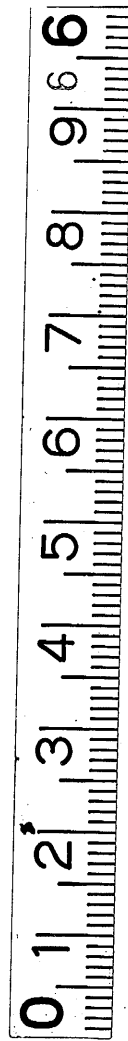


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The Interest of *Holland*.



JOHN DE WITT

Pensionary of Holland

THE
True Interest and Political Maxims
OF THE
REPUBLICK
OF
Holland and West-Friesland.

In Three Parts.

The First Treating of
Liberty in General. A General Naturaliza-
Of Manufactures. tion.
Fisheries. Freedom from Imposts.
Traffick. Impartial Justice;
Navigation. and
Toleration of Religion. Settling of Colonys.

Part II. and III.

Of a Free Navigation, Of the natural Strength
and clearing the Seas. and Fortifications of
Of War and Peace. *Holland.* And
Of Treatys of Peace and Of its Interest in all Re-
Alliances, particularly spects as to the Go-
with *England, France* vernment of a Single
and *Spain.* Person.

Written by JOHN De WITT,
and other Great Men in *Holland.*

Publish'd by the Authority of the States.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year MDCCLII.

(v)

The Preface.

TIS now full ten Years, since the infinitely wise and good God in the course of his overruling Providence was pleased to visit me with Afflictions which produced such melancholy thoughts in me, that if they had continued might have proved fatal to my Health. But because things past cannot be amended by sorrow or complaint, I accounted it a part of wisdom to compose the disorder of my Mind, by applying my thoughts to things more agreeable. And whereas from my tender Years I had been delighted with nothing more than the study of History, Philosophy and Political Government, I soon concluded that one of these would be very much conducing to my present purpose and recreation. And whilst I was deliberating with my self about the choice, I was desired by some good Friends to set down in writing such Political Thoughts as I had at several times communicated to them. Partly therefore for my own sake, and partly for the satisfaction of those to

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whom I ow'd the greatest deference, I undertook among other things to consider the Fundamental Maxims of the Republick of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*.

These Thoughts drawn up in hast, and without the least Ornament of Language, I caused to be transcribed for the use of those Friends who had prevailed with me to write them, and of some others who having a part in the Government of our Native Country, stand obliged to promote the Publick Welfare, and consequently to inquire into the means conducing to that end. And I doubted not that if any thing set down in those Papers should be esteemed serviceable to my Country, they would upon occasion offer'd, make use of it to advance the Publick Interest.

But, contrary to my expectation, a Copy of this rough and imperfect Draught fell into the Hands of those, who without my knowledg gave it to a Printer in order to be published to the World.

And this I found to be done by Persons of an eminent Character, who not only condescended to peruse my Papers, but also to strike out some things, and to add divers others, in particular the 29th and 30th Chapters of that Edition, treating of *the Reasons why the Liberty enjoyed in Holland since the Death of the Prince*

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Prince of Orange hath produced no more good; and what Publick Advantages have already risen from the Free Government.

And indeed the Stile of these Additions as well as the Subject, plainly discovers, that whatever had been altered, added or diminished, was done by Persons of so great and profound knowledg of all Affairs relating to the United *Netherlands* and Government of *Holland*, that they seem to have transacted all those things themselves, or at least to have been the principal Persons concern'd in them.

But when the Printer in hopes of more profit had surreptitiously reprinted this imperfect Work, which was never designed for the Press, I resolved carefully to review it, to make divers additions, and to reduce the whole into a better order; and having kept it by me about nine Years (the full time prescribed by one of the most judicious among the * Antients) to print and publish it to the World.

And because the Additions abovementioned have been highly esteemed by many, and are accounted by me to be of great moment, I shall incorporate them without alteration in this Impression, which I own exclusive of all other, and insert

* Nonnunq; prematur in annum. Hor.

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them in the fifth and sixth Chapters of the Third Part. I shall likewise omit all such matters as were expunged, out of the singular deference I ow to the Judgment of those who did me that Favour.

To the truth of this I think my self obliged to add, that I was never disobliged by any Monarch, Prince, or Great Lord, much less by any of the Family of *Orange*: Neither have I ever received any particular favour from the Governours of any free State, or desire any. So that it would be an apparent deviation from truth to affirm, that this Work was undertaken with a design either to flatter the Governours of this great and powerful Commonwealth, or to dishonour the Memory of the Princes of *Orange*, who were formerly Captains General and Stadtholders of these Provinces. As if my intention had been only to shew that the Monarchical Administration of those Princes was more prejudicial to *Holland*, than that of any other could have been.

On the contrary, the Service of my Country, which I value above all human concernments, was the only thing I had in view when I wrote these Papers. I am no slavish Courtier, who can be unconcerned for the Welfare of his Country, and learns to speak or be silent as best
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pleases his Master. I am a true *Hollander*, who always calls a *Spade* a *Spade*, and hates all indirect paths. That I might therefore be in some measure serviceable to my Country and Friends, and like a good Citizen instruct such as perhaps have less experience, I have endeavoured to inquire into the true Interest and Maxims of our Republick, and to follow the thred of Truth to the utmost of my Power.

And since all Men know that the preservation and prosperity of a Country depends upon such a Government as is consistent with it self; and Reason informs us that the welfare of *Holland* is founded upon Manufactures, Fishery, Trade and Navigation, I think my self obliged particularly to consider those means of subsistence and Pillars of the State, with some Observations upon the late Government of a Stadtholder and Captain-General, which some ignorant and mistaken *Hollanders* still desire.

This did at first bring me under some uneasiness, because these *United Netherlands*, and particularly the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, having had no other Stadtholders and Captains General except the Princes of *Orange* and *Nassau*, I doubted not that many ignorant and disaffected Persons, more inclined to the
increase

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increase of a Prince's Power, than to the freedom and prosperity of their Country and themselves, would not fail to say, that I had written this Treatise with no other design than to traduce and calumniate those Illustrious Houses. But when I considered that no Difficultys ought to discourage a Man from performing his duty, and that ill Men as well as ill Things were to be * resisted, I resolved to go on, without any regard to those who had always opposed the Liberty of this Country, and to write for the Common Good, tho' Great Names should happen to be concerned.

At least I may justly say, that in all that I have written either for my self, or my Friends of the Magistracy and others, touching these weighty matters, I have always avoided and abhor'd the flatteries of some Writers, which I think not only destructive to Nations, but to Reason it self; and could never offer violence to my Judgment, or slavishly lay a side my Pen. For a good Man ought in due time and place to speak the Truth in the cause of his Country, tho' with the hazard of his Life.

I conceive the publication of these Papers cannot be blamed, unless by those,

* Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito. *Virg.*

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who maintain the Monarchical Power of the Princes of *Orange* to have been so great in *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, that the shadow of it still remaining among us, ought to be sufficient to deter all Men from writing any thing against the Interest of that Power, or to the disadvantage of any Persons of that Family, tho' in other respects highly tending to the Publick Service.

But if this were our case, we might confess, that no Country ever fell into greater Slavery than *Holland* lay under during the Service and Government of those Princes. Which I conceive our greatest admirers of Monarchical Government will not allow, because they used to extol the said Princes for assisting the States to resist the King of *Spain* in order to deliver this Country from Oppression, and not to exalt themselves into his place; comparing them to *Virginus Rufus*, who having suppressed the Tyranny of *Vindex*, desired only the following words to be engraven on his Monument;

Here lies Virg. Rufus who expell'd the Tyrant, not for himself but for his Country. Plin.

Prince *William* and his Son might in like manner have commanded their Heirs
to

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to cause this their Immortal Atchievement to be engraven on their Tomb,

Here lies who assisted to defend his Country against our Earl Philip 2d King of Spain, in order to deliver us from Servitude, and not to be our Master ;

If the States General had not order'd more words to be added, tho to the same effect, which may be seen upon a marble Monument erected at Delft 1620.

But because I trust my Country will not suffer her self to be brought under the like intolerable Servitude, at least not in this Age, I have presumed to speak of the true Interest and Maxims of Holland as far as I thought necessary. And this after the consideration and mature deliberation of divers Years, I have delivered to be printed, not without the Knowledg and Allowance of my Natural Superiors, the States of Holland and West-Friesland.

I have always been and still continue to be a lover of the Princes of Orange, both as they were Men, and as far as their Actions might tend to the advantage of Holland and the rest of the United Provinces. I willingly acknowledg that Prince William the First, with his Sons Maurice

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rice and Henry, have generally been esteemed in these Countrys as Men endued with Noble and Princely Virtues, and blemished with few Monarchical Vices.

For History informs us that Prince William I. in the 11th Year of his Age, by the last Will of Rene de Chaalons, became Heir to all his vast Possessions: That at twelve he was placed by his Father in the Service of the Emperor Charles the 5th. as his Page, in order to secure that great Inheritance to himself, by complying in the point of Religion, and getting the favour of the Emperor. By this means he became so acceptable to Charles, that he found no difficulty to take possession of those great Revenues in due time. We are also told that he carried himself with much prudence and evenness of Temper as well in adversity as prosperity; that he had a good Understanding, a tenacious Memory, and a magnanimous Spirit; was not at all insolent, but rather modest, affable and of easy access, by which he gained the good will of all sorts of Men. In short, we are inform'd that he was a Person of few words, and knew very well how to conceal both his thoughts and his passions, tho he design'd to pursue them with the utmost constancy. He is said to have been neither cruel nor covetous,

La Pife.
Bentivoglio.
Van-Rheid.

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vetous, not wasting his time in Gaming or Hunting; but on the contrary, free from most of those Vices that reign in the Courts of Princes.

Concerning Prince *Maurice* the Historians of that time say, that his elder Brother *Philip* then living, and by virtue of the Will of *Rene de Chaalons*, as well as in the right of his Mother, and that of Primogeniture, claiming the Inheritance of his Father, as necessarily devolved to him, he so acquainted himself during the Troubles of the *Netherlands*, with all Manly and Princely Exercises, that he became a Person of great ability. And tho' at the Death of his Father he exceeded not the Age of 17 Years, had no Sums of Mony in stock, saw his Father's Estate encumbered with many and great Debts, and his own Affairs as well as those of these Countrys in a very low condition; yet being naturally of great penetration and sagacity, prudent, frugal and laborious, he overcame all those Difficultys, and was not blemished with many Court Vices; not delighting in Musick, Dancing, Hunting, Gluttony or Drinking.

As to Prince *Henry*, his elder Brothers *Philip* and *Maurice* were Heirs to the Paternal Estate and Lordships which his Father left, and the latter possessed all the

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great Offices of Prince *William* in this Country (except the Stadtholdership of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, which fell to his Nephew *William Lodowick*) so that there was little appearance during his Youth, that he should ever have been advanced to those Honours he attain'd to, and therefore it must be acknowledged, that the Courtiers had little reason to corrupt him in his Education.

This Prince was forty Years of Age before he was advanced from the Command of Colonel of the Horse, to take possession of the great Offices, or rather Monarchical Power that had been introduced by ways of Violence into the Government of *Guelderland*, *Holland*, *Utrecht* and *Overyssel*, and might have learned by the Conspiracy which had been formed against his Brother upon those alterations, that the Sovereign Power of these Provinces might be sooner and more certainly obtained by real or at least seeming Virtues, than by open Force and avowed Vices, because the Legal Magistrates and the Inhabitants of these Countrys had not yet been accustomed to commend all the Vices and Blemishes of Princes for Virtues. 'Tis therefore said in praise of Prince *Henry*, that he was affable and courteous, of a good understanding and great application to Business; and used not to mispend

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pend his time in the Pleasures and Luxury so common in Courts. And these three Princes having had a better Education, and a more free and useful Conversation with Men than other Monarchs and Princes usually have, they became more commendable and better Monarchs and Princes, than they would otherwise have been.

And if, notwithstanding all this, any one will go about to asperse the Lives, Services and Government of these deserving Monarchs, as if they were common; and maintain that Prince *William* the First was much addicted to Drinking after the *German* manner; if they should accuse him of Incontinency, and Riot in keeping such a Court as very much impaired his Estate, in order to procure Creatures to favour his Ambitious Designs; whilst pressed by Ambition on one side and Want on the other, he used all kind of Arts to make himself Lord of these Provinces, in prejudice to the King of *Spain*, whose Right he who was his Stadtholder stood obliged to maintain, or else to lay down his Commission, fomenting our intestine disorders, that he might render himself Sovereign of all the *Netherlands*, and more especially of those Parts which were under his own Government.

Hoofd.
Strada.
Rhid.

And

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And tho this might be excused by saying, that * *Illustrious Ambition, accompanied with Poverty, may violate Laws and Equity*: Yet his three Sons *Philip, Maurice* and *Henry*, can hardly be justified, who mutually engaged in the Year 1609 to take possession of their Paternal and Maternal Estates, and to divide them equally, with the exclusion of all their Sisters and Creditors, who had any just pretences upon their Father's Estate.

Neither can these hardships be excused or removed, by alledging that at the instance of these Princes, the States of the *United Provinces* were moved to allow their Sisters an annual Pension, and the Creditors of the Father recommended to the same States for payment. For we cannot from hence infer any great Virtues of these Princes, but only the Goodness, Generosity and Bounty of the States General, and especially of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*.

But to return, if it be said that Prince *Maurice* was not only scandalously Incontinent, but withal so Ambitious, that forgetting what he ow'd to the Province of *Holland*, and to the Best Patriots in the *Leicestrian* Times, who next under God was the principal cause of his

* Si violandum est jus, regnandi causa violandum est. Eurip.

a Safe-

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Safety and future Greatness, he took away his Life in a most unwarrantable manner, and contrary to the Laws of that Province.

Lastly, If any Man should accuse Prince *Henry* of shameful Lewdness, and affirm that when he had inherited the vast Possessions of his two Brothers, and been advanced to all those great and profitable Offices which Prince *Maurice* had enjoyed, he became riotously profuse and extravagant in his Expences: That he manifested his insatiable Ambition on many occasions, by assuming much more Power than ever had been conferred on him, intruding himself into the Stadholdership of *Groningen* in the Year 1640, and wresting the Survivorship of that of *Friesland* from his own Nephew Count *William*; more especially by taking the Field for so many Years together with vast Armys at a prodigious expence, to make his own Name famous by Conquest, tho to the prejudice and oppression of *Holland*; and this in order to make himself or his Son Sovereign of these Provinces. I say, if such things should be said, some Men would return the following Answer.

Such Accusers ought to know that the Princes of *Orange*, who are Men and not Angels, should not be blamed for such Faults as are common to all Men, or at least

Aitzma.

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least to those of great Birth, together with all such as are advanced to the greatest Dignities. Inferior Lords usually and without scruple take possession of their paternal Estates without paying any Debts; and all young and healthy Men are violently inclin'd to Women. Besides, 'tis not just to require Moderation in the Sons of Princes; and indeed two of these having either never married at all, or not till they arrived to a considerable Age, could not be guilty of so great a Crime as if they had been engaged in Marriage.

As to the Profusion and Excess of Drinking used in their Court, to the great diminution of the Revenues, 'tis a thing so universally practised, especially in the *Northern* parts, that none of these Princes ought to be so much blamed for it, as Prince *Maurice* deserves to be commended for the Frugality and Sobriety of his Family.

And we have no reason to wonder at the ingratitude of the said Prince, but on the contrary ought rather to wonder that any wise Man, after he has obliged Princes in the highest manner, should expect any better recompence, since Reason and Experience, with all the Historys of Antient and Modern times, do unanimously teach us, that no other Rewards are

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to be expected from Kings and Princes for extraordinary Services. For Princes being perswaded that their Inferiors are always bound to do them much more service than they perform, 'twould be a rare and unexampled thing to find one who should think himself oblig'd to any. And if by chance a Prince of such understanding were found, he would hardly like such a Benefactor, and for that very reason send him out of the World upon the first fair opportunity.

And therefore if the words of *Lovise* Princess of *Orange*, may be taken for true, " That the Services and good Offices performed by the Advocate *Barnefelt* to the House of *Orange* and *Nassau* were so great, that he had acted not only like a Friend but a Father, and that the Family was obliged to acknowledge all they had received from those of *Holland* to have been procured by his means; then, according to the usual course of things of this nature, neither he nor the Province of *Holland* ought to have expected any other reward than they received.

Lastly, Concerning the Ambition of these Princes, 'tis well known that all Men spread the Sails to a fair Wind. Ambition in Princes meets always with Applause; and when they either encroach upon a free

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free People, or advance their Conquests by successful Wars abroad, they are exalted to the Heavens, stiled *always August*, Enlargers of their Empire, and the most glorious of Monarchs. And many will be ready to say that the Princes of *Orange* deserve as much Praise for increasing their Authority in the Government of these Countrys, as industrious Merchants for their Ingenuity in augmenting their Estates by Navigation and Trade. For the whole Business and Employment of Princes consists in endeavouring to increase their Power.

If any Man say, that as fraudulent Merchants are to be abhorred with all their Profits and ill-gotten Goods, so deceitful and Tyrannical Princes ought not to be commended for their successful Frauds and Violences; 'tis answered, that Princes are not usually esteemed for their Truth, Justice and Integrity, like other Men, but for their Power, and Knowledg how to exert both Force and Fraud upon a Happy Conjunction.

For an instance of this, *Philip* the Second of *Spain* by fixing his Residence in that Kingdom, and calling home 4000 *Spaniards*, who were the only Military Force he had in these Provinces, gave a fair opportunity to *William* Prince of *Orange*, who was then in the Vigor of his
a 3 Years,

Years, and about 30, possessed of a vast Estate, and by the King made Stadtholder of *Holland, Zealand* and *Utrecht*, to engage the States, together with the inferior Magistrates and other Inhabitants in his Party. On the other hand, the said Prince had great opportunitys to make himself Master of these Countrys, because the States themselves, as well as the inferior Magistrates and Commonalty, had been for many Years oppress'd under their Lords of the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*; none had experienced the Happiness enjoyed under a free State, and few understood the Advantages of a Republick above the Government of a single Person. So that he had great cause to hope he might not only withdraw himself from the Obedience he ow'd to his Masters, but bring the States themselves under his Power, together with all the inferior Governours and Inhabitants of these Provinces, which would certainly have hapned in the Year 1584, if the Hand of a Murderer had not put an end to his Life.

However the Princes of *Orange* have understood so well how to manage their own Affairs, as to obtain an increase of Power to be conferr'd upon them from time to time under colour of necessity, or this failing, to break through all Rights,
Pri-

Privileges and Laws, and yet deserv'd not so much Blame, as the States and inferior Magistrates, who were intrusted with the Government of these Countrys, and who by making four of those Princes Captains General for Life, so ill maintained and preserved the Free and Legal Government, that nothing could be denied to them, without hazarding that Liberty, or rather shadow of Freedom, which they seem'd yet to possess. Unless perhaps one might say, and prove by former experience, as well as by latter complaints of our Inhabitants, that the Power of the Captains General and Stadtholders has been so great, even from the beginning of our Troubles, by reason of their numerous Adherents, together with the common People and standing Army, that Men may more reasonably wonder, how the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* have so often adventur'd to shew their Zeal to maintain their Legal Government and Libertys, with the apparent hazard of their Lives and Estates.

If these things are true, the Reader may conclude, that if the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, with the Inhabitants, Manufactures, Fishery, Trade and Navigation, have been intolerably burdened, and yet greatly neglected and

discouraged during the Power of those Officers; whilst *Holland* in the mean time was left without defence either by Sea or Land, tho' necessitated to take up incredible Sums of Money at Interest to carry on their ambitious Designs: I think I have to my Power declined to publish the defects of the Princes of *Orange*, since I make no other than a general mention of their insatiable desire of Dominion, which has exhausted our Treasure, and weakned the Frontiers as well as the inland Citys of the Province of *Holland*.

Besides, it is hoped a prudent Reader will easily conceive what pernicious effects might be expected from a succession of such Princes in the Government of *Holland*, and at the same time consider, whether the late Prince *William* would not have proved another Monarch both in his Life and Government, if God, who is our Deliverer, had not taken him away before the 25th Year of his Age; since he being the eldest Son of his Father, was to inherit his vast Possessions and Princely Dignity: And to this end in the Year 1631, before he had attained the Age of five Years, he was placed among the Governours of the *United Provinces*, who seemed unwillingly willing to give up the Liberty of their Country; and in all respects to be

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be able, willing and necessitated to bear an Universal Slavery, by granting and promising to a Child the future Succession of all his Father's Offices; and whether the said Prince *William* the 2d, who was continually conversant with Foreigners and other Slavish Courtiers, had any better Education or Conversation with Men than other ordinary Monarchs use to have: Or whether, after the reversion of the Stadtholdership of *Friesland* had been taken from Count *William*, in order to qualify the Prince to obtain the eldest Daughter of the King of *Great Britain* in Marriage, this Prince would not of necessity have been Sovereign of these United *Netherlands*.

An understanding Reader will also consider, whether our late Stadtholder of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* had not spent his time in such a manner, tho' he died before the 25th Year of his Age, as to furnish me with abundant matter of Writing, if I were inclin'd to publish the blemishes of his Life and short Government; and whether I have not spoken of him with as much regard and temper, as my design of explaining the Interest of *Holland* would permit: And I conceive on this Subject I have fully manifested my Moderation.

But

But to return from this long Digression; the Reader is desired impartially to read this Book, which was written by me not only with a composed and sedate Mind, but with a sincere affection to Truth and to my Country: and by weighing and considering what is here said concerning the true Maxims and Interest of *Holland*, he will be able to judg whether I have effected my design. And if he thinks otherwise, I desire him however to believe that I have used the best of my endeavours to that end; and contenting my self to have done what I could, think I cannot but deserve thanks from my Native Country, for exciting by this Attempt some abler Hand to rectify my Mistakes, and finish the Work.

And tho the matters treated in this Book have been carefully weighed and considered since the Year 1662, and indeed so much altered and enlarged, as to make the whole Composition to seem new; yet I would not have any Reader think that I believe it must of necessity please him; since in some respects I my self am not contented with it, and particularly because it fell too hastily at first from my Pen: And tho afterwards it was maturely considered and review'd; yet many pieces were inserted, accommodated and fitted

ted to several parts, as well as my leisure would give me leave, whilst I wanted either time or application to peruse the whole, as if it had not been composed by me, or to invent and write with more Order and Method.

So that there is reason to believe that divers accidents may give occasion to review this Subject, which concerns the Prosperity of the most Powerful Republick at this day in the World. Which that it may be done successfully, may our Gracious God grant us such happy times, as may encourage Men both in publick and private to conceive and write whatever shall tend to the Service of our Native Country.

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The True Interest, and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland and West-Friesland.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

Wherein are laid down the General Political Maxims which tend to the Prosperity of all Countrys: And some Reasons to make it evident, that the same do aptly agree to Holland and Westfriesland.

THAT we may not abruptly speak of the true Interest and Political Maxims of *Holland and West-Friesland*, nor yet surprize the Reader with unknown Matters, I judg it necessary to begin with a general Discourse of the Universal and true Political Maxims of all Countrys: That the Reader being inlightned by such Reasoning, may the better comprehend the true Political Maxims of *Holland and West-Friesland.* And seeing that almost all the People in *Europe*, as the *Spaniards, Italians, French, &c.* do express the same by the word *Interest*, I shall

B often

The true Interest of all Countrys, consists in the Prosperity of all the Inhabitants.

often have occasion to use the same likewise here for brevity sake, in the same sense that they do: viz. Seeing the true Interest of all Countrys consists in the joint Welfare of the Governours and Governed; and the same is known to depend on a good Government, that being the true Foundation whereon all the Prosperity of any Country is built; we are therefore to know, that a good Government is not that where the well or ill-being of the Subjects depends on the Virtues or Vices of the Rulers; but (which is worthy of observation) where the well or ill-being of the Rulers necessarily follows or depends on the well or ill-being of the Subjects. For seeing we must believe that in all Societies or Assemblies of Men, Self is always preferred; so all Sovereigns or Supreme Powers will in the first place seek their own Advantage in all things, tho to the prejudice of the Subject. But seeing on the other hand true Interest cannot be compassed by a Government, unless the generality of the People partake thereof; therefore the Publick Welfare will ever be aimed at by good Rulers. All which very aptly agrees with our Latin and Dutch Proverb, that, *Tantum de publicis malis sentimus, quantum ad privatas res pertinet; i. e.* We are only sensible of publick Afflictions, in so far as they touch our private Affairs; for no body halts of another Man's Sore.

Whereby it clearly follows, that all wise Men, whether Monarchs, Princes, Sovereign Lords, or Rulers of Republicks, are always inclined so to strengthen their Country, Kingdom, or City, that they may defend themselves against the Power of any stronger Neighbour. The Rulers Welfare therefore does

does so far necessarily depend on the Welfare of the Subject; else they would soon be conquer'd by stronger neighbouring Princes, and be turn'd out of their Government. Those Monarchs and Supreme Powers, who by bad Education, and great Prosperity, follow their Pleasures, suffer their Government to fall into the hands of Favorites and Courtiers, and do commonly neglect this first Duty; the said Favorites in the mean time finding themselves vested with such Sovereign Power, do for the most part rule to the Benefit of themselves, and to the Prejudice, not only of such voluptuous and unwary chief Magistrates, but also of their Subjects; and by consequence to the weakning of the Political State; so that we have often seen Revolutions of such Monarchies by the ill Government of Favorites. But such Princes as are wise, and do not entrust their Power in other Mens hands, will not omit to strengthen their Dominions against their Neighbours as much as possible. But when Monarchies, or Republicks are able enough to do this, and have nothing to fear from their neighbouring States or Potentates, then they do usually, according to the opportunity put into their hands by the Form of their Government, take Courses quite contrary to the Welfare of the Subject.

For then it follows as truly from the said General Maxims of all Rulers, that the next Duty of Monarchs, and Supreme Magistrates, is to take special care that their Subjects may not be like generous and mettlesome Horses, which when they cannot be commanded by the Rider, but are too headstrong, wanton, and powerful for their Master, they reduce, and keep so tame

Whence 'tis the Interest of Monarchs to weaken and impoverish the Subject, that they may assume to themselves what Power they please.

Arist. Polit. l. 5. c. 11.

and manageable, as not to refuse the Bit and Bridle, I mean Taxes and Obedience. For which end it is highly necessary to prevent the Greatness and Power of their Cities, that they may not out of their own Wealth be able to raise and maintain an Army in the Field, not only to repel all Foreign Power, but also to make Head against their own Lord, or expel him. And as little, yea much less may Prudent Sovereign Lords or Monarchs permit that their Citys, by their strong Fortifications, and training their Inhabitants to Arms, should have an opportunity easily, if they pleas'd, to discharge and turn off their Sovereign. But if herein a Sovereign had neglected his Duty, there's no way left for him, but to wait an Opportunity to command such populous Citys and Strongholds by Citadels, and to render them weak and defenceless.

L. 7. c. 11. ibid.

And tho Aristotle says that it very well futes an Oligarchical State to have their Citys under command of a Castle, yet this is only true of a great and populous City, that hath a Prince over it, and not of a City that governs it self, or hath a share in the Supreme Government; for in such a Republick, the Governour of that Citadel would certainly be able to make himself Master of that City, and to subjugate or overtop his Rulers. And we see that this Reason is so strong and clear, and confirm'd by Experience, that the History of all former Ages, as well as the Age we live in, teach us, That the Rulers of Republicks, whatever they are, have wisely forbore erecting Citadels, and do still continue to do so. So that it appears that the said Maxim tending to the overthrow of great and populous Citys, may be attributed

tributed to Monarchs and Princes at all times, but never to Republicks, unless when they have inconsiderately subdued great Cities; and tho not willing to demolish them, yet are willing to keep them distinct from the Sovereign Government. But if the inconsiderate Reader be so far prepossess'd in favour of Monarchy and against Common Freedom, that he neither can nor will submit himself to this way of Reasoning, nor to the venerable and antient Lessons of old and renowned Philosophers; then let him know, that the Christian and Invincible Monarch Justinian has for ever established the said Monarchical Maxim by form of Law in the Corpus Juris, now become the common Law-book of all Civiliz'd People, and especially of Christians. * For the said Emperor having by his Captain General of the East, Belisarius, reconquer'd from the Goths that part of Africa which he had formerly lost, and brought it under his subjection, gave him no order that the Inhabitants of great Citys should be better disciplin'd and provided with Arms, or strengthened by good Walls, that they might jointly with ease defend themselves, and their great and populous Citys, against the Assaults of those Barbarous People: But on the contrary, he commands the said Captain General Belisarius (and consequently, according to the Roman Laws, all his other Governours of Provinces) to make such provision, that no City or strong

As the Emp. Justinianus in his Corpus Juris, in form of a perpetual Law, has establish'd it.

* Belisario Magistro militum per Orientem, &c. Interea vero si aliquas Civitates seu Castella per limites constituta providerit tua Magnitudo nimia esse Magnitudinis, & propter hoc non posse bene custodiri ad talem modum ea construi disponat, ut possint per paucos bene servari, &c. Cod. l. 1. Tit. 27. par. 14.

Hold lying on the Frontiers be so great as it could not be well kept; but in such Cases so to order them to be built, that they may be well defended with few Soldiers, and particularly such as were in pay, and depended only on the Emperor of Rome.

And tho weak, voluptuous, dull and sluggish Monarchs neglect all these things, yet will not the Courtiers who govern in their stead, neglect to seek themselves, and to fill their Coffers whether in War or in Peace: and thus the Subjects Estates being exhausted by Rapine, those great and flourishing Cities become poor and weak. And to the end that the Subject should not be able to hinder or prevent such Rapine, or revenge themselves, those Favorites omit no Opportunities to develt those Populous Cities of all Fortifications, Provision, Ammunition of War, and to hinder the exercising of the Commonalty in the use of Arms. Since it appears from the said Maxims, that the Publick is not regarded but for the sake of private Interest; and consequently that is the best Government where the Chief Rulers may best obtain their own Welfare by that of the People:

The Interest of Republican Rulers, is to procure rich and populous Citys.
Arist. Pol. l. 7. c. 11. l. 5. c. 11.

It follows then to be the Duty of the Governours of Republicks to seek for great Cities, and to make them as populous and strong as possible, that so all Rulers and Magistrates, and likewise all others that serve the Publick either in Country or City, may thereby gain the more Power, Honour and Benefit, and more safely possess it, whether in Peace or War: And this is the reason why commonly we see that all Republicks thrive and flourish far more in Arts, Manufacture, Traffick, Populousness and Strength, than the Dominions and Cities of

* Mo-

Monarchs: * for where there is Liberty, there will be Riches and People.

To bring all this home, and make it sute with our State, we ought to consider that *Holland* may easily be defended against her Neighbours; and that the flourishing of Manufactures, Fishing, Navigation, and Traffick, whereby that Province subsists, and (its natural Necessities or Wants being well considered) depends perpetually on them, else would be uninhabited: I say, the flourishing of those things will infallibly produce great, strong, populous and wealthy Cities, which by reason of their convenient Situation, may be impregnably fortified: All which to a Monarch, or one Supreme Head, is altogether intolerable. And therefore I conclude, that the Inhabitants of *Holland*, whether Rulers or Subjects, can receive no greater mischief in their Polity, than to be governed by a Monarch, or Supreme Lord: And that on the other side, God can give no greater temporal Blessing to a Country in our Condition, than to introduce and preserve a free Commonwealth Government.

Holland's true Interest consists in promoting Fishing, Manufacture, Traffick, &c.

But seeing this Conclusion opposeth the general and long-continued Prejudices of all ignorant Persons, and consequently of most of the Inhabitants of these *United Provinces*, and that some of my Readers might distaste this Treatise upon what I have already said, unless somewhat were spoken to obviate their Mistakes, I shall therefore offer them these Reasons.

Altho by what hath been already said, it appears, That the Inhabitants of a Republick are infinitely more happy than the Subjects of a

* *Quippe ubi Libertas, ibi est Populus et Divitiæ.*

General Maxims. Part I.

Land governed by one supreme Head; yet the contrary is always thought in a Country where a Prince is already reigning, or in Republicks, where one Supreme Head is ready to be accepted.

The Interest of Courtiers and Souldiers is directly against them.

For not only Officers, Courtiers, idle Gentry, and Souldiery, but also all those that would be such, knowing, That under the worst Government they use to fare best, because they hope that with Impunity they may plunder and rise the Citizens and Country People, and so by the Corruption of the Government enrich themselves, or attain to Grandeur, they cry up Monarchical Government for their private Interest to the very Heavens: Altho God did

1 Sam. 1.8, 12.

at first mercifully institute no other but a Commonwealth Government, and afterwards in his Wrath appointed one Sovereign over them.

Which is not believed by some,

Yet for all this, those Blood-suckers of the State, and indeed of Mankind, dare to speak of Republicks with the utmost Contempt, make a Mountain of every Molehill, discourse of the Defects of them at large, and conceal all that is good in them, because they know none will punish them for what they say: Wherefore all

Because among others, the manner of judging among all common Subjects, tends to the Advantage of Monarchy.

the Rabble (according to the old * Latin Verse) being void of Knowledg and Judgment, and therefore enclining to the Weather or safer side, and mightily valuing the vain and empty Pomp of Kings and Princes, say Amen to it; especially when kept in Ignorance, and irritated against the lawful Government by Preach-

* — Sed quid? Turba Remi sequitur Fortunam, ut semper, & odit Damnatos. Juven.

ers,

Chap. I. General Maxims.

ers, who aim at Dominion, or would introduce an independent and arbitrary Power of Church-Government; and such (God amend it) are found in Holland, and the other United Provinces, infomuch, that all vertuous and intelligent People have bin necessitated to keep silence, and to beware of disclosing the Vices of their Princes, or of such as would willingly be their Governors, or of Courtiers and rude Military Men, and such ambitious and ungovernable Preachers as despise God, and their Native Country.

Nay there are few Inhabitants of a perfect Free state to be found, that are inclinable to instruct and teach others, how much better a Republick is than a Monarchy, or one Supreme Head, because they know no Body will reward them for it; and that on the other side, * Kings, Princes, and great Men, are so dangerous to be conversed with, that even their Friends can scarcely talk with them of the Wind and Weather, but at the hazard of their Lives; and Kings with their long Arms can give heavy blows. And altho all intelligent and ingenuous Subjects of Monarchs, who have not, with lying Sycophantical Courtiers, cast off all Shame, are generally by these Reasons, and daily Experience, fully convinced of the Excellency of a Republick above a Monarchical Government; yet nevertheless, many vertuous Persons, lovers of Monarchy, do plausibly

And how dangerous it is for the wiser sort to declare themselves to the prejudice of Governments by single Persons.

Which yet out of love to my Native Country, I have here performed, and enquired,

* — Sed quid violentius aure Tyranni, Cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimbo Verè locuturi Fatum pendebat amici? Juven.

maintain,

Whether any People naturally are to be governed by one Person. maintain, that several Nations are of that Temper and Disposition, that they cannot be happily governed but by a single Person, and quote for this the Examples of all the People in *Asia* and *Africa*, as well as *Europe*, that lie Southerly. They do also alledg, that all the People who lie more Northerly, are more fit to be governed by a single Person, and with more Freedom; as from *France* to the Northward, all absolute Monarchical Government ceaseth; and therefore maintain or assert, with such ignorant Persons as I mention'd before, that the *Hollanders* in particular are so turbulent, factious, and disingenuous, that they cannot be kept in awe, and happily governed, but by a single Person; and that the Histories of the former Reigns or Government by Earls, will sufficiently confirm it.

Whether the Hollanders are so peevish, that they cannot be governed but by a single Person? But on the other side, the Patriots, and Lovers of a Free-*State* will say, That the foregoing Government by Earls is well known to have bin very wretched and horrid, their Reigns filling History with continual Wars, Tumults, and detestable Actions, occasioned by that single Person. And that on the contrary, the *Hollanders*, subsisting by Manufacture, Fishing, Navigation, and Commerce, are naturally very peaceable, if by such a Supreme Head they were not excited to Tumults. Whether this be so or not, may be learned and confirmed too in part from those Histories.

Whether they would be happier under a Stadtholder, than formerly under Earls? But here it may be said, That things are much altered within these 100 Years last; for *Holland* then subsisted mostly by Agriculture, and there were then no Souldiery, Treasure, or fortified Places to be at the Earl's disposal. But

But when he had Wars, it was with the help of his Homagers and Tenants, only Subsidies or Money being given him at his Request by the States of the Country: And moreover, the Cities of *Holland*, and Castles of the Nobility were (according to the then Method of War) so strong, that they could not be taken by the said Earls, without great Forces imployed against them; so that the States of *Holland* in their Assemblies, have boldly contended for their Rights against the Earls Encroachments. Therefore these Earls, on the other side, by reason of their great Dignity, had many Adherents that depended on them, which must needs make that Government by Earls every way unsteady, weak, and tumultuous.

To this an approver of Monarchical Government may further add, That *Holland* now wholly subsists by Traffick, and that one Supreme Head, Captain-General, or Stadtholder, would have his own Life-Guards at the *Hague*, the Place of Assembly, and likewise the Assistance of a great and well-paid Army, and of all the Preachers, and by them the love of the whole Populace; and that at his Pleasure he may dispose of all the impregnable Frontier Towns of those Provinces that have no Suffrages or Voices in the State, tho he should not increase his Strength by any foreign Alliances, or by Collusion and Flattery with the Deputies of the other Provinces of the Generality, inso-much that the States of *Holland* would not dare, no not in their Assemblies, to open their Mouths against the Interest of such a Supreme Head, or if they did, he would order his Souldiers to take them by the Collar, and might easily overpower most of the Cities of *Holland*, the

the People being unaccustomed to Arms, and moreover divided, Fortifications but slight and mean in comparison of the present way of Fortifying: So that one may truly say, That the *Hollanders* by setting up one Supreme Head over themselves, may now with Ease, and without Tumult, be govern'd like Sheep, by an irresistible Sovereign, against whom they durst not speak one word, when he should think fit to shear, flea, or devour them.

Now what there is in this, and whether the *Hollanders* would be happy in such a Condition, I shall at large hereafter give you my Judgment.

Whether they are too stupid naturally to be governed as a Commonwealth

But as to the Stupidity of the *Hollanders*, whether that be so great, as that they have not Wit enough to form a free Commonwealth; and having found that precious Jewel of Freedom, would, with *Esop's* Cocks, prefer a grain of Corn before it: This is what hath not been judged so hitherto, but on the contrary. Which that it may be evident to the Reader, he may be pleas'd to observe the prudent Conduct of the States of *Holland*, at their great Assembly in the Years 1650 and 1651. as also Reasons and Examples produced to this end in their *Deduction* of the Year 1654. All this is yet further confirmed by that magnanimous Resolution of the 23d of *January* 1657. where in the States of *Holland* unanimously declared, after consulting the General Assemblies, or Common-Halls of the respective Cities in that Province, to hold for a Fundamental and certain Maxim, "That to place a perpetual Head, Chieftain, or General over the Army, is not only needless, but likewise exceeding prejudicial, and that accordingly in this

The States of Holland, since the Year 1650, having manifested the contrary by manifold Acts, as also

" this Province all things shall be thus directed; " That whenever in a time of War, and pressing Necessity, the States of *Holland*, with the other Provinces, shall think fit to proceed to elect a General for the Army, or that upon any other Occasion a Captain-General should be chosen, then not to chuse such a Chieftain as shall have a perpetual Commission, but for such an Expedition, Campaign, or Occasion only as may happen, &c. And moreover, you may there see, that these, and other vigorous Resolutions of the like Nature, were taken with this special Proviso, " That the said Resolution shall not be dispensed with, but by the unanimous Consent of all the Members of the said Assembly.

By this you may perceive, that the Supposition of the *Hollanders* being stigmatick and dull, and of a slavish Nature, is altogether groundless; for seeing they became not free but by the death of the last Stadtholder and Captain-General, and that it was unseasonable and imprudent before that time, for them to shew their commendable Zeal for their Freedom, and their Skill in point of Government: And seeing it is evident, that a Generation of Men that are in Freedom, must be overcome, before we can pass a right Judgment thereof, and stop the mouths of Opposers; we must therefore leave it to God and Time: and if such as like Monarchical Government, and those base and slavish opposers of Liberty survive those times, they will then be able to discern which of the two Governments is founded on best Reason.

It shall not satisfy me to have said thus much in general; for seeing the States of *Holland* in their

Because the States of Holland, in their Deduction, affirm the contrary. Deductie. Par. 2 Chap. 6. Art. 29.

their Deduction, Chap. 6. Art. 29. declare, That they will not lose their Freedom, but with their Lives; I shall therefore presume to give my Opinion of the Political Maxims of Holland, hoping that my sincere Zeal and Uprightness to express the same for the Benefit of the Publick, will be so acceptable to our lawful Rulers, that tho I may have failed in some things, and by stating the true Interest of my Country, have been necessitated to reflect on Persons, who seek their Advantage to the prejudice of Holland, as it is now governed; the said Rulers, and true Lovers of their Native Country, will so favour this Work, and its Author, against the said malevolent Persons, that it shall never repent him to have been the first generous and bold Undertaker of so commendable a Work. But howsoever things happen, or Times oppose it, *recte fecisse merces est, & ipsa sui pretium virtus*; (i. e. to do good is a Reward of it self, and Virtue carries its own Recompence along with it) I shall then, having done my Duty as an honest Man, good Citizen, and upright Christian, that may not bury his Talent, be able to take Comfort in my sincere Endeavours: And Posterity, into whose Hands these Writings may fall, will, in spite of all the present Powers that oppose it, be able to judg impartially, and that with a sound Judgment; because by that time they will have learned, by joyful or sad Experience, whether Holland's Interest can be settled upon any other Foundation or Maxims than those herein express; and whether these Reasons of mine will not be confirmed by the Experience of following Ages.

CHAP. II.

That the true Interest, and Political Maxims of Holland and West-Friesland may be well understood; Holland must not be considered so, as in Speculation it should be, but as it now stands at present.

BEING now about to enquire into, and lay down some Maxims for Holland's continual Prosperity; it seems at first View to be necessary, that we consider the Nature of the Country, forasmuch as it is in it self perpetual; and what means may be found to improve it to its best Advantage, and what good Fruits and Effects are to be expected from such Improvement. In order whereunto, we are first to consider the Soil, Rivers, Meers of Holland, and its Situation upon the Sea, with the Communication it may have with other Nations. And next we are further to consider, what People Holland ought to be inhabited with, viz. whether with few, or many, in order to earn their Bread: as also how the Rulers ought to deport themselves towards Foreign Princes and Governments: And lastly, by what Form of Government, and how the People ought to be governed. But because such Speculations use to build *Rempubicam Platonis, Aristotelis, Eutopiam Mori*, a Philosophical Republick in the Air, or such a one as was never yet found, the thoughts of it will afford little Benefit: Nor is this strange, considering that so many People cannot be suddenly brought to an uninhabited Country, to erect a Political State, according to

Concerning all which, Expedients may be found, whereby Holland may be improved to the most perfect Republick.

Wherefore such Speculations would produce little Benefit.

Holland's true Maxims. Part I.

to the said Speculation, and keep it on foot when it is establish'd. And since in all populous Countries there is some Form of Government; therefore I say again, those Speculations are for the most part useles. For if inquiry be made into the Polity of all established Governments, we shall always find, that there are ever an incredible number of ignorant and malevolent People, Enemies to all Speculation, and Remedies, how good soever, which they conceive or really foresee will be prejudicial in any wise to themselves; and rather than admit them, they will press hard to imbroil the State more than it was before. Besides, there is an endless number of Political Maxims which have so deep a Root, that it is great folly to think any Man should be able, or indeed that it should be thought fit to root them out all at once: And consequently it would be yet a greater piece of Imprudence, if in *Holland, tanquam in tabula rasa*, as on a smooth, and in a very clean and good piece of Ground, we should go about to sow the best Seeds, in order to make it an Angelical or Philosophical Republick: So true is that good and antient Political Maxim, * That in Polity many bad things are indulged with less inconveniency than removed; and that we ought never in Polity (as in playing at Tennis) to set the Ball fair, but must strike it as it lies; it being also true, that on every Occurrence a good Politician is bound to shew his

Because in Affairs of Polity we must ever strike the Ball as it is found lying.

* *Multa scire pauca exequi, Cor. Tacit.*
Multa facere non oportet quæ facta tenent.
Curando fieri quadam majora videmus
Vulnera, quæ melius non tetigisse fuit.

Art,

Chap. 2. Holland's true Maxims.

and Love to his Native Country, that by such constancy the Commonwealth may by degrees be brought to a better condition. I do therefore conceive my self oblig'd to consider *Holland* in the State as it now is, and hope that those Thoughts will produce the more and better Fruits, since those that duly consider the present State of it, will find that they agree for the most part with the Climate, Soil, Rivers, Meers, Situation, and Correspondence which such a Country ought to have with other Dominions, and especially with a free Commonwealth Government, which we have now at present in being: And I hope I shall not digress from it. By the Maxims of *Holland's* Interest, I understand the Conservation, and Increase of the Inhabitants as they now are, consisting of Rulers and Subjects. I shall likewise diligently enquire by what means this Interest may be most conveniently attained. And tho in the first place the Interest of the Rulers ought to be considered, because distinctly and at large it always seems to occasion the Subjects Welfare and Prosperity; and a good form of Government is properly the Foundation whereon all the Prosperity of the Inhabitants is built: I shall nevertheless consider in the first place the Preservation, and Increase of the number of Subjects, not only because it is evident in all Governments, and especially in all Republics, That the Number or Paucity of Subjects is the Cause of an able or weak Government; but also because ambitious Spirits can seldom find a multitude of People living out of civil Society and Government, that will subject them.

What is understood by Holland's Interest.

Namely, and especially the Prosperity, and Increase of the Subjects.

G

Holland's true Maxims. Part I.

themselves to them : And on the contrary, where many Inhabitants are, there will never want Rulers, because the weakness and wickedness of Mankind is so great, that they cannot subsist without Government; inso-much that in case of a vacancy of Rulers, every one would stand Candidates for it them-

Seeing the Pro-sperity of the Rulers of the Republick in Holland depends on the Subjects.

selves, or elect others. And above all, I find my self obliged more fully to consider and promote the welfare of the Subjects in *Holland* above that of the Rulers ; because in this free Commonwealth Government, it is evident that the durable and certain Prosperity of the Rulers does generally depend on the Welfare of the Subjects, as hereafter shall be particularly shewn. And to give the unex-

Because Hol-land was not of old one Coun-try, but con-sisted of many Republicks ; and also be-cause of the di-verse situations of the Cities, it cannot possi-bly have one and the same Interest.

perienç'd Reader some insight at first, it is convenient to premise that *Holland* was not of old one Republick, but consisted of many, which in proces of time chose a Head or Governour over them by the Name of *Earl*, or *Stadtholder* : But seeing he had of old no armed Men or Soldiery of his own as *Dukes* had, but was to be content with his own Revenues, and to rule the Land, or rather administer Justice to each Country according to their particular Customs and Laws, they neverthe- less continued so many several Republicks. And tho in proces of time they were jointly brought to a Sovereign Republic, yet is it also true that the Members of this *Dutch* Republic are of very different Natures and Manners. For *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, *Enchuyfen*, *Medenblick*, *Edam*, *Monnikendam*, *Dort*, *Schiedam*, *Briel*, &c. lying on the Sea, or on Rivers where Ships of great burden may conveniently arrive; *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Grude*,

Chap.2. Holland's true Maxims.

Grude, *Gorcum*, *Schoonhoven*, *Alkmaer*, *Pur- mereynde*, &c. lying within Land, are not to be come at but with Vessels that draw little Water : Besides which, the Gentry who live in the plain or open Countrys of *Holland*, having great Estates, and being not under any Government, seem to have a quite particular Interest. Wherefore every intelli- gent Person may easily judg that a diversity of Rulers, Subjects, Countrys, and Situa- tions, must needs cause a diversity of In- terests, so that I cannot write of *Holland's* Prosperity as of a distinct Country : Never- theless I incline, and do intend to bring it under one Title, as far as all its Cities or Lands can be comprehended in one Interest, to the best of my knowledg and skill. Which to do methodically, I shall in the First Part inquire into, and show the Maxims tending to the Welfare or Damage of *Holland* within its own confines. In the Second Part I shall propose how *Holland* must procure its own Welfare as to Foreign Princes. And in the Third Part I shall enquire, and shew by what Form of Government such a Country and Inhabitants ought to be governed accord- ing to their true Interest, seeing this is the general Foundation whereon all the Pro-speri- ty or Adversity aforesaid is founded.

And yet foras- much as they all center, and agree in one, the Inte- rest of Holland is made evi- dent.

CHAP. III.

Of Holland's natural Burdens and Hindrances.

Holland's Situation.

HOLLAND lying in the Latitude of 51 to 53 degrees, North Latitude upon the Sea; having many Inland Rivers, and being besides a very low and plain Country, is thereby subject to many Inconveniences.

And Inconveniences thence proceeding, even in a time of perfect Peace.

First, There are sharp and very long Winters, so that there is need of more Light, Firing, Clothing, and Food, than in warmer Countries: besides which, all the Cattle of our Pasture-land must be then housed, tho thereby we bestow more cost and pains, and yet reap less profit of milk-meats than in Summer, or in other adjacent Lands, where the Cattle remain longer, or perhaps all the Winter in the Field.

By the Seasons.

Secondly, The Seasons are here so short, that they must be very punctually observed, to return us any Profit by our Plough'd Lands; for the Seed in this moist Country being rotted and consumed in the Earth, cannot be sowed again conveniently.

By the Proximity of the Sea.

Thirdly, By the Vicinity of the Sea, and Plainness of the Land, it is subject in Spring, and Autumn, not only to unwholesom Weather for the Inhabitants, but in the Spring the sharp cold Winds blast most of the blossoms of the Fruit-trees; and in and about Autumn much unripe Fruit is blown down by our usual storms of Wind.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, It is to be considered above all, That these Lands lying for the most part lower than the Floods of the Sea, and Rivers, must withstand the terrible Storms of the Ocean, and Shoals of Ice, against which it must be defended with great expence: For the making of one Rod long of a Sea Dyke costs sometimes 600 Guilders. On the Rivers also, the Charge of maintaining the Banks is very great; and the most chargeable of all is, that notwithstanding so great an expence, the Water of our Dykes and Low-lands sometimes breaks thro, and overflows the Country; so that above all this extraordinary Charge, and Damage, they cannot drain the Country by Mills in some Years. And touching the ordinary Charges in maintaining Dykes and Sluces, &c. how great an expence this must be, we may well imagine by the yearly Charges of Rynland, which is about 80000 Acres or * Morgens in compass, which hath not much communication with the Sea, nor with running, but only with standing Waters; and yet as to Acredg-money and inland Charges, every Acre must pay at least two Guilders; besides, for draining out of the Rain-water by Mills to turn it out by Trenches, each Acre 30 Stivers; likewise towards Foot-paths, Highways, and maintaining the Ditches, at least 20 Stivers more. And lastly, they are liable to many Fines, and Troubles, when they chuse their Bailiffs, Dyk-graves, and Heemraden for Life, who are wholly independent on the Landed-men; tho they may elect their Judges yearly, or continue their Heemraden.

