburg-Valois competition turned from Italy to France and the Low Countries, This produced new demands for taxation, recruiting, billeting and provisioning.

--The economic success of the Netherlands tempted the Habsburg to make greater demands on the region as its strategic European base, serving as the bridle to control France.

--In the 1540s only Ghent openly rebelled against Hapsburg demands. Charles came in person to suppress the revolt.

--During the 1540s Charles demanded that the provincial governments create a funded debt—*Renten*, state issued interest-paying bonds--to pay for wars in which the Low countries had little interest.

--Charles' abdication in 1555 created turmoil in government. His son Philip arrived in Brussels in 1555 and stayed for four years. Father and son disagreed on a number of strategic issues. He appointed the Duke of Savoy, a trusted general, as lieutenant governor.

--In 1556 Philip demanded the huge sum of three million guildens as a levy on wealth, a 100th penny on fixed property and 2% on liquid assts. It took the Council two years to provide the money and then on the terms of paying it over nine years. It was the last issue the Crown, Council of State, and the provincial governments would agree on.

--In 1557 Philip achieved victory over France, ratified by the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559. This greatly increased the prestige of the Spanish crown in Europe, and allowed Philip to focus on his battles with Islam and Protestantism. All this was to be symbolized by the building of his palace, the Escorial in Spain.

Crisis 1559-1566

Philip named his illegitimate half-sister, Margaret of Parma, a Habsburg without political experience, as Regent. He left Perrenot Granville, a bureaucrat of non-noble background from Franche-Comte, as his right hand man to run the Council and government. He named several of the great magnates, including William of Orange and the Duke of Egmond as Stadholders.

--The fiscal problems were fundamental but equally problematic was the division between the power structure and patronage in the Netherlands.

--Granville was convinced that the cause of the civil wars in France was the power of the great magnates.

--William the Silent, who was in fact quite outgoing, acquired his moniker by not saying what he thought. His growing opposition to Philip was, on the one hand, natural between a distant and aloof centralizing king and a young and ambitious great lord. On the other hand, he openly proclaimed his religious liberty by marrying Anna of Saxony, a Protestant, as his second wife in 1561.

-In 1561 Philip announced his plans for reorganizing the Church in the Netherlands with new bishops and a new archbishop in Utrecht. He transferred funds from monasteries to the bishops and chose the new bishops for their anti-heresy credentials.

- William, Egmond and Hoorn fanned the popular opposition to the new church organization.
- Philip was forced to recall Granville in 1563. The Council demanded the relaxing of his anti-heresy campaigns but he rejected their advice.
- In 1565 the League of Compromise, led by Brederode, a noble from Holland, sought some toleration for Protestants. In 1566, two-hundred nobles forced their way into the presence of Margaret of Parma and presented her with a Petition of Compromise and demanded the dismantlement of the Inquisition combined with a veiled threat of rebellion. It was on this occasion that the term *Gueux* (Beggars) was first used to describe the dissidents. The petition did not openly attack the King, the royal administration, or the Church. Margaret had no choice but to give way and suspended the Inquisition.
- Calvinist consistories were formed in the country and *Hagenpreken*, hedge-preaching, out of doors, took place throughout the country in 1566.
- This was followed by the Beeldenstorm, iconoclasm. The mobs did not attack government officials but only the Catholic Church.
- The revolt became more general in the north as some nobles and prominent citizens intervened and helped direct the violence. In the south, the local government militias put down the violence but in the north the Catholic response was remarkably weak.
- Many of the civic militias in the north refused to end the uprising until there provision was made for Protestant churches.
- The great magnates, including William, sought to act as intermediaries to end the violence and negotiated some religious tolerance and allocated some churches to Protestants. In the south, the revolt was soon suppressed but in the north it took until well into 1567 to restore order. The popular revolt seemed over before the duke of Alva arrived with Spanish troops in the Netherlands.
- Philip Marnix of St. Aldegonde, who subsequently became William's secretary and publicist, published his famous work, *Vraya narration et Apologie*, which argued that the king had violated the liberties and freedom of the Netherlands provinces. In the ideology of the rebels, freedom in the abstract soon became a rallying cry.

8) REPRESSION UNDER ALVA

- The Duke of Alva arrived in August of 1567 with 10,000 Spanish troops. He was a harsh Castilian who detested Protestants and had contempt for the ruling elites of the Netherlands. He set up his famous Council of Troubles with a prosecuting staff of 170, prosecuted almost 9,000 persons and executed over a 1,000. Margaret of Parma resigned and returned to Italy.
- The execution of the counts of Egmond and Hoorn in the Grand-Place in Brussels before an shocked crowd came four days after the execution of eighteen rebel nobles. Egmond and Hoorn assumed that they had nothing to fear after helping Margaret restore order, and had remained loyal to the Church. Nonetheless, they were seized after a banquet and executed. This became a constant source for propaganda by the rebel cause.
 - William's thirteen year old son was seized and taken to Spain to be brought up as a good Catholic and was never seen again by the Prince.
 - William, as well as most nobles who were sympathetic to the revolt escaped into exile.
 - Alva's executions were especially concentrated among upper middle class urban Protestants since few of the regents had taken part in the revolt.
 - About 60,000 fled the Netherlands, mostly to England, Cleves and the Rhineland.
 - Brederode died in late 1567.

--William's reputation slumped because of his ambivalence during the first revolt. But he became its leader in early 1568 as he learned that all his lands in the Netherlands had been confiscated and he had been condemned.

--With German Protestant support, he raised money and surrounded himself with exiled nobles from the Netherlands.

--William remained cautious. He blamed Alva rather than the king and avoided identifying with a particular Protestant denomination.

--The Wilhelmus, today's Dutch national anthem and the oldest of the national anthems, was composed in 1568 but was for many too much about the Prince of Orange. It did not become a Dutch national anthem until the late 19th century.

--The Prince of Orange was no match militarily for Alva and he settled down to a war of attrition.

--The Sea Beggars, privateers based in Emden and sometimes the Channel Ports, were more effective militarily and carried Orange's colors.

--A Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church met in Ems in 1571. Its members were pastors in exile.

--Philip needed a standing army in the Netherlands for the foreseeable future. This required a huge increase in taxation, which in turn required ignoring more of the region's constitutional liberties and by 1572 caused the Revolt to begin in earnest.

9) THE REVOLT BEGINS

Israel distinguishes between a revolt and a revolution. He argues that the latter fundamentally alters the course of history and can only happen when there has been a long gestation period of unbridgeable constitutional, social, ideological, and spiritual rifts. He does not include economic fissures (p. 169).

--He argues that Alva's repression, which led to revolt of 1572, while important, was essentially secondary to the revolution that followed in the Low Countries.

--The Tenth Penny issue was important because it became a symbol of unbridled authority riding roughshod over venerated constitutional precedents. It was seen as an illegal and ruthless coercion of the towns and local government.

--There was no difference in response to the Tenth Penny in the north and the south, but the outcome was fundamentally different.

--In the north there was only one power block, while in the south there were several

--In the north a large part of the nobility participated and were behind the revolt, while this was not the case in the south.

--There was militant support for the Crown and Catholicism in Wallonia and parts of Brabant but little or no popular sort for Catholicism in the north.

--Strategically, it was much more difficult for the Spanish army to operate in the low-lying areas of Zeeland and Holland than below the big rivers.

--Flanders and Brabant lacked internal political cohesion while Holland had much more cohesion and had no real competition in dominating the north. Socially, the nobility and Church were much less powerful in the north.

--The Sea Beggars played an important role in the great revolt by seizing Brill, a small port near Rotterdam on April 1, 1572. Its citizens took Flushing from the Spanish five days later and most of Walcheren (in Zeeland) rose against the Spanish.

--The St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Huguenots in France in August increased tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Europe.

--The Prince of Orange led a 16,000 German mercenary army into the Netherlands and others invaded in the north.

--Uprisings in Hoorn, Alkmaar and Haarlem brought north Holland into the revolt. Gouda, Leiden and Dordrecht followed.

---Representatives of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht met in Dordrecht and created a de facto government with the Prince of Orange as the Stadholder. He promised to respect the rights of the provincial States (provincial assemblies).

--Alva recovered and managed to take back many towns. However, his brutality, seen for example in Naarden, where the Orangists surrendered but he nonetheless slaughtered everyone, hardened rebel opposition.

10) THE REVOLT AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW STATE

The Revolt Survives, 1573-75

--In the south, Alva's success led to the fleeing of the rebels. In the north, however, where the uprising had been more popular and spontaneous, Alva's brutality stiffened the opposition.

--In Haarlem, where the *vroedschap* wanted to surrender, the civic militia staged a coup and Haarlem endured a terrible siege. It was forced to capitulate but it kept a large Spanish army occupied for months and allowed other rebel forces in Holland and Zeeland to prepare for meeting Alva's forces.

--In the siege of Middleburg, the most important town in Zeeland, rebels were able to defeat its Spanish garrison.

--The siege of Leiden was extremely costly. Orange gambled on using all his forces and the Spanish retreated.

--By late 1573, the Spanish recognized that they could not financially sustain their forces in the Netherlands while also fighting the Ottomans. Philip replaced Alva with Don Luis Resquesens as Governor General and there was an attempt at negotiations. In 1575 his Genoan bankers refused to lend him more money. In the negotiations of 1575, William of Orange declared that he did not seek to create a separate state but only the recognition of religious liberty and political and judicial civic autonomy.

From the Pacification of Ghent (1576) to the Union of Utrecht (1579)

--Spanish Fury of 1576: Unpaid Spanish troops mutinied in Antwerp and plundered Europe's most important financial and trade center. Rumors suggested that 18,000 people were slaughtered. In fact it was more likely several hundred. The Spanish Fury became an essential part of the Black Legend and the propaganda war of the rebels.

-The Pacification of Ghent was an agreement in which the southern provinces joined with the States of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht to drive out the Spanish and created a provisional government under the States General, which would continue to meet in Brussels. The agreement allowed for the public practice of Protestantism only in Holland and Zeeland. Only Namur, Luxembourg and part of Limburg did not ratify the agreement. The Prince of Orange was recognized as the Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. The provinces also agreed to align their currencies and created a formula to pay for the defense of the Netherlands.

--While Don Juan, Spain's governor in the Low Countries, was forced to sign the agreement in 1577, fundamental disagreements remained. Orange sought to radicalize opposition forces in the south because he wanted formal recognition of Protestantism throughout the Netherlands and recognition of civic autonomy.

--Don Juan broke the agreement in late 1577 and retreated to Namur and recalled Spanish troops.
 --William of Orange triumphally entered Brussels and resided in Brabant until 1583. William accepted the fact that there were now two power centers in the Netherlands, Holland and Brabant. He wanted recognition for Protestants in the south but did not challenge the suppression of open Catholic worship in Holland. He owned land in both the north and the south and was forced to accept civic autonomy in both north and south. What he really desired was to reduce the particularism in both regions and create a more cohesive state in the Netherlands. He was never able to solve this problem.

--The competition between a conservative and radical revolt worked itself out during the next several years. In the south the Revolt was hopelessly divided between Protestant radicals and Catholic moderates. In the north the radical Protestants were triumphant.

--Orange declared a Religious Peace in 1578, which allowed both Catholics and Protestants to practice their religion openly. In the north he sought to restrain the Protestants from persecuting the Catholics. In Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent, he attempted to get the Calvinist radicals, who were now in control, to allow Catholics to practice their religion while further south he had to convince Catholics to allow toleration for Protestants.

The Two Netherlands

--In the south, the radical Revolt was to jettison the Burgundian and Habsburg attempt to unify the Provinces with some central government in Brussels and to revert to the city-state system of the medieval period. However, in the south there were two major provinces, each of which lacked cohesion. In the north, there was Holland, which had a good deal of cohesion and it could dominate the north. Thus the Revolt in the north took the form of accepting some central government. This led to the creation of the Republic.

--A Treaty of Union between Zeeland and Holland in 1575 created an embryonic Protestant state. It put an end to an openly practiced Catholicism but at the same time no one would be prosecuted for their religious beliefs—a policy of Religious Toleration.

--Holland and Zeeland sent military forces to the north and east to suppress the remaining Catholic towns because their major economic interests were in the north and east.

--Union of Utrecht 1579: The need to pay for and organize Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht's domination of the north was the origin of the Union of Utrecht in 1579. This meant that Orange's policy of Religious Peace was abandoned in the north. Only the Protestant militant controlled city of Ghent originally signed in the south. Orange reluctantly signed and a few other southern towns followed.

The Hapsburg Reconquest of the South, 1579-1585

--In the north east there was a rising that demanded a General Union rather than a northern and protestant union. It received military help from Spanish forces. Meanwhile Spanish forces were recapturing areas in the south.

--To prevent the defeat of the Revolt, William of Orange worked with the States General in Brussels to invite the Duke of Anjou, with many constitutional safeguards, to become the new sovereign of a United Netherlands. He was proclaimed Prince of the Netherlands and its sovereign in 1581.

--Act of Abjuration, *Plakkaat van Verlaating*, July 1581. It renounced the king of Spain. Philip II's portrait was removed from the coinage and from official seals and the coat of arms was

removed from Habsburg public buildings. It required all office holders and magistrates as well as the civic militias to take new loyalty oaths.

--A committee wrote the *Apology* (1581) of William of Orange. It was particularly important in the propaganda war that followed. It extolled general principles of liberty of conscience and freedom as well as listing many specific grievances. It explained that the Rebels had not sought to create an independent state but that the Spanish king had left them no choice.

--Free from his war with the Ottomans, Philip greatly increased the Spanish army of Flanders in the Netherlands. Parma had military success after success in the south. In 1581, he managed to take back Breda, the home of the Prince of Orange, and this drove a wedge into the north above the rivers.

--Anjou, dissatisfied with his lack of authority, attempted a coup in the south. In Antwerp the citizens rose up against him and he left the country.

--In 1583, Orange was close to despair. Both his Religious Peace and his French policy had failed. In 1583 he abandoned the south and his United Netherlands policy and moved to the Prinsenhof in Delft.

--Cornelius Hooft delivered a famous address in Amsterdam in 1584 in which he argued that no sovereign was needed since the Union of Utrecht derived its mandate from the citizenry, militias and seamen. This was the origin of the idea for a Republic of the northern Netherlands.

--William of Orange was assassinated a month later.

--By this time Parma had conquered most of Flanders and Brabant. In desperation the General Union offered sovereignty to the French King, Henri III, who declined the offer since he feared Spain and his own kingdom was embroiled in a civil war.

--Parma took Antwerp after a long and costly siege. This destroyed Europe's most important commercial center. About half of Antwerp's population, about 38,000, emigrated to the north during the next four years.

--The States General offered sovereignty to Elizabeth of England but she also declined but in the Treaty of Nonesuch in 1685 agreed to support a Protestant Union of the Netherlands, the new state's first treaty.

The North Netherlands Under Leicester, 1585-87

--The Earl of Leicester was dispatched to the Netherlands by England, 1585-87. The importance of this episode was that particularistic forces in the Union managed to remold the nascent new state along radically different lines.

-Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619), who was the finance manager of the Province of Holland, became the Advocaat, or chief representative, of the States of Holland.

--Oldenbarnevelt represented the Regents view of the Revolt. Although he supported the Prince of Orange, he and the Regents saw themselves and Holland as politically dominant in the Union.

--The Regents, as well as the Prince of Orange, were comfortable with an aggressive Puritan Calvinism, which Leicester appeared to represent, and which showed little toleration to other religious persuasions.

--Leicester appealed to segments of the nobility while Oldenbarnevelt represented the Regents of the towns.

--Role of the Stadholders after the assassination of William of Orange: The Prince's oldest Protestant son, Maurits, was only seventeen in 1585 and was in Nassau (in Germany). In 1586 the States of Holland and Zeeland insisted that they had the power to name Stadholders in all of the Netherlands and named Maurits Stadholder.

- A major problem was how to organize the finances, since only Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht and Friesland were making regular contributions.
- Leicester sought to embargo all trade with regions controlled by the enemy. As a result a good deal of trade was diverted to England and Scotland.
- Leicester supported the call for a Calvinist Synod at The Hague and rejected the claims of authority by the Provincial States over the Church.
- Friction developed between English troops and the local population.
- In 1587, Leicester attempted a coup and entered the Hague with a strong escort but failed to get wide support. Leicester gave up and returned to England.

PART II THE EARLY GOLDEN AGE, 1588-1647

11) CONSOLIDATION OF THE REPUBLIC, 1588-1590

There was a debate about whether there should be a Republic or a Monarchy. P. C. Hooft argued that a monarch was not needed, but the fundamental internal issue was the emergence of a *de facto* state headed by the Province of Holland under the effective leadership of Oldenbarnevelt. This was helped by external factors, especially a change of strategy by both Philip II and Elizabeth. Phillip decided to concentrate on France in 1590 and Elizabeth decided to end her support for Oldenbarnevelt's opponents. She needed Holland's naval power to deal with the threat of the Spanish Armada.

--Oldenbarnevelt managed to take over the handling of foreign and military policy and placed it in the States of Holland, and, as Holland's voice in the States General, he dominated the new confederate state. Maurits was now also made Stadholder of Overijssel, Gelderland and Utrecht.

12) THE REPUBLIC BECOMES A GREAT POWER, 1590-1609.

Territorial Expansion, 1590-1609

In the late 1580s, Spanish forces squeezed the new state from the East and south but in 1590, Phillip used the Army of Flanders to interfere in the French civil war. Maurits cleared Spanish garrisons from much of the east and expanded south into Brabant, taking Breda in 1590.

--In 1596 the States General decided that all border fortresses should be controlled by the federal *Raad van Staat*, a crucial step to effective federal military control.

-Maurits' military revolution, consisting of transporting whole armies on barges, sophisticated siege techniques, large quantities of artillery, logistics, and training. By 1597, the Dutch standing army was the second largest in Europe.

--The Navy tightened control of the Ems and Scheldt estuaries.

--All made possible by Spanish involvement in the French Civil War.

--In 1597, The Spanish and French made Peace. Phillip transferred the southern Netherlands to his daughter Isabelle and the Hapsburg Duke Albert.



Dutch recovery of territory from the Spanish Netherlands, 1590-1604 (p. 243)

--During the next few years, the war with Spain was a stalemate. Maurits invaded Dunkirk but failed. He risked a great deal to take Nieuwport. Both sides increased the size of their armies. The Army of Flanders, paid for by the Spanish, besieged Ostend for three years and finally took it back 1604.

--In 1605-06, the Army of Flanders invaded from Germany in the north and entered Oldenzaal in 1597 unchallenged. Under Spinola, the army took the Twente and Zutphen quarters and made the entire German border area unsecure. These areas paid a 'contribution' to the Spanish for not being plundered until 1633, when the Spanish lost Rheinberg, their last fortress on the lower Rhine.

The Fixed Garrison System

--The Dutch created a fixed garrison system. The Dutch standing army was 50,000 men in 1607. Costs were largely paid by Holland, Zeeland, Friesland and Utrecht—the provinces furthest

away from the fortresses. Most of the actual troops were German, French, Scots, and English with Dutch military commanders, who became a new military aristocracy in the region.

-The military revolution of the 16th and 17th century was largely Dutch (p. 269).

--Maintenance of large military installations stationed among civilian populations.

--Local city governments demanded discipline for the troops and demanded that the military be subordinated to civilian priorities.

--Tight discipline and regular payment for soldiers

-'Counter marching' of infantry with muskets and harquebuses, firing constant volleys over each other's heads

--Required constant drilling and discipline

--Standardization of weapons and munitions

--The army of Flanders copied the Dutch techniques. Its greatest influence was in Sweden under Gustaphus Adolphus who developed the system to new heights.

--In 1616, count Johann of Nassau opened a military academy for gentlemen at Siegen.



The Dutch defensive during during Twelve-Years Truce with Spain (p. 263).

--Technological influence of the Netherlands diaspora of engineers, technology and skills in Europe, especially Scandinavia, Central Europe, Spain and later Russia.

--Drainage schemes of Cornelius Vermuyden in East Anglia

--Hans De Witt, a Protestant from Antwerp, developed the Wallerstein's estates in Bohemia.

--Fortress and harbor building

--The new town of Gothenburg was virtually a Dutch colony during its construction.

--Louis de Geer, a Protestant from Liege, developed the iron industry in Sweden.

13) THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC

The Provinces

The Republic's institutions differed markedly from those of the Habsburg ones before 1572 and those envisaged in 1579 in the Union of Utrecht. The latter had envisioned a sovereign league that provided for the Republic's sovereignty in limited areas, chiefly in defense, taxation for defense, and foreign policy. The rule of unanimity turned out to be largely academic since Holland dominated the Republic.

--By the 1590s the federal principle had been extended to the regulation of shipping, administration of conquered districts, church affairs and colonial expansion.

The Republic was a cross between a federal and state confederacy. It was largely built and imposed by Holland upon the other provinces, despite many objections (p. 277).

--The States of Holland had been advisory and met irregularly. They now met quarterly with eighteen towns as voting members. After 1572, being a noble did not automatically make one a member of the *ridderschap*, the noble representatives in the States General.

--Between meetings, the *Gecommitteerde Raden* could decide routine issues. This meant that town councils were continually involved in Holland's governance. It was these committees that enabled a genuine provincial government to emerge.

--A standing principle was that the standing committees should represent a balance of interests from all the states.

--In the eastern states, it was not until the 1590s that formal representative delegates were sent to the States General and the standing committees.

