

CHAPTER XI

PRINCE MAURICE IN POWER

[1609-1625 A.D.]

WITH the exception of a bloodless mimicry of war, in a dispute over the succession to the duchy of Jülich, or Juliers, the United Provinces presented for the space of twelve years a long-continued picture of peace, as the term is generally received: but a peace so disfigured by intestine troubles, and so stained by actions of despotic cruelty, that the period which should have been that of its greatest happiness becomes but an example of its worst disgrace.

The assassination of Henry IV, in the year 1609, whilst robbing France of one of its best monarchs, deprived the United Provinces of their truest and most powerful friend.

But the death of this powerful supporter of their efforts for freedom, and the chief guarantee for its continuance, was a trifling calamity to the United Provinces, in comparison with the rapid fall from the true point of glory so painfully exhibited in the conduct of their own domestic champion. It had been well for Prince Maurice of Nassau had the last shot fired by the defeated Spaniards in the battle of Nieuport struck him dead in the moment of his greatest victory, and on the summit of his fame. From that celebrated day he had performed no deed of war that could raise his reputation as a soldier, and all his acts as stadholder were calculated to sink him below the level of civil virtue¹ and just government.

Opposed to Maurice in almost every one of his acts was Barneveld, one of the truest patriots of any time or country; and, with the exception of William the great prince of Orange, the most eminent citizen to whom the affairs of the Netherlands have given celebrity. Long after the completion

[¹ Jeannin had proposed to the states the ample provisions made for the prince and his whole family on the occasion of the treaty. Philip, prince of Orange, besides his share of his paternal estates, received 1,000,000 guilders; an annuity of 25,000 guilders was conferred on Prince Maurice, who was likewise to retain his present offices, at a salary of 80,000 guilders a year, with 80,000 more as an indemnification for the loss he sustained by the cessation of the war; and proportional pensions were settled on Prince Henry, Count William of Nassau, stadholder of Friesland, the princess dowager, and even upon Justin of Nassau, the illegitimate son of the late prince of Orange. Of the selfish rapacity of Maurice, the prominent vice of his character, the English ambassador, Sir Ralph Winwood^b gives the following testimony: "No one thing hath been of greater trouble to us than the craving humour of Count Maurice, who, not satisfied with the large treatments granted by the states, demanded satisfaction for certain pretensions, grounded upon grants to his father from the states of Brabant and Flanders, at such time as they were under the government of the duke of Alençon; which demand he pressed so hard that he gave a charge to Count William not to sign the treaty unless in this particular he should receive contentment."*]

of the truce, every minor point in the domestic affairs of the republic seemed merged in the conflict between the stadholder and the pensionary. Without attempting to specify these, we may say, generally, that almost every one redounded to the disgrace of the prince and the honour of the patriot.

THE ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY

But the main question of agitation was the fierce dispute which soon broke out between two professors of theology of the university of Leyden, Francis Gomarus and Jakobus Arminius [Jacob van Harmensen]. We do not regret on this occasion that our confined limits spare us the task of recording in detail controversies on points of speculative doctrine. The whole



FRANCIS GOMARUS
(1593-1641)

strength of the intellects which had long been engaged in the conflict for national and religious liberty was now directed to metaphysical theology, and wasted upon interminable disputes about predestination and grace. Barneveld enrolled himself among the partisans of Arminius; Maurice eventually became a Gomarist. It was, however, scarcely to be wondered at that a country so recently delivered from slavery both in church and state should run into wild excesses of intolerance. Persecutions of various kinds were indulged in against papists, anabaptists, Socinians, and all the shades of doctrine into which Christianity had split. Every minister who, in the milder spirit of Lutheranism, strove to moderate the rage of Calvinistic enthusiasm, was openly denounced by its partisans; and one, named Gaspard Koolhaas, was actually excommunicated by a synod.

Arminius had been appointed professor at Leyden in 1603, for the mildness of his doctrines, which were joined to most affable manners, a happy temper, and a purity of conduct which no calumny could successfully traduce. His colleague Gomarus, a native of Bruges, learned, violent, and rigid in sectarian points, soon became jealous of the more popular professor's influence. A furious attack on the latter was answered by recrimination; and the whole battery of theological authorities was reciprocally discharged by one or other of the disputants.

The states of Holland interfered between them: they were summoned to appear before the council of state; and grave politicians listened for hours to the dispute. Arminius obtained the advantage, by the apparent reasonableness of his creed, and the gentleness and moderation of his conduct. He was meek, while Gomarus was furious; and many of the listeners declared that they would rather die with the charity of the former than in the faith of the latter. A second hearing was allowed them before the states of Holland (August 20th, 1609). Again Arminius took the lead; and the controversy went on unceasingly, till this amiable man, worn out by his exertions

[1609-1616 A.D.]

and the presentiment of the evil which these disputes were engendering for his country, expired October 19th, 1609, in his forty-ninth year, piously persisting in his opinions.

The Gomarists now loudly called for a national synod, to regulate the points of faith. The Arminians remonstrated on various grounds, and thus acquired the name of "Remonstrants," by which they were soon generally distinguished. The most deplorable contests ensued. Serious riots occurred in several of the towns of Holland; and James I of England could not resist the temptation of entering the polemical lists, as a champion of orthodoxy and a decided Gomarist. His hostility was chiefly directed against Vorstius, the successor and disciple of Arminius. He pretty strongly recommended the states-general to have him burned for heresy. His inveterate intolerance knew no bounds; and it completed the melancholy picture of absurdity which the whole affair presents to reasonable minds.

In this dispute, which occupied and agitated all, it was impossible that Barneveld should not choose the congenial temperance and toleration of Arminius. Maurice, with probably no distinct conviction, or much interest in the abstract differences on either side, joined the Gomarists. His motives were purely temporal; for the party he espoused was now decidedly as much political as religious. King James rewarded him by conferring on him the riband of the order or the Garter vacant by the death of Henry IV of France. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great pomp by the English ambassador at the Hague; and James and Maurice entered from that time into a close and uninterrupted correspondence.

BARNEVELD OUTWITS KING JAMES

During the long continuance of the theological disputes, the United Provinces had nevertheless made rapid strides towards commercial greatness; and the year 1616 witnessed the completion of an affair which was considered the consolidation of their independence. This important matter was the recovery of the towns of Briel and Flushing, and the fort of Rammekins, which had been placed in the hands of the English as security for the loan granted to the republic by Queen Elizabeth. The whole merit of the transaction was due to the perseverance and address of Barneveld acting on the weakness and the embarrassments of King James. Religious contention did not so fully occupy Barneveld but that he kept a constant eye on political concerns. He was well informed on all that passed in the English court: he knew the wants of James, and was aware of his efforts to bring about the marriage of his son with the infanta of Spain. The danger of such an alliance was evident to the penetrating Barneveld, who saw in perspective the probability of the wily Spaniard's obtaining from the English monarch possession of the strong places in question. He therefore resolved on obtaining their recovery; and his great care was to get them back with a considerable abatement of the enormous debt for which they stood pledged, and which now amounted to 8,000,000 florins. It was finally agreed that the states should pay in full of the demand 2,728,000 florins (about £250,000), being about one-third of the debt. Prince Maurice repaired to the cautionary towns in the month of June, 1616, and received them at the hands of the English governors, the garrisons at the same time entering into the service of the republic.