And lowness of the Country.

* A Morgen is about two English Acres.

C 3

Fifthly,

Holland's Burdens. Part I.

Also poorness of Land.

Fifthly, It is evident that Holland affords no Minerals, or the least Product of Mines; so that out of the Earth there is nothing to be had but Clay and Turf, nor even that, but with the spoiling or disfiguring of the Ground.

Smallness of Territory.

Holland thus contending and wrestling with the Sea, Rivers, and drained Meers, can hardly make 400000 profitable Acres, or Morgens of Land, Down and Heath not included. For according to the Calculation taken in the Year 1554. there were found about three hundred thousand Morgens, and some hundreds more. Likewise the States of Holland and Zealand, in a Remonstrance since made to the Earl of Leicester, say, That these two Provinces with all their Heath, Down, and Grounds delv'd out, could make in all but five hundred thousand Morgens. So that I conjecture Holland may now make in all four hundred thousand Morgens, or Acres of Land. Seeing the Chronicle of Zealand (according to the Account given in by the Surveyor Eversdyke) testifies, that in 1643. all the Islands of Zealand contributed to the yearly Poundage, no more than for one hundred eighty three thousand three hundred and fifty Gemeeten, and sixty three Rods of Land: The Gemeetens of the Down-lands being reckoned after the rate of three for two. So that if two Gemeetens are reckoned against one Holland Acre, then all the abovementioned Gemeetens would make out no more than 91675 Morgens, and 63 Rods.

Poorness of the Soil.

And seeing the Ground in Holland is for the most part every where either Sand, Moor, or Fenn, it must necessarily be enriched; and because

*

Chap.3. Holland's Burdens.

because such improvement of it, by reason of the loosness of the Land, sinks down, it requires it the oftner.

This is the Condition of Holland in a time of perfect Peace; what will it be then when we consider, that the Hollanders must not only scour, or clear the Sea from Enemys, and defend their Towns and Country against all Foreign Force, but that they have also charged themselves with much more than the Union of Utrecht obliged them to, with the keeping of many conquered Citys, and circumjacent Provinces, which bring in no Profit to Holland, but are a certain Charge, being supply'd by that Province with Fortifications, Ammunition-houses, Victuals, Arms, Cannon, Pay for the Soldiers, yea, and which is a shameful thing to mention, with Guard-houses, and Money for quartering of Soldiers?

So that the Mischiefs caused by War, are intolerable.

And how heavy the said Burdens must needs be to the Dutch, may be easily imagined, if it be considered, that besides the Customs and other Revenues of the Earls or States of Holland, in the Year 1664. by the ordinary Charge which was levied of the Inhabitants, one Year with another, was paid

For by the ordinary Taxes the Inhabitants pay to the State about

	Guelders.	14 Millions of
To the States of Holland	11000000	Guelders year-ly.
To the Admiralty of the Mase	472898	
To the Admiralty of Amsterdam	2000000	
To the Admiralty of the Northern Quarter	200000	

In all—	13,672,898	

C 4

And

And in time of War they pay for the 200th Penny, 2400000, and for half Poundinge 1200000, and for Hearth or Chimney-Money 600000 Guilders.

And if it be considered that since that time, by reason of the Wars, there were new ordinary Taxes imposed; and that the extraordinary, namely, the two hundredth Penny brings in 2400000, and the half Verpondinge, or Poundinge, 1200000; And lastly, the Chimney-money six hundred and seventy thousand Holland Guilders; and that all those Burdens are born by the Inhabitants, besides the many Excises, and great Sums of Money which they must pay in their Citys for their Maintenance: These things I say considered, we may well conclude, that the Inhabitants of Holland are exceeding heavily burdened and charged.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Natural Product and Advantages of Holland.

The Natural growth of Holland, and what it yields.

TO ballance these heavy Burdens before-mentioned, the inland Waters yield nothing but Fish, Water-Fowl and their Eggs, the Downs only Conys: Four hundred thousand Acres, or Morgens of Land, nothing but Brick-earth, Turf, Corn, Herbs and Roots, Fruit of Trees, Flax, Hemp, Reeds, Grass, Madder, Cattel, Sheep, Horses. But the Downs may be also said to yield Lime and Sand. And how insufficient all these Products from so small and inconsiderable a Bottom are in themselves for the subsistence of so many Inhabitants, every one may easily imagine.

CHAP. V.

That the Inhabitants of Holland cannot be fed by its own Product.

BUT if we should suppose that all the Land in Holland could be, and were sowed with the most necessary Grain, *viz.* Wheat; and that every Morgen in Holland produced fifteen Sacks of Wheat, yet would not four hundred thousand Acres of Land yield for two millions of People, each a pound of Bread per day. And possibly there are now more People employed about the manuring of Land, than can be fed on it. So that if we should make a calculation of all the Fruits which the Earth yieldeth, with what else is necessary for the use of Man, and continually imported, it would evidently appear that the Boors, or Husbandmen and their Dependents, would fall very much short of Food, Drink, Apparel, Housing and Firing. Therefore if the *Hollanders* did not by their Industry make many Manufactures, or by their Labour and Diligence reap much profit by the Seas and Rivers, the Country, or Land of *Holland*, were not worthy to be inhabited by Men, and cultivated, no not tho the People were very few in number, and no Subsidies, Imposts, or Excises raised on them, for their common defence against a Foreign Enemy. On the other side, *Holland* being now inhabited by innumerable People, who bear incredible heavy Taxes, Imposts and Excises, and must necessarily be so inhabited, the easier to bear so great a Burden,

den, and to defend themselves against all their neighbouring Potentates: We may safely say, that *Holland* cannot in any wise subsist of it self, but that of necessity it must fetch its Food elsewhere, and continually invite new Inhabitants from Foreign Parts. I therefore find my self obliged to search into, and more particularly demonstrate the Ways and Means by which the same may be procured.

CHAP. VI.

That Holland lies very commodiously to fetch its Provision out of the Sea, and to provide it self by other Arts and Trades: and how great a means of Subsistence the Fisheries may prove to us.

So that the Inhabitants must seek their Bread out of the Sea by fishing, or ashore by Manufactures, and Arts.

Holland is very well situated to procure its Food out of the Sea, which is a common Element; it lies not only on a Strand rich of Fish, near the *Dogger-Sand*, where Haddock, Cod, and Ling may in great abundance be taken, and cured; but also near the Herring-Fishery, which is only to be found on the Coast of *Great-Britain*, viz. from *St. John's* to *St. James's*, about *Schet-Land*, *Pharil*, and *Boekness*; from *St. James's* to the Elevation of the Cross about *Boekness* or *Seveniot*, from the Elevation of the Cross to *St. Katherines* in the deep Waters Eastward of *Yarmouth*. And this Herring Fishing, which it is now 250 Years ago since *William Beakelson* of *Biervliet* first learned to gill, salt, and pack them up in Barrels, together with the Cod-Fishery, is become

become so effectual a means of Subsistence for these Lands, and especially since so many neighbouring Nations, by reason of their Religion, are obliged upon certain Days and Weeks of the Year, wholly to refrain from eating of Flesh; that the *Hollanders* alone do fish in a time of Peace with more than a thousand Busses, from 24 to 30 Lasts burden each, and with above one hundred and seventy smaller Vessels that fish for Herrings at the Mouth of the *Texel*: So that those thousand Busses being set to Sea for a Year, wherein they make three Voyages, do cost above ten Millions of Guilders, accounting only the Buss with its Tackle, at 4550 Guilders, and the setting forth to Sea 5500 Guilders, there remaining nothing of all its Victuals and Furniture the second Year, but the bare Vessel, and that much worn and tatter'd, needing great Reparation. So that if these 1000 Busses do take yearly forty thousand Last of Herrings, counting them at least worth 200 Guilders per Last, they would yield in *Holland* more than eight Millions of Guilders.

And seeing that of late Men have begun to make very much use of Whale-Oil, and Whale-Fins, which are taken to the Northward not far from us, insomuch that with Southerly Winds, which are common in this Country, we can sail thither within six or 8 days: The Trade of Fishing, and Salt, may easily be fix'd and settled with us; for to fix those Fisheries, and several Manufactures, and consequently the Trade and Returns thereof depending on Navigation, and Ships let out to Freight, we ought duly to consider, that the greatest Difficulty for so innumerable a People

The great number of Inhabitants is a powerful means to fix Traffick in Holland.

Holland's Conveniency Part I.

People to subsist on their own Product, proves the most powerful means to attract all foreign Wares into Holland, not only to store them up there, and afterwards to carry them up the Country by the Mase, Waal, Yffel, and the Rhine (making together one River) to very many Cities, Towns, and People, lying on the sides of them (the most considerable in the World for consumption of Merchandise) but also to consume the said imported Goods, or to have them manufactur'd: It being well known, that no Country under Heaven, of so small a Compass, has so many People and Artificers as we have; to which may be added, that no Country in the World is so wonderfully divided with Rivers and Canals, whereby Merchandize may be carried up and down with so little Charge.

Emanuel van Meteren says, That in the space of three days, in the Year 1601. there sailed out of Holland, to the Eastward, between eight and nine hundred Ships, and 1500 Busses a Herring fishing; which is easy to believe, if we may credit what the English Authors mention, viz. Gerard Malines in his Lex Mercatoria, and Sir Walter Rawleigh, and which Lievin van Aitzma, Anno 1653. pag. 863. doth in some measure confirm, viz. That there are yearly taken and spent by the Hollanders more than three hundred thousand Last of Herrings, and other salt Fish: And that the Whale fishing to the Northward, takes up above twelve thousand Men, which sail out of these Countries. For since the Greenland Company, or (to express my self better) the Monopolizing Grant thereof was annulled, and the Whale-fishing set open in common, that

How considerable the Fisheries of Holland are, is mentioned by certain English Writers

Chap. 6. for Fishing.

that fishery is increased from one to ten: So that when we reckon that all these fishing Vessels are built here at home, and the Ropes, Sails, Nets, and Cask made here, and that Salt is furnish'd from hence; we may easily imagine that there must be an incredible number of People that live by this means, especially when we add, That all those People must have Meat, Drink, Clothes, and Housing; and that the Fish, when caught, is transported by the Hollanders in their Vessels through the whole World. And indeed if that be true, which Sir Walter Rawleigh (who made diligent inquiry thereinto, in the Year 1618. to inform King James of it) affirms, That the Hollanders fished on the Coast of Great Britain with no less than 3000 Ships, and 50000 Men, and that they employed and set to Sea, to transport and sell the Fish so taken, and to make returns thereof, nine thousand Ships more, and one hundred and fifty thousand Men besides: and if we hereunto add what he saith further, viz. that twenty Busses do maintain eight thousand People, and that the Hollanders had in all no less than 20000 Ships at Sea; as also that their Fishing, Navigation, and Traffick by Sea, with its Dependencies since that time, to the Year 1667, is encreased to $\frac{1}{2}$ more: I say, if that be so, we may then easily conclude, that the Sea is a special means of Holland's subsistence; seeing Holland by this means alone, yields by its own Industry above three hundred thousand Lasts of salt Fish. So that if we add to this, the Whale-fin, and Whale-oil, and our Holland Manufactures, with that which our own Rivers afford us, it must be confessed, that no Country

Who out of Envy nevertheless overrate this means of our Subsistence.

Holland's convenient Situation Part I.

try in the World can make so many Ships-lading of Merchandize by their own Industry, as the Province of *Holland* alone.

C H A P. VII.

That in Europe there is no Country fitter for Traffick than Holland; and how great a means of Subsistence Commerce is to it.

HAVING thus considered *Holland's* conveniency for the Fishing Trade, and it coming into my Thoughts, that all the Traffick of *Holland* seems chiefly to have risen out of it, and still to depend upon it; I shall now give my Opinion wherein that Aptness or Conveniency mostly consists.

Of the Traffick of Holland.

But first let me say, that by the word *Traffick*, I mean the buying of any thing to sell again, whether for Consumption at home, or to be sold abroad, without altering its Property, as buying in foreign Countries cheap, to sell dearer abroad; the most considerable part of which is what I understand by the word *Traffick*.

Holland's convenient situation for Trade.

Secondly, I say, that *Holland* is very conveniently seated for that end, lying in the middle of *Europe*, accounting from *St. Michael the Arch-Angel* in *Muscovia*, and *Revel*, to *Spain*. And as to our lying further off from *Italy* and the *Levant*, and more to the Eastward, it is a thing very necessary, inasmuch as most of the bulky and coarse Goods, as *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Ashes*, *Corn*, *Hemp*, and *Timber*

Chap. 7. for the Staple of Trade.

Timber for Ships, and other uses; as also *Pomerania* and *Prussia* Wool must be fetch'd from thence, and brought hither; because the better half of those Goods is consumed or wrought up in this Country: And because very many Wares may be sent up and down the Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Mase*, whereby it appears, that the *Hollanders* sail with as many more Ships to the Eastward, as they do to the Westward.

Thirdly, The conquer'd Lands, and strong Holds of the *East-India* Company are now become very considerable, in order to secure to *Holland* the Trade of all Spices, and *Indian* Commodities, which is already pretty well fixed to it. And this improvement of Trade might be made much more considerable, if the said Conquerors would not, by virtue of their Grant or Patent, hinder all the other Inhabitants of these Lands from trading to those Conquests, and to innumerable rich Countries, where the said Conquerors, for Reasons of State may not, or for other Reasons cannot, or perhaps will not trade. Yea, tho' the said free Trade of our Inhabitants (to the greater benefit of the Participants) were in some measure limited, and circumscribed to those Lands and Sea-Ports lying in their District, to which they never yet traded, I should then expect to see much more fruit of that Trade, and Monopoly together, than of their Monopoly alone: For if our *East-India* Company could find some Expedient, either as to Freight of Goods, to permit all the Inhabitants of these Lands freely to lade their Goods on board the Company's own Ships, or to import and export all manner of Goods to the

To which the Conquests of the East-India Company contribute.

Holland's convenient Situation Part I.

the Places of their Conquests, and back to this Country, or in process of Time, by laying Imposts on the Consumption of the inhabiting Planters, who would resort thither in great numbers by reason of a Free Trade, or by any other imaginable means tending to give it an open Trade. they would thereby reap much more Profit than the poor Participants now commonly and with much uncertainty do enjoy; and then, if afterwards the said Participants would be persuaded to deny themselves so much of their Privilege, or authorized Monopoly, as to set open that Trade in some good measure to the Inhabitants of these *United Provinces*, it would unquestionably produce to our Industrious and Inquisitive Nation, so many new and unheard of Consumptions of all our Manufactures, especially of Wool, and so great a Trade, Navigation, and Commerce with that vast Land of *Africa*, and the incredibly great and rich *Asia*, which lies so convenient for Trade, that many hundred Ships would yearly make Voyages thither, and bring their Returns hither, especially from and to *Amsterdam*; and by means of which alone, we should certainly, and very easily work all other Foreigners out of those *Indian Seas*. Whereas on the other hand, to the end we may preserve our *East-India* Trade, consisting yearly of no more than 10 or 16 Ships going and coming, we find our selves continually drawn into so many Quarrels and Contentions with those foreign Nations, with eminent Danger of losing by such Dissensions and Wars, not only our *European* Trade, but also those conquered *Indian* Countries, and consequently that Trade also for want of Planters,

And the Advantage Holland hath, would be incredibly augmented, if the Trade to the Indies were free for all the Inhabitants.

Chap. 7. for the Staple of Trade.

Planters, and by the excessive great Expences which they must be at more and more yearly, by reason of such great numbers of Soldiers as lie in their Garisons, and which will and must increase with their Conquests; as (God amend it) hath but too plainly appeared by the *West-India* Company of this Country.

This Advantage which *Holland* hath for *An open Trade* Commerce and Traffick, would be yet more *to the West-Indies would increase Traffick and Navigation.* improved, if the *West-India* Company, in all Places of their District, would also set that Trade open: And in case things are so constituted, that the *East* and *West-India* Trade cannot be preserved but by mighty Companies, as some indeed affirm, who understand the *India* Trade, and have the Credit of affirming what they say, with good shew of Reason; yet this however must be confess'd, that the said Companies, as now constituted, do attract and preserve to *Holland* all the Trade which depends on their vast Equipages, Ladings, and Returns.

Fourthly, It is a great Advantage for the *The low Interest of Money* Traffick of *Holland*, that Money may be taken up by Merchants at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. for a *helpful hereunto.* Year, without Pawn or Pledg; whereas in other Countries there is much more given, and yet real Estates bound for the same: So that it appears, that the *Hollanders* may buy and lay out their ready Money a whole Season, before the Goods they purchase are in being, and manufactur'd, and sell them again on Trust (which cannot be done by any other trading Nation, considering their high Interest of Money) and therefore is one of the greatest means whereby the *Hollanders* have gotten most of the Trade from other Nations.

D

Fifthly,

The chargeable living in Holland constrains the Inhabitants to Merchandising.

Fifthly, There being many Duties and Subsidies to be paid in *Holland*, and little got by Lands, Houses, or Money let out at Interest; and we having also no Cloisters, and but few Lands in Fief, or held by Homage; and the Women moreover being very fruitful of Children, and Men making equal dividends of their Estates among them, which can therefore be but small, and so not fit to be put out to Interest: All this, I say, is another great Cause of the advancing of our Traffick.

C H A P. VIII.

That *Holland*, by Fishing and Traffick, hath acquired Manufacturies and Navigation; and how great a means of Subsistence Manufactury, and Ships let out to Freight prove to them.

Traffick depends on Fishing and Manufacture.

Manufacture depends on Fishing and Traffick.

THO it is evident by our Histories, that in many Cities in *Holland* great quantities of Manufactures were made, when all the *European* Traffick and Navigation was mostly driven by the *Easterlings* and *Hans-Towns*, and before Fishing, Traffick, and freighting of Ships were settled in these Provinces; and that consequently we might say with good Reason, That Fishing and Traffick, together with Ships sailing for Freight, took their rise rather from the Manufactures, than the Manufactures took their rise from them: Yet generally it is certain, that in a Country where there is Fishing and Traffick, Manufacturys and freight Ships may easily be introduced. For

from

from them there must of necessity rise an opportunity of bringing Commodities to be wrought up out of foreign Parts; and the Goods so manufactur'd may be sent by the same Conveniency beyond Seas, or up the Rivers into other Countries.

Thus we see that in *Holland* for the same reason, all sorts of Manufactures of Silk, Flax, Wool, Hemp, Twyne, Ropes, Cables, and Nets, are more conveniently made, and yield better Profit than in any other Country, and the like; coarse Salt boiled; and many Ships are built by that means with outlandish Timber. For it is evident that Shipwrights work in *Holland* must not be considered as a mere Consumption, but as a very considerable Manufacture and Merchandize, seeing almost all great Ships for Strangers are built by the *Hollanders*. Besides which Manufactures, there are others of necessary Use, as well as for Pleasure or Ornament; which are of such a Nature, that most of them require Water, whether it be to work them, or for cheapness of Carriage: And when by the shallowness of the Waters there would be otherwise a defect, that want is supply'd by the constant Winds that blow upon our low and plain Land, which joining to the Sea are thereby replenished.

And as to the owning of Parts of Ships let out to freight, it appears that a Ship lying for Freight in a Country where Fishing, Manufactory, and Trading flourish, will be able to get its Lading in a very short time: And that in Countrys where they don't flourish, such Ships must sail from one Port to another, and lose much time in getting Freight: So that such as are Owners of Ships, must necessarily

Navigation, or Shares in Shipping, depend on Manufactures, Fisheries, and Commerce.

The Climate of Holland very proper for Manufacture.

fix in such a Country where Shipping may soonest find their full Lading.

Besides all which, *Holland* lies in so cold a Climate, that the People are not hindred from working by reason of the Heat of the Country, as elsewhere: And seeing for the most part we have but a gross Air, eat coarse Diet, and drink small Beer, the People are much fitter for constant Work; and by reason of the great Impositions, they are necessitated to use all the said means of Subsistence, viz. to make Manufactures by Land, to fish by Sea, to navigate Ships for Trade at home and abroad, and to let out their great and small Vessels to Freight.

A free Republican Government inclines all to get Estates.

And seeing the Inhabitants under this free Government, hope by lawful Means to acquire Estates, may sit down peaceably, and use their Wealth as they please, without dreading that any indigent or wasteful Prince, or his Courtiers and Gentry, who are generally as prodigal, necessitous, and covetous as himself, should on any pretence whatever seize on the Wealth of the Subject; our Inhabitants are therefore much inclined to subsist by the forenamed and other-like ways or means, and gain Riches for their Posterity, by Frugality and good Husbandry.

CHAP. IX.

That the Inhabitants of Holland, being in a State of Freedom, are by a common Interest wonderfully linked together; which is also shew'd by a rough Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants, and by what Means they subsist.

WE are moreover well to consider, That Fishing is not the sole Cause of Traffick, nor Fishing and Traffick the Cause of Manufactory; as also that these three together do not always give occasion for the Shipping that is let out to Freight, which is meant by Navigation: But that Fishing flourishes much more in those Parts, because Traffick, Navigation and Manufactures are settled among us, whereby the Fish and Oil taken may be transported and consumed. Likewise that more than the one half of our Trading would decay, in case the Trade of Fish were destroyed, as well as all other sorts of Commodities about which People are employed in *Holland*; besides that, by consequence the *Inland Consumption* of all Foreign Goods being more than one half diminished, the Traffick in those Parts would fall proportionably.

That the fore-mentioned means of Subsistence, and also the Inhabitants are linked together.

It is also certain, that of necessity all sorts of Manufactures would be lessened more than a Moiety, if not annihilated, as soon as this Country should come to be bereft of Fishing, and of Trading in those Commodities which are spent abroad. And concerning Owners of Ships let out to Freight, it is evident that they

Namely the greatest Traders in Fish, and Makers of Manufacture.

The flourishing of Commerce Part I.

And the Owners of Shipping of those three together.

wholly depend on the Prosperity or Success of Fishing, Manufactory, and Traffick: For seeing our Country yields almost nothing out of its own Bowels; therefore the Ships that lie for Freight, can lade nothing but what the Merchants or Traders put on board them of Fish, Manufactory, or Merchandize. And as little would Foreign Ships carry Goods to Holland, in case no Fishermen, Merchants, or Traders dealing in Manufactory dwelt there. And contrariwise it is certain, that our Fishers, Manufacturers and Traders, find a mighty Conveniency and Benefit in our great number of Freight-ships, which continually lie for Freight in all Parts of the World, and are ready to carry the same at an easy Rate to any place desired. So that the English and Flemish Merchants, &c. do oft-times know no better way to transport their Goods to such Foreign Parts as they design, than to carry them first to Amsterdam, and from thence to other places, especially when our Admiralties, according to their Duty, take care to convoy and defend our Merchant Ships, with Men of War, against all Pirates, or Sea-robbers whatsoever. It is also evident, that the Husbandmen, or Boors of Holland, can very well sell all the Product or Profit of their Land, Cattel, Firing, &c. to the Inhabitants that are Fishers, Manufacturers, Traders, Navigators, and those that depend on them; which is a great Advantage beyond what all other Boors have, who for the most part have their Commodities spent abroad, and consequently must bear the Charges of Freight, and the Dutys outwards and inwards, and must also allow a double

The Husbandmen and Artificers not concern'd in Manufatures, are as a necessary Consequence of all other Inhabitants.

Gain

*

Ch.9. occasions the flourishing of a People.

Gain to the Merchants and Buyers. So that this great number of People, that are not Husbandmen, are I think the only Cause that those Country Boors, tho heavily tax'd, are able to subsist. And seeing all the said Inhabitants have need of Meat, Drink, Clothing, Housing, and of the Gain gotten by Foreign Consumption that is needful to support it; it is evident, that all the other Inhabitants depend and live upon the foresaid Fishers, Traders and Navigators.

And how remarkable it is, that all Rulers and others, who for any Service depend on them, have a Benefit by their great Numbers, is so clear, that there needs no more be said for proof: For when there were but few Inhabitants in this Country, within less than 100 Years, the most eminent Offices of Burgomaster, and Schepens or Sheriffs, were even in the principal Cities so great a Burden as not to be born without much Charge; whereas it is now become profitable to be but a City Messenger, or Undertaker to freight Ships, seeing Men are thereby enabled to maintain their Families.

Our Magistrates Prosperity depend on the Success of all their Subjects.

Furthermore, having a mind to convince the Reader, not only by my Reasoning, but by his own Experience, that the Prosperity of Holland is built upon the foresaid means of Subsistence, and on no other; I find my self obliged to make a Calculation of the Number of People in Holland that are fix'd Inhabitants, or depend upon them; and at the same time, as far as I am able, to reckon in what proportion those People are maintain'd by the means of Subsistence before-mentioned. In order to this I shall on the one hand consider, that Sir Walter Raleigh endeavouring to

All which is set forth by a rough Calculation, how the People in Holland maintain themselves.

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move

The flourishing of Commerce Part I.

move King James of England to advance the Fishing Trade, Manufactures, and Traffick by Sea, hath possibly exceeded in his Account of the Profits arising from it, and augmented the number of the People that live upon it somewhat above the Truth.

And likewise is considered how many Inhabitants there are in Holland.

And on the other hand I shall consider what Gerard Malines saith, in his Lex Mercatoria, Ann. 1622. that in Flanders there were then counted one hundred and forty thousand Families; which being reckoned, one with another, at five Persons each, they would amount to seven hundred thousand People. I shall likewise consider that in Holland that same Year, the States laid a Poll-Tax upon all Inhabitants, none excepted save Strangers, Prisoners, and Vagrants, and those that were on the other side the Line; yet were there found in all South-Holland no more than four hundred eighty one thousand nine hundred thirty and four: Altho the Commissioners Instructions for that end were very strict and severe, to prevent all Fraud and Deceit. However that we may make the better guess whether this was a faithful Account, I shall give you the Particulars of it as registred in the Chamber of Accounts.

Dort with its Villages,	40523
Haerlem with its Villages,	69648
Delft with its Villages,	41744
Leyden and Rynland,	94285
Amsterdam and its Villages,	115022
Goude and its Villages,	24662
Roterdam with its Villages,	28339
Gornichem with its Villages,	7585

Schie-

Ch.9. occasions the flourishing of a People.

Schiedam with its Villages,	10393
Schoonhoven with its Villages,	10703
Briel with its Villages,	20156
The Hague,	17430
Heusden,	1444
	<hr/>
	481934

And supposing that West-Friesland might yield the fourth part of the Inhabitants of South-Holland, it would amount to

120483

In all 602417

But because possibly none but intelligent Readers, and such as have travelled, will believe, what we see is customary in all Places, that the number of People in all Populous Countrys is excessively magnified, and that the Common Readers will think, that since many would be willing to evade the Poll-Tax, there was an extraordinary Fraud in the Number given in: I shall therefore follow the common Opinion, and conclude, that the Number of People was indeed much greater, and that these Countries are since that time much improved in the Number of Inhabitants; and accordingly I shall give a guess as by vulgar Report, that the whole Number, without excluding any Inhabitants whatsoever, may amount to two Millions and four hundred thousand People, and that they maintain themselves as followeth, viz.

And with what proportion they live by the said means.

By the Fisherys at Sea, and setting them out with Ships, Rigging, Cask, Salt, and other Materials, or Instruments, and the Traffick that depends thereon.

450000.

By Agriculture, Inland-fishing, Herding, Hay-making, Turf-making, and by furnishing

The flourishing of Commerce Part I.

200000. ing those People with all sorts of Materials as they are Boors, or Husbandmen, 200000.

650000. By making all manner of Manufactures, Shipping, Works of Art, Mechanick or Handicraft Works, which are consumed abroad; as likewise by Trade relating to the said Manufactures, 650000.

250000. By Navigation or sailing for Freight and Trade jointly, by which I mean carriage into Foreign Parts for selling and buying; as also carrying to and from Holland all such Wares and Merchandise as relate not to our Fishing and Manufactory, nor depend thereon: And lastly I include herein also all Inhabitants that are any ways serviceable to such Traders, and Ships let out to Freight, amounting in all to 250000.

650000. By all these Inhabitants, as being Men, Women, and Children, that must be provided, and by working about what is spent in this Country, as Food, Drink, Clothing, Housing, and by making or selling Household Stuff, and all other things for Art, Ease, Pleasure, or Ornament, 650000.

200000. By the labour and care of all the abovementioned Persons, being Gentry without Employment or Calling, Civil Magistrates and Officers, those that live upon their Estates or Money, Soldiers, the Poor in Hospitals, Beggars, &c. 200000.

2400000. In all 2400000.

And tho this Calculation, whether consider'd as to the Number of the Inhabitants, or their proportionable means of Subsistence, is very rough and uncertain; yet I suppose it

Ch.9. occasions the flourishing of a People.

it to be evident, that the eighth part of the Inhabitants of Holland could not be supplied with Necessaries out of its own product, if their Gain otherwise did not afford them all other necessaries: So that *Homo Homini Deus* 'Tis the Happiness of Holland to have such as are linked together in Interest. in Statu Politico, one Man being a God to another under a good Government, it is an unspeakable Blessing for this Land, that there are so many People in it, who according to the Nature of the Country are honestly maintain'd by such suitable or proportionable means, and especially that the welfare of all the Inhabitants (the idle Gentry, and Foreign Soldiers in pay excepted) from the least to the greatest, does so necessarily depend on one another: and above all it is chiefly considerable, that there are none more really interested in the Prosperity of this Country than the Rulers of this Aristocratical Government, and the Persons that live on their Estates.

For Fishers, Boors, or Country People, owners of Ships let to Freight, Merchants and Manufacturers, in a general destruction of a Country, could easily transport themselves into Foreign Parts, and there set up their Fishing, Agriculture, or Husbandry, Shipping, Merchandize and Manufactures: But such as have Lands, or immovable Estates, cannot do this; and supposing they could, and should sell their Estates and remove into other Countries, yet would they there have no Calling to subsist by, much less can they expect to be made use of in the Government, or procure any Office or Advantage depending upon it.

How-

And the greatest unhappiness, that the Prosperity of all the Inhabitants may be ruined by one single Error of State,

However, this excellent and laudable Harmony and Union may be violated, even to the Ruin of all the Inhabitants, none excepted but Courtiers and Soldiers, and that by one sole mistake in Government, which is the Electing one Supreme Head over all these Inhabitants, or over their Armys. For seeing such a single Person for the increase of his Grandeur, may curb and obstruct Holland's Greatness and Power, by the Deputies of the lesser Provinces of the Generality, who also may in their Course check the great and flourishing Cities in their own Provincial Assemblies, by the Suffrages or Votes of the envious Gentry. And the lesser Cities, and the great Persons, Courtiers and Souldiers being all of his Party, and depending on him, must needs prey upon the industrious or working Inhabitants, and so will make use of all their Power for their own benefit, and to the detriment of the Commonalty. And to the end they may receive no let from the great and strong Cities of Holland, it follows that they would either weaken or lessen all such Cities, and impoverish the Inhabitants, to make them obedient without control. Which if so, we have just cause continually to pray, *A furore Monarcharum libera nos Domine*; God preserve Holland from the Fury of a Monarch, Prince, or one Supreme Head. But what there is of reality in this, shall be handled hereafter in a Chapter apart.

Namely by advancing a single Person over the Civil Magistracy and Soldiery.

CHAP. X.

That Question consider'd, why the heavy Taxes, occasioned by War, have not driven Fishing, Trading, Manufactory, and Shipping out of Holland?

IT is not enough to know how happy in general this Country is, in finding Employment for so many Hands, and affording them sustenance, seeing there have been many causes which would have hindred the Success of our Fishing, Navigation and Traffick, had there been but one Country among the many that are near us, well situated for Fishing, Manufactory, Traffick, and Navigation, which during our Wars and Troubles had seen and followed their own true Interest; most of our neighbouring Nations, all that time being in a profound Peace, seemed to have less hinderance for promoting Manufactures, Traffick, employing of Ships for Freight and Fishing, than our Nation. So that to pursue the true Interest and Maxims of Holland, we ought particularly to know the Reason, why the great inconveniencies of Taxes and Wars that we have laboured under, have not occasioned the Fishing, Manufactory, Traffick, and Navigation, to settle and fix in other Countries; as for example in England, where if all be well considered they have had far greater Advantages of Situation, Harbours, a clean and bold Coast, favourable Winds, and an Opportunity of transporting many unwrought Commodities, a lasting Peace, and a greater freedom from Taxes than we have.

Why Traffick has not fix'd in other Countries.

CHAP. XI.

Before we answer the said Question, we shall relate the antient State of Manufacturies, Fisheries, and Navigation in Europe.

THAT I may from hence derive some Light, I shall premise a brief Relation how these Affairs stood in antient times.

Above 700 Years ago there were few Merchants in Europe.

How great Inconveniences thence arose.

Em. Suiero anal. de Flandes.

It is well known, that 6 or 700 Years ago, there were no Merchants in all Europe, except a few in the Republicks of Italy, who lived on the Mediterranean, and traded with the Indian Carravans in the Levant; or possibly there might be found some Merchants, tho but in few Places, that drove an Inland Trade: so that each Nation was necessitated to sow, build, and weave for themselves to the Northward and Eastward, where there were then no Outland nor Inland Merchants; and therefore in case of superfluity of People, they were compelled by force of Arms for want of Provision, and to prevent ill Seasons, and Hunger, to conquer more Land. And this caused the Irruptions of the Celtæ, Cimbri, Scythians, Goths, Quades, Vandals, Hunns, Franks, Burgundians, Normans, &c. who till about the Year 1000 after Christs Birth, were in their greatest Strength; all which People, and in a word, all that spake Dutch or German, exchanged their Superfluitys, not for Mony, but as it is reported, thus: Two Hens for a Goose, two Geese for a Swine, three Lambs for a Sheep, three Calves for a Cow; bartering of Corn was then also in practise, by which

Chap. II. first into Holland.

which they knew how much Oats was to be given for Barley, how much Barley for Rye, and Rye for Wheat, when they wanted them; so that except for eatable Wares there was neither Barter nor Traffick.

The Flemings lying nearest to France were the first that began to earn their Livings by weaving, and sold the same in that fruitful Land, where the Inhabitants were not only able to feed themselves, but also by the superfluous growth of their Country could put themselves into good Apparel; which young Boudewyn of Flanders, about the Year 960, considerably improved, by setting up yearly Fares or Markets in several Places, paying no Duty or Toll for any Goods, either exported or imported. By which means that way of Merchandize improved 300 Years successively, altho those Commodities were only consumed in France and Germany, till the many prejudicial or hurtful Laws of the Halls, which at first were fram'd on pretence of preventing deceit, and the debasing of Commodities, but were in truth intended to fix those Manufactures to the Cities: But at last having by force, which is ever prejudicial to Traffick, driven much of this weaving Trade out of the Cities into the Villages; the Wars between France and Flanders drove it back from the Villages to Tienen and Lovain in Brabant; notwithstanding which the Brabanders being nothing more prudent, did by the same Occasion, viz. the Laws of the Halls, and Imposts on Manufactory during the War against France, occasion many Tumults and Uproars among the Weavers, about 100 Years after in Flanders, where at Gent in the Year 1301, in

The Flemings were here the first Traders in Manufactures

Next them the Brabanders.

in a Tumult occasion'd by some coercive Laws and Orders about their Occupation, there were slain two Magistrates, and eleven other Inhabitants. And at *Bruges* the next Year after, for the same Cause, there were slain above 1500 in a Tumult. Likewise at *Ypres*, upon the same Occasion, there being a Mutiny, the *Voght*, or chief Magistrate, with the ten *Scheepens* (being all the Magistrates of the City) were killed. And such like Accidents hapned afterwards in *Brabant*, amongst others at *Lovain*, where, in a great Tumult of the Cloth-weavers with their Adherents, divers Magistrates were slain in the Council-house, and several of the Offenders fled into *England*, whither they first carried the Art of Drapery: But many other Cloth-weavers, with their Followers, as well *Brabanders* as *Flemings*, dispersed themselves into the Countries beyond the *Mase*, and into *Holland*; and amongst other Places, many of them fixed at *Leyden*. Mean while, the *German* Knights of the Cross, after the Year 1200, under pretence of reducing the Heathens to the Christian Faith, made themselves Masters not only of barren *Pomerania*, and the River *Oder*, which they suffered the converted Princes to enjoy, but of rich *Prussia* and *Lyfland*, and the Rivers *Weissel*, *Pregol*, and *Duina*, and consequently of all those which fall into the Sea, out of fruitful *Poland*, *Lithuania*, or *Russia*. By which Conveniency the Eastern Cities that lay nearest to the Sea, began to fetch away their bulky and * unwrought Goods, and to carry them to the *Netherlands*, *England*, *Spain*, and *France*, and likewise from thence to and fro to export and import all the Goods that

Lastly, The
Hollanders and
the English.

* Which were
transported be-
yond the Seas,
and dealt in by
the East-Coun-
try People.

that were superfluous or wanting.
And seeing by the Wars about the Year 1360, between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, they suffered great Losses by Sea, and amongst others were plundered by the famous *Wisbuy*, sixty six of their Cities covenanted together, to scour or cleanse the Seas from such Piracies, and to secure their Goods: And thus they became and continued, by that Eastern Trade, the only Traffickers and Carriers by Sea, beating by that means all other Nations out of the Ocean, till after the Year 1400, that the Art of salting and curing of Herrings being found out in *Flanders*, the Fisheries in these *Netherlands* being added to our Manufactures, proved to be of more importance than the Trade and Navigation of the *Easterlings*, and therefore encreased more and more with the Traffick by Sea to *Bruges*, which lasted to the Year 1482, when *Flanders* had Wars with the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, about the Guardianship of his Son and his Dominions, which lasted ten Years. Mean while *Sluys*, the Sea-Port of *Bruges*, being for the most part infested, those of *Antwerp* and *Amsterdam*, to draw the Trade to their Cities, assisted the Duke in his unbridled Tyranny, and barbarous destruction of the Country, thereby regained his Favour, and attain'd their own Ends. And seeing the *Italians* by their *Levant* Trade, had gotten some Seed of Silk-worms from *China* and *Persia*, and raised such abundance of those Worms, and Mulberry Trees, that they wove many silk Stuffs, and in process of time had dispers'd their Silks every where, and began to vent many of them at *Antwerp*: And moreover, when the

When, and how
the Association
of the Hans-
Towns was
erected.

And how the
Trade fell to
them of *Bruges*,
Antwerp, and
Amsterdam.

How Traffick came into Holland. Part I.

Passages to the West and East-Indies by Sea were discovered, and the Spaniards and Portuguese sold their Goods and Spices at Antwerp; as also that the Netherlandish Drapery was much of it removed into England; and the English also settling their Staple at Antwerp, these things produc'd many new Effects.

How great a Merchandizing City Antwerp formerly was.

1. Tho Antwerp was, in respect of its good Foundation, and far extended Traffick, the most renowned merchandizing City that ever was in the World, sending many Ships to and again from France, England, Spain, Italy, and making many silk Manufactures; yet Brabant and Flanders were too remote, and ill situated for erecting at Antwerp, or near it, the Fishery of Haddock, Cod, and Herring, and for making that Trade as profitable there, as it might be in Holland.

The Trade of which, by reason of our Fisheries and Manufactures, withdrew into Holland.

2. Tho the Easterlings built their Eastern Houses, and set up their Staple at Antwerp, yet had they not the Conveniency at once of transporting their Corn so far from the Eastward, in pursuance of their new correspondence with the Spaniards and Italians, but were necessitated to have it laid up anew in Antwerp, to prevent its spoiling; especially when we add this Consideration, That those remote Lands had not occasion to take off whole Ships loadings of fine Wares which Antwerp afforded, as the Antwerpens could take off whole Ships loadings of Herring, and salted Fish, besides the rough and unmanufactur'd Eastern and many other Commodities, which are manufactur'd and spent in this Country.

3. The Hollanders Fishery of Haddock, Cod, and Herring, and the great Conveniency they have of selling them all at home, and transporting

Chap. 12. Traffick must come there.

ing them abroad, was the Reason that the Eastern Countries took off very much of our Herrings and Salt. The Trade to that Country, since the breaking in of the Inlet or Passage into the Texel, about the Year 1400, when the River Ye began to be navigated with great Ships, settled it self by degrees mostly at Amsterdam, and part of it in England.

CHAP. XII.

For answer to the former Question, it is here particularly shewn, that Fishing and Traffick must entirely settle in Holland, and Manufacturys must do the like for the most part, and consequently Navigation, or sailing upon Freight.

THIS was the state of Trade till the Year 1585, when Antwerp was taken by the Prince of Parma. For that City being thus wholly shut up from the Sea, and the King of Spain very imprudently neglecting to open the Scheld, being desirous, according to the Maxims of Monarchs, to weaken that strong City, which he thought too powerful for him, and to disperse the Traffick over his many other Cities; he bent all his Strength against the Frontiers of Gelderland, England, and France, whereby the Merchants of Antwerp were necessitated to forsake their City, and consequently to chuse Amsterdam to settle in, which before the Troubles was, next to Antwerp, the greatest Mercantile City of the Netherlands.

How the Trade fell from Antwerp to Amsterdam.

That Traffick must needs Part I.

therlands. For when we rightly consider the innumerable Inconveniencies found in all I-lands, and especially Northward, by reason of Storms, and long Winters, in the Consumption of Goods bought, and the necessary Communication with many inland Neighbours; every one may easily imagine why the *Antwerpers* sat not down in the adjacent Ilands of *Zeland*; and besides, neither in *France* nor *England* was there any liberty of Religion, but a Monarchical Government in both, with high Duties on Goods imported and exported. And tho the Protestant Merchants, by reason of the great Peace, and good situation of *England*, would have most inclined to settle there; yet were they discouraged from coming into a Country where there were no City-Excises or Imposts on Lands, or any other Taxes equally charging all, whether Inhabitants or Strangers; but heavy Taxes and Customs laid on all Goods imported and exported, by which Foreigners and their Children and Grandchildren, according to the Laws of the Land, must pay double as much as the natural *English*; yea in the Subsidies of Parliament, which extend to perpetuity on Foreigners and their Children, they must pay double Assessment: Besides which all Strangers are excluded from their Guilds and Halls of Trade and Manufactures; so that none have the Freedom there to work, either as Journey-man, or Master-workman, save in that whereof the Inhabitants are ignorant. And all these Discouragements were also for the most part in the *Eastern Cities*; yea in *England* as well as in the *Eastern Cities*, a Foreigner, tho an Inhabitant, was not suffered

Why not to the Zeland Ilands,

Nor to France nor England,

Nor to any Eastern Citys.

to

Chap. 12. come into Holland.

to sell to any other but Citizens; nor to sell Wares by Retail, or for Consumption, or to buy any sort of Goods of Strangers, or of Inhabitants that are Strangers, neither by Wholesale nor Retail: All which made them think *England* no fit place for them to settle in.

It happened also at the same time, that the King of *Spain* allowing no where a Toleration of Religion, but making continual War, and utterly neglecting the scouring and cleansing of the Seas, the Fishing, and remaining Traffick of the *Flemish* Citys, which they drove into Foreign Parts, did wholly cease; so far were they from recovering the lost Trade of *Antwerp*. So that the *Flemish* Fishing also fell into *Holland*: But the Manufactures were thus divided; one third of the Dealers and Weavers of Says, Damask, and Stockings, &c. went casually into *England*, &c. because that Trade was then new to the *English*, and therefore under no Halls nor Guilds. Another great part of them went to *Leyden*; and the Traders in Linen settled most at *Haerlem*. But there were still a great number of Traders in Manufactures that remained in *Flanders* and *Brabant*: For seeing those Goods were continually sent to *France* and *Germany* by Land-carriage, it was impossible for us to prevent it by our Ships of War, or any other Means imaginable.

Why all the Manufactures did not abandon Flanders and Brabant, to fix with the Traffick and Navigation of Holland.

On the other side, seeing that in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, especially in the Villages where the Manufactures are mostly made, there are but small Imposts paid, and in *Holland* the Taxes were very great, they might therefore have born the Charge of carrying those Goods by Land into some *French* Harbours,

Namely by reason of the heavy Taxes in Holland.

Traffick must come into Holland. Part I.

from whence they might have bin transported to any part of the World: And therefore upon good advice we thought it our Interest to permit those *Flemish* Manufactures, tho wrought by our Enemies, to be brought into our Country of *Holland*, charging them with somewhat less Duty than they must have been at by going the furthest way about. And thus did those Manufactures of Foreign Countrys, by means of Immunities from Imposts and Halls, greatly improve and flourish in those Villages, because they could be made as cheap or cheaper than ours, which from time to time were more and more charged with Dutys on the Consumption. Yea, and which is worthy of admiration, they were charged with Convoy-mony and other Taxes upon Exportation, till about the Year 1634. when by the *French* and *Dutch* Wars, and Winter-quarters, all the most flourishing Villages of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and the Lands beyond the *Meuse* were plundered, and the richest Merchandizing Citys obstructed from sending away their Goods. So that the Citys of *Holland* were hereby filled with Inhabitants, and their Manufactures sold there; which was the greatest cause of the increase of Trade in this Country, and the subsequent Riches of the Inhabitants.

*

C H A P.

C H A P. XIII.

That Amsterdam is provided with better means of Subsistence, and is a greater City of Traffick, and Holland a Richer Merchandizing Country, than ever was in the World.

BUT above all *Amsterdam* hath thriven ^{Why Amsterdam is become} most in all fors of Merchandizes, and means of Subsistence and Enlargement. For ^{the greatest City of Traffick in Europe.} tho it seems not to be so well situated as many other Towns in *South* and *North-Holland*, for receiving Goods that come from Sea, and transporting others beyond Sea, as also because of the shallowness of the *Pampus*, for which Ships must lade, or unlade most of their Goods, and wait for Winds in that unsafe Road of the *Texel*; yet in this particular of the greatest consideration, *Amsterdam* lies better than any Town in *Holland*, and possibly better than any City in *Europe*, to receive the Fish Manufacture, and other Commodities ^{Namely by reason of its situation for Trade.} which are taken and made by others, and especially to receive from the Shipping into their Warehouses Store-goods to be spent at home. And it is well known to all Persons whether Owners of Ships sailing for Freight, or Merchants, that this is a very great Conveniency for readily equipping and full lading of Ships, and selling their Goods speedily, and at the highest price, which is ten times more considerable than a conveniency of importing or exporting Goods speedily, or than the damages suffered by the Storms, which

which may happen (tho but seldom) in the *Texel*. For Men having an eye to their ordinary and certain Profit according to true information of the present opportunity of Gain from abroad, whether remote or near at hand, by Export and Import, they are ever moved more by such an Opportunity, than deterred by such Misfortunes, especially if they have kept or reserved such an Estate or Credit as to be still able to continue their Traffick. At least it is certain that Misfortunes depending on such unknown and uncertain Causes, and happening so seldom, are ever little apprehended, and easily forgotten by those that have not had any loss by that means. And if any one should doubt whether *Amsterdam* be situate as well and better than any other City of *Holland* for Traffick, and Ships let out to Freight, let him but please to consider in how few hours (when the Wind is favourable) one may sail from *Amsterdam* to all the Towns of *Friesland*, *Overyssel*, *Guelderland* and *North-Holland*, & vice versa, seeing there is no alteration of Course or Tides needful: And in how short a time, and how cheap and easily one may travel from any of the Towns of *South-Holland*, or other adjacent Inland Citys to *Amsterdam*, every one knows. And it hath evidently appeared how much the convenient situation of *Amsterdam* was esteemed by the *Antwerp* Merchants, since the Trade of *Antwerp* fixed no where but at *Amsterdam*. And after that the *Antwerp* Trade was added to their Eastern Trade and Fishing, the *Amsterdammers* then got by their Sword the whole *East-India* Trade, at least the Monopoly of all the richest Spices, and a great Trade

Which causes a quick sale of all imported Goods.

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Trade to the *West-Indies*; and upon that followed the Whale-fishing: as also by the *German Wars*, they acquired the consumption of the *Italian Silk Stuffs*, which used to be carried by Land, and sold there. And besides, the raw Silks have given them a fair opportunity of making many Silk Stuffs, as did the Halls of *Leyden*, and an ill Maxim of not early laying out the Ground of a City, or not suffering any out-Buildings beyond the place allowed for building, which was the only occasion that the weaving of Wool was practised, not only in many other Provinces and Citys, but also throughout *Holland*, and especially at *Amsterdam*. And at last thereupon followed the Troubles in *England*, and our destructive tho short War with them, and theirs against the King of *Spain*; as also the Wars of the Northern Kings among themselves, which were so prejudicial to us. By those eight Years troubles the Inhabitants of *Holland* probably lost more than they had gain'd in 20 years before.

It is nevertheless evident that the *Hollan-* The Hollanders *ders* having well-nigh beaten all Nations by are become the Traffick out of the Great Ocean, the *Medi-* only Carriers *terranean*, *Indian*, and *Baltick Seas*, they are and Navigators the great, and indeed only Carriers of of the Seas, Goods throughout the World; catching of which is a Herring, Haddock, Cod and Whale, great Blessing making many sorts of Manufactures and Merchandize for Foreign Parts. for all our In- Which is so great a Blessing for the Inhabitants, and especially for the Rulers of the Land, and those that are benefited by them, that a greater cannot be conceived. And seeing I may presume to say that I have clearly shewn, in the foregoing Chap.

Toleration of Religion, Part I.

Chapter, that Holland's Welfare and Prosperity wholly depends on the flourishing of Manufacturys, Fishery, Navigation of Ships on Freight, and Traffick ; it seems that the Order of Nature obliges me to give my Thoughts in particular of all Matters where- by the Holland Manufacturys, Fisheries, Ships let out to Freight, and Traffick, may be improved or impaired. But seeing that would afford us endless Matter of Speculation, exceeds my Skill, and is inconsistent with my intended Brevity ; I shall satisfy my self in laying down the Principal Heads thereof, and that in short.

C H A P. XIV.

That Freedom or Toleration in, and about the Service or Worship of God, is a powerful Means to preserve many Inhabitants in Holland, and allure Foreigners to dwell amongst us.

By Liberty of Conscience many People may be drawn out of other Countrys to inhabit Holland.

IN the first place it is certain, that not only those that deal in Manufactures, Fishing, Traffick, Shipping, and those that depend on them, but also all civilized People must be supposed to pitch upon some outward Service of God as the best, and to be averse from all other Forms ; and that such Persons do abhor to travel, and much more to go and dwell in a Country, where they are not permitted to serve and worship God outwardly, after such a manner as they think fit. And also that as to Freedom about the outward Service of God, during

Ch. 14. the true Interest of Holland.

during the Troubles, and shortly after ; when the Manufacturys, Trading, and Navigation for Freight began to settle in Holland, the Magistrate was so tender and indulgent, that there were very few useful Inhabitants driven thence by any rigour or hardship, much less any Foreigners : So that it brings that Maxim into my mind, that * the surest way to keep any thing, is to make use of the same Means whereby it was at first acquired.