--The States of the Provinces took over the supervision of flood controls and drainage boards.

Taxation and the Tax System

--A general unified tax system was never established but the overall level of a Province's contribution and level of expenditure was established.

--Holland contributed about 60% of the revenue of the central government.

See table p. 286 for provincial contributions to the *Generality*.

--Israel claims that the separate tax system of the seven provinces within a common framework "was in reality more efficient and better adapted to circumstances, than any centralized system of taxation through excises or consumption, of which the two most important ones were the excises on beer and milled grain" (p. 290). There were also a variety of taxes on consumables such as wine, spirits and tobacco. In agriculture areas there were excise taxes based on agricultural products such as cattle and ploughed fields.

The Generality

--The Republic's States General bore little resemblance to the States General of the Burgundian and Hapsburg periods. It was presided over by a 'chair' chosen by the Provinces in rotation.

--The States General moved north in 1583 and met in The Hague from 1585. From 1593 it met permanently in unbroken session. It operated exclusively in Dutch. Each province could send as many representatives as they liked but had only one vote. The Binnenhof, where it met, was deliberately kept small. Except for Zeeland, which named its representatives for life, other provinces chose them for three to six year terms.

--*Raad van Staat*, Council of State, administered the army, fortresses and the Generality lands for the States General.

--*Generaliteits Rekenkamer*—an accounting and taxation office.

--*Hoge Krijgsraad*—from the 1590s, there was a military high court and a unified military code.

--Provinces had their own coins and mints but a Generality office regulated the values, weights, and contents of the seven coinages—thus there was a uniform currency.

--Admiralty Colleges were responsible for collecting custom duties, administering the navy, maintaining guard boats and patrolling the rivers, building warships, recruiting sailors, and regulated shipping and the fisheries. There were Colleges: Amsterdam, south Holland in Rotterdam, jointly in Enkhuizen and Hoorn for North Holland, Middleburg for Zeeland, and Dokkum for Friesland. The five Colleges were supervised by the Generality, which fixed tariffs and naval policy.

--Generality Lands

—Areas captured from the Spanish Crown Their sovereignty rested in the Generality.

---By 1648, a third of the Republic's land area consisted of the generality lands: States Flanders, States Brabant, Maastricht and the Overmaas, Upper Gelderland (Roermond and Venlo). These areas were directly governed by the Generality

--The Stadholderate

--Charles V had created the Stadholderates in 1543 after his capture of Gelderland by installing three military commanders in the Netherlands north of the big rivers.

--William the Silent had been named Stadholder by the Union of Utrecht but after his assassination, the practice of naming three stadholders returned.

--Under the Treaty of Nonesuch, the 'gouverneurs' were to be named by the *Raad van Staat*.

-The Provinces argued that they had inherited the right to name Stadholders since they were now the sovereigns.

-The Stadholders of the Republic

William Prince of Orange, 1572-84

Maurits, Count of Nassau, 1585-1625

Frederick, Prince of Orange, 1625-37

William II, Prince of Orange, 1647-50

William III, Prince of Orange, 1672-1702

William IV, Prince of Orange, 1747-51

William V, Prince of Orange, 1751-95

--Stadholders were also appointed Captain-General, overall military commanders, but they were also the highest official of the province and head of the judicial system. They were not members of the provincial States or States-General. They had considerable patronage power in naming

judges, influenced the naming of provincial *drosts* and *baljuws*, selected the *schepenen*, town magistrates, from a list submitted by town councils, and oversaw the *vroedschap* (town council) elections.

--Despite the fact that Regents and their allies mainly ruled the Republic, the stadholders' aristocratic values continued to be an important source of influence in the Republic. This was the source of a continual tension within the Republic between Stadholders and the Regents.

14) THE COMMENCEMENT OF DUTCH WORLD TRADE PRIMACY

Revolt, Commerce, and Immigration from the South

The consolidation and growth of the Republic in the 1590s also saw a substantial growth of the 'rich trades.' Factors that allowed the development of Dutch primacy in world trade:

- The internal stabilization of the Republic
 - Improvement of the strategic situation
 - The reopening of the waterways linking the Republic and Germany
 - Influx of capital and skills from Antwerp after 1585
 - Lifting of Phillip II's embargo on Dutch ships and cargoes to the Iberian Peninsula
 - Republic's tightening of its control over the Ems and Scheldt estuaries and naval blockade of the Flemish coast.
- An explosive expansion of commerce "transformed the Republic into Europe's chief emporium and bestowed a general primacy in world commerce which was to endure for a century and a half. The impact of this on a small country was overwhelming, even unparalleled, in world history, in terms of the pace, and scope, of the socio-economic transformation, the galvanization of an urban civilization, which followed in its wake. Dutch dominance of the 'rich trades' made possible not only a rapid increase in prosperity and resources, but a massive sustained expansion of the cities and proliferation of new skills and industries" (p.307).
- The pre-1585 expansion had promoted growth in the seaboard areas but had done little for the rest of the United Provinces and had not generated an export manufacturing market.
 - Armed with the spices, sugar, silks, dyestuffs, Mediterranean fruit and wine, and Spanish-American silver, Dutch merchants replaced merchants in Hamburg, Lubeck and London as the principal exporters to the Baltic region, the White Sea port of Archangel and the Muscovy trade.
 - Linen and the new draperies produced a boom in the textile trade with the south. The south also used to purchase colonial products in Spain and Portugal and export these to the north. The north also took over this trade.
 - The Republic surpassed the English textile trade with the Levant trade until the 1720s.
 - The woolen and linen industries of Haarlem and Leiden also benefitted from the collapse of the German textile industry during the Thirty Years War.
 - There was also growth in agriculture and river traffic to Germany and Liege.

The Changing Balance Between 'Bulk Carrying' and the 'Rich Trades'

During the 17th century, the rich trades replaced the bulk trades as the chief source of profit. The rich trades were the key to the commercial and industrial wealth of the Republic.

Beginnings of Colonial Empire

-Conditions for a successful expansion of Dutch trade into Asia, Africa and America that did not exist before the 1590s:

- A secure home base for long-term overseas investments
- A large accumulation of merchant capital
- Political support at both the civic and provincial level
- Detailed knowledge about routes and conditions in the Indies
- Favorable circumstances for breaking into the hotly contested European pepper, spice, and sugar markets
- Amsterdam emerged as the most important European trade center, replacing Antwerp and Hamburg in the 1590s.
- In 1594, a private *Compagnie van Verre* in Amsterdam--a consortium of nine rich Amsterdam merchants—sent a fleet from Texel to the Indies and returned successfully in 1597 (with only 80 of the original men still alive).
- Portuguese merchants in Holland specialized in importing pepper and spices from Lisbon and helped supply knowledge of routes and markets.
- Jan Huigen van Linschoten traveled to Asia on a Portuguese ship and published his *Itinerario* (1596) describing the routes in Asia.
- By 1601, fourteen Dutch fleets had sailed to the Indies, far more than Portuguese or English ships.
- The federal structure of the Republic encouraged the creation of a new form of trading company, a chartered joint-stock monopoly strongly backed by the state, It was organized into chambers that kept their own accounts and run by a federal board of directors' set of common policies.
- The VOC was established in 1602—the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. The Company had *XVII Heeren*, directors, eight of which were from Amsterdam, four from Zeeland, and two each from the Northern Quarter and the South Holland towns. Treaties, alliances, and instructions to VOC governors in Asia had to be approved by the States General. From 1623, officials had to take a double oath to the government and the company. The VOC list of governors was unique in Europe. It never included a noble.
- They chose the name Batavia for their headquarters in Asia. It was soon a bigger trading center than Goa or Malacca.
- The WIC—the West India Company—was created in 1621. By 1598, the Dutch had replaced the Portuguese as the major power in West African waters in the Guinea gold and ivory trade. They did not enter the slave trade until 1634. Not until 1630, with the capture of Recife from Portugal (in Brazil), did the WIC become a significant colonial power in the Western hemisphere although it had been a major trader in the region. The WIC always required state subsidies and was never as profitable as the VOC.

15) SOCIETY AFTER THE REVOLT

Urbanization

The spectacular growth of urbanization in the maritime zone, see Table p. 328.

- Made possible by securing the maritime zone and the expansion of the rich trades
- Immigration and migration from the countryside
- Easing of guild restrictions, especial inn Amsterdam
- Better sanitation
- Higher wages
- Immigrants came first from the south and from 1620 from Germany.

Rural Society

- Provided food for the towns and industrial products, such as hops and flax.
- Food for garrison towns in the east.
- Food for Germany and even for Spanish garrisons during the truce.
- Profits were high enough to spur investments in drainage and land reclamation. The Beemster drainage scheme of 1608 in North Holland was financed by a private consortium with a capital amounting to one-fourth of what started the VOC. Other projects followed/
- Rural population increased because of more specialized agriculture.
- Agriculture in the Western part of the Republic was highly commercial, rural workers were increasingly mobile and received decent wages, while it remained much more of a peasant agriculture in the east.

Nobility

- In contrast to the west, the nobility was strengthened in the east after the Revolt.
- Inland towns declined relative to rural society in the east.
 - Elimination of the Crown, court and bureaucracy in the east as a rival influence in the countryside.
 - Nobles were well placed to benefit from sale of Church lands.
 - Increased importance of fixed garrisons enhanced the power of the nobility and military in these areas.
 - Nobles continued to play a large role in the army and navy in the Republic

The Regents

- Despite purges of the Regents after the Revolt, there remained a good deal of continuity since many younger family members became regents. The regents were officials and not just important merchants.

Merchant Elite

- Almost an entirely new merchant elite arose in the Republic after the Revolt. Before 1590, the Regents had been the richest urban dwellers. Although many were active in business, they were not primarily merchants. The merchants grew rich from the 'rich trades.' Along with the Regents, they dominated the VOC but the merchant elite supplied most of the capital.

Skilled Elite

- New industries in northern Europe, such as cloth-dyeing, new draperies manufacturing, silk-working, sugar refining, diamond-cutting, copper and metal working, tapestry weaving, mixed cotton and wool fustians, velvet workers, printers, tile making, artistic specialists expanded on an unprecedented scale. Famous artists could become very rich.

Wages

- Wages were twice as high in the Republic than in neighboring Germany and the southern Netherlands.
- A wide gap between skilled and unskilled but the unskilled in the Republic had higher wages than elsewhere in Europe.
- Higher wages in the maritime zone than in the east.

--Wages were higher than in high-wage England during the 17th century.

Poor Relief and Charitable Institutions

--The Republic had the most elaborate system of civic poor relief in Europe. The towns took over poor relief after the Revolt and decided how private and religious institutions could participate. Not until the early 18th century did towns such as Haarlem and Leiden allow Catholic institutions to take care of their own poor.

--Foreigners commented on the impressive system of poor relief, old age and sick care for the Republic's citizens.

--The major motive was not compassion but the shortage of labor. Thus, orphan institutions provided training and even produced goods. Civic pride competed in building impressive orphanages, hospitals and, surprisingly well-ordered mad houses. Committees of regents and other worthies managed charitable institutions closely. They did it for social prestige and the redemption of their souls. Qualified destitute had to register with town officials. In 1616, Amsterdam civic charity supported 10% of the population.

16) PROTESTANTIZATION, CATHOLICIZATION, CONFESSIONALIZATION

The Confessional Arena

When the revolt broke out in 1572, the States of Holland tried to ensure that both the Old Church and the Reformed Church would both be tolerated. A substantial number of the regent and noble elites wished to defend Catholicism and the clergy. However, within weeks of the Revolt's popular participation, the clergy were expelled from many of Holland's cities and Catholic worship was suppressed. Originally spontaneous, and despite Orange's efforts to prevent religious oppression, within a few months there was an organized and general suppression of the Catholic faith by the populace and militias and the seizure of Church property became general in Zeeland and Holland.

--"A key ingredient of the Particular Union of Holland and Zeeland of 1575, creating the embryo of a rebel state, was the instruction to the Stadholder to maintain 'the practice of the Reformed evangelical religion, ending and prohibiting the exercise of the Roman religion'." (p. 362).

--When the Regents were overthrown in Amsterdam by the militia and the populace in 1578, the Catholic Church was suppressed. Haarlem was the last town where a public mass was allowed.

--Pope Gregory XIII forbade Catholics to support the rebellion with the penalty of excommunication.

--While the suppression of the RC was popular, there was little enthusiasm for the Reformed Church. This was in part due to the existence of competing Protestantisms.

--The Reformed Church had some advantages.

-It had more militant supporters.

-The reformed Church was now the official public church with support from the state and officials.

--"In the late sixteenth century, the majority of the Dutch population...cannot unequivocally be described as Protestant or Catholic" (p. 366).

--Reformed, Catholics, Lutherans and Mennonites were all attempting to confessionalize the uncommitted but in the Dutch provinces it was the church with state support that gained most ground.

Organization of the Reformed Church

- The first national synod was held at Dordrecht in 1578.
- Each provincial synod met yearly to arrange the affairs of its Church.
- Under the provincial synod were regional Classes that linked town and country.
- The *kerkeraden* was the local consistory in the community—the key group that supervised the congregation and its lifestyle. There was no direct link between the consistory and the local civic government but there were usually members of the consistory who were also important in local government.
- Although the Reformed Church was a State Church, unlike in other Protestant lands, it had no power to force Church attendance or official links with representative assemblies.
- “There was a wide chasm between the reformation of the preachers and that of the regents. As Grotius put it, while the preachers followed Calvin, the regents preferred the Reformation of Erasmus” (p. 369).
- “For the Calvinists it [the Revolt] was above all a struggle about religion for the ‘true faith.’ For the regents it was a struggle for freedom from oppression” (p. 369).
- In 1576 the States of Holland drafted an Erastian ‘church order’ stating that town councils would henceforth appoint preachers. This was rejected by a number of towns in Holland. Leicester attempted to pass a ‘church order’ that forbade town councils from playing a role in appointing preachers. This was also rejected by a number of towns in Holland. The right to appoint preachers for the public Church remained an issue. There were now three groups: the Calvinist towns, anti-Calvinist towns and the Erastian towns. The influx of Calvinists from the south after 1585 strengthened the hands of the Calvinists. The Calvinist preachers were able to use the zealots to pressure the regents so that Calvinist orthodoxy became the ideology of guild members, militia men and the semi-literate.

The Rejection of Toleration

- At the outbreak of the revolt, the regents had proclaimed at Dordrecht in 1572 that “freedom of religion” and the “free exercise” of the Reformed or Catholic religion would be guaranteed. This was a promise that was not upheld.
- Dirk Volkertz. Coornhert, a spiritualist, publicly supported Toleration, as did Justus Lipsius, who sought to create a secular ethics, but they made little headway.
- Lutheranism appeared to be a bigger threat to the Reformed Church in the late 16th century and a public campaign began to restrict its establishment. It was not until 1613 that Lutherans were able to build a church in Amsterdam.
- The Arminians were publicly persecuted during the first four decades of the Republic.
- A small Jewish community, mostly from Portugal, emerged in Amsterdam in the 1590s but their public worship was not allowed.

The Catholic Revival

- There was a significant growth of Catholicism in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The centers of this were in and around Haarlem and Utrecht. Colleges to train Dutch priests were founded at Cologne in 1613 and at Leuven in 1617.
- A region with Catholic population as high as 15% was unusual in the early decades of the 17th century. In the seven provinces it was a bit more than 10% of the whole but there were important pockets with a much higher percentage. In the Generality Lands, Catholics were a majority, as well as in Twente and the Achterhoek.

--By 1630 Confessionalization had become relatively stable and active persecution greatly diminished.

Confessionalization and the State

--The reformed Church gradually became dominant for it had state support.

--Confessionalization meant that parties with ideological and religious views began to develop rather than just political groupings based on patronage and economic and social interests. Catholics were by definition opposed to the political establishment.

--Arminianism: Within the establishment and educated classes the most divisive religious view was the liberal Reformed Calvinist theology of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), Professor at Leiden. Arminius had his doubts about predestination.

-Gomarists: Arminius' opponent was Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641), a Flemish refugee, who was also a professor at Leiden. He adhered to the "doctrine of 'absolute predestination' in which faith was the 'fruit' of predestination and the individual immutably consigned beforehand to salvation or damnation"(p. 393).

--In 1605 Oldenbarnevelt and his liberal allies attempted to convene a Synod that was to amend the catechism so that the theology of the Reformed Church could support a more moderate and tolerant politics. The liberals failed and political parties developed as Gomarists and Remonstrants. The Gomarists were also known as Counter-Remonstrants. During the political crisis of 1617-18, Oldenbarnevelt was overthrown.

--With the expulsion of the Remonstrants from the reformed Church, some formed their own Remonstrant Church, but many moved on to other religious confessions, including Lutheran and Catholic.

Anabaptists and the Confessionalization Process

--Many Anabaptists from the south moved to Friesland and Groningen. Anabaptism had become much more quietest and tightly communal. By the 1640s about 5% of the Dutch population was Anabaptist.

17) THE SEPARATION OF IDENTITIES; THE TWELVE YEAR TRUCE

The Pressure to Negotiate

Peace between Spain and England in 1604 caused a serious problem for the Republic. The Republic's military situation looked increasingly problematic now that Spain could use her resources against the Republic without worrying about England. Moreover, the treaty between Spain and England revived English trade with Spain and Portugal and prohibited English ships from carrying Dutch goods.

--Oldenbarnevelt argued that he dare not raise taxes any further since they had risen dramatically to pay for the Republic's military campaigns and for building fortifications.

--The Spanish also had serious financial problems and realized that Dutch success in the Indies, with the VOC capture of the Spice Islands, Amboina, Ternate, and Timor, threatened their position in Asia (the Spanish and Portuguese crowns were at this time). In 1606, Philip III let it be known that he would recognize the Republic's independence if the Republic would withdraw from Asia. He offered an armistice for a specific period.

- During the negotiations in 1607, Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck, who was killed in the battle, decimated a Spanish fleet in the Gulf of Gibraltar—a celebrated naval victory that began a national cult of admirals, in part to counter the cult of the Prince of Orange.
- Oldenbarnevelt offered to halt the plan to create a WIC and offered to halt VOC expansion.
- After a bruising political battle, Oldenbarnevelt, with the support of the Holland regents, signed a twelve-year truce with Spain that began in 1609. The WIC plans were put on hold and for several years the VOC did not attack the Portuguese in Asia.

The Political and Economic Consequences of the Truce

- De facto recognition of the Republic by Spain
- Legal recognition of the Republic by France and England
- The Republic's great power status was cemented in 1613-14 when the Dutch created a coalition in Scandinavia that forced Denmark, with English support, to rescind its increase in tolls in the Sound. The Dutch had set out to secure freedom of access to the Baltic.
- The end of the Spanish embargo of Dutch trade—a victory for the Republic over England's expanding Mediterranean trade.
- The Truce also brought costs:
 - Temporary revival of Portuguese trade in spices through Lisbon
 - The Dutch were making significant inroads in the Caribbean, Venezuela, Guiana and Amazonia trade. Putting the formation of the WIC off meant a loss of colonial opportunity at a time when the opportunities in these areas were greater than in the 1620s.
 - Oldenbarnevelt demonstrated that the Republic would not serve as the European leader for a militant Calvinism during the Cleve crisis. Cleve was located at the point on the lower Rhine where the Republic, the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish territories met. This was the place where Spanish armies crossed the Rhine to threaten the Republic from the east. It was Imperial territory. When its ruler died in 1609 without an heir, a partition was negotiated between the three parties. Most of it went to Brandenburg-Prussia (their first foothold on the Rhine), but there were also Dutch and Spanish forts. When the arrangement collapsed in 1614, the Spanish moved to expel the Calvinists (at the behest of the Emperor) from Aachen and Wesel. The latter was the nearest crossing of the Rhine to the Republic. It was a serious blow to the prestige of the Republic and Oldenbarnevelt. Maurits brought an army and occupied three towns beyond the Republic. Negotiations created a new partition with Cleve remaining with Brandenburg-Prussia but both the Dutch and Spanish held forts on either side of the river.

South Confronts North

- The 12-year truce was a crucial period in the transformation and recovery of the south and the creation of its own identity rooted in the rupturing of the 'Fatherland' of the Seventeen Provinces.
- The period 1605-59 has been called the Silver Age of the Spanish Netherlands
 - The Army of Flanders, which was the largest in Europe, was reduced from 60,000 to 20,000.
 - Albert and Isabella, governors in the South, courted the local elites and encouraged the Counter-Reformation
 - Justus (or Joost) Lipsius, the most influential philosopher of the time, came to believe that the Spanish Hapsburgs were the most likely to succeed in creating an inclusive empire that could end the endless wars and religious divisions of the region. He explained this in his *Magnitudine Romana* (1598,) in which he held up the example of how the Roman Empire had ended the problems of its Republic and brought peace, prosperity and culture to the Empire. His work was

greatly respected in Catholic and monarchial Europe. Lipsius was one of the first early modern political writers who argued for the importance of a prosperous population and economic well being for the maintenance of political power and social stability.

--Revival of the south's economy: It had been rich once and it seemed possible, especially if the Scheldt was reopened, that it could recover its former prosperity.

--Rural population of Flanders and Brabant recovered during the late 16th century and grew vigorously until about 1665, after which it stagnated until the 1750s.

--The linen industry revived both in urban and rural areas.

--The region still had very high crop yields and a sophisticated market agriculture

--Antwerp served as the chief conduit for trade between the north and south. It held its own in silks, jewelry, tapestries, and fine furniture until 1648. It became a center of Catholic book and religious art production.