The accomplishment of this measure afforded the highest satisfaction to

the United Provinces. It caused infinite discontent in England; and James, with the common injustice of men who make a bad bargain (even though its conditions be of their own seeking, and suited to their own convenience) turned his own self-dissatisfaction into bitter hatred against him whose watchful integrity had successfully laboured for his country's good. Barneveld's leaning towards France and the Arminians filled the measure of James' unworthy enmity. Its effects were soon apparent, on the arrival at the Hague of Carleton, who succeeded Winwood as James' ambassador. The haughty pretensions of this diplomatist, whose attention seemed turned to theological disputes rather than politics, gave great disgust; and he contributed not a little to the persecution which led to the tragical end of Barneveld's life. Frans van Aarssens, son to him who proved himself so incorruptible when attempted to be bribed by Neyen, was one of the foremost of the faction who now laboured for the downfall of the pensionary. He was a man of infinite dissimulation; versed in all the intrigues of courts; and so deep in all their tortuous tactics, that cardinal Richelieu, well qualified to prize that species of talent, declared that he knew only three great political geniuses, of whom Francis Aarssens was one.

The honorary empire of the seas seems at this time to have been successfully claimed by the United Provinces: they paid back with interest the haughty conduct with which they had been long treated by the English; and they refused to pay the fishery duties to which the inhabitants of Great Britain were subject. The Dutch sailors had even the temerity, under pretext of pursuing pirates, to violate the British territory: they set fire to the town of Crookhaven, in Ireland, and massacred several of the inhabitants. King James, immersed in theological studies, appears to have passed lightly over this outrage. But he took fire at the news that the states had prohibited the importation of cloth dyed and dressed in England. It required the best exertion of Barneveld's talents to pacify him.

The influence of Prince Maurice had gained complete success for the Calvinist party, in its various titles of Gomarists, non-remonstrants, etc. The audacity and violence of these ferocious sectarians knew no bounds. Outrages, too many to enumerate, became common through the country; and Arminianism was on all sides assailed and persecuted. Barneveld frequently appealed to Maurice without effect; and all the efforts of the former to obtain justice by means of the civil authorities were paralysed by the inaction in which the prince retained the military force. Schism upon schism was the consequence, and the whole country was reduced to that state of anarchy so favourable to the designs of an ambitious soldier already in the enjoyment of almost absolute power.

All efforts were subservient to the one grand object of utterly destroying, by a public proscription, the whole of the patriot party, now identified with Arminianism. A national synod was loudly clamoured for by the Gomarists in spite of opposition on constitutional grounds. Uitenbogaard, the enlightened pastor and friend of Maurice, who on all occasions laboured for the general good, now moderated, as much as possible, the violence of either party; but he could not persuade Barneveld to render himself, by compliance, a tacit accomplice in a measure that he conceived fraught with violence to the public privileges. He had an inflexible enemy in Carleton the English ambassador. His interference carried the question; and it was at his suggestion that Dordrecht, or Dort, was chosen for the assembling of the synod. Du Maurier, the French ambassador, acted on all occasions as a mediator. /

MAURICE *versus* BARNEVELD OR AUTOCRACY *versus* ARISTOCRACY

To recount fully the feud between Holland's most eminent politician and her most eminent soldier would require a further explication of fine religious and political distinctions than is possible in this work. It is desirable however, to contradict the impression given by many historians, that Maurice was altogether a self-seeking tyrant and Barneveld altogether a self-effacing patriot. It must be remembered always that Maurice refused the crown as positively as did George Washington, and that Barneveld was not only a man of a grasping and domineering nature, but also a representative of the aristocracy, not of the populace. The populace was as little represented in the republic of Holland as in the early republic of Switzerland. The internal contests in both came about from the mutual jealousies of states and cantons.

Holland, having borne more than half of the financial and other burdens of the seven provinces, had easily maintained control in time of war; but with peace came a desire for equality among the other states, and a corresponding unwillingness on the part of Holland to relinquish pre-eminence. The ensuing contest has been well likened to the quarrel between the doctrines of states' rights and of centralisation in the United States of America, with this modification — that in the Netherlands centralisation meant the states-general under the dominance of the states of Holland. As Motley^d says in his biography, "The states-general were virtually John of Barneveld." And Barneveld, being the advocate of Holland, felt a deeper concern for Holland than for the entire seven provinces, as later many a confederate leader felt a heavier duty to his own state than to the United States.

Involved in the tangle was Barneveld's strong feeling that the safety of the provinces lay in the friendship of France, then closely allied with Spain. He had already carried through his Spanish truce in spite of much opposition; and this collusion with the Catholic Spanish sovereignty, at a time of great religious bitterness, led many to believe that Barneveld was inclining to revert to Spanish domination and was even in Spanish pay — a cruelly unjust accusation, yet one that was honestly believed and openly averred. Furthermore, he stood for the eccentric and unpopular creed of religious tolerance; he wore an agnostic motto, "To know nothing is the safest creed," and he leaned towards the Arminian minority.

Prince Maurice, for his part, felt that he had many a just grievance. Luring the war he had been constantly hampered by the states-general, who disgusted him with their inexpert advice and compelled him to manoeuvres that often risked his whole campaign. The truce with Spain, at a time when he felt himself capable of imposing a far more advantageous treaty, had provoked his vain opposition. The end of war had removed him from the field of glory and the focus of European admiration. Now, Maurice was the direct descendant of an emperor. His father had been called the "father of his country." He had been repeatedly offered the crown. Yet the son, Maurice, had won brilliant victories where William the Silent had been able only to manipulate defeat after defeat. If William of Orange had deserved the crown, Maurice of Orange deserved it. He would not have taken it, he said; and when the opportunity came, and his friends recommended this step, he forbore. Later, it was indeed his bitterest charge against Barneveld that the advocate had accused him of seeking the crown. But, none the less, he felt that he deserved a foremost place in the government of the country, and it irritated him to find himself constantly over

reached by Barneveld. His acts became more and more dictatorial; but, for the matter of that, Barneveld was similarly dictatorial, and if Maurice made use of the troops he had led to such prestige, Barneveld enrolled other troops, the Waardgelders, against them.

If Maurice sought to increase his own power, similarly Barneveld sought both to crush the other states under the sway of Holland and to insist upon the non-interference of the other states in the affairs of Holland. Maurice came gradually to represent the anti-Holland party and the anti-Barneveld faction. He began to gain away Barneveld's majority in the states-general, leaving him only the Holland delegation, and not all of that.

The intense religious disputes brought this duel between two ambitious politicians to that fanatic length whither religious disputes usually tend. The states-general, under Barneveld's strong control, had at first sought to allay the fever of the Gomarists or Calvinists, but had only infuriated them by this "interference" of the state in the solemn doctrines of the church. Barneveld thus became an object of hatred to the other states of the union and to the majority of religious enthusiasts. But Maurice gradually inclined to the Calvinist side, and found himself heading the mass of the public in the resistance to Barneveld. Maurice was distinctly the leader of the populace.



PHILIPPE DUPLESSIS-MORNAY
(1540-1623)

These statements are not meant as palliation of the cruel excesses to which Maurice afterward drifted, but only as an offset to the unjudicial tendency to make an ideal martyr of the splendid but domineering Barneveld, and a complete villain

of the illustrious warrior. Barneveld was undoubtedly the larger-minded, the wiser, and nobler of the two men, and, above all, he stood for religious toleration. He was, as Motley^d said, "the prime minister of Protestantism." But he also was human, and the pity for his fate should not lead to a misjudgment of his historical meaning.

As Blok^e admits, "Rarely has any state government been so complicated as was that of the young commonwealth in its early years of acknowledged independence." The union was rather adhesive than cohesive, its elements being unlike in almost every way: Holland and Zeeland were countships; Gelderland was a duchy; Sticht was a bishopric; Utrecht was more nearly democratic. Then there were the ancient privileges to which individual cities clung, as dearer than life.