And among those Means, comes first into consideration the Freedom of all sorts of Religions differing from the Reformed. For in regard all our Neighbours (except Great Britain, and the United Provinces) and for the most part all far remote Lands, are not of the Reformed Religion ; and that the Clergy under the Papacy have their own Jurisdiction. And seeing, if not all those that are called Spiritual, yet the Clergy at least that differ from us, have in all Countrys a settled Livelihood, which depends not on the Political Welfare of the Land : We see that through humane Frailty, they do in all these Countrys think fit to teach and preach up all that can have a tendency to their own Credit, Profit, and Ease, yea, tho it be to the Ruin of the whole Country ; and moreover, when the Doctrine, Counsel, and Admonition of these Men is not received by any of their Auditors, these Clergymen do then very unmercifully use to prosecute them *Odio Theologico*. Whereas nevertheless all Christian Clergymen ought to rest satisfied, according to their

Seeing the Clergy in all Neighbouring Nations generally persecute those that differ from the Publick Sentiments.

* Res facile iisdem artibus retinentur quibus initio paræ sunt.

Masters

Which yet oppugns the Doctrine of the Gospel.

Master's Doctrine, to enlighten the Minds of Men with the Truth, and to shew them the way to Eternal Life, and afterwards to endeavour to perswade, and turn such enlightened Persons in all humility and meekness into the Path that leads to Salvation. It is evident that all People, especially Christians, and more particularly their publick Teachers, ought to be far from compelling, either by spiritual or bodily Punishment, those that for want of Light and Perswasion are not inclined to go to the Publick Church, to do any outward Act, or to speak any words contrary to their Judgment: For *Potestas coercendi*, the coercive Power is given only to the Civil Magistrate; all the Power and Right which the Ecclesiasticks have, if they have any, must be derived from them, as the same is excellently and unanswerably shewn by *Lucius Antistius Constantinus*, in his Book *de Jure Ecclesiasticorum* lately printed.

Whose Authority is only to teach and exhort.

1 Cor. 13.

Indeed the essential and only difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Power is this, That the Civil doth not teach and advise as the other doth, but commands and compels the Inhabitants to perform or omit such outward Actions, or to suffer some certain Punishment for their Disobedience; so that they have dominion over the Subject, *sive volentes, sive nolentes*, whether they will or no. Whereas on the other side, the Duty of Christian Teachers is to instruct and advise Men to all Christian Virtues, as trusting in God our Saviour, the hope of possessing a future eternal blessed Life, and the love of God and our Neighbour. Which Virtues consisting only in the inward Thoughts

Thoughts of our Minds, cannot be put into us by any outward Violence or Compulsion, but only by the inlightning and convincing Reasons of Ministers, who to effect this, must on all occasions comply with the State and Condition of their Hearers, and be the least amongst them: And thus making themselves the least, and thereby converting most, and bringing forth most good Fruits, they shall be the first in the Kingdom of Heaven. *Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.* And besides, it is well known that our Lord Christ pretended to no other Kingdom or Dominion on Earth. (*his Kingdom not being of this World*) than that every one being convinced of this his true Doctrine, and wholesom Advice, and of his holy Sufferings for us, should freely be subject to him, not with the outward Man only, to do or omit any Action, to speak or be silent, but with the inward Man *in Spirit and Truth*, to love God, himself, and his Neighbour; to trust in that God and Saviour in all the Occurrences of our Lives, and by his infinite Wisdom, Mercy and Power, to hope for a blessed and everlasting State for our Souls. So that it became not his Disciples, or Followers, and Apostles, much less our present publick Preachers, to set themselves above their Spiritual Lord and Master, to lord it over others. *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them; but ye shall not be so.* The Gospel also teacheth us, that they should not lord it over the People, but ought to be their Servants, and Ministers of the Word of God. But notwithstanding all this, we see, that by these evil ambitious Maxims of the Clergy,

Mat. 20. 27.

John 18. 36.

John 4.

Luke 22. 25, 26.

Toleration of Religion, Part I.

Clergy, almost in all Countrys, the Dissenters, or such as own not the Opinion of the publick Preachers, are turned out of the Civil State and persecuted; for they are not only excluded from all Government, Magistracys, Offices and Benefices (which is in some measure tolerable for the secluded Inhabitants, and agrees very well with the Maxims of Polity, in regard it is well known by experience in all Countrys to be necessary, as tending to the common Peace, that one Religion should prevail and be supported above all others, and accordingly is by all means authorized, favoured, and protected by the State, yet not so, but that the exercise of other Religions at the same time be in some measure publickly tolerated, at least not persecuted) but are so persecuted, that many honest and useful Inhabitants, to escape those Fines, Banishments, or corporal Punishments, to which by adhering to the prohibited Service of God they are subject, abandon their own sweet native Country, and, to obtain their Liberty, chuse to come and sit down in our barren and heavy-tax'd Country.

So that many, to escape that Persecution, forsake their native Country, and come into Holland.

Yea, and which is more, in some Countrys these Churchmen will go so far, as by an Inquisition to inquire who they are that differ from the Opinion of the authorized Preachers; and first by Admonition and Excommunication, bereave them of their Credit, and afterwards of their Liberty, Estate, or Life. And as heretofore the *Romish* Clergy were not satisfied with obstructing the Divine Service of those that dissented from them, but laboured to bring the Inquisition into all Places;

Which Persecution for worshipping of God, is very detrimental to the State.

Chap. 14. the true Interest of Holland.

Places; so would it be a great wonder if the Ecclesiasticks in *Holland* should not follow the same worldly course, to the ruin of the Country, if they conceiv'd it tended to the increase of their own Profit, Honour, Power and Grandeur. At least we see it in almost all Countrys, where the best and most moderate, yea even where the Reformed Clergy bear sway, that dissenting Assemblies are prohibited. And seeing that the Publick Divine Worship is so necessary for Mankind, that without it they would fall into great ignorance about the Service of God, and consequently into a very bad Life; and since Man's Life is subject to many Miseries, therefore every one is inclined in this wretched State to nourish or comfort his Soul with the hope of a better: And as Men hope very easily to obtain the same by a free and willing attention to a Doctrine they think to be built on a good Foundation; so every one may easily perceive how impossible it is to make any Man by compulsion to hope for such advantage, in that which he cannot apprehend to be well grounded; and accordingly the dissenting Party clearly discover the Vanity of all manner of Force in Matters of Religion.

Moreover, seeing all Matters of Fact, and likewise of Faith, must in some measure be proved by Testimony of good Credit, such as is irreproachable, or beyond exception; and that all that are thus persecuted, whether by Excommunication, Fines, Banishment, or corporal Punishments, reproach and hate their Persecutors, to wit, the publick Authorized Preachers, as their Enemies; it is evident that those Persecutors lose all their weight

And hinders the conversion of the Erroneous.

weight to perswade People in Matters of Faith by means of their publick Authority, which otherwise would be great among the common People. And besides, we see, that all persecuted People continually exercise their Thoughts upon any thing that seems to confirm their own Judgment, and oft-times out of mere stomachfulness and animosity will not ponder and sedately consider their Enemies Reasons: so that the Persecuted People being wholly turn'd aside from the Truth of God's Worship by such Violence and Compulsion, become hardned in their Error. By this means manifold Wars, Miserys, and removals of Habitations have been occasioned since the Reformation: and the like Actions will still have the like Effects. How prejudicial such coercive Practices are, especially in rich Trafficking Cities, *Lubeck, Collen, and Aix la Chappelle* may instruct us, where both the Rulers and Subjects of those lately so famous Cities have since the Reformation lost most of their Wealth, and chiefly by such compulsion in Religion; many of the Inhabitants being thereby driven out of their respective Cities, and Strangers discouraged from coming to reside in them. And tho according to clear Reason, and Holy Writ, the true Glory and Fame of all Rulers consists in the multitude of their Subjects, yet do these Churchmen (forgetting their Credit their Country, and their God, which is a threefold Impiety) continue to teach, That it is better to have a City of an Orthodox or sound Faith, ill stocked with People, than a very populous, and Godly City, but tainted with Heresy. Thus it is evident that to allow

And hurtful to the Civil State.

low all Men the exercise of their Religion with more freedom than in other Nations, would be a very effectual means for Holland to allure People out of other Countrys, and to fix them that are there already; provided such Freedom be not prejudicial to our Civil State and free Government. For, as on the one side those of the *Romish* Religion have their Spiritual Heads, and the K. of *Spain* (heretofore Earl of *Holland*) for their Neighbour, who may help the *Romanists* in the time of Intestine Division; so on the other side it is manifest, that our own Government by length of time is enlarged, and the *Spanish Netherlands* become weak; and that notwithstanding the Renunciation of the said Superiority over *Holland* we are in Peace with them, it is also certain that by persecuting the *Romanists* we should drive most of the Strangers out of our Country; and the greatest number of the dissenting old Inhabitants, *viz.* the Gentry, Monied-men and Boors, who continue to dwell amongst us, would become so averse to the Government, that in time it would be either a means to bring this Country into the Hands of our Enemy, or else drive those People out of the Country: which Cruelty would not only be pernicious, but altogether unreasonable in the Rulers and Reformed Subjects, who always us'd to boast that they fought for their Liberty, and constantly maintain'd, that several publick Religions may be peaceably tolerated and practis'd in one and the same Country; That true Religion hath advantage enough when it's allowed to speak, *Errantis poena doceri*, and that there is no greater sign of a false Religion (or at least

So that especially in Holland toleration of Religion is needful.

Pol. disc. of D. C. lib. 4. Disc. 6. p. 320.

Likewise for the Roman Catholics.

Because our Wars against Spain are grounded on the like Reason and Equity.

least of one to the truth of which Men dare not trust) than to persecute the Dissenters from it. So that it appears that Toleration and Freedom of Religion is not only exceeding beneficial for our Country in general, but particularly for the Reformed Religion, which may and ought to depend upon its own Evidence and Veracity.

C H A P. XV.

A second Means to keep Holland Populous, is a plenary Freedom for all People that will cohabit with us, to follow any Occupation for a Livelihood.

Freedom to be given to all Inhabitants to set up, and live by their Trades ;

NEXT to a Liberty of serving God, follows the Liberty of gaining a Livelihood without any dear-bought City-freedom, but only by virtue of a fixed Habitation to have the common right of other Inhabitants : Which is here very necessary for keeping the People we have, and inviting Strangers to come among us. For it is self-evident that Landed-men, or others that are wealthy, being forced by any accident to leave their Country or Habitation, will never chuse *Holland* to dwell in, being so chargeable a Place, and where they have so little interest for their Mony. And for those who are less wealthy, it is well known, that no Man from abroad will come to dwell or continue in a Country where he shall not be permitted to get an honest Maintenance. And it may be easily considered how great an inconveniency it

it would be in this Country, for the Inhabitants, especially Strangers, if they should have no Freedom of chusing and practising such honest means of livelihood as they think best for their Subsistence; or if, when they had chosen a Trade, and could not live by it, they might not chuse another. This then being evident, that Strangers without freedom of earning their Bread, and seeking a Livelihood, cannot live amongst us : and as it is certain, that our Manufactorys, Fisherys, Traffick and Navigation, with those that depend upon them, cannot without continual Supplies of Foreign Inhabitants be preserved here, and much less augmented or improved ; it is likewise certain, that among the endless Advantages which accrue to *Holland* by Strangers, and which might accrue more, our Boors may be likewise profited. For we see that for want of Strangers in the Country, the Boors must give such great yearly and day-wages to their Servants, that they can scarcely live but with great toil themselves, and their Servants live rather in too great plenty. The same inconveniencies we are likewise sensible of in Citys amongst Tradesmen and Servants, who are here more chargeable and burdenson, and yet less serviceable than in any other Countries.

It is certain, that in all Cities, tho they invite Strangers to cohabit with them, the ancient Inhabitants have Advantage enough by the Government and its Dependencies. And it is evident, that the old Inhabitants, who live by their Occupations, have a great Advantage over the new Comers, by their many Relations, Customers, and Acquaintance,

Freedom of Habitation, &c. Part I.

Is more beneficial in Holland than in most other Countries.

most of the old Manufactures, and great Inland Consumption: All which particulars yield the old Inhabitants certain Gain. But new Comers leaving their own Country upon any Accident, and besides their moveable Goods, bringing with them the knowledg of what is abounding, or wanting in their native Country, and of all sorts of Manufactures; they cannot live in *Holland* upon the Interest of their Mony, nor on their real Estates: so that they are compelled to lay out all their Skill and Estate in devising and forming of new Fisheries, Manufactures, Traffick, and Navigation, with the danger of losing all they have. For he that sits idle in *Holland*, must expect to get nothing but certain and speedy Poverty; but he that ventures may gain, and sometimes find out and meet with a good Fishery, Manufacture, Merchandice, or Traffick: And then the other Inhabitants may come in for a share in that new Occupation, which is also very needful, because the old handicraft Works being beaten down lower and lower in price, yield less Profit. And therefore it is necessary that all Strangers that are Masters, Journey-men, Consumptioners, Merchants, Traders, &c. should live peaceably amongst us, without any Disturbance, Let, or Molestation whatever, and use their own Estates and Trades as they shall judg best.

To a few old Inhabitants it is detrimental.

And tho this will be ever detrimental to some old Inhabitants, who would have all the Profit, and bereave others of it, and under one pretext or other exclude them from their Trade; and therefore will alledg, That a Citizen ought to have more Privilege than a Stran-

Ch. 15. the Interest of Holland.

Stranger; yet all Inhabitants who have here a certain place of Abode, or desire to have it as they are then no Strangers, but Inhabitants, so ought they to be permitted, as well as the Burgers, to earn their necessary Food, seeing they are in greater want than their Opposers. And it is notorious, that all People, who to the prejudice of the common Good would exclude others, that are likewise Inhabitants of this Land, from the common means of Subsistence, or out of the respective Cities, and for that end would have some peculiar Favour from the Rulers beyond the rest, are very pernicious and mischievous Inhabitants: It is also certain, that a State which cannot subsist of it self, ought not to deny that Strangers should live amongst them with equal Freedom with themselves, under pretence of the Privilege and Right of Cities; nor should they exclude any Strangers, but endeavour continually to allure in new Inhabitants; else such a State will fall to ruin. For the great Dangers of carrying on new Designs, of being robb'd at Sea, of selling their Goods by Factors to unknown People, on twelve Months Credit, and at the same time running the hazard of all Revolutions by Wars and Monarchical Governments against this State, and of Losses among one another, are so important (yet all to be expected) that many Inhabitants concerned in the Fisheries, Traffick, Manufactory, and consequently in Ships set out to Freight, will give over their Trade, and depart the Country when they have been so fortunate as to have gained any considerable Estate, to seek a securer way of living elsewhere. On the other hand, we are

to consider, that there will ever be many Bankrupts and forsaken Trades, both by reason of the dangers of foreign Trade, and intolerable Domestick Taxes, which cannot be denied by any that knows that in *Amsterdam* alone there are yearly about three hundred abandoned or insufficient Estates registred in the Chamber of Accompts of that City; and therefore there are continually many Inhabitants, who finding the Gain uncertain, and the Charge great, are apt to relinquish it. So that it is ever necessary that we leave all ways open for People to subsist by, and a full Liberty, as aforesaid, to allure Foreigners to dwell among us. Moreover, tho it be not convenient in general for Strangers (i. e. such who, tho they dwell in *Holland*, and have continued there some considerable time, are not Natives) to partake of the Government, yet is it very necessary, in order to fix them here, that we do not exclude them by Laws.

Tea this Freedom is profitable to the Government of the Land.

C H A P. XVI.

That Monopolizing Companies and Guilds, excluding all other Persons from their Societys, are very prejudicial to Holland.

How hurtful select Companies and Guilds are,

MUCH less ought we to curb or restrain our Citizens and Natives, any more than Strangers, from their natural liberty of seeking their livelihoods in their Native Country, by select and authoriz'd Companies and Guilds: For when we consider, that all the Trade

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Trade of our common Inhabitants is circumscribed or bounded well nigh within *Europe*, and that in very many parts of the same, as *France, England, Sweden, &c.* our greatest Trade and Navigation thither is cramped by the high Duties, or by Patent Companies, like those of our *Indian Societies*; as also how small a part of the World *Europe* is, and how many Merchants dwell in *Holland*, and must dwell there to support it: We shall have no reason to wonder, if all the beneficial Traffick in these small adjacent Countries be either worn out, or in a short time be glutted with an over-trade. But we may much rather wonder, why the greatest part of the World should seem unfit for our common Inhabitants to trade in, and that they should continue to be debarred from it, to the end that some few Persons only may have the sole Benefit of it. It is certainly known that this Country cannot prosper, but by means of those that are most industrious and ingenious, and that such Patents or Grants do not produce the ablest Merchants. But on the other hand, because the Grantees, whether by Burgership, select Companies, or Guilds, think they need not fear that others who are much more Ingenious and Industrious than themselves, and are not of the Burgership, Companies, and Guilds, shall lessen their Profits; therefore the certain Gains they reap make them dull, slow, unactive, and less inquisitive. Whereas on the other side, we say that Necessity makes the old Wife trot, Hunger makes raw Beans sweet, and Poverty begets Ingenuity. And besides, it is well known, now especially when *Holland* is so heavily taxed, that other less

To all those means of Subsistence, whereby to deprive them and lessen their number;

Who out of their abundance become wasteful, dull and slothful,

F 4

burdened People, who have no Fisheries, Manufactures, Traffick, and freight Ships, cannot long subsist but by their Industry, Subtlety, Courage, and Frugality. In a word, these Patent-Companies and Guilds do certainly exclude many useful Inhabitants from that Trade and Traffick. But those that possess these Privileges with sufficient knowledg and fitness, need not fear that others that are more Industrious and Ingenious than themselves, shall prevent them of their Profit by the exercise of the like Abilities and Parts; neither can it be so fully carried on and improved for the common benefit of the Country, by a small number of People, as by many: So that in the mean time other People that we cannot exclude from that Traffick or Manufacture by means of our Grants and Guilds, have a great Opportunity of profitably improving that which so foolishly, and with so much churlishness is prohibited to our common Inhabitants. Whereas otherwise, the provident and industrious *Hollanders* would easily draw to them all foreign Trade, and the making of incredibly more Manufactures than we now work on. That which is objected against this is, That the *Hollanders* are a People of such a nature, that if the Trade were open into *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, they would overstock all those Countries with Goods, and so destroy that Trade to the prejudice of *Holland*; which is so far from the truth, and all appearance thereof, that it is hardly worth answering. For first, so great and mighty a Trade by the *Hollanders*, in those vast and trafficking Countries, would be the greatest Blessing to them that could be wished for upon Earth; would

So that the Inhabitants of other Countrys may the easier and sooner draw our means of Subsistence to themselves.

Enquiry made, whether if all Countries have the freedom of an open Trade, it would diminish our Traffick in general, or quite destroy it.

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would to God any of us could ever see *Holland* so happy. And next it cannot be denied, that even in this small *Europe*, the overstocking of Countries with Goods may indeed lessen the Gains of some particular Merchants; but yet after such a manner that the said overstocking with the said Goods really is, and can be no other than an effect or fruit of a present overgrown Trade of this Country, in proportion to the smallness of those Countries with which we are permitted to traffick. And Thirdly, It is evident, that the *Hollanders* by such overstocking have never yet lost any Trade in any Country or Place of *Europe*, nor can they lose it so long as that Trade remains open, because that superfluity of Goods transported is soon spent, and that same Trade is by the same or some other of our Merchants immediately reassumed and taken up, so soon as by a following scarcity in those Countries there is any appearance of making more Profit by those, or other Commodities.

And the impossibility thereof is made manifest.

But supposing it to be true, that the *Dutch* Merchants by overstocking those trading Countries should run a risque of losing that Trade in some Parts; yet considering the smallness of those Lands, it would then be doubly necessary to prevent the same by setting open the Trade to *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, for all the Merchants of *Holland*. But on the other side, it is certain that the licensed monopolizing Companies, by the unfaithfulness, negligence, and chargeableness of their Servants, and by their vast, and frequently unmanageable Designs, who are not willing to drive any Trade longer than it yields

As also that trading Companies by Charter have ever lessened Trade and Navigation, and oftentimes quite ruin'd both.

yields excessive Profit, must needs gain considerably in all their Trade, or otherwise relinquish and forsake all Countries that yield it not, which nevertheless would by our common Inhabitants be very plentifully carried on.

Which appears by vacating of the Greenland Company's Charter.

In this respect it is worthy observation, That the Authorized *Greenland* Company made heretofore little profit by their Fishing, because of the great Charge of setting out their Ships, and that the Train-oil, Blubber and Whale-fins were not well made, handled, or cured; and being brought hither and put into Warehouses, were not sold soon enough, nor to the Company's best advantage. Whereas now that every one equips their Vessels at the cheapest Rate, follow their Fishing diligently, and manage all carefully, the Blubber, Train-oil, and Whale-fins are employed for so many Uses in several Countries, that they can sell them with that conveniency that tho there are now fifteen Ships for one which formerly failed out of *Holland* on that account, and consequently each of them could not take so many Whales as heretofore; and notwithstanding the new prohibition of *France*, and other Countries, to import those Commodities; and tho there is greater plenty of it imported by our Fishers, yet those Commodities are so much raised in the Value above what they were whilst there was a Company, that the common Inhabitants do exercise that Fishery with profit to the much greater benefit of our Country, than when it was (under the management of a Company) carried on but by a few. It is besides very considerable, That for the most part all Trades and Manufactures manag'd by Guilds in *Holland*, do sell all their

their Goods within this Country to other Inhabitants who live immediately by the Fisheries, Manufacturys, Freight-ships, and Traffick: So that no Members of those Guilds, under what pretext soever, can be countenanced or indulged in their Monopoly, or Charter, but by the excluding of all other Inhabitants, and consequently to the hindrance of their Countrys Prosperity. For how much soever those Members sell their Pains or Commodities dearer than if that Trade or Occupation was open or free, all the other better Inhabitants that gain their Subsistence immediately, or by consequence by a Foreign consumption, must bear that loss. And indeed our Fishermen, Dealers in Manufactures, Owners of Freight-ships, and Traders, being so burdened with all manner of Imposts, to oppress them yet more in their necessity by these Monopolies of Guilds, and yet to believe that it redounds to the good of the Land, because it tends to the benefit of such Companies, is to me incomprehensible. These Guilds are said indeed to be a useful sort of People; but next to those we call idle Drones, they are the most unprofitable Inhabitants of the Country, because they bring in no profit from Foreign Lands for the Welfare of the Inhabitants of *Holland*. *Esop* hath well illustrated this folly by a Cat, who first lick'd off the Oil from an oiled File, and continued licking, not observing that she had by little and little lick'd her Tongue thorow which was given her to sustain her Life, and carry Nourishment into her Body, nor that she fed not on a File which did not consume, but on her own Blood before her Tongue was totally consumed. On

Fishers, Manufacturers, &c. Part I.

On the contrary, I can see no good, nor appearance of good, which the Guilds in *Holland* do produce, but only that Foreign Masters and Journeymen Artificers, having made their Works abroad, and endeavouring to sell them to our Inhabitants, thereby to carry the Profit out of our Country into their own, are herein check'd and opposed by our Masters of Guilds or Corporations. But besides that this is more to the Prejudice than Advantage of the Country, since by consequence our Fishers, Manufacturers, Traders, and Owners of Ships let to Freight, are thereby bereft of the Freedom of buying their necessaries at the cheapest Rate they can; it is also evident that this feeding of Foreigners upon the *Hollander* would be more strenuously and profitably opposed and prevented, in case all handicraft Work, and Occupations were permitted to be made, sold and practised by all, and no other People, except such as have their settled Habitations in this Country.

C H A P. XVII.

That Fishers, Dealers in Manufactures, Merchants, and Owners of Freight-Ships as such, ought not at all to be charged by paying any Imposition to the Country, under what Pretext soever.

IF it be granted that the forementioned means of subsistence, namely, Fishing, Manufactory, Traffick, and Freight-ships, are

Chap. 17. *ought not to be taxed.*

are so necessary in, and for *Holland*, as hath been above demonstrated; and if the *Hollanders* who have no native Commodities must yet hold Markets equally with other Nations, who may deal in their own Wares, or Manufactures made of their own Materials; then it follows, that our Rulers ought not, under any Pretence whatsoever, to charge or tax their own Inhabitants, Fishers, dealers in Manufactures, Owners of Freight-Ships, or Merchants as such. And I suppose every one will easily grant me this Conclusion in the general, because of its own perspicuity: For indeed, how fully and fixedly soever Fishing, Manufactory, Navigation, and Commerce seem to have settled themselves in *Holland*; yet it is evident, that one Stiver of profit or loss more or less, makes a Commodity which is *in equilibrio*, and that happens very often (namely when it is hardly discerned whether the Profit be sufficient to continue the making of that Commodity) wholly to preponderate, or be at a stand; even as a pair of Scales wherein ten thousand Pounds or less is weighed, being ballanced, one of them is as easily weighed down with a Pound-weight, as if there were but a hundred Pounds in each Scale. And by consequence it is evident, that our own Fisherys, and Manufactures, with their dependencies, as also the Traffick in those Wares, whether imported or exported, ought not at all to pay for Tonnage, Convoy, or other Duties, nor any thing when brought to the Scale, unless they are sold. I know that all such Impositions, through the Ignorance of those that are unacquainted with Trade, are counted very light and insignificant;

Especially about Traffick in Holland.

Fishers, Manufacturers, &c. Part I.

Illustrated by Fable.

cant ; but those that are more intelligent and concerned therein, do know * that you may pull a large Fowl bare, by plucking away single Feathers, especially in *Holland*, where with light Gains we must make a heavy purse. The Antients have compared these inconsiderate People to Mice, who being to live on the Fruit of an Orchard, found that the Roots of the Trees relish'd well, and were of good Nourishment, so that they made bold to eat of them ; whereby the Trees, for want of sufficient root, being depriv'd of their usual Nourishment, bore less Fruit : and the wisest of them told the others the reason of it, but were not believed by the Foolish and Greedy Mice that continued gnawing and devouring of the Root. And when in the following Year, besides this unfruitfulness, those Trees that had lost many of their Roots and Fibres, were either blown down by the Storms, or kill'd by the Frost; the wise Mice did thereupon once again warn their imprudent Brethren against it, who answered, That it was not their undermining and eating the Roots, but the fierce Storms and sharp Winter that was the cause of it. So that they continued feeding on the Roots, till the Trees were so diminished, that both the wise and foolish Mice must either die of hunger, or seek a better habitation.

Besides this, antient History teacheth us, That *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia* being imprudently covetous, was not content with the Health of his Subjects, and the Profit

* Gutta cavat lapidem non vi, sed sæpè cadendo :
 Adde parum parvo, tandem fit magnus acervus.

which

Chap. 17. ought not to be tax'd.

which he and they receiv'd from the Imposts paid by Strangers, who came to drink his Mineral Waters, but he would needs tax the very Fountain it self, by laying a Duty upon every measure of Water : which was so unacceptable to God and Nature, that the Fountain dried up, infomuch that he thereby lost not only the Health of his Subjects, but the Impost on the Consumption ; and for this super-Impost on the Well, he was cursed and derided by his Subjects and Strangers.

And indeed if we consider, that all Dutys levied on Consumption must at the long run be born by the Fishermen, Manufacturers, Traffickers, and Owners of Ships, who for the most part employ all the People here directly or indirectly, we must acknowledg, that they alone are above measure burdened thereby, and discouraged by Imposts above all others. Which will evidently appear, if you consider it in an Example or two, and inquire how much Wages is here paid for building and setting to Sea a Ship of 200 Lasts, or rather how many Carpenters, Smiths, Ropemakers, Sailmakers, &c. must be employed about such a Vessel, and how much in the mean while they must altogether pay to the State, whether for Imposts, or for Poundage of House-hire. For I doubt not but it will charge a Ship with some hundreds of Guilders more than if we had no Imposts, and consequently it must be sold so much the dearer. And if moreover we consider, that the Owners who set to Sea such a Ship to seek a Freight, must afterwards victual her with our Provision and Drink for the Seamen, upon which our Imposts charge very much, you will the

From the Fisherys, Manufactures, and Traffick, is drawn from all parts, what the other Inhabitants pay to the Magistracy.

As the building of Shipping,

easier

And Drapery do
manifest.

easier discern it. And this would likewise appear manifestly, if we consider, that the price of weaving half a Piece of ordinary home-made broad Cloth, amounts to seventy Guilders, and that this Mony is presently spent, (for such Workmen, tho they can, will not lay up any thing) then we should see, that of this 70, more than twenty Guilders is paid for Imposts, and Poundage upon House-hire; for a half Piece of Cloth requires the Labour of twenty eight People for fourteen days, or at least so many may thereby be fed by the Heads of Families (reckoning five to a Family) and then we see that a half Piece of Cloth is thereby charged with twenty Guilders.

And tho the Fisheries and Traffick are not oppressed near so much with such Imposts, yet it certainly is, and continues an intolerable Error, and thwarts the Welfare of the whole State, to burden any Dealers in Manufactures, Fishers, or Merchants, as such; for we do not take due care for the prosperity of the Country, unless by all Ways and Means we lighten their Burdens, and remove what makes them uneasy.

C H A P. XVIII.

That freedom of Religion is against all Reason obstructed in Holland.

HAVING hitherto spoken of four considerable ways of preserving the Prosperity of *Holland*, I think it not fit to go over any more

more tending to the same end, till I first briefly hint how *Holland* hath governed it self as to the said Expedients. And first as to freedom of Religion, it is certain that having till this time been greater in *Holland* than any where else, it hath brought in many Inhabitants, and driven out but few; yet it is also certain, that since the Year 1618, we have begun to depart from that laudable Maxim more and more.

Toleration of Religion was formerly more obstructed.

First with the *Remonstrants*, persecuting them by Placaets, Fines, and Banishments, and driving them into other Lands: Afterwards with the *Romanists*, by disturbing them more and more in their Assemblies with severe Placaets, and more rigorous Execution, notwithstanding that by the Prosperity of our own Government, the great Increase of the Protestants, the Peace, and the K. of *Spain's* Renunciation of any Pretence, Right, or Title, for himself, or his Heirs after him, to these *United Provinces*; The moving Reasons of our first Placaets against the *Romanists*, seemed to have been taken away. So that now, in order to enjoy their Liberty, they must pay a heavy Tax annually, to the Profit of the Bailiffs and Schouts, which seems to be imposed for them, and for no other Cause; for the Government reaps no Benefit by it. This is no less unreasonable, than detrimental to the Land: For if we cannot spare the Benefit which accrues to us by their Abode and Traffick, why should we prohibit that which is not hurtful to the State, and whereof the *Romish* Inhabitants make so great Account, and without which they cannot dwell amongst us? If we permit none but small Assemblies in

Namely by Placaets against the Remonstrants and Roman Catholics.

Altho the moving Reasons of the first Placaets now wholly cease.

Freedom of Religion obstructed. Part I.

Cities, in the Houses of known Citizens, with such Priests as are best approved of by the Rulers, that Inconvenience would have an end, and Peace and Friendship increase more and more among the good Inhabitants, yea and the true Religion too. And moreover, our State would avoid that Vexation which now by disturbing those prohibited Meetings may happen: And on the contrary, the State could incur no danger by those well known Assemblies, where every one might have free Access, and no matter of secrecy could be consulted of; but the Publick Safety would every way be better secured. But what shall we say? not only the Politicians, but also the Clergy are Men; and commonly the sweet Temper of such as have suffer'd under Persecution is changed into Force and Violence, so soon as they become Masters of others: then they forget the Evangelical Lesson, and the Law of Nature, *to do nothing to others but what they would have done to themselves*; and on the contrary, they remember and practise that old tyrannical and accursed Maxim, *As he hath done to me, so will I do to him; and he that hath the Power, let him use it.* And to speak all in

Pfal. 119. 71.

a word, what the Psalmist says, *It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy Statutes*; is not truer in Adversity, than in

Pfal. 73. 5, 6.

Prosperity. *They are not in Trouble, neither are they plagued like other Men; therefore Pride compasseth them about as a Chain, and Violence covereth them as a Garment.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

That the Freedom of Fishery and Traffick in Holland is likewise in some measure unjustly restrain'd.

THE Freedom of Fishery and Traffick is greater in this Country than elsewhere, and yet heretofore there were many Placaets published concerning the Herring, and other Fisheries, which tend altogether to the benefit of foreign Fishers, who are not bound to obey them. We formerly manag'd the Whale-fishing by a monopolizing Company, exclusive of all others; and how mischievous that proved to *Holland*, appears now, that that Fishing is open to all Men, whereby it is advanced from One to Ten, yea to Fifteen, as was before shewn more at large. But erecting an *East*, and a *West-India* Company, was a quite different thing; for it appeared to be a necessary Evil, because our People would be trading in and about such Countries where our Enemies were too strong for particular Adventures: So that this seem'd to have been necessary in all Respects, to lay the Foundation of that Trade by a powerful arm'd Society. And seeing this Country, engaged in War against the King of *Spain*, had need of using all its Strength, it was very prudently done to erect those two Societies. But that Trade being now so well settled, we may justly make it a doubt, whether the said Companies ought any longer to continue

Sometimes a Monopoly Charter is useful to settle a Trade.

Of Compulsion in Traffick. Part I.

on the same foot. Some wise Statesmen do with probable Reasons maintain, that the politic Rule of * preserving a thing best, by the same means whereby it was acquired, cannot agree with these Companies: For it is certain, that the first moving Reason of those Grants to them, which was the War with the King of *Spain*, now ceaseth, and that in case of any new War against that People, they would no longer be formidable to us, but we to them. And secondly, as it is well known that it was necessary at first to make some Conquests upon the Spice Islands of the said Enemy, because the more Lands they conquered, the more Right and Ability they would acquire to the Trade which might happen in those parts: So it cannot be denied, that when those good and necessary Conquests are made, the Grounds and Maxims of the prosperity of the said Companies begin to justle and oppugn the general Good of this Country, which is manifestly known to consist in a continual increase of our Manufactures, Traffick, and freight Ships: Whereas nevertheless the true interest of such Companies consists in seeking the benefit of all the Members, even with Foreign, as well as our own Manufactures, and (to the great prejudice of all other our Inhabitants) by importing Manufactures and other mechanick Works into this Country, and vending them throughout *Europe*; and in short, by making the greatest Profit with the least Traffick and Na-

As appeared by the East-India Company.

But that Trade when settled, if manag'd by a select Company, runs counter to the general Good.

* Res facile iisdem artibus retinentur quibus initio partæ sunt.

vigation.

Ch.19. Of Compulsion in Traffick.

vigation. As it is acknowledged, that if the *East-India* Company can gain more by importing *Japan* Garments, *Indian* Quilts and Carpets, &c. than raw Silk; or if the Company, by causing a scarcity of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, Cinamon, &c. could so raise the price of them, that they might gain as much by one hundred Lasts as by a thousand: We ought not then to expect that those raw Silks, and unnecessary and great Disbursements which they are at, should cause a greater Trade and Navigation than those hundred Lasts would just require, but that they would rather, to shun greater Traffick and Navigation, destroy all the Superfluity they have in the *Indies*.

And it can be as little denied of such Companies, that the more Lands they conquer, the more of their Stock they must necessarily spend for the Preservation and Defence of such Lands; and the more Dominion they have, the less are they able to mind and augment their Traffick: Whereas on the contrary, our particular Inhabitants by those manifold conquered strong Holds and Lands, would have so much the more Conveniency and Security to trade in the *Indies*. We have now, to say no more, quite lost our open Trade of *Guiney*, and that of Salt in the *West-Indies*, which were heretofore so considerable by the erecting of the *West-India* Company; and the Mischief which was done to the King of *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, is recoil'd back, and fallen upon us: So that we cannot cry up that Company, who have bound the hands of particular Men, and made War instead of Traffick, unless at least they would

So that that Monopoly ought then to have been taken away.

Else we wholly lose that Trade, for Land-Conquests carried on by Merchants are not at the long run tenable against all Enemies.

in the mean time suffer all our Inhabitants freely to trade in all their Conquests. On the contrary, that Company hath impoverish'd many of our good Inhabitants. Whereas by an open Trade, and consequently well settled Colonies, we should not only, with small Charge, have easily defended those vast Lands of *Brazil, Guiney, Angola, St. Thomas, &c.* against all foreign Power, but (which is more considerable) have been able to carry on a very great Trade with our own Nation, without fear that any foreign Potentate should seize our Ships, Goods, or Debts, to which those *Hollanders* that trade only in *Europe* are continually exposed. And how profitable and secure that Trade would have been, may easily be apprehended, if it be well consider'd, that the said Lands yield the best sort of Commodities that are in request over all *Europe*, and are not to be had so good elsewhere, viz. *Sugar, Brazil-wood, Elephants-Teeth, Gold, &c.* and that which those Inhabitants have need of in Return, *Holland* could for the most part have supplied them with, as Victuals, Drink, and Apparel, yea even with most Materials for building of Houses, Ships, &c. whereas now we are deprived of all these Advantages. This is the ordinary Fruit and Punishment of Monopolies and Conquests, which for want of Colonies they must keep up at a continual great Charge. May our *East-India* Company consider this effectually, before it be too late.

CHAP. XX.

That Manufactures, and other Mechanick Works, are no less imprudently restrained.

BY the freedom allow'd Men to gain a Livelihood by such things as are liable to Consumption, or by Handicrafts, it's certain that we have kept an infinite number of People in the Country, and have besides drawn in many Foreigners to it: For in most Citys of *Holland* there has been sufficient Liberty given. But afterwards People withdrew from many Citys, through the mischievous Nature of some Men, who rather chuse a sudden Profit, tho to the general damage of their native Country, than that which comes in by degrees with continued Gain to the Republick: For private or peculiar Profit is the chief Foundation (tho it always goes under the Notion of a general Advantage) of all those Restrictions and Burdens imposed on the Citizens by Corporations or Guilds, which serve to no other end but to keep good People out of their Citys, and in the mean while to give the Members of such Corporations a lasting opportunity of being enrich'd by their fellow Inhabitants, and of selling their Goods and Manufactures the dearer to their Neighbours, and so of levying as it were an Impost upon them.

The Freedom of Manufactures is more and more obstructed.

At least it cannot be denied, but that Halls relating to Manufactures, or any other sort of handicraft Ware, with Overseers or Inspectors appointed by common consent; or the chief Men of the Guilds to circumscribe or

limit the same; or by publick Acts of State to appoint how those Wares must be made which we sell into Foreign Lands, are as ridiculous as prejudicial. For it supposeth two very impertinent things: First, That the Foreign Buyers must needs purchase of us such Manufactures and Mechanick Works as we shall please to make, be they what they will: And, secondly, that in other Countrys they must not make those sorts of Manufactures, and handicraft Wares which we prohibit. Whereas on the contrary it may be said, that the Makers of them have hit the right Mark, when they can best please the Buyer, and the Buyer can gain most by them. And it is certain that all our Manufactures and other Mechanick Works, may be made and spent not only in the Country Villages and Towns of *Holland*, but also in very many neighbouring Countrys; and that they may be there made with far less Imposts on the Consumption than with us: By which it appears that it would have been much better for *Holland* never to have laid on those Restrictions and Prohibitions.

C H A P. XXI.

That the heavy and manifold Imposts will at last destroy the Prosperity of this Country.

Taxes on Consumption and Merchandize in Holland too burdensom.

AS to Imposts upon imported or exported Goods, and Taxes upon Consumption, and real or immoveable Estates; I suppose former

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Chap. 21. prejudicial to Holland.

former Ages levied none such in time of Peace. For when the Earls of *Holland* supposed they should have occasion for an extraordinary Supply in time of War over and above their Revenues, they came in Person, and according to their Privilege desired it of the Assembly of States; who sometimes granted it for a short time, and sometimes refused it, and were ever very cautious of granting any standing Supply of Money, as knowing their Liberty could not subsist but under such an Earl as had neither Forces nor Money beforehand. And our Historians count it a great Offence in our Earls, that they endeavoured to make these Lands tributary: For which reason the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth desiring a Stiver to be imposed upon each Acre or Morgen of Land, could not obtain it; and his Son *Philip* not without great trouble, got an Impost for nine Years to help to defray the Charge of the War against *France*, but on this Condition, that all Sums so levied, should be received and disposed by such as the State empowered to do it. And on the same ground the States of *Flanders* and *Brabant* have to this day preserved their Liberty of granting the King such Requests, or (as it most commonly happens) of denying them. It makes nothing against what I have now said, that the Earls of *Holland* have heretofore receiv'd Customs upon Goods imported and exported, seeing according to their Privilege the Citizens of the Trading Citys of *Holland*, viz. *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, &c. are Custom-free; so that such Dutys do only concern Strangers, and even for them they are very easy. But in the time of the Stadt-holders

Great Imposts and Taxes Part I.

holders Government in the *United Provinces*, says *Grotius*, "By * endeavouring not to give the Duke of *Alva* the tenth Penny, we afterwards gave all. After which being in Banishment, he wrote to his Friends here in this manner: " We † bore all manner of Taxes and Imposts, without preserving the least shadow of our common Freedom. For the same Taxes are by the long continuance of the Wars now screw'd up so high, that the like was never seen in any Republick, much less in a Trafficking Country: so that it will be the greatest wonder in Nature for us to sustain those intolerable Burdens long, and, driving no Trade with our own native Commodities, to be able to traffick as other Nations do. Nevertheless I willingly acknowledg, that if we must needs raise no less than fifteen Millions of Guilders yearly in this Country, we have hit upon the most convenient course for it, viz. to charge the oldest Inhabitants most, as being most fixed to the Country by the Advantage of the Government, and their immoveable Estates: For Land is most liable to pay Poundage, the 40th Penny upon sale, and the 20th Penny of Inheritances, by those of the Collateral ascending Line, as also the Tax of the 200th Penny most strictly levied. But those manifold, yea innumerable Imposts upon Consumption, concern Merchandize and Manufacture only so far as those who are main-

To be able to continue long, and the Country to thrive.

* Omnia dabant, ne decimam darent. *Grot. Hist.*

† Omnia datis, & ne quidem Libertatis umbram retinetis.

tain'd

Chap. 21. prejudicial to Holland.

tain'd by them are Men, and must live by them. Besides it is well known, not only that in Consumptions there may be great variety, but also that People do manifestly spend most of their Income upon Pomp and Ornament, Superfluity, Wantonness, Pleasure and Recreation. So that Fishermen, Manufacturers, Seamen and Watermen, who are mostly poor, pay but little to this Tax; whereas the richer Inhabitants pay very much; and it cannot be denied but that they seem voluntarily to pay those Imposts on Consumptions.

But in real Burdens and Taxations, the Favour and Hatred of the first Assessors has not only an Influence, but those that are oppress'd by them, cannot free themselves from them by prudential Forethought and Frugality. Moreover it is apparent, that he who increases his Estate by industrious and frugal living, is most burdened: And he that by laziness and prodigality diminisheth his Estate will be less taxed. So that Virtue is unjustly oppress'd, and Vice favoured. Whereas on the contrary, the Imposts on Consumption fall heavy upon the Riotous, and indulge and encourage the Virtuous. But tho in all Events, the forementioned Sums of Money yearly demanded for defence of the Country, be raised after the easiest way possible; yet the immenseness of the Sum will not suffer us to imagine that our People continuing to be thus burdened, shall always be able to sell their Merchandize at as low, or lower Rates than other Foreigners, who are charged less, and work up their own Growth and Manufactures ready for the Merchant. So

Or Poundage, and the eighth Penny.

That the Inhabitants ought as soon as possible to be eased.

that

that it is absolutely necessary that our Inhabitants be eased of such Burdens as soon as possibly may be.

C H A P. XXII.

The Grounds and Reasons upon which the greatest Caution is to be us'd in laying the Tax of Convoy-mony, or Customs.

Some exported and imported Goods, and Ships, may possibly be charged to the benefit of Holland.

BUT the Impost on Goods Imported and Exported, and that on Shipping, is a quite different thing; for some may possibly be laid for the Benefit of the State, some without prejudice to it, and some cannot be laid without great and certain detriment to Holland. I shall therefore express my Sentiments particularly upon this Subject, and do premise, that so long as our Polity about Sea-affairs is built upon the same Foundation as it was in the Year 1597. that Prohibition of any Ships or Merchandize whatever, whether imported or exported, must always be of great Concernment to Holland. The like may be said of laying any new or higher Duty of Tonnage, or Convoy-mony for clearing the Seas; seeing we daily find that some Provinces, Admiralties, and Citys, intending to tolerate the same among themselves, do privately connive and suffer them to be smugl'd, or brought in Custom-free, in order to gain that Trade of Navigation and Commerce to themselves; and yet will be sure to be the most zealous in causing such Prohibitions, and the

Holland ought to be very wary as to prohibited Goods, and taxing of Merchandize or Shipping.

the laying in of higher Convoy-mony and Taxes for clearing the Seas, to be imposed by the States-General. So that commonly the fairest dealing Provinces, Admiraltys and Citys of the United Provinces, and the most upright Merchants suffer by the said Placaets, while the most fraudulent and dishonest Merchants do generally so contrive Matters, as to get Friends at Court, by whose Favour they find Means to benefit themselves to the prejudice of honest Men.

See the Grievances of the Magistrates of Zierickzee of the Year 1668. in Novemb.

In the first place it is worthy observation, that in this Affair, nothing can be more detrimental than to charge all Ships, or Goods coming in or going out with Tonnage-duty, without distinction: for tho it be pretended to be taken of the Shipping only, yet it is evident that all the Goods they carry must pay for it. And to pay for clearing the Seas, and thereby charging all Goods, according to their Value, with one per Cent. or the like, is still more prejudicial. To make this more evident, I shall insist the longer upon it. Seeing Holland of it self yields almost nothing, and the greatest part of our Traffick consists in Fisherys, Manufactures, Mechanic Works, and their Dependencies, so that we must take those Fish, and fetch the unwrought Materials for Manufactures, and all that is necessary thereunto from Foreign Parts; and likewise most of our Fish, and wrought Goods, must afterwards be transported to Foreign Parts. And seeing it is evident that the Fisheries, Manufactures, and other Mechanick Wares, may be practised and made in other Countryes, it is an inexcusable weakness to burden those necessary Means of Livelihood, and all other Mer-

Last-mony, as now laid, is very detrimental, because it charges all without distinction.

As is instanced by particular Examples; viz. of Inland Broadcloth.

Of Worsted-yarn for weaving.

Merchandize without distinction, and thereby indanger the driving them into other Nations where they are less charged. How much this thwarts all good Maxims of Polity, I shall shew by an Example or two. It was antiently very wisely considered, how much we were concerned in the Manufactory of Woollen Cloth, and therefore a half-Inland made Cloth was charged with no more than 4 Stivers for Exportation; whereas if it had paid 1 per Cent. for clearing the Seas, it would have paid 30 Stivers. So that every one may perceive the Disparity, and into what danger we run by such Errors, of losing this Trade, and driving out of our Country a very great number of People, as washers of Wool, Pickers, Scourers, Carders, Spinners, Weavers, Dressers, Fullers, Dyers, Nappers, Pressers, &c. with the makers of the Instruments necessary to those Employments. And lastly, it is the way to cause the Trade of unwrought Goods, thereunto subservient, and made use of likewise in the Manufactures, to withdraw very readily into other Countrys, especially if besides all this, we do in the same impolitick manner tax the unwrought Goods serving to the same end, which is against all good Polity, and the great Prudence of our Ancestors, who having well considered how much Weaving concerns us, very wisely ordered all Wool imported to be free, and all Yarn woven here to pay but 15 Stivers the 100 l. and but one per Cent. to be paid for clearing the Seas; the Wool for an Inland Half-cloth ten Stivers, and the Yarn for a home-made Camlet 45 Stivers the Piece; which yet by the ordinary Convoy or Customs

stoms (counting 15 Stivers for 100 Pounds) is charged but with one half Stiver the Piece; at least according to the first intent of the Confederate States, it ought to be charged with no more. So that it is an inexcusable Folly, and would be a very prejudicial Exaction to charge the Importer with more than 15 Stivers Convoy-mony for 100 Pounds of Turkey-Yarn brought into this Country to be woven. And it is no less imprudent so greatly to burden raw Silk imported, as if it were of no concern to us, which by winding, throwing, and weaving, is so profitable to this Country. From all which I suppose every one will easily perceive how prejudicial this great Difference is.

Of Raw Silk.

But in all Events, whether for paiment of Convoy-mony, Direction, or Tonnage-mony, or for clearing the Seas, it would be needful for the greater improvement of the Navigation of Holland, that all Foreign imported Goods should be less charged than those that come in by Land: Whereas on the contrary we see daily that very many Levant, Italian, &c. fine Wares are brought in by Land-carriage. And how much it concerns our Inhabitants we may easily imagine, when we consider that the Ships built here, are set to Sea victual'd and mann'd, but the Carriers and their Wagons are Foreign, and of no concern to us: And besides, our Merchandize on board Ships is always in our Power, or at least we may convoy and defend them with our Men of War as they go and come, whereas those that go by Land-carriage are in the Lands and Power of other Princes, so that they may at all times make seizure of them.

To increase Navigation, it were needful to charge such Goods as come by Land-carriage.

As also some foreign Shipping.

2. All Ships and Wares, coming out of Countries where our Inhabitants lade not at all, or at least not without paying Duties, ought in proportion to be charged here with as much Impost as our advantagious Situation, and great Consumption can bear: And where ours pay more Impost than is taken in the Country where the foreign Masters of Ships do live, we ought likewise to take as much of them here as was taken of ours. And thus having the Navigation to our selves, we may preserve the same, as also the Passage on the Rivers.

And Foreign made Wares.

3. All wrought Goods which we can make in this Country, should be charged when imported with so much, and no more than the Traffick may bear. And all Foreign made Goods ought to be charged with more than those made at home, being sold for consumption or wearing; and also the same Goods in passing upon Rivers into other Countries, ought to be charged again so much, as they may not be carried with less Charge thro other Dominions to those Rivers. We are moreover duly to observe, that we ought not to charge any foreign Goods that are to be transported again, whether manufactured or not, so as that our Merchants should find it their Advantage to pass by our Havens, and chuse rather to carry those Goods from one Foreign Country to another, which might perhaps be effected, especially in very coarse Goods, whose Lading and Unlading cost more than ordinary. But the Wares Imported or Exported by the Rivers, we may charge much more, especially all coarse or bulky Goods, which cannot be brought hither by Land:

Raw imported foreign Goods ought to be little charged.

Those that come by, or upon Rivers, more.

For

For the Rivers we have under our command. And again, by charging the Goods brought in by Rivers, our Navigation and Traffick is favoured; and the Cities that lie upward have for many Years past bereft the *Netherlandish* Vessels of their Freight on those Rivers, by their Staple Duty. Of which great Hardship we cannot complain with any Reason, while any Cities in *Holland* practise the like.