--In Ghent, linen was central and Brugge was a center of the new draperies, especially fustians and says.

--The Confessionalization of Catholicism was a popular success in the south. Education was fostered by the Jesuits, who arrived in 1588. Primary education and Sunday Schools were subsidized by the municipalities.

--Art and architecture were used successfully to boost the Counter-Reformation and the rebuilding of churches. The south's Baroque new churches and religious institutions were unsurpassed in Europe except perhaps in Italy. Peter Paul Rubens was the most important Flemish Counter-Reformation artist.

--There was also a revival of Catholicism in Westphalia and the Rhineland, led by the Jesuits, who favored High German. The result was a sharper division between the Dutch and German languages.

--Counter Reformation culture was more militantly and zealously Catholic and matched the discipline and enthusiasm of militant Calvinism. It set back the earlier efforts at Toleration.

--Israel argues: "The Truce may be called a continuation of the eight years war by other means" (p. 418). The competition was political, economic, intellectual and cultural.

--The building of canals to link Brugge, Gent and Antwerp to the sea, bypassing the Republic's Scheldt blockade, can be called a militant southern mercantilism.

--The Jesuit goal was the reintegration of the north into a union of seventeen provinces under the Church and the Spanish crown and the elimination of toleration, constitutionalism, and Protestantism.

--The radicalism of the Jesuits and Calvinist cultural militants in the north and south was not central to political thought or to the elites in the Republic. "In the Dutch Golden Age the idea of a common Fatherland of seventeen provinces played scarcely any part as an inspiration and motive force in culture and politics" (p. 420).

18) CRISIS WITHIN THE DUTCH POLITY POLITIC, 1607-1616.

Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) predicted that the Armistice with Spain, which was seen as a great success in Europe for Oldenbarnevelt and the Republic, "would release a rising tide of faction, discord and popular pressure" (p.421).

--The United Provinces had been a Republic since 1588 and Grotius supplied it with a republican outlook. He developed the idea that "liberty, stability, virtue and prosperity are best preserved when government is consultative and reserved to a closed oligarchy, such as the regents, with the

resources, time and education to devote themselves fully to public affairs, reverently abiding by the constitutional procedures of the republic” (pp. 421-422). He linked it to ancient Judea, Athens and Rome during the most stable and flourishing periods of their history. He argued that this tradition had been upheld by the Batavians who defended their liberty against Roman imperialism, His *De Antiquitate Republicae Batavicae* (1610), and a Dutch translation, were widely read.

--Gomarus and Arminius debated their theological positions at Leiden University and the dispute about who should control the Reformed Church became central to politics.

Oldenbarnevelt had hoped to settle this with a national synod but he soon lost enthusiasm for this since it soon appeared that a synod would not alter the Reformed Church’s Confession of Faith and its catechism in an Erastian direction. In 1606 Arminius condemned theological disputes among Christians but he was accused of heresy and harassed by students at Leiden. Arminius turned to the States of Holland for help in his argument that the Church should be subordinate to the State—a position that the regents and Oldenbarnevelt preferred. Regional Calvinist synods took up the issue and it caused riots in Alkmaar and other towns. In Alkmaar, Maurits, the Stadholder, intervened by choosing Gomarist officials—he had not previously shown his preference openly. The militia intervened and demanded the removal of the strict Calvinists from office. Oldenbarnevelt intervened and reversed the Stadholders actions that infringed on the latter’s prerogative.

--The Gomarists encouraged popular opposition to the Arminian position.

--The Arminians, now led by Johannes Uytenbogaert after the death of Arminius, produced a Remonstrance to the States of Holland stating their Erastian position and demanded that the States of Holland revise the Confession of the Reformed Church. Oldenbarnevelt backed them. The Gomarists drew up their own document, the Counter-Remonstrance, written by Petrus Plancius, which demanded that the matter should be decided by a National Synod of the Church.

--Oldenbarnevelt submitted the Remonstrance to the States of Holland in 1610. The States accepted his proposal to hold a disputation on the topic with six voting on each side.

-Grotius intervened and supported the Remonstrants and mobilized like-minded humanists who now saw the Reformed Church as endangering their liberties.

--Grotius and Oldenbarnevelt came up with a compromise decree that would define those articles of the Confession that were beyond dispute and to regulate preachers only on these, allowing differences of opinion on the others. This split the Counter-Remonstrants. The States passed the decree with three towns dissenting, including Amsterdam. In fact the regulation was only enforced in the towns that had voted in favor of it. It did not solve the problem.

19) THE FALL OF THE OLDENBARNEVELT REGIME, 1616-1618

Reasons for the defeat of the Oldenbarnevelt and liberal regime in the Republic:

--Failure to restore unity in the States of Holland

--In Amsterdam, as well as elsewhere, economic interests opposed Oldenbarnevelt’s ‘sacrifice’ of colonial merchant expansion for the Truce with Spain.

--The regents’ offensive against the Counter-Remonstrants produced protests organized by Calvinist preachers. Counter-Remonstrants were especially strong in rural areas.

--Urban unrest in the towns during 1616-18 was due in large part to the competition from the economic revival in the south, especially the new draperies (a lighter textile product popular in

the Mediterranean market). There was also a good deal of resentment among the immigrants from the south due to their exclusion from public offices.

--Maurits told a correspondent that he did not understand the theological controversy but he nonetheless threw his weight behind the Counter-Remonstrants for his own political reasons. He argued that the dispute should be settled by the States-General. He insisted that the States were not sovereign but that sovereignty was shared by the Provinces and the Estates-General.

--Oldenbarnevelt and the liberals sought to prevent the convening of a National Synod to settle the Remonstrant issue since they believed the Counter-Remonstrants would win.

--In Holland and Utrecht *waardgelders*, hired soldiers of the Republic, were hired by towns to keep the peace. The States-General voted 5-2 (Holland and Utrecht were in the minority) to disband the *waargelders*, since such troops were a federal responsibility and were supposed to be commanded by the Stadholder. Oldenbarnevelt sent a delegation to the commanders to tell them that their first responsibility was to those who paid them and they should ignore the order of the States-General since their role was to deal with a local civic issue rather than national defense.

--Maurits brought additional troops into Utrecht. There was no military resistance.

--Oldenbarnevelt and his allies abandoned the struggle and agreed to call a National Synod.

--The States-General passed a secret resolution in August of 1618 to authorize Maurits and a Commission to investigate whether subversive actions had occurred in Holland and Utrecht against the 'common good (p, 449).

--Maurits arrested Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius, and Hogerbeets at the Binnenhof as well as the Advocaat of Utrecht.

20) THE CALVINIST REVOLUTION OF THE COUNTER-REMONSTRANTS

Domestic Politics

--Maurits became Prince of Orange in 1618 after the death of his older Catholic brother, Phillip Willem. Between 1618 and 1625, the Prince wielded more power in the Republic than anyone else.

--"Maurits' coup changed the political character of the Dutch state. In fact, it marked one of the most fundamental shifts of the Golden Age." . . . Although the façade of the Republic's institutions remained unchanged, "Holland's previously unchallenged preponderance was ended, and executive power, in effect, transferred to the stadholderate" (pp. 450-451).

--Having purged pro-Remonstrant nobles from positions of influence in Gelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht, Maurits chose new and Counter-Remonstrant officials. He did the same in Holland. He enhanced the position of Holland's *ridderschap* and downgraded the importance of the Regents. He especially purged the Arminians from the town councils. In order to manage the States of Holland, he needed to get control of the *vroedschappen* in the towns who had backed Oldenbarnevelt. The position of Advocaat was abolished and replaced with the title of Pensionary in Holland. The Stadholder thus ensured that the election of the Pensionary would serve the Stadholder's interests.

--Even before the Synod had finished its work, there was a wholesale purging of the civic militias, extending even to new uniforms and oaths. Troops were required to enforce this in several towns. Arminian preachers were purged and supporters at schools and universities were dismissed.

--The States-General tried Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius and Hoogbeerts by a special panel of 12 judges chosen by Holland and 12 by the other provinces. The trial dragged on for four months.

The judges held that sovereignty was divided between the Generality and the individual provinces and rejected Grotius' argument that the provinces had a right to settle Church matters within its own borders. They also denied that individual provinces could raise troops or issue military orders. All three were found guilty of treason, on May 12, 1619. To nearly everyone's amazement, the 72-year-old Oldenbarnevelt was beheaded before a large crowd the next day. The others were sentenced to life imprisonment. Grotius managed to escape in 1621 and fled to Antwerp. At the end of the Truce, he moved to Paris where he stayed for the rest of his life. --The trial, and the Synod, provided the Republic with a new cultural atmosphere that glorified the House of Orange, as well as Counter-Remonstrant theologians, through art on public buildings and on private houses of the rich—see Hendrik Pot's painting celebrating the House of Orange at the Frans Hals Museum.

Synod of Dordrecht 1618-19.

The Synod included delegations from Germany, Britain and Switzerland. Troops had to be called out to put down pro-Remonstrant riots in Rotterdam, Hoorn, Alkmaar and Kampen. About 200 Remonstrant preachers were banned from preaching. About 80 were banished from the country when they failed to agree to the new regulations. Uytenbogaert convened a Remonstrant Synod in Antwerp in 1690 and they formed a Remonstrant Church in exile, which ended up existing mostly in Germany.

Maurits, the Counter-Remonstrants and the Commencement of the Thirty Years War.

--The Republic's tone had changed and it had now become an international center of a militant Calvinism. "The Calvinist Revolution in the Republic...played a key role both in the making of the Thirty Years War and the outbreak of the second part of the Eighty Years War" (p. 465).

--Maurits, who was now central to Europe's power structure, kept foreign affairs decisions to himself and a small group of nobles. Whether to renew the Truce with Spain had opponents and proponents. The colonial merchant interests wanted war renewed and the Calvinist wanted an aggressive policy against Spain and the Habsburgs. Maurits' main concern was to lessen Spanish pressure on the Republic and to keep order in the Republic since Remonstrant riots continued and kept many of his troops from the frontiers.

--Maurits choose to support his relative Frederic, the Elector of the Palatinate, to become King of Bohemia. He encouraged him in a Protestant revolt against the Habsburgs for it would divert the Spanish threat from the Republic. He sent money and 5,000 troops thousand troops to the battle of the White Mountain, the opening salvo of the Thirty Years War. The Hapsburgs defeated Frederik.

--The truce with Spain expired in 1621 but Maurits did not restart hostilities, but instead conducted secret negotiations with Infanta Isabella in Brussels.

The Beginnings of the Further Reformation

The Synod of Dordrecht had settled the theological issues within the public Reformed Church but many Calvinists wanted to go beyond this to a practical Calvinism, which would purify public and private morals with state support. They also wanted repression of Catholic conventicles, Lutherans and Jews. This notion was strongly influenced by English Puritanism. Repression of the Remonstrants weakened after 1625 but a puritan style demand for moral reform survived into the 1630s and 1640s.

21) THE REPPUBLIC UNDER SIEGE, 1621-28.

Maurits' Last years, 1621-25

--The reimposition of the Spanish embargo on the Dutch in 1621 had severe consequences. It virtually ended its trade with the Iberian Peninsula, destroyed the Levant trade, weakened the Baltic trade, and diminished the herring fisheries because a lack of suitable salt. Spanish success in the Caribbean also reduced salt from this source and limited the success of the newly created WIC until 1630. The Spanish also imposed a river blockade using their forts from the Scheldt to the Ems estuary. Meanwhile privateers operating out of Dunkirk hindered Dutch trade. All this diminished with the Spanish defeat in 1629.

--The period 1621 to 1647 saw a contraction and restructuring of Dutch world trade.

--The Republic now found themselves isolated diplomatically and had little choice but to be the paymaster of Protestant armies in Germany.

--The last few years of Maurits were a low point for the Republic during the first half of the Golden Age.

--Protestant forces were doing badly in Germany.

--In 1624 Spinola besieged Breda, which subsequently fell and North Brabant with it. Another Spanish army took Cleves and threatened the east. Riots broke out in Holland's cities. Military activity required many new taxes, including the invention of a Stamp Tax.

--One of the key problems was that Holland did not support Maurits' policies and without Holland's support the Republic would not survive in the long run.

--Maurits managed to sign The Treaty of Compiegne (1624) with the French because Louis XIII began to worry about the expansion of Habsburg's power. He supplied a large subsidy to the Republic. Maurits died in 1625.

The Commencement of Frederik Henry's Stadholderate

--Frederick Henry, a supporter of Counter-Remonstrants, succeeded Maurits as Prince of Orange. Of all the Princes of Orange, he was second only to William the Silent as an attractive personality and dominated Dutch Politics for more than two decades. He was the greatest patron of the arts among the Princes of Orange. He built the palace at Nordeinde and the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague. During the 1630s and 1640s he was the patron of Rembrandt, Lievens, Honthorst, Van Campen and other artists and writers. His secretary, Constantijn Huygens, was an intellectual leader. Fredrik Henry's wife, Amalia Solms, was the daughter of a leading German Calvinist Count and was close to Elizabeth of Bohemia. She encouraged his taste for splendor and art at their Court at The Hague.

--"Political Arminianism" during the 1620s was largely a secular phenomenon that attracted opponents of the remodeled Reformed Church and political attitudes linked to it. It opposed the political aspirations of the Reformed Church and promoted toleration, disliked war, and aspired to revive Holland's predominance. There was an increasing cultural critique of the strict Calvinist position and both Vondel and Rembrandt produced work critical of Maurits' execution of Oldenbarnevelt.

--The Counter-Remonstrants worried about Frederick Henry for he was essentially a *politique* with little sympathy for their theology or attitudes.

--Political Arminianism was too strongly entrenched in the *vroedschappen* to be eliminated.

--Frederick Henry worked to find a *via media*—religious conviction had little to do with his politics. “By creating a balance, the new Stadholder was, in effect, siding with the Arminians, or at least the political ‘Arminians’” (p. 492).

-The Political Arminian city council of Amsterdam held with Grotius that the civic militia were purely civic in character and had no business defending the public Church. When the Amsterdam militia mutinied, the city council asked for troops and Frederick Henry sent them to put down the mutiny. Amsterdam became politically Arminian for decades. The disputes were settled in each town by one side or the other but no one wanted to revisit the instability of 1617-18.

--In 1625, Spain reduced the size of the Army of Flanders and switched it to a more defensive position because of its financial problems. England entered the war against Spain in 1625 as an ally of the Republic. In 1628 Piet Heyn captured the Spanish silver fleet off Cuba and war broke out between Spain and France over an Italian issue in 1628.

--By 1626 the Dutch army was larger than the Army of Flanders. It captured Oldenzaal and the next year Grol in the Achterhoek from the Spanish. But at the same time the Catholic League and the Habsburg Imperial armies had taken Northwest Germany threatening the northeast of the Republic.

Politics, Ideology, and the Great Dutch Toleration Debate of the Late 1620s

--Toleration: The 1630s saw a great Toleration debate in the Republic. Simon Episcopius expanded the more limited toleration of Grotius in his tract of 1627, *Vrye Godes-dienst* (Freedom of Religion). During the 1630s he developed “a fully fledged doctrine of toleration, breaking with the premises of the past, arguing for unrestricted toleration of freedom of practice as well as religion” (p. 503). He developed toleration from his theology and argued that, since each individual had access to Scripture and could interpret it themselves, there should be no public enforcement of religious orthodoxy. He wanted toleration for all, including Catholics. He argued that true Toleration would improve society and the state because it would make people content.

--From 1625 to 1628, the Republic remained under siege but not from within. 1628-29 brought an important shift in the external balance of power.

22) THE REPUBLIC IN TRIUMPH, 1629-47

Fredrik Hendrik Victorious and the Regents Divided, 1629-1632

--Frederik Hendrik sought funds to greatly expand his army. The Counter-Remonstrant towns refused for they first wanted to place both religion and the new regime on a sound basis. Amsterdam and Rotterdam, politically Arminian, supported funds for the army. Eventually, the States General put 128,000 men under arms. In 1629 the Dutch captured s’Hertogenbosch and Wesel (in Cleves). This was a sensational victory that showed the Republic now had a strategic advantage over Spain.

--Phillip IV sought an unconditional truce. A Great Truce debate followed, which was one of the most divisive public debates of the Golden Age. The political divisions between political Arminians and Counter-Remonstrants also involved fundamentally different economic and political interests. One key issue was that the WIC was preparing an invasion of Brazil and a truce would postpone this. It sharpened the diverging interests between the European and overseas merchants.

--In 1630, Fredrik invaded Flanders and threatened Ghent and Bruges but he was forced to retreat.

--In 1632 Fredrik succeeded in delivering another sensational victory. He persuaded the States General to endorse a decree that would allow the Catholic Church to maintain its clergy, property and religion in conquered territory in the south and then proceeded to take Maastricht and Venlo from the Spanish. Vondel, the Dutch Shakespeare, eulogized the Prince not just for recovering Maastricht but also for promoting toleration.

The Negotiations Between North and South of 1632-33

--The States General in the south demanded negotiations with the Dutch and Isabella was forced to undertake these. She offered to return Breda to the Dutch. Spain, however, had not authorized this and the negotiations ultimately collapsed.

Fredrik Hendrik and the Regent-Party Factions, 1633-1640

--After 1633, Frederik Hendrik had an alliance with France and was no longer inclined to peace or a truce with Spain despite the latter's efforts to negotiate a settlement.

--In 1635, Frederick's alliance with Louis XIII in France resulted in a two-pronged invasion of the southern Netherlands. It was not a success and the Spanish increased the Army of Flanders to its greatest size in its war with the Republic.

--As the power of the Political Arminians increased in Holland, aided by the prosperity of the late 1630s, Frederick was once again pushed back to rely on the Counter Remonstrants to retain power in Holland. His government became less consultative and more of a closed circle of intimates. This saw the reemergence of the 'States Party' of Oldenbarnevelt and reignited the confrontation between the power of the Stadholder and the regents that dominated the States of Holland. The shift in the Prince's politics was not fundamentally ideologically but pragmatic.

--At the same time the victories of the VOC in Asia over the Portuguese and the expansion of the WIC in Brazil, which the WIC had invaded in 1630 under Count Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, and Admiral Tromp's victory over a new Spanish Armada sent to the Channel seemed more impressive than Frederick's victories in Europe.

--In 1637 Frederick Hendrik did manage to recapture Breda but his military victories after 1637 were unimpressive compared with those from 1629 to 1633,

The Contest for the leadership of the Republic, 1640-1647

--The Stadholder's prestige rose in 1641, when he arranged the marriage of his son, William, to Princess Mary, the daughter of Charles I, who needed all the financial help he could get.

--After 1633, Holland became increasingly politically united as the power of the political Arminians grew. By the early 1640s, the States cut back the size of the Prince's armies.

--The Republic was essentially a creation of Holland and Holland dominated it as long as it was united. When it was divided, as in 1618, Maurits coup d'état allowed the Stadholder to offer a new way to run the Republic. Frederik Hendrik also followed this model. He showed "that it was possible to forge a non-republican, non-consultative, quasi-princely system of government, in which the Stadholder and his confidants controlled decision-making and the processes of the state. Superficially, this alternative achieved greater unity among the provinces and an enhanced role for the Generality. Provincial sovereignty—a half-truth under Oldenbarnevelt—was an almost total fiction after 1618, under Maurits and Fredrik Hendrik. But there was a fundamental flaw in the system created by Maurits: it depended on a divided Holland. If Holland was split, it could not work. The moment Holland reverted to near unity, the 'princely system' ceased to be viable. For its essence was denying Holland active leadership in the Union" (p. 541).

--In 1641, the States forced Frederik Hendrik to cut back the army.

--In 1643, the Munster peace negotiations began.

--Frederik Henry died in March 1647. Even in his death, there was a dispute about his funeral arrangements with the States of Holland desiring a modest funeral procession while the Prince's supporters wanted a lavish display of the glory of the House of Orange. The funeral was a spectacular display with plenty of nobles present and the States of Holland marching at the rear.

23) ART AND ARCHITECTURE, 1590-1648.

The Dutch Revolt saw a revolution in art and architecture. The fighting meant a good deal of destruction and redistribution of art. The Reformed Church adopted a totally different style of art, architecture and decoration for its churches. The Revolt put much more emphasis upon civic art. It glorified the militias, the regents and the burgers. It also forged a new form of civic political rhetoric.

--The production of much of the new art had to wait until the 1590s, the same time as the success of the rich trades. There was also a considerable influx of artists and art from the south.

--As Dutch society became more secure, it invested in many new public and private buildings, refurbished confiscated monasteries, commissioned new public art and saw the formation of new art collections.

--The period also saw the development of new luxury products, many brought by immigrants from the south, such as tapestry and the weaving of expensive patterned linens and damask.

--The slowing down of commerce in the 1620s and 1630s saw a shift to smaller pictures and more ordinary scenes of the lives of burgers, soldiers, and peasants.

--Over 2.5 million paintings existed by the 1640s.

The 'realism' in many Dutch pictures carried a great deal of symbolism and moralizing. "But art by no means slavishly mirrored this teeming reality. Rather it strove to adapt and interpret the Dutch physical and social world of the time in terms of faith, nostalgia and cultural values" (p. 563).

--Even the 'realistic' landscapes of Van Goyen and Ruisdael were a kind of fantasy because much of Holland was polderland and their paintings were primarily about the uncultivated and unspoiled dunes, river estuaries and remote corners of provinces in order to soothe the buyer's disappointment about a natural world that was lost in most of the Republic.