A strong central power was lacking.¹ There was a council of state, but

[¹ Was the supreme power of the union, created at Utrecht in 1579, vested in the states-general? They were beginning theoretically to claim it, but Barneveld denied the existence of any such power either in law or fact. It was a league of sovereignties, he maintained; a confederacy of seven independent states, united for certain purposes by a treaty made some thirty years before. Nothing could be more imbecile, judging by the light of subsequent events and

the states-general disputed its right to authority, and limited its prerogatives more and more. The states-general was a college of deputies from the seven provinces, which called themselves "sovereign powers." The number of representatives from each province was not regulated by any uniform law, nor was their term of office. The deputies had assumed almost no responsibilities; they wished to be instructed from home on every point. The laws they made must be proclaimed by the separate provincial states, each in its own province; and disagreement between these two groups was constant.

The office of governor or stadholder was really an anachronism, Maurice having been elected solely as a counterweight to the grasping Leicester. Now he was stadholder in five of the provinces, and his cousin William Louis of Nassau in the other two. Owing to the fact that the stadholder Maurice happened to have become also the prince of Orange, his powers were enlarged into nearly royal dignities; he was furthermore financially independent, and he had the support of the great mass of people, who, though they cheerfully ignored any rights to suffrage, were yet of inevitably great weight in carrying any policy to success.

The shapelessness and disunity of the government were recognised, but no remedy could be agreed upon. A union under a countship had been suggested, but Maurice said he would rather throw himself from the tower at the Hague than accept so limited a sovereignty as had been offered to his father; and the majority was not inclined to relinquish the limitations. The city of Utrecht, however, was prey to various disturbances in 1610 and so strongly inclined to uplift Maurice to the sovereignty that a civil war threatened; but the states-general under Barneveld's leadership managed to repress the movement.

Next the Arminian and Gomarist religious war broke out; and Barneveld, fearing a renewal of the church disturbances of Leicester's time, felt that only vigorous action by the states-general could avert serious trouble. He declared it to be better to be ruled by a lord than by a mob, though he equally abhorred hierarchy, monarchy, and democracy. He cared little about creeds, but he cared much about peace. The states forbade the Gomarist or counter-



JAKOBUS ARMINIUS
(1560-1609)

the experience of centuries, than such an organisation. Yet it was difficult to show any charter, precedent, or prescription for the sovereignty of the states-general. Necessary as such an incorporation was for the very existence of the union, no constitutional union had ever been enacted. Practically the province of Holland, representing more than half the population, wealth, strength, and intellect of the whole confederation, had achieved an irregular supremacy in the states-general. But its undeniable superiority was now causing a rank growth of envy, hatred, and jealousy throughout the country, and the great Advocate of Holland, who was identified with the province, and had so long wielded its power, was beginning to reap the full harvest of that malice. — MOTLEY. 4]

remonstrant synod, repressed the violence of preachers, and sought to gain control over church administration by reviving an ordinance of 1591.

This provoked such fierce opposition that Barneveld, Crocius, and others felt that military repression of the mob's intolerance for the Arminians would be needed. But where was it to be found? Not among the militia, because the populace was generally in favour of the counter-remonstrants. Not in the army, for Prince Maurice had been gradually driven to take a counter-remonstrant stand, though at first he had declined to meddle in theology and declared that he "knew nothing of predestination whether it were green or blue. He only knew that his flute and Barneveld's were not likely to make music together."

Frans van Aarssens and others called loudly on Maurice to protect the church from Arminian heresy and from Barneveld. It was the latter word that decided him, for he seems honestly to have believed that Barneveld was intriguing with France, Spain, and the archdukes, and was in their pay. When, then, Barneveld, on February 23rd, 1616, asked him to help the states-general to discipline the churchmen, he refused and demanded that a synod be called.

The turmoil grew more furious, and Barneveld seems to have tried to persuade the states of Holland even to offer Maurice the countship for his support; this step they refused. Yet something must be done, he felt, to maintain their authority. In despair he proposed that force should be employed and that four thousand mercenaries, or *Waardgelders*, be recruited by the magistrates of the towns for independent action. This meant to bring matters to a crisis and Maurice to open opposition. It was a desperate step and against a large majority with which Maurice allied himself more and more definitely. Barneveld found the states of Holland more and more timid of solving the question of church government as definitely as he wished. The city of Amsterdam was openly opposed to him. The states-general showed a majority against him.

The counter-remonstrants seized a church, August 5th, 1617. In rebuke of this, Barneveld managed to put through the states of Holland the so-called Sharp Resolution (*Scherpe Resolutie*) declaring the supremacy of the states in church matters, refusing to call any synod to debate matters in the province of the states, empowering the levy of *Waardgelders* to quell disturbance, and calling on all officials and all officers and soldiers to take an immediate oath of obedience to the states on pain of dismissal. Several towns accordingly enlisted bodies of *Waardgelders*, and administered the oath of obedience.

This brought Maurice to the forefront of the opposition. He carried through the states-general a motion forbidding the states of Holland to demand the oath; they then withdrew the clause concerning the oath, but the levy of troops went on. Now, Holland found herself without allies except Utrecht, and not agreed within her own bounds. The storm of pamphlets and orations against Barneveld left no part of his career, origin, or family unscathed, and finally drove him to publish an eloquent review of his life, a *Remonstrantie*, appealing to Maurice to recognise his fidelity to the nation.

But, in spite of Barneveld, the states-general declared that the national synod of churchmen should be called to solve the problems which Barneveld believed to belong to state jurisdiction and to take measures for deciding what and what only could be believed and preached in the Netherlands. July 9th, 1619, the states-general demanded the disbandment of the *Waardgelders* of Utrecht. They now sent the prince and others with troops to carry

[1618 A.D.]

out the order. Holland sent emissaries, Hugo Grotius among them, to persuade Utrecht to resist. Maurice prevailed, the Utrecht mercenaries were disbanded, and disarmed; the municipal officers took flight, and were replaced by counter-remonstrants chosen for life. Briel had been similarly reduced.

Holland was to be disarmed next; but eight cities declared that they would retain their *waardgelders* in spite of Maurice and as a protection against him. Barneveld and others begged the prince not to use force. He refused to grant the request. The mercenaries were ordered to disband. In spite of their early bravado, they dispersed, and the threatened opposition did not materialise, for Barneveld refused to put himself at its head and begin a civil war. He was warned then to take flight. This counsel also he refused.^a

THE ARREST OF BARNEVELD

On August 18th, 1618, Barneveld proceeded to the assembly of the states of Holland. A messenger informed him that the prince desired to speak with him. He accordingly went into the chamber where they were accustomed to hold their conferences, and was immediately arrested by Nythof, lieutenant of the prince's bodyguard, in the name of the states-general. The same pretence was used towards Grotius and Hoogerbeets, who were in like manner seized and conducted to separate apartments, each in ignorance of what had happened to the others. To these was afterwards added Ledenberg, secretary of the states of Utrecht.¹ Uitenbogaard fortunately effected his escape to Antwerp, where he continued during the remainder of the truce.

Although the arrest had been made in the name of the states-general, it had never been proposed in that assembly, but was resolved on by those members only who had accompanied Maurice to Utrecht, and executed by order of the prince himself. Barneveld, moreover, was under the especial protection of the states of Holland; and the two others as pensionaries of Rotterdam and Leyden were under the jurisdiction of those towns, or the court of Holland only; nor could they be legally arrested at all, unless *flagrante delicto*, without a previous complaint made to the municipal governments.

Violent and arbitrary as the arrest was, however, the states-general signified their approval of it. The states of Holland unhesitatingly expressed their surprise that a matter of such importance should have been resolved on and executed without their consent, or even knowledge, and demanded in strong terms satisfaction for the injury they had sustained by a proceeding so derogatory to the privileges and liberty of the province.

The remonstrance of the majority, accordingly, had but little weight with the prince, who replied that what had been done was by the command of the states-general, with whom the province of Holland must arrange the matter of their jurisdiction. Similar applications from Rotterdam and Leyden met with a like reception. The sons-in-law of Barneveld, the lords of Van der Myle, and Veenhuizen, with his son, the lord of Groeneveld, having besought the prince that their father, in consideration of his age and infirmity, might be allowed his own house as a prison, he threw this likewise upon the

¹ It was supposed by many persons that the ambassador Carleton was a party to this transaction, from the circumstance of his having arrived at the Hague the evening before from England, and having continued till a late hour of the night in conversation with the prince of Orange.