4. All imported rough Goods, which our Inhabitants are to work up, ought not at all to be charged: But rough Goods, as aforesaid, exported, we ought to charge so much as they can bear.

We ought to ease all imported unwrought Goods, whereof our Manufactures are made;

5. Goods manufactured in this Country, and exported, ought not at all to be charged. But on the contrary, we should charge all foreign made Goods, either Imported or Exported, as much as may be, without hazarding the loss of that Traffick.

And to ease our own, and charge Outlandish Manufacture.

As for charging foreign Goods, and manufactur'd Wares, Ships, and Masters of Ships, tho it be a matter of great Weight, yet I know not of any thing that hath been done in it. But the *English*, Anno 1660, settled their Rates of Customs and Convoy-Mony so well, according to these Maxims, to favour their Inhabitants as much as they could, and to burden all foreign Masters of Ships, and Merchants; that if we continue charged in this Country so unreasonably as at present, and there too, and the *English* on the other hand continue to be so favourably used, both here and at home, they will bereave us of much of our Trade, unless the Merchants there under that Government, be for other Occasions oppressed with many and

Which Maxims the English have much better follow'd than we. See their Book of Rates of Tonnage and Poundage.

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heavy

heavy Taxes; whereunto Traffick, under Monarchs and Princes, is always wont to be much exposed.

C H A P. XXIII.

That in levying Convoy-mony, we in Holland deviate in many particulars from these Maxims, and in many things have observed them well.

First, it hath been very detrimental to Holland, that they there prohibited the Exportation of Gold and Silver.

FIRST it is well worthy Observation, that the Inhabitants of Holland can trade in no Countrys but by carrying Goods thither, which having sold, and turned into Mony, they convert it into other Goods which they find there, or failing that, return their Money into Holland by Exchange: But if such foreign Lands have little or no occasion for our Goods, but afford rich Commodities, then is it evident that we cannot trade with them to any purpose, unless we carry thither Gold and Silver in Coin, or Bullion. And since by consequence every one knows that Norway, the East-Country, Smyrna, Persia, India, China, &c. do afford us infinitely more Merchandize than they take of us, we cannot trade with them but by Gold and Silver; and that moreover, these Provinces, at least that of Holland, cannot subsist without the said Traffick. Therefore we cannot enough wonder at the Ignorance, or ill Conduct of the States-General, who by many repeated Placaets in the Years 1606, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1621, &c. prohibited the exportation of coined or un-

uncoined Gold and Silver. And tho' it may be said, that the said Placaets being well known to be detrimental, had no long duration, yet is it certain that the Scouts, and Advocat Fiscal, did for a long time, nay and sometime still make use of them to molest and disquiet our trading Inhabitants.

But as to what concerns the Freedom and Advantages of Fishery, and the Eastland Trade, as also other unwrought Goods imported, they are indifferently well ordered, seeing they pay little or nothing of Duty, either on Import or Export, except that the Owners of the Herring-Busses, to secure themselves against Sea-Robbers, or Pyrats, do yearly at their own Charge, set out seven Ships of War: Which, for a Fishery of so much importance to the Country, is too heavy a Burden, or at least a very great Charge. But foreign Salt imported or exported, is not at all charged. Fish of our own taking, Herring, Wood, Ashes, Pitch, Tarr, Hemp, pay nothing inward, and but very little outward. But Corn, against all reason, pays Duty inward, some more, and some less, and likewise when exported is too much charged.

But the not charging of Fisheries, and the Eastern Trade, is reasonably well ordered.

See the Rates of the Convoy-mony.

But not the Corn-Trade.

And how much Holland is concerned in having the Staple of Corn.

If we consider how much must necessarily be gained in this Country, by Owners of Ships, Masters, Mariners, Corn-Porters, Hirers out of Granaries to stow the same, and Corn-shifters, before it is sent by our Merchants into other Countries: We ought in all respects to ease, and be more favourable to our Stores or Staple of Corn, Merchandize, and Fishery, and to keep the Staple of Corn within our Country; that so during bad Seasons, and the Scarcity thereof in other Nations, we may

have it always cheaper with us than in any other Countries; and besides that, we might enjoy many other publick Advantages, which out of so redundant a Treasure as is the Store and Staple of Corn, might in very many Cases and Accidents be improved by wise Magistrates. Whereas on the contrary, if by an imprudent burdening of that Commodity we lose that Staple; this indigent and populous Country would in many Cases, as bad Harvests, and cross Accidents of this World, fall into many extraordinary and unforeseen Inconveniencys. But above all it is to be lamented, that our own Manufactures are so unreasonably charged with Convoy-mony, or Customs, and much more with the Duty of clearing the Seas; but they are chiefly oppress'd by the Imposition laid on the Consumption: So that the Interest of the Manufactures and Mechanick Works is very ill look'd after. For the undrest Wool pays but 1 per Cent. of its worth at Importation, yet certain it is that it pays too little at Exportation. Flax, Silk, and Yarn are also too much charged upon Importation, and no more (against all reason) at Exportation. And as to weaving, or to speak plainer, all woven Goods; it is wonderful why we should charge woven Goods, whether Imported or Exported by Sea, or Rivers, so high as we foolishly do, or (in respect of their great Value) much more than foreign Commodities; yea (which is a shameful thing) the undrest *English* Cloths are at Importation not charged at all, and the *English* Traders enjoy every way more Freedom, and exemption from Taxes in *Holland*, than even our own Inhabitants.

But Manufactures are too much charg'd.

See the Rates of Convoy-mony. The Treaty of the English Court in Holland, and L. V. Airtzma's Hist. of the Year 1656. pag. 635.

The

The Interest of our Husbandmen, or Boors, As also our Husbandmen. is also much neglected; for what solid Reason can be given, that the *Holland* Butter exported is double as much charged as that of *Friesland*? Likewise, that all foreign Butter and Cheese may be imported Duty free; but all foreign Cheese exported, is charged with no more than that of *Holland*.

But especially we may wonder, that the Rulers of *Holland* could ever find it good to charge all Merchandize, without distinction, at Importation with 1 per Cent. and at Exportation with 2 per Cent. of its Value: as if it were not enough to subject the Merchant by the rated Convoy-mony, to the Charges, Pains, loss of Time, and Seizures, which must, and will lawfully oftentimes happen, and sometimes also to the unjust Vexation and Trouble of many, and delays of the Custom-house Officers, Searchers, Collectors, and Fiscal, where by many times fit Opportunities of sending away or selling of their Goods are lost: so that by the said one and two per Cent. of the Value, all Merchandize, even those which ought by all means to be favoured, are so heavily charged, as in the foregoing Chapter is shew'd. And besides, power is given to the said Fiscal and head Customer or Collector, to seize all Goods for their own Use, paying one sixth part more than the Importer values them: Which is a mischievous thing to the Merchant; for in far more remote Countries (for example, at *Smyrna*, or *Messina*, Which appears plainest by raw Silk, and Grain Yarn. Gro-grain Yarn or Silk) Goods being bartered or bought, and not knowing whether those Goods may be damaged in the Voyage or not, and much less whether the same are so bar-

And especially the Interest of Merchants has been much neglected, by paying one and two per Cent. upon Goods imported and exported.

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tered or bought in, as to yield Profit or Loss, yet are they bound blindly to rate these Goods. Whereas on the other side, the Fiscal or Collector may take or leave them at their Pleasure. Besides, this one and two per Cent. is for the Merchant so great a Charge, and deprives them of so much Profit, that by this alone very many Goods that come from abroad, and will not sell off here, pass by our Country, and are carried to other Ports.

The truth is, when we consider all these heavy burdens upon the Merchandize and Manufactures of *Holland*; and then on the other hand, that we can in no wise subsist long without them, I cannot sufficiently wonder at that Folly; for it is too nice and ticklish a Case to lay any restraints upon the Mouth, through which all Nourishment must pass into the Body. We ought to suspect and be jealous of all things which have any tendency, either to bereave or straiten us of Life; especially seeing we can fail but once, and those that guess at things are apt to mistake. Perhaps it may

Which may be excused because necessity breaks Law.

See Aitzma's Treaty of Peace

But it is imprudent to continue that Tax for clearing the Seas of Enemies when there is no need.

be said, that Necessity justifies all things, and that the Wars brought a fear upon us of losing both Country and Trade at once. Indeed he that is straitened by Water or Fire, will leap through the Fire, or catch hold of a naked Sword to preserve his Life: But they must be Fools when there is no such Necessity, that will suffer their Bodies to be harm'd by Sword or Fire. That late Puissant neighbouring Enemy, in respect of whom Merchandize was so heavily charged, is (God be praised for his Mercy) so weakned by making War against us, that for eighteen Years together he was necessitated to offer us a Peace that

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was shameful for him, and glorious for us, before we would grant it him.

And these Provinces, that may be accounted to have been formerly unarmed, in respect of their present condition, as *Groeningen, Friesland, Over-yffel, Guelderland, &c.* have always been able to defend themselves against Foreign Force, and were very hardly by dissension among themselves brought to stoop to that mighty Emperor *Charles the 5th.* So that now there is no shadow of Reason to believe that being provided for the most part by the Mony of *Holland* with Fortification, Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition, they are not now able in a profound Peace to defend themselves with their own Force against the Attempts of a weaker Neighbour. On the other hand it is true, that some of them being sensible of their own Power, are not concern'd for the uneasiness of the *Hollanders* by Sea, nor will they contribute a Penny to ease them, but contrary to the Terms of the Union of *Utrecht*, as if that Union were only made against the K. of *Spain's* Attempts by Land, pretending that all Wars, and Robberys by Sea, ought and may be sufficiently maintained, prevented and defended by Convoy-mony, and consequently sufficiently provided for by the Merchants of *Holland.* Whereas nevertheless the said *Holland* Merchants, besides their particular Burdens as Men and Inhabitants, bear all Impositions, whereby *Holland* is not only defended by Land against all Men, but likewise all the other United Inland Provinces: Which in truth hath continued to this day, at the charge of much more Contribution for *Holland*, and much less for the other Provin-

And we in perfect Peace by Land.

Convoy-mony unequally levied. Part I.

ces, than by virtue of the Union of *Utrecht* they are obliged to. So that it is high time for *Holland* to mind her own Advantage, and discharge her self of all needless Expences for these Provinces, and bestow them on her own defence, whereof she hath every way, and evermore occasion by Land, and especially by Sea. For if in truth that Maxim used by the other Provinces be true, That the Sea must maintain it self, and that consequently all means to clear the Seas, and to regain the Merchants loss after such Plundrings by Foreigners, and Damage sustained by Sea, must cause the Rates of Convoy-mony to be rais'd higher in proportion to that necessity; all which must be fetcht from the Merchant. If so, I say, *Holland* must necessarily decay and fall to ruin, considering that by the Constitution of the Trade at Sea, and the many Countrys about us, not only in the *Sound* and *Channel*, but also by the fundamental Government of *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Algier*, they must be for ever pirated on by Sea. For by this Rule it would follow, that *Holland* should always bear its own Burdens, and those of the other Provinces too by Sea, and so in a time of Peace, as well as War, should also bear most of the Charge by Land: And that the others on their parts should wallow in Idleness and Gluttony with the Wealth of *Holland*.

That the Sea must drip or maintain it self, is a very detrimental Maxim for Holland.

Because the Turk will ever continue his Depredations at Sea. Voyage to the Levant, par le Sir des Hayes.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIV.

What Professions of the Inhabitants of Holland, ought to be more or less burdened with Taxes, or favoured by the Politick Magistrate.

BUT some will perhaps object against what I have affirmed, that during the time of the late Monarchical Government in these Provinces, and the remainders of it, as also when we waged an Offensive War, and seemed to leave our Navigation as a Prey to the *Dunkirkers*, *Holland* was burdened by Money taken up at Interest, and other Taxes to the Sum of fifteen Millions yearly; therefore to rid our selves of so great a Burden under a free Government, it was necessary to levy Mony of the Inhabitants by several ways and means. And secondly it may be objected, That when easy or indifferent Levies will not raise Mony enough for securing the Country, and Navigation against any sudden Attempt, then we must find out other ways and methods which at present would be hurtful, but if continued any considerable time, would be mischievous to the State, yea ruin it. And therefore we in *Holland* have very prudentially practised all those and no other means and ways of raising Mony, but such as are now used by the State.

But tho the first Objection be true, yet we may doubt whether the second be so. Therefore I find it good to examine here what Ways or Expedients are fit to be used to procure

But if Holland by a former misgovernment, must be burdened with a yearly payment of 15 Millions of Guilders,

Then no wonder if some hurtful ways of raising Mony have been used, and still be continued.

It will be fit to lay down some method in such Cases of Taxings.

cure Mony in such an Exigence, that so the Reader himself may more exactly judg whether, and when the Magistrates of *Holland* have in this particular taken care of the Welfare of the Land in general, or have been neglective of it: And having expressed the same in as few words as may be, I shall afterwards, because of the general Concernment of the thing, consider more fully, whether all Estates of the Inhabitants of this Country can be equally favoured; and in case they cannot, which of them ought more or less to be cherished and conniv'd at.

Under this head we ought first to raise Mony by way of Impost.

Namely, seeing all People do naturally endeavour to discharge and free themselves of Burdens, tho even by burdening of others, or when that cannot be fully obtained, then will they seek to ease themselves of that Burden by procuring Partners to bear it: Every one will then immediately judg that we should charge those of Foreign Nations that frequent *Holland*, who are no Members of our Political Body, which we call the State, with all imaginable Taxes, and by all means to ease our own Inhabitants, as being true Members of our own Body. But seeing we have shewn you before, that *Holland* cannot subsist without Commerce and Merchandise with Foreigners, we might by so doing take such Methods as would prevent them from coming into *Holland*, to our great prejudice; and therefore we ought to be very wary and cautious about it, especially considering, that an extraordinary charge upon those Strangers would not much ease us: So that consequently there is no other way, but to bear so great a Burden with as many helpers as we can procure,

procure. And it cannot be denied but we shall procure more Supporters, if we charge all Goods with some Impost that are usually worn or consumed by the People as they are Men and Women. *All Wares that are consumed at home.*

And seeing those Imposts which are most freely and spontaneously paid, are least offensive and irksom; we should therefore observe this order, viz. first, and most, to charge such Goods as tend to Ease, Pleasure, and Ornament: And then such as no Man can be without, as Meat, Drink, Housing, Firing and Light, seeing Strangers hereby will pay alike with the Inhabitants, and none will be favoured or exempted.

And seeing by all these Means the said Sum of fifteen Millions cannot be levied, we should then afterwards in taxing the People, so charge them, as that all may bear their Parts equally, none excepted. But since this is not practicable, but by taxing all Peoples Estates to make Men pay alike without distinction, or by a blindfold Poll; both which means of raising Mony being so unequal, and full of hardship, do ever cause great distaste among the People: we ought therefore to proceed to the charging of some particular sort of Inhabitants, who bring in no Profit to the Country, but on the contrary live upon the other Inhabitants. *And also all Inhabitants of Holland.*

And among them are first all Inhabitants, who from or on behalf of the State, or Cittys, open Countrys, drainers of Water, makers of Dykes, have any benefit of Power, Honour, or Reward, more than other Inhabitants. For seeing they may refuse such Offices, Dignities and Employments, to escape *But especially such as have any publick Employments and Business of Profit in Holland, excluding others.* those

those Taxes, and that we need not give them but to such Inhabitants as are qualified for, and petition to have them; no Inhabitant therefore to evade such Taxes, will need to abandon the Country, nor have any reason to complain of a Burden which he annually loadeth himself with: and yet by this Expedient much Money may be raised for the common good, without burdening any of the other Inhabitants the more.

And after them all Inhabitants that live upon other Inhabitants.

Next to them should follow such Inhabitants as are Teachers, Artists, and their Instruments, for so much as they are employed about Matters of Ease, Pleasure, Ornament, &c. that are made use of in this Country. And after these former, all Masters and Journeymen of such Trades who live by our own Inhabitants only; such as Bakers, Brewers, sellers of Wine and Fish, Butchers, Tailors, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, and Glasiers, &c. But in such a case it were needful, for the keeping of our Provision, and to suffer Strangers to live upon us as little as is possible, to charge all their Goods or Manufactures imported into *Holland* for Consumption, so high, that our own may go better off than those that are Foreign.

And next them those that live upon our Lands or Fund.

Next would follow some Charge or Tax to be laid upon such Inhabitants as live upon our own Lands; such as are our Husbandmen, Grasers, and Inland-fishers, for they will hardly forsake us because of our taxing them, seeing they may always be eased in better Times.

And since all these Means of raising Money will burden none but such as are Inhabitants in this

this Country, and while they find their Maintenance amongst us; it is evident that all the said ways for raising of Money will excite the Commonalty to Ingenuity, Diligence and Frugality, and then they will be easily born.

But in case all these Expedients will not raise Money sufficient, we may then charge either ordinarily or extraordinarily all immoveable Goods, Lands and Houses, with yearly Taxes, or by Impositions upon Alienations and Inheritances of them; wherein nevertheless there be those Difficultys, that those Taxes will not be paid with any freedom, but wholly by compulsion: And that the said immoveable Goods being for that end to be valued, that Valuation cannot be made without partiality, and these Burdens will be then very unequally born. Besides, that by the accidental unfruitfulness of the Lands, and standing empty of their Houses, the Owners and Tenants of them wanting a great part of their yearly Rent on which they depend for the maintenance of their Family, they must necessarily suffer these two unavoidable Inconveniencies. But seeing all Owners of immoveable Estates who dwell out of the Land must also help to bear these Burdens, without any prejudice to the Estates of our common Inhabitants; and the Owners of Land that dwell in the Country, are so tied to *Holland* by their immoveable Estates, that they cannot but with great difficulty remove their Habitation to other Countries: This means therefore of raising Money, may be used without hurting the State.

As also all immoveable *Holland* Goods.

The said Goods are to be valued as follows

Finally, In an extreme necessity of Money, there may be impos'd a general Tax on all the

By Taxes on all moveable and immoveable Goods jointly.

moveable and immoveable Estates of the Inhabitants, whereby they may pay the thousandth, two hundredth, and one hundredth Penny: I say, in an unusual great Necessity, because by these Taxes there would fall a greater hardship upon the common Inhabitants, and damage to the State, than could fall by any other Expedient of this nature; for Foreigners would bear nothing of this, but our Inhabitants only. And seeing the Assessors are wholly ignorant of Mens personal Estates, and what the Inhabitants do owe, or is owing to them; and if they did know the value of them, yet could they not tax them so equally as may be done in the case of immoveable Goods: We may therefore easily see, what by favour and hatred, and by ignorance of the Assessors, especially in the trading Province of *Holland*, where Riches are very transitory and uncertain; that there must be an intolerable inequality in bearing this Tax. Those that would honestly declare their Estates might lighten the Tax; but the fraudulent will unavoidably make it heavier. Besides, many Inhabitants possessing neither immoveable Estates nor Merchandize, but living here on the Interest of their Money, to elude these heavy Burdens, may remove to some neighbouring Country, to the greater prejudice of this State than if any other of the forementioned Inhabitants should forsake us; for such People frequently drawing their Revenues from other Parts, and spending them here, they gain not by our Inhabitants, but they gain by them. Nevertheless, seeing such Persons as live on their Rents, are in respect of the other Inhabitants

Which notwithstanding is a very hard and unequal Tax.

but

but few in number, and do not set many People at work for a Livelihood, therefore the said Tax may and can be raised without any remarkable prejudice to the State. And it is more especially to be observed, that if by reason of all these Taxes many Inhabitants should forsake *Holland* and settle in other Countrys; yet they, or other such Persons, when the Tax after a while should be released, might easily be drawn to return to *Holland*, or others would succeed them out of our own Country, so long as our Manufactories, Fisherys, Traffick, and Freight-Ships remain and flourish amongst us: Seeing they are the four main Pillars by which the Welfare of the Commonalty is supported, and on which the Prosperity of all others depends, tho they earn not their Living immediately by them. This will not be denied, if we rightly apprehend, that many People are brought into our Country that are Strangers, or were formerly Inhabitants, Teachers, Artists, Consumptioners, Tradesmen, and such as live on their Rents, because there are many People here that live, or have lived by Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick, and Freight-Ships, and do all of them afford Work, or a Livelihood for the other Inhabitants beforementioned. But that on the other side the Manufacturers, Merchants, Fishers, and Owners of Ships let to Freight, will not return from Foreign Lands to these Parts, or be invited hither because there are, or have been in *Holland* many Teachers, Artists, Consumptioners, Tradesmen, and Men that live on their Rents, seeing these do set to work or employ the foresaid People, and have their

greatest

We ought to be cautious of weakening the four Pillars of our State, viz. Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick, and Freight-Ships.

greatest Profit from Foreign Parts, at least not from these last mentioned People that are Natives.

But nevertheless upon an urgent necessity thereunto pressing, we should charge them least.

But supposing the general Necessity of levying Mony to be so great, that we could not raise enough by all the forementioned Taxes, or could not find out any Expedient to raise the same but what were prejudicial; so that to defend the Commonwealth, or preserve our Body Politick against some formidable Enemy, we should be so put to it, as to tax the abovementioned Pillars of the Land, and be pinch'd in our chiefest means of Livelihood for a short time, in hope that such urgent and pressing Necessitys will soon have an end, and that then those Taxes will be taken off; and doing thus, we may both secure our Country, and our Estates: Let us then see what Order we are to take in pursuit of this Method. And in the first place to express my self clearly, by the words *Manufacturers*, and *Fishers*, I understand all such as live by any Trade in or about Fishing, making, transporting, and selling of our *Holland* Manufacturys and Fisherys. And by the word *Traders*, I mean, all such Merchants that sell nothing by retail; but such as trade solely, whether at home or abroad, in all or any Commodities, except *Holland* Manufactures, and Fisherys, and such as depend on them. And by the word *Owners of Ships*, I understand no other Owners than such as set Ships to Sea, either for our own Service, or for other Merchants upon Freight.

And now to come to the matter in hand, we ought well to consider, that we must lay the least Tax upon that means of Subsistence

stance which most concerns us, and which we are apt soonest to lose, and being lost is not easily retrieved, and which might besides draw away with it other Trades or means of Subsistence. So that seeing in *Holland* there are six hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants who are maintained by Manufactures, and such as depend on them, and those Manufactures are not certainly fixed to us, since we cannot furnish our selves with the unwrought Materials of them from our own Country, but from other Parts; yea the greater part of them being easily carried by Land, may be made, carried, and sold in Foreign upland Countrys. And if this should happen, our Merchants and Owners of Freight-Ships would be oblig'd to remove and betake themselves, either to them, or to the Countrys and Sea-Harbours next to them; and if we should once lose those Manufactures, and that our Merchants and Owners of Ships should go over to another Country which affords those Materials for the making of them, they would probably never return to us. Wherefore it appears that we must charge them little or nothing, and the rather, seeing our Manufactures are already charged with Imposts on the Consumption, much more than our Fisherys, Traffick, and Freight-Ships.

And seeing our Fisherys, by the propinquity of the Coasts, where Haddock, Cod, Herring, and Whale are taken, are more fixed to us, and always will be so than to most other Countrys; and that by our over-taxing them, we have neglected and disregarded them, they may possibly return to us again if

if we ease their Charge, considering our convenient Situation; whereby it appears that we ought to tax them sooner, and more than our Manufactures: Nevertheless seeing there are four hundred and fifty thousand People employed in the Fisherys; and the loss of the said Fisherys to our Merchants and Owners of Ships, would give them occasion to remove into those Countrys where the said Fisherys might be establish'd: It appears therefore that we ought not inconsiderately to charge our Fisherys too much.

Traffick yet
more.

But for as much as it cannot be apprehended, that while *Holland* preserves her Manufactures and Fisheries, she should lose all her Traffick in Foreign Manufactures, Fisherys, and other Merchandize, and that this Traffick does not at most maintain above one hundred and fifty thousand People in *Holland*: It therefore again appears, that we ought sooner, and more to charge those Trafficks than our Manufactures and Fisherys. Yet seeing those Trafficks being removed into other Countrys, our Owners of Ships might first send their Ships thither, and many of themselves follow after: It likewise appears, that we ought to charge that Traffick less than the Owners of Ships.

And seeing the Owners of Freight-Ships inhabiting these Provinces do receive incomparably more advantage from our Inland Manufactures, and our own Fisherys and Trade, than any Foreign Owners of Ships can do; yea, for as much as there be no Supporters of the Countrys Prosperity, but what are Servants to our Manufacturies, Fisherys, and Traders: It is not therefore imaginable that we

we can lose them so long as we can preserve our Manufactures, Fisherys, and Traffick; so that the said Ships may be charged sooner, and more than Manufactures, Fisherys, and Trafficks. Yet since those Ships lie for Freight in Foreign Countrys, and there raise Mony from Strangers, they may in some measure be esteemed a support of our Prosperity; and since there may possibly be fifty thousand People maintained that way, and that by their being charged too much our own Manufactures, Fisherys, and Traffick, for which we are most concerned, might in some measure come to suffer at long run: We ought not therefore to proceed inconsiderately to the charging of them. Tho we should lose our Freight-ships, yet we should not therefore lose our Manufactures, Fisherys, and Traffick; but on the contrary, by their means, and by lessening the Taxes at any time, the Freight-ships would easily be induced to return to *Holland*. We know that heretofore in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Holland*, many Inhabitants were maintained by Manufactures, Fisherys, and Traffick, when the *Easterlings* were the only Carriers and Mariners by Sea: As also that the said Owners of Freight-ships were for the most part gradually compelled by our Manufactures, Fisherys, and Traffick, to forsake those *Easterlings*, and to settle in *Holland*. And we still find every day, not only that our Owners of Freight-ships are servicable to the Manufacturers, Fishers, and Traders of other Countrys; and to that end send their Ships from one Harbour to another, to transport their Goods at a price agreed on; but also that there are always Strangers here, who

And the Part
owning of Ship-
ping most of all.

As appears
by many Rea-
sons.

What sort of Inhabitants Part I.

for the sake of our Manufactures, Fisheries, and Traffick, by reason of some Freedom and Privileges they have above us, either in their own Countrys, or in their Voyage, do come and enter their Ships for Freight amongst ours.

And as these 4 Pillars of the Country's Prosperity may be more or less charged;

So that it being now shewn at large what Estates of our Common Inhabitants ought most or least to be charged with Imposts, in order to levy fifteen Millions of Guilders yearly, we may from the same reasons in some measure calculate upon all occasions which of the Inhabitants ought to be most or least favoured by the Magistracy, and consequently I should finish this Chapter: But seeing the Welfare of the Inhabitants most certainly depends on the good Maxims of the Rulers in that matter, I shall enlarge somewhat more upon of it.

So in all Events the Rulers ought to favour them proportionably.

Altho Civil Rulers are very well termed Fathers, and the Subjects their Children, yet herein is the difference, that Parents do indulge and take equal care of their Children to their utmost power, or at least ought not to favour one to the prejudice of another, and in no case to ruin one Child to provide for others, tho better Children: And that contrariwise the Politick Governours making up with the Generality one Body Politick, which we call the State, must shew more or less Favour, yea Hurt and Ruin, to some who are more or less profitable, or pernicious to the State. As for Instance, those that commit Theft and Murder, &c. who are punished with Death or otherwise, for the good of the rest, and to deter them from committing the like Evils.

From

Chap. 24. ought most to be tax'd.

From which it follows; First, That all Inhabitants, none excepted, ought to be favoured more than Strangers, as much as is proper. Yet so that none be favoured, who by any Employment can earn their living by others their fellow Subjects, to the prejudice of those by whom they procure their Bread: Because in such a case it would be foolish, that those who depend upon any thing should be favoured to the prejudice and ruin of that very thing whereon they depend. And besides, it is necessary that we always remember to favour most, and consequently preserve in Holland such Inhabitants, who can with more ease than others get their Livings in other Countrys, and transport themselves thither.

Namely, first the things themselves before their Dependencies.

Secondly, It follows by the said Maxims, That all Inhabitants who seek their Profit and Livelihood from other Countrys, ought more to be favoured than those who in this Country live on their Fellow-Inhabitants.

2ly. The Foreigners before the Inland Traders.

Thirdly, It follows from hence, That such Inhabitants, who by their Gains acquired by Foreign Countrys contribute most to the subsistence of the Inhabitants, and consequently of the State, ought most to be favoured; but with this Caution, That the Master should be more favoured than the Servant; and our Merchants who traffick in our own Manufactures, and Fisherys in Foreign Countrys, above all others who are employed about the making or taking of the same. All which being well considered, it unanswerably appears that the Politick Rulers of Holland ought least of all to favour Strangers with any Power or Privilege, and consequently more and more to favour the inhabiting Mechanicks, Masters, Journey-

3ly. The Masters ever before the Servants.

Journey-men, Teachers, Artists, Consumers of any Goods in the Land, Husbandmen, Graiers, Inland-Fishers, such as live on their Estates, Owners of Ships, Merchants, Fishermen, and finally almost all such Inhabitants who are employed about Manufactures spent in Foreign Parts.

Especially to erect Colleges of Persons according to the proportion, that are interested for themselves.

And altho some may object, That the said Advantages and Disadvantages cannot be procur'd or avoided, unless, as abovesaid, the High and Subordinate Government consists of so many Rulers and Magistrates, that none of them could benefit himself to the prejudice of the Community: Yet it is very well known, that any violent Change in the Welfare of the common Inhabitants of *Holland*, would at least much sooner ruin the best and most useful Subjects, than improve them. And consequently it ought to satisfy the lovers of their Country, if the Rulers and Magistrates take so much care that the subordinate Colleges of Polity, Treasury and Justice, about the Manufacturys, Fisheries, Trade and owning of Ships, be so formed, that such Persons as are employed therein, be most interested in the Prosperity of Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick, and Freight-ships, and consequently least in any other way of subsistence; because otherwise every one will to the prejudice of others, tho they ought more to be tendered as more profitable, draw the Water to his own Mill, and lay his Burden on another Mans Shoulders. So that there ought to be among the Directors that are the Superintendents, or have the oversight of Manufactures, at least, as I conceive, four for foreign Consumption, two to oversee the making

About Manufactures.

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king of such Manufactures, one over the Inland-Consumption, and one over the Service depending on those Manufactures. As for Example, Among the Directors for the Woolen Cloth-Trade, there ought to be four Merchants dealing in Cloth, two Clothiers, one Draper, one Dyer or Cloth-worker, &c. Likewise among the Directors concerning our *Fisherys*, Foreign Fisherys, there ought to be in proportion at least four Merchants that trade in those Commodities, two over the setting out of the Vessels and causing the Fish to be taken, one over the Inland-Consumption thereof, and one over the Fishing it self. And if the Rulers of these Lands, or any Citys thereof in particular, were inclined for preservation and increase of Traffick in general, to erect a Common Council with Authority to make Statutes and Laws relating thereunto; then such a Council ought to be form'd after this proportion, *viz.* of twenty four Merchants dealing in *Holland* Manufacturies, sixteen Merchants in *Holland* Fisherys, six Merchants in other Commodities which belong not to our Manufacturies and Fisherys, and at most but two Owners of Ships, because such Owners and the Masters of Ships in that quality are for the most part Servants to the others, and depend on them, and without them are of small consideration. And if among the Judges or Commissioners set over the making of Manufactures, Fisherys, Assurances, Maritime Affairs, &c. there should be some interested Persons, it is evident, that in all such Colleges the same proportion ought to be observ'd, that in case Partiality should take place among the Judges, the Loser should at least

Especially a College or Merchant-Court for Trade.

Else private Interest will be sought against the common Good:

I 4

What sort of Inhabitants Part I.

least have this Comfort in his Misfortune, that his Loss would tend to the benefit of the Community, in advancing Manufacturies, Fisheries, Traffick, and Freight-Ships: whereas otherwise the Trouble of seeing himself divested of his Livelihood, and Goods, by undue Orders, and unjust Sentences, and all to the loss and detriment of the Commonwealth, would be intolerable.

As appears by the Directors of the Levant Trade, who are generally concern'd in Ships let to Freight.

See the Judicial and Political Considerations of the Turkish Avenie, printed 1663.

And that this may appear not to be spoken at random, let us please to remember that Roelof Martinson Vygeboom of Horne, a Ship-master, or the Owner of the Ship called the Emperor Octavianus, having in the Year 1663, suffered his Vessel laden by the Turkish Emperor's Subjects, to be taken for a Prey by some Ships of War belonging to Malta, Legorn, and Venice, for which they paid him a very great Freight; the said Emperor of Turkey required of Livinus Warnerus our Resident at Constantinople satisfaction for the same: He by his Faintheartedness, Treachery, or Covetousness, made a promise within three Months and fifteen Days, to pay the Turks seventy eight thousand four hundred and forty five Lyon Dollars for Satisfaction; and that the said Sum might the sooner be obtain'd, the said Resident commanded, and thereupon the Consul ordered, that not only all Holland Ships set out to Freight should be seized in all the Havens of the Levant, which hath some glimpse of Equity in it, but also all the Goods of the Innocent Holland Merchants, who were constrained to pay that Money for their Redemption. It is easily imagined that this happened, because the Resident and Consul knew that the Directors of the Levant Trade living

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Chap. 24. ought most to be tax'd.

in Holland, were mostly concerned in the Ships let out to Freight that use the Levant, that it would have been very ill taken by them, and that they might have sat on the Skirts of the Resident and Consul, if their Ships had been seized for that reason. We afterwards saw the strength of this particular Interest clearer in Holland: For these Merchants who were unjustly forced to lay down this Money, and being to be discharged, the said Directors, who give their Advice to the States-General in many Cases, laid down in this particular no Expedient, nor any thing like it, whereby to procure this Money to the least loss of the Land, or charging themselves or other Owners or Masters of the Levant Ships; no, nor to charge themselves together with the Merchants; but on the contrary, have totally freed the said Owners and Masters of the same, and to the greater prejudice of the Country, yea, and the spoil of our Manufactures, charged one per Cent. upon all Goods outward and inward, not excepting Holland Cloth, raw Silks, and Yarn, making together two per Cent. So that the States following their Advice, Traffick and Manufacture will be for so much imprudently charged to perpetuity, since the said oppressive Tax will hardly ever be releas'd. And if we add hereunto, that all other Traffick of the common Inhabitants of the Provinces, that is not under the Tuition or Care of such Directors, being driven into Countries where our Consuls reside, the Masters and Owners of each Ship going or coming in, must pay to the Consul a certain Fee for his Consulage. But that the said Directors of the Levant Trade, for as much as they

Who have favoured these freight Ships more than the Holland Manufactures and Traffick;

Bringing the Charge of the Resident and Consuls Avenies, &c. on all our Manufactures and Traffick:

they are Owners of Ships, have cast that burden from off their own Shoulders, and laid it upon our own Merchants, yea on our Manufactures and all manner of *Levant* Wares, without distinction of Clothes, Grograin Yarn, raw Silk, &c. going or coming to or from the *Levant*, to the benefit of the Resident at *Constantinople*, and the Consuls that reside in those Havens on the behalf of this State, charging them with $1\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. being together, going and coming, three per Cent. which upon so rich a Trade makes up a Princely Revenue, and Royal Maintenance. And altho the said Residents and Consuls take their Reward of the *Holland Levant* Merchants, and having no other Business to dispatch but the Concerns of their Traffick and Navigation, ought to have remembred, that they being only clothed with a Character of the State, the better to effect the same, and for no other end, unless for Order and Decency, are really and indeed but Ministers of the *Levant* Merchants, and so must continue, seeing they have at the Port of *Constantinople* in effect not any the least business of State to negotiate, as Peace, War, Alliances, Assistance, &c. between the respective States. Nevertheless this shadow of their Monarchical Administration, and assuming an Authority, and taking example by the Ministers of Monarchs, who likewise reside there: adding hereunto, that this too great Income for Citizens of a free Commonwealth, hath all along raised in them a Monarchical Pride, and besides occasions oft-times other heavy Taxes, and continual Quarrels against the said *Holland* Merchants, who are not willing nor able to endure so chargeable

And that by cutting too large Thongs out of others Leather;

Whereby the Residents and Consuls carry it as if they were Lords over the *Levant* Merchants.

Which mismanagement may soon ruin the *Levant* Trade

able and oppressive a Power, which will destroy our important *Levant* Trade in a short time.

Let none object, that all that Money is not exacted to the Rigor, nor comes into the Residents and Consuls Purse; for they enjoy most of it, and the Factors charge their Principals with it, insomuch that this considerable *Levant* Trade, and our Manufactures depending upon it, by this prejudicial Management of those chargeable Residents and Consuls, and by five per Cent. unnecessarily charged, and without any reason to favour and clear the Owners and Masters of Ships, tho they cause more Troubles in those Parts than the Merchants themselves, and also in other respects are subject to them, and consequently have more occasion of our Residents and Consuls Advice than our Traders, and are the cause of their much greater Charge.

So that you may see by what I have said, that if the Courts of Justice relating to the Fisheries, Manufactures, Traffick, Insurances, and Maritime Affairs, are no better ordered according to the Maxims of *Holland's* Prosperity, whereof I know none as yet: Then certainly our Manufactures, Fisheries, and Traffick in this Country, being too little favoured, and too much oppressed; and that all concerned therein having any difference with their Labourers, Servants, Messengers, Letter-Carriers, Ship-Masters, or Owners of Ships, they have great Reason ever to comply with them, or to fear a mischievous Verdict or Sentence, tho their Cause be Just and Good. For since we cannot bereave Judges of their human Nature, we ought in such Cases

So that we may expect the like Inconveniencies from all other ill reformed Colleges.

Cases to expect that they will take more care for themselves, or their Friends, than for the Publick Good.

And thus by degrees I am come down to matters of Justice about Traffick, whereof I purpose to speak more at large.

C H A P. XXV.

The Antient State of Justice in Holland and West-Friesland being here related, it is likewise at the same time shewn, that the Laws and Order of Justice ought to be framed for the most Advantage of Traffick.

IT is well known that the German Emperors drove out of these Lands the Normans, and according to their Custom divided the Provinces among twelve or thirteen Lords their Favourites, making one of them the Earl, who, as the *Emperor's Stadtholder, was to govern this Country with the Assistance of the said Nobility, without Souldiery. And in case of War, if he and these Noblemen, and common Inhabitants, were not able to defend themselves against a foreign Power, he was to be assisted by the Duke of the next adjacent Mark-Lands, who was always arm'd, and had 12 Earls under him, and at his disposal.

Pursuant to this our Earls, with consent of the States of the Land, framed and appoint-

* Tanquam Caesaris Praesidem ejus Provinciae. Annal. Doussæ.

ed

Ch.25. of Justice in Holland.

ed all the Laws or Orders over the whole Province; and their respective Dykegraves, Bailiffs and Schouts, with their Counsellors, Hofmagers, Judges, and Sheriffs, made all peculiar Laws and Ordinances for the respective Waters in the Country, open Lands, Villages, and Cities, and omitted not in their Laws to express the Punishment and Fines which the Offender was to suffer or pay. And moreover, our Earl had power, with all other Earls, as being chief Judg himself, or by Bailiffs and Judges depending on him, and in his Name, to give Sentence and Judgment between the Inhabitants. It is observable, that all Criminals, who had forfeited their Lives, were to forfeit their Estates also, and that all Confiscations and Fines came to the Earls, or to the Bailiffs and Schouts, who for that end held their Offices by Farm. And to the end that those miserable Subjects might undergo Trial before the Judges that were Parties; we are to take notice, that our Earls following the ungodly Maxims of Monarchical Government in administering Justice, stood much upon the enlarging of their Power and Profit, and but very little on the welfare of the common People: for they empowered these Bailiffs and Schouts, according to their Will and Pleasure, to take cognizance of all Crimes and Offences, whether really committed or not, to favour or prosecute all the Inhabitants, without Appeal to any but the Patron, viz. the Earl. And tho it was very necessary for the Gentry, common People, and Citizens, the better to obtain just Sentences, to appoint upon all occasions a very great number of Judges, and to give them a Liberty, with-

Relation made of the State of Justice, as in the times of the Earls of Holland, who were Sovereign Lords.

'Tis shewn how defective and tyrannical it then was,

without respect of Persons, to vote with Balls or otherwise privately: Or if few Judges were appointed in those Courts and Places of Justice, with command to vote publickly, that then at least those Bailiffs, Schouts and Judges at certain times being complained of, were obliged to give an account of their Actions before a very great number of them. Yet our said Earls upon all, yea the most weighty Occasions, would place no more but here and there an *Azing*, or five or seven Judges in the open Country, and about so many Sheriffs or Aldermen in the Cities; obliging them, whether in Criminal or Civil Causes, ever to deliberate or vote openly in Presence of the Earl, his Bailiffs or Scouts, and to give no Account or Reason to any but himself for what they acted.

By reason of the paucity of Judges;

By which Form of Justice, the Earls and their Bailiffs and Schouts might favour or oppress all the Inhabitants, under pretext of administering that sacred Justice to which they were sworn. For they could give what Sentence they pleased by reason of the paucity of Judges, which they were fain to comply with, if they would hold their annual Employments, and escape the Resentment of their said Lords. And when at best the said Earls, Bailiffs, and Schouts did not concern themselves with the matter in question, if one of the Parties, whether Plaintiff or Defendant, were favour'd or hated by the Judges, and the other not, then in such Case, * an upright Sentence was seldom passed.

And their passing Sentence as the Earls and their Bailiffs and Schouts pleased.

* Quia Favor aut Odium in Judice plus valet quam optima Lex in Codice.

And

And tho since that time, by the abjuration of the Government of Earls, and especially since the death of the late Stadtholder of Holland, the greatest occasion of Favour or Hatred in respect of Judges and Sheriffs, and consequently the greatest occasion of unrighteous Sentences, either in greater or lesser Affairs, was taken away; yet nevertheless the Bailiffs and Schouts in regard of the common People, and especially in Criminal Affairs, hold their former Power and Respect. By which remainder of that Tyrannical Government by Earls, the Inhabitants may be very much oppressed upon this account, because the Judges and *Scheepens* being continued in their former small number may be misled, unless we should suppose them to be devided of their humane Nature, and not to be mov'd by their familiarity with, or hatred of the said Bailiffs and Schouts, or by the Bribes, and Love or Hatred of the Plaintiff or Defendant; and because no further Appeals, or Account is to be given to higher Powers at appointed Times and Places, upon the complaint of any Persons thereunto impowered, and likewise because they are not obliged to suffer any Punishment in case of Error.

What little Amendment hath been for the Publick Good since these times, about Matters relating to Justice.

But because I purpose more especially to consider our Administration of Justice, as it tends to the benefit and increase of our Fishery, Manufactures, Traffick and Freight-Ships, I shall pass over all these common Defects and Faults in other Matters of Justice, and pursue my Aim and Purpose in this only.

But my aim being chiefly at Trade, I shall shew,

Next

Of the administring of Justice Part I.

Next to the perfect Freedom of the People, and the more or less taxing and favouring the severall Trades or Estates of the People of *Holland*, it is necessary that Justice be equally administred against all open Violence which may be acted in the Land: which seeing it would be hurtful, not only to the Merchants of our Manufactures, and Fisherys, and Traders in Foreign Commoditys, together with the Owners of Freight-Ships, but also to other Inhabitants, both Subjects and Rulers; so that no Assembly, or Body of Men whatever, without securing themselves against it, can possibly subsist; there is of antient Times an Order of Justice appointed, tho very defective. But tho Fraud (whereby we may wrong a Man of his Due as well as by Force) ought not to be less punished, and that Merchandizing depending especially on the Probity of Men, yet by false Deceit may be perfectly ruined; it is therefore to be wondered at, that *Holland* hath been able to preserve its Traffick, as it must here be carried on with so many Laws, or by the help of Laws derived from the Maxims of the Warlike *Roman* Republick, which give the Merchants here an opportunity to gain more by Fraud than by honest Dealing. And on the other hand, here is so little care taken by good Orders and Laws to defend the honest Merchant against the Fraud and Deceit of those who bear the Name of Merchants, and to help them to recover their own; that we may well ask the Reason, Why all the bad People of Foreign Countrys come not into *Holland*, that under pretext of Merchandizing they may openly learn

How detrimental designing Bankrupts are,

And how little provision is made against them.

Ch.25. in relation to Trade.

learn to cheat in the beneficial way now so much practised, and that with impunity? For, * 'tis the Rod makes the Children good. Now to establish some better Order in this, it would seem needful, that none should be suffered to drive any Traffick in *Holland*, till first he hath entered the Place of his Abode in a publick Register, which would have this effect. First, That the Parents and Kindred of the said Merchant, if they have not made a contrary Entry in the same Register within a Year, shall not be allowed by any last Will and Testament, to leave to the said Merchant a less Legacy than without a Will they might, to the prejudice of his Creditors: Moreover, it shall not be lawful for any Merchant, especially a Bankrupt, in any case to refuse any profitable Bequest or Legacy. For this he cannot be supposed to do but in order to defraud his Creditors; and for that reason he ought to be prohibited legally to alienate any Estate, save for a gainful Title, and that he hath receiv'd the Value of it beforehand. I understand hereby, that if he happen to be a Bankrupt afterwards, all his Donations, Conveyances and Portions given for Marriage, or Estates bequeathed or consigned to his Children, ought to be applied to the benefit of his Creditors. For we see here too often the Truth of this *English* Proverb, *Happy is that Son whose Father goes to the Devil.*

What Order might be taken to prevent it.

Which comes in here.

And as it ought to be unlawful for a Mer-

* Oderunt peccare mali (quales omnes natura sumus) formidine poena.

K chant

And Settlements before Marriage.

Of administering Justice Part I.

chant to endow his Wife with a Marriage Jointure to the prejudice of his Creditors, so ought the Wife to be prohibited to covenant to have her Option of part in Profit or Loss: For there is nothing more rational than that he * who will have the Profit, must bear the Loss. Yea, the Parents, and nearest Kindred of such a Wife, ought to demean themselves in all things in respect of Inheritance, as the Relations of the Husband himself: And excluding Community of Estate, or the bringing in of engaged Estates, they ought to be entred in the publick Register.

The ordinary Register or Books of Accounts of such Merchants who are in Reputation for Honesty, and corroborated by Oath, ought in all respects to be equivalent to any Notars Acts, and nothing ought to be preferred to it except special Mortgage; seeing the Custom of the Country is such, that to prefer Orphans, Rent, or Jointure, &c. to be first paid, is prejudicial to Traffick, and consequently to the whole Republick. But if at any time it be found that a Merchant hath falsified his Books or Register, and confirmed them by Perjury, he ought then in all respects to lose his Life as a false Coiner, that all Men may be terrified by so severe a Punishment, not to enrich themselves falsly and treacherously with other Mens Estates, to the prejudice of the Commonwealth.

Yea, it seems to me that Traffick, and the Accounts of a credible Merchant, is of so much concernment, seeing the Constitution of the same is such here, that it neither al-

A Debt-book under Oath ought to be a sufficient ground for an immediate execution.

* Quem commoda, eum incommoda sequantur.

lows

Ch.25. in relation to Trade.

lows or permits of any other Evidence: That therefore upon the said Register alone confirmed by Oath, there ought immediate Execution to be taken as for Mony due to the State. For if Traffick is with us *salus Populi*, the Country's Safety, what reason can there be of not using the like Means (*pari passu*) as the State doth?

It is also very prejudicial, that a Sale ^{Vindications} should be counted for ready Mony, when af- ^{and Eviditions.} ter delivery of the Goods the Mony is not immediately paid. For when the Seller gives up his Right of the Goods by trusting of the Buyer, he gives such knavish Buyers great Opportunitys of making great Bankrupts: And he who on the other side by his Imprudence is in the greatest Fault, does afterwards by his unjust Vindication or Prosecution for his Goods, take away the Estate of the other Creditors.

There ought in each City to be at least one ^{Present Justice} particular Court of Justice to decide Mat- ^{by a Court-} ters between Buyer and Seller, that so such ^{Merchant is} Suits may not only be speedily ended, but ^{very necessary.} that the Judges apprehending the way of Trading the better, may give or administer the better Justice and sound Judgment for the Land: Whereas the Merchants now find, that their Suits caused by difference in Accounts, are almost never ended but by Agreement of the Partys when they grow weary of the Law, and that mostly to the benefit of the unrighteous Caviller, according to the Proverb, *The Cavillers are gainers.*

It is very unreasonable and prejudicial to ^{But the Beneficium Inventarii is detrimental, as are} the Merchant, That the Estate of one deceased should be suffered to have *Beneficium Inven-*

Of administering Justice Part I.

Inventarii, the Right of making an Inventory of the Estate, when the common Creditors will become his Heirs; * seeing the Creditors must bear the loss if the Estate falls short of their Debts, they ought to reap the Profit when there is more: Whereas otherwise those unmerciful greedy Heirs by that course of Justice, in the first case they cast off the Burden from their own backs, and in the second case they carry away the Profit.

Letters of Cession, or Attermination.

And no less hurtful are Letters of Cession, or Attermination, renouncing the Estate, and gaining of Time. And since no Persons are prosecuted by the Publick for particular Debts, it is reasonably to be presumed, that the Creditors will not prejudice themselves by taking over-rigorous Courses with any Person that cannot really pay, but is willing to do it; nor to bereave them of their good Name, and drive them into Extremities. But on the contrary, a dishonest Man having concealed and made over his Estate, will enrich himself, and seek ease, by delivering up his whole Estate upon a false Oath.

On the contrary, it would be profitable for the Commonwealth, if upon the least Complaint of a Debtor's non-payment, they should forthwith make him give in Security; or in case of refusal, to keep him and his Books of Account in close Ward. For in case he should then shew himself able to pay, he might soon be released upon Security; and being unable, we should be able to prevent

* Secundum naturam est commoda cujusque rei eum sequi, quem sequentur incommoda.

his

Ch.25. in relation to Brankrupts.

his running away, and his giving in a false Account of his Debts, and his thievish making over and absconding his Books and Estate. In all such Events, it ought to be lawful to imprison knavish Debtors, with their Wives and adult Children, by Publick Authority, and to keep them in a publick Workhouse, to make them earn their own Bread, according to the Law of Moses, and the Roman Laws of the Twelve Tables. Yea and in case the wickedness of eminent and great Debtors be aggravated by foul and knavish Circumstances, we ought, according to the Proclamation of the Emperor Charles in the Year 1540. to use them as we do Thieves for Burglary, hang them on a Gallows, without suffering in any wise, as now it often happens, that such Bankrupts remain dwelling among us, and continue driving their Traffick under another's Name; according to the Proverb, * Let him pay with his Person, that cannot pay with his Purse.

What severe Punishments are necessary against design'd Bankrupts. Viz. To deprive them of their Liberty. Exod. 22.

Or take away their Lives.