--While there was a flood of political pamphlets and engravings, overt political messages were not as obvious in paintings, leaving the historian to conjecture about their meaning. There was, however, plenty of public art, for example, such as that about the Peace of Munster negotiations.

24) INTELLECTUAL LIFE, 1572-1650

The Forming of a new culture

"The Revolt opened a chasm separating north from south, creating two mutually alien and antagonistic cultures where, previously, here had been one" (p. 565).

--The separation was rooted in the religious divide. The south had a largely unified Catholic culture that was closely integrated with Counter-Reformation Europe.

--"The culture of north evolved into an uneasy blend of Protestant-Catholic confrontation, humanist-confessional antagonism, and Protestant anti-Calvinist dissent, which fragmented thought and education, creating a new kind of European culture fraught with powerful insoluble

internal stresses. The result was a highly dynamic, if initially unstable, culture in many ways quite unlike that to be found in neighboring Protestant as well as Catholic lands” (p. 565).

--Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), the foremost moral philosopher of the time, had no taste for a popular culture of warring factions. He criticized Dirk Volckertsz Coornhert for advocating toleration. In order to reduce controversy, Lipsius published *De Constantia* in 1584. It was an ethics devoid of scriptural underpinnings and he hoped that it would be free of the warring religious factions. He refused to offer a Dutch translation. The son in law of the publisher Christopher Plantin of Antwerp soon produced a Dutch translation.

--Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581-1647, the son of an Amsterdam burgomeester, was the most famous of the patrician writers who sought to end the moral confusion that the Revolt had brought. His work was “a blend of Erasmian tolerance, freedom of conscience, outward submission, and an uncompromising stress on the high moral purpose of education and literature.” He was a moderate Orangist and a Neostoic.

Universities and Civic High Schools

--The quest for a new and separate identity led to the creation of Leiden University in 1575, the first university in the north. The Reformed Church wanted it under its control but the Prince of Orange and the States rejected this, making the university the freest from ecclesiastical control in Europe. It was controlled by seven curators, three named by the States and four by the burgomasters of Leiden.

--A second university was established at Franeker in 1585.

--Neither university prospered until the success of the rich trades in the 1590s.

--The Hortus Botanicus was established in Leiden in 1587.

--By 1609 Leiden was one of the largest universities in Europe and the largest in the Protestant world with about 500 students.

--Leiden, Franeker, and later Utrecht, became international universities with many foreign students.

--Groningen university was founded in 1614. Utrecht was created in 1636—it was soon second in status to Leiden. Harderwijk was founded in 1648.

--‘Illustrious Schools’ were set up to prepare boys who had been through the Latin Schools.

--Joseph Justus Scalinger, a French humanist was lured to Leiden after Lipsius’s departure in 1591 with an unheard of salary of 1,200 guildens per year. He brought his library and established a strong center of Near Eastern philological research. His most famous student was Grotius.

--Most scholars at Leiden disliked Calvinist dogmatism and preferred an Erasmian scholarly toleration.

--During 1618-19, the Gomarist-Arminius controversy raged at Leiden University, as well as at many of the Latin Schools in Holland and Utrecht. Many Remonstrants were purged after the fall of Oldenbarnevelt.

-- While Dutch Philological and biblical expertise laid a foundation for potential common ground in biblical exegesis, it did not reconcile warring religious controversies during the period.

--After the death of Maurits in 1625, there was more scope for reconciliation. The humanists, known as the Muiden Circle led by PC. Hooft, met regularly to create a unified literary and intellectual culture that transcended religion. In addition to Hooft, its chief members were Constantijn Huygens, Caspar Barleus, and Gerardus Vossius.

The Rise of a Mechanistic World View.

Israel argued that the retreat from dogma, which could already be seen in the outlook of Lipsius and Scalinger, with its emphasis on research, and a resort to Neostoic and other non-Christian systems of ethics and systems of politics, was fundamentally part of the “skeptical crisis” that pervaded Europe from the end of the 16th century. “This, arguably the most decisive shift in Europe in early modern times, is best understood as stemming from the general deadlock of Protestantism and Catholicism which settled over France, Germany, the low countries, Britain, Switzerland and east-central Europe by the third quarter of the century” (p. 581).

--Coornhert, Stevin, Hooft, Vossius and Grotius “were all in their different ways, also spokesmen of the ‘skeptical crisis’.”

“By the 1630s and 1640s, the Dutch intellectual milieu was potentially receptive to a general overturning and replacing of existing theological, philosophical and scientific systems of thought” (p. 582).

--The papal condemnation of Galileo in 1633 brought the ideas of Copernicus to the forefront.

--“The mechanistic worldview, a mode of abstraction whereby all worldly reality is reducible to terms of extensions, mass and movement, which can be expressed mathematically, first emerged in the mind of Descartes, and his student at Breda, Isaac Beekman. Descartes, fearful of the censure from the Catholic Church, moved to the Republic permanently in 1628” (p. 583).

--The great Cartesian controversy roiled Dutch intellectual and university circles in the 1630s and 1640s. Gisbertus Voetius, the leader of the strict orthodox Calvinists, attacked him. The controversy became embroiled in Dutch politics as the liberals, and even Frederik Hendrik, defended his freedom, while the conservatives wanted to silence him. After the death of Frederik Hendrik, Descartes feared for his safety and departed to Sweden. Since William II, the new Stadholder, was closely tied to the Counter Remonstrates, Cartesianism had become inseparable from the political battles in the Republic.

Boreelism and the ‘Third Force’

Israel also discusses a radical third force in intellectual life, which sought to reject all authority in intellectual life and argued that certainty could only be achieved by fusing revealed truth, divine inspiration, and scientific knowledge. The central figure in the United Provinces was Adam Boreel, who argued that each church had some of the truth but none was the Church of Christ. Boreel studied in Leiden and founded a ‘college’ in Amsterdam with a group of liberal Mennonites and drew recruits from the Remonstrants as well. He forged links with Jews, Quakers, and Catholics and sought to penetrate to the absolute of revelation, which he argued was hidden in the various religions. He put particular emphasis on studying Hebrew and post-biblical Jewish writings. His group was important to millenarian speculation, which was becoming of increasing interest to northern European spiritualism during the 1640s and 1650s. Another powerful force in Dutch spiritualism was Jan Amos Comenius, a Czech refugee who belonged to the Moravian Brethren. He sought to combine science with revelation. This mystical and spiritualist movement was a marginal movement in 17th century Dutch intellectual life but its quest of reconciling theology, philosophy and science was a central pre-occupation of the period. Comenius was a friend of Descartes. Another interesting phenomenon of the period was a passion for alchemy that transcended religious and political boundaries.

PART III THE LATER GOLDEN AGE, 1647--1702



The United Provinces in the Golden Age (p. 594)

25) THE STADHOLDERATE OF WILLIAM II, 1647-1650

The brief Stadholderate of William II was a period of political tension in the Republic behind only 1618 and 1672. The Peace of Munster appeared to be a victory for Holland and the regents and was celebrated as such. It seemed that Oldenbarnevelt had finally been vindicated. It soon became apparent, however, that there remained deep political divisions in Holland and between Holland and most of the other provinces.

--William II, though not much interested in religion, aligned himself more closely with the strict Calvinists.

--The Calvinists wanted the Reformed Church installed as the official Church in the Generality lands.

--The blockade of the Flemish coast produced serious economic problems for Zeeland.

--A stretch of cold weather raised the price of food.

--Holland demanded a reduction in the size of the army down to 26,000 men and ordered the disbanding of units for which it paid the bills. William II objected and argued that only he had the authority to disband units. The main issue was once again whether a province, Holland, was sovereign and could control the troops it paid for. Unfortunately, the towns of Holland were divided on the issue and the other provinces tended to side with William. William sent an army to Amsterdam, the chief champion of Holland's sovereignty claim. He arrested six regents with the threat of force. He was able to rally public support with the help of Calvinist preachers and a huge popular propaganda campaign. A few months later, in November 1650, William II died of small pox. The only consolation for the Orangists and Calvinists was that in December of 1650, William III was born.

26) SOCIETY

The Economy

A new phase of Dutch primacy in commerce and navigation was ushered in by the end of the eighty Years War and lasted until 1672.

- The lifting of the Spanish trade embargo
- The end of Flemish privateering against Dutch commerce.
- The cessation of Dutch-Spanish hostilities in the New World, esp. in Brazil.
- The lifting of the Dutch blockade of the Flemish coast although the closing of the Scheldt continued.
- A reduction in shipping and marine insurance costs.
- The conclusion of fighting and the disbanding of armies in Germany.

The result of these factors was:

- A rapid revitalization and diversification of the Dutch rich trades, at the expense of the English, Hanseatics, and Venitians.
- Amsterdam resumed its lucrative trade with Spain.
- The Dutch could now participate in Spain's official transatlantic trade via Cadiz to Spanish America.
- The Republic acquired a commanding position in the Caribbean trade, helped by the English civil war.
- Revival of Amsterdam's Levant and Italian trades.
- Amsterdam's control of Spanish wool, Turkish mohair, Spanish-American dye-stuffs, mercury from the Venetian Dalmatian coast, and Caribbean sugar reinforced Dutch industries that produced high-value goods and re-exported these, especially to central Europe, Russia and France.

"The expansion of the 'rich trades' from the late 1640s, and their continuing prosperity down to the early eighteenth century, is indeed fundamental to any understanding of the Dutch Golden Age" (p. 611). Industrial performance, except for salt refining and Leiden's new draperies, were directly linked to the rich trades.

- An increase of textile output, such as camlets, silk, cotton, and fine linen.
- The industries of whale oil, Delftware, papermaking, tobacco spinning, sail and canvas making, Gouda pipes, and tile making all increased dramatically and remained vibrant into the 18th century.

--Growth was especially pronounced in Holland while Zeeland suffered from a decline in its transit trade to the south and the other provinces from reductions in military garrisons and employment. There was an increase in tobacco growing and textiles in the Meierij and Twenthe.

Population and Immigration

--Population was nearly 2 million at its zenith with 200,000 in Amsterdam and 72,000 in Leiden in 1688.

--A sharp increase in immigration. Danes, Norwegians and North Germans were especially prominent in manning ships. About half the sailors employed by the VOC were German.

--Increase of labor force, especially in Amsterdam, Leiden, Haarlem, Delft, and Gouda The Hague, Rotterdam, and the Zaan.

--Increase of population in major Holland towns despite a higher urban death rate than in rural areas.

--An industrial proletariat of over 100,000 that demanded continued immigration to maintain it.

--Most Amsterdam immigrants were German Protestants but there were also a substantial number of Portuguese Jews.

The Huguenot influx

--The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 brought 35 to 50,000 Huguenots. They greatly strengthened the silk industry. After 1688, many Huguenots preferred England, a sure sign of a shifting economic balance.

Wages and the standard of Living

--Wages were the highest in Europe and their purchasing power increased by 20% between 1650 and 1680s (pp. 630-33).

Rural Society

--There was a slowdown in agricultural growth from the mid 17th c. and this extended to the coastal west by the 1660s. This resulted in fewer land reclamation projects. Earlier in the century, the Republic was the only west European country exporting and re-exporting agricultural products. The end of the Thirty Year Wars brought others into the market, such as cheese from Denmark, butter from Ireland, and the resumption of grain exports from the Baltic. Competitors lowered prices. The result was a good deal of migration to the cities and depopulation in the countryside, especially in the east.

27) CONFSSIONALIZATION, 1647-1702

The Rise of Toleration

“The Republic became a freer, more flexible society after 1630, at least as regards religion and thought, if not life-style” (p. 637).

--In Amsterdam, it became common for Dutch Catholics not to be baptized first in the Public Church in the 1630s and 1640s.

--During the 1650s, Catholic conventicles were no longer harassed and broken up in the larger towns.

--There was still a great deal of resistance to the growth of toleration by the public at large.

“The Republic was a society in which theologically argued and politically concerted intolerance remained a potent force” (p. 638).

--Those who opposed the trinity were especially discriminated against. Catholic practice remained under tight restrictions.

--The use of ‘hidden chapels’ resulted in a segregation that became fundamental to the fabric of Dutch life.

--To participate in public life one had to claim to be a member of the Public Church.

--Even Pieter de la Court, the most liberal of ideologues who argued for toleration partly because it would encourage immigrants to the Republic, supported the state Church and its supervision of other churches (p. 639).

--Except in the Generality lands, the Twenthe quarter of Overijssel, and the eastern part of the county of Zutphen, the Reformed Church was the most successful in the contest to confessionalize the population.

--By the 1670s most foreign writers were critical of Dutch toleration, except for a few, such as William Temple and Gregory Leti.

--Catholics, except in a few areas, were less than a third of the population. However, even in Holland, between Leiden and Gouda and between Haarlem and Hoorn, there were significant areas with Catholic populations in the countryside,

--During the French occupation of the east, 1672-74, the French allowed toleration but there was considerable anti-Catholic resentment elsewhere that Catholics had welcomed the French.

--While Anabaptists faced more restrictions, they had greater freedom in the Republic than elsewhere.

William III and the Churches

--During the 1650s and 1660s, De Witt actively supported toleration.

--The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 saw the revival of anti-Catholic sentiment and a European Catholic conspiracy against the Republic. The Province of Holland prepared an anti-Catholic policy but William III interfered decisively for Toleration while at the same time using Protestant sentiment in his war efforts. He nonetheless sought to create a Protestant-Catholic coalition against France and to bring Spain and the Emperor into the war.

Jansenism

--Dutch Catholicism became increasingly national under the leadership of its own hierarchy based in Utrecht and separated itself from the hierarchy in the south.

--Cornelis Jansen, (1585-1638) a native of Leerdam, offered an austere and pessimistic theology of Grace and will based on Augustine. It offered an inward looking piety as opposed to the more outward forms of devotion and veneration of saints and images favored by the Jesuits. The RC Church attempted to root out Jansenism but it failed to do so. Jansenism split Catholicism in both the north and the south of the Low Countries and led to an actual schism in the north in the 18th century. Jansenism won a good deal of support among the secular clergy in the Republic and was seen as preferable in Republic than the Catholicism of the regular clergy, especially the Jesuits.

The Waning of the Lesser Churches

--From about 1690, the trend toward a more tolerance in religion resumed. However, this did not mean more religious diversity, since the Reformed Church made steady progress of confessionalizing the population.

- Decline of the Remonstrants
- Decline of the Mennonites—who had no major centers of learning outside the Republic.
- Lutherans failed to make major inroads but grew from immigration.
- Jews increased through immigration.

The Unity of the Public Church

--In the main Holland towns, civic government by the 1640s was mainly in the hands of Arminians but this was not necessarily the attitude of the population as a whole.

--By the 1650s, Calvinist orthodoxy identified itself with Orangism and the more liberal preachers with the States party (not political parties but interest groupings). The conservative Calvinists were led by Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676) and the liberals by Johannes Cocceius (1603-69). The latter was at Leiden from 1650. He rejected fundamentalism and dogmatism. He was an expert on Near Eastern languages. The orthodox Calvinists took the lead in rejecting Cartesianism and supported a 'Further Reformation,' including restrictions on the Sabbath and other puritan legislation. In south Holland, the States intervened and the Further Reformation was rejected during the 1660s.

-- "To grasp the centrality of the Voetian-Cocceian controversy in Dutch culture over so many decades, one must appreciate the depth of anxiety aroused among large sections of the Reformed public by the onset of the new philosophy and science. Cocceian theology appeared to be, and in some respect was, the ally of these new intellectual forces, which meant that in many people's eyes Cocceian theology was undermining faith and especially faith in the literal meaning of scripture" (p. 666).

--During the 1670s a compromise was reached in Amsterdam between warring theological factions in the appointment of preachers by declaring that the issues were not central enough to cause conflict and only preachers who agreed to this view would be named. The example was followed by other cities.

--William III, who was sympathetic to the Calvinist orthodox position, switched his attitude toward more toleration in the 1680s in order to avoid domestic conflict and to focus on his larger geopolitical aims.

The Later Stages of the Toleration Debate

-The Toleration debate in the Republic reached its climax between the 1680s and the first decade of the 18th c. On the secular side, such writers as Gerard Noodt, and others continued the republican tradition of de la Court. Noodt offered a philosophical natural right theory of toleration rather than a theological one. There was also a strengthening of a theological argument for toleration built upon Episcopius and Arminius by Philippus Limborch, a friend of John Locke,

--Added to these Dutch ideas were those of Pierre Bayle, who in the 1680s and 1690s was the apologist par excellence on philosophical grounds of the right of every individual to their own views, including the right to hold mistaken beliefs.

--Nonetheless, most arguments for toleration were rooted in practical matters and offered semi-toleration. Even in Amsterdam, Bayle argued in 1701, one had to worry about being arrested for one's views.

28) FREEDOM AND ORDER

A Disciplined Society

--Israel argues that contemporary foreign visitors routinely praised the comparative freedom both for groups and individuals during the 17th and 18th centuries but perceptive commentators noticed “that this freedom was a complex phenomenon rooted in a deep preoccupation with order and discipline” (p. 677).

--It was widely noted that women, even unmarried women, could wander around town without chaperones. Foreigners felt safe in the cities. Individual freedom was possible because of the prevalence of towns and their well-ordered nature. There was a high level of discipline and control and this meant safety and security. The universities banned swords and other arms for students. Dutch ships were known for their cleanliness, discipline and order.

--Town councils regulated the cities. Neighborhood watches, using citizen volunteers, kept order and patrolled the cities at night. A civic ethic underpinned it all.

--Public street lighting was invented in Amsterdam. Lights on poles used vegetable oil and cotton wicks. By 1700, there were 1,800 streetlights (p. 681).

--Dutch society repressed bawdiness, eroticism, undisguised homosexuality, and street prostitution. Prostitution was widespread but disguised in musical halls, inns and lodging houses scattered in poor areas or in the outskirts of town. They were, like the Catholic churches, inconspicuous and ‘hidden.’

--Even mildly erotic literature or art was banned.

--Another key element of social discipline were the Reformed consistories, backed by the neighborhood watches, and the house visits by ‘sick comforters.’ They kept up a “relentless pressure, at all levels, against immodesty, promiscuity, rowdiness, drunkenness, dishonest bankruptcies, and, not least, the low-cut dresses worn by a few fashionable ladies in courtly circles” (p. 685).

--No open challenge to society’s norms could be tolerated, especially, as in the case of Rembrandt and Hendrickje Stoffels, where there was an element of defiance.

Schools, Literacy, and the Reshaping of Popular Culture

--The rate of literacy in the Netherlands was the highest in Europe and had been long before 1572. Literacy increased further after the 1590s. The chief emphasis in education at the primary level was on literacy, the catechism and church going.

--In the North educational strategy was laid down and controlled by the provincial States and the towns and shaped by the Reformed Church. The Church had an advisory role in appointing teachers and determined the syllabus for teaching.

--In the towns no one was allowed to operate a Dutch, Latin or French School without town permission.

--The towns subsidized primary schools. Pupils were separated by sex. Learning was primarily by memorization. There was less emphasis on arithmetic than on literacy.

--Many Catholics sent their children to the Reformed Schools. Literacy was higher among the Reformed than Catholics. By 1680, 70% of Reformed bridegrooms and 40% of brides could sign their names. By 1780, it was 87 and 69 per cent.

The Further Reformation and Society (Culture Wars)

--All the confessional blocks in 17th and 18th century strove to instill moral and social discipline into their members.

--By the mid 17th century, the 'Further Reformation'—puritanism in morals and behavior-- was becoming more widespread. There was little bawdiness in the theater, for example, unlike the Restoration theater in England.

--There was a connection between political crisis and the efforts to promote the Further Reformation. "Voetians called the States party 'hypocrites, libertines and heretics,' while their opponents styled the Voetians advocates of the Geneva yoke, opponents of freedom, and allies of immoral Stadholders" (p. 698).

29) THE REPUBLIC AT ITS ZENITH, I; THE 1650s

The Making of the True Freedom

Prince William of Orange had attained sovereign power in the north Netherlands after 1572 but only after Leicesters' departure in 1587 did a *de facto* Republic emerge. Under Oldenbarnevelt's leadership the States of Holland became the sovereign decision maker in fact if not yet in theory.

--In Grotius' pre-1618 writings, as well as in the work Petrus Cunaes, a Leiden professor, there emerged a Republican theory. According to Grotius, true freedom in the Republic "ended, after thirty years, with Maurits' coup d'état of 1618, which fundamentally changed the structure of power at all levels in the United Provinces, replacing a fully republican with a quasi-republican 'Caesarean' system" (p. 700). Under the latter, the Stadholder controlled the army and foreign affairs. This continued until 1650 when an essentially republican system was restored. While under the Stadholder system decisions were made more speedily; government was more remote from the civic society, which created the Republic's wealth. The stadholder system allowed more corruption and the rule of a small noble elite, which inevitably favored the army over the maritime forces.

--With the death of William II, republican rule endured for twenty years and undid the *coups* of 1618 and 1650. The States took over the Stadholders powers in Holland and allowed the *vroedschappen* to elect their own members, magistrates and burgomasters, under the ultimate supervision of the States. Thus, the power of the regents was reinforced. The powers of the guilds and militias, which often supported the Stadholder, were reduced. In rural areas, the States, further eroded the power of the nobility by appointing the *baljuws* and *drosten*.