[1618 A.D.]

states-general, saying that it was their business alone. He added that their father should suffer no more harm than himself.¹

Maurice now repaired at the head of his body-guard of three hundred troops, first to Schoonhoven, where he discharged the magistrates from their oaths, and deposed all those members of the great council who had recommended toleration in religious matters, filling their places with the most violent of the counter-remonstrants. Thence he proceeded to effect a similar change in Briel, Delft, and other places, which, the garrisons being favourable

to him, offered not the slightest resistance. The governments of Haarlem, Leyden, and Rotterdam soon after shared a like fate with the rest, and Amsterdam itself, which, though conspicuous on the side of the counter-remonstrants, had only been so in consequence of a small majority in the council, underwent a similar change.

On intelligence of the arrest of Barneveld, Louis XIII of France commanded Boissize, his ambassador extraordinary to the states-general, in conjunction with Du Maurier, to use his utmost efforts towards preventing them, if possible, from proceeding to extremities against the prisoners, and to offer his mediation in appeasing the present discontents. The states-general made answer that the country was in no such danger as had been falsely represented to the king; that the prince of



JAN VAN OLDEN-BARNEVELD
(1549-1691)

Orange had, by mild measures, and without tumult or bloodshed, remedied the disorders that had arisen in the civil constitution, and that those which infected the church would be appeased by the synod which was shortly to be held at Dordrecht.

THE SYNOD OF DORT (OR DORDRECHT)

This measure had since the consent of Holland encountered no further difficulty. As a preliminary, it was necessary that provincial synods should

¹ It is evident from the letters of this period that considerable persuasion, and even importunity, was necessary to engage Maurice to adopt the unconstitutional measures he was hurried into; the ministers of the church, and the English ambassador, Carleton, made themselves particularly active.

[1618 A. D.]

be held, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the assembly, which was fixed for the 8th of November. To secure the majority in these synods was a measure of vital importance to the counter-remonstrants, and they accordingly employed every means they could devise to this end. The foreign churches that had been invited to commission delegates to the synod all complied with the request, except the Reformed church of France, whose delegates were forbidden by the king to repair thither. At the head of those appointed by King James was George Carleton, bishop of Llandaff.

On the 13th of November, this renowned assembly held its first meeting at Dordrecht, in the house called the "Doel," a building and yard set apart in the Dutch towns for the military exercises of the schuttery. The number of ecclesiastical delegates from the provinces amounted to thirty-eight ministers, twenty elders, and five professors of theology; to these were added eighteen "political commissioners," or deputies from the states-general. The whole number of delegates sent by the different foreign churches was twenty-eight, so that the native members, being in considerable majority, were enabled to outvote them whenever it might be found expedient.

The remonstrants, on the opening of the synod, demanded that they might send deputies under a safe conduct, to be present as parties, who should be permitted to defend their opinions in any manner they thought best. The political commissioners, however, determined that they could not recognise any other body in the Netherland church than that which was represented by the synod, and that the remonstrants were to be heard in no other way than in answer to a citation issued to those among them whom the assembly itself should choose. The synod accordingly issued citations to thirteen ministers of that party.

During the time that intervened before the cited parties could appear, the question was discussed of a new and accurate translation of the Bible into the Dutch language; work begun in pursuance of an order of the states in 1594, by Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde, who died before it was finished. Six theologians of eminent learning were now appointed to this task, who applied themselves to its execution with sedulous care and diligence, and their version has accordingly been held in high esteem by posterity. Finally, the expulsion of the remonstrants, in which act not a third of the synod participated, was approved of by a decree of the states-general.

The canons, consisting of the refutation and condemnation of the opinions of the remonstrants on the five articles, and an exposition of the doctrines held to be orthodox by the synod, laid down that "God has pre-ordained, by an eternal and immutable decree, before the creation of the world, upon whom he will bestow the free gift of his grace; that the atonement of Christ, though sufficient for all the world, is efficacious only for the elect; that conversion is not effected by any effort of man, but by the free grace of God given to those only whom he has chosen from all eternity; and that it is impossible for the elect to fall away from this grace."

The canons having been read and approved of, the 137th and 138th sessions were occupied in passing judgment on the persons of the remonstrants who had been cited. They were pronounced innovators, and disturbers of the church and nation; obstinate and rebellious; leaders of faction, teachers of false doctrine, and workers of schism; and deprived of their offices, both ecclesiastical and academical, till such time as they had satisfied the churches with evident signs of repentance; which sentence was subsequently confirmed by a decree of the states-general. Sentence of condemna-

[1619 A.D.]

tion was passed upon Vorstius and his doctrine: the former being declared unfit to serve the office of preacher and minister in the Reformed church; the latter, impious, blasphemous, and such as should be rooted out with abhorrence. He was banished from the United Provinces on pain of death.

Thus terminated this celebrated synod with the 180th session, after having been assembled more than seven months, at a cost to the state of 1,000,000 guilders [or £100,000]; and which, by some, has been looked up to with reverence as an assembly of learned and pious divines, whose decrees were inferior in purity and excellence of doctrine only to Scripture itself; while by others it has been regarded as a meeting of bigoted polemics, whose proceedings aimed rather at the discomfiture and mortification of their antagonists than the discovery and promulgation of truth. Without subscribing to either of these opinions, we may observe that, exhibiting little of the Christian spirit of forbearance, the synod proposed no one single measure of toleration or of conciliation, nor devised any other mode of putting an end to the divisions of the church, than the entire oppression of the weaker party; and that, instead of tending to unite the different sects upon the common doctrines of the Reformation, it promulgated opinions of such an extreme tendency as to cause a still wider alienation between the Lutherans and Calvinists; an alienation of which the consequences were, perhaps, more severely felt in the course of after events than is commonly supposed.¹

THE TRIAL OF BARNEVELD

The resolute spirit displayed by the remonstrants at the synod contributed, with some disturbances which occurred at Alkmaar and Hoorn, to exercise a sinister influence on the destiny of the prisoners of state, the career of one of whom was now drawing fast to a close. From the period of their arrest they had, contrary to the provisions of the law of Holland, whereby persons accused of a capital crime are to be tried within six weeks of their arrest, been detained three months without examination, in order that the change of the deputies of Holland, both in the states of that province and the states-general, might ensure an appointment of judges by the latter entirely adverse to them. During this time Barneveld, now past seventy years of age, had been closely confined in the room which had served as a prison for the Spanish commander Mendoza, after the battle of Nieupoort; and, besides being subjected to every petty indignity that malice could invent, was debarred the sight of his wife and children, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper, as were also the other two captives.

On the assembly of the newly-organised states of Holland, they allowed the states-general and prince of Orange to usurp, without opposition, that

[¹ Grattan thus vigorously sums it up: "Theology was mystified; religion disgraced; Christianity outraged. And after six months' display of ferocity and fraud, the solemn mockery was closed by the declaration of its president that its miraculous labours had made hell tremble. Proscriptions, banishments, and death were the natural consequences of this synod. The divisions which it had professed to extinguish were rendered a thousand times more violent than before. Its decrees did incalculable ill to the cause they were meant to promote. The Anglican church was the first to reject the canons of Dort with horror and contempt. The Protestants of France and Germany, and even Geneva, the nurse and guardian of Calvinism, were shocked and disgusted, and unanimously softened down the rigour of their respective creeds. But the moral effects of this memorable conclave were too remote to prevent the sacrifice which almost immediately followed the celebration of its rites. A trial by twenty-four prejudiced enemies, by courtesy called judges, which in its progress and its result throws judicial dignity into scorn, ended in the condemnation of Barneveld and his fellow patriots for treason against the liberties they had vainly laboured to save."]