But in case the Bankrupt be fled with his Books and Estate, without the Jurisdiction and reach of Holland, and is protected by the Civil Authority of that Place; I should think it convenient for the benefit of Holland to proceed thus. First, By virtue of a general Law, all such Persons ought to be prosecuted as publick betrayers of their Country, amounting to as much as † being guilty of High-Treason; the rather, seeing such a villainous Bankrupt hath no less need of help

* Qui non habet in ære, luat in pelle.
† Læsa Majestatis reos.

to carry on his wicked Design, than to betray his Country: At least he cannot so have conceal'd Matters, but that the Accomptants and Cashiers, his Men-servants and Maid-servants must have some knowledg of it; and therefore they ought all of them to be apprehended, and if upon examination it were found that they had assisted in conveying away such theivish Bankrupts, it were good to examine them upon the Rack more strictly if there were cause of suspicion of the thing; or else upon their Oaths according to the occasion. For if the Rack be of any good use, it must be in cases whereon the Prosperity of the Country depends, and where it's known there must be Aiders and Assisters in such gross Knaverys.

And all Creditors and Debtors ought to be oblig'd by Laws and Publications,

We might also at the same instant publickly proclaim throughout the whole Land, that whosoever hath any Estate of, or owns any thing to the Person so fled, should immediately discover it, on pain of being punished as betrayers of their Country, and concealers of that Villany: and all persons should forthwith be examined upon Oath who are suspected to know any thing of it; declaring by promise, That all those who shall uprightly purge themselves, should be accounted men of Probity, altho they had formerly assisted in that Wick- edness; and if otherwise, they shall at all times be proceeded against and punished as perjured betrayers of their Country, when by a third Person it shall come to be known.

To bring in all their Claims, whether to the benefit or charge of the deficient Estate,

And all such as claim, and pretend to any thing of the Fugitive's Estate, ought also to be oblig'd immediately to lay claim to it upon great Penaltys, whereby two very great Evils would

would be prevented; for seeing * no Man becomes wicked to the highest degree all of a sudden, therefore all such who were lately possessed of the Estate of such Bankrupts, and consequently had not used or imployed it as their own, should immediately bring in the same: The rather that while the Act was fresh, they could not arrive at so exact a knowledg of their Estates and Books as they might afterwards, by the seizing and examination of the Offenders and their Associates. And,

2^{ly}. All those that pretend to any thing of the Bankrupts Estate, being also ignorant of what might come to be known of his Condition, and whether there were any appearance at any time of compounding with him, should be necessitated to give in their real Debts: Whereas we see now, that all such Estates are grasp'd by dishonest Persons in such a manner, that there is seldom any thing left for the honest Creditors, because People may conceal all Debts with impunity, and on the other side, may enlarge their Pretences after they see the Matter brought to an issue.

This being done, the Bankrupt ought to be summoned in on a certain prefixt Day and Hour, in which time the Creditors ought to have leave absolutely to compound with him, and to stop their Proceedings at Law. But if the Bankrupt neither appears nor agrees, he ought to be hanged *in effigie* on a Gallows, and all his Children Old and Young declared Infamous.

* Nemo repente fit pessimus, aut fuit turpissimus.

By all which means jointly applied, many designed Bankrupts would be prevented.

And likewise better Agreements made with fugitive Bankrupts.

If all these Particulars could take effect immediately upon the fresh Act, and before People could have laid aside the shame of such a new piece of Knavery, I judg it would be of great influence to make Men honefter: Whereas now they learn by degrees, That it is better to have other mens Estates than none at all; and * that we can spend another Man's Estate with much more Pleasure than our own. Having overcome all shame, Men can live easier and quieter in an infamous condition than to trouble themselves about Points of Honour, and pay so dear for them too. But seeing in all these Prosecutions the Benefit of the Creditors ought to be aimed at, since it is purely an endeavour to make the most of it for them, therefore they ought to be enabled after that time to agree with their Creditors, and to annul the Sentence; for *fiat Justitia & percat mundus*, becomes a Judg's Mouth very well; for they not being Sovereigns, are for the sake of their Honour, Oath, and Office, bound to judg by the Laws, and not contrary to them: wherein if they fail, they are in all well ordered Republicks to be complain'd of, and punished. But the Proverb does not at all become wise Politicians, where *Salus Populi*, and not the Peoples Ruin, must be the supreme or highest Law.

And seeing we ought on the one side to compare these Fugitives, and base and unworthy Cheats, to those vagrant and thievish Drones among the Bees, which by all means ought to be kept out of the Land, or to be pursued and

* Qu'il n'y a chere, que de gens a l'arriere.

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destroyed: so on the contrary we ought to look on all honest Merchants, who through want of foresight, by the Injustice or breaking of others, by Storms, Misfortunes, Robberies at Sea, or War, have lost their own Estates, and part of others, and so cannot pay their Debts: I say, we ought to regard them as profitable Bees with compassion, declaring and promising them, that all such Persons, making their Losses appear, and not withdrawing themselves from Justice, shall reserve, and hold to their own use the tenth part of what they had to begin to trade with at first, and not be troubled at all by their former Creditors, and may remain in good Name and Fame with their Children, tho they had enjoyed great Portions or other Gifts, as being a righteous Fruit of their uprightness, and a Comfort in their Adversity. But seeing between these mischievous Thieves, and their Children, and these unfortunate Losers who are much to be lamented, there is no difference either in Punishment or Infamy, it causeth many who otherwise would be honest, through necessity to step out of the honest way, and to take ill Courses. For if Opportunity makes a Thief, Necessity does it much more.

There ought to be given to an honest, tho insolvent Merchant, a reasonable allowance.

But supposing all useful Laws were made for the Benefit of Traffick and Navigation, and the inferior Judges were well inclined to cause them to be put in execution, nevertheless as things now go in *Holland*, they may for the most part be made of none effect by appealing to a higher Court. For as our

Our Courts of Justice ought to consist of many Counsellors. Judg-

Judgment at more than one Bench, and much less have their Understandings exercised to comprehend all Differences that occur, whereby the Suits, because of the great number and trouble of them, remain depending there almost to perpetuity, and at last are all of a very uncertain issue. To redress which it were necessary, that the number of Judges should be so encreased, that for some particular Cases there may be some appointed out of that number, who according to the weightiness of the Causes may bring in and report the same in full Court, to have Sentence pronounced upon them. By these means quicker and better Justice would be administered, not only among the Commonalty, and especially the Merchants; but likewise among all other the more eminent Inhabitants, whether Secular or Ecclesiastic, who might be minded to promote Treason or Sedition, would be deterred by so considerable a Court, that is accountable to none but their lawful Sovereigns, that is, the Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and would carefully watch against such villanous practices as abovementioned, which now, *impunitatis spe*, by the length of Suits, and slow Justice, are but too frequent.

That might give more dispatch, and pass juster sentences.

And might be a Terror to all seditious and traitorous Persons.

C H A P. XXVI.

That it would be very advantageous for the Rulers and People of Holland, and for Traffick and Commerce, as well as Navigation, to erect Dutch Colonies in Foreign Countries.

BUT supposing all the Expedients before-mentioned, to attract or allure Foreigners to become Inhabitants of *Holland*, were practised, and those Inhabitants made to subsist by due administration of Justice, yet would there be found in *Holland* many old and new Inhabitants, who for want of Estate and Credit, live very uneasily, and therefore would desire to remove thence. It is evident, first, as to Persons and Estates, that the Inhabitants here are not only exposed to the ordinary Misfortunes of Mankind, of not foreseeing future Events, Weakness, and Want; but besides, they make very uncertain Profit by Manufactures, Fishing, Trading, and Shipping. And on the other side, by Sickness, Wars, Piracies, Rocks, Sands, Storms and Bankrupts, or by the unfaithfulness of their own Masters of Ships, they may lose the greatest part of their Estates, while in the interim they continue charg'd with the natural burdens of *Holland*; as great House-rent, Imposts and Taxes: nor have they any reformed Cloisters to provide creditable Opportunities for discharging themselves by such Losses of maintaining their Children, or according to the Proverb,

In all Countrys there will ever be found many distressed Persons,

For the uncertain Profit, and certain Taxes born by the Inhabitants:

to

to * turn Soldier or Monk; so that by such Accidents falling into extreme Poverty, they consequently lose their Credit and Respect among Men: for to † have been rich is a double Poverty, and nothing is less regarded than a poor Man's Wisdom; in such Cases he would find himself in the most lamentable Condition that can befall a Man in this World.

As also by the Oligarchical Government.

And 2ly, as to Reputation: It is well known that in this Republick, the Government consists of very few Men in proportion to the number of Inhabitants, and that the said Government is not by Law annexed or restrained to any certain Family, but is open to all the Inhabitants: so that they who have been eight or ten Years Burgers, may be chosen to the Government in most Cities, and have the most eminent Employments of *Scheepen* or Burgomaster. Whence we may infer, That many that are the Ofspring of those that were heretofore made use of in the Government, and also many others, who by reason of their antient Stock, and great Skill in Polity and extraordinary Riches, through natural Self-love and Ambition, conceive themselves wronged, when other new ones of less fitness and Estate, are chosen to the Government before them; and therefore thinking themselves undervalued, seek a Change, and would be induced to transport themselves to other Countries, where their Qualifications, great Estate and Ambition might produce ve-

* Desperatio facit Militem aut Monachum.
† Divitem fuisse duplex paupertas.

ry

ry good Effects. Whereas on the other side, whilst they continue to dwell in these Lands, they speak ill of the Government and Rulers in particular. And if by this, or any other Accident, Tumults should be occasioned against the Rulers in particular, or the Government it self, they being Persons of Quality, might become the Leaders of the Seditious, who to obtain their end, and to have such Insurrections tend to their Advantage, would not rest till they had displaced and turned out the lawful Rulers, and put themselves in their Places, which is one of the saddest Calamities that can befall the Republick, or Cities: Seeing * Rulers, who became such by Mutiny, are always the Cause of horrible Enormities before they attain the Government, and must commit many Cruelties e'er they can fix themselves on the Bench of Magistracy.

Which Male-contented Inhabitants might occasion great Evil to the Land.

And seeing we have already made many Conquests of Countries in *India*, and finding how hardly (and that with great Charge of Souldiers) they must be kept; and that the Politicians of old have taught us, that there is no better means, especially for a State which depends on Merchandize and Navigation, to preserve foreign Conquests, than by settling Colonies in them: We may easily conclude that the same Method would be very useful and expedient for our State.

Thirdly, It is well known, that the poorest People of all the Countries round about us, come to dwell in *Holland* in hope of earning

Especially because the poorest People come into *Holland* from the adjacent Lands.

* Res dura, & Regni novitas me talia cogunt, &c. *Virg.*
their

their living by Manufactory, Fisheries, Navigation, and other Trades; or failing that, that they shall have the benefit of Alms-houses and Hospitals, where they will be better provided for than in their own Country. And altho in this manner very many poor People have been maintain'd, yet in bad times it could not last long; but thence might easily arise a general Uproar, with the plunder, and subversion of the whole State: To prevent which, and other the like Mischiefs, and to give discontented Persons and Men in straits an open way, the Republicks of Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Greece, and Rome, &c. in antient times, having special regard to the true Interest of Republicks, which were perfectly founded on Traffick, or Conquests of Lands, did not neglect to erect many Colonies: Yea even the Kings of Spain, Portugal, and England, &c. have lately very profitably erected divers Colonies, and continue so doing in remote and uncultivated Countries; which formerly added an incredible Strength to those antient Republicks, and do still to Spain, Portugal, and England, &c. producing besides their Strength, the greatest Traffick and Navigation. So that it is a wonderful thing that Holland having these old and new Examples before their Eyes; and besides by its natural great Wants, and very great Sums of Mony given yearly for Charity to poor Inhabitants, and being yearly prest by so many broken Estates, and want of greater Traffick and Navigation, hath not hitherto made any free Colonies for the Inhabitants of Holland; tho we by our Shipping have discovered and navigated many fruitful uninhabited,

So that we ought to give those Malecontents, and over-taxed People, some vent by Colonies.

Whereunto Holland hath had a fair Opportunity;

habited, and unmanured Countries, where, if Colonies were erected, they might be free, and yet subject to the Lords the States of Holland, as all the open Countries, and Cities that have no Votes amongst us are: And it might cause an incredible great and certain Traffick and Navigation with the Inhabitants of Holland.

It is well worthy Observation, that these Colonies would no less strengthen the Treasure and Power of the States in Peace and War, than they do those of Spain, Portugal, and England, which during the manifold intestine Dissensions and Revolutions of State have always adhered to their antient Native Country against their Enemies. And by this means also many ambitious and discontented Inhabitants of Holland might conveniently, *sub specie honoris*, be gratified, by having some Authority in and about the Government of the said Colonies. But some may object, that heretofore the Rulers of Holland in the respective Grants or Charters given to the East and West-India Companies, have given them alone the Power of navigating their Districts, with exclusion of all other Inhabitants, which extend so far, that out of them the whole World hath now no fruitful uninhabited Lands, where we might erect new Colonies; and that those Districts are so far spread, because our Rulers trusted that the said Companies could and would propagate and advance such Colonies: tho supposing those Colonies must indeed in Speculation be acknowledged singularly profitable for this State, yet nevertheless those respective Districts and Limits, bounds of the said Companies, were purposely extended so far

And yet would have, in case the East and West-India Companies would make use of them;

far by the States General, and especially by the States of *Holland*, effectually to hinder the making of those Colonies, since our Nation is naturally averse to Husbandry, and utterly unfit to plant Colonies, and ever inclined to merchandizing.

Who neither will nor can trade in all the Countries under their District.

To which I answer, That it's likely the first Grants or Charters, both of the *East* and *West*, and their copious Districts, were probably made upon mature deliberation; but that the Rulers perceiving afterwards how very few Countries the said Companies do traffick with, and what a vast many Countries and Sea-Ports in their Districts remain without Traffick or Navigation, they cannot be excused of too great imprudence in that they have, notwithstanding the continuance of such Districts to this day, kept their common trading Inhabitants consisting of so great numbers from those uninhabited Countries by our Companies: So that by reason of the want of trafficking Countries, or new Colonies in little *Europe*, and its Confines, the *Hollanders* are necessitated to overstock all Trade and Navigation, and to spoil and ruin them both, to the great prejudice of such Merchants and Owners of Ships on whom it falls, altho *Holland*, during that time of their Trades being overstock'd, had a greater Commerce, and deterred the Traders of other Countries from that Traffick which the *Hollanders* with the first appearance of Gain do, and must reasume, if they will continue to live in *Holland*; where all manner of foreign Trade since the erecting of the said Companies, was necessitated to be driven, notwithstanding the uncertainty of Gain, and fear of over-trading our selves.

While the Holland Merchants being too narrowly confin'd in Europe, all cry out for more trafficking Countries or Colonies.

And

And that the said Companies neither have, nor do endeavour to make new Colonies for the benefit of the Lands, and the Inhabitants thereof, hath hitherto abundantly appeared, and we must not lightly believe that they will do otherwise for the future; which, I suppose, will also appear, if we consider, that the Directors from whom this should proceed, are advanc'd, and privately sworn to promote the benefit of the Subscribers of the respective Companies: So that if the Colonies should not tend to the benefit of the Subscribers in general, we cannot expect the Companies should promote them; yea supposing such Colonies should tend to the greatest profit of the said Subscribers in general, yet such is the common Corruption of Man, that those Plantations should not be erected unless such Directors or Governors can make their own Advantage by them.

But those Companies incline not thereto, because the Directors of them can thereby reap no Profit.

And seeing all new Colonies in unmanured Countries, must for some Years together have Necessaries carried to them till such Plantations can maintain themselves out of their own Product, begin to trade and go to Sea, and then there is some small Duty imposed on the Planters and their Traffick or Navigation, whereby the Undertakers may be reimbursed: Yet the Partners having expended so much, are not assured that their Grant or Lease of Years shall be prolonged and continued to them on the same Terms. Moreover, in regard of these new Colonies, the Directors ought therefore to have less Salary, seeing by this free Trade of the Planters and Inhabitants, they may be eased of the great pains they take about their general Traffick and Equippage of Ships, which

Nor yet the Participants.

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concerns them much in particular, for many considerable Reasons, not here to be mentioned.

And as concerning our People in the East and West, they being hitherto of so loose a Life, are so wasteful, expensive, and lazy, that it may thence seem to be concluded, That the Nation of Holland is naturally and wholly unfit for new Colonies; yet I dare venture to say it is not so: but certain it is, that the Directors of the said Companies, their Mariners and Souldiers, and likewise their other Servants are hired on such strait-lac'd and severe terms, and they require of them such multitudes of Oaths, importing the Penalty of the loss of all their Wages and Estate, that very few Inhabitants of Holland, unless out of mere Necessity, or some poor ignorant slavish-minded and debauched Foreigners, will offer themselves to that hard servitude. It is also true, that all such as are in the Indies, especially the East-Indies, do find, that not only while they serve, but after they have served their time for which they are bound, they are under an intolerable compulsive Slavery; insomuch, that none can thrive there but their great Officers, who being placed over them, to exact the Oaths of the Mercenaries or Hirelings, and to put in execution the Companies Commands, and being without controul, to accuse or check them, they commonly favour one another, and afterwards coming home with great Treasures, are in fear that they will be seized and confiscated by the Directors. He that will be further convinced hereof, let him but read the following Placaet, or Proclamation, which was, and is yearly to be published at Batavia.

The worst sort of Foreigners that yield to the hard Slavery of the said Companies, are not fit for Colonies.

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THE Governor General, and Council of India, to all that shall see, hear, or read these Presents, Greeting. Know Ye, That whereas the Directors of the General Netherlandish East-India Company settled by Patent, at the Assembly of Seventeen, for divers good Considerations, have found it useful and necessary that the Orders and Proclamations which we do yearly publish, and affix to the usual Place against the time of the Fleet's return to our Native Country, after having first explained the Points therein contained, and enlarged others, by some needful Additions contracted all into one Placaet, and so to publish it to the People, to the end that every one, whether in or out of the Companies Service, travelling to the Netherlands, may thereby the sooner and better understand by what Rules he is to govern himself before he leaves this Country. We therefore, in pursuance of that Order, having contracted all the foresaid Orders and Placaets (after previous Elucidation and Amplification, as aforesaid) into one, have found it requisite, now afresh to ordain and appoint, and by these Presents we do ordain and appoint, That all such Persons as intend to sail to the Netherlands, of what State, Quality or Condition soever they be, and purpose to have any Claim or Pretence upon the said Company, proceeding from what cause or thing soever, shall be obliged to make the same known, none excepted, or reserved, before their Departure hence, unto Us, or our Committees; that so having heard and examined the same; they may take such order about it as shall be found just and reasonable, upon pain that all those that shall have neglected or omitted the same, shall be taken and held to have had no Acti-

By the yearly Placaet published at Batavia, it is Ordered,

That all Pretensions on the Company must be first adjusted by the Companies own Servants.

on or Pretence at all, and shall for ever be and remain void and of none effect. As likewise none arriving in the Netherlands unto the seventeen Lords or their Particular Chambers, shall be heard concerning the same, unless they shew our special Act of Reference, which shall be granted if the matter be found of such a nature as is not proper to be decided and determined in this Country. Likewise those that have any Defect or Error in their Accounts, or may have lost the same, are to address themselves to the said Lords Commissioners; who after they have taken cognizance thereof, may provide therein as becometh. Likewise all such Companies Servants or Freemen that desire to receive any Salary here as due to them, are likewise to address to the Lords Commissioners, and declare it to them, that so it may be signified to the Lords our Principals, that we may desire and receive Authority for payment thereof.

That none may buy or sell any Debt due by the Company.

No Persons being in or out of the Company's Service, of what State, Quality, or Condition soever he be, that either here in India, or on their Voyage homeward, buy, or sell any Accounts proceeding of Salaries, or Monthly Wages, either for himself or others, or as a Pawn or Pledg of Friendship or Debt, to accept or engage, and make it over, on pain that the Buyers and Sellers, Transferrers and Transferrees, that renounce their Accounts, shall both of them, not only lose their Right and Title to the same, but also the Buyers and Transferrees shall be fined thrice as much as the Ballance of the Account so bought or pawn'd shall amount unto.

Likewise no Person in or out of the Company's Service, departing out of India, shall either for himself, or others, take with him any Silver or Gold, coined or uncoined, into his native Country,

try, or keep it by him; much less may he conceal it, by delivering it to Seamen, Soldiers, or others, whether here on Shore, or upon the Voyage, or lend it out, or put it to Interest, upon forfeiture of all such Money to the benefit of the Company, where, and with whomsoever the same shall be found. But such as have Money to spare may discharge themselves of it at the Chamber of Accounts, that in conformity to the Letter of Articles, they may receive Bills of Exchange for the same.

That none may carry away thence any Money to the Netherlands, but deliver it to the Company to receive it by Exchange in Holland.

Every one is therefore hereby forewarned, That those that will make over any Money to the Netherlands, whether he remains in India, or travels thither, shall beware of taking other Ways, or Courses, than by the said Chamber of Accounts, to the end they may as aforesaid receive it by Exchange; that is to say, by Means or Assistance of any European Nation: and that none remit Money over to England, or elsewhere, either directly or indirectly, on what Pretence soever, under the Penalty, that such who shall be found doing the same, shall besides the loss of his Employment and Service, and loss of the Salary which then shall be due, viz. if he remains in the Company's Service, he shall further forfeit such Sum as shall be proved he paid, or privately made over to any other European Nation.

Moreover it shall not be allowed for any Person, being in the Company's Service, to depart the Netherlands, unless he shall have at the least twelve full Months Salary due to him, and that by Original Account, unless he shall have paid the Contents thereof in ready Money into the Chamber of Accounts here, upon Exchange, to be repaid him by the Company in the Netherlands.

That none may depart thence, unless they have twelve Months wages due to them.

Those that go home, are to sell their immoveable Estates,

Those that purpose to depart to the Netherlands, shall before such departure from hence, sell all their moveable and immoveable Estates, as Houses, Gardens, Lands, and Pedakkens, none excepted; whether they were sold publickly, or privately; and pay the Proceed thereof into the Chamber of Accounts aforesaid, to be made good in the Netherlands; upon pain that the Offender shall immediately forfeit all his Right to the said Goods to the Company's use.

Likewise those that are entrusted with the Administration and Disposal of any immoveable Estates, whercof the Proprietors are departed hence, shall be bound to sell the said Goods, and turn them into Mony before the departure of the next returning Ships, and to bring the Proceed thereof into the Chamber of Accounts, to receive the same by Exchange as aforesaid, upon pain as aforesaid.

And pay for the Freight of their Persons 300 Guilders.

The People that are free, and not in the Company's Service, and disposed to return to the Netherlands, whether single, or with their Families, shall before their departure from Batavia, pay for their Freight and Transportation Mony, at the General Chamber of Accounts as followeth, viz. For all Men and Women, being twelve years of Age and upwards, three hundred Guilders;

For their Diet in the Great Cabin, 30 Stivers per Diem.

and those under that Age, one hundred and fifty Guilders: And besides for their Diet, for Men that are accommodated in the Great Cabin, thirty Stivers; those in the Round House, eighteen Stivers;

For Diet in the Roundhouse 18 Stivers, and before the Mast 9.

and those before the Mast, nine Stivers per diem. The Women that are above twelve years of Age, and eat in the Cabin, twenty Stivers; in the Round-house, twelve Stivers; and before the Mast, nine Stivers per diem: So that no Person, whether Man or Woman, being either above or under twelve years of Age, Children

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included, shall pay any less than nine Stivers a day. The said Paiments shall be made for the time of six Months, and accordingly they shall have Receipts thereof. But yet under this Condition and Promise, that if any such Person should happen to die in the Voyage, there shall be restored at the East-India Chamber in the Netherlands, whereunto that Ship goes consigned, to the right Heir, or Executor, &c. of the Deceased, so much of that Sum as shall be in proportion to the Mony paid, to be accounted from their departure hence to their death.

And seeing that notwithstanding our repeated Prohibition, not only the said free People, but even the Company's Servants, with their Wives, Widows, and others that are of their Family, do carry over much Household-stuff, and other bulky Goods for their own Provision, and other uses, in the Company's Ships, and do thereby greatly the Company's Service, and do thereby greatly hurt their Household-stuff, must be carried with them, and that they ought to be seized by the Company for their use without any favour shewn, whether they be found out in the Road, or on the Voyage, or discovered in the Netherlands) shall be declared and mentioned by Inventory before their departure, and going on Board; that after they have been visited and valued by our Commissioners thereunto appointed, they may pay for Freight at the rate of two thousand Guilders for each Last, being estimated or rated by Bulk or Weight; which accordingly is to be paid at the Chamber of Accounts. Which Inventory being signed by our Commissioners, with the Receipt of having paid the Freight, and being shewed to the Lords our Principals in the Netherlands, such Goods being no Merchandize as aforesaid, shall be delivered unto him; but upon pain

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pain that all such Goods not mentioned in the Inventory so taken with him, shall be, and remain confiscate to the said Company's Use. All this being intended and spoken of the Company's Servants for so much as pertains to the Merchandize of such exceeding three months Wages, which they are allowed to carry with them by the Letter of Articles which they carry along with them.

None may carry any Indians with them.

And for as much as it hath ever been prohibited to carry hence into the Netherlands any Black native Indians, whether Free, or Bond, Men or Women, as the Lords States General have likewise by their Proclamation prohibited to bring the same into their Dominions: We have hereby once again thought fit to interdict, and prohibit all Persons to transport any such Native Blacks, whether Men or Women, from this Place, or to conceal them on board Ships, and that (for as much as it may concern the Servants of the Company) upon forfeiture of all the Wages which shall be due to them on their Voyage homeward; and for free People, upon pain of forfeiting one thousand Guilders: and this, over and above the Transportation and Diet-mony of such Blacks for the Sum before-mentioned, which at their arrival in the Netherlands shall by the Master of such Natives be made good to the Company in the said Netherlands; with condition also, that besides the former Sums, the said Blacks being willing to return to the Indies, shall pay in the Netherlands the like Sum for Transportation and Diet-mony, as before is specified. Provided nevertheless, That in case any one for good Reasons should desire to take with them a Black Nurse for his Child or Children, and it being granted, such Person shall be bound to pay into the Chamber of Accounts her Diet-mony at 30 Stivers per diem for the time of six

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Months,

Months, allowing her for the same to have her Passage back again gratis out of the Netherlands.

And to the end that none may pretend ignorance of any the Premises herein mentioned, we have published this our Ordinance after the Ringing of the Bell at the publick and usual Place. We therefore charge and command the Advocate Fiscal of India, the Bailiff of this City, and all other Officers of Justice, to take care strictly to observe the same, and to proceed against all Offenders and Transgressors without favour, connivance, dissimulation, or forbearance; for we have found the same to tend to the Service of the said Company. Given at the Castle of Batavia upon the Island of Java Major, the — &c.

So that it is no wonder that so few good, and so many ignorant, lazy, prodigal and vitious People take Service of the East-India Company. But it is doubly to be admired that any intelligent, frugal, diligent and vertuous People, especially *Hollanders*, unless driven by extreme necessity, should give up themselves to that slavish Servitude.

By this account no Colonies can be made there.

All which being true, let none think it strange, that the Scum of *Holland* and of most other Nations, having by their Service become Freemen there, and yet not permitted to drive any Trade by Sea, or with Foreign People, are very unfit, and have no inclination at all to those forced Colonies, and do always thirst after their own sweet and free Native Countrys of *Holland*: whereas notwithstanding on the contrary, the ingenious, frugal, industrious *Hollanders*, by those Virtues which are almost peculiar to them, are more

The *Hollanders* are naturally inclined and fit to erect new Colonies.

more fit than any Nation in the World to erect Colonies and to live on them, when they have the Liberty given them to manure them for their own Livelihoods. And those that doubt hereof, let them please to observe, that the *Hollanders*, before and since these two Licensed Companys, even under Foreign Princes, have made very many new Colonies, namely in *Lyfland, Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Denmark, Sleswick, France, England, Flanders, &c.* And moreover, have not only manured unfruitful unplanted Lands, but also undertaken the chargeable and hazardous task of draining of Fenlands. And it is observable, that in all the said places, their Butter, Cheese, Fruits and Product of the Earth, are more desired, and esteemed than those of their Neighbours. And if we farther observe, that no Countrys in the World, whether the Land be for breeding, or feeding, are so well ordered as those of our plain Lands in *Holland*; and that no other Boors or Husbandmen do travel so many Countrys as ours do; we shall be convinced, that no Nation under Heaven is so fit for setting up of new Colonies, and manuring of Ground as our People are. And if in our Nation there is also to be found (which however is unjustly and unwisely denied by the opposers of these new *Holland Colonies*) a very great aptness and inclination to Merchandising and Navigation, then we may in all respects believe, that we under our own free Government might erect very excellent Colonies when it shall please the State to begin and encourage the same on good Foundations, and to indulge them for a short time with their Favour and Defence.

Fitter than any Nation of the World.

Having

Having spoken thus far of the true Political Maxims to be observed concerning the Inhabitants, I shall here conclude the First Part of my Treatise.

The End of the First Part.

The

The True Interest, and Political Maxims of the Republic of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*.

PART II.

Of the Interest of Holland, in relation to Foreign Princes and States.

CHAP. I.

That an open and free Navigation ought carefully to be kept and defended, against all Pirats and Enemyes. How this may be put in practice; and after what manner heretofore it has been done or omitted.

Most Merchandize being Imported and Exported from Holland to Foreign Parts;

HAVING in the First Part of this Treatise seriously considered and represented the true Interest and Maxims of the Republic of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, relating to their Affairs at home, I shall now enquire how the Welfare of their Inhabitants may be secur'd with reference to Foreign Powers. And tho very many Particulars

Ch. I. *Of clearing the Seas.*

culars do here again present themselves to my Thoughts, which are of weight, and deserve mention; yet I shall lay down but few, and those the most important.

And whereas in the preceding Book I have shewn, that the far greater part of things necessary to our Manufacturers, Fishers and Traders, are imported from Foreign Parts, either upon Carts, and Rivers, or else by Sea in Ships let out to freight, and that they must again transport most of them, manufactur'd or unmanufactur'd, by the same means beyond the Seas: It necessarily follows, that the High-ways, Rivers, and Seas, must by all means be kept free and open, for the constant use and conveniency of the Inhabitants. Yet because the High-ways and Rivers in this respect are of least concernment, and so much in the Power of other Princes, that the securing and clearing the same cannot be expected from the Governors of *Holland*, I shall therefore say nothing more of them. But seeing the Seas are of so great importance to this end, that the Council of State in their Request for a Supply in the Year 1643. did represent, That the whole State of the *United Provinces* depends on the guarding and clearing of the Seas; that other things without this, would be but as a Body without a Soul, and a Land without Inhabitants, &c. And that the *Hollanders* alone do navigate the Seas more, and have more to lose on them, than all their Allyes and other People of *Europe* put together. And moreover, seeing the Seas are so common for all Men to navigate, that they are always infested by Pirats and Enemyes, and may be and are also cleared by our

Aitzma's Hist. b. 22. p. 463.

Bentivoglio Relat. lib. 1. cap. 7.

our Governours, and free Passage given for Ships and Fishers, and so kept and maintained; I purpose therefore to treat largely and closely of this Matter.

And our Fishers trading there, and our Ships that sail North-Easterly and Westerly, being mostly of no defence;

And the Turkish Pirats ever infesting the Straits Mouth, and Mediterranean;

'Tis well known that our Fishers of Haddock, Doggers, Sailers of Busses, and Greenland Men, fishing at certain Times and Places, do always meet with Sea-Robbers, and Enemys Ships of War; and that they, and the Northern and Eastland Ships, yea, and our Salt and Wine-Ships, bringing bulky, cheap, and low-priz'd Goods, are not able to bear the Expence of well manning and arming their Ships to repel such Robbers and Enemys. And tho it cannot be denied, that our Spanish, Italian, and Levant Ships, are often freighted with such rich and profitable Goods, that they may well be so mann'd and arm'd as to defend themselves against the smaller sort of Pirats; yet the Riches which they carry, invite whole Fleets of such Men of War to lie in wait for such Ships; and this falls out the rather, and will always so happen, because the Bassas of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algier, must pay the Turkish Janisaries under them out of their own Purses; or if they failed, would certainly be strangled by the mutinous Souldiery. So that to procure that necessary pay, they always collect by force of Arms, the fifth part of the growth of the Country, and permit them to go to Sea as Free-booters, with condition to allow them the Moiety of all the Ships, and the eighth part of all the Goods they take in the same.

This being certain, it follows naturally, that the North, Belt, and North Sea, as also

so the Channel being continually fished and navigated by vast numbers of our unarm'd and undefensible Ships, ought of necessity to be wholly freed from such Robbers and Enemys by our Governours. And because the great Spanish and Mediterranean Seas are likewise navigated by few rich Ships of Force, it is by all means advisable to Convoy our said Merchant Ships with Ships of War to defend them from those Turkish Pirats; but it would by no means be convenient to free the Mediterranean of them, for we should thereby reap no more Profit than the East-landers, English, Spanish, and Italians do, who by that means, and other Advantages, might easily deprive us of our Traffick and freight Ships, and possibly drive us out of our whole Navigation; because the greatest Eastern Traffick depends on the Consumption of the Eastern Commodities in the Western Parts: all which Nations nevertheless through want of ordinary Convoy-ships, do not traffick so much in those Parts as we do, and would trade less if it were ordered that none of the Captains of our Convoy-Ships should take Mony to protect and defend any foreign Merchant Ships under their Convoy, or suffer them to sail in their Company: so that if we should leave this thorn of the Turkish Pirats in their Sides, they will be sufficiently distress'd both in that and all their other Trade, whilst we by those ordinary Convoy Ships of War, may wholly engross all the European Traffick and Navigation to Holland.

Therefore we must necessarily scour the North Sea from Pirates,

And keep the Mediterranean clear by Convoys.

Having thus represented how necessary it is to keep the Seas open and free for the Inhabitants of Holland, and endeavouring now to find

Which will be effected or not, as the Rulers employ'd are inclin'd to it.

find out the means whereby it may certainly be effected, this infallible political Maxim offers it self to my Thoughts, viz. When Men would procure or hinder the doing of a thing, the matter must be so ordered, that such People who are so resolved, may have sufficient Authority, Power, and Strength to effect or obstruct the same. Whence it unanswerably follows, that seeing our Inhabitants, who live by Manufactures, Fisheries, Traffick, and Shipping let to Freight, and which are or may be taken at Sea by Enemies, are certainly willing to defend themselves from such Losses, they ought therefore to have such Authority and Strength as may enable them to clear the said Seas. But because every one knows, that such abstracted Speculations, and general reasonings in well grounded Political Governments, neither may nor can be practised, let the Reader therefore please to take notice, that I use this infallible political Maxim, only to build a second upon it, namely, That such Cities and Countries whose Rulers ought to be presumed to be less or more inclined to clear the Seas, ought also to have more or less Authority and Power in the Polity, Treasure, Justice, and Militia relating to the Seas. And seeing Kings, Princes, Courtiers, and Soldiers are frequently Gainers, but never losers by Goods pirated at Sea, and reap the least Advantages by an open and free Navigation: And on the contrary, most of the Inhabitants of the free Republick of *Holland*, whether Rulers or Subjects, may suffer great Losses by robberies at Sea, and subsist by the flourishing of Manufactures, Fisheries, Trade, and Freightships; we may well conclude, that such Governours

vernours must be presumed to be well inclined to keep the Seas clear, and consequently ought to be entrusted with all that Power and Authority which is necessary to effect it, either by themselves or their Commissioners. And tho' in pursuance of this Position it seems requisite to shew in what manner this ought to be done in every City of *Holland*, and jointly in a way suted to the States Assembly; I shall nevertheless (partly because it requires more knowledg than I am master of, and partly because I would avoid the great Labour and Odium which might ensue) only touch on the several ways by which Men formerly endeavoured in *Holland* to clear the Seas, and whether the Inhabitants by building on the said Foundations, or by departing from them, have gained more or less. Whereas before the Year of our Lord 1300, the Cities of *Holland* were few and small, the Government, and consequently the clearing of the Seas depending chiefly on the Earl and Gentry, who were little concern'd in things of this Nature, and if they had attempted it, must have done it at their own Cost and Charges, we find little thereof in their antient Records; and therefore may safely believe, that the *Hollanders* at that time never undertook the guarding or clearing of the Seas. But the Cities of *Holland* soon after, by the removal of the *Flemish* and *Braband* Manufactures, increasing daily both in greatness and number, and the Inhabitants by that means growing to be much concerned in the free use of the Sea, and perceiving that the Earl and Gentry neglected to defend or protect them

This Maxim is confirmed, not only by Reason, but by Experience: for before 1300, our Earls and Gentry, neglected Navigation.

But after the Cities were concern'd in it, they took it to Heart, under the management of the Earl (so call'd them led.)

them from Piracy, they agreed with Duke *Albert of Bavaria*, as Stadtholder for *William Earl of Holland*, for leave to scour the Seas themselves, and to lay that Charge on the Country. And in the Year 1408, when the Seas were infested by certain *East-Friesland* Pyrates, those of *Amsterdam*, and some of the Cities of *North-Holland*, with the Assistance of the *Lubeckers*, *Hamburgers*, and *Campaners*, suppressed those Robbers.

M. Voffius in Annalibus, lib. 15. pag. 126.

The old written Chronicle.

Philip of Burgundy.

J. F. le Petit's Chronicle des Pais Bas.

Soon after this the *Hollanders* being greatly annoyed by the *Flemish* Rovers, complained to Count *William*; yet we read not that he did any thing to prevent it, but sent them away with this Answer, Go you to Sea too, and let others complain of you. The *Hollanders* accordingly went to Sea, and did more hurt to the *Flemings* than they had suffered by them; whereupon these Sea-robberies soon ceased. We read also that about 30 Years after, in the time of *Philip of Burgundy*, Earl of *Holland*, the *Hollanders* lost to the Value of fifty thousand Guilders by the *Easterlings* upon the Seas, and could obtain no Satisfaction or Compensation; which caused the Cities of *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Amsterdam*, *Gouda*, *Rotterdam*, *Horne*, *Enchuyfen*, *Middleburgh*, *Veer*, *Flushing*, and *Armuiden*, to set out many Ships to Sea; with which having beaten the *Easterlings* twice, and taken great Riches, they obtained of them in the Year 1441, a very advantageous Peace, and also of their Allies the *Spaniards*, *Venetians*, and *Prussians*; the other *Netherland* Provinces, who were also under the subjection of *Philip of Burgundy*, not concerning themselves in these matters. And it is also true, that the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* in the Year

Year 1464, endeavoured without *Philip's* Consent, to surprize the famous Pirate *Ruibempre*, who infested their Coast with his Robberies. And it is observable that no Convoy-mony was in those times ever required of the Merchant for clearing the Seas, but the Expence was born by the Country, or by the Earls themselves, and was constantly deducted from the Subsidies granted to him; nor were there any other except the ordinary Judges to determine of matters concerning Prizes and Goods taken.

Phil. de Comines.

J. F. le Petit's Cronique.

All which, except the last, remained constantly in use in the times of the Earls, who were of the House of *Austria*; for the *Eastern* Cities in the Year 1510, making War against the King of *Denmark*, prohibited the *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, and *Frielanders*, to trade in those Countries; who not complying, and the *Eastlanders* thereupon taking eight *Holland* Ships, the Province of *Holland* alone fell into an open War with them; which the other *Netherland* Provinces took so little notice of, that the *Easterlings* having at several times during the War taken fifty *Holland* Ships, went to sell some of their Prizes even in *Zeland* and *Flanders*. And tho they were sued there by the Owners, and the Goods restored by the Admiralties as unlawful Prizes, yet 'tis evident that this was obtained rather on the account of Favour than Justice.

The Emperor *Charles* the 5th, in the Year 1531. having recommended Queen *Mary* of *Borre* his Sister to the Government of the *Netherlands*, and chosen a good Council of State for her, caused these words to be inserted in their Instructions: "That they should

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“ continue to the Cities their former Customs,
 “ that in time of Need, and when matters
 “ can suffer no delay, they may set out Ships
 “ of War at the Charge of the Country,
 “ that so they may resist all Pirates and such
 “ like Enemies of the Commonwealth, and
 “ take and make prize of them, provided
 “ that the Punishment be left to the Judg-
 “ ment of the Admiralty. Whereupon in
 “ the Year 1532, it hapned, That the *Hol-*
 “ *landers*, by Order of the said Emperor, as
 “ Earl of *Holland*, put certain Ships into the
 “ hands of his Brother-in-law *Christiernus* of
 “ *Denmark*, in order to recover his Kingdom,
 “ from which he had been expell'd. Upon this
 “ the *Easterlings* forbidding all *Holland* Ships to
 “ pass the *Sound*, caus'd great Poverty in *Am-*
 “ *sterdam*, and the Northern Quarter, without
 “ redress from the Emperor, or any other Pro-
 “ vince, till the *Lubeckers*, in the following
 “ Year, taking a Ship of *Edam* upon the Coast
 “ of *Zealand*, the *Amsterdammers*, to whom the
 “ Lading belonged, complained at the Court of
 “ *Brussels*, and obtained a general seizure of all
 “ the Ships and Goods belonging to the *Lubeck-*
 “ *ers* and *Hamburgers*, that were to be found in
 “ these *Netherlands*. For seeing, notwithstand-
 “ ing the Wars with *Holland*, they continually
 “ kept their Traffick going in *Brabant* and *Flan-*
 “ *ders*, they by this seizure suffered so great a
 “ Loss, that immediately a Peace was clap'd
 “ up, yet with this Condition, that the *Hol-*
 “ *landers* should not assist King *Christiernus*, nor
 “ during the War use his Havens of *Norway*.

J. F. le Petit. ibid.

By all this we may easily perceive how slenderly the free Navigation was then defended or secured; and things will never be better in

in *Holland* whilst Courtiers have any Com-
 “ mand there. On the other side, we may also
 “ see what singular Care the States of *Holland*
 “ took on the 26th of August 1547. and would
 “ always take for a free Navigation whenso-
 “ ever that Matter should be intrusted to
 “ them; for tho their Condition was then low,
 “ and the times peaceable, yet they fitted out
 “ eight Ships of War for the defence of our
 “ Herring Fishery, and for their payment esta-
 “ blished that Tax which is called the *Great Im-*
 “ *post*. And even in the time of that Tyrant
 “ King *Philip* the 2d, it is evident by the Advice
 “ of the Provincial Court to those of the Secret
 “ Council, relating to the Admiralty, “ That
 “ pursuant to the Privileges, Judgments, and
 “ antient Customs, the Stadtholders of *Hol-*
 “ *land* used to take cognizance of all Matters
 “ pertaining to the Admiralty, and are sub-
 “ ject to no other Admiral; and that the
 “ Placaet transmitted by *Adolph* of *Burgundy*
 “ ought not to take place, till the Stadthol-
 “ der and States of *Holland* were first heard
 “ concerning it; and that all the Power gi-
 “ ven by the same Placaet ought to be attri-
 “ buted to the Stadtholder; and that Count
 “ *Horn* being appointed Admiral-General
 “ of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, an-
 “ swered thereupon in the Year 1562. That
 “ he desired first to see the forenamed Pri-
 “ vileges, and then would give his further
 “ answer thereunto.
 “ But during the Troubles which soon after
 “ followed, this Affair took quite another
 “ course. For Count *Horn* the Admiral-Gen-
 “ eral being beheaded, and Prince *William* of
 “ *Orange* as Stadtholder of *Holland*, *Zealand* and
 “ *Utrecht*,

Semein's Her- ring Fishery.

King Philip 2d

Pr. William took care to scour the Seas, because he could not sub- sist but by the prof-

prosperity of our
Inhabitants.
P. C. Hoofd.
Hist. p. 197.
P. Borre,
Book 6. fol.
282.

Utrecht, being in the Year 1568. banish'd the Country, and knowing no Expedient to raise Men and Mony in order to his return, made use of his own Authority, Anno 1569. and as Admiral-General gave out Commissions to take all Spanish and other Ships that failed without his Commission: And afterwards in July 1572. obtained liberty of the States of Holland to appoint a Lieutenant Admiral, who by the Advice and Approbation of the Maritime Towns, should make choice of the Captains of the Ships of War: And moreover obtained leave to constitute Commissioners to take cognizance of Maritime Affairs, who were to receive the 10th part of all the Prizes for the Commonwealth, and the 5th of that 10th part for the Admiral-General.

E. V. Reyd.
Hist. pag. 15.
in Quarto.

Whereupon in October that same Year, the first Dutys of Customs were introduced in Zealand; the Government there prohibiting, upon pain of Confiscation, all transporting of Goods to and from the Enemys Countrys, unless they paid for each Species as much Duty as they could in any measure bear without the loss of their Trade. In the next Year and Month of April, this was imitated, and practised by those of Holland. And being thus begun, in order to distress the Enemy and weaken the Antwerpens, as well as to increase the Trade and Navigation of Holland and Zealand, it yielded in Custom the first year eight hundred and fifty thousand Guilders: And this pleased them so in that great necessity of Mony for their common and necessary Defence, that soon after they found it expedient to charge all Goods exported or imported to and from neutral places, sailing out or

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coming into these Countrys, with Convoy-mony. And tho this tended to the extreme prejudice of the Trade and Navigation of Holland, yet there was no Remedy, partly because all Holland would otherwise have been conquered by the Spanish Forces; and partly because by the Pacification of Gent, Anno 1576. Customs or Licence-mony was to cease, whereby the Antwerpens were most of all burdened with Convoy-mony.

In the mean time Pr. William had on July 11, 1575. procured a Power of the States of Holland during the War with Spain, either in the King's Name, or his own, to command or prohibit any thing as he thought good, both in Polity, Contribution or War, by Water or Land: And on the 25th of April 1576. by the Union of Holland with Zealand, he there obtained the like Authority. On the 22d of Sept. in the Year 1576. the College of Admiralty of Zealand was erected, where one Holland and six Zealand Counsellors were to determine by the plurality of Voices all matters that might occur; yet so, that the Lieutenant Admiral of Zealand should be obliged to obey the said Prince or his Lieutenant Governour Count Hobenlo in all things. Which Orders were continued both in Holland and Zealand to the Year 1584. without any great prejudice to the Inhabitants. For tho the Prosperity of the Country, and clearing of the Seas from Enemies depended merely on the care and will of one only Person, and that there was no reason to expect they should be employed to the Advantage of the People, but so long (and no longer) than it agreed with that Person's own Benefit, and tended to the augmen-

P. Borre, B. 8.

pag. 119.

Book 9. pag.

138.

B. 9. pag. 164.

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tation of his Power: Yet the People of Holland and Zealand were then very fortunate herein, all the Netherlandish Havens revolting from the King, we being still permitted to drive our Trade with Spain, and very few Piracies being committed: And besides, the said Prince could not attend, support, and augment his own private Interests and Grandeur against that great and formidable Power of Spain, but in conjunction with the Prosperity of those despised small Countrys, and their poor Inhabitants; which on that account he endeavoured to promote.

The clearing of the Seas entrusted to Count Maurice and the E. of Leicester jointly. P. Borre, 20. p. 85, 86.

Notwithstanding which, after the death of the said Prince William, the States of Holland and Zealand thought not fit that the prosperity of the Land, and clearing of the Seas, should be wholly in the hands of one single Person. For tho they did on the first of November Anno 1585. make his Son Maurice Stadtholder of Holland and Zealand, and consequently also Admiral of the said Countrys; yet they limited him by his Commission and Instructions, commanding him to execute all Affairs relating to War and Polity with Advice and Consent of the Gentry and Council of the said Countrys, who were to assist his Excellency, and also to consent to such further Instructions as should be given him. And besides, on the first of Febr. 1586. they placed Robert Dudly Earl of Leicester above him, as Governour, Captain, and Admiral-General; to whom they added the Council of State, with Instructions importing among other things, Artic. 121. and 13. That,

Book 20. Folio 7.

The Mony proceeding from Convoys shall be every where equally levied, and

the Charges of such Convoys first paid with the cost of equipping the Ships of War, and all that belongs to them, as they were design'd and originally appointed; and that the said Convoy-mony shall not be imployed to any other use than for paiment of the said Charge, and setting out the said Ships of War; for which end also shall be added whatever Sums shall proceed from Prizes, and Customs, in case his Excellency shall at any time think fit, pursuant to the Act of Consent agreed on by the States General, in relation to the matter of Contributi-

on. Nevertheless, the Citys have and shall continue to have the liberty (as often as shall be found necessary) and when the Matter can bear no delay, to arm themselves for the Sea, and set out Ships of War at the Cost and Charge of the Country, against Pirats and other Enemies of the Commonwealth, to withstand, take and feize them, provided the Cognizance and Punishment of such Crimes, with the Ships and Goods so taken, be left to the decision and disposal of the Admiralty, which his Excellency shall chuse and commssionate out of the Provinces that subsist by Maritime Traffick.

Placaet Book p. 530.

Moreover the said Governour and Captain-General declared on the 30th of April of the same Year by Placaet touching the paiment of Convoy and Custom;

That the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, to support the charge of setting out such Ships of War as are necessary for the defence and security of

“ of the foresaid *United Provinces*, have con-
 “ fented, given and put into his hands, the
 “ produce of certain Impositions, and publick
 “ Revenues, which they have consented to
 “ be given, and received for Convoy, upon
 “ Goods imported into and exported out of
 “ these said Countrys, according to the Book
 “ of Rates already made, or to be made;
 “ as also the Profits and Sums which we
 “ may levy upon Merchandize, that under
 “ the Title of Licence, or safe Conduct may
 “ be permitted to be carried to the Havens
 “ and Places of the Enemies Jurisdiction.

But the Earl of Leicester neglected it, and greatly prohibited our Navigation.

But the Earl of *Leicester* was not so irrecon-
 cilable to *Spain* as the Prince of *Orange*, and
 relying on the Power of the *English* designed
 to defend these Countrys against *Spain*, and
 then to divide and share the whole 17 Provin-
 ces with the Prince of *Parma*, whom he had
 tempted to comply; well knowing that if the
 worst should happen, he could return to *Eng-
 land* and live upon his own Estate: so that the
 defects of this Order soon appeared, and that
 too great an Authority in Maritime Affairs
 was entrusted to a Person who was not suf-
 ficiently concerned for the Prosperity of *Hol-
 land's* Navigation, and who to establish his
 Tyrannical Power with the *English* of his
 Faction about him, favoured Strangers and
 Foreigners, more than the Natives of *Holland*.
 For about two Months after, he prohibited by
 publick Proclamation, not only our Navigati-
 on to *Spain*, and all the Enemies Countrys, but
 even to carry to neutral places all Provisions,
 and Ammunition of War, whatever is neces-
 sary for Shipping: he also strictly prohibited
 the sending of any kind of Merchandize out
 of

P. Borre, Hist. book 21. p. 47.

of these Countrys by the *Maze, Rhine, &c.*
 or by Sea, on this side of *Rouen* and *Bremen*;
 notwithstanding the States of *Holland* and
Zealand earnestly represented to him how
 much this would tend to the Benefit of all ad-
 jacent Foreign Countrys, and in particular of
England, and to the great detriment of our
 own Inhabitants. So that if this Earl of *Lei-
 ceister* had not the next year after been neces-
 sitated to depart out of these Countrys to *Eng-
 land*, by the Courage and Resolution of the
 States of *Holland*, and there, by Command
 of Queen *Elizabeth*, to deliver up his Com-
 mission of Governour, Captain, and Admi-
 ral-General, these Countrys had been utterly
 ruined.