--Great Assembly of 1651 at The Hague—the first time since 1579 that the provinces met to debate the constitutional form of the united provinces. Joseph Cats, Holland's Pensionary, used the occasion to proclaim the superiority of republics over monarchies.

-Willem Frederik of Friesland, who had led the army on Amsterdam in the 1650 coup, attempted to convince the eastern provinces to name him Stadholder. They did not.

--The Calvinists sought to strengthen the Reformed Church and called for stronger measures to combat Catholicism and dissenting Protestants. The consistories and synods of the Reformed Church sought to influence the Great Assembly but largely failed. Holland did agree to confirm the acts of the National Synod of 1618-19 as the sole basis of the public church all through the United Provinces. They also tolerated Lutheranism, Anabaptism and Remonstratism where it existed, but they could not be expanded into new areas. This implied that other churches could be denied in rural areas and many towns.

--There was a vigorous debate about the organization of the army and its leadership. Holland had radically reduced the army in size and emasculated it politically. Holland sought to ensure that Willem Frederik would not be named 'captain general.' Instead it appointed a less well-known figure as field marshal. The army was now clearly under the control of civilians.

--The Assembly also debated the issue of political representation for the Generality lands, especially the issue of permanent representation for Brabant and Drenthe with their own States. There was extensive backing for these regions from the other provinces but Holland refused.

--During the assembly several of the lesser provinces showed their political instability and this allowed Holland, which was again politically united, to dominate the debate. There was a general demand for amnesty for Willem Frederik, who had led the troops against Amsterdam. Johan de Witt saw the advantage of an amnesty and this was conceded by Holland.

--A symbol of the Great assembly was Zeeland's medal, designed by the Poet-Pensionary, De Brunce, which showed a female figure standing on a rock, holding aloft a liberty hat under the sun of prosperity.

The First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54) and the Exclusion Crisis (1654)

--The relative decline of Dutch trade with the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean, and the Near East between 1621-47, and the strength of English trade in the southern trade, were largely a result of the Spanish embargo. At the same time, England's trade with the Baltic declined as that of the Dutch increased. With end of war and the Spanish embargo in the late 1640s, England's trade declined precipitously in the south from stronger Dutch competitors. This caused not only a commercial crisis in England but also a manufacturing slump as Dutch manufacturers replaced English goods with their own. England's Parliament at first proposed a political union but the Dutch would not accept subordination. In August of 1651, Parliament passed the Navigation Acts, which were designed to prevent colonial products and fish brought to England on Dutch ships and to prevent the shipping of other goods to England by Dutch ships, such as Italian raw silks, Turkish mohair, Spanish products, Zante raisins, Naples olive oil and Canaries wine from the Dutch entrepôt to England. It also sought to prevent the growing Dutch commerce with English colonies in the Americas. Since England was less of a market for the Dutch than France, Spain and the Baltic, the Navigation Acts themselves did not cause the first Anglo-Dutch War. Rather, it was England's naval interference, as well the activity of English privateers, with Dutch shipping on the high seas that caused the conflict.

--England had the strategic advantage of being windward of the Dutch shipping lanes and its naval forces had been built up recently while those of the Republic had been neglected. England shattered the Dutch fleet—over 1,200 merchant and warships were lost during the conflict.

--Charles II (Israel calls him the pretender), who was in exile in Paris, offered to fight alongside the Dutch. The Orangists supported the offer but De Witt refused.

--The crisis caused a slump in the Republic, a revival of Orangism, and riots in some towns, which were supported by strict Calvinist preachers. There were many calls for naming Willem Fredrik Stadholder

--De Witt, acting Pensionary of Holland, upheld the principle of Holland's and provincial sovereignty, stressed the right of the public to regulate the Church, and insisted that there could be no rights for representatives and assemblies if one man was named as 'eminent head' (p. 719). He would later call this 'True Freedom'—a phrase that became a rallying cry for the Holland States party and a republican ideology.

--While England won the battles in the North Sea, the Dutch gained in Asia, the Mediterranean and closed the Baltic to the English.

--The English sued for peace in 1653 with one demand, that the Republic would never again appoint an Orange to the 'high charges' of the state (p. 722).

--De Witt, aware that the other States would not accept the exclusion provision but included it as a secret part of the treaty, which was ratified by the States General in April of 1654. The leadership of Holland convinced the State of Holland to accept the Exclusion Act. There was an outcry from the other provinces and a belief that De Witt had suggested the Exclusion to England but the reaction in the provincial States was more muted.

--De Witt wrote a *Deduction* justifying the exclusion on the principle of provincial sovereignty, which was debated and approved in the States of Holland and widely distributed in the Republic. He argued that "the Union of Utrecht was no more than an alliance of seven 'sovereign states,' each of which remained free to make its own arrangements regarding Stadholders, and approve, or disapprove, of any candidate for captain-general, without reference to other provinces" (p. 725). He went on to argue, with examples, especially concerning Florence under the Medici, that naming hereditary 'eminent heads' destroyed the freedoms of a republic.

--The Exclusion crisis strengthened De Witt's position in Holland and Holland's position in the republic. The 1650s were the height of the Golden Age in Holland.

De Witt's system from the later 1650s

--Outside of Holland, the Exclusion Act was unpopular.

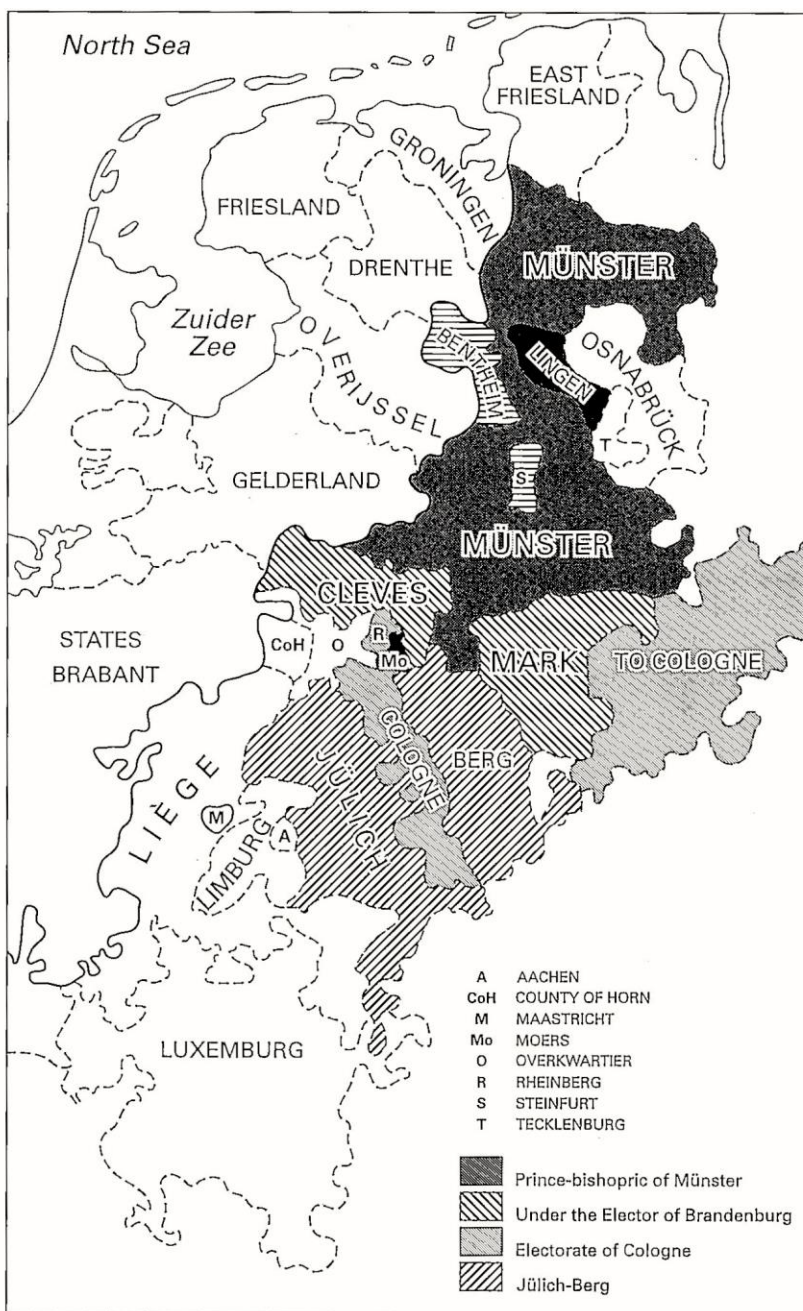
--The death of Field Marshall Brederode in 1655 presented De Witt with a problem when Willem Frederik, who also the Stadholder of Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe and a divided Overijssel, and with the support of several of the lesser provinces sought the Field Marshall post. De Witt negotiated with Willem Frederik, over the opposition of many in Holland, and offered Willem Frederik a package, which clearly subordinated the army to civilian control, and that, in the future, the role of Field Marshall could not be combined with the office of Stadholder. The States of Holland debated the package, known as the 'Harmony' of 1655. Willem Frederik was also supposed to renounce his position as Lieutenant Stadholder in Overijssel. The debate went on for several years. Political turmoil in the east required intervention from De Witt and the use of troops. In the end, the offer to Willem Frederik was undone by a vote of four to three in the Generality of the States.

-- The reason why the sovereignty of the provinces was so important to the Holland States party and De Witt "was that they could not accept that Holland could be overruled in the generality, by a majority of lesser provinces, or even all the provinces together. If the majority could overrule Holland, than Maurits coup d'état, of 1618, was legitimate, and so were William II's actions against Holland, in 1650. The reality was that the provinces were not sovereign—or at least the lesser provinces were not---and that decisions went by majority vote in the generality, provided Holland was in the majority, but not when she was not. There was no way this could be justified in theoretical terms; and the only way it could buttressed, in constitutional theory, was to insist on the fiction of provincial sovereignty" (p 733).

--The Republic did not generally promote freedom abroad but it did act against the Prince Bishop of Munster in 1661 when Munster besieged some enclaves in a dispute along the Dutch border. This action demonstrated that Overijssel and Gelderland were unable to defend themselves.

--De Witt also sent fleets to the Baltic to counter Swedish dominance and keep the Sound (the entrance to the Baltic from the North Sea) open.

--De Witt was a *raison d'état* politician but it was a republican *raison d'état* and it was profoundly different from the views of princes and monarchs. His reason of state was to keep the state secure, assure its independencies from outside interference and to protect its trade. Security and prosperity were the goals of De Witt and the Republic. "De Witt genuinely believed that, in contrast to a republic such as the United provinces, Europe's kings and German princes sought only dynastic advantage and territorial aggrandizement, goals which were not only not identical with, but often conflicted with, the interests of their subjects" (p. 738).



The German States bordering the Republic in the mid-17th century (p. 737)

30) THE REPUBLIC AT ITS ZENITH, II; 1659-1672

'South' and 'North' after the Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659

The Peace of the Pyrenees of 1659, which ended a quarter century of conflict between Spain and France, ushered in a new era for the Republic. While England only constituted a maritime threat, Spain had served as a buffer against the greater threat from France. Spain now switched its resources to an unsuccessful attempt to re-conquer Portugal and its colonial empire. The Spanish army of Flanders fell from 70,000 to 20,000 and was never again an important military force.

--Spain was now allied with the Republic, Britain, Austria and Brandenburg against France but it did not maintain a major army in the southern Netherlands. Dutch policy was to support Spain as much as possible in order to defend its southern flank, while at the same time maintaining the blockade of the Scheldt, but it now shouldered the main responsibility to check France. The French repeatedly invaded the south between 1667 and 1712. William III would emerge in 1672 as the champion of north-south strategic links.

--The decline of Antwerp accelerated after 1647 but the South's culture remained vibrant and it was secure in its Catholicism so that it no longer saw Dutch forces in the former Spanish fortresses as a threat.

Party and faction in the early 1660s

--The Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 and the Stuart Restoration in 1660 allowed the Orangists to hope that Charles II, the uncle of William III, would be a friend of the Orange factions. The merchants hoped for peace and prosperity. De Witt and the regents opened talks with the English about an alliance, which would include changes in the Navigation Acts and freer trade. The city of Amsterdam went so far as to give Charles splendid gifts on his restoration to the English crown.

--Princess Mary, the sister of Charles, campaigned for the restoration of the high honors and dignities due her son, William III, by the provincial assemblies.

--De Witt now found himself pressured on all sides and agreed to Holland's revocation of the Exclusion Act and took responsibility for the maintenance and education of the young Prince.

--Mary died of smallpox in 1661 having named her brother as her son's guardian.

--The Orangists appeared to be victorious

--The new Ambassador to Britain, Sir George Downing, was difficult in negotiations and demanded compensation for English losses to the Dutch in the East Indies.

--There was a fundamental split in the Republic between the maritime and the landward provinces but the latter's disunity allowed De Witt to resist both internal and English pressure. An alliance with England was finally signed in 1662 but it failed to provide a basis for a stable friendship between the two maritime powers.

Ideological Conflict in the early 1660s.

--While the 'True Freedom' had had a chance to establish itself since 1650, the Orangist revival of 1666-61, showed the "people's yearning for an 'eminent head', descended from the father of the fatherland, who would preside over State and Church, was as deeply rooted as ever. At the same time, republican ideas were gaining ground among segments of the professional and intellectual elites in the United Provinces as in England" (p. 758).

--Pieter de la Court's *Interest van Holland* argued that Holland was better off without a Stadholder. The draft had been shown to De Witt before publication and the Pensionary had

personally helped to revise the text. The book argued that “republics are intrinsically superior to, as well as more trustworthy, than monarchies; that kings and captains-general, wielding greater influence when their countries were at war, keep the whole world in perpetual conflict; and that the courtiers, favorites, nobles, and soldiers who surround rulers necessarily subsist off the productive activity of ordinary folks” (p. 760). The book caused an uproar.

--Even more controversial was a text with his brother Johan de la Court, *Political Discourses*, which was published in 1662 in plain Dutch. The book owed a great deal to Machiavelli. “In De la Court’s eyes all monarchy and quasi-monarchy harms the true interests of the citizen, for any element of hereditary power subordinates freedom and the public good to dynastic concerns. This, republics have citizens, monarchies subjects... Finally, he asserted that if ‘freedom’ and the public good were to prosper, it was necessary to curb the influence of the established Church in the public domain outside of its proper sphere” (p. 760).

--The Reformed Church barred De la Court from the Lord’s Supper. He appealed to De Witt but he would not associate publicly with de la Court’s attack on the Church and his frontal attack on the House of Orange.

--In 1663 the States of Holland decided to impose uniformity in prayers for public authorities on the preachers of the State Church. They insisted that the first prayer for public authorities was to be for the sovereign province, next the well being for the States of the other provinces, and then for the States General. Prayers were to conclude with prayers for local officials but there were to be no prayers for the Prince or the House of Orange. In Holland few preachers protested but there was lots of trouble about this in the other provinces. They attacked it as Erastian and as neglecting the Generality.

--The controversy produced some notable works but Holland prevailed.

-Uytendage de Mist published a few more uncompromisingly republican books.

-Voetius published the first volume of his magnum opus, *Politica Ecclesiastica* (4vols. 1663-1667), which rejected erastianism.

-Vondel published his *The Batavian Brothers, or Suppressed Freedom* (1663), his last political play, in which he celebrated the Batavian revolt against Roman oppression.

The Second Anglo-Dutch War, 1664-67

A global confrontation between the English and the Dutch was taking shape in the 1660s. The English harassed Dutch shipping, took over 200 ships and captured the New Amsterdam before declaring war officially. The mood in England and its colonies was anti-Dutch.

--The first large battle, at Lowestoft, in June 1665 was a disaster for the Dutch. However, the Dutch were building new and larger ships. European leaders expected the Dutch to be defeated because of internal disunion but the populace rallied to the war despite its ideological differences. The Prince Bishop of Munster’s forces that had attacked the Republic were forced to retreat. The VOC defeated the English in Asia. The Dutch also kept the English out of the Baltic. Dutch privateers captured 500 English merchant ships. Admiral De Ruyter captured English ships off West Africa and in the Caribbean. Several other large sea battles were fought with mixed results. During 1667 the Dutch blockaded the English coast and sailed up the Medway, burned ships and towed away the English flagship, the *Royal Charles*. The tide also turned in favor of the Dutch in the Caribbean. The English government was out of money and English merchants demanded peace.

--The Peace of Breda in 1667 was a triumph for the Republic and the Holland States Party.

England kept New York, but returned St. Eustatius and Saba. England ceded Surinam and a base

in West Africa and gave up its long standing claim to the Banda islands in Indonesia. It also conceded the principle of 'Free Ship, Free Goods' in maritime conflicts when it was not a party in the war and agreed to modify the Navigation Acts to allow Germany to be defined as the Republic's natural hinterland.

The Republic and Louis XIV

At the beginning of Louis XIV's personal rule (1661-1715), France saw the Dutch Republic as a counterweight to Spain and the States Party in Holland saw France as a counter-weight to Stuart England. There were two major issues.

--The Future of the Spanish Netherlands: The diminished power of Spain left a power vacuum in the heart of Western Europe. France had designs on the southern Netherlands. De Witt entered into talks with France in 1663 about a possible solution, such as partition or guaranteed autonomy. De Witt also talked to Spain about a common defense treaty, but Spanish power was diminishing so quickly that this did not appear to be a realistic outcome. Louis, who had married a Spanish bride, had renounced his right to inherit the Spanish Netherlands but overturned this decision in 1663.

--Economic and colonial issues: French commercial interests objected to Dutch economic penetration of their home market. Louis and Colbert began a far-reaching French mercantilist program of tariffs (1664) and created French East and West India companies. By 1667, France no longer feared that England would defeat the Dutch and take its colonies. France was the largest market for many Dutch goods. In 1667 Colbert expanded his tariffs against the Dutch products.

--In 1667 a French army invaded the south of the Spanish Netherlands. In 1668 De Witt entered into an armed Triple Alliance with England and Sweden to pressure Spain to settle with France by ceding either Franche-Comte or Luxembourg. De Witt saw this as an attempt to remain on decent terms with France. France halted its invasion by limiting its territorial gains to what is now roughly northern France. But from now on French mercantilism became much more aggressive against the Dutch.

--In Holland opposition to De Witt's conciliatory policy toward France grew and provoked Orangist opposition. Over De Witt's objections, Holland passed a package of retaliatory mercantilist measures against France in 1671. In early 1672, France created an alliance with Munster, Cologne and England to overwhelm the Republic.

The Twilight of the 'True Freedom'

--Orangism revived strongly after 1667, helped by the Republic's improving relationship with England and the threat from France, Munster and Cologne. William III was now reaching his majority.

--In addition to the Calvinist Orangism of the Voetians, there now emerged a secular Orangism. Gilles Valckenier, an Amsterdam Burgomaster, published *Verwerd Europa* (1668) in which he argued that, while a Republic was the best form of government, it needed a Stadholder to maintain cohesion. In later years he blamed De Witt personally for allowing too much toleration.

--De la Court's response of 1669, a reworking of his earlier work, was banned at the behest of the Synod of South Holland.

--Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677) published his *Tractatus Theologica-Politicus* in (1670), "a work of crucial importance in Dutch and European history, not only for the radical character of its biblical criticism, uncompromising republicanism, and the force of its attack on Church authority

but also because of its marked democratic tinge which Dutch republicanism here assumes. Spinoza's contention that 'democracy is of all forms of government the most natural and most consonant with individual liberty,' and most apt to generate the 'benefits of freedom in a state,' was integrally linked to his defense of toleration and his attack on Church authority. For Spinoza grasped that concepts of the State not based on promoting the welfare of the citizenry and preservation of individual liberty, must rest on an ecclesiastical sanction" (p. 787).

--Spinoza's philosophy and biblical criticism were central to the Dutch radical Cartesian and republican thought of the period. This radicalism now clashed with "the elitist, regent republicanism of Grotius, De Witt And De Groot" (p.787).

--De la Court was in the between these groups.

--Second in importance to Spinoza in the radical group was Franciscus van den Enden (1602-1704), an ex-Jesuit from Antwerp who had taken refuge in Amsterdam. His *Vrije Politijke Stellingen* 1665 was "one of the earliest systematic statements of democratic republicanism in the Western world" (p.788).

--Spinoza and the radicals were political and ideological allies of De Witt and the States Party faction. De Witt tried but failed to prevent the banning of de la Court's book. Spinoza worried about publication because of potential censorship but took the risk in 1670 with a Latin edition.

--De Witt attempted to curb radical manifestations of Socinianism, Cartesianism and republicanism, in order to protect and nurture a more moderate form of his "True Freedom." He sought to accommodate William III as he came into his majority within the power structure with his "Harmony" formula, whereby the Prince would be given a seat on *the Raad van State*, other honors, and the promise of later being named Captain-General but excluded from being a Stadholder in any province. An amendment was introduced in Holland to abolish the Stadholderate in Holland.

--The Perpetual Edict of 1667 was passed: the abolition of the stadholderate, the permanent separation of the position of Captain-General from the stadholderate of all provinces, and the transfer of the powers of the Holland Stadholder to the States of Holland. It passed by four votes (Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijsel) to three in the States General in 1668.

--"The Perpetual Edict of 1667 came to be seen by writers, poets and artists, as well as regents, as the supreme embodiment, and crown, of the 'True Freedom'." (p. 792).