[1619 A.D.]

authority over the prisoners which belonged to themselves alone; and these, with equally little scruple, superseded the ordinary courts of justice by the institution of a commission of inquiry, of which, besides the attorneys-general of Utrecht and Gelderland, Pieter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, most of the members had been deputies to Utrecht on the occasion of the disbanding of the Waardgelders, and the whole had rendered themselves conspicuous by their implacable hostility to Barneveld in particular. These persons exercised their functions with an injustice and severity unequalled even in the trials of the counts of Egmont and Horn, under the government of Alva. Barneveld was subjected to twenty-three examinations, during which he was neither allowed to take down the questions in writing, to make memoranda of his answers, nor to refer to notes; the interrogatories were not confined to any definite period, but extended over his whole public life, no effort being spared to involve him in those contradictions which, from decay of memory, or confusion of dates, might easily occur. Ledenberg, secretary of the states of Utrecht, was so terrified by the menaces of torture which they used, that, dreading lest he might be forced by such means to make any admission detrimental to his friends, he committed suicide in prison.

As the commission was not invested with judicial powers, the states-general, after the conclusion of the examinations, appointed twenty-four judges, half the number only being Hollanders, an appointment illegal alike in its origin and constitution. By this court Barneveld was, after forty-eight interrogatories, found guilty, and condemned to death upon the following accusations among others: that he had disturbed the peace of religion, and maintained the exorbitant and pernicious maxim that the sovereignty belonged to each province over its own ecclesiastical matters; that he had dictated the protest of Holland, Utrecht and Overijssel against the acts of the states-general; that he had opposed the application of any remedies to the disorders in the Church and State; that he had encouraged disunion and disorders in the provinces, placing himself at the head of a faction, and had held separate assemblies of deputies from eight of the towns of Holland devoted to his interests; that in these assemblies the "severe edict" was resolved on, whereby the authority of the ordinary courts of justice was suspended; that he was one of the principal promoters of the levy of the Waardgelders; that he had degraded the character of the prince of Orange by his calumny, accusing him of aiming at the sovereignty of the provinces; that he had attempted to seduce the regular troops from their allegiance to the states-general; that he had received divers large sums of money from foreign princes, without giving due information thereof; and that he had squandered the finances of the country, and created general distrust among the inhabitants and allies of the provinces.

With respect to some of these charges, such as placing himself at the head of a faction, introducing his friends into public offices and the like, it will be observed that similar imputations may be made at any time against any distinguished member of a party in a free state, and certainly could never form the ground of a criminal accusation. The "exorbitant and pernicious maxim," that each province retained its sovereignty with regard to religious matters, was a principle acted upon from the commencement of the revolt of Holland, without which the Pacification of Ghent, in 1576, between the Reformed provinces of Holland and Zealand, and the Catholic ones of Brabant and Flanders, never could have been effected, and which was expressly laid down in the exposition of the thirteenth article of the Union of Utrecht.

The only capital charge, that of entertaining a correspondence with Spain,

which before his trial had been so long and so vehemently insisted on by his enemies, was entirely abandoned. This accusation the court of inquiry had taken the utmost pains to prove, even going so far as to use alternate threats and promises to Grotius in order to force him to say something in confirmation of it, but had wholly failed. The states-general, aware of the doubt that the entire innocence of the prisoner on the principal charge would tend to throw on his guilt with respect to the whole — which, moreover, had he been guilty and responsible for all the acts contained therein, would, neither separately nor together, have constituted treason — issued a manifesto to the several provinces, declaring that many other crimes were laid to his charge, which could not be proved without stricter examination, such as the great age of the prisoner rendered inadvisable; by which was understood the application of the torture. It is somewhat difficult to imagine why the same consideration for his age which prevented the judges from adopting measures to prove his crime, should not have prevailed to deter them from condemning him without proof.

THE EXECUTION OF BARNEVELD (1619)

On the evening of Sunday, the 12th of May, Pieter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, two of the judges, entered the prison of Barneveld, for the purpose of summoning him the next morning to receive sentence of death. "Sentence of death," exclaimed the aged patriot; "sentence of death! I did not expect that." He then asked permission to write a farewell letter to his wife. While Leeuwen was gone to make his request known to the states, he said to the attorney-general of Gelderland, "Sylla, Sylla, could your father but see that you have allowed yourself to be employed in this business!" — the only expression of anger or impatience which the heroic old man permitted to escape him during the whole of this trying period.

The materials being brought him, he began to write with the utmost composure, when Sylla observed to him to be careful what he said, lest it might prevent the delivery of the letter. "What, Sylla," he answered, half smiling, "are you come to dictate to me what I shall write in my last hour?" He then sent to the prince of Orange, to ask his forgiveness if he had offended him, and to entreat him to be gracious to his children.

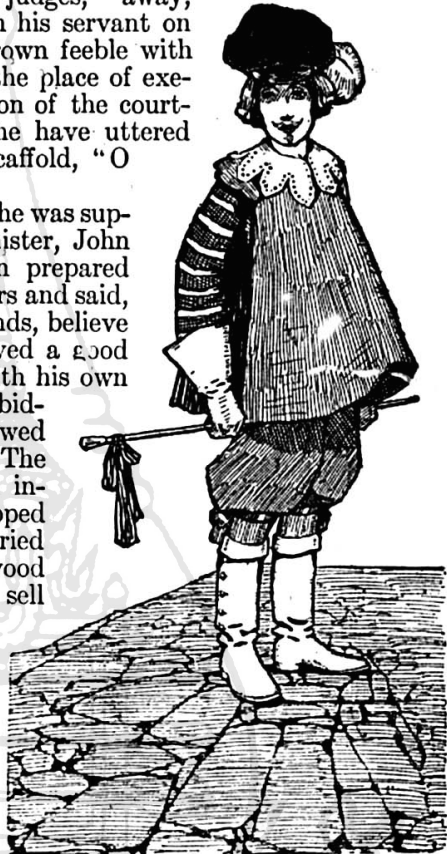
Maurice, whether from an excess of dissimulation, or that he in fact repented of having pushed matters so far, received the minister with tears; he professed that he had always loved the advocate, but that two things had vexed him: first, that he had accused him of aiming at the sovereignty, and next, that he had exposed him to danger at Utrecht; adding that, nevertheless, he freely forgave him, and would protect his children so long as they deserved it. As the messenger left the room the prince, calling him back, asked him if the prisoner had made no mention of pardon. "No," he answered, "he spoke not a word of it." Barneveld constantly refused to acknowledge himself in the slightest degree guilty of any of the accusations brought against him, except in so far as that, sometimes, provoked at the insults and libels directed against the states of Holland, his masters, he had expressed himself with too much haste and acrimony: "I governed," said he, "when I was in authority, according to the maxims of that time; and now I am condemned to die according to the maxims of this."

Before he left his prison, Barneveld wrote his last letter to his family, recommending his servant, John Franken, who had attended him throughout with affectionate fidelity, to their care. He was shortly after led into a lower room of the court-house to hear his sentence. During the reading

[1619 A.D.]

he turned round quickly several times, and rose from his seat, as if about to speak. When it was concluded, he observed that there were many things in it which were not in the examinations; and added, "I thought the states-general would have been satisfied with my blood, and would have allowed my wife and children to keep what is their own." "Your sentence is read," replied Leonard Vooght, one of the judges, "away, away." Leaning on his staff, and with his servant on the other side to support his steps, grown feeble with age, Barneveld walked composedly to the place of execution prepared before the great saloon of the court-house. With how deep feeling must he have uttered the exclamation as he ascended the scaffold, "O God! what then is man?"