Prince *Maurice* had almost the same Powers
 conferred on him nominally, but the whole
 management was really in the States of the
 several Provinces, and Governours of the
 Maritim Citys during his Youth. In which
 time the Affairs of the Sea were so well
 look'd after, that in our Historys we read of
 very few, or no Sea-Robberys, till the Month
 of *June* in the Year 1595. when some *Holland*
 Ships of War that were lying on the Watch
 before *Dunkirk*, and about the *Maes*, were
 commanded away to *France* by the Prince
 (who was then at the Age of 28 years) to
 bring over the old Princess of *Orange*. The
Dunkirkers taking that opportunity, took many
 of our Herring Busses, and Merchantmen,
 for the most part before our own Ports. And
 altho the Admiraltys, especially those of *Am-
 stredam* and *Horn*, complained of this ill Court-
 Government at the *Hague* to the Committee
 of Council and Deputys at their General Af-
 sem-

After his departure, that care, in regard of Pr. Maurice's Minority, was devolv'd on the States and Cities concern'd therein.

P. Borre, book 32. fol. 38. In 1593. we began, for the Princes Pleasure, to neglect the Seafaring Inhabitants.

sembly, and above all others had the greatest Reason to complain of Prince Maurice, at whose pleasure our good People that live by Trade and Fishery, were left for a Prey; yet durst they not blame him for it, but only desired to have better Orders kept for the future. But the dread of this Prince, increasing with his Years, was already become so great, that in lieu of better Orders, his Favorites under that Pretext obtain'd an Order whereby the Authority and Power of those *Holland* Citys that had suffered most, and must still suffer in time to come, were curb'd and broken; and on the other side, the Authority and Power of the *Generality*, and especially of the Prince, who are little or not at all affected by Losses at Sea, was greatly increased. For in the year 1597. Prince Maurice, the States General, and the five Admiraltys agreed on an Order, which for the most part is still in being, pretending it would be an Expedient for the better management and executing the Affairs of the Admiralty and its Dependances. But because Kings and Princes, and Inland Provinces, never use to consider the Guard of the Sea, but always to neglect it, unless they fear that for want of a free Navigation they cannot subsist on the Land, the mischief of this Order was soon discovered; for by it Prince Maurice (being now at the Age of 30, and conceiving that these Countryes were brought into such a Condition, that they could very well subsist against the Power of *Spain*) had Power to do all things, since no Persons without his Commission could set out any Ships of War against Pirates or other Enemyes, and that he could

Tiaffen's Sea-Polity.
In 1597 Holland was bereft of much of its strength by Sea, and how.

make

make choice of all Captains and Superior Officers to command the Ships of the States, out of a double List laid before him, and indeed without it; and besides, might sit as Admiral General, and his Lieutenant Admiral of *Holland* and *Zealand*, or *Friesland*, in all or any of those Admiraltys, and vote at the upper end of the Board to direct all Affairs relating to the Treasury, Justice, and War, as well as the Sea. And moreover the Inland Provinces, whom the Navigation concerned not at all, obtain'd nevertheless by that Order a right of Electing from among themselves, viz. *Guelderland* three, *Utrecht* two, and *Overyssel* likewise two Commissioners for the Affairs of the Admiralty: And *Holland*, which alone frequents the Sea ten times more than *Zealand*, *Friesland*, and *Groningen*, must by that Rule permit in all their three Admiralties, that to their four Commissioners, three out of the other Provinces be added; *Holland* in lieu thereof only having the privilege of choosing one Commissioner to the Admiralty of *Friesland*; which Admiralty for want of ordinary Revenue doth not use to set out any Ships for clearing the Seas, even in time of the greatest general Necessity, and consequently could avail them nothing. For tho' the Province of *Zealand* frequent the Sea more than *Friesland*, and therefore by its Revenue can set out Ships of War; and supposing *Holland* might send two Commissioners of Admiralty thither, yet would it not tend to the Benefit of *Holland*, seeing the States of *Zealand*, with whom Prince Maurice could do what he pleased, when he should in earnest advise them

The Prince of Orange, and the Inland Provinces, tho' little or nothing concern'd, were vested with a Power in Sea Affairs.

And the Zealand would not communicate those Maritime Affairs to the other Provinces that concern'd themselves; Aitzma's Hist. Book 32. p. 724

them to it, cannot now be moved by the States of *Holland*, and of the other Provinces, to range themselves in that Order with *Holland*. But the *Zealanders* will continually govern all Affairs at Land and Sea by their seven Commissioners, assuming the Name of *Commissioners of the Admiralty*, when two Commissioners out of *Holland*, one for *Utrecht*, and one for *Groningen* are joined with them. So that these seven Commissioners of *Zealand*, with the additional Power of the States of *Zealand*, as also by their former separate Assembly and Deliberation, do often exclude the other Commissioners from all Matters; and thereby always so easily overvote them, that they can do no service for the common Good and for *Holland*, but when it pleaseth the *Zealanders*. And before they may serve, or take the Charge of their Offices in the respective Admiralties as Commissioners, those that are so elected must receive their Commissions of the States General, and there make Oath, as well as the Receivers General of the respective Quarters, Fiscals, Secretarys, Head-Commissioners, Collectors and Comptrollers; who nevertheless being nominated by the respective Admiralties, are chosen by the States General out of a double number. But the respective Admiralties do each in their Quarters absolutely dispose of the Offices of the Equipage-Master, and Vendu-Master, Doorkeepers, Messengers and Searchers, &c.

And moreover by these new Orders, *Comptoirs* or Offices were erected, as well in the Inland Provinces, as in the other, and on the Rivers and Inlets of the Sea, in all those Countrys that have no Vote to receive Money for

for Convoy and Custom of all Goods going to and from *Holland*, and other *United Provinces* situate on the Sea, and that by Officers and License-Masters depending on the said States General, or the respective Admiralties. So that tho the Inhabitants of *Holland* paid seven parts of eight of all Customs and Convoy-mony, which used to be employed for the Service of *Holland*, or at least at the Pleasure of that Province alone; yet since that Order they are all nevertheless made subject to the Admiraltys, or to the States General, where *Holland* hath but one Vote; or to the other Provinces, where *Holland* hath no Vote. Of all which Revenues, and of extraordinary Subsidies, the Admiralties are not bound to give account to the States of the Provinces wherein they reside, but to the States General, among whom there are so many Persons unconcern'd; and besides, considering the Deficiency of those from whom they have their Commissions, in bringing in their Quota's or Shares of Mony, it must be presumed that they will always keep none of the best Accounts against themselves, and consequently are unfit to keep other Colleges so under the Bridle; and especially consisting of so few as seven Persons, they may enrich themselves with the Publick Mony, and be able to play at the Game of *bodie mihi cras tibi*.

On the other side, *Zealand* holding all its Administrative Power of Maritime Affairs within it self, sent nevertheless into all Admiralties one Commissioner, who was to continue there during Life, with the Triennial Commissioners of *Holland*, by that long continuance

Yet have they obtained a great Power of Direction about the Maritime Affairs of *Holland*.

The Necessity of clearing Part II.

tinuance or perpetuity, subtilly to encourage the *Hollanders* to assist them in managing all Maritime Affairs according to their particular Interest. Therefore that this new Order might not be too offensive to *Holland*, it was proposed by the States General, and Prince *Maurice of Orange*, that it should take place but for a Year, without any intention of prejudicing the Provinces in general, or any of the Provinces, Citys; or Members in particular, or creating to themselves any new Power; tho' all Men might easily imagine, that the Power of the States General, and Prince of *Orange*, being sufficient to introduce this Order for a Year, would be also sufficient to continue the same so long as it tended to their profit.

And indeed we have found by the continuation of this Order, that the States General, or the other Provinces, together with the Admiralties that were out of *Holland*, have done very little towards the Guard of the Seas; but on the contrary have, to the Prejudice of *Holland*, and for the Benefit of their own Inhabitants, so managed their Courts and Admiralties, in order to draw the Trade to themselves, or at least the Passage of the Merchandizes of *Holland*, that they have suffered Goods coming in, or going out, to pay either none sometimes, or at other times much less Duty of Convoy and Customs, than is expressed in the Book of Rates; and yet have given Inland Passports and Discharges as if the Duty had been fully paid, that so they may by the way of *Bergen*, the *Sas van Gent*, *Sluys*, &c. and *Zealand*, without further question, carry them into *Holland*.

All which is very detrimental to *Holland*.

Chap. I. the Seas from Pirates.

Holland. Nay, we have often seen that when the States General, with the United Suffrages of our common Allys, have prohibited some certain Commodities to be imported into, or exported out of the *United Provinces*; yet hath the Admiralty of *Zealand* by their own Authority, suffered such Goods to be Imported and Exported, to the great Benefit of their Inhabitants, and the intolerable Burden of ours. And in like manner when the States General have thought fit to distress the Common Enemy, by tolerating Privateers, or Freebooting Ships; we have then always heard Complaints of the Judicature of the Admiralty of *Zealand*, viz. that not only the Goods of Strangers in Amity with us, but even the Goods of *Holland*, under pretence of having saved the Duty, are too slightly and unjustly seized, and confiscated; partly in favour of their Privateering Inhabitants, and partly by such Vexation and Trouble, to draw the Trade from *Holland* into *Zealand*.

L. V. Aitzm. Book 16. p. 301.

A remarkable Example of the perfidiousness of the *Zealand* Capers.

Aitzma, Book 42. p. 723.

And as to what relates to all the Colleges of the Generality, as well as the Admiralties residing in *Holland*, it is well known that the other Provinces, in order to obtain more Power and Authority to their respective Principals, tho' to the prejudice of the common Freedom, and of *Holland* in particular, * do send and continue all their Commissioners for the most part during their Lives, or at least for many Years: Whereby they being strangers in *Holland*, do

Especially when the *Zealanders* or other strangers are permitted to be the *Gecommitteerde Raeden* ad vitam, or for very many Years.

* Libertatis enim interest ne magna Imperia diuturna sint.

often carry things against our Triennial Commissioners of *Holland*, even in the disposal of our own Affairs, conferring most of the Offices and Benefices depending on Colleges upon their Favorites, and often also upon Strangers.

Seeing they are too hard for our *Holland* Raeden, which are settled but for three Years.

And this is found to be most of all prejudicial to *Holland*, when the Fiscals, Secretarys, Receivers, chief Customers, Commissioners of the Navy and Prizes, &c. belonging to the said Colleges of the Admiralty, who serve in those Offices for the most part during Life, and besides are strangers in *Holland*, through a natural love to themselves, their own Country, or their own College, or by an innate Envy to the Welfare of *Holland*, use their Authority and Power to the utmost against the *Holland* Merchants, to the prejudice of our Trade, but very faintly against the Inhabitants of their own Province. Yea, tho the Advocate, Fiscal, or chief Customer be a *Hollander*, yet if his Habitation lie on the *Maese*, or in the *Northern* Quarter; by the same evil Inclination and Envy he can so plague the Merchants of the rich City of *Amsterdam*, by seizing their Goods, and so greatly favour those of the *Maese*, or the *Northern* Quarter, in the Entries of their imported and exported Goods, that they are compelled forthwith to transport their Trade, and passage of their Goods from the places where they are oppressed, to those Parts or Colleges of Admiralty where they may be justly dealt with.

Holland and its Citys having so little Authority for scouring the Seas,

And tho *Holland* at the beginning of these new Orders of the Year 1597. was so happy, that our Enemies had only two Havens on the

the North Sea, *Sluys* (lying between *Ostend* and the Island *Walcheren*) and *Dunkirk*, at that time without the *Scheurtjen*, having so narrow and shallow a Haven, that our laden Flyboats and Busses which they took, or their very Gallies, could not lie in safety; so that both these Sea Ports could do us but little damage, when we would take care to lie before them, or pick up those petty Capers in these Narrow Seas. And tho we happen'd to lose *Ostend*, yet in recompence we took from the Enemy the City of *Sluys*, and its mischievous Gallies. Notwithstanding all this, I say, the *Dunkirkers* did us continually much greater damage after these Admiralties were erected, than ever before. So that the Merchants in the Year 1599. complained, "That they could not at all weaken the Enemy by so many Ships of War, and so much Convoy-Mony paid and raised for that end. That the Sea-Captains were chosen more for Favour than Fitness; and that in the Admiralties men were placed who understood nothing of Maritime Affairs, nor valued them, as having nothing to lose that way.

The *Dunkirkers* began to infest the Sea. E. Reyd. Hist. p. 636.

And tho all these Accusations might have been more justly laid to the Charge of the States General, and the Prince of *Orange*, than on these new Commissioners of the Admiralty; yet neither the Merchants, nor our Fishers, durst make the least complaint of his excessive Power, nor of their own Losses; tho in the Year 1600. many of their Ships and Busses were burnt and sunk; and their 3 Convoys were by 14 *Dunkirk* Ships of War taken, or forced to fly. After which the

Ema. Meeteren, Book 21.

And some were not willing to make use of the States Power to defend our Traders, who prohibited Traffick beyond the Cape of Good-Hope.

States General, in lieu of better defending the trading Inhabitants of these Countrys, took upon them in the Year 1602. to prohibit them to traffick beyond the *Cape de Buona Esperanca*, in any of those incredibly great and rich *Asiatick* Countrys, by granting that Commerce wholly to an *East-India* Company for the Term of one and twenty Years then next ensuing.

See the *Placet Book* of that Year.

And as the States General in the Year 1603. seemed publickly to acknowledg the insufficiency of these new Admiraltys, partly by making the first Ordinances for the arming and manning out of all Ships sailing upon account of Merchandize or Fishing, together with the Admiraltys; and partly seeing the Inhabitants of these Countrys were by these new Ordinances unmeasurably taxed, and yet no better defended than formerly against Piracy, and Enemy's at Sea, they were necessitated to give such Inhabitants as desired it, Commissions to set out Ships of War to weaken the Enemy. In which it was observed, that the said Privateers fought rather for the Enemy's Merchant-ships, where they might meet with great Prize, and few Blows, than their Ships of War and Pirats, where there was small Prize and many Blows to be expected. And accordingly our own Merchant-ships and Fishers were little or nothing relieved thereby; and likewise our own Privateers molested and damaged, as well the good Inhabitants of the *United Provinces*, as the Subjects of Kings, Princes, and Republicks in Amity with us, both in their Persons and Estates. Upon which the States General in the Year 1606. found it necessary to revoke and

And inveigled them to sail on Free-booting.

See the *Placet Book*.

and call in all such Commissions, and to raise four hundred thousand Guilders by an extraordinary Subsidy, to set to Sea more Ships of War against the Enemy; which notwithstanding did not perform the designed work aimed at of scouring or clearing the Seas. 'Tis a Matter very worthy observation, that before the Year 1597. when the Sea was render'd safe and navigable by those Governors who were most concerned, there was very little damage suffered; and the great Overplus of the Convoy and Custom-Mony, was employed in getting things necessary for the War by Land: And that since the erecting of these new Admiralties, we have not only continually suffer'd great Losses by Sea; but besides the Convoy and Custom-mony, very many extraordinary Subsidies have been levied upon the People for the Guard of the Sea.

And thus the State of these Maritime Affairs continued till the Truce was made; at which time the States supposing that all robbing at Sea would cease, greatly lessened the Dutys upon imported and exported Goods, in favour of Trade and Navigation. And on the other side, by our security and want of Ships of War, the *Moors* of *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Sally*, who had been expelled from *Spain* about that time, as well as our discharged Seamen, who then served under *Simon den Danser*, *Capt. Ward*, *Nicholas Campana*, and others, had great Opportunities of taking our richest Ships, in and about the *Mediterranean* Sea, both during and after the Truce. And because this happen'd so very frequently, I shall not detain the Reader with

The Hollanders about the Mediterranean much plagued by Pirats.

See the *Netherlandish Wars*, by D. H. D. in 1612. printed at *Arrhem*, p. 199.

the Relation of those Accidents, but leave him to calculate how great and prejudicial those Piracys were, since the *Algerines* in the Years 1620, and 1621. within the space of thirteen Months took of *Holland* Ships alone 143 Sail; *Amsterdam* alone esteemed their Loss at 124 Tuns of Gold, and the whole was computed at 300 Tuns of Gold.

Baudart, pag. 116.

Our Whale-fishers much damaged by the English. Baudart, Hist.

And whereas during the Truce with *Spain*, our Whale-fishing increased much; it usually hapned that the *English*, when they were strongest to the Northward, drove away our Fishers, and took some of their Ships and Fish; and King *James* refused to give satisfaction for the same, insliting that his Subjects had the sole Right of fishing in those Seas. And on the contrary, when the *Hollanders* were stronger, tho first attacked, yet the *English* Ships taken by us, and brought into these Countrys, were by Order of the States General restored again to the *English*; which Disorder, and taking our Whale-fishers, continued still after the Truce, and was much increased by the King of *Denmark*, who pretending to the Right of those *Northern* Seas, did great damage to that Fishery.

So that I shall think it worth while to shew the Means which the States General, the Pr. of *Orange*, and the Admiraltys used to free our Inhabitants, who subsisted by the Sea, from those Mischiefs and Molestations. And first as to our Trade and Navigation in the *Mediterranean*: After *Simon Danser*, *Nicholas Campané*, and others had taken and plunder'd great numbers of our Ships, and were grown weary of Pirating, it was found convenient to save the Expences of taking and punishing them;

To redress this, the desperate Polity was used of pardoning criminal Pirates.

them; and on the contrary, to grant them Pardons, and to permit them to return to their own Country, where all the good People that had sustained Losses by them, have seen those Pirates with aking Hearts, and not without fear, that by such impunity other debauched Persons might be encouraged to the like villanous Attempts. And as to the *Turkish* Pirates, who could not be invited to come in, and leave their Piracys, it was found expedient, Anno 1612. to send *Haga* Ambassador to *Constantinople*; and in the Year 1622. to send *Pynaker* to *Algier* and *Tunis*. Which Ambassadors arriving with great Presents, and Fleets of Ships of War, easily obtained Capitulations and Agreements of free Commerce; upon which our Inhabitants relying too much, the Pirates fell again to their usual Trade, as soon as our Ships of War were sailed away, and we suffered more Losses from time to time, than if there never had been any Peace or Accord made. Upon this the States General endeavoured by our Ambassadors in *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, to move those Kings to suppress those Pirates with some Ships of Force. But seeing those Monarchs valued not their Subjects so much as to be at that Charge for them, and that the Freedom of the Seas from Piracy was not so much their Concern as ours; or that the *Turks* being not able, by reason of their considerable Navigation, to depredate so much on their Subjects as they could on ours, and would much rather make Peace with *France* and *England*, and keep it better too than with us; the States General caused the Admiraltys successively to set to Sea Ships of War to destroy

Wassenar's Historical Relation.

Several others of that Gang were pardon'd during this new Sea-Polity.

Aitzma on 1637. p. 630.

Baudart, Hist. p. 182. of 1612. and p. 118. of 1623.

As also our absurd Polity of rooting out the Turkish Pirates.

destroy the Pirats, in the Years 1614, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, &c.

But taking few Pirate Ships, because most of them while our Men of War cruis'd in the Mediterranean, came not out of their Harbours; this answered not our ends, till finally after the Year 1650. during the free Government of Holland, it was observed that we could neither make any firm and durable Peace with those Pirates, nor root them out; and that if we suppress'd them at our own charge, yet our Traffick and Navigation would not, according to our aim and desire, be at all encreased, but rather diminish. Upon which the Admiralty of Amsterdam, and afterwards other Admiraltys, pursuing closely the true Interest of Holland, sent out yearly a number of Ships of War to convoy our Merchant Ships (which according to certain Rules agreed on, were to be well mann'd and arm'd) through the Straits of Gibraltar, and out and home from the Levant. So that the Hollanders since that time have sustained very little loss, and have very much increased their Navigation and Trade into those Parts.

And to pray and entreat the English.

See the Placat book, and Tiaffer's Sea Polity.

In the 2d place concerning the disturbing of our Whale-Fishery, tis plain that the States General have done nothing more, than by their Ambassadors to pray the respective Kings, that such Actions might cease in time to come. And afterwards observing such Addresses to prove ineffectual, they thought fit in the Year 1622. to grant a Patent to a Greenland Company, excluding all others from taking of Whale, that so the said Company by their own Power and Strength might defend

*

defend themselves against the Molestations and Robberys of Strangers. Which Grant continued till the Year 1643. when the English by reason of their Intestine Wars, and the Danes, either by reason of the growing Power of the Swedes, had more need of our Favour than formerly, or fearing our Arms, and consequently being less dreaded by our Whale-fishers, all the Inhabitants of these Countrys were permitted to fish on the said North Coast; and the said Fishing by that freedom improved so incredibly, that the States General in the 2d War against England, being not able to defend them there, prohibited them to fish, principally for the use they had of Mariners to man out our Ships of War for the defence of our Country and free Navigation.

But Thirdly, of the many Robberies committed by the Dunkirkers, and the means used against them, it is necessary to speak more largely.

In Flanders upon the expiration of the Truce, the Spaniard had built at the entrance into Dunkirk upon the Arm of the Sea, the Fort of *Mardike*, and also that which is called the *Houte Wambais*, or *Wooden-doublet*, so that great Ships might at all times sail out and bring their Prizes in thither. The King of Spain caused likewise twelve Ships of War to be built in Flanders, and encouraged the Flemings to privateering against us by Sea. And besides this, till the Year 1625. he sent such powerful Armys into the Field, that *Gullick* and *Breda* were taken from us, to the eternal shame of the States General, or to say better, of the new and violently intruded Deputies of the

After Pr. Maurice would allow of no Prolongation of the Truce, and the Scans of Mardike was built, the Dunkirkers endamag'd us greatly by Sea.

Aitzma's Hist. book 1. pag. 88, 89.

And tho the States General ought to have protected our Inhabitants, they prohibited trading within the Tropick to the South and North, or to fetch Salt from thence. See the Placaet book, Waffers Hist.

the Generality, and of Maurice Prince of Orange, who, since they would admit of no prolongation of the Truce at the desire of the Spaniard, or the Arch-Duke, ought not to have rejected their Offer so suddenly, but have hearkned to it, or at least feign'd to have done so, that by this means they might have excited the Kings of France and England, who were then very jealous of the Power of Spain, and feared that by continuation of the Truce the Spaniard would fall upon them, to assist us with a yearly number of Men and a Sum of Mony, in case we had reingaged in a War against Spain. Or lastly, Those Deputies of the Generality, and the said Prince should have made use of that delay to put our Frontiers into a better state of Defence, and to fall upon the Enemy when they would grant him no further Cessation: And no less prudence had been necessary to increase our Traffick, freedom of Navigation and Fisherys. Whereas on the other side, they prohibited all our Inhabitants to trade in America, and Africa, by erecting a West-India Company Anno 1621. under colour of distressing the Enemy more in those parts. And in the said Year they likewise prohibited our Inhabitants to sail to the Mediterranean, or to Cabo del Rey in the West Indies for Salt, unless in Consortship, promising them Ships of War to convoy and defend them back again. But this Promise was without effect: For to free the Admiraltys of those Charges, and to favour the said Company with that Salt-trade, the States General, Prince Maurice, and the Admiraltys very easily found it convenient to deprive the Inhabitants of these

these Countrys of that most considerable Trade of Salt, in favour of the West-India Company, where it continued only to the Year 1623. when the K. of Spain, fearing that the said Company, by fortifying themselves, and by their own Power, would engross those Salt-pans, caused a Fort to be raised there himself. So that our Inhabitants by the Placaet of the States General, and our West-India Company, and by means of that Fort, were utterly deprived of that Salt Trade.

And instead of protecting and defending our Navigation from Piracy, with better Order and more Strength, they again drew in the Inhabitants to fit out Privateers, reducing the wonted Duty out of the Prize Goods, to the Admiraltys and Admiral-General, from 30 per Cent. to 18 per Cent. viz. 12 to the State, and six for the Admiral-General. Orders were also published, that none should sail to the East Country, and Norway, but in Fleets of 40 or more Ships with two Convoyers, or else with Ships of defence without Convoy. Yea, the States and the Prince of Orange thought it convenient to continue that mischievous Grant or Charter to the East-India Company for 21 Years to come. So that the States General and the Admiraltys discharged themselves of scouring the Seas, as far as concern'd Asia, Africa, and America, and the Traffick of those parts, together with the Northern Whale-fishing, upon supposition that all those respective Companys were sufficient to drive on their Trade without Convoys from the State, and to take care of their own Affairs. But on the contrary, they found that the Trade of these Societies was carried

See the Placaet Book.

And the select East-India Company had their Charter prolonged.

To the great detriment of all the Inhabitants of Holland so excluded.

on with so great prejudice to the rest of the People, who were excluded, that if our Governours had then or should now deal in the same manner with the Trade of Europe, by erecting Companys exclusive of all others; for example, one Company for the Dealers in the Mediterranean, a 2d of the French and Spanish Merchants, a 3d for the Eastern and Northern Merchants, a 4th for the British and Irish Traders, a 5th for the Haddock, Cod and Herring Fisherys, &c. I say, if they had done this, one 10th part of our Inhabitants would not have been able to live, and earn their Bread. So that Holland would soon have been ruin'd, even tho the Trade of those Companys had been carried on with so great industry, that notwithstanding any Resolutions taken by France, England, Sweden, and the States of Italy, to disturb, prohibit, and prevent Foreign Manufactures, and consequently those of Holland to be brought into their Countrys, yet each of those Companys in the small compass of our Europe had driven a greater Trade than the whole East-India Company now drives to the incomparably greater, mightier and richer Asia, both in Goods and Mony. For it cannot be denied, that the free Eastern Trade alone, the Herring-fishing alone, and the French Trade alone, produce ten times more profit to the State, and the Commonalty of Holland, than 12 or 16 Ships which yearly sail from Holland to the East-Indies do now yield to the State, and the Inhabitants.

And as to the Administration and care of our Admiraltys with respect to the Sea, after the expiration of the Truce, and during the

See Aitzma's Hist.

Life

Life of Prince Maurice, a Million of Florens was raised for the Year 1623, and 600000 for 1624, by extraordinary Subsidies, with Admiralty and Convoy-mony, and product of Customs, which were again levied as in the Year 1603. With these Aids they fitted out Ships of War, ordering some to lie before the Flemish Havens, and others to convoy our Merchantmen to the Eastward and Westward: yet such was the management, that our Ships of War came often so late before those Havens, that the Enemies Ships were put out to Sea, before their Arrival; or else to avoid the usual Storms of Autumn, or to be revictualled, left the Flemish Coast so early, that commonly before, or at least in the Winter, the Enemy with many of their Ships of War, would go out sometimes by Night, or even by Daylight in sight of our Ships, and confidence of their better sailing, or of our Captains Negligence or Cowardice; and not only got ten times more Booty from our Merchant Ships, than our Capers and Ships of War could take from the Enemy, but also sometimes would take, or put to flight, our Ships that were appointed for Guards and Convoys.

And yet loaded the Commonalty of Holland more than ever with extraordinary Subsidies for scouring the Seas, as much infested as before.

See Wafsenar's Hist.

All which Losses were not attributed to the Deputies of the Generality, and the Admiral General, who after the death of the Heer Opdam Lieut. Admiral of Holland, which hapned Sept. 1623. till June 1625. when young William of Nassau was chosen, had put all the Naval Power of Holland under the Command of the Zealand Lieut. Admiral Hautain; nor was it imputed to the Provinces who were deficient, or backward in bringing in the Mony they had consented to give, by which means the

Aitzma, p. 780. Ships

This was more evident when Pr. Henry had the Administration of these Lands.

Ships designed for the Service were either delaid, or not fitted out at all; but the blame was wholly laid at the door of the Admiraltys disorderly Management, and Negligence. So that thereupon a Regulation was made in the Year 1624. but with little success; for Prince Maurice dying in April 1625. and Prince Henry being hastily chosen Captain Admiral-General, and Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, &c. we soon saw that he concerned himself little in husbanding the Treasure, or providing for a free and open Navigation, in which the Welfare of Holland consists.

Stadtholders Government, p. 58.

And now that the Reader may see what ground there was for that Assertion, which some of our Writers have delivered as a known Truth, viz. That the said Prince Henry during the whole time of his Government, as much as in him lay, endeavoured to exhaust the Treasure of Holland, and by the burden of her Debts to break her back: It will not be amiss to represent in short from Authors of credit what was done and suffered in this matter to the Year 1632. and so forward to the time of our Peace with Spain, and the decease of the said Prince Henry. The Treasure and Power of Spain was, by the chargeable Sieges of Bergen op Zoom and Breda, and especially by our vigorous carrying on the War against him by our West-India Company, who greatly annoyed him in those parts, so broken and exhausted, that since that time he has not been able to carry on an offensive War against us; and therefore Year after Year seriously and really made offers to these United Netherlands of a Peace, very honourable for this State, and necessary for our

See the Petition of the West-India Company of 1668.

Tra-

Trading Inhabitants, as well as desired by all the rest. But those Offers were as often rejected by the Deputies of the Generality at the instigation of the Prince of Orange, and in their room our Taxes were continually increased with Prince Henry's Government, both by the Addition of Souldiery, and otherwise by his ill Husbandry, from 12 Millions 543840 Guilders, to 15 Millions 433800 Guilders, according to a Petition of the Council of State in the Year 1626. and were successively granted Year after Year, rather more than less.

Aitzma's Treaty of Peace Aitzma's Hist. p. 637. Pr. Henry obstinately continued the War beyond Holland's Ability. Aitzma pag. 59.

And tho Holland alone bore of this Charge 58 per 100, and by these heavy burdens, and ill Husbandry, our Treasury from the expiration of the Truce to the Year 1632. was found to be 55 Millions in Arrear: Yet nothing at all was done for the benefit of the Inhabitants of that Province thus needlessly and purposely oppres'd beyond their Abilities by their unnecessary offensive Field-Armies: Unless they could believe that it was very advantageous to them that Oldenseel was taken that same Year, Grol in 1627. and in the Year 1628, many chargeable Fortifications were made about Bergen op Zoom, and Steenberg: And that thereupon, in 1629, Boisleduc was taken for the State, and Weesel for the Elector of Brandenburg; for which our Country smarted severely, by the Spaniards falling in, and plundering in and about the Veluwe; add to this, that notwithstanding the continued high demands for Mony to carry on the War in the Year 1630. our Souldiery stirred not out of their Garisons, and that in the Year 1631. we got nothing by a chargeable Attempt upon Flanders but disgrace, which nevertheless was some-

So that Holland was in the 7 Years after his Administration, 51 Millions in Arrears.

somewhat lessened by the unsuccessful Shallop-design of the *Spaniard* upon *Zealand*. And lastly, that in the Year 1632. *Ruremond*, *Venlo*, and *Mastricht* were taken from the Enemy, more by Count *Henry Vanden Bergh's* means, than the conduct of the Prince of *Orange*.

Aitzma, Hist. pag. 323.

In the mean time most of the Provinces except *Holland* were so backward in consenting to contribute Mony, and the Charges were so enlarged above what was consented to be given, that the Council of State in their Petition complained yearly on behalf of their honest Creditors, who had trusted them for 3 or 4 Years, that they became so troublesom and importunate that those Counsellors were hardly safe in their own Houses; and that all things necessary for the publick Service, might be bought or made for the $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ part cheaper, if ready Mony were paid; and that also for want of Pay, the Captains, who had really $\frac{1}{3}$ yea $\frac{1}{2}$ less number of Souldiers in Service than were paid for, must be conniv'd at.

See those particular Petitionary Demands in Aitzma's Hist.

And the Inhabitants paid their Subsidies. See the particular Placaets in the Book of the States General.

During all which Confusions by Land, the Maritime Affairs were carried on after the following manner. First, concerning the Treasury; the Admiraltys did in the Year 1625. petition for 600000 Guilders; for the Year 1626. 800000 Guilders; for the Year 1627. 1000000 Guilders; and for the Years 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632. yearly and successively, two Millions of Guilders extraordinary Subsidies for guarding the Seas. And moreover, the States General deviated so far in the Years 1625, and 1631. from the true Grounds and Maxims of maintaining Trade and Navigation, that they did not only considerably raise the Dutys of Convoy, and Customs

toms, ordering the 4th part of them to be farm'd out to those that bid most, and consequently as much as in them lay made all Traffick and Navigation subject to those innumerable and unimaginable Vexations of Farmers. But besides, in the Front of their Placaet they roundly declared, That of all the Publick Revenues, the Convoy and Customs were the most tolerable and least hurtful, that are laid on Goods imported and exported; whereas the Rates then imposed, and yet in force, are known to be the most intolerable, and for the Country the most prejudicial of all the Revenues of *Holland*, as has been already shewn in our 23d Chapter of *Part I*.

All which Convoys and Customs so augmented, produced yearly, as by example in the year 1628,

	Guilders.
To the Admiralty of <i>Rotterdam</i> ,—	330737
<i>Amsterdam</i> ,—	803659
The Northern Quarter,—	125000
	—————
	1259396
<i>Zealand</i> , —	329367
All Charges incident to those Colleges and their Offices deducted—	1588763

But the Admiralty of *Friesland*, bearing the yearly Charges of the College, and Watching, fell short with all its Revenue twelve thousand Guilders, which were to be made good out of the extraordinary Subsidies: and therefore they not sending Ships to Sea, those Provinces of *Friesland*, and *Groeningen*, with the Inland Provinces, became very unwilling to consent to the Subsidies, very backward in

in bringing them in, and always very slowly.

See the Placaet Book of those Years.

Moreover in the Year 1625. on the 24th of June, all Ships sailing to the Mediterranean, were by Placaet commanded to pay 16 Stivers per Last every Voyage to the benefit of the Agents in the Levant,, which in the Year 1630. was raised to 20 Stivers; and successively in the Years 1625, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1632. the arming and manning of Ships sailing for Merchandize or Fishing was from time to time charged upon the Inhabitants of these Countrys by Placaets.

And yet the Seas never the more cleared.

But to look further, and enquire what hath been done with such great Subsidies and Taxes (which oppressed all the Inhabitants of Holland, and especially the Merchants) for the benefit of free Navigation: So soon as Prince Henry was made Admiral-General, he placed and appointed young William of Nassau Heer van de Lek his Lieutenant Admiral of Holland; who was likewise obliged to serve as Colonel in the War by Land, and went very little to Sea, till in August 1627. when he was kill'd by a Shot before Groh. And in stead of defending our Merchantmen and Fishers, the Lieutenant-Admiral of Zealand, Hautain was sent with 22 Sail of Ships Anno 1625. to reduce our Protestant Brethren of Rochel under the Obedience of the King of France; and at the same time two Ships of War only were allow'd to secure one thousand Busses in their Fishing. Besides as to Trade, the Seas were more infested than ever: For six Dunkirk Ships of War meeting our Fleet which came from the Northward in June, Anno 1625. without Convoy, drove them back to

Waffenar pag. 87.

Ib. p. 86.

to Norway; and having taken two Eastland, and three other Ships, came all six to an Anchor before the Texel, and lay there along time, as our Ships used to lie before Dunkirk, taking all Vessels that came in, or sailed out; which caused such a Consternation among our People, that none durst venture to Sea. And soon after the departure of these Dunkirkers, arrived happily eight Northern, and Eastland Merchant Ships, with one Convoy only.

Again, in the same Year 1625. after our Ships of War were withdrawn from the Flemish Coast, and come into Harbour, the Dunkirk Ships steered directly away to our Fishers, as knowing they were provided but with two Convoyers; and scattered our Busses, taking and sinking many of them: by which accident those of Enchuysen alone lost at the least 100, and other Places in proportion; and at least 150 Masters and Mates of those Busses were made Prisoners, and carried to Flanders. So that the Directors of that great Fishery observing from time to time how little the securing of their Livelihood was regarded, soon after resolved at their own charge, to set out seven great and well-armed Ships of War, and to put them all under their own Commander of the Busses, of which seven those of Enchuysen were to set out and pay 4, and the Bus-Owners about the Maese three, that they might fish in more safety under their Guard, seeing the chief Trade of the Land, viz. Fishing, was neglected.

The Directors of the great Fishery necessitated to provide Convoys at their own charges.

And to the end the Deputies of the Generality and Prince Henry might not always seem

Aitzma Hist. p. 204.

to neglect the Sea, it was resolved that they would set forth for the Year 1626. thirty well appointed Ships of War, and set a reward for the taking and destroying of any Ship of War, belonging to the Enemy, being of 100 or more Last, the Sum of Guilders

From 70 to 100	_____	30000
50 to 70	_____	20000
50 to 30	_____	15000
30 to 20	_____	10000
Mounted with four Guns of 20	}	8000
Lasts or under,		4000

Ibid. p. 96. The States General, with the Prince of Orange, resolv'd to cast over-board all our Enemies at Sea.

'Twas also resolved to put the Law in execution, that commands the Men of Dunkirk to be thrown over-board. But those Provinces that were least concerned in securing the Seas, remaining backward in bringing in the Mony necessary for the said Equipage and Rewards, and the States General having deprived the Admiraltys of a great part of their Revenues, by prohibiting the Importation of some Goods, and yet on the other side requiring to set forth a greater Strength to Sea than ordinary, with the Profuseness of Prince Henry as Captain and Admiral General, there arose in all the Colleges of the Generality, and especially in the Admiraltys, an Arrear of two Millions five hundred and eight thousand and fifteen Guilders running on at Interest, besides three Millions nine hundred twenty and three thousand two hundred ninety and five Guilders in debts; which caused the Seamen, who not getting their Wages, were necessitated to sell their Debentures, at very low Rates, with many of our Mariners who were not able to live for want

want of Pay, and therefore not willing to serve here any longer, to go over to the Dunkirkers, and sail with them upon Free-booting. And our Fleet under the Admiral of Zealand, Jonker Philips van Dorp, came not before the Schuurtsjen of Dunkirk upon the Watch till about the Month of July, when most of their Men of War were gone out to Sea, and according to their old custom, had taken many of our Merchants Ships, and very many Busses which they sunk and burnt; infomuch that all that could escape, fled for safety to the English Harbours. And our Doggers of the Maese hearing that the Dunkirk Capers threw over-board all the Men of the Merchant Ships and Fishing-Vessels which they took, in revenge of what we had done by their Men, durst not go to Sea to follow their Occupations.

Which proved dangerous to our Fishers and Merchantmen.

And notwithstanding Van Dorp lay with the Fleet before Dunkirk, many small Frigats and Shallops sailed out for Prize; so that at last in October that Year, young William of Nassaw as Lieutenant-Admiral of Holland, was charged to keep that Post: Which he performed till December following, but no better than Van Dorp had done. And as to our Cruisers and other Convoyers, it is observable that we do not know that they ever took any one of the twelve new-built King's Ships of Dunkirk, pretending they were better Sailers; which is altogether incredible, for our Ships from time to time could take Ships of less Force, and better Sailers, and throw their Men over-board: Whereas on the other side the Dunkirkers, as well before as since, fighting several of our Ships of

The infesting of the Sea proceeded from our selves.

War, forced our Captains, after Quarter promised, to surrender themselves. So that it is rather to be believed, that our Admirals and Sea-Captains, fearing much more the *Dunkirk* Ships of War, and their requital of throwing them over-board, rather than our remis Justice for the neglect of their Dutys, fought not out those *Dunkirkers* but where they were not to be found. However it is true, that they did commonly, as well heretofore as afterwards, and particularly in this Year 1626. come to the Assistance of the Merchantmen and Fishers, when 'twas too late. Wherefore *John van de Sande* in his History says, That the Sea-Captains kept themselves usually on the Rivers where no Enemy came, and fled from those they met: So that the Council of State, in their petitionary demand of Supply for the following Year, declared, " That the poor People are " hence forward afraid to go to Sea to follow their Callings, the throwing them " over-board making a great cry and alteration among those that earn their Bread so " hardly at Sea.

The Enemy on the other hand resolved to cast our Fishers and Merchantmen overboard, and give quarter to our Ships of War.

And tho it be true, that the greatest part of all these Hardships of our Inhabitants was caused by the ill Government of the Deputys of the Generality, and the Prince of *Orange*, who used the Power of these Countrys to make new Conquests, not to defend Trade and Navigation; and yet as if we had bin the only Masters at Sea, and had no unarmed Ships abroad, nor the *Dunkirkers* any Ships of defence, we followed those incredibly foolish Councils, of resolving to throw over-board all *Dunkirkers* taken at Sea in Ships of War: Whereas

* on

on the contrary, the *Flemings* used very prudent Maxims about this Matter, namely to throw the Men of undefensible Vessels over-board, and to give Quarter to our armed Ships of War. Nevertheless none dared to complain of this evil Government of the States General, and the Prince of *Orange*,* no not even of young *William* of *Nassaw*. * But the Pigs were fain to pay for the Sow's Offence; and therefore upon the ill Conduct of the Admiraltys, and especially of the College of *Roterdam*, the *Heeren Berk, Vander Mast, Segwaars, Verbeul, Nicolai, Vroesen,* and *Duifbuysen*, who had done no more than what was in mode during Prince *Henry's* wastful Administration in all the Colleges, especially that of the Generality, were nevertheless declared Infamous by Judges delegated for that end, and condemned in great Fines to allay the Discontent of the Multitude. The States General also declared, That the following Year they would set out more Ships of War in order to clear the Seas; and would make the People to believe, that a competent number of Ships should lie on the watch before *Dunkirk*, to prevent the coming out of those Ships, while another number should lie between *Dover* and *Calais*, and another at the *Schager Rif*, to watch and prevent all Sea-Robbers sailing to the *Spanish* Sea, or to the Northward. And besides all these, another number of our Ships of War should cruise in the narrow part of the North-Sea; so that the Enemy should not be able

See the Petition of the Council, 1629.

To quiet the Commonalty, some of the Admiralty were punish'd, and new Orders given out.

Aitzma of that Year, B. 6. p. 97.

* Dat veniam Corvis vexat censura Columbas.

by any means to interrupt or disturb our Navigation.

But because no better Order was settled about the Affairs of Justice, nor any thing determined about the Finances, from whence the payment of the new appointed Rewards for taking of Enemy's Ships should proceed, nor any of our Maritime Affairs better managed than formerly; the hopes of the too credulous Commonalty soon vanished, especially when the *Dunkirkers* in the Year 1627, infested us again before our Sea-port Towns, and took as many Prizes as formerly, seizing several Busses, and two of the Busses Convoyers, whilst young *William* Admiral of *Holland* was killed before *Grol*, and *Jonker Philips van Dorp* Lieutenant Admiral of *Zealand* cruised at Sea, and none of our Ships before *Dunkirk* to keep in their Capers; who coming to lie on our Coast about the *Texel*, the *Maese*, and *Zealand*, swept away all, together with the Ship of *Capt. Bagyn*, who heretofore on many occasions had behaved himself bravely and valiantly, and from a Cloth-worker was by degrees preferred to the Honour of having the Command of one of our best Ships of War: But now finding himself alone in the midst of fourteen of the Enemy's Ships of War, he yielded his new and well-appointed Ship without making one shot.

But without effect, because they would not leave their ill Principles in Sea-Affairs.

Wassenar, p. 31. on that Year. Whereby these Countys were reduc'd lower than ever since the Truce.

The Politicians of those Times judged, " That the Trade of these Countys was never since the Truce in so ill a condition: " For *Spain* could do no good; *Portugal* was without Trade; *France* by the King's Edicts was shut up; *England* detained all " Ships that passed the Channel, and seized

" sixty

*

" sixty or eighty Tuns of Gold belonging to " the free *Netherlanders*: The Rivers of *Weser* or *Elve*, *Trave*, *Oder*, and *Wissel*, were " so infested and block'd up by the *Danish* " and *Swedish* Ships of War, that little or " no Trade could be driven with *Bremen*, " *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Stetin*, and *Dantzick*; " and the North Sea was render'd impracticable by the *Dunkirkers*. By which means the Commonalty were as much dissatisfied as ever, when our Ships of War came in and had done nothing; infomuch that those of *Flushing* fell into a Mutiny, and at *Terweer* threw stones at Lieutenant Admiral *Van Dorp*. So to pacify the People, they were necessitated to fine the Pigs once again; and some Sea-Captains were dismiss'd, and poor *Capt. Bagyn* having no Friends at Court, *summo jure* lost his Head.

In the Year 1628. for the greater safety of our Navigation, three Vice-Admirals were created in *Holland*; who nevertheless were to be commanded by the Lieutenant-Admiral of *Zealand*. But the *Dunkirkers*, according to their old custom, seized many *Straits* Ships, with other Merchant-men, and at two several times took 34 Busses, tho' Lieut. Admiral *Van Dorp* with a Squadron of ten Ships had lain ten Weeks upon the Coast of *England* without hearing of an Enemy, and our Coast Ships and Cruisers were likewise at Sea: Which the States of *Holland* took so ill, that they dismissed *Philips van Dorp* at his return without a hearing. The Council of State had also sent a Letter in *April* of the same Year to the Provinces, complaining of the Confusions in the " Publick Revenues, which was the cause of " the

So the States of Zealand deposed their Admiral. Aitzma's Hist. B. 9. p. 730.

Lib. 8. p. 627.

And the Council of State complained of this Confusion of Affairs.

the Arrears due to the Military Forces both by Sea and Land; and that the Revenues and Charges of the Country were not duly considered and weighed one against the other: That Disorders increased more and more; that the Credit of the Country was daily sinking; that the Souldiery was mutinous and disobedient, and that all Military Discipline and Justice were trodden under foot, &c.

Both which things Prince Henry took very ill.

These Proceedings were taken very ill by the Deputys of the Generality and the Prince: and the Heer van Dorp was still continued in the Land-Service. Strict enquiry was also made among the Counsellors of State, to know who they were that durst be the chief Promoters of the complaining Letter before mentioned: And all this was done to deter others from complaining against the Government of the Deputys of the Generality, and especially of the Cabinet Lords, who together with the Prince look'd after nothing more in this Confusion, than their own Profit and Grandeur.

The Rulers of Amsterdam would have scour'd the Seas with ten Ships of War, but it was denied them. See Aitzma's Hist. B. 8. p. 679.

But upon the continual Complaints of the Merchants of Amsterdam to their Burgomasters of the unexpressible Damages which they sustained in their Bodys and Goods by continual Piracys, and the little care taken for their redress; the said Burgomasters, and Council, made offer to the States General and Prince of Orange to set to Sea ten or twelve Men of War well mann'd and furnished, to secure their Shipping, which should receive Instructions from the States General, and a Commission from the Prince; provided the Mony disbursed upon this Design might be defalked from the Contribution of that City;

City; and that no other Person might have any Power, or be any way concerned about that Equipage and Mony but themselves. And tho formerly under the insupportable Government of the Earls of Holland, all the Citys of that Province used by their own Authority to do the same, yet nevertheless this good and useful Offer was rejected under the present Stadtholder's Government, as if that City would by this means obtain too great a Power at Sea. Whereas on the contrary it appeared that the Sea became more and more unnavigated, because the Country and Citys which were most concerned to keep the Sea uninfested, had no Authority put into their hands, as they had under the Government of their Earls.

And to the end that the Deputys of the Generality, and Prince of Orange, might shew their usual Zeal in this Affair, the Articles for the War at Sea were inspected and made more severe. A Project also of an Insurance Company was brought in; according to which all Ships outward and inward bound, should pay for Insurance from one to thirteen per Cent. in proportion to the conveniency of the Sea-Ports to or from which Ships were to sail; and the said Company was to be bound to make good all Losses sustained. After which Peter Hein was chosen Lieutenant Admiral of Holland, who for the redress of Maritime Affairs desired many new Powers relating to the Militia, Justice, and Expences on board Ships; and did not only obtain those, but also more Authority than had ever been given to any Lieutenant Admiral of Holland.

Aitzma's Hist. B. 9. p. 709.

But the Pr. of Orange, and the Deputys of the Generality manifested their wonted Zeal.

Ibid. p. 730.

But

But he being killed by a shot two Months after, whilst with eight Ships he was in pursuit of three *Dunkirkers*; there can be no account given of the Fruits of this new Order, save that the Charges were increased, and yet the Seas remained as much infested as before.

But without any good issue.

Aitzma, B. 10. P. 171.

So that the States of Holland moved that they would postpone paying the unnecessary Land Forces, the better to keep the Sea clear.

'Tis uneasy to me to enumerate the Losses sustained by our poor Inhabitants, which were so exceeding great, that the States of *Holland*, on the 18th of *January* 1630. remonstrated to the States General, " That the " Strength, Vigour, and Reputation of this " State by Sea was wholly decayed, and the " Navigation signally diminished: That many " Mariners, for want of Care and due " Defence, were gone over to the Enemy, " and many more taken and kept in close " Imprisonment, or cruelly thrown into the " Sea: And that the said States of *Holland*, " to prevent such Mischiefs for the future, " had resolved, and now signified to the other " Provinces, That they would from this " time take as little care for the payment of " the Land Forces that were garison'd in the " Frontier Citys out of their Province, as " they observed was taken about the Conduct " and Affairs of the Sea.

But the States of *Holland* were under that awe and dread of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Deputys of the Generality, that they durst not deny or detain their part of the Publick Contributions to be employed in securing the Seas; and so nothing was done but a little Dust thrown into the Eyes of the poor innocent Inhabitants of *Holland*: For the States and the Prince sent Letters with their Decrees about that Affair to the other Pro-

Provinces. But our want of payment, and the Disorders about the Mariners, and neglecting the Guard of the Seas still continued, and increased in the Year 1631. For the States General had granted, that the Burgomasters and Magistrates of the Citys of *Amsterdam*, *Horn*, *Enchuyssen*, *Edam*, *Medenblick*, *Harlingen*, &c. should chuse certain Directors, who might collect of all Ships and Goods sailing to the Eastward or *Norway*, one half per Cent. and returning from the same, one per Cent. to enable them to set out some extraordinary Convoys to secure the Trade of the said Country. Yet this Imposition produc'd only a part of the expected Fruit, chiefly because the Directors were in all weighty Matters of the Militia, Justice, and Prizes taken, to be wholly subject to the Prince of *Orange*, and the respective Admiraltys, depending on their Orders and Judgments. And the Deputys of the Generality continuing to advance the Prince's Grandure, and their own, more than the Welfare of *Holland*, resolved in the Name of the States General, to equip over and above the usual number, 35 Ships of War, and 10 Yachts to lie upon the *Flemish* Havens, and to cruise and keep the North-Sea clear of *Dunkirk* Robbers. And that they might with more certainty perform this (as they pretended) they brought all the said Ships under one Head, and put them under the Direction and Orders of the Prince of *Orange*, without obliging them to obey the Commands of any other: They ordered them to be paid by him, and that all Mony necessary for Wages, Rewards, and Provisions, should be brought to the *Hague* in specie. And to the

Aitzma, B. 11. P. 354.

Such Shipping as sailed Northward and Eastward, had Convoys paid by themselves, but not without hard Conditions.