--As the internal and external threats increased during the late 1660s and early 1670s, De Witt's position weakened. De Witt supported a temporary appointment for William III as Captain-General. Whether to name him permanently or temporarily was debated in all the Provinces. Only Holland voted for temporary. Holland yielded in February of 1672 and William of Orange was named permanent Captain-General and Admiral General, albeit under supervision of the Generalities' deputies in the field.

--The position of the Republic, without any allies, was so precarious that the Amsterdam share markets plunged even before France and England's declaration of war in April 1672.

31) 1672: THE YEAR OF DISASTER

"The year 1672 was the most traumatic of the Dutch Golden Age" (p. 796).

--Military collapse

--Greatest crash on Amsterdam stock exchange

--Public building projects ceased and the art market collapsed

--Common people and militias interfered in politics

- Greatest year of ideological conflict
- in the Spring of 1672, France, Britain, Munster and Cologne declared war on the Republic.
- Louis XIV's army outnumbered the Dutch army by four to one
- The alliance against the Republic had far more naval men of war than the Republic, nonetheless, de Ruyter held off the English at Solebay in June.
- The French took the Dutch forts on the lower Rhine and the French army entered Utrecht on June 23.
- Holland was saved by its famous *waterlinie*, the flooding the countryside between the Zuider Sea and the river Waal.
- The States of Holland opened negotiations with Louis XIV to end the conflict.
- The common people in Holland rebelled against the defeatism of the government, demanded that the Perpetual Edict be set aside and that William, the Prince of Orange, be made the hereditary Stadholder.
- “This was the first time widespread unrest, encouraged by political agitators, shaped events in a sustained fashion, over a period of months” (p. 801).
- Orangist publicists called the populace “true patriots.”
- In July Holland set aside the Perpetual Edict and named William the Stadholder.
- De Witt resigned as pensionary of Holland on August 4.
- On August 20, a mob in The Hague lynched and mutilated the bodies of Jan de Witt and his brother Cornelius.
- The States of Holland gave the Prince of Orange the right to “persuade, dispose, and if necessary, oblige” whatever changes in the town councils the Prince deemed necessary to restore order (p. 804).
- Large demonstrations demanded the restoration of independent militias in the towns.
- The prince purged town councils and increased his authority.

32) THE STADHOLDERATE OF WILLIAM III, 1672-1702

From the Year of Disaster to the Peace of Nijmegen, 1672-1678

- Foreign armies occupied and ransacked Groningen, Overijssel, Drenthe, Brabant and most of Utrecht.
- The Stadholder ended most of the rioting but the turmoil left a long-term detestation among the elites of popular politics.
- The Republic forged an alliance with Brandenburg that forced the French to move some of their troops to defend Cologne.
- De Ruyter held off the English, especially at the naval battle of Texel, after which the English began negotiations and signed a peace treaty with the Republic in 1674.
- In 1673 Spain joined the Dutch in the war against France.
- The French evacuated their troops from the Republic in 1674 and now only held the fortresses at Maastricht and Grave in the south.
- In 1674 the Princes of Orange, and his male descendants of the Orange-Nassau line, were named hereditary Stadholder.
- With victory, political divisions re-emerged. William III attempted to have himself named a sovereign Duke of Gelderland, but political opposition forced him to back down in 1675. After 1675, he was forced to exert power through influence and patronage.

--Louis XIV finally agreed to peace at Nijmegen in 1678. France agreed to lower its tariffs against Dutch goods.

--In November of 1678, William traveled to England and married Mary Stuart, the Protestant daughter of James Stuart and the heir to the English throne at the death of Charles II.

From Nijmegen to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1678-1685

--While the form of the Republic had survived the political crisis and the war with France, it was becoming clear that the power of the Prince of Orange had increased significantly in the Republic and opposition to corruption in favor of his favorites began to create political opposition to William's influence upon local governments.

--France began a general encroachment on border areas of the Spanish Netherlands, such as the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, which demonstrated that France remained powerful and a threat to the Continental balance of power.

-- William of Orange failed to win support from Amsterdam, as well as other towns, to mobilize additional forces to check Louis XIV's advances against the Spanish Netherlands. France annexed Luxembourg in 1684.

-- The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 by Louis XIV ended French toleration of Protestantism strengthened support for William's opposition to Louis XIV both domestically and internationally. Many French Huguenots fled to the Republic and to England.

The Republic and the Glorious Revolution, 1685-1691

--Israel argues that "in the years 1688-91 the course of both Dutch and British history was dramatically changed by one of the great events of world history, the Glorious Revolution" (p.841).

--The crowning by Parliament of William and Mary as the sovereigns of England created "for the first time, a stable and powerful, constitutional monarchy, with Parliament increasingly in the ascendant" (p. 841).

--When James II became King of England and Scotland in 1685, he took subsidies from Louis XIV, and thus made an English and Dutch coalition impossible. There was Whig opposition to James in Britain but there was no prospect of William and Mary replacing James on the throne without an invasion. James had a powerful navy and a large army.

--Amsterdam and Dutch merchants in general had no interest in endangering their trade with France and would not support William's plan for more armed forces.

--Louis XIV used the occasion to revoke his tariff concessions of the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1687 and seized Dutch ships in French harbors.

--William finally received Dutch support for increased military expenditures, hired a large and well-trained German army, mobilized Dutch marines and began to assemble an invasion fleet in 1687.

--William's strategy was to invade Britain while it was politically divided in order to prevent and Anglo-French attack in the future. William gambled and staked all his resources on a successful invasion to replace James II.

--The invasion fleet was four times bigger than the Spanish Armada of 1588. It consisted of 21,000 soldiers, 400 transports that carried 5,000 horses, munitions and artillery, and had 53 naval escorts. It was the highpoint of the Republic's military power. It was "arguably one of the most impressive feats of organization any early modern regime ever achieved" (p.850).

- The fleet assembled in late September but did not catch a favorable wind--dubbed the Protestant wind--until early November. It sailed down the Channel past an English fleet unable to engage it and landed in Devon out of reach of the English army.
- There was little popular support for William in England but James did not act decisively to stop William's advance on London. On December 18 William entered the city with his army.
- Louis XIV declared war on the Republic.
- William and his army were in control of the country's army, navy, and finance long before Parliament met to legally proclaim his sovereignty in February of 1689.
- For three years the Dutch army remained in Britain to maintain order and to deal with the Jacobite opposition supported by a French invasion of Ireland.
- Dividing the Dutch army for three years between Britain and the Republic meant that the Republic was on the defensive against France from 1689 to 1691.
- The Dutch were forced to supply most of the troops to keep French forces from breaking through the Dutch fortifications in the Spanish Netherlands, while England assumed the role of providing the major naval forces in a ratio of five to three. This essentially ceded naval superiority to Britain and caused a good deal of unrest in the Republic.
- Another worry in the Republic was that William of Orange's role as King in Britain might tempt him to expand his authority and prestige in the Republic.

The Last Years of William III's Stadholderate

- From 1688 to 1697 almost no one in the Republic thought a reasonable peace could be achieved with Louis XIV. Thus, there was little chance of replacing a strong Stadholder form of government with one in the tradition of the "True Freedom" of De Witt.
- From the mid-1680s William III further strengthened the Orange cause by vigorously defending religious toleration. He protected the Cocceians from the Voetian reaction in the state Church.
- The Nine Years War of 1688-97 was a stalemate. The combined power of Britain, the Republic, the Emperor, Spain, and Brandenburg were unable to defeat France. The Treaty of Rijswijk ended the war. France gave up Luxembourg and several other border fortresses, rescinded the tariff increases of 1687, and Louis XIV recognized William as King of Britain and Scotland.
- The death of the childless king of Spain, Carlos II, in 1700 produced a new international crisis since a potential heir was a Bourbon cousin of Louis XIV.

33) ART AND ARCHITECTURE, 1645-1702

Urban Expansion Town Planning and the Arts

- The relative austerity of the previous quarter-century ended in the mid 1640s. From then until 1672 was a dynamic period of economic growth. During this period the largest, finest and most monumental buildings were built in the Republic. It was also the zenith of the Dutch Golden Age in painting, sculpture, the decorative arts, and in the international recognition of Dutch art.
- Urban expansion in the major towns:
 - Large new churches were built, including the Marekerk in Leiden, the New Church in The Hague, the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, and two synagogues in Amsterdam, including the large Portuguese Synagogue.
 - The magnificent Town Hall opened in Amsterdam in 1655. Other towns also built impressive new town halls.

- Many other large projects, such as charitable establishments, gatehouses and militia buildings were constructed.
- The Huis ten Bosch, the Hall of the States, and the Statenzaal, were all built in the Hague during the 1650s.
- Villas appeared north of Haarlem, around the Hague and along the Vecht with formal gardens. They belonged to Protestant regents and merchants but also to Jews and Catholics and Mennonites.
- The period saw the expansion of the innovative barge transportation system, which made transportation for business and pleasures affordable, efficient and convenient.
- Palladian and Italian classical influences were strong in architecture but all the major architects who were active in the Republic during the period were trained in the north. Major Dutch architects were Hendrik de Keyser, Jacob van Campen, Pieter Post, Salomon de Bray, and Philips Vingboom.

Phase Three: The Zenith of Painting, 1645-1672

- New art genres were developed, including townscapes by Jon Berckheyde and Jan van der Heyden; architectural painting by Pieter Saenredam and Emmanuel de Witte; urban panorama by Jacob van Ruisdael; landscapes by Hobbema and Ruisdael; and seascapes by Ludolf Backhuysen and William van der Velden.
- Strong local schools of paintings emerged, especially in the chief centers, such as Amsterdam, Leiden, Haarlem, Utrecht and Delft but also in Dordrecht, Middleburg, The Hague and Rotterdam. These encouraged civic pride and the building of local art collections.
- A strong tradition of commissioning art works for large public buildings developed, which could be visited by everyone, even dogs, as in the *Burgerzaal* in the Amsterdam Town Hall. The purpose was to extol civic virtue and pride. Roman themes were especially popular, particularly the Batavian fight for freedom against Imperial Rome.
- The crisis of 1672 devastated the art market and severely restricted the building of large new civic buildings. While the number of professional artists active after 1672 diminished by about a quarter, far more art was still produced in the Republic during the last quarter of the 17th century than elsewhere in northern Europe.
- William III rebuilt and built new palaces in the 1680s, including Het Loo in Gelderland with its magnificent gardens.
- The building and rebuilding of impressive stately houses by the new nobility reflected a shift in power to the Stadholder and his favorites at the end of the century.

34) INTELLECTUAL LIFE, 1650-1700

Intellectual Crisis

- The 17th century in Europe “marks one of the decisive shifts in the intellectual, cultural, and religious history of the western world” (p. 889). This period has been called the Scientific Revolution, the age of new philosophy and the crisis of the European mind. The most prominent places where these developments took place were England, France and the Dutch Republic.
- René Descartes researched, wrote and published his most famous work in Holland and Utrecht and it was here that the battles about a mechanistic worldview began in earnest several decades before France.

--The Voetians, conservative Calvinists, argued that Cartesianism was based on doubt and meant the abolishment of Aristotelian science and philosophy, “amounting at bottom to a concealed atheism” (p. 888). They convinced the universities to ban Cartesianism since they were unable to defeat it behind the scenes.

--In the 1650s many leading professors taught Cartesian philosophy in the Republic and from there it spread abroad.

--In 1653 Rembrandt painted his famous picture of Aristotle contemplating the bust of Homer, an allusion to the elusiveness of philosophical truth.

--Dutch academic Cartesians, who were sincere Calvinists, argued that Descartes did not intend to promote atheism but that he sought to separate philosophy from theology.

--Descartes was translated into Dutch in 1656.

--The Voetians were especially enraged because they argued that Cartesian philosophy supported the Cocceian claim that Scripture should not be interpreted literally but should be interpreted figuratively within its historical context.

--De Witt took a keen interest in the philosophical debate. The Voetians, allied to the Orangists, were dominant in the Calvinist Church and demanded the banning of Cartesianism in the universities.

--De Witt worked for a compromise by dividing theology and philosophy in order to protect and keep the Cartesian teachers in the universities.

--The overthrow of De Witt in 1672 changed the balance of power and the Voetians managed to dismiss several Cartesian professors but failed to eradicate the new mechanistic philosophy.

The Universities

--While the Dutch Republic ranked with England and France as the intellectual center of Europe during this period, the universities in the Republic were relatively more important in its intellectual life than elsewhere. For a time they were the most important academic institutions in Europe.

--The three major universities during the period were Leiden, Utrecht and Franeker

--During much of the 17th century, the number of students studying at the five Dutch universities exceeded those at Oxford and Cambridge.

--The Dutch universities attracted many international students and played an especially important role for Protestant students from Germany and France.

--Leiden was the premier European center for medicine.

Science

Cartesian philosophy and science had an immense impact on Dutch culture during the period.

--It was linked to technical innovation in Dutch industry

--Important in developing precision instruments for research and industry

--Cultural impact of the rich trades on the collection and classification of ‘curiosities’ in flora, fauna, fossils, shells, and minerals

--Christiaan Huygens (1629-95) was the greatest Dutch scientist of the period. He was the son of Constantijn Huygens, the Secretary of Prince Frederik Hendrik. He pursued a Cartesian and comprehensive research program in science, mathematics, and technology. He invented the pendulum clock in 1656 and developed a wave theory of light. He had wide contacts and was respected all over Europe.

--Cornelis Debbel invented the microscope in the 1660s. Jan Swammerdam used the microscope to study insects and laid the foundation of entomology.

--Anthonie van Leuwenhoek (1632-1723) further developed microscopes, investigated the structure of blood and discovered bacteria, a discipline that was important to Cartesian science.

--Collecting cabinets of natural history curiosities became fashionable among the educated rich.

--In 1682 the Hortus Botanicus, a scientific botanical garden, was founded in Amsterdam.

Collecting plants from all over the world and studying botany, as well as animals and minerals, was one of the great contributions of 17th century Dutch science. This tradition produced many encyclopedic and richly illustrates volumes on natural history. The Dutch remained the European leaders in this area until well into the 18th century.

The Anti-Socinian Campaign

-- During the second half of the 17th century Voetius and his followers mounted a full-scale campaign against the Socinians, whom they believed undermined the fundamentals of Christianity, such as the divinity of Christ, the Trinity and original sin. The campaign became “a main engine, and justification, of policies aimed at restricting, and cutting back, intellectual and religious freedom” (p. 909). The campaign was especially aimed at the Mennonites and Remonstrants who lacked a strong authoritarian church structure. Conservatives argued that they must be kept in check as not to infect the established Calvinist Reformed Church, or the Lutheran or Catholic churches.

--There were two main grounds for banning non-political and non-erotic books in the Republic, anti-Trinitarianism and “atheistic” philosophies. While there is no doubt that the Republic allowed other religious faiths to exist and allowed the publication of rival interpretations of Scripture, at the same time “the Republic adhered to a comprehensive censorship which created a real and formidable barrier to the expression of certain kinds of religious and philosophical ideals” (p.915).

Radical Cartesians and Spinozists

--Radical Cartesianism produced intellectual and political opposition that resulted in censorship.
 --Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677), a Jew born in Amsterdam, was expelled from the synagogue in 1656 for treating God “philosophically” and questioning biblical and rabbinical authority. His manuscript, *Short Treatise on God, Man and his Well-Being*, had already ruled out divine intervention in human affairs in 1662, but he was aware of the opposition it would bring down upon him and left it unpublished. He attracted an influential circle of followers and sought to first undermine the literal interpretation of scripture through biblical scholarship in the hope that this would reduce the authority of the Reformed Church.

--When several of his followers published a Cartesian critique of Christian theology and were censored, Spinoza decided to publish his *Tractatus Theologica-Politicus* anonymously, only in Latin, and with the place of publication falsely listed as Hamburg. The book caused a sensation and was censored in Leiden and several other towns. The State of Holland banned it in 1674 (together with Hobbes *Leviathan*). Spinoza came under public suspicion.

--After Spinoza’s death in 1677, much of his banned work was published and in Holland and then banned by the States of Holland 1678. Dutch versions of his works did not appear until 1693-94. In 1697 a novel was published that popularized Spinoza’s ideas. It caused a sensation and was promptly banned by the authorities. Even Pierre Bayle, an important Huguenot and a Cartesian living in the Republic, denounced Spinoza’s popularized ideas as too radical.

The Death of the Devil

--One of the major contributions of Spinoza to European thought was his denial of the existence of Satan and devils in general and this turned into a major controversy in the early Dutch Enlightenment.

--The Cartesians looked with skepticism at witchcraft, angels, devils and demons. This began a general intellectual assault on superstition.

--Balthasar Bekker's *De Betoverde Weereld* (1691), (*The World Bewitched 1695*), systematically studied Scripture to question the existence of angels and demons. The book was immensely popular and caused a public discussion. Over 170 books were published for and against Bekker. The Reformed Church demanded that he be removed as a preacher in Amsterdam. It became a public issue when Orangists, with widespread support from the lower-middle class, wanted him removed. The Amsterdam elite, however, were much more sympathetic to his ideas. They suspended Bekker but he was allowed to keep his salary.

--The controversy showed that by the end of the 17th century. Cartesianism and Socinianism had become so persuasive among the educated Dutch that they had become skeptical of a literal interpretation of Scripture and of the authority wielded by fundamentalists in the Reformed Church.

35) THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

The Territories

--In 1640 it appeared that the Dutch were on their way to construct a large colonial empire.

--Netherlands Brazil, called New Holland, stretching from the mouth of the Amazon to Fort Maurice at the mouth of the San Francisco River, about half way between Recife and Bahia, was taken from the Portuguese and governed by Johan Maurice van Nassau-Siegen from 1637-44). Its most important product was sugar and the Dutch dominated the European sugar market while they held Brazil.

--The WIC also had settlements in the Guyanas and in 1634 captured Curaçao and by 1648 they also controlled Aruba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, Saba and half of St. Martin—the Dutch Antilles—and New Netherland in North America.

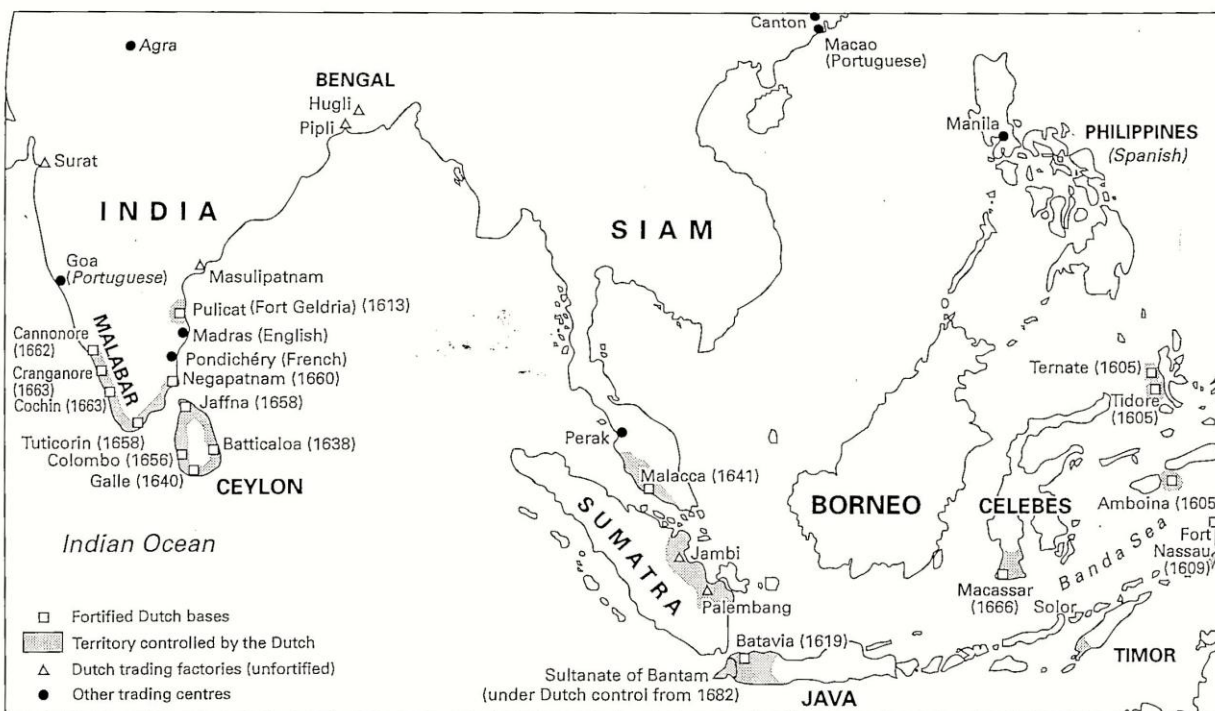
--The Dutch dominated the Atlantic slave trade during this period. They conquered Elmina from the Portuguese in 1637, Chama and Bountry in 1640 and Axim in 1642. With these forts they controlled the Guinea coast of Africa. In 1641 they also conquered Angola from the Portuguese.

--The Dutch Atlantic Empire collapsed almost as quickly as it had been created. The Portuguese plantation owners of Brazil rebelled in 1645 and the subsequent war ruined the sugar plantations. An expeditionary force was sent from Europe but was badly defeated in 1648-49 and Recife fell in 1654. Meanwhile a Portuguese expeditionary force from Southern Brazil recaptured Angola.

--After these defeats the WIC ceased to be a serious military and naval power, unlike the VOC, but it did create a flourishing empire of trade in the Atlantic in partnership with private firms in the 1650s and 1660s.