Kneeling down on the bare boards, he was supported by his servant, while the minister, John Lamotius, delivered a prayer. When prepared for the block, he turned to the spectators and said, with a loud and firm voice, "My friends, believe not that I am a traitor. I have lived a good patriot, and such I die." He then, with his own hands, drew his cap over his eyes, and bidding the executioner "be quick," bowed his venerable head to the stroke.¹ The populace, from various feelings, some inspired by hatred, some by affection, dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, or carried away morsels of the blood-stained wood and sand: a few were even found to sell these as relics. The body and head were laid in a coffin and buried decently, but with little ceremony, at the court church of the Hague. The states of Holland rendered to his memory that justice which he had been denied while living, by the words in which they recorded his death. After stating the time and manner of it, and his long period of service to his country, the resolution concludes, "a man of great activity, diligence, memory, and conduct; yea, remarkable in every respect. Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall; and may God be merciful to his soul."



A DUTCH COSTUME OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

The scaffold upon which the advocate had been beheaded was left standing for fifteen days after his death, with the view, as the two remaining prison-

[¹ The sword flickered in the sun and the head of the greatest Netherland statesman, who had "carried Holland in the heart," rolled down in the sand. The last word about the troubles of the Truce must be that both parties were culpable in their actions, but that the dominant party committed the greater sin by the judicial murder of their great opponent—a judicial murder, as Macaulay,¹ Motley,² and Fruin³ rightly termed the atrocious execution of May 13th, 1619. Olden-Barneveld was not condemned according to the demands of justice, but according to those of policy conflicting with principles which he himself had earnestly espoused. — BLOK.]

ers, Grotius and Hoogerbeets, supposed, of compelling their wives and friends by fear into an acknowledgment of their guilt, by soliciting their pardon. The wife of Grotius, especially, was strongly urged to this course, and promises were held out to her of a favourable hearing on the part of the prince of Orange. But she refused to cast this dishonour on her husband, with an almost terrific resolution: "I will not do it," she said; "if he have deserved it, let them strike off his head." The more to alarm the prisoners, sentence was executed on the dead body of Ledenberg, which was hanged in the coffin to a gallows. The accusations against Grotius and Hoogerbeets were nearly similar to those against Barneveld. Upon these they were found guilty; but the Prince of Orange, dreading probably, if he sacrificed Grotius to his vengeance, that the execrations of Europe — through the greater part of which the immortal works and fame of his wonderful genius had already spread — would fall upon him, forbore to shed their blood. They were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Louvestein.

The conduct of the dominant party, from the conclusion of the synod, strongly evinced how much that assembly had tended to exasperate rather than allay the spirit of persecution; and that, had not the feeling of the times been abhorrent of bloodshed, this spirit would have displayed itself in as relentless a manner as it had ever done amongst the Catholics. Were it not indeed for the change of names, we might imagine ourselves to have turned some pages back, and to be reading again the penal edicts of the emperor Charles and Philip III. All assemblies of the remonstrants were strictly prohibited; and everyone who attended them was condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders. This proving ineffectual, a second edict was promulgated, offering a reward of 500 guilders to whoever should arrest a remonstrant minister, and 300 for a student in theology. This system of severity was adopted against the remonstrants alone, since the Lutherans and Anabaptists were permitted to enjoy their respective places of worship in public, and on equal terms with the Calvinists; and the Catholics and Jews had the liberty of holding their private assemblies.

The ministers who had appeared before the synod, and had been deprived of their functions by that assembly, were afterwards offered a competent maintenance by the states-general if they would bind themselves to abstain entirely from preaching; a condition with which all except one, Henry Lec, steadily and repeatedly refused compliance. Sentence of banishment was, in consequence, pronounced against them after they had, in violation of the safe-conduct they had received, been many months under arrest, and immediately carried into effect. Without being allowed time to arrange their affairs, or to take leave of their families, they were conveyed in carriages, provided for them by the states-general, from the Hague to Waalwijk, amid the benedictions and tears of a multitude of persons who had assembled to bid them farewell; a mournful spectacle for those patriots who had contributed to shed a deluge of blood for a liberty of conscience which, if it were not a right inherent in man, themselves had formerly been far less entitled to claim than the sufferers now before them. The professors at the University of Leyden, not only of theology but of other sciences, were displaced, and their offices filled with counter-remonstrants, and all the pupils who refused to subscribe to the canons were expelled.

Notwithstanding fines, imprisonment, and banishment, however, the remonstrants persisted in holding their assemblies. The scenes of 1565 were acted over again. In some of the towns, the soldiers of the garrison, at the command of the magistrates, rushed in among the defenceless multitude

[1619 A.D.]

while engaged in their devotions, and bloodshed and massacre were the consequence. Again the people were forced to take refuge in the woods and fields, to worship God according to their conscience. Many voluntarily quitted their country, and retired to Antwerp; and thus, by a singular revolution in human affairs, the dominions of the archdukes, formerly the stronghold of religious persecutions, now became an asylum for the persecuted refugees of a nation whose very existence was founded on religious liberty.^{c 1}

THE ESCAPE OF GROTIUS

Thus Arminianism, deprived of its chiefs, was for the time completely stifled. The remonstrants, thrown into utter despair, looked to emigration as their last resource. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden and Frederick duke of Holstein offered them shelter and protection in their respective states. Several availed themselves of these offers; but the states-general, alarmed at the progress of self-expatriation, moderated their rigour, and thus checked the desolating evil.² Several of the imprisoned Arminians had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of their gaolers; but the escape of Grotius is the most remarkable of all, both from his own celebrity as one of the first writers of his age in the most varied walks of literature, and from its peculiar circumstances.

Grotius was freely allowed during his close imprisonment all the relaxations of study. His friends supplied him with quantities of books, which were usually brought into the fortress in a trunk something less than four feet long, which the governor regularly and carefully examined during the first year. But custom brought relaxation in the strictness of the prison rules; and the wife of the illustrious prisoner, his faithful and constant visitor, proposed the plan of his escape, to which he gave a ready and, all hazards considered, a courageous assent. Shut up in this trunk for two hours, and with all the risk of suffocation, and of injury from the rude handling of the soldiers who carried it out of the fort, Grotius was brought clear off by the very agents of his persecutors, and safely delivered to the care of his devoted and discreet female servant, who knew the secret and kept it well. She attended the important consignment in the barge to the town of Gorkum; and after various risks of discovery, providentially escaped, Grotius at length found himself safe beyond the limits of his native land. His wife, whose torturing suspense may be imagined the while, concealed the stratagem as long as it was possible to impose on the gaoler with the fiction of her husband's

¹ It was not, however, in the spirit of disinterested charity that they were protected by the archduke's government, but in the hope of their being made useful to cause some embarrassment to the United Provinces. Neither bribes nor promises were spared to induce them to espouse measures hostile to their country, but in vain. To such proposals their leader, Uitenbogaard, replied, according to Brandt,^g with true Dutch frankness, "Let not the king of Spain trust to any revolt excited in our fatherland by the remonstrants; it will never happen." England was now shut out from the fugitives, who had formed the most exaggerated idea of the persecuting spirit of the government of that country. The remonstrant preachers were not unfrequently in dread of being seized and sent thither, where they conceived that the stake and the tar-barrel awaited them.

² Though the story of the Puritans belongs chiefly to the history of England and her American colonies, it may be well to remember that the persecuted members of the Scrooby church fled to Leyden in 1609, the year of the Truce. Their pastor, John Robinson, agreed fully with the Gomarists and was a fierce opponent of Arminian arguments. The Puritans thus escaped persecution, and attracted little or no attention in Holland; Motley,^d indeed, searched the archives at the Hague in vain for even a mention of them. Eventually, they decided to emigrate to America. The states-general declined to offer them protection in New Amsterdam, and they obtained permission from the Virginia Company of England. They sailed in the *Mayflower*, and reached America in 1620.^a

illness and confinement to his bed. The government, infuriated at the result of the affair, at first proposed to hold this interesting prisoner in place of the prey they had lost, and to proceed criminally against her. But after a fortnight's confinement she was restored to liberty, and the country saved from the disgrace of so ungenerous and cowardly a proceeding. Grotius repaired to Paris, where he was received in the most flattering manner, and distinguished by a pension of 1,000 crowns allowed by the king. He soon published his vindication — one of the most eloquent and unanswerable productions of its kind, in which those times of unjust accusations and illegal punishments were so fertile.