Ibid. p. 350.

And the Deputys of the Generality devolv'd the Authority of clearing the Seas on Pr. Henry.

the end that during the Summer-season these Ships might be kept in continual action, the respective Colleges of the Admiraltys of Holland, Zealand and Friesland, should by turns keep one of their Commissioners at Helvoetsluys, in order to hold a constant Correspondence with the Prince, and the Prince's Commander on the Coast, as occasion should require, touching the victualling and repairing of the said Ships; and the Commissioners of the Admiralty were not to intermeddle in the least with the disposal of the said Ships.

Ibid. p. 360.

And this went so far, that Vice Admiral Liefhebber instead of going to cruise, having convoy'd some Merchant Ships out of the Channel, tho by order of the Admiralty of Rotterdam, was threatned to be severely punished if for the future he followed any other Orders save those of the States General and the Prince. By this means our Countrymen were oppressed, and the Dunkirkers so encouraged, that they ventured to take a Merchant Ship even from under the Cannon of Flushing, and in the North Sea two of our Ships of War; and afterwards falling in among our Doggers, took two Convoyers, besides the Doggers. So that the Insurances from Rochel and Bourdeaux rising to 8 and 10 per Cent, the Sea became useless to the Inhabitants of these Countrys.

Ibid. p. 144.

But the Inhabitants never more exposed to the Dunkirkers than then.

Historical Narration of 1632. p. 56.

Bernard Lamp, having observed in his History, " That formerly a small number of our Ships kept the Sea so clear against all the Naval Power of the King of Spain, that till the Year 1612 these Countrys had very few Losses, wonders that all the States Ships of War, being little less than an hundred Sail, either could not or would not keep

" keep the Seas clear of the Dunkirkers only, for the King's Ships were not employed there in those days, but some particular Owners set out for the most part small Ships for Booty: and adds farther, That a few Years after that time, so many rich laden Merchant Ships were taken by the Dunkirkers, that the Loss was valued at more than one hundred Tuns of Gold.

So that our Historys doubt whether the State was willing to scour the Seas, for the Prince was not to be spoken of.

But if we consider how great the difference is, whether the care of scouring the Seas be entrusted to those who are much concerned in having them kept clear, and who on that account will use the best of their Endeavours, or be devolved on such as are not at all concerned in Navigation; we shall cease to wonder, when so much Power was put into the hands of such as were not interested at Sea, and were not a little suspected to fear and envy the Prosperity and Power of Holland, that they did not guard the Seas against a few Pirats, who for their own Profit sought their Booty where it was to be found.

In the mean time, to deceive the poor Innocent Commonalty once more, the Directors appointed to take care of the Shipping designed to the Eastward and Norway, were by Placat continued, and Private Ships of War by great Rewards perswaded to take and destroy the Enemys Ships. Upon which divers good Patriots fitted out Ships for that end; and this small strength being in the hands of those who really intended to destroy the Enemys Ships, it was observed, especially of two Ships of Flushing, the one called the Simson mounted with 24 Guns, 100 Seamen and 50 Souldiers, and the other called the Flushing, mounted

But at last some Privateers being perswaded by great Rewards, it appeared how easily the narrow Seas could be scourd. See the Placat book 11 of March, 1632. Aitzma p. 145.

ed with 22 Guns, 100 Seamen, and 30 Souldiers, that they took so many of the Enemies Ships, and Prisoners, that by their means a general Release was thrice made on both sides, the *Dunkirkers* so discouraged and weakned, and the Seas so well cleared, that the Insurances from *Rochel* and *Bourdeaux* fell to three in the hundred.

And by the ill payment of so small a Sum it was seen that the Pr. of Orange and the Deputies would not keep the Seas uninfested. Aitzma p. 146. Ibid. p. 512.

But because these worthy Patriots, among whom *Adrian* and *Cornelis Lamfins* were the chief, for want of *Dunkirk* Privateers could fight for no more Booty, but chiefly by reason of the too slow, or refused payments of the promised Rewards, they fitted out no more Ships, and the clearing of the Seas coming again to depend on the Deputies of the Generality and the Prince of *Orange*, the *Dunkirkers* returned again to Sea as strong in the following Years as before, and made it equally dangerous; the Rates of Insurance rising as high as formerly. And it was very observable, that tho for the payment of this so necessary and well deserved Reward only two hundred thousand Guilders were demanded yearly by the Council of State, yet the same Council, and the States of *Holland* and *Zealand* jointly, for the Year 1643. before Prince *Henry's* dotting old Age, could not obtain that Sum of the Generality to pay the promised Reward to the new Cruisers, whilst for the following Years, until our Peace with *Spain*, the same or greater Petitions for Money by Land and Sea were granted to the Council of State, and consented to, and born by the *Hollanders*. So that *Holland* from the Year 1632. to the Year 1647. was necessitated to take up sixty nine Millions, making with the foremention'd fifty

ty and one, one hundred and twenty Millions of Guilders at Interest, besides thirteen Millions that were to be paid for currant Debts, that the Prince and the Deputies of the Generality might proceed in their Offensive Wars by Land.

And as if it were not enough that the good People of these Countrys, and the State of *Holland* it self were every way oppress'd by Land with so many Imposts, Taxes, and immense Sums of Money taken up at Interest, as well as by continual and unexpressibly great Losses by Sea, the Deputies of the Generality and the Prince of *Orange* likewise desired, and from time to time very subtilly, and with promises of Gratuities to the Directors of the *West-India* Company, That they would desist from their Trade which was driven for the common Benefit of the Subscribers, and which according to their Oath might not cease, and would employ that Money for the indispensable Service of the Country, by carrying on a more vigorous War against the King of *Spain*. And by such powerful Solicitations, and artificial Promises, they were induced to make not a Merchant-like, but a Prince-like War, and to make those Royal Conquests of *Brazil*, *Angola*, *St. Thomas*, &c. for the Benefit of the States General, and of the Prince, as indeed was * at first design'd.

And their ill influence especially appear'd about the *West-India* Company. See the Remonstrance and Request for continuing their Charter, 1668. p. 3, 4, &c.

By this means the greatest part of their Capital Stock was consumed and embezeled, and the honest Subscribers with other Inhabitants concerned in that Company

* Tibi Roma subegerit Orbem.

They made the Participants poor, and then deserted them.

J. de Laar's Short Relation, p. 25. Aitzma p. 198.

Choosing rather to keep up the War by Land, to run the Treasury of Holland 120 Millions in debt.

See Aitzma upon the respective years.

lost above one hundred and eighteen Millions of Guilders: And when the said Company afterwards were grown so weak that they could no longer keep those vast Conquests by their own Power, the Deputies of the Generality, and the successive Princes of Orange, for whose Benefit those Lands were conquered, meanly abandoning their own Interest, suffered these excellent and vast Countrys to fall into and continue in the hands of the false and treacherous Portuguese; whereby our Inhabitants lost (besides the foresaid vast Sums) in Goods, Chattels, Houses, Debts, &c. fifty Millions of Guilders more, and were also utterly excluded from that advantageous Trade and Navigation. But to return to the Government and Conduct of Publick Affairs in our *Netherlands*, I say, that tho' *Holland* was thus intolerably oppress'd, and born down, yet in the Year 1633, *Rynberg* was taken; and in the Year 1634, *Breda* and *Mastricht* were besieged in vain, and our chargeable Army lay along time in the *Lange-straat*: And in the Year 1635, with a very great Army, and more charge, we did nothing in the Field, only *Tienen* was plundered, and *Schenkenschans* lost. Likewise in the Year 1636, our Army with many Ships lay about the *Schans* of *Koorn*, and afterwards in the *Langstraat* to no purpose. And in the Year 1637, *Breda* was taken with very great charges: and on the other side, *Venlo* and *Ruremonde* were lost. As also in the following Year, after great Expence, we lost much Reputation before *Calloo*, where the Enemy kill'd 2000 of our Souldiers, and took 1200 Prisoners, with all our Cannon, eighty Ships,

Ships, and much Baggage. And tho' our Army that lay before *Gelder* was much stronger than the Enemy, yet we quitted the Siege, with the loss of six Demicannon, and two Standards. In the Year 1639, our Army with 15 hundred Vessels in *Flanders* effected nothing, and were again compelled to retreat from before *Gelder*, and march to *Rynberg*: The same Army did afterwards no better at *Hulst*; nor in the following Year 1640, at which time Count *Henry* of *Friesland* was there killed; and our Army tho' intrench'd drew off a third time in a flying Posture from *Gelder*, without daring to encounter a much weaker Enemy, the Prince of *Orange* having then the Conduct and Command in Person, who notwithstanding many expensive and fruitless Expeditions into *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Gelderland*, had by his excessive Power in these Countrys gained the Name of a very Wise and Valiant General. But in *Flanders* and *Burgundy* he was derided even in their Comedies for a Coward; in one of which he was anatomiz'd, and upon search his Heart found in his Heels, the Rabble having nothing more frequently in their mouths than the following Rhyme,

J. V. Veens Rymes.

* Prince Henry has no Courage, Takes neither Town nor Village.

However in the Year 1641, with excessive Expences he took *Genniper*-house after a bloody Siege of seven weeks. And in the Year 1642,

* Le Prince Henry est sans Courage, Il ne prend Ville ni Village.

The Necessity of clearing Part II.

as also in 1643, our Army was in the Field about 6 Months without effecting any thing; but in the year 1644, after six weeks Siege, and much Blood spilt, the *Sas van Gent* was taken. And finally in the Year 1645, after a long Campaign, and six weeks Siege, *Hulst* was yielded. And tho our Army lay in the Year 1646 about *Antwerp*, and afterwards before *Venlo*, yet we got nothing but Dishonour in those Attempts.

All which Sums were mostly employ'd to aggrandize France, while the Sea was neglected.

And it is observable, that all our chargeable Campagns, and Taxes for the Army, tended chiefly to increase the Power of the *French*, (who in the mean time took many Cities from the *Spaniard*.) but not at all to the benefit of our own People, either by Sea or Land. For tho the Province of *Holland* contributed in extraordinary Subsidies two Millions yearly for scouring of the Seas, and continued so to do to the end of the War; yet the other *United Provinces* were not so forward. And tho for some Years past, the Governments of *Spain* and *Flanders* set not out any Ships for Booty against us, but left that work to be carried on by private Capers, yet the Sea remained still infested in such a manner, that the *Dunkirkers* in the Year 1635 took all the *Buss-Convoy*s, and many *Busses*, while most of our Ships of War for want of paiment lay by the Walls.

Aitzma.

And tho the Council of State, and the States of *Holland* complained of this neglect at Sea, and pray'd that some better Order might be settled for prompt paiment of the Premiums promised to the particular Privateers, by whom we had reaped great Advantage; yet the Deputys of the Generality, or rather

Ch. I. the Seas from Pirates.

rather those of the Princes Cabinet, according to their old way, found it convenient once more to delude the well meaning People; and to appease them, Anno 1636, they accused and dismiss'd fourteen Sea Captains, with some further Punishment, making a new Regulation concerning the guarding of the *Flemish Coast*, and keeping the Narrow Seas uninfested by 22 Ships and ten Yachts, which were to be under the inspection of the Prince of *Orange*, and such Deputys of the Generality as he should please to chuse. These depending on the Prince's favour, and making that their Aim and Interest more than the Service of their Native Country, labouring by all means to augment the Prince's Authority, and lessen that of the States, by this means had the Name of the *Cabinet Lords* given them by the Lovers of their Countrys Freedom; and so you will find them nam'd sometimes in the following discourse. And this was really * what *Tacitus* said of *Augustus Cesar*: " This Prince rais'd " himself by degrees, grasping into his own " hands the business of the Senate, of the " Magistrates, and of the Laws; while no " body dar'd to oppose him: For the stoutest " were cut off, either by being sent to the Army, or by Proscription. The rest of the " Nobility, by how much the more they were " slavish in temper, by so much the more were

Ibid. p. 344. Polity of the Cabinet Lords was only to aggrandize the Prince, and to lessen Holland.

* Princeps insurgere paulatim, munia Senatus, Magistratum, Legum in se trahere, nullo adversante: cum ferocissimi per acies, aut proscriptione cecidissent. Ceteri nobilitum quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur: ac novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & presentia, quam vetera & periculosa mallent. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. i.

“ they advanc'd to Wealth and Honours,
“ chose rather to sit down contented with
“ their present State of Security, than to ven-
“ ture the recovering of their antient Liber-
“ ty with running any hazard. The usual
way of all crafty and arbitrary Usurpers.

So that to enlarge the Authority of the Prince of *Orange* over the Navigation of *Holland*, and to put it effectually under his Power, eleven hundred and eight thousand eight hundred and seventy Guilders were yearly levied, and Superintendants appointed for that Service, with Purveyors or Victuallers, who were to be accountable to the Chamber of Accounts of the *Generality*. Also all Commanders and Captains were chosen by the said Prince, who were to be punished by a Council of War of his Nomination, and a narrow Scrutiny to be made into their Conduct. And to encourage them to do their Duties, their Wages were raised. So that according to this new Order, the respective Admiralties had nothing to transact, but to be Judges of the Prizes taken, to collect the Convoy and Custom Revenues, with which, and with two Millions of Subsidies, they were to set out Ships of War, to be Convoys to the Westward.

But it soon appeared that this new Authority, which was put into the hands of those who had nothing to lose at Sea, produced worse Effects than ever: For, before the Year 1637, there was so little Care taken, that *Jonker Philips van Dorp*, Lieutenant Admiral of *Holland*, going to Sea with this Princely Fleet very late, and his Provisions being spent in a very short time, was compelled to return home; and finding that the

So that *Jonker Philips van Dorp* laid down his Commission of Admiral. Ibid. B. 7. p. 619.

Com-

*

Commonalty accused him, and not the Victuallers, nor the Prince of *Orange*, who really were in the Fault, and would possibly have punished him rather than the Guilty, he laid down his Commission.

In the mean time the *English* challenged the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, alledging, That the Fishery belong'd solely to them. But their intestine Divisions, and not our Sea Forces, put a stop to that work, and their Herring-fishing, then newly begun, ceased. It is observable, that when they had taken their Herring at one and the same time and place with the *Hollanders*, and sent them to *Dantzick* in the Years 1637, and 1638, and found that the Herring taken and cured by the *Hollanders* was approved and good, and that the *English* Herring to the very last Barrel were esteemed naught; they then chang'd their Claim upon the whole Fishery, into that of having the Tenth Herring, which the diligent and frugal Inhabitants of *Holland* reputed no less than to fish for, and pay Tribute to a slothful and prodigal People, for a Passage by the Coast of *England*, which yet must have been paid, had not the free Government of the States of *Holland*, in the Year 1667, brought those Maritime Affairs into another State and Condition.

In the same Year 'twas publickly shewn, “ That the Inhabitants of these Countries
“ could not possibly keep the Sea any longer
“ er after this manner, and amongst others,
“ they brought the Example of *Maesland-*
“ *Sluice*, whence there used every harvest Sea-
“ son about fifty Vessels for Haddock to go
“ to Sea, which number was in the last Har-

Ibid. p. 621.

Selden's *Mare Clausum*. Aitzma B. 16. p. 266. Ibid. p. 277. Mr. Semeins *Harink*. *Vissery*

And the K. of *England* pretended to the Dominion of the *Narrow Seas*.

Aitzma, Book 17. p. 622.

P 4

“ vest

And when our ruined Inhabitants complained of their losses by Sea, and imprisonment of their Persons,

“ vest 1636, diminished to ten, out of which
 “ also two were taken. That their Dog-
 “ ger-fishing, which was not to be parallel’d
 “ in Europe, was now become so inconsider-
 “ able, that it was doubted whether in the
 “ Year 1637, so much as one Dogger would
 “ go to Sea for Salt Cod, seeing since the first
 “ of January 1631, there had been taken of
 “ the *Maesland Sluice* Vessels by the *Dunkirkers*
 “ alone, above two hundred Ships, each of
 “ them, one with the other, worth above
 “ 5000 Guilders: There having the like loss
 “ hapned in other Havens, of Vessels set out
 “ for Fishing; so that the general cry of the
 “ People of those Places ascended to the
 “ Heavens, and was sufficient to melt a Heart
 “ of stone.

And seeing the Merchants who sustained the Loss, and the Wives, Children, Parents, and Relations of the imprisoned Seamen, and Fishers continually upbraided the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Captains of Ships, with their ill Conduct; Prince *Henry* seemed to lament their Case, more than that of the miserable Commonalty, saying, That there is no Condition more wretched than that of the Admiral, and Sea-Captains, seeing that the meanest Fisher-wife having lost her Husband, exclaimed, that the Admirals and Sea-Captains did not their Duty, &c. and yet to pacify the People, who foolishly conceiv’d that the Gentlemen *Opdam, Hautain, Nassaw, and Dorp*, were successively the sole Cause of their past Calamitys, the Pr. of *Orange* chose two *Tarpaulins* (as some call them) *Martin Harpersen Tromp*, and *Witte Cornelissen de Witte*, for Admiral and Vice-Admiral. But it soon appeared,

It was little regarded by P. Henry.
Airtzma p. 343.
 on the Year 1636.

To pacify those innocent Persons he placed *Tarpaulins* for Admirals instead of *Tonkers* or *Gentlemen*.

*

peared, that those mentioned Losses were but sorrily provided against by the continual ill Management of publick Affairs at Land, and the neglect of securing the Seas. For tho the King of *Spain* and the Government of *Flanders*, had for a long time forborn to set out Ships of War to prey upon us in the narrow Seas, yet did not the Owners of Privateers at *Dunkirk* neglect to set out their Capers; but in the Year 1638, by reason of the Disorders a-

Airtzma, Book 18. p. 91. and Book 19. p. 172.

bout our Coast-Ships, and clearing of the Seas according to the old practice, they did not only go to Sea, and take many Merchant-men, but also about the end of *October* dispers’d all the Busses, which fled home very much disabled, and some without their Nets; while Admiral *Tromp* coming on Shore himself to be revictualled, accused Vice-Admiral *Berkhem*, who came in likewise, without the least Necessity, and for which he was dismissed by the new Council of War, tho unheard, and the poor suffering Commonalty were with this Punishment once again appeased in some measure, but not so the States of *Holland*, who knowing that the Prince of *Orange*, and Deputies of the Generality had now, as often before, made use of the Product of the Convoys, Customs, and Subsidies, which were only to be applied to Maritime Affairs, for carrying on the War by Land, (by which means the guarding and clearing of the Seas came to be neglected) earnestly desired that all Sums of Money which had formerly been appropriated to the Service of the Sea, might be effectually applied that way.

When yet the losses by Sea continued, the States of Holland complained, that the Money collected to clear the Seas was employ’d for Land Service.

And several Cities in *Holland*, together with the Province of *Utrecht*, taking notice of

It is no wonder that the Dunkirkers took our Ships before our Ports.

Aitzma, Book 14. p. 168.

pag. 229.

Even after our Victory in the Downs.

of the Disorder and ill Management of the Prince, and his assumed Cabinet-Council, in our Maritime Affairs, shewed their unwillingness to bring in their Portion of the 1108870 Guilders, which were yearly demanded by the Prince for that end; yet on account of his great Power, *Holland*, and divers other Provinces were obliged to bear the burden, to the Year 1647, and our Peace with *Spain*. And tho at the beginning of the Year 1639, in a Sea-Fight about *Dunkirk*, we got the Victory, in which the *Dunkirkers* lost two Ships of War; yet did *Tromp* then with the Ships under his Command, very imprudently leave the Sea; so that the *Dunkirkers* came and brav'd us before our Harbours, where, by reason of our defective Management in refitting and victualling, they lay till mid-June, and took 13 of our Ships in a short time.

And whilst *Tromp* afterwards waited for the great *Spanish* Fleet, Anno 1639, between the two Peers of *Dover* and *Calais* and before *Dunkirk*, our Merchant-men and Fishers were abandoned, thirty or forty Privateers of *Dunkirk* lying at the Mouth of our Harbours, so that none of our Merchant Ships, or Busses durst go to Sea. And upon this followed in *October* the Engagement about the *Downs*, where the *Spaniard* having lost by sinking, burning, stranding and taking, 40 Ships, most of ours came home; and having left the Sea, the *Dunkirkers* came again before our Harbours, and in few days took twenty seven Prizes, of which 11 in one day. And thus by continual Disorders and Losses at Sea, the Trade of these Countries was so diminished, that the Revenues of the Admiralties, in the Year 1628, having

having yielded about sixteen hundred thousand Guilders, those very Duties, to the 24th of *October* this Year, notwithstanding the new Impositions, produced to the State only twelve hundred thousand Guilders. And therefore it was thought necessary to erect a new Tax of Tonnage, which should amount to five hundred and ninety eight thousand five hundred and seventy five Guilders, and also another new Tax to clear the Seas, which might produce five hundred eighty one thousand and seventeen Guilders.

However the Deputies of *Holland*, in the Assembly of the States-General, and Presence of the Prince of *Orange*, declared, "That it was the Intention of their Princes, that the Cruisers or Privateers, by whom the Country had been so signally served, and who had only declined that Service because they were not paid their promised Rewards, should be invited to return to Sea, and that a certain Fund should be appointed for their immediate payment. But this just and useful motion was neglected.

Matters standing thus, Prince *Henry* and the Deputies of the Generality, endeavoured to persuade the States of *Holland*, and privately the Cities in an unwarrantable manner, that the Colledges and Orders of the Admiralties were not sufficient to clear the Seas from Enemies; and therefore moved the said Cities to consent, that the Equipage of Ships might be continued at *Helvoetsluice*, and for that end, that a new College of Admiralty might be erected to reside at the *Hague*, and that an Insurance Company might be

Ibid. p. 230. See the Placaet Book.

Aitzma, p. 230.

Which the Deputies of the Generality, and P. Henry proposing to secure with many new Expedients; Aitzma, Book

esta- 19. p. 230.

established, as before mentioned, and settled by Patent. And moreover, that the Revenues of the Admiralties might be farmed to such as should bid most. And lastly, that all Persons being under Oath to the Generality, should be tried for their Faults and Crimes by the Council of State, or the respective Admiralties.

The States of Holland, and especially the Magistrates of Amsterdam, set themselves stoutly against it.

In opposition to which the States of Holland shewed how prejudicial those Equipments, or setting out Ships to Sea, had been by means of the Superintendants and Purveyors, or Victuallers at *Helvoetsluys*; and also that the Admiralties of *Zeland* and *Friesland* respectively had never consented to have any Equipments made there: That most of the Provinces, except *Holland*, in the payment of their proportion of 1108870 Guilders designed thereunto, were always slow and remis, as to the whole, or else deficient in part; and that the Admiraltys would and could better equip or set forth Ships to Sea than others; and that an Insurance Company would so burden and clog our Trade, that our Inhabitants would not be able to sell so cheap as our Neighbours: And that the Farmers would not have any regard to the durable Prosperity of Commerce, but to their present Profit, and possibly might value themselves upon the seizure of Goods, whereby they might so plague the Merchants, that they would rather cease trading, or leave the Country. And concerning the point of Jurisdiction to be granted to the Generality, and to the respective Admiralties, that 'tis a matter of so great Importance, that the whole Sovereignty of the Provinces would necessarily be thereby transferred to them.

But

But the Prince of *Orange* and the Deputies of the Generality were not well pleased with the Representation made by the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and still resolved to carry on their Design, and by their Greatness to overpower them, sending notable Addresses, however illegal, for that end, to the particular Cities, and especially to the Burge-masters and Council of *Amsterdam*; by whose good Management, and firm Opposition, as also by Prince *Henry's* smooth and easy Maxims which hitherto he had followed, that he might be thought unlike his hated Brother, together with a fear of being reputed as Arbitrary as *Maurice* had been, this Design failed, and went no further.

Aitzma, B. 15. p. 176.

So that they proceeded no further; the Sea in the interim being as much infested as before, tho the States of Holland represented how easily it might be kept clear.

And tho *Holland* was thus saved from sudden Ruin, yet the uneasiness and losses of the Trading and Maritime Inhabitants still continued: so that the Council of State, and the States of *Holland*, once more remonstrated, that the private Capers of *Dunkirk* had done us much more Mischief than ever the King's Ships had done; and that we on our side had seen that our Cruisers fitted out by private Men, in hopes of the Reward promised for taking the Enemies Ships, had in a short time purged the Seas from Depredations; and that those Robbers were again abroad, perceiving our Capers, for want of such payment, went out no more against the *Dunkirk* Robbers, but only against Merchant Ships; and therefore the said States most instantly desired to have the Placaet renewed, whereby the said Rewards may certainly and immediately be paid. But this was not granted.

By

The Necessity of clearing Part II.

By means of all which Disorders it was no wonder that little less than nineteen Millions was granted according to the Petitionary Request of the Council of State for this Year, and yet nothing done. On the contrary, Lieutenant Admiral *Tromp*, on the 14th of *March* of the ensuing Year 1640, gave Advice, that the *Dunkirkers* had then 40 Sail of Ships at Sea, taking rich Prizes, and skimming the Seas by Squadrons: So that the very Convoys of this State were unsecure, and often taken; and that on our side Vice-Admiral *de Witte* was at Sea with 6 or 7 Sail only: So that the great Losses of the Merchants, which had continued so many Years, produced in the Years 1639, and 1640, in the Province of *Holland*, and chiefly at *Amsterdam*, more Bankrupts of the richest and worthiest Traders than ever had been known or heard in these Countries. And for this reason those of *Holland* proposed to the Assembly of the States-General, in Presence of the Prince of *Orange*, and concluded, That the respective Admiralties should, as formerly, set out Ships for guard of the Coast, and Cruisers; and that four Receivers should be appointed to receive the Money required to that end, that so it might not be mixed with other Monies, or employed to pay the Debts of the Admiralties.

All which Losses and Taxes occasioned a vast number of Bankrupts.

Aitzma, B. 22. p. 190. The States of *Holland* again threaten'd to defer paying the unnecessary Land Forces, the better to clear the Seas, but for fear omitted it.

And in regard every one could perceive that this Order was not effectual enough to clear the Seas, 159 of the principal Merchants of *Amsterdam*, in the beginning of the Year 1641, joined with the States of *Holland*, and besought the States General, that better care might be taken to keep in the *Dunkirkers* than formerly;

Ch. I. the Seas from Pirates.

formerly; adding, That in case it were not done, they would detain their Money given for payment of 50 Companies of Souldiers, levied in the Year 1628, and clear the Seas themselves. But at that time the Prince of *Orange*, and the Deputies of the Generality, who were supported and encouraged by him, were still so much dreaded, that the States of *Holland* durst not undertake to intermeddle with a matter so much for the Advantage of our Trade and Fishery. Wherefore the *Dunkirkers* continued going to Sea, and not only so, but took Prizes at the Mouth of our Harbours: Particularly in *April* 1642, with 22 Frigots they seized all they met with, and among others, eighteen Ships belonging to *Zierickzee*. And on the 5th of *November* 10 *Dunkirk* Frigots were so bold, that they fell upon the whole *Russia* Fleet; and having taken of them eight Merchant Ships, and a Man of War, the other Convoy with eight *Russia* Men more, hardly escaped.

Aitzma Book 22. p. 360.

So that the *Dunkirkers* gain'd Ground upon us. J. V. Sand. Hist.

And altho the Deputies of the great Fishery had complain'd in *June* to the Deputies of the Generality of their Losses, and desired better Protection; yet we may easily perceive how little the Prince of *Orange*, and the Deputies, regarded the Loss, and Complaints of the Seamen, and trading Inhabitants, since instead of redressing matters, they had not only in the foregoing Year employ'd the Money granted for that end, in setting out a Fleet of twenty Ships for the Assistance of *Portugal*; but also, tho that Fleet had effected nothing for the Benefit of these Countries, nor could do it, yet nevertheless for the same end, the Generality made a new demand

And that in lieu of redressing our Merchants and Fishers, Complaints, their Money was diverted to assist *Portugal*.

Aitzma, B. 21. p. 195. B. 22. p. 374. *And the Officers of the Army paid to the full, and liberally rewarded besides.*

mand of 600000 Guilders. So that we may justly say, that the Prince of Orange, with the Deputys of the Generality, and the Inland Provinces, made it their principal Business to pay their Land Army, and in case of any Deficiency, to connive at false Musters; taking all possible care so to order matters, that the Taxes for the Army might be well paid, or else *Holland* was put to find Money or Credit for that purpose. Yet for all this, when the States of *Holland* had freely and readily levied many and great Taxes to clear the Seas, they were forced to let them fall into the hands of those who employed them to other Ends: The States of *Holland* continuing in such an awful Reverence for the Prince; and some others who laboured more to advance his Interest, and get his Favour, than to procure the Prosperity of the Country, that they durst not make use of their own Money to clear the Sea. Only those of *Holland* and *Zealand* consulted together to scour the Seas at their own Charge, distinct from the other Provinces; but would not execute their Project for fear of offending the Prince. Yet those of *Zealand* took a vigorous Resolution to erect a *Western Society*, to set out 24 Ships of War, out of the Produce of a Duty of one per Cent. upon all Goods inward, and one half per Cent. upon all Goods outward bound, to maintain Convoys for all Ships to the *Westward*, forwards and backwards.

New Taxes proposed to defend the Western Navigation, under direction of particular Persons.

By all which it appears how much the Trade and Navigation of our People was at that time abandoned by the Government: For the *East* and *West-India* Companys, together with

the

the *Greenland* Company, prohibited them sailing into those Seas. The great Fishery Northward and Eastward, were forc'd to pay their own Convoys. The *Straits* Ships were to defend themselves against the *Turks* by their chargeable manning and arming, according to the new Regulation. And yet they deliberated to put the Charge of Convoying Westward upon the Merchants, as if all other Taxes were paid for nothing, and all the Inhabitants that used the Sea were perfectly abandoned of the State.

if all Dutys raised for Convoys, Customs, and Subsidys, as well as all other Imposts, were paid for nothing, and ought to be wrested from the trading Inhabitants, and other People of *Holland*, to the end that Province might not increase, but decay in Power and Riches.

But the *Western Society* not going on, those of *Holland* and *Zealand* jointly remonstrated so earnestly the necessity of better clearing of the Seas, and the usefulness of private Ships of War, if care were taken that the Rewards so often promised might be readily paid, that at last in the Year 1643, out of certain new Imposts a Fund was raised of 200000 Guilders to pay the Reward promised for all the Enemys Ships of War that had been taken. So that by renewing the Placaet, the Inhabitants and Magistrates of the Citys of *Holland* were encouraged to set out Ships of War for that Service.

But at last the States of Holland and Zealand procured a certain Fund for the Premium.
Aitzm. p. 578.

And tho the Commonalty during this long and ill Government of Publick Affairs, were made to believe that the Sea was so wide and vast, that it could not be cleared from the *Dunkirkers*; yet by these new Cruisers which were set out by the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, the Citys of *North-Holland*,

land,

land, and some particular Persons of Zealand, it soon appeared, that not only the Narrow Seas, but the Ocean also could very well be freed of them: For so soon as the clearing of the Seas was effectually undertaken, and Men encouraged by the Reward, there were so many Spanish Men of War taken, and beaten out of the Seas, that in lieu of giving 8 or 10 per Cent. for Insurance to Rochel or Bourdeaux, it fell to two or three only.

And tho by their free and open Navigation thus procured, and the Increase of Commerce both in Holland and Zealand which followed thereupon, those Provinces were likely to grow so strong, as to be too high to crouch to the Captain and Admiral-General; yet Prince Henry weakned with Age, could not remedy that growing Inconveniency, as he had formerly done. Which was so well known to the States, and particularly to those of Holland, that in the Year 1645, the new Cruisers were encouraged to continue their care of the Seas, by more advantagious Conditions than before: Till in the end a Peace with Spain was concluded in the Year 1648. which put an end to the War, and Flemish Privateering.

See the Placaet Book of the States General.

But whilst the Prince of Orange, and his Cabinet-Council, the Deputys of the Generality, transported with Ambition, and jealousy of Holland's Greatness and Power, helpt to break the Ballance between France and Spain to the prejudice of all Europe, and of us in particular, making the Crown of France visibly to preponderate the other, and too long favouring their Arms with so great Imprudence, that Admiral Tromp with his Princely

Princely Fleet of Coast-ships, holding in the Years 1644, 1645, and 1646 successively, Graveling, Mardike, the Schuurtiem, and Dunkirk it self block'd up by Sea, caused them to fall into the hands of the French. In recompence of which they burden'd our Countrymen residing in France with higher Dutys than any other Nation paid. Besides which they shew'd their thievish Nature, by seizing in the Mediterranean Seas as many as they could of our Merchant Ships, especially the Richest; and manifested their Unfaithfulness against their even too faithful Allyes. So that whereas in times past we had traded in some parts of Italy belonging to the King of Spain with freedom, and without search, the French caused all our Ships to strike; and having by Letters or Bills of Lading found any Enemy's Goods on board, they did not only confiscate them, but also all the Holland Goods with them: Whereby the Merchants of Amsterdam alone, as they have owned, lost more than ten Millions of Guilders. Which added to the Revolt of the treacherous Portuguese in Brazil, Angola, and St. Thomas, lay so heavy upon them, that in the Years 1646, and 1647, Bankrupts were become frequent and great; our Traffick and Exchange-Banks being at a stand for some time, no Man knowing whom to trust. And indeed how great those Losses must have been that were able to ruin so many rich and worthy Merchants, may appear, if we consider that the English, during the War of the Years 1652, and 1653, having taken in the Channel and North-Sea an incredible number of our Merchants Ships, nevertheless very few Bankrupts were seen amongst

See Aitzma on those respective Years.

At last we had Peace with Spain, but France began to prey upon us by Sea.

Which caused a vast number of Bankrupts.

amongst our Merchants, and almost none except among the Insurers.

But how these French Depredations ceased after the death of the last Captain-General, shall be explained hereafter among the good Fruits of the free and easy Government of Holland. And now for conclusion, I shall desire the Reader, if he doubt of the Truth here related concerning our Affairs of State and War by Sea and Land, to examine the same more amply and fully by the Books of Lewis van Aitzma (by the confession of all an Authentick Historian) from whence these Particulars are for the most part extracted, and to consider at the same time whether the increase of the Riches of the Inhabitants of Holland in general, during the Government of those Cabinet Lords, and successive Princes, be not very impertinently attributed to that Government, seeing that Increase, next to the Blessing of God, was caused by our good situation on the Sea, and Rivers, and, as is usual, by the * destructive Wars which lasted very long in other parts, and especially in the neighbouring Countrys: For in the time of old Prince William, the Ruin of Brabant and Flanders, and afterwards in the Times of the Princes Maurice and Henry, those lasting Wars, and terrible Devastations of Germany, and many other adjacent Countrys, supported and supplied our Citys with Manufactures, Merchants and Mechanicks; who finding here the States manner of Government not quite

And these new Troubles by Sea lasted till after the death of Pr. William.

The Objection answered, That these Provinces were advanced under the Government of the said Princes.

* Crescit interea Roma Albae ruinis. Liv.

over-

overthrown, have under those Remains of publick Freedom, erected many new Manufactures and Trades, and have been able to keep up the old Imployments and Traffick of Holland, especially through the Diligence, Vigilance, Valour, and Frugality, which are not only natural to the Hollanders, but by the Nature of our Country is communicated to all Foreigners that inhabit among us, according to the old Saying, * There is a certain secret Virtue natural to the Country of Holland. So that our Inhabitants by the said Qualifications for the promoting of Traffick and Navigation, having excelled all other neighbouring People, 'tis a wonder that by our before-mentioned ill Government in Maritime Affairs, we were not utterly ruined.

Our thriving proceeds from the Wars of our Neighbours, our situation and shadow of Liberty, &c.

'Tis also to be well considered, whether the Inhabitants of Holland in such Cases, and indued with such Qualifications, would not have been much more happy under a Free Government by States, than under the Conduct of the three successive Princes beforementioned, and such Deputys of the Generality as continually sought to promote the Prince's Grandeur, and consequently their own, more than the Welfare of the Country.

And whether our own sad Experience hath not abundantly taught us the Truth of the Maxim proposed at the beginning of this Chapter, viz. That such Citys and Countrys, whose Rulers ought to be presumed to be more or less concerned to keep the Seas clear of Enemys, ought also to have more or less

* Occulta est Batava quaedam vis insita terræ.

That Holland ought not to intrust the scouring of the Seas to any but themselves.

Authority and Power about Maritime Affairs, Treasure, and Militia, by which the Seas are to be kept free and open: And consequently that the Magistrates of the Cities, who are any ways concerned in the flourishing of the Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick, Shipping, and Guard of the Seas, ought to be intrusted with them and no other Persons in the World.

CHAP. II.

Above all things War, and chiefly by Sea, is most prejudicial; and Peace very beneficial for Holland.

Peace is very necessary for Holland.

BUT if the scouring of the Seas against Sea-Robbers or Enemys is so necessary for Holland during Peace, then much more Peace it self. For besides that all Sea-robbing is more frequent in War, it deprives our Inhabitants at once of all their Trade to the Enemys Country, and carries it to the Inhabitants of neutral Nations; besides which, all Ships, Goods and Debts of the *Hollanders* that are in the Enemys Country are confiscated, which may give this People an incredible great Blow: For the *Hollanders* do not wait as other People till Men come to buy their Goods in their own Country, and give ready Mony for them, but they transport their Goods through the World, and keep them there in Warehouses waiting for Chapmen; and that which is most grievous, when they sell, in *Europe* they usually give a Years time for payment. And

And War detrimental.

*

more-

moreover, when in any Foreign Country the Growth and Manufactures of that Place are very plentiful and cheap, such Commodities are presently bought up by our Merchants, paid with ready Mony, and kept in their Magazines there, till the Season of Exportation and Shipping presents for other Places, so that the Enemy may easily make seizure of many of our Goods, which we can by no means retaliate.

Because our Debts are confiscable in an Enemys Country.

And then it also commonly happens, that our Enemys either by whole Fleets do intirely obstruct our Trade by Sea, or by Privateers may make incredible Depredations upon us. For by reason that our Fishery and Foreign Trade are so greatly dispersed, *Holland* is not able to defend them in all places, and be Masters at Sea at one and the same time; tho we had nothing else in charge but only to clear the Seas. Whereas we on the contrary can find little or no Booty at Sea, because we are the only great Traders there.

And our Navigation obstructed and disturbed.

And for War by Land, tho it be not so prejudicial to *Holland* as by Sea, yet 'tis manifestly disadvantageous to the Merchant, and greatly mischievous to all the Inhabitants in general, but especially to those that drive a Foreign Trade. And whosoever doubts of this, let him only consult the Registers of the Admiraltys of *Amsterdam*, with those of other Places, and he will see that since our Peace with *Spain* our Navigation and Commerce is increased one half. The Reader may also remember, that during the War, the Convoy and Customs together did at most amount to but 1588763 Guilders, yet when we had Peace, our Convoy-mony alone of all the Admiraltys

Aitzma, Chap. 3.

did

Q 4

The Interest of Holland Part II.

Thereby adding 400000 Guilders for the Revenue of the Admiralty of Zealand, at which value it is yearly esteem'd here.

did in the Year 1664, produce 3172898 Guilders, when by calculation it was concluded that the Admiralty of Zealand had yearly 400000 Guilders of Revenue, And that is not strange, for the War with Spain being carried on both by Sea and Land, our Merchants were put to great troubles and straits: And 'tis a great burden to our Inhabitants to bring into the Field so great and chargeable an Army as to gain fortified Citys from our Neighbours by long Sieges: But it is doubly ridiculous to endeavour to make Men of understanding believe that it tended to the Benefit of Holland, when an honourable Peace, or a long Truce was every year offered to us, as often to reject and refuse it, and yet Holland was forced to take up a vast Sum of Mony at Interest, and then to take up another Sum to pay those Interests, and all this to carry on an offensive War to gain Conquests and Victorys; which are not only useless, but must needs be very burdensom to a Country whose Frontiers, by means of the Sea and Rivers, are for the most part every where so easy to be fortified and kept, that by purely standing on its own defence, it would certainly be able to confound all Foreign Power that should attack it: Whereas on the other side it is certain, that generally all Republicks, especially those that subsist by Commerce, have been ruined by Offensive Wars and Conquests.

Because Land-Conquests would hasten Holland's ruin.

And that this was well known to those that sided with the Prince against those of Barnavelt's Party in this State, the President Jeannin testified on the 29th of August 1608. in a Letter to Monsieur Villeroy Secretary of State in France,

*

Ch.2. in relation to War and Peace.

France, as follows: It is certain that the States, how weak soever they are, do not lose their Courage, but rather chuse to return to War, than accept a Peace or Truce for many Years upon other Conditions than those formerly mentioned. They (I conceive he means such as by all means desired a War, and those were, as is well known, of the Prince's Party) say among themselves, If France abandons us, we must ruin, demolish, and abandon some Citys, and Parts of the remotest Provinces, which, by reason of the great charge of keeping 'em, will more weaken than strengthen us; and we must also dismantle some Places of least importance. And moreover they say, that all this being done, they should have wherewith to continue in service 40000 Foot and 2500 Horse, besides the Navy, thirty years longer: And that therewith they should be strong enough so to tire the King of Spain, and after such a manner to exhaust his Treasury, that he will be necessitated to grant the Conditions which now he rejects.

Which formerly those that were of the Princes Party, as also

And that Prince Maurice himself knew very well that these Countrys might be better and with less Expence defended against the Enemy with few Frontier Places than many, appears by a Letter written about 2 months after, to the said Prince by the King of France: in which among other Particulars is this Passage. The great Charge that the War requires you have experimented, and found that the States alone were not able to bear it, nay hardly with the help of Friends, who formerly contributed of their own to bear those Expences. And if it should happen that you by weakness, or want of Mony be necessitated to quit and leave some part of the Country to the Enemy, whereby to defend the rest the better, as the said Lambert (the Prince's Envoy) hath declared

Prince Maurice knew well enough.

clared to me on your behalf, that you are resolved to do so rather than enter into the said Treaty unless it be first express'd in plain Terms, That the Sovereignty shall ever be and remain in the States, &c.

And yet many Citys have been taken since.

All which Particulars above mentioned being in those days agreed by Statesmen and experienced Souldiers, 'tis as certain that since that time by the Conduct of Prince Henry, very many remote Places about the *Scheld*, *Maese* and *Rhyn*e, have been taken in and fortified, and that the Generality out of all the Lands and Citys situate out of the voting Provinces (for some of them are not allowed to have their Suffrages) about the Year 1664, had only one Million of Guilders annual Revenue, and yet the keeping of them cost more than 4 Millions yearly; so that those that are of the Prince's Party must in all respects acknowledg, That the States of *Holland* did in the Year 1640, very well represent the matter to Prince Henry, by telling him, That it deserv'd consideration, whether it were not better to make no more Conquests, or even to lose some that are already acquired, than by long Sieges, and consequently great Charge to the State, to suffer them suddenly to sink and fall in like an undermined Hill. Upon which there was nothing replied by the Prince, but only that he could not be well pleased to see the Conquests which had cost the Country so much Blood and Treasure, so little esteem'd. From all which it is certain that *Holland's* Interest is to seek after Peace, and not War.

Which altogether yield a Million yearly, and require four Millions.

So that all offensive Wars are to be forborn.

Aitzma Hist. p. 104.

C H A P. III.

That Holland hath antiently received these Maxims of Peace.

AND that the Trading Provinces of the *Netherlands* have always followed these Maxims, manifestly appears in antient History: For the Sovereigns of the Country were never suffered by their own Authority to make War, or lay any Imposition for maintenance of Military Forces, nay not to do it in the meetings of the States, by plurality of Voices. For in these excessively prejudicial Affairs, they would not hazard their being over-voted. Whereof we have had very many Examples, not only in that rich Trading Province of *Flanders*, but also in *Holland*, especially with relation to *England*; with which Country the *Netherlands* could formerly deal well enough. For before the Halls and Tumults had removed the Weaving Trade thither, the *English* were Shepherds, and Wool-Merchants, and their King receiv'd few other Imposts than from Wool exported, no less depending on the *Netherlands* (the only Woolweavers of *Europe*) than the Weavers on them.

And amongst others we read in the Year 1389, That Duke *Albert* of *Bavaria*, as Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, &c. having brought these Provinces, without the consent of *Dort* and *Zierickzee*, into a War with *England*, the *English* took many Ships with Wine coming from *Rochel*; and not only released all those that belonged to *Dort* and *Zierickzee*, but

The Maxims for Peace have antiently been well known in *Holland*.

Which is demonstrated by the Intercursus Magnus,

but came to those Places to sell their Prizes, because they had not consented to the War.

And on this Foundation is built the great Intercourse (called Intercursus Magnus) between England and the Netherlands, containing expressly; That the same Covenant is not only made between the Sovereign Lords of both sides, but between the Vassals, Cities, and Subjects also; so that those who had done the Injury, and not others, should be punished, the Peace and Covenant remaining in full force, for the Benefit of all others, who had not consented to the War, or Injury done. So that if a Ship had sailed out without the Prince's Commission, or the Commission of any City, that City was to make good the Damage done by that Ship. And this Treaty (which is very observable) was not only signed by Plenipotentiaries, on the behalf of the King of England, and the Arch-Duke as Prince of these Lands, but also sealed and signed by the Burgo-masters of the Cities of Gent, Bruges, Ipres, Dunkirk, Newport, Antwerp, Bergen, Dort, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Middleburgh, Zierickzee, Veer, Mechelen, Brussels, and Brill, An. 1495. All which those on both sides affirm to have been transacted for the greater security of Amity and Trade.

That was signed by all the trafficking Cities.

For the Council of the Cities did not use to be under Oath to the Lord or Prince who usurped, and acquired the nomination of their Magistrates only by means of differences arising among the Cities; but the Cities might of antient times, without Approbation of the Earls, entertain Souldiers in their own Service. On the other side, the Earls used in times of Peace to have no Garisons, Souldiers,

ers, Magazines, or Treasure, which, with the Divisions of the Cities of Amiens and St. Quintin formerly mortgag'd, were the Cause that they fell from the House of Burgundy into the hands of the King of France, their antient Lord, in 1470. of which Philip de

And it appeared also by the Earls of Holland having no standing Force, especially in Peace:

Comines thus speaks: Charles Duke of Burgundy holding an Assembly of the States in his Country, (viz. these Provinces) represented to them

As also by Philip de Comines.

the great Prejudice he had suffered, by having no Souldiery in pay on his Frontiers, as the King had, and that the Frontiers could have been well kept with 500 Men at Arms, and might have continued in Peace. He farther acquainted them with the great Dangers which hung over their Heads, and pressed hard for a Supply to maintain 800 Lanceers. In the end, the States agreed to allow him 120000 Crowns annually, over and above what he received of his ordinary Revenues, not including Burgundy. But his Subjects scrupled much to take that Burden upon them, tho to distress France with this body of Horse: (for Lewis the 11th, King of France, was the first in Europe, who in a time of Peace kept armed Forces on foot). And indeed the States of the Netherlands scrupled it not without Reason.

D. Charles of Burgundy the first who kept standing Forces.

For hardly had the Duke rais'd 5 or 600 of his Horse, but his desire of encreasing their number, and of invading all his Neighbours, grew to that height, that in a short time he brought them to the payment of five hundred thousand Crowns, keeping in pay great numbers of Horse, so that his Subjects were thereby greatly oppress'd. Thus far Comines.

But at the Death of the Duke those standing Horse, in time of Peace, were disbanded till the Year 1547, when that formidable Empe-

Emperor, Charles the 5th, erected a certain number of standing Troops, consisting of 4000 Horse, commanded by Colonels and Captains, to be ready at all times, upon any Attempt, on the Frontiers, with their Horses and Arms. But Philip the 2d of Spain, being jealous of these armed Inhabitants, neglected to pay and muster them: so that these Regiments of the Militia coming to nothing, and he purposing in lieu of them, to maintain a standing Army of Spaniards in these Countries, was opposed in that Attempt by the States of the Netherlands, which was one of the principal Occasions of our Commotions and Wars that ensued.

And lastly, by the Union of Utrecht it appears how careful these Netherlands were to avoid a new War.

And with the Union of Utrecht, Holland neglected not altogether its Interest in this Particular: For according to the 9th Article, no plurality of Votes takes place in Affairs of a new War, Contribution, and Peace. Which Freedom the particular Members of Holland have constantly kept, as well as in the Assembly of the States; and not without Reason: For seeing it is contrary to the Law of Nature, for Men to give another the Power of taking away their Lives, on Condition and Promise that he will use it wholly for their Benefit; but yet that if he makes an ill use of that Power, and will take away their Lives, they may not in Self-Defence use their natural Strength against him: It follows, that all Obligations which do so powerfully oppose and prejudice the Welfare of our Country, must be null and void, so long as we are masters of our own Government.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Some Cases laid down, in which it seems advisable for Holland to engage in a War; and yet those being well weighed, it is concluded, that Holland nevertheless ought to seek for Peace.

HAVING in the two last Chapters clearly shewed, what Holland's Maxims ought to be, and have been of old, viz. Peace for her Inhabitants, to pursue the same by all convenient means, and decline War: Yet in several Cases whereby our People might be incumbered, or vexed, or in danger to be so, and when it may be presumed that our Free-State by Revolution of Time and Affairs, may run the Hazard of being ruined; it may be doubted, whether it would not be advisable for Holland to begin an offensive War.

Enquiry made whether it be advisable,

I shall therefore give you my Thoughts about some of them, and do say, That we ought never to undertake a War by reason of any foreign Imposition or Toll whatsoever upon Goods; for those Remedies will always be worse for Holland than the Disease. And the same seems to be with much more conveniency removed, by charging their Commodities as much here, as our Wares, Merchants, and Mariners are charged in those Parts. In all such Cases we generally find, that either the high Impositions are prohibitions of themselves, or that the Traffick in those overburdened Commodities thrives as well as before: For if by those Tolls the Commodities

To make no War, tho to free our selves from foreign Taxes?

modities burdened are prevented from being imported, he then that so charged them, immediately finds thereby so great a Loss, that of his own accord he usually takes off this Imposition.

And of this we have innumerable Examples; for Histories are filled with Wars which have been in vain carried on, by reason of the raising such Tolls, as the Erectors themselves have at last been glad to lessen, or take wholly away; as lately in *September 1662*, the Republick of *Venice* perceiving how much their Traffick by Sea was diminished, of their own Motion discharged two Tolls, the one named the *6 per Cent.* and the other on Goods that came Westward from Sea.

Not to ballance
the States of
Europe?

We must endeavour
first to
grow strong and
healthful.

On the other side, there occurs to my thoughts another great piece of Folly, *viz.* That the Merchants of *Holland*, and the State it self being founded upon Traffick, should yet make use of it for a perpetual Maxim, and continue in their present unfortified Condition, in which often for fear of a future and sharper War, they will be contriving to ballance the States of *Europe*. For when we have impreg- nably fortified all our Cities and Frontiers, as we ought, we may then, according to the Interest of our State say to all People, *Give Peace in our days, O Lord.* And if the worst happens, by sitting still we shall so strengthen and improve our Land, Sea-forces, and Treasure, that no Power will be easily brought to attack us, but rather some weaker State. Whereas now on the contrary, we exhaust our Treasure, and weaken our selves every way, not knowing whether we shall ever overcome these Inconveniencies, which either by want

of

of Fortifications, or our obstinacy, we pull down upon our own Heads: and being weaker by our own Negligence or Wantonness, we may, after having wrestled with those Difficulties, more easily fall from one weakness into another, and so be at last overpowered.