--The Dutch were especially strong in shipping in the Caribbean, and between the Caribbean and Spanish America, as well as in the Atlantic in general. During much of the 17th century they were important in the Atlantic slave trade from West Africa to Spanish America under the *asiento*, a monopoly to supply slaves to Spanish America. Curaçao was the center of the system.

- They captured Surinam in South America in 1667 and developed a large sugar plantation system there.
- In Asia during the 1630s and 1640s, the Dutch captured six Portuguese bases in Ceylon, and captured Colombo in 1666. In 1641 they took Malacca from the Portuguese, the strategic link in Malaysia between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the late 1650s and early 1660s they took all the Portuguese forts in southern India.
- From 1660 to the 1720s the Dutch were the leading European power in India,
- They lost Taiwan in 1662 and New Netherland in 1664.



The Dutch Colonial Empire at its Height, circa 1688 (p. 937)

- In 1652 the VOC established a colony at Cape Town to supply its Asian fleets. It was the only Dutch colony that attracted white settlers. Initially tiny, it began exporting wheat by the 1690s.
- In Indonesia, the Dutch empire reached its early modern zenith in the 1680s with the capture of the Sultanate of Bantam and an overlordship in Sumatra. The VOC now had over 20 bases with over 100 men in Asia. Its principal bases were at Batavia, northwest Java, Amboina, Makassar, the Banda islands, Malacca, Ceylon and the southern tip of India.
- The beginning of decline of Dutch trade in Asia took place during the Nine Years War (1688-97). The chief problem was that growth in the Asian trade took place in new products—cottons, muslins, raw silk, tea, and coffee—that came from areas where the Dutch had few forts and the VOC showed less initiative than the English and French in developing these trades.
- By contrast the late 17th and first two-thirds of the 18th century was the golden age for Dutch sugar and coffee planters merchants in Surinam and the Dutch Antilles.

Commerce, Shipping and Seamen in the Indies

The flourishing mercantile systems created by the Dutch in Asia, Africa, and the New World were based upon the existence of Dutch colonies and the forts of the VOC and WIC: “The Dutch mercantile system in non-European waters was literally an empire of trade” (p. 941).

--Asians wanted few goods from Europe other than silver. With the resumption of the Spanish embargo on Dutch trade when the war between the Dutch and Spanish resumed from 1621 to 1647, the Dutch had less access to bullion. They were the first to solve the problem of getting access to specie for the Asian trade by developing a large-scale inter-Asian trade system that supplied the profits needed to buy Asian goods to send to Europe.

--During the second quarter of the 17th century, the VOC began to ship south Indian cotton textiles to Indonesia, Indonesian spices to India and Persia, and Chinese raw silk from Taiwan to Japan in exchange for Japanese copper and silver. While Dutch trade with China via Taiwan, and with Japan, as well as the Dutch inter-Asian trade based at Malacca, declined during the second half of the 17th century, the resumption of access to Spanish silver after 1647 sustained the VOC trade system into the 18th century.

--In 1688, the VOC had 12,000 employees in Asia in its fortresses and trading posts, plus 6,000 on its inbound and outbound fleets, and another 4,000 in the inter-Asian trade. Many of these were men recruited in Germany and Scandinavia.

--In Asia the VOC reserved all shipping to its own ships. The WIC only reserved its own ships for the slave trade from West Africa and opened up other shipping to private vessels in 1654.

-Curaçao became a staple market for European goods for sale in the Caribbean and South America.

--The WIC lost the *asiento* to England in 1713. This diminished the Dutch slave trade but the Dutch remained active in the trade by supplying slaves to Surinam plantations and its slave market in Curaçao.

Power, Politics and Patronage

--The VOC officers took an oath to the Company and to the Generality of the Republic. As a military company it was an extension of the Generality with its Asian headquarters at Batavia, in Java.

--Although all the VOC Chambers were in Holland and Zealand, other towns and provinces had directors at the Chambers so that investors from all over the Republic were represented.

--The Governor-Generals in Asia, who generally were not nobles, made decisions in consultation with the *Raad* or council. Thus the confederate principle of the Republic's government was carried over to the VOC. The WIC governing structure was intended to be similar to that of the VOC but in practice, it was more complicated with some colonies, or sections of colonies, governed by particular Chambers or even families.

Religion and Discipline

The chief aim of the VOC and WIC was profit but they were also charged with only allowing the Dutch Reformed Church as the only public Church, although, in accordance with the Union of Utrecht, liberty of conscience was guaranteed. There was less toleration in the colonies than at home. Catholic and Lutheran services were not allowed on the ships or in the garrisons.

--The VOC was particularly anti-Catholic and remained so until the late 18th century.

--Of necessity they were much more tolerant of Buddhism and Hinduism but were less tolerant of Islam.

- The WIC was also intolerant of Catholic worship in Brazil.
- Because of the large Sephardic Jewish community that developed at Recife, the WIC was more tolerant of Jews and in 1659 allowed them to worship publicly in Curaçao.
- Jews arrived in New Netherland in 1654 from Brazil as refugees. They were allowed to practice their religion in their houses but not to build a synagogue. Lutherans petitioned to have their own preacher in 1653. Amsterdam told Peter Stuyvesant to allow them to practice in their houses but not to allow the building of a church. Stuyvesant persecuted the Quakers who had settled on Long Island.
- The slaves and poor in Curaçao were Catholic but no Catholic church was allowed to be built there until 1730.

PART IV THE AGE OF DECLINE, 1702-1806

36) THE REPUBLIC OF THE REGENTS, 1702-1747

The New Regime

William III died at Hampton Court in 1702. He had been grooming Johan Willem Friso (1687-1711) as his heir but Holland decided to leave the stadholderate vacant. The Republic of the "True Freedom" had been replaced with the Stadholder at the center of its government. Not naming a stadholder was another decisive break in the history of the Republic.

--In Holland there was a shift in leadership to the anti-Orange factions, especially in Leiden. The leader of the anti-Orange factions was Baron Jacob van Wassenaar.

--Friesland and Groningen wanted Friso to be named the Prince of Orange. However, Brandenburg, which was an important ally of the Republic, wanted another relative to have the title. The dispute went on for 33 years. This suited Holland since it was ruled by anti-Orange factions.

--This dispersal of power revived republican ideas.

--The transition in power went peacefully in Holland but there was a good deal of popular unrest about the issue inspired by democratic ideas in Zealand and the eastern provinces.

--In 1707 Johan Friso reached his maturity and attempted to claim his seat on the *Raad*, but this was opposed by Holland and backed by Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel. His supporters referred to him as the Prince of Orange and in 1708 Groningen, supported by Friesland, named him Stadholder in these provinces. The drama ended in 1711 when Friso drowned. While he had been named the sole heir by William III, Brandenburg contested this and the case dragged on for many more years.

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713

--In May 1702 the Republic, in alliance with Britain, Austria and Prussia declared war on France and Bourbon Spain. At the death of Spain's Carlos II in 1700, Louis XIV's grandson inherited the throne as Philip V. The French and Spanish combination upset the balance of power in Europe and threatened the Republic both in Europe and overseas.

--In 1701 the French invaded the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch were forced to evacuate their barrier fortresses. This also meant that they could no longer keep the Scheldt closed and this threatened to end their trade restrictions on the South.

--Britain had now emerged as the Republic's main rival overseas.

--The vacuum of power on the Republic's eastern borders, which the Republic had enjoyed since the 1630s, ended and Prussia became the dominant power on its eastern border.

--During the War of the Spanish Succession the Dutch mounted their greatest military expenditure with an army of 119,000 in the field in 1708, but it could not keep up with the growing forces of France, Britain, Austria and Prussia. Meanwhile the British navy was now substantially bigger than that of the Republic, while the Republic's land forces were substantially larger.

--Marlborough was named commander of allied forces in the Low Countries. In 1704, the allies took the Southern Netherlands from Spain. Initially the war in Spain went well for the Allies but Philip V managed to hold on to Castile. The war dragged on and in 1712 Louis XIV made a deal with England over the protest of the Dutch. The British received Gibraltar and the *asiento* with the signing of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

--The Southern Netherlands was given to the Austrians and the Dutch returned to their forts in the South as a barrier to France.

--The war had been very costly to the Dutch and had severely disrupted its worldwide trade.

The Austrian Netherlands and the North after 1713

--From 1659 until 1701, the Southern Netherlands remained subordinated to the Republic. Spain admitted it could not defend the provinces and Spain allowed the Dutch to have forts there against the French. This made it possible for the Dutch to keep the Scheldt closed to trade, much to the disadvantage of the South.

--After the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, the Southern Netherlands became a province of the Austrian Empire, and was renamed the Austrian Netherlands. The Emperor and the Dutch shared the defense of the country. The Scheldt remained closed but for the rest economic policy became more beneficial to the South than it had been under Spanish control. While the Austrians did not fundamentally alter the South's government structure, the States General was weak and did not meet often.

--Economically the Austrian Netherlands began to grow again and the population grew faster than in the Republic during the 18th century. There was a good deal of growth in rural industry. The linen industry prospered in Flanders and the iron and coal industries grew in the eastern region.

--In 1722 an East Indian Trading Company, known as the Ostend Company, was established but it did not prosper.

--During the second half of the century, the governing elites of the Austrian Netherlands became increasingly influenced by Central European culture.

Neutrality and Domestic Stability, 1713-1746

--After the Peace of Utrecht, the Republic reduced the size of its army from 130,000 in 1712 to 40,000 by 1715. Since the other major European states continued to maintain much larger armies, the Republic now assumed the status of a middle level power until the 1750s

--The wars left it with a staggering debt of 138 million Guildens, four times the size of its debt in 1678.

--The Dutch manned garrisons in the Austrian Netherlands, in conjunction with the Austrians and the British, to protect itself against the French and to keep the south from becoming a serious economic competitor. At the same time they had to protect themselves from their ally, the

Prussians, who were acquiring territory on their eastern borders. In 1726 they allied themselves with Hanover and increased the size of their army.

--In 1729, William IV (1711-1851), the Prince of Orange, came of age. He was proclaimed Stadholder of Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe and Gelderland. He was now the standard bearer of the Orangists in the Republic. In 1732, Prussia finally settled its long lawsuit and recognized him as the Prince of Orange (he had to give up all his territories in Germany as compensation).

--In 1733 William IV married the Princess Royal, Anne of Hanover (daughter of George II), in London.

--The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48, in which Austria and Britain fought Prussia and France, was another European war in which the Republic attempted to stay neutral. The Republic expanded its army again, now up to 84,000, and strengthened its garrison forts in the South. Nonetheless, the French invaded the South. The Jacobite Rebellion in Britain forced Britain to withdraw most of its troops from the South. The Republic under its treaty with Britain was obligated to send 6,000 troops to Britain to help defeat the Jacobite invasion of England. The French took most of the Southern Netherlands and in 1747 also took Antwerp in Flanders in order to force the Dutch to stop supporting Britain in its conflict with Bonnie Prince Charlie. The Dutch raised their troop level to 95,000. As a middle-sized power, with all four of its neighbors at war, it was now caught in an impossible situation and would soon be faced with a revolution at home.

37) SOCIETY

Economic Decline—Relative and Absolute

--The Dutch world trade system had reached its zenith in 1647-72. Several of the ‘rich trades,’ such as the Levant and Guinea trade, dwindled disastrously after 1688, “the year which marked the definitive end of Dutch economic expansion” (p. 998). The Spanish trade declined after 1700. However, the northern Europe trade continued to be strong. However, the Dutch maintained its technological lead over most of Europe in the early 18th century. The industrial region of the Zaan continued to expand until 1720. Dutch export industries—Delftware, tobacco processing, sugar refining, paper, sail-canvas Gouda pipes, silk, cotton, and linen—continued to grow for the first quarter of the 18th century.

- “The United Provinces, rather than Britain, was still the world’s technological showcase down to about 1740” (p. 998). “The VOC maintained its lead as the foremost European commercial organization trading in Asia...down to the 1720s” (p. 999).

--The Zaan was Europe’s first real industrial zone with over 1,200 windmills in 1720.

--The second quarter of the 18th century saw an accelerating collapse of the ‘rich trades’ and their export oriented industries. The fisheries also contracted. By the 1760s its herring catch was one-third of what it had been in the 17th century. This marked the end of the economic system upon which Dutch Golden Age had been built.

--The only expanding sector of Dutch overseas trade in the 18th century was its imports and re-exports of colonial groceries, such as sugar, coffee, tobacco, tea, and cacao from the Americas and the Far East. However, in relative terms it declined in relation to the expansion of this trade by Britain, France, Russia, Prussia and Sweden.

--“The root cause of the collapse of the Dutch overseas trading system after 1720 was the expansion of industrial activity in the south Netherlands, Germany, Britain and the wave of industrial mercantilism which swept northern Europe, and especially Prussia, Russia, Saxony,

Sweden-Finland, Denmark-Norway, Britain and (in the 1750s) the Austrian Netherlands during the 1720-60 period” (p. 1002).

-The British could compensate for the mercantilist protectionism on the continent by selling more manufactured goods to their expanding American colonies and tightening their hold on commerce with Scotland, Ireland, Portugal’s trade with Brazil, and trade with the Caribbean and with India. The Dutch, however, lacked this vast colonial structure.

--Dutch finance remained a major force in the world by exporting capital it had accumulated during the 17th century, which now sought higher returns abroad and fueled economic growth and employment abroad rather than at home.

--Dutch agriculture, which had already experienced some decline during the 1660s, deteriorated further during the second quarter of the 18th century.

--Beginning in 1731, the wooden pilings that supported the sea-dikes became infested with sea-worms, which required the raising of dike taxes. The dikes were reinforced with stone, which had to be imported from Scandinavian at considerable expense.

--Outbreaks of a cattle virus produced large losses for farmers during the 18th century.

--Dutch agriculture began to expand, although rather slowly, in the second half of the 18th century, in part because of less grain imported from the Baltic. Industrial production of tobacco, flax and hops declined. Potato production increased dramatically, but this was, as elsewhere in Europe, a sign of relative poverty in the countryside.

Urban decay

-The urban population of the Republic’s thirty largest cities, which had been stable between 1690 and 1730, began to decline from 36.3% of the population in 1730 to 32.8% in 1755. The urban population percentage in the three largest cities—Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague--increased while the smaller cities declined absolutely.

--The decline of entrepreneurial opportunity made the property owning *rentiers* the main group of wealthy urban residents. To a considerable degree the *rentiers* of Holland were dependent on the VOC and the state for their wealth, which consisted largely of bonds, obligations, dividends, shares and foreign funds.

--The contraction of the urban economy meant the decline of the middle sectors of urban society, such as millers, bakers, shopkeepers and skilled artisans.

--Industrial decline saw the decline of the industrial work force. In Leiden the number of textile workers declined from 36,000 in the 1680s to 17,000 by 1752.

--Inland towns also contracted, especially in the garrison towns, but also in trading and industrial centers. By the last quarter of the 18th century the general decline of urban towns had become obvious and much commented on by foreign visitors,

--There was also de-urbanization in the southern Netherlands, but there the overall population grew due to the expansion of rural industry in the Walloon towns and in agriculture. The Flemish towns and their high-end industries declined.

Wealth and Poverty

--Despite the decline of the cities, there was no large-scale urban poverty until the 1770s, since workers and their families migrated to where there were jobs. Many went to Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague and many skilled artisans moved to Britain, Scandinavia, Prussia, and Russia. Some emigrated to the New World. At the same time, since the standard of living in the

Republic was still relatively high, the immigration of unskilled and often seasonal workers continued.

--Because of lower demand, food and rent prices declined in the 1720s and remained low until the late 18th century. As a result, living standards did not decline immediately. Workers organized to protect their wages and increased guild restrictions to protect their jobs.

--“Living off the legacy of the past, the Republic was still an affluent society compared with neighbouring countries. But it was a society in which the middle strata were being squeezed and wealth was becoming more polarized than it had been in the Golden Age” (p. 1017).

--The demand for poor relief in the cities did not begin to increase dramatically until the 1770s. Rural poverty in the inland provinces, however, rose steadily during the 18th century. In Overijssel, for example, those too poor to pay direct taxes rose from 25% in 1675 to 38% in 1758.

38) THE CHURCHES

Dutch Reformed, Protestant Dissenters, Catholics and Jews

--During the 18th century, the Dutch Reformed Church, the public Church, retained the allegiance of the majority of the population throughout the Republic except in the Generality Lands—Twente and the southern fringe of Gelderland beneath the Waal—where there was a large Catholic population. Nevertheless, with the growth of toleration, a marked feature of Dutch life in the eighteenth century, there was a noticeable tendency, virtually throughout the Republic (except Friesland), for the preponderance of the Reformed majority to be reduced” (p. 1019).

--It was toleration and immigration, especially from Germany that played the largest role in changing the balance of confessional adherents. Catholics became more numerous as did Lutherans and Jews. The Anabaptists and Remonstrant Churches declined.

--The Catholic population in Holland grew from 18% to 23% during the 18th century. One quarter of Haarlem’s population was Catholic. Utrecht was one-third Catholic. The Generality lands were overwhelmingly Catholic. Even in Holland and Utrecht there were villages that were overwhelmingly Catholic and others where there were very few Catholics. By 1809, 23% of the population of the Netherlands was Catholic.

--The Lutheran Church also grew vigorously during the 18th century, especially in towns.

--The growth of toleration can also be seen in the growth of Jewish communities, mostly from German immigrants. During the 17th century most of the Jewish immigrants from Germany were poor and came as peddlers. This led many towns to bar them in order to protect their Christian shopkeepers. By the 18th century this discrimination diminished and many towns, and even villages, had a Jewish presence.

The Loosening of Internal Confessional Barriers

--Tensions between the Voetians (more fundamentalist) and the Cocceians (less literal in their interpretation of scripture) within the state Reformed Church had been eased in 1694 when William III refused to agree to a Voetian crackdown on the Cocceians in the synods and consistories and sided with the States of Holland in drawing up a detailed set of regulations, the *reglement*, designed to regulate appointments to preaching vacancies. While the tensions continued into the 1750s, during the 18th century the more tolerant Cocceians gradually gained the upper hand in the Reformed Church. The spreading of Enlightenment ideas throughout the educated classes supported greater religious toleration. Toleration was also more thoroughly supported by the civil authorities.

--Within the Catholic Church serious disagreements between Jansenists and anti-Jansenists came to the surface in the Republic with the growth of anti-Jansenism in the southern Netherlands. In 1723, a schism developed when the “Old Catholics,” the Jansenist faction (about 10% of Catholics), refused to obey the Pope. The schism remains to this day.

39) THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Dutch Impact

--The Dutch Enlightenment was rooted in the intellectual breakthroughs of the late 17th century, which had an extraordinary impact upon the European Enlightenment in general, but during the 18th century Dutch intellectual importance diminished relative to the importance of the Scottish and French Enlightenment. This was in part due to a decline in importance of the Dutch language, due to its loss of economic leadership, and to French writers, such as Bayle who lived and worked in the Republic but failed to learn Dutch.

--A major aspect of the European Enlightenment was that from about 1700 there was a more positive attitude toward religious toleration and a greater interest in the scholarship of comparative religion. This included a greater appreciation of Jewish religious writers and of Christian anti-Semitism.

-- The monumental and influential work of Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *Cérémonies religieuses de tous les peuples des monde (Religious Ceremonies and Customs of peoples of the world)* was published in 1723 in The Hague and illustrated by Bèrnard Picart, a Freemason.

This highly influential work on comparative religion treated Christianity as just another religion alongside Judaism, Islam and Freemasonry.

--Dutch society was unique in the first quarter of the 18th century with its vigorous campaign against Spinoza, stoked on by Pierre Bayle. The educated public identified Spinoza’s followers as freethinkers. As a consequence, Deism and the rejection of biblical revelation were pushed underground and became a Radical Enlightenment.

“Reacting against Spinoza, the Dutch mainstream Enlightenment never frontally questioned divine revelation, but sought rather, to combine a conventional pious—albeit tolerant and non-confessional—belief that God is omnipresent in nature and society with a zeal for empirical science and the *esprit systématique*” (p. 1041).

--The 18th century Dutch Enlightenment particularly focused on empirical science and to the packaging and popularization of Newtonian science. It especially emphasized applied science and technology.

--The Dutch did important work in physics, in microscopic science, and in botany. The great Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus spent several years in the United Provinces (1735-38) and left behind many followers.

--Herman Boerhave (1668-1738) was the most famous medical scientist in Europe in his day and was one of the key founders of medicine as a clinical science. Boerhave taught Europe how Newtonian principles could be applied to chemistry. Peter the Great visited him in Leiden in 1717 and accompanied him on his tour of Leiden’s *Hortus Botanicus*.

--Dutch printed and illustrated works in anatomy were as famous as those in botany and zoology.

--The essence of the Dutch mainstream Enlightenment was the overthrow of Cartesian deductive science and its replacement with *philosophia experimentalis*, a mania for classification that spilled over beyond the realm of the natural sciences” (p. 1045).

--Until the 1740s the Republic served as the hub of the European Enlightenment and was the headquarters of Europe's learned periodicals and book reviewers. One of the crucial roles of the Republic was to introduce English ideas and culture to the Continent, especially Newton, Locke and Boyle.

The 'Radical' Enlightenment

"The Dutch 'Radical Enlightenment—essentially a popularization of Spinoza's critique of revealed religion—was the most vehement attack on Christianity of the first third of the eighteenth century" (p. 1047).