END OF THE TRUCE (1620)

The expiration of the twelve years' truce was now at hand; and the United Provinces, after that long period of intestine trouble and disgrace, had once more to recommence a more congenial struggle against foreign enemies; for a renewal of the war with Spain might be fairly considered a return to the regimen best suited to the constitution of the people. The republic saw, however, with considerable anxiety, the approach of this new contest. It was fully sensible of its own weakness. Exile had reduced its population; patriotism had subsided; foreign friends were dead, the troops were unused to warfare; the hatred against Spanish cruelty had lost its excitement; the finances were in confusion; Prince Maurice had no longer the activity of youth; and the still more vigorous impulse of fighting for his country's liberty was changed to the dishonouring task of upholding his own tyranny.

The archdukes, encouraged by these considerations, had hopes of bringing back the United Provinces to their domination. They accordingly sent an embassy to Holland with proposals to that effect. It was received with indignation; and according to Wagenaar^h the ambassador Pecquius was obliged to be escorted back to the frontiers by soldiers, to protect him from the insults of the people. Military operations were, however, for a while refrained from on either side, in consequence of the deaths of Philip III of Spain and the archduke Albert. Philip IV succeeded his father at the age of sixteen; and the archduchess Isabella found herself alone at the head of the government in the Belgian provinces. She held the reins of power with a firm and steady hand.

In the celebrated Thirty Years' War¹ which had commenced between the Protestants and Catholics of Germany, in 1618, the former had met with considerable assistance from the United Provinces. Barneveld, who foresaw the embarrassments which the country would have to contend with on the expiration of that truce, had strongly opposed its meddling in the quarrel: but his ruin and death left no restraint on the policy which prompted the republic to aid the Protestant cause. Fifty thousand florins a month to the revolted Protestants, and a like sum to the princes of the union, were for some time advanced. Frederick, the elector palatine, nephew of the prince, was chosen by the Bohemians for their king: but the new monarch, aided only by the United Provinces, and that feebly, was utterly defeated at the battle of Prague, and obliged to take refuge in Holland.

Spinola was resolved to commence the war against the republic by some important exploit. He therefore laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, a place of great consequence, commanding the navigation of the Maas and the coasts

[¹ The causes and details of this conflict will be found in the volumes devoted to Spain, France, Germany, and Austria.]

[1620-1623 A. D.]

of all the islands of Zealand. But Maurice repaired to the scene of threatened danger; and succeeded, after a series of desperate efforts on both sides, in raising the siege, forcing Spinola to abandon his attempt with a loss of upwards of 12,000 men. Frederick Henry in the meantime had made an incursion into Brabant with a body of light troops; and ravaging the country up to the very gates of Mechlin, Louvain, and Brussels, levied contributions to the amount of 600,000 florins. The states completed this series of good fortune by obtaining the possession of West Friesland, by means of Count Mansfeld, whom they had despatched thither at the head of his formidable army, and who had, in spite of the opposition of Count Tilly, successfully performed his mission.

THE PLOT OF BARNEVELD'S SONS (1623)

Prince Maurice had enjoyed without restraint the fruits of his ambitious daring. His power was uncontrolled and unopposed. In the midst, however, of the apparent calm, a deep conspiracy was formed against the life of the prince. The motives, the conduct, and the termination of this plot excite feelings of many opposite kinds. Commiseration is mingled with blame, when we mark the sons of Barneveld, urged on by the excess of filial affection, to avenge their venerable father's fate. Willem of Stoutenburg and Reinier of Groeneveld were the names of these two sons of the late pensionary. The latter, of a more impetuous character than his brother, was the principal in the plot. Instead of any efforts to soften down the hatred of this unfortunate family, these brothers had been removed from their employments,¹ their property was confiscated, and despair soon urged them to desperation.

In such a time of general discontent it was easy to find accomplices. Seven or eight determined men readily joined in the plot: of these, two were Catholics, the rest Arminians; the chief of whom was Henricus Slatius, a preacher of considerable eloquence, talent, and energy. The death of the prince of Orange was not the only object intended. During the confusion subsequent to the hoped-for success of that first blow, the chief conspirators intended to excite simultaneous revolts at Leyden, Gouda, and Rotterdam, in which town the Arminians were most numerous. A general revolution throughout Holland was firmly reckoned on as the infallible result; and success was enthusiastically looked for to their country's freedom and their individual fame.

But the plot, however cautiously laid and resolutely persevered in, was doomed to the fate of many another, and the horror of a second murder averted from the illustrious family to whom was still destined the glory of consolidating the country it had formed. Four sailors had laid the whole of the project before the prince, and measures were instantly taken to arrest

[¹ The promise Maurice made to Barneveld, in his last moments, to protect his children, he had violated in every possible manner. Their estates had been confiscated, notwithstanding an ordinance of the states-general, issued in 1593, decreeing that no noble should forfeit more than eighty guilders, except for treason, in addition to the penalty of death; to evade which, the judges had been reassembled a year after the delivery of the sentence, when their commission had been for some time expired, to declare that their meaning was to condemn the prisoners as guilty of high treason, of which not a word had been mentioned in the sentence. The eldest son of the advocate, Reinier, lord of Groeneveld, had been deprived, for no cause whatever, except the personal animosity of the prince, of the office of deputy grand master of the rivers and forests, which Maurice had some years before bestowed on him; and William Barneveld, lord of Stoutenburg, the younger son, was in like manner stripped of the government of Bergen-op-Zoom.]

the various accomplices. Groeneveld, Slatius, and others were intercepted in their attempts at escape. Stoutenburg, the most culpable of all, was the most fortunate. By the aid of a faithful servant, he accomplished his escape through various perils, and finally reached Brussels, where the archduchess Isabella took him under her special protection. He for several years made efforts to be allowed to return to Holland; but finding them hopeless, even after the death of Maurice, he embraced the Catholic religion, and obtained the command of a troop of Spanish cavalry, at the head of which he made incursions into his native country, carrying before him a black flag with the effigy of a death's head, to announce the mournful vengeance which he came to execute.

Fifteen persons were executed for the conspiracy. If ever mercy was becoming to a man, it would have been pre-eminently so to Maurice on this occasion; but he was inflexible as adamant. The mother, the wife, and the son of Groeneveld threw themselves at his feet, imploring pardon. Prayers, tears, and sobs were alike ineffectual. It is even said that Maurice asked the wretched mother why she begged mercy for her son, having refused to do as much for her husband? To which she is reported to have made the sublime answer — "Because my son is guilty, and my husband was not."

THE LAST ACTS OF MAURICE

These bloody executions caused a deep sentiment of gloom. The conspiracy excited more pity for the victims than horror for the intended crime. Maurice, from being the idol of his countrymen, was now become an object of their fear and dislike. When he moved from town to town, the people no longer hailed him with acclamations; and even the common tokens of outward respect were at times withheld. The Spaniards, taking advantage of the internal weakness consequent on this state of public feeling in the states, made repeated incursions into the provinces, which were now united but in title, not in spirit. Spinola was once more in the field, and had invested the important town of Breda, which was the patrimonial inheritance of the princes of Orange.

Maurice was oppressed with anxiety and regret. He could effect nothing against his rival; and he saw his own laurels withering from his care-worn brow. The only hope left of obtaining the so much wanted supplies of money was in the completion of a new treaty with France and England. Cardinal Richelieu, desirous of setting bounds to the ambition and the successes of the house of Austria, readily came into the views of the states; and an obligation for a loan of 1,200,000 livres during the year 1624, and 1,000,000 more for each of the two succeeding years, was granted by the king of France, on condition that the republic made no new truce with Spain without his mediation.

An alliance nearly similar was at the same time concluded with England. Perpetual quarrels on commercial questions loosened the ties which bound the states to their ancient allies.¹ King James agreed to furnish six thousand

[¹ In 1623 occurred the Amboyna Massacre, long a subject of bitterness in English memory. Amboyna, one of the Molucca Islands, had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1607. The English entered it, but were expelled. In 1619 they secured by treaty a trading privilege. In 1623 the Dutch claimed that the English were conspiring with the natives to seize the island, and having wrung a confession by torture—a confession denied on the gallows—they put 10 Englishmen and 10 Javanese to death. Three Englishmen, being pardoned, carried home the story of the tortures inflicted on their countrymen. The whole nation was horrified and demanded revenge. In 1654 Holland agreed to pay the heirs of the victims £300,000 as compensation. Amboyna was captured by the British in 1796 and in 1810, but

[1625 A.D.]

men, and supply the funds for their pay, with a provision for repayment by the states at the conclusion of a peace with Spain. Prince Maurice had no opportunity of reaping the expected advantages from these treaties.

Chagrined at his ill success, Maurice discovered too late that, in grasping at the sole authority by the destruction of his illustrious rival, he had, in fact, annihilated the source of his own prosperity. With the advocate, the stay and support of his fortunes was gone; the head which had planned his most brilliant achievements, the hand that had always been able to place money and troops at his disposal the instant he required them, he himself had laid in the dust; in the bitterness of his heart, he was heard to exclaim that God had abandoned him. His present coadjutor, Adrian Duyk, who had succeeded Barneveld, under the title of pensionary (that of advocate being ever after dropped by tacit consent) was immeasurably inferior to him in talents, diligence, and resources.

The disappointments and vexations Maurice suffered were supposed to have contributed greatly to increase the disease (obstruction of the liver) under which he had for some time laboured, and which now began to manifest alarming symptoms. Finding his strength rapidly declining, he summoned from the camp at Sprang his brother Frederick Henry, between whom and himself there had long existed a coldness, arising from the favour which the former had openly testified, and the still greater degree which he was suspected of secretly entertaining towards the remonstrants. He now induced him to gratify his last wish by consenting to a union with Amelie, princess of Solmes. Three weeks after the marriage, April 23rd, 1625, the prince of Orange died, aged fifty-seven years and five months, having filled the office of stadholder for nearly forty years. As he never married, he left Prince Frederick Henry heir to all his possessions, with the exception of legacies to his sister, the princess of Portugal, his mistress, Anne van Mechelen, and her two sons.

The character of Maurice has been often produced in bold and marked features, in the transactions in which he bore so conspicuous a share. In military talent he equalled the most celebrated captains of any age or nation. Whether in the attack and defence of cities, in the enforcement of discipline or the conduct of an army in rapid and difficult marches, his reputation is yet unsurpassed; nor was he less distinguished by his profound knowledge of mathematics, and his skill in the invention of military engines and contrivances for passing rivers and marshes. The Fabius of his country, he, with a handful of soldiers, not only defended her frontiers against numerous armies of veteran troops, commanded by (next to himself) the ablest generals in Europe, but carried the war with success into the enemy's territory.

In his political capacity he appears to far less advantage. His ambition, unlike the pure and noble passion which swayed his father, was wholly selfish, devoted to his individual advancement, and directed quite as much to the emoluments as to the dignity of his offices.

The escutcheon of Maurice is bright with the record of many a deed of glory. But there is one dark deep stain on which the eye of posterity, unheeding the surrounding radiance, is constantly fixed: it is the blood of Barneveld.

PROSPERITY OF THE PERIOD

The truce, which, as the foundation of the dissensions between the heads of the government, was productive of so many evils to the provinces, opened in both cases restored by subsequent treaties. It should be remembered that torture was still used in the courts of both England and Holland, though the methods differed.]

on the other hand a new field for the rapid advancement of commerce and navigation. The year preceding it (1608) was signalised by the invention of the telescope, by one Zachary Jansen, an optician of *Middeburg*.

In the year 1609 was established the celebrated bank of Amsterdam, which for a long series of years afforded such immense facilities to commerce, and maintained its credit so high that a large portion of the wealth of Europe was by degrees drawn into its coffers.

Alliances of commerce and amity with Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and the Hanse towns secured to the Dutch an easy and profitable trade in the northern seas; and their frequent voyages thither gave occasion to the establishment of a company at Amsterdam (1614), for carrying on the whale-fishery from the coast of *Nova Zembla* to *Davis Strait*, *Spitzbergen*, and the surrounding islands. The fishery, notwithstanding the opposition of the English, who sometimes attacked and rifled the vessels on their return, was for several years a source of considerable revenue to the proprietors. The charter, granted at first but for three years, was renewed for four more in 1617; and the company, uniting in 1622 with another formed in *Zealand*, obtained a fresh charter for twelve years, which was renewed in 1633. After its expiration in 1645, the whales having become scarce, and the profits of the fishery no longer sufficing for the support of a company, it dissolved itself, and the fishery again became free.

Shortly after the erection of this company, the states, in order to encourage their subjects to undertake distant voyages, granted to the discoverer of a new territory the privilege of making four voyages before anyone else was permitted to trade thither, provided he gave information of such discovery to the government within fourteen days of his return. The first who entitled himself to the benefit of this regulation was the famous *Jacob le Maire*, a merchant of Amsterdam, who, in the beginning of the year 1616, sailed through the straits to which he gave his name, and completed his voyage round the world, having discovered on his route the islands of *Staten*, *Prince's Island*, and *Barneveld*, of which he took possession in the name of the states. *Cape Horn*, which received its name from a native of *Hoorn* (*Willem Schouten* the pilot), was discovered at the same time.

In the year 1609 *Henry Hudson*, an English pilot in the employ of the *East India Company* of Holland, being sent with a single *vlie-boat* and twenty men to find a northwest passage to China, discovered the river and bay which received his name. Instead, however, of returning to Holland, he went to England, which he was not permitted to leave. The Dutch afterwards planted a colony on that tract of country to which they gave the name of *New Holland*, and about 1624 built the town of *New Amsterdam*.

The character of the Dutch people, at once energetic and patient, enterprising and steady, renders them peculiarly adapted for the formation of flourishing and successful colonies. In planting them it is to be remarked that they never sought an extension of empire, but merely an acquisition of trade and commerce; and consequently they were always either commercial or agricultural, never military. They attempted conquest only when forced by the pressure of exterior circumstances — such, for instance, as the hostilities of the Portuguese in the *East Indies*.

To this general rule the formation of the *West India Company* formed a singular exception. The project had been agitated before the commencement of the truce, but steadily opposed by *Barneveld*, after whose death the states gave permission for the establishment of a company, which was not however effected till 1621, when a charter was granted for the term of twenty-

four years, on conditions nearly similar to that of the East India Company, with the sole privilege of trade from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, and in America from the south boundary of Newfoundland and the Anian or Bering Straits, to those of Magellan and Le Maire. As Spain claimed the sovereignty of a vast portion of this tract in America, and was in actual possession of the places where the company purposed forming their settlements, conquest must be a necessary preliminary; and the colonists, maintaining a hostile possession, must be constantly prepared with arms in their hands, if not engaged in actual warfare. Accordingly, at the very outset, the company were obliged to incur the cost of equipping a large fleet of men-of-war, instead of making an essay at first with a few vessels as the projectors of the East India trade had done.^c