--Spinoza's followers produced popular editions of Spinoza, which were officially banned in Holland as well as France. A biography claimed, although historians doubt its veracity, that Spinoza was consulted and protected by Johan de Witt, the Grand Pensionary of Holland. Popular versions of Spinoza circulated widely in manuscripts, which a group of Dutch and Huguenot free thinkers made into a "subterranean force, the main engine of the Radical Enlightenment in the United Provinces, if not *the* engine, behind the first broad anti-Christian writing in France" (p. 1048).

Decline of Dutch Universities

--Although Voltaire was impressed by Dutch universities when he was in Holland in 1737, they had already begun a decline that accelerated in the 1740s so that by the end of the century foreign students were down to 10% of what they had been a century earlier.

The Decline of the Visual Arts

--At the beginning of the 18th century the Republic was still seen as the chief arts center of Northern Europe.

--From the 1690s there was a marked shift from painting to the decorative arts, especially for the houses of the rich.

The Enlightenment in the South

--After the war of the Austrian Secession in 1748, the Enlightenment quickened in the south. It drew especially upon the French Enlightenment and was also influenced by the court of Maria Theresa in Vienna. It did not, however, help in breaking down the cultural, religious, intellectual and psychological barriers separating the two parts of the Netherlands.

The Enlightenment in the Colonies

--By the mid-18th century, a more enlightened and tolerant attitude allowed the establishment of Lutheran churches in Asia and in the American colonies. The position of Catholics also improved but it was not until 1787 that Catholics were allowed their own church in Surinam.

--In South Africa, the white population grew from 1750 to almost 10,000 by 1778. Most of the white population was German Lutheran but they were not allowed a Church until 1780 and all schools were Dutch Reformed.

--The first political opposition to the VOC, spurred on by the American Revolution and Enlightenment, took place among the wealthy farmers around Capetown.

The Later Dutch Enlightenment

--After about 1840, Dutch intellectual and scientific developments were no longer an important influence on the progress of the European Enlightenment.

--There was a great deal of pressure from the Reformed Church that turned Dutch scholars away from the larger and more controversial issues of the late 18th century Enlightenment and made them increasingly inward looking. They especially attempted to find moral reasons for Dutch decline.

--The late 18th century did see the establishment of many civic philosophical, literary and scientific societies in the Republic.

--In 1784 a Society for the Public Good was established—Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen. This was the first society in the Republic founded to discuss public policy that was not established by the government or the regents.

40) THE SECOND ORANGIST REVOLUTION, 1747-1751

--In 1747 a small French army entered States Flanders as a warning to the Republic to desist from helping the British militarily. Although a modest incursion, it brought back memories of the year of disaster in 1672. Anger and fear swept through the Zeeland towns at the Republic's military humiliation. Popular demonstrations sporting Orange ribbons followed in Holland. In May the States of Holland capitulated to the demands of the demonstrators and named William IV the Stadholder. The other provinces followed. Thus far there had been popular intimidation of the authorities but no violence.

--The fall of Bergen-op-Zoom to the French in September of 1747 produced more violent and anti-Catholic demonstrations.

--The radicals in Holland demanded a fully hereditary Stadholderate, the choosing of militia officers from among the citizenry rather than from the regents, rotation of seats in town councils, and the restoration of the guilds to their former privileges.

--In the Friesland countryside, rioters attacked the houses of officials and tax-farmers. In Haarlem, a mob also attacked the tax collectors and their houses. Similar riots followed in Leiden, The Hague and Amsterdam.

--The Orangists' political leaders sought to use the popular riots in order to replace the regents in the towns with officials loyal to the Stadholder. They used Locke's political philosophy to support their cause.

--The Prince of Orange attempted to pacify the rioters with some concession but would not meet their demands for independent militias.

--The revolution of 1747-51 strengthened the Stadholder's position and weakened the regents. The result was a constitutional monarchy without a crowned head. The Prince of Orange now had the authority to reform the administration but he died unexpectedly at the age of 40 in 1751.

41) THE FALTERING REPUBLIC AND THE NEW DYNASTY IN THE SOUTH

Politics During The Minority Of William V, 1751-1766

-In its weakened state, the Republic had become potentially unstable. After William IV's death, Anne of Hanover assumed many of the responsibilities of the Stadholder but not with the authority of a Prince. She was assisted by a council of ministers that met regularly, which was led by Bentinck van Rhoon. Van Rhoon hoped to use the revolution to create a stronger federal

constitutional state with a regular cabinet, while the Duke of Brunswick, who was an Austrian military commander and a conservative, wished to strengthen the power of the Prince.

--For the first time the Republic now had a Court nobility resembling the courts of neighbouring monarchies. The Stadholder government created patronage networks in all the provinces. After Anne's death in 1759, Brunswick, who had earlier been named guardian of William V, became more influential.

--Political divisions squandered the opportunity provided by the revolution of 1747-51 to create a more efficient federal state out of the Republic. The state, however, did learn how to put down popular disturbances more efficiently but fundamental reform was put postponed.

--There developed a vigorous intellectual debate about who constituted the real heroes of the Golden Age, and especially about the meaning of the 'True Freedom' of de Witt and whether it should be abandoned for either a stronger Orangist central monarchy or replaced by a more democratic constitutional structure.

New directions in the Austrian Netherlands

--The 1750s and 1760s saw a decisive shift in the economic, political and strategic relations between the northern and southern Netherlands. The middle decades of the 18th century saw steady population growth in Flanders, Brabant and the Walloon region and a rapid expansion of industry and agriculture in these areas. The United Provinces were still superior in maritime trade, finance and as a colonial power "but its industries were ruined, its 'rich trades' in collapse, its cities decaying, and agricultural relatively stagnant" (p. 1087). These changed conditions saw the weakening of the commercial restrictions imposed by the Austrian-Dutch Treaty of 1715 although the Scheldt closure continued.

--Since the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, the Southern Netherlands had served as a strategic bulwark to contain France with the stationing of troops from England and Britain in the South. This changed when France invaded the South in 1745 and humiliated the Republic. The Franco-Austrian Treaty of 1756 allowed the South to be stable, secure, and prosperous between a friendly France and a neutral Republic until the 1780s.

--Under Charles Alexander, the South pursued an aggressive economic tariff program that shut out foreign iron in 1750, Delftware and Dutch tiles in 1758, and British coal in 1761. This stimulated home production. The harbor at Ostend was improved and a series of canals were built to connect Brussels to the coast and to the Rhineland. The linen industry in Flanders expanded but more importantly the Walloon region saw the growth of coalmines and the iron industry. At the same time a fine-cloth industry triangle developed in the Verviers-Eupen-Aachen triangle that became the leader in Europe. Sugar, tobacco and salt processing industries were developed around Brussels that supplied the Austrian Netherlands and replaced imports from the Republic.

--Culturally, Charles Alexander, the governor of the Austrian Netherlands and the heir to the dynastic House of Lorraine, who had been brought up in Nancy, promoted a local neoclassicism distinct from that in Vienna, rebuilt old palaces and built new ones. He assembled a superb collection of 17th century Flemish art, created a natural history museum and established porcelain and silk industries.

The Early Years of William V's Stadholderate, 1766-1780

--William V, a relatively weak personality, came into his majority in 1766 and was dominated by Brunswick, who had secured an Act of Advisorship with the Prince. The Prince married

Fredirika Sophia Wilhelmina, a princess and niece of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Prussia controlled a great deal of territory on the Republic's eastern border and many saw Prussia as a threat to the Republic's independence. Moreover, Brunswick "saw the United Provinces more as a medium sized German dynastic state to be cultivated chiefly in terms of dynastic interests" (p.1092). After 1766 Brunswick controlled the Orangist groups in the Republic with patronage and created a Prussian style court at The Hague.

--By the late 1770s the regime of William V and Brunswick was on the defensive. The diplomatic revolution of 1756 created an alliance of Prussia and Britain, while Britain and France engaged in a worldwide imperial conflict. During the early 1780s, Emperor Joseph II of Austria demanded the end of the Dutch Barrier system (the forts in the South), the return of some territory to the Austrian Netherlands, the end of the Republic's military fort at Maastricht and the opening of the Scheldt for commerce. Neutrality had now trapped the Republic between the four Great Powers. While William V and Brunswick sought to increase military expenditures during the 1770s, the Republic could not agree on whether it should concentrate on its navy to protect its international trade and colonial empire or on its army to protect its borders. The result was that nothing was done.

--"By the late 1770s, the United Provinces were caught in a *malaise* which extended into every dimension of national life. The sense of the Republic being in a steep decline became pervasive" (p.1095). The States General and the Stadholder were in deadlock. Its colonial empire and shipping were vulnerable to the rise of British imperial power. It was boxed in between the rising continental powers of Prussia and Austria. "This combination of economic, political and imperial crisis facing the Republic in turn generated a degree of ideological tension which rendered the United Provinces more immediately vulnerable to revolutionary turmoil than probably any other European country, even France" (p. 1095). Moreover, at home the Republic's government was looked upon without respect.

--The American Revolution increased tension between the Republic and Britain, and between the Orangists and the opponents of the regime at home. The American revolutionaries acquired much of their weaponry from the Dutch via St. Eustatias in the West Indies. The rise of British imperial power had produced Anglophobia in the Republic. The American Revolution also increased ideological tensions in the Republic. Van der Capellen translated Richard Price's *Observations on Civil Society* (1776), a critique of monarchical and aristocratic government, into Dutch. The Orangists, including the Sephardic Jewish writer, Isaac de Pinto, supported British policy in North America.

--The British demanded an end of Dutch arms sales to the Americans and attacked a Dutch convoy in the Channel in 1779. War broke out in 1780. The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War of 1780-84 was an "unmitigated disaster for the Dutch" (p, 1097). The British captured St. Eustatius, the west Guyana colonies, all West African forts except Elmina, several forts in southern India and Ceylon and hundreds of Dutch ships.

The Patriot Revolution, 1780-1787

--On September 26, 1781, a revolutionary pamphlet by Baron van der Capellen, *Aan het Volk van Nederland* (To the people of the Netherlands) was posted all over the country. It argued that Dutch freedom had been suppressed since 1572 by Orangist forces using the standing army. He argued that in order to regain their freedom, and to once again participate in civic and provincial government, as they had once done before the Hapsburgs, they must create a people's militia devoted to the principles of freedom. He urged the Dutch to follow the American example and to

rise up against their government. He urged a democratic revolt of the people at the local level and the replacement the government from the bottom up. The people should learn to use weapons and drill, especially after Church on Sundays, like the Americans and the Swiss and to create citizen militias that chose their own officers.

--During 1782, especially in Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel, the Patriot press bombarded the public with revolutionary rhetoric. It was a revolution led by journalists, lawyers and other professionals that appealed to the literate middle strata of society. "The Patriots saw their movement as essentially a revival, continuation, and completion of the Dutch Revolt against Spain" (p. 1100). But this time it included an idealization of the 'people,' a democratic tendency and "a form of national feeling more akin to the liberal nationalism of early 19th century Europe than any sense of identity which prevailed in the United Provinces during the Golden Age" (p. 1101). The revolution rejected all discrimination against Roman Catholics and other religious minorities and demanded political participation for the Generality Lands equal to that existing in the seven United Provinces. They labeled all supporters of the Orangists as anti-Patriots.

--The new citizen militias were called Free Corps and were to replace the old civic guards. They were controlled by burgher defense councils that selected the officers; they were open to all Dutchmen regardless of religion; they were to participate directly in politics and support the Regents that agreed with them and oppose the anti-Patriots; and they were to acquire modern weapons and drill intensively so that they could oppose regular troops if this became necessary.

--A collaborative two volume work, that included a section by Van der Capellen, was published in 1784 that outlined an intellectual rationale for the Patriot Revolution: *Grondwetting Herstelling* (Constitutional Restoration), which, according to Israel, was "arguably one of the most important political texts of pre-1789 Enlightenment Europe" (p. 1102). It like, Capellen's tract argued for strong citizen militias to force the Stadholders to respect the sovereignty of the people While the volumes included a democratic element, it was far from fully democratic in character, It advocated government through historical evolved existing institutions by the best qualified—a new elite "those who by their ability and conscientiousness, showed themselves worthy of being promoted from lower to higher offices" (p. 1103). This enlightened elite would replace the existing Regent elite.

--"The Dutch Patriot Revolution was a product of the Enlightenment and age of Atlantic Democratic revolutions. Its assumptions and outlook show many affinities with the thought-world of men throughout the western world eager for fundamental reform, and the sovereignty of the people, albeit in forms which would safeguard property and elevated the qualified above the masses." While they drew upon writers such as Price, Priestly and Rousseau, "in the main, Patriot ideas grew out of Dutch ideological debates of the mid-eighteenth century . . . and were ultimately rooted in the seventeenth century controversies about the nature of the Revolt against Spain and the works of Grotius, Grasswinckel, De Witt, De la Court, Huber, Noodt, Van Slingelandt, and other seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch political writers" (pp. 1103-04). A key Patriot theorist was Rugar Jan Schimmelpennick, the last Grand Pensionary of the Batavian Republic 1805-06.

--Important features of the Patriot Revolution were that it took place both in the coastal and inland provinces and it managed much better coordination of activities than the unrest of 1672, 1702-07 and 1748. It was a further development of these political upheavals rather, as has often been argued, a wholly new development linked to the Atlantic Revolutions of the late 18th century.

--Popular unrest began in Utrecht with mass demonstrations that featured a V for *Vrijheid* (freedom) to counter the orange worn by supporters of the stadholder. There were street clashes between Patriot and Orangist crowds in many cities. The Free Corps began to suppress Orangist demonstrations in cities and the public authorities were forced from office and to flee from many towns. A mass demonstration of Free Corps from around the country took place in Utrecht in 1786 and the Patriots were victorious in Utrecht, Holland and Overijssel, while the Orangists held Zeeland, Friesland and part of Gelderland. Civil war appeared imminent but a split developed in the Patriot movement because the regent elites of many Holland towns, including Amsterdam, only wanted to go as far as pruning the Stadholder's power back to what it was before 1747. The Patriots managed a coup and gained control in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1787.

--There were both Orangist and Patriot factions within the Reformed Church that drew upon the old disputes between the fundamentalists and the more liberal Arminians. The ideological divide between the two blocs within the established Church was about the meaning of freedom, especially press freedom, the place of the Church in politics and society, and above all about the democratic element of the role of the people as a whole in politics.

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

The Orangist Counter Revolution, 1787-1795

--During the summer of 1787 it did not appear that the Stadholder and the regular army could pacify the country. The Patriots saw Britain as the biggest threat, especially in the colonial empire, and Britain supported the Orangists with money. Frederick the Great of Prussia died in 1786 and was succeeded by Friedrich Wilhelm II, an enemy of democratic ideas and the brother of Wilhelmina (the Stadholder's wife). When Princess Wilhelmina was arrested by the Gouda Free Corps in June of 1787, Prussia massed troops on the Republic's border with the encouragement of Britain. In September 1787, a Prussian army of 26,000 marched on Amsterdam and the Hague. There was virtually no resistance. Backed by Prussian troops and British money, William V returned to The Hague. The press was muzzled, political meetings were forbidden and Patriot Clubs and the Free Corps were dissolved. There was Orangist mob violence against Patriot property but there were almost no casualties. Several thousand Patriots fled the country. Many of these ended up in France and were welcomed by Louis XVI. There were few retribution arrests in the Republic.

--The Orangists were once again in power but there was very little reform except that the WIC was ended in 1791 and the Dutch West Indies came under direct government control.

The Conservative Revolution in the 'South' and the New 'Netherlands Republic.'

--When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, the Patriot Revolution became inextricably politically and ideologically linked with it, although it was neither anti-Christian nor even un-Christian.

--The revolution in the South was a reaction to the 'revolution from above' by the New Austrian Emperor, Joseph II who had visited in 1781. He took direct control of the Austrian Netherlands and subjected it to Vienna. He issued a Patent of Toleration for all religions in a region that had experienced two centuries of Catholic Counter Reformation, closed many monasteries and subjected the rest directly to Vienna rather than Rome. He restricted religious processions, reformed the guilds, restructured the University of Leuven, curtailed noble and ecclesiastical privileges, and reopened the Scheldt to maritime traffic. The latter won public support but the

other decrees produced a vigorous protest movement. There was a popular rising in Brussels and for two years the South teetered on open revolt. In June 1789 Joseph II abrogated all provincial privileges in the southern provinces. The Belgian rebels (they used the name Belgian) received support from the north although the revolts in the north and south were completely different. William V and his Prussian allies were hostile to Austria and Joseph II and they encouraged a popular and conservative uprising in the south. The south's political manifesto used the same words as Act of Abjuration against Phillip II in 1581.

--In October 1789, Belgian rebel forces, which had been training in the Republic invaded the south and defeated the Austrian army and proclaimed a new republic, which they called the Republic of the United Netherlands States. The new government soon split into a conservative and democratic-liberal group. Popular conservative forces, consisting of peasants and guild members, who rejected Enlightenment ideas and toleration, routed the democrats and liberals in 1790 and the latter fled to France. The new republic only lasted for a few months. Joseph II died in 1790 and the new Austrian Emperor made peace with Prussia. This allowed an Austrian army of 30,000 troops to enter Belgium and it restored order. Joseph II's reforms were cancelled. The new arrangements for the south were guaranteed by Britain, Prussia and Austria.

--The Brabant counter-revolutionaries of 1789 were the first to call the Dutch and French speaking provinces of the south "Belgium." They were the first conservative populist revolutionaries in Europe that rejected the Enlightenment, opposed the revolution in France, were militant adherents to Catholicism but nonetheless participated in the awakening of a popular nationalism and sovereignty.

The End of the United Provinces

In June of 1794 a French revolutionary army defeated an Austrian army and imposed a version of its revolution upon Belgium. In 1795, France formally annexed the country. France imposed a French system of government and abolished the monasteries and confiscated Church property.

-- French armies advanced into the north across the frozen rivers in 1795. In the north there was a genuine revolutionary movement in anticipation of the arrival of French revolutionary forces. The invasion was almost like a carnival as the French found town after town festooned with revolutionary tricolors. There was very little violence against the fleeing Orangists and the Republic's authorities. The revolution was seen at the time as a continuation of the Patriot Revolution. The name of the republic was changed to the Batavian Republic. The French authorities promised that they would not interfere with the domestic political arrangements of the new Republic.

44) DENOUEMENT

The Batavian Republic, 1795-1806

--The Republic had been at war with France and it imposed an indemnity of 100 million *guldens*. The Dutch also lost Venlo, Roermond and Maastricht (in Limburg) and States Flanders to France. The latter meant that the Scheldt, which had been closed since 1585, would be reopened.

--The Patriots were allowed to form a new government. There were no legal reprisals against the Orangist leaders who had not fled.

--Democratic forms of government were created in the towns.

--The VOC was liquidated in 1795.

--A National Assembly was elected and met in 1796. There was no sharp break with the past. There were more lawyers, journalists and professionals in the new government, but it also included some members from regent and noble families. There was a large bloc of Orangists in the Assembly. The Constitution, which retained the federal structure of the old Republic, was rejected in a popular plebiscite in 1797. In January 1798 there was a French backed *coup d'état* that imposed a unitary constitution that swept away the forms of the old Republic. It was ratified by a plebiscite in which only 30% of the electorate voted.

--The revolutionary fervor did not last long.

--A crushing defeat of the Republic's navy by the British at Camperdown in 1797 helped cool enthusiasm for the Batavian Republic.

--A coup in 1798 was followed by several other coups. This produced paralysis so that the new forms of government created were never fully implemented and fundamental reforms were put off. Provincial self-government had been essential to the old system and proved very resistant to change. In 1801 the unitary government reforms were abandoned. The revolutionary turmoil had in fact left Dutch society in a remarkably orderly and traditional state. City governments also remained largely in place despite all the rhetoric about reform.

--Catholics had been very important in the Patriot revolutionary movements but they largely disappeared as officials at the higher levels of government after 1798.

--The wars against revolutionary France severely damaged Dutch trade and shipping and resentment against the French increased.

--Beginning in 1798, William V and the British began to plan for the restoration of the House of Orange and formulated a plan to create a united state of the northern and southern provinces under an Orange monarchy.

--An Anglo-Russian invasion force was prepared. The British landed 24,000 troops in the north of Holland. Most of the Dutch navy mutinied and raised orange flags. However, a Dutch-French army defeated the British in October 1799 near Alkmaar and the invasion force was evacuated.

Abolished by Napoleon

--William V had ordered Dutch colonial administrators not to oppose the British. Few obeyed but confusion and lack of resources allowed Britain to take over the Dutch colonial empire.

--Dutch trade, shipping and the fisheries were devastated by the war.

--The Napoleonic economic blockade against Britain further damaged the Dutch economy.

--Dutch cities declined in population.

--The cost of war saw France demand more taxes from the Dutch and Napoleon lost patience with Dutch Republicans and what he saw as their obstructionism. He installed a new regime in the Republic (1805-06) with a new unitary government that finally did away with the provincial and civic autonomy of the old Republic. Napoleon created a monarchy headed by his brother, Louis Bonaparte. Local elites were stripped of all power. A new legal code of 1809 ended regional court autonomy and created a unified legal system. The guilds were abolished in 1808.

"In these years, practically every typical feature of the old Republic was finally erased, and consciously so" (p. 1129). Even the royal court was moved from The Hague, first to Utrecht, and then to Amsterdam, where the Amsterdam City Hall, a potent and proud symbol of the Republic's federal structure, became the Royal Palace.