As all skilful Physicians hold it for a good Maxim, * That one means of preserving Health, is to refrain from Health-drinking: So they always dissuade from taking Physick in time of Health, for fear of future Sickness, because thereby we frequently bring Sickness and Death upon our selves: Whereas by good Fortifications, and temporizing, we may escape, *Chi ha tempo ha vita.* And in all Cases Physick weakens the Body, and the continual use of it shortens a Man's Life. And therefore we may well make use of that wholesom Counsel, as most agreeable to our Provinces, *viz.* of using no Physician. For if *Holland* takes care to provide every thing necessary, and then stands in its own Defence; it is not to be overpowered by any Potentate on Earth. If we run to quench every Fire, for fear the War should pass over others, and kindle in our own Buildings, we shall certainly consume our selves by degrees, and by our own Actions be ruined.

In short, *Holland* taking due care of things, *Holland's Interest, since the weakness of the Spaniard, is perfectly another thing.* is so powerful as not to be conquered by any, except perhaps by *England*, if that Nation shall be willing to ruin it self: So that we may truly say, That if *Holland*, for fear of a

* Una salus sanis nullam potare salutem.

R.

War,

The Interest of Holland Part II.

War, shall begin a War, it must for fear of the Smoak leap into the Fire. And this Folly cannot be excused in any measure by that Maxim which we used here, in the beginning of our Troubles, * War is better than uncertain Peace. For seeing we then made War for our Freedom, or at least the shadow of it, against our own Prince, it is certain that all Peace, of what nature soever, would have disarmed the States of these Provinces, and depriv'd them of their Strength. And on the other side, the King of Spain remaining Prince of these Countries, and able to keep on foot some standing Forces in all his other Territories, might have made himself, at any time, absolute Lord of these Parts, without regard either to Promises, Oaths, or Seals; and then have punished all those at Will and Pleasure, who at any time had opposed him.

But now, God be praised, the States of Holland living in a time of Peace, are alone in possession of all the Strength of the Country, and are able to govern it better than in War, without the controul of any, according to their own Pleasures: so that the contrary is now true in Holland, † War is much worse than an uncertain Peace. And among all pernicious things, except the intolerable slavery of being govern'd by the Will of a single Person, nothing is more mischievous than a War: for if War be the very worst thing that can befall a Nation, then an uncertain Peace must be

Whether an uncertain Peace be worse than a War.

* Pace dubia Bellum potius.

† Bellum pace dubia pejus, & malorum omnium pessimum.

bad,

Ch.4. in relation to War and Peace.

bad, because a War is likely to ensue.

But some may further ask; seeing Peace is so necessary for Holland, whether out of a strong desire of a firm and lasting Peace, we ought not, when once engaged, to continue in War, till we have compell'd the Enemy to a well grounded Peace?

To this I answer; If we consider the uncertainty of this World, especially in Europe, and that we by Traffick and Navigation have occasion to deal with all Nations, we ought to hold for a firm and general Maxim, that an assured Peace is, in relation to Holland, a mere Chimera, a Dream, a Fiction, used only by those, who like Syrens or Mermaids, endeavour by their melodious singing of a pleasant and firm Peace, to delude the credulous Hollanders, till they split upon the Rocks.

No such thing as a certain Peace.

Therefore it is, and will remain a Truth, That next to the Freedom of the Rulers and Inhabitants at home, nothing is more necessary to us than Peace with all Men, and in such a time of Peace to make effectual provision for good Fortifications on the Frontiers of our Provinces; to keep a competent number of Men of War at Sea; to husband our Treasure at home, and as soon as possibly we may, to take off those Imposts that are most burdenson, especially that of Convoys; holding our selves assured, that without these means, whereby to procure a firm Peace, and to preserve our Country in Prosperity, as far as the wickedness of this World will admit, all other Expedients will be found prejudicial to Holland; and that we on the contrary, relying on these Maxims and Means, ought always to wait till others make War upon us,

us, directly and indeed; because by our diligent and continual preparation, they would soon understand, that there is more to be gotten by us in a time of Peace and good Trading, than by War, and the ruin of Trade.

That 'tis unadvisable to stand only on ones Defence, answer'd.

But because these Conclusions concerning the Prosperity of Holland, seem to oppose the known Rules of Polity; 1st, That a defensive War is a consumptive War; and 2dly, That no Rulers can subsist, unless they put on the Skin of a Lion, as well as that of the Fox; I shall give you my Thoughts upon these two Maxims. And truly if we may say of Subjects, as the Italians,

* One half the Year they live by Fraud and Art, By Art and Fraud they live the other part :

We may with as good Reason say of those that govern,

† One half the Year they live by Force and Art, By Art and Force they live the other part.

It is true of Monarchs and sovereign Lords, not of free Republicks,

But he who looks further into matters shall find, that in using these Maxims there is great distinction to be made. For tho it be true of

* Con arte e con ingano, Si vive mezzo l'anno. Con ingano e con arte, Si vive l'altra parte.

† Con forza e con inganno Si vive mezzo l'anno Con forza e con arte Si vive l'altra parte.

Mo-

Monarchs and Princes, who will suffer no Fortifications, that a defensive is a consumptive War; yet in Republicks which live by Traffick, and have fortified themselves well, all offensive War is prejudicial and consuming: So that such Countries can never subsist without good Fortifications in this World, where the lovers of Peace cannot always obtain their wish.

The truth is, great Monarchs are justly compar'd to the Lion, who is King of Beasts, never contented with the produce of their own Country; but living upon the Flesh of their Enemies, I wish I could not say Subjects; conquering and plundering their Neighbours, and burdening their own People with Taxes and Contributions. Yet tho they appropriate to themselves all the Advantages of the Country, they would still be deficient in Strength, if by means of the Fox's Skin they could not sometimes answer their Enemies, and even their own Subjects, and escape the Snares laid for them by others.

Because they are single, and do greatly oppress their Subjects.

Whereas Republicks governing with more Gentleness, Wisdom, and Moderation, have naturally a more powerful and numberless train of Inhabitants adhering to them than Monarchs, and therefore stand not in need of such Maxims, especially those that subsist by Trade, who ought in this matter to follow the commendable example of a Cat: For she never converses with strange Beasts, but either keeps at home, or accompanys those of her own Species, meddling with none, but in order to defend her own; very vigilant to provide for Food, and preserve her young ones: she neither barks nor snarls at those

Whereas the Rulers of a Republick are many, and govern more gently.

They must naturally be shy of a War.

that provoke or abuse her ; so shy and fearful, that being pursued, she immediately takes her flight into some Hole or Place of natural Strength, where she remains quiet till the noise be over. But if it happens that she can by no means avoid the Combat, she is more fierce than a Lion, defends her self with Tooth and Nail, and better than any other Beast, making use of all her well-husbanded Strength, without the least neglect or fainting in her Extremity. So that by these Arts that Species enjoy more quiet every where, live longer, are more acceptable, and in greater number than Lions, Tygers, Wolves, Foxes, Bears, or any other Beasts of Prey, which often perish by their own Strength, and are taken where they lie in wait for others.

Holland, tho she stoutly defended her self against Spain, rather to be compar'd to a Cat than a Lion.

A Cat indeed is outwardly like a Lion, yet she is, and will remain but a Cat still ; and so we who are naturally Merchants, cannot be turned into Souldiers. But because the Cat of *Holland* hath a great round Head, fiery Eyes, a dreadful Beard, sharp Teeth, fierce Claws, a long Tail, and a thick hairy Coat, by means of our Merchants ; our Stadtholder and Captain-General from time to time, and after him some of our Allies or Rulers, who had reaped Profit by War, have made use of all the said Features, and the stout Defence which this Cat made when she was straitned and pinch'd by the *Spanish* Lion, as so many Reasons to prove that she was become a Lion ; and have made her so far to believe it, against most manifest Truth, that they have prevail'd with her for fifty Years successively to fall upon other Beasts, and fight with them. But the sad Experience of what is past, the Decay

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of

of all inward Strength, the death of the last Captain-General, and the free Government of the State, which by God's unspeakable Goodness ensued, ought certainly to take off the Scales from the Eyes of the stupid *Hollander*, and so make him see and know, that *Holland* by so doing was no Lion, but a burden-bearing Ass. For the Conquests obtained by her Labour and Blood, have not served to feed her, but to break her back, and to make our former Captain-General, and the Stadtholders so to increase in Power, that they became formidable to their Masters, the States of the respective Provinces, and especially to the States of *Holland* ; and still serve to make some of the crafty Allies of our Union, and some few slavish Rulers to live voluptuously, knowing how to procure many military Employments and Profits for their Children and Friends, and are therefore continually advising *Holland* to prosecute the War.

Tho by bearing Impositions she may be compar'd to an Ass,

In times of our Stadtholders.

And tho *Holland*, since the last sixteen Years seems very well to have apprehended the Mischief received by the Lion's Skin, yet she seems not to have discerned the fraudulent Damage of the Foxes, which will be found well nigh as mischievous : For *Holland* hath very imprudently made use of the Fox's Skin in *Poland* and *Denmark*. Upon the whole matter, 'tis certainly best for *Holland* to strengthen her Frontiers and inland Cities so soon as may be ; and when they are impreg- nably fortified, let her not engage her self with any but her next and oldest Allies, of the other *United Provinces*, and leave the rest of the World to take their course : And this done, let us only concern our selves with our

And therefore must by degrees leave that ill Custom,

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The Interest of Holland Part II.

own Affairs, according to the good Proverb, That which burns you not, cool not. And because it seems to me that such evident Truths make the deepest Impressions, and are best apprehended by Proverbs and Fables, I shall conclude this Chapter with the following Fables.

The First Fable.

The Lion, King of Beasts, having heard many Complaints of his Subjects concerning the cruel Persecution, and Murders committed by the Huntsmen, and fearing that if he should any longer bear such unrighteous Dealings, he should lose his Royal Honour and Respect among his Subjects, went in Person to fight the Huntsman, who first by his Shooting, afterwards by his Lance, and lastly with his Sword, so wounded the approaching Lion, that he was necessitated to fly; and having lost much of his strength by his Wounds, and more of his Honour and Esteem by his flight, said, with a lamentable Voice, To my sorrow I find the truth of this Proverb, * The strength of Samson is not sufficient for one that is resolv'd to revenge Evil with Evil: But he that can wait, and be patient, shall find his Enemy defeated to his hand. What need had I to streighten this crooked piece of Wood? It had been better for me to have left those Injuries to time, and

Which is illustrated by certain Fables. First, Of the Lion and Huntsman.

By gaining time many Evils may be overcome.

* Die al het quaat met quaat wil wreeken, Samsons kragt sal hem ontbreeken, Maer die can lyden en verdraagen Vind hier syn Vyanden verflaagen.

perhaps

Ch.4. in relation to War and Peace.

perhaps some Tiger, Wolf, or Bear, having with like Imprudence fought out the Huntsman, might have been strong and fortunate enough to have killed him in the fight.

The Second Fable.

A certain strong wise Man, meeting a strong Fool, who had undertaken to force a Stiver from every Man he met, gave him a Stiver without a Blow or a Word. Whereupon some of his Acquaintance, young People, blam'd him for it, using these words: God hath given you at least as much Strength, and more Wisdom than to this lewd Fellow, whereby you would undoubtedly have had the Victory, and delivered the World from this Raskal; whereas contrarily, † you will be despised, if you do this. But the wise Man answered, They that buy their Peace do best: And besides, I know it is ill fighting with a strong Fool; but you know not the value of your own Peace, Welfare and Life, and much less the manner of the World. For tho I were not an old Merchant, but a prudent Soldier, yet I shall tell you, that he who will not bestow a Stiver to keep Peace, must have his Sword always drawn. And he that will be always fighting, tho with the benefit of ten Advantages against one Danger, must certainly lay out more than ten Stivers to buy Arms: And as where there is hewing of Wood, there

A Fable of a wise Man and a Fool.

For Peace-sake we ought to yield somewhat.

† Bonis nocet quisquis pepercerit malis: & malum quod quis impedire potuit, nec impedit, fecisse viderur; veterem ferendo injuriam invitas novam.

will

will be Splinters flying on every side; so after a Man hath suffered the smart, he must give a good Reward to the Chirurgeon and Physician, even when the best happens: The Bucket will come broken home at last. And the best Fighters at last find their Masters; for the stoutest Hercules is sometimes soonest beaten. Next said he, time will inform you that I am not to streigthen all the crooked Wood I shall meet in this World: For I assure you it will happen to this strong Fool, as it did formerly with the foolish Frog, who finding a wise Crab swimming in the Water, threatned to kill him if he found him any more there. The good natur'd Crab thinking, as those who willingly shun a mad Ox which they might kill with a Gun, that he would also shun this Creature, gave the Frog good words, swimming immediately backward according to its custom, and giving place to him. But because stupidity causes boldness and self-conceit, the Frog concluded that he was stronger than the Crab, and so fell upon him. The Crab defended herself stoutly, and at last pinch'd the Frog immediately dead. And seeing the World is full of Fools, I tell you that this Coxcomb growing too confident by a few good Successes, will soon find another Fool who will knock him o'the Head, and rid the World of him. It is certainly much better that a Fool, and not a wise Man, should put his Life in the Ballance with this Fool. Which Prediction was soon after verified by experience; for a while after this Fool setting upon other People, found at last as foolish, cross and strong a Fellow as himself, that would rather fight than give him a Stiver, who

Confirm'd by
the Fable of a
Frog and a
Crab.

who knock'd him down and kill'd him. Upon which the wise Man caused some Sayings to be engraven over him, among which were these: *The number of Fools is infinite; and to cure a Fool, requires one and a half; for without Proverbs.* blows it cannot be done.

The Third Fable.

A certain Fox conceiting himself not able to subsist, if the Wolves and Bears lived in mutual Amity, stirred up the one against the other; and afterwards fearing lest the Wolf which favoured him less, should get the better, and then finding himself without Enemy, should destroy him, resolved to strengthen the Bear privately with Food, which he had spared for himself, and to see the Fight between them, under pretence of being Mediator, but really to feed upon the Blood of the conquered; which when he tasted, he was so transported with the Relish, that rather than forbear the Blood, he let the Bear have so much of his other natural Food, that he was grown weak. But the two combating Beasts, observing this ill Design of the pretended Mediator, and his Weakness together, destroyed this blood-thirsty Fox, the one premeditately, the other by the Fortune of the War; besides, he fell unpitied. For suppose the Wolf and Bear had grown so weak by the Fox's Artifices, that they could not have hurt him; yet there were Lions, Tigers, and other Beasts of Prey, which could as certainly and easily have devoured him, because he had lost his Strength, and could no longer in any extremity run to his Hole, and thereby save and defend himself. Thus

The Fable of a
Fox, Wolf and
Bear.

Thus God and Nature punisheth those that abuse their Strength, and takes the Crafty in their own Subtilty. * As false Self-love is the Root of all Mischief, so Prudence and well-grounded Self-love is the only Cause of all good and virtuous Actions. Pursuant to which, as we say, *Do well, and look not backward*, is the greatest Polity Holland can use. And the richest Blessing which God can pour down upon a Nation, is to unite the Interests thereof to Peace, and the Welfare of Mankind: According to the good Rule, † *He that loves himself aright, is a Friend to all the World.*

The Fourth Fable.

Of the Fox, Cat, and Huntsman.

A certain self-conceited Fox in a deriding manner asking a well-meaning Cat, how she could free her self from all the ill Accidents of this World; The Cat answered, That she was not offended when any thing was said of her in a deriding way.

Small Business with uprightness is much better

In a word, said she, I shew those that would hurt me the greatest kindness, by which I avoid all Enmity: For my only Art of all Arts is, to avoid harm. Upon this the Fox flouted with the Cat, saying, || This is indeed a very pretty Science becoming an unarmed

* ————— Semita certe Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ. *Juven.*
Il n' y a plus grande finesse que d' estre homme de bien.
† Qui sibi vere amicus est, hunc omnibus scito amicum.
|| Lepidum caput, sed cerebrum non habes.

Round-

Roundhead; but I that am witty and crafty will lord it over others: and besides that, I live without want and care, for in an instant I can shake out a Bag full of Artifices. But while he was thus braving it out, and negligent, a Huntsman with his Dogs was come so near him, that not being able to escape, he was taken in his subtilty by the Dogs; and killed, while the Cat with her only slight, and ever necessary Fortification, fled for her Life, running up a lofty Tree and so saved her self: and from thence saw the Case of the Fox pull'd over his Ears, comforting her self in the mean time with this Song,

Than much clutter with great craft.

*Poca Brigata,
Vita Beata.
Casa mia casa mia
Pur Piccola che tu sia
Tu mi pari un' abadia,*

This therefore is the great and necessary Art for Holland, notwithstanding the Maxims before objected, viz. to maintain Peace, and fortify our Frontiers, and never unnecessarily to meddle with parting of Princes that are in War by our Ambassadors, and Arbitrations: for by these means we shall be certainly drawn into the charge of a War, and besides, are like to gain the Reward of Parters, and bring the War or the hatred of both Parties upon our selves, besides the Consumption of our Treasure in expensive Embassys, even when the best happens. And tho the Troubles of this World cannot be avoided always either by Force or Art, yet we ought to keep out of them as much as we can with all our

It is again concluded, that Peace above all things is necessary for Holland.

our Strength, Prudence, and Polity. And if notwithstanding all this, War should be made upon *Holland*, she will gain a double Reputation, when with the encouragement of her own Strength, long before provided, together with the Justice and Necessity of her Defence, she shall overcome the Danger. Besides, the Opposition we should be able to make, as well as the just Hatred that always attends the Aggressor, and the Consequences that might follow the Conquest of this Country, would alarm other Princes, and give them time to deliver us.

And tho I know these Maxims will always be rejected by most of the idle Gentry, Soldiers of Fortune, and the sottish Rabble, as if we relying only on our impregnable Fortifications, and standing on our defence, should by that means lose all that Name and Reputation we have acquired; to which I shall only say that all is not Gold that glisters, and rusty Silver is more valued by Men of Understanding than glittering Copper: So whatever is profitable to a Nation, brings also a good Reputation to perpetuity. 'Tis likewise certain, that whatever reduceth *Holland* to weakness, tho it were under the most glorious Title of the World, will really cause it to lie under an everlasting Shame and Reproach. All which God grant may be rightly apprehended by the upright, and (now) really-free Magistrates of *Holland*, while this leaky Ship of the Commonwealth may yet by labour be kept above Water.

C H A P. V.

Enquiry is made, whether, and how the Welfare of any Country may be preserved by Treatys of Peace.

BUT seeing it appears in the preceding To comprehend Discourse, that Treatys of Peace import- what a Treaty ing mutual Promises of not prejudicing one a- of Peace, or nother, and allowance of Trade and Commerce reciprocally, are very necessary for *Holland*, and that the like Articles are by many intermixt with Treatys of Alliance, or Covenants among Neighbours, which nevertheless, as I conceive, have for the most part been pernicious to *Holland*, and will be found so; I find my self therefore obliged to express my thoughts on this Subject, and to say, That a Treaty of Peace is a mutual Promise of doing no hurt to each other; to which likewise Nature obligeth us. But on the contrary, an Alliance or Covenant obligeth to do An Alliance is, something, which often without such Alliance men would not do, or omit something which without such Alliance they would not omit.

Since then all things past are so much beyond the Power and Conduct of Man, that human Actions and Force cannot make the least alteration therein; it appears that all mens We ought to consider, that all Actions look either at the future, or the present; as also Thoughts ought to be employed about the obtaining of something that is good, or defending themselves from future Evil, which especially takes place in our Consultations, and Transactions with other People. For even in

in a free and generous Gift, where all Necessity or Obligation of any thing to be done for the future seems to be excluded; yet is it evident, that it is done either out of hope of gaining some bodys Friendship, or Serviceableness, or obtaining the Name of being

What care is to be taken in making of mutual obligatory Contracts, which ought to take place

Kind and Liberal. But above all, those Thoughts must take place for things future in mutual Covenants, seeing the Essence thereof consists therein, and hath its eye upon it, as appears by all the Examples of it.

With Particulars, and

I give or promise to give, because you promise to give; I do or shall do, because you promise to do; I give or shall give, that you shall not do; I do or shall do, that you may not do, &c. And when we are on both sides subjected to one and the same Sovereign Power, those Agreements are freely entered into; and here the Difficulty is not great, tho we perform the Covenants first, because the other Party may be compelled by the Judg to perform his Engagements, tho nobody would willingly be the Compeller, but every one would ride on the Forehorse: Having is better than hoping; and what he hath before hand is the poor Mans Riches. And when the respective Covenanters are subjected to a different Supreme Power, then Distrust begins to increase: but because men know that he that is unfaithful may be punished, they are unwilling to put it to the venture.

With Sovereigns.

But all the difficulty lies here, and then appears, when Sovereign Powers enter into mutual Covenants and Alliances; seeing the strongest Potentate always enjoys the Fruit of a Peace concluded, and likewise the benefit

fit covenanted; which Ovid * very ingeniously shew'd: So that tho there be sometimes Peace, yet 'tis always necessary for the weakest to be so watchful, as if no true Peace were ever made by such Powers, on which the weaker Party might rely. And if on the other side, in time of Peace each Party should fortify and guard his Frontiers, and by Intelligencers endeavour to inform himself of his Neighbours Designs, in order to behave himself accordingly: It is then evident that all Treatys of Peace must be presumed by all Sovereign Powers (who expect more Advantage by War than Peace, and consequently are not founded upon Peace) to serve only for a breathing-time, and to wait an opportunity of attacking their Neighbour with more Advantage, and so to overpower him.

And so long as those Opportunitys present not, the Peace lasteth among the Potentates of the World, not by virtue of Promises, Oaths or Seals which they can at all times easily infringe, without suffering any present Punishment, but by virtue of their fear, lest some future Evil should befall the Peace-breaker. So that a true and real Peace among Sovereign Princes, especially for the weaker Party, is but a Fiction or a Dream, on which he must not rely.

And when and how long those Contracts are to be kept,

For in this wicked World (God amend it) 'tis very evident, that most Men naturally are inclined by all imaginable industry to advance their Interest, without regard to Hand, Seal, Oath, or even to Eternity it self;

Especially with Monarchs.

* Pax licet interdum est, pacis fiducia nunquam.

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and

The Interest of Holland Part II.

and above all, such Inclinations and Aims are principally found in Monarchs, Princes and great Lords: for we are taught that *Sanctitas, pietas, fides, privata bona sunt; ad quae juvant Reges eant:*

*Abriles y Sennores
Los más son Traydores.*

Who seldom know what is just and fit,

For having never been private Persons, nor educated or conversant with Men equal to themselves, they learn nothing of Modesty or Condescension: neither does the Authority of Judges imprint in them a Reverence to Sacred Justice. Which is quite contrary in all Republicks, where the Rulers and Magistrates being first educated as common Citizens, must daily converse with their Equals or Superiours, and learn that which is just, otherwise they would be compelled to their Duty by the Judg, or other Virtuous and Powerful Civil Rulers; which inward motions of Modesty, Discretion and Fear leave always some remains in them, when they come afterwards to be preferred to the Government and Magistracy, for * Custom is a second Nature, which is not easily altered.

As the Civil Rulers do.

In Treaty of Alliance Men are apter to be wrong'd, than by Treaty of Peace.

But in all Events, if in Treaty of Peace, when neither of the Covenanters do any thing but only restrain each other from all Hostil Acts, there is little certainty that the Covenants will on both sides be kept; it is as certain, that in Alliances, wherein

* Adeo a teneris assuescere multum est.
Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.

there

Ch. 5. in relation to Treaties of Peace.

there are Engagements on both sides, for Assistance of Souldiery, Arms, or Mony, that there is a greater uncertainty of obtaining what is covenanted, and that there can be no Trust reposed in the Treaty of Sovereigns; all Advantages of Alliances consisting only in this, that one Part may possibly be drawn to perform what is covenanted before the other: And when this happens in Matters by which he that performeth is really weakened, and the other strengthened, with bare hopes only of Advantages to accrue from him afterwards, he is then a Traitor to himself, because he foolishly gives Things and Realtys, for Words, Hand, and Seal; which put all together hold no proportion to preponderate and resist the Ambition and Covetousness, Lust, Rage, and Self-conceit of great Princes. *Dat poenas laudata fides.* For because Ambition exceeds all other Affections, and Monarchs order all External, and especially the Publick Religion, which is strengthened, or weakned according to the prosperity of their Government, it is therefore rightly said, that the State has neither Blood nor Religion; and that Integrity is always deceived or circumvented. So that the best way is not to trust them, and then we shall not be cheated.

And when most:

Especially when they are made with Kings or Sovereigns.

Because they have a Superintendency over Religious Worship, and value it little.

All which being most certain, it is strange that any Supreme Powers should imagine that they can oblige a formidable Sovereign Prince to gratitude for Benefits received without any preceding Promises, impoverishing themselves by Liberalitys, in order to enrich and strengthen those they fear: For we ought always to presume, that Kings will ever esteem them;

themselves obliged to any thing but their own Grandeur and Pleasure, which they endeavour to obtain, without any regard to Love, Hatred, or Gratitude.

So that it is a madness to make Princes considerable Presents.

Certainly if we affirm, that it is a cursed Religion which teacheth Men to sacrifice to the Devil, that he may do them no Mischief; we may likewise say, that nothing less than the utmost Despair can reasonably induce a Government to discover its own Weakness to a dreaded Neighbour, and to make him stronger by giving him Mony to buy off a feared Evil, which ought to be resisted by the best Arms, and most vigorous Efforts; according to the Spanish Proverb, * To give to Kings is a Kingly, that is, a monstrous great Folly: For the holy Wood, the blunt Cross of Prayers and Remonstrances, is of small force among Men of Power; and the Mony sacrificed to the Idol of Gratitude, is yet of less value. But he who in these horrid Disorders, betakes himself for Refuge to the Iron, and sharp two-edged Cross, the Sword, makes use of the true Cross of Miracles against Sovereign Princes; and this rightly applied, is only able to heal the King's-Evil, or State-Agues.

But to Favourites, tho' seldom, it may be advisable.

But if Kings, whilst they follow their own Inclinations and Pleasures, will suffer Favourites to govern their Kingdoms, it is then clear, that such Favourites will by all means endeavour, during their uncertain Favour, to enrich themselves: and therefore by private Bribes to such Creatures, dangerous Resolutions may be prevented; and if a dangerous War be at any time very much feared, may be well and profitably bestowed. But

* Es nec edad real, dar a Reyes.

yet

yet this is not to be done till the utmost Extremity. For we are taught, that Courtiers may very well be resembled to hungry biting Dogs, who as they will soon observe, when their Bread is given for snarling at or biting the Giver: So Courtiers who are always wasting their Estates, and always hungry, will, in hopes of obtaining new Presents, be always most ready to threaten such generous Givers, nay and bite them too, unless such open-handed Persons take a good Resolution to arm themselves, in order to resist their Menaces and Attempts by Force, and by that means to obtain Peace.

Which the Fungry Dogs, to which Courtiers were resembled, plainly teaches us.

And to express my self more amply in this particular, I shall say, that all Treaties and Capitulations between supreme Governors and States, arise by reason of a mutual Diffidence of one and the same Neighbour, or of several stronger Neighbours, and by a mutual desire to be able to defend themselves against one or more mighty Potentates.

The general Causes of all Contentions and Treaties, are Peace,

Or, secondly, Through a desire of the same thing, appertaining to a third Person, and to enrich themselves by an Alliance and Conjunction with another: Or thirdly, Through Arrogance, Vain-Glory, and Ambition.

Hope and Vain-glory.

Yet it matters not much upon what Reason these Dissensions and Alliances arise, but whether the Covenanters and Allies do equally fear, or have need of one another; and whether they are equally concerned in that which they desire to obtain or defend. For we learn, that * Damage parts Friendship,

* Idem velle idem nosse, ea demum firma amicitia est. Ter.

and Complainers have no Friends.

In a word, all consists in this, Whether they that enter into a League, have a common Interest to avoid or obtain that which they both have in their Eye. For where that is not, all Alliances and Covenants are made for the benefit of the strongest, and to the prejudice of the weakest: So that if he cannot withstand the strongest, without entering into Capitulation with him, he will by such Capitulation be the sooner overthrown, if by virtue thereof he makes War upon a Neighbour that is stronger than he. For it is better to have many mighty Neighbours than one, according to the Fable, which says, That a Bear may easily be taken by one able Huntsman, but that his Hide or Skin cannot be divided among many before he be caught, and therefore he is suffered to live.

It is not advisable to make Alliances with Greater than themselves.

No Alliance with a Greater is good, unless he first perform his Contract.

Whence it necessarily and irrefragably follows, that all States and Sovereigns ought not to enter into Alliances with those who are stronger, but rather with such as are inferior to themselves in Power, by which means they may always covenant, that the Weaker shall first make good his Engagement; and in all doubtful Cases, where mention is made of enjoining him to do any thing, he may interpret them to his Advantage, at least afterwards, so as to do no more than he will: according to the Italian Proverb, * *Be quick to receive, slow to pay; for an Accident may happen whereby you may never pay any thing.* And ac-

* Al pigliar pronto, al pagar tardo; perche puo nascer inconveniente che non si paghi niente.

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ording to that, * *It is good riding on the fore Horse, and being a Master; for you may always transfer, or give away as much of your Right as you will, and make your self less.*

Secondly, From hence may be inferred, That when an Inferior Power treats with one superior to him, he injures himself, if he do not contract, that the Stronger shall first perform that which he promises. And if the Alliance be grounded upon a common Interest, the Superior hath little reason to fear, that when he hath performed his Engagements, he shall be deceived by the Weaker: so that if he be not willing to do this, he gives great Cause to the Weakest not to trust him, and so not to enter into such a Treaty, which like a rotten House is like to fall upon his Head.

C H A P. VI.

Some Considerations particularly relating to Alliances between Holland and Inferior Powers.

HAVING premised in the foregoing Chapter, that the Interest of Holland for Conquest consists in Peace, because our Fisheries, Trade, Navigation, and Manufactures will increase more by Peace than War, and that these are the Pillars on which our State is founded; it follows, that all Covenants and Alliances

All Alliances detrimental to Holland,

† Præstat prevenire quam preveniri. Il fait bon estre Maistre, car on est tousjours valet quand on veut.

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found-

founded upon Conquest and Glory, are prejudicial to *Holland*, since by such Alliances the Peace is wilfully broken, and Wars made to the Ruin or Decay of the said Pillars of our Country.

As also for advancing Trade, if made with Republicks.

2ly. It also naturally follows, that no Alliances, except such as are grounded upon mutual Fear and Defence against a much superior Power, can be profitable for *Holland*, because by this means either the Peace will be more lasting, or the War that may happen will have a better and speedier end.

3ly. If we consider the States of *Europe* in their present Condition, 'tis true, all Republicks being founded on Peace and Trade, have the same Interest with *Holland*, to preserve and maintain Peace on every side: But they by continual endeavours to draw our Trade, and its Dependencies to themselves, always obstruct our principal Design, which is the increase of Traffick. And considering also that they are of so little Power to assist *Holland*, when in Distress, against a greater Force, 'tis wholly unadvisable to enter into an Alliance with any of them for common Defence. For as to the defence by Land, relating to the *United Provinces* themselves, we have found how fruitless a thing, and burdensom a load the Union for our common Defence has always been (I will not say as it was made, but as that Union was formerly managed by our Captains-General and Stadtholders) to the Province of *Holland*.

The Union of Utrecht has been misused, to the prejudice of *Holland*.

And tho during our free Commonwealth Government, all those Abuses of the said Union which have been so prejudicial to us, and arose merely from fear of offending the late

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late Heads of our Republick, ought to have ceased; yet by long continuance they have so much tended to the Advantage of our separate Allies, and their Deputies of the Generality, and taken so deep a root, that our Republick of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* can hardly compass or obtain any Reformation, or any new and profitable Orders for their own particular Benefit, tho with never so much Right demanded, without being subject to the undue Oppositions and Thwartings of the said Allies of our Union, and their Deputies, with whom we are forced to be always contending. And of this I could give the Reader infinite Examples, particularly by means of *Zealand* and *Friesland*, from that faithful and excellent History of *L. V. Aitzma*,

wherein the Debates about the Seclusion of the Prince of *Orange* in 1654, and about the Order made *Anno* 1663, concerning the publick Prayers for the superior and inferior Magistracy, as also for the foresaid Allies, and their Deputies in the Generality, and Council of State, are fully related. See *L. V. Aitzma's Hist. on those respective Years, and especially the Considerations of the publick Prayers, and Holland's Deduction concerning the Seclusion, &c.*

And if we should make Alliances with the remote *German* Republicks, we should find them both chargeable and useless; for being weaker than we, they are the sooner like to be attacked, and then we by their means should be engaged in a War contrary to our own Interest.

And as for the Republicks of *Italy*, it is well known, that in our Wars by Land, they neither could, nor would give us the least Assistance, which was formerly made evident by our Alliance with *Venice*. And except in the *Mediterranean*, they can give us less help by

Other Republicks, whether *German* or *Italian*, would be much less serviceable to us.

by Sea, being not at all interested therein. And for the *Hans* Republicks, it is certain that they are not only very weak and unfit to undertake a War for our sakes against those who are too strong for us; but on the contrary, they always love to see us disturbed and obstructed at Sea, that in the mean time they may trade the more: so that we can be assisted by no Republicks in a War against a stronger Power. And because by covenanting with them for mutual Assistance, and common Defence, we may very easily fall into a War; we must never enter into any other Agreement with them, save of Friendship and Traffick; and in the mean while stand upon our Guard, as if we were to be assisted by no Republicks in the whole World in our Necessity. For tho' indeed those Republican Allies and Friends, are good yet Wo to us if we stand in need of them, and ten times more Wo to us if we wilfully and deliberately order matters so, as at all times, and for ever to stand in need of our Neighbours and Allies.

What Alliances are to be held with lesser Monarchs.

As for such Monarchs and Princes, who by Alliances might have some Communication with us; I conceive that their true Interest carries them, as well as their Favorites and Courtiers, to hate all manner of Republicks, especially such as are lately established, and are their Neighbours, because they are a perpetual Reproof to them, and bring the ablest and most discerning of their Subjects to dislike Monarchical Government. And therefore if we will enter into an Alliance with any of the neighbouring Kings and Princes, or are already in League with them, we must stand much

much more on our Guard, than if we were to make an Alliance with a free Republick, or had done so: So that it is hardly advisable to enter into any Alliance with Kings and Princes. Yet seeing things may so happen, that some such Alliance might for some short time be advantageous to us; 'tis necessary to speak of such Kings and Princes distinctly. And first, the Emperor and King of *Poland* are not considerable to us, and the Crown of *Denmark* so weak and unfit for War, that as we have nothing to fear from thence, so we cannot hope to be assisted by them in our Troubles. *Sweden* and *Brandenburgh* are so deficient, that we shall never cause them to take Arms against our Enemies, unless we will furnish them with great Sums by way of Advance: and as I said before, all such Alliances are unsteady and wavering, as we have lately learned by *Brandenburgh*, and *France* by *Sweden*; who after they had received the Money advanced, applied it purely to their own Affairs, without any regard to their Contracts. Besides, they are both of so small Power, that if they should become our Enemies, we might ruin them by prolonging the War, and always give them the Law by Sea.

Who hating Republicks, especially ours, we must always be upon our Guard.

So that they would soon perceive, that they could gain nothing by us, that their Traffick would be spoiled, the War mischievous to both sides, and consequently Peace and Friendship would be best for both. But in all Cases, having made Alliances with Republicks or Monarchs that are weaker than our selves, which, by alteration of conjunctures of Time and Interests, would certainly tend to ruin the

We may more safely make Alliances with weaker, than with stronger.

the State, or our Native Country; sufficient Reasons may always be given to those weaker Allies, why, with a saving to Honour, a Nation may depart from them, and neither may nor will either ruin themselves or their Subjects by such Leagues; and thereby make good the Proverb, * An ill Oath displeaseth God: And he that deceives a Deceiver, merits a Chair in Heaven. And indeed all Alliances made and confirmed by Oath between Sovereign Powers, ought to have this tacit Condition, to continue so long as the Interest of the Nation will admit. So that if nevertheless a Prince would punctually observe such Alliances to the ruin of his Country, he is no more to be esteemed than a silly Child that knows nothing of the World, whilst he ought to govern the Land as a Guardian to his Orphans; for according to the Rule in Law, † Orphans must suffer no loss. On the other side, the Ally in such a Case neither may, nor ought to perform his part, if it be against his first Oath and Duty as a Ruler and Guardian, and to the Ruin of his Subjects who are his Orphans; and therefore it must be understood, that he will not maintain it.

It oppugns not the Honour and Oath of a Regent, but agrees well with it.

A Regent or Guardian ought not to be ignorant of this; but if he be so, 'tis then evident that he ought to be governed himself, and be put under Wardship. Wo be to those Countries, Cities, and Orphans that must nevertheless be governed by such Rulers and Guardians!

* Quod male juratur, pejus praestatur.

Frangenti fidem, Fides frangatur eidem.

† Pupillus pati posse non intelligitur. Dig. l. 40. tit. 17. Reg. Jur. 110.

CHAP. VII.

Some Considerations touching the Alliances which Holland might enter into with mightier Potentates than themselves. And first with France.

BUT touching the three great Powers of *France, Spain, and England*, is all the Difficulty, since each of them by their own Strength can always be armed; and knowing how much we are concerned for Peace, neither of them fear us, but we must fear them. And therefore it is very necessary that we behave our selves very prudently towards them, as to the point of Alliances; which to effect the better, I conceive it necessary, as formerly, particularly to consider how much Good and Evil those three Kingdoms may receive or suffer from the *Hollanders*, and likewise what Good or Evil can befall *Holland* by each of them.

As to *France*, we are to observe, that formerly that Country subsisted wholly by Tillage, and therefore could suffer little damage by a War at Sea. But since the Reign of *Henry the 4th*, many heavy Impositions have been laid upon all imported and exported Manufactures; and the weaving of Silk, Wool, and Linen, with many other Mechanick Works, is so considerably improved there, that the *French* can supply others with more made Stuffs, and other Manufactures, than Foreigners take off. So that a War against us, would be more prejudicial to them than to us.

France did wholly subsist by Agriculture, not so now.

But

But because this first Point is of extraordinary weight, and perhaps not so well understood by others, I find my self obliged to draw up a List of Manufactures and Commodities exported out of France into Foreign Parts, especially into Holland, according to a Scheme presented to the King of France by the Society of Merchants at Paris, when a new and very high Imposition was laid upon all foreign imported Goods, and especially Manufactures, fearing lest the like Imposition would be laid by Holland and England upon all French Goods: And also from an Information exhibited by the Lord Ambassador Boreel in 1658. to the Lords States General of the United Provinces.

Which appears by this List or Account. See L. V. Aitzma on the same Tear.

- 1. In the first place great quantities of Velvet, Plushes, Satins, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Taffaties, and other silk Wares, made at Lions and Tours, which amount to above six Millions.
- 2. In silk Ribbands, Laces, Passements, Buttons, Loops, made about Paris, Roan, and those parts, to the value of two Millions.
- 3. Bever-Hats, Castors, Hats of Wool and Hair, which are made in and about Paris and Roan, to the value of one Million and a half.
- 4. Feathers, Belts, Fans, Hoods, Masks, gilt and wrought Looking-glasses, Watches, and other small Wares, to the value of above two Millions.
- 5. Gloves made at Paris, Roan, Vendome, and Clermont, to the value of above a Million and a half.

6. Woollen

- 6. Woollen Yarn spun in all parts of Picardy, worth more than one Million and a half.
 - 7. Paper of all sorts, made in Auvergne, Poitou, Limousin, Champagne and Normandy, for upwards of two Millions.
 - 8. Pins and Needles made at Paris and Normandy, and Combs of Box, Horn, and Ivory, for a Million and a half.
 - 9. Childrens Toys, and such as Nuremburg Ware, or as the French call them, Quincailerie, made in Auvergne, for upwards of six hundred thousand Florins.
 - 10. Linen Sail-cloth made in Brittany and Normandy, for upwards of five Millions of Florins.
 - 11. Household-goods, Beds, Matresses, Hangings, Coverlids, Quilts, Crespines, Fringes and Molets of Silk, above five Millions of Florins.
 - 12. Wines from Gascony, Xaintoigne, Nantais, and other places, for above five Millions.
 - 13. Brandys, Vinegars, and Sider, for fifteen hundred thousand Livers.
 - 14. Saffron, Woad, Soap, Hony, Almonds, Olives, Capers, Prunes, Prunellas, for above two Millions.
 - 15. Salt, yearly the lading of five or 600 Of these Goods Ships, exported from Rochel, Maran, Brou- there are yearly transported above 30 Millions, whereof Holland takes off the greatest part.
- And if we add to this the French Compagnys of Train and Whale-fins, of Cod and Pickled-Herrings, of Refining and fine Sugars, of all Spices and Indian-Wares, with prohibition to all that are not of the Company to import any into France; every one may

The Interest of Holland Part II.

may then observe, that by a French War against us, the Inhabitants of France will be much more prejudiced than those of Holland in their Navigation and Traffick.

Secondly, It is apparent, That the French have very few of their own Ships and Mariners; so that all their Traffick is driven (some few English Ships and Traffick excepted) by Holland Ships to Holland, or at least unlading there. And moreover, when any Goods are to be transported from one French Harbour to another, they are put on board Holland Vessels.

Holland takes off most of the Goods which France produces.

Thirdly, It is clear, That the Hollanders do buy up most of the French Wines and Salt that are exported; and that Salt might be had in other Countrys, and particularly in Portugal, Spain, and Punto del Rey. As it is likewise true, that we can better forbear those Wines in Holland, than the French Nobility and Ecclesiasticks (to whom most of the Wines belong) can forbear our Mony. And besides, by reason of the Peace in Germany, in case of War with France, the greatest part of that Trade may be supplied with Rhenish Wines, and possibly continue so alienated, altho the same were not so profitable for Holland, as the Trade by Sea in French Wines would be.

France formerly took off many Holland Goods, but not now.

Fourthly, 'Tis well known, That in France very many Dutch Cloths, Says, Linen, Herrings, Cod, and other Wares, transported thither by our Ships, were formerly spent there; which now by new Impositions is much lessened, or wholly prohibited.

Cannot hurt us by Land, and by Sea is not considerable.

Fifthly, It is evident that France cannot attack us by Land, nor by Sea, for want of good

Ch. 7. as to Alliances with France.

good Shipping, and on account of the danger of our Coast: So that if they seize our Goods, Debts, and Ships, they can do us no further mischief, except by small Capers at Sea, which we may easily prevent by keeping Convoy-ships about Ushant, and sending some few Cruisers to pick up the Privateers that ply about the Garonne, and the Loire, and clear the North Sea of them. But the greatest harm that the French can do the Hollanders, would be in the Mediterranean Seas, where, by reason of our remote situation, we cannot without great expence overpower them in Shipping. But our good Orders, according to which our Ships must be armed and manned, would preserve them from many Depredations.

But in the Mediterranean

Sixthly, It cannot on the other side be denied, that Holland with its great strength of Shipping, would be able to plunder all that extended French Sea-Coast from the North-Sea to Italy, and take those weak Towns and burn them, unless they were prevented by an extraordinary Force of Soldiery by Land; there being in France on the Sea-side very many weak Towns and Villages, and no Ships of War that dare keep the Sea against ours. Besides which, we should destroy all their Trade to the East and West-Indies, and indeed thorow all Europe; which is at present of so much importance to France, as hath been formerly declared. And when we further consider, that in all Governments of a Single Person, the Treasure in a time of War is miserably wasted, as shall be farther demonstrated when we come to speak of England; we shall have reason to believe, that we

Our Naval and Land Forces may keep France in a continual Alarm.

So that Holland is able to compel the French to a Peace.

we should be able either to ruin the *French*, or compel them to a Peace.

By all which it clearly appears, that a King of *France* may not make War upon us, for fear of receiving great damage from us, or others in our behalf, nor in hope of conquering us, nor yet through vain Glory : But that on the contrary a War against us would immediately cause all *French* Traffick and Navigation to be at a stand, and endanger the loss of it for the future.

And therefore we may pursue our own Interest against France.

And moreover, if we observe that *Spain* in some measure, and *England* yet more, used to be formidable to *France*, it will further appear, that we never ought, by any Threatnings of *France* to make War against us, to suffer our selves to be drawn in to make any League with *France*, which we conceive would be prejudicial to us. And much less ought we, to please *France*, to suffer our selves to be brought into any War, by which the Strength of *Spain* or *England* should be impaired by the *French* : For having once done so, we should meet with more bold and troublesome Rencounters from them, and expect at last a more severe War from that Kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Considerations concerning Holland's entering into Alliance with Spain.

AS to *Spain*, it is very observable, that all the Welfare of that Kingdom depends on their Trade to the *West-Indies* : And that *Spain* affords only Wool, Fruit and Iron ; and in lieu of this, requires so many *Holland* Manufactures and Commodities, that all the *Spanish* and *West-Indian* Wares are not sufficient to make returns for them.

Spain subsists by its Commerce with the *West-Indies*. Yields Wool, and takes off more of our Manufacture.

So that the *Holland* Merchants, who carry Money to most parts of the World to buy Commodities, must out of this single Country of all *Europe* carry home Money, which they receive in payment for their Goods, without benefit and by stealth, over that raging and boisterous Sea.

2. It is well known that *Spain* during our Wars, lost most of their Naval Forces ; and that we during our Peace, have for the most part beat the *Eastern* Merchants and *English* out of that Trade. So that it is now certain, that in *Spain* all the Coast is navigated with few other than *Holland* Ships ; and that their Ships and Seamen are so few, that since the Peace they have publickly begun to hire our Ships to sail to the *Indies*, whereas they were formerly so careful to exclude all Foreigners thence.

Has no Ships nor Mariners.

3. It is manifest, that the *West-Indies*, being as the Stomach in the Body to *Spain*, must be joined to the *Spanish* Head by a Sea force :

Its Dominions much dispers'd.

And that the Kingdom of *Naples* with the *Netherlands*, being like two Arms, they cannot lay out their Strength and Vigour for *Spain*, nor receive any from thence but by shipping. All which may be very easily done by our Naval Power in a time of Peace, and may as well be obstructed in a time of War.

And therefore our Naval Power can hinder their mutual Communication.

4. It is likewise certain, that *Holland* by its naval Strength, is able wonderfully to encumber and perplex this whole dispers'd Body in time of War, and accordingly put them to the charge of maintaining an incredible number of Land Forces in Garisons.

Spain stands in fear of France.

But on the other side it is likewise true, 1. That the King of *Spain* must continually maintain a great Military Strength against the mighty Kingdom of *France*, and in those great and jealous *Netherlandish* Citys, or else lose his Country.

Hath had pretensions upon Holland.

2. It is known, That the said King has Pretensions to *Holland*, and a very powerful adherence of the *Roman-Catholicks*; tho the strength of both these since our Peace, and his laying down all Pretensions to our Country, and especially by the expiration of so many Years, and our own confirmed and improved Government, is very much diminished, and almost annihilated.

It bounds upon Holland.

3. It is likewise evident that *Spain*, by *Brabant's* bordering on *Holland*, and by means of the *Flemish* Sea-Havens, is able to disturb our Fisherys, and Traffick, in this small North Sea.

Offensive Wars hurtful to Holland.

4. It is certain, That this State of Free-Government will not think it advisable, tho they should fall into a War with *Spain*, to take

take any more *Netherlandish* Cities by exceeding chargeable Sieges.

5. It is manifest that all the Frontiers of the *United-Netherlands* are so well fortified, that we are not likely to lose any of them unless by their great number; and yet if they are in any wise well defended, they would hardly pay the damage to *Spain*. We are in a good condition for a defensive War.

Moreover, *Spain* would then have Reason to expect that we should excite *France*, according to the Interest of the Kingdom, to prevent any additional Increase of *Spain* by making War on his Frontiers, which would always in such Cases be very terrible to *Spain*.

So that by all that hath been said, it is manifest, that *Spain* may receive many great Advantages by *Holland* in time of Peace; and that a War is very prejudicial for both sides; Whereby we may pursue our Interest against Spain.

yet so, that there is much more appearance for the King of *Spain* to gain upon us by Land, than for us upon him, unless we should reckon the plundering and burning of his Citys in *Spain*, and the losing his Gallions at Sea to ballance it. Because, as we have said before, our free Rulers having their eye upon Trade do always decline an Offensive War, and will carry on none but what is necessary and defensive only.

Whence we may also infer, that out of fear of a War we ought never, against the interest of this State in it self considered, to make Alliances with *Spain*; and much less should we suffer our selves to be led away to make the least War against any of our Neighbours who are formidable to him; since the greatest quiet of this State consists in this, That *France* be formidable to *Spain*, and *England* a Friend to us.

C H A P. IX.

Considerations touching Holland's entering into Alliance with England.

England subsisted formerly by Husbandry, without Naval Strength.

See Phil. de Comines.

And in some measure depended on the Drapery of the Netherlands.

But now not at all, and why.

AS for England, we are to know, that heretofore it wholly subsisted by Husbandry, and was wont to be so naked of any Naval Power, that the Hans-Towns being at War with England, they compelled King Edward in the Year 1470, to make Peace upon Terms of Advantage to them. And so long as the English used to transport nothing but a few Minerals, and much Wool, which they carried to Calais by a small number of their own Ships, and sold only to Netherlandish Clothiers, it would have been so prejudicial for the King to forbear his Customs of Wool (which at Calais alone amounted to 50000 Crowns per Annum) and likewise to the Subject, in case he had made War upon the Netherlands, That we read not that these trading Provinces ever broke out into a perfect open War against England. For tho sometimes War hapned between the Princes of the respective Countrys, nevertheless most of the Citys concerned in Traffick and Drapery, continued in Amity. In so much that all the Wars of that rich and plentiful Country broke out against France, and consequently against Scotland, or else against Wales and Ireland, and sometimes against Spain

But afterwards, when the compulsive Laws of the Netherlandish Halls, and the tumultuous rising against them which followed, together

ther with our Inland and Foreign Wars, had first driven the Cloth-weaving into our Villages, and thence into England, and by the Cruelty of the Duke of Alva the Say-weaving went also after it; the English by degrees fell to vend their Manufactures throughout Europe, became potent at Sea, and began no longer to depend on these Netherlands. Then by the discovery of that unexpressible rich Cod-bank of Newfoundland, those of Bristol in particular made use of that advantage; and ballasting their Ships with English Lead, Tin, and other Wares, when they had compleated their Fishing of Cod on the said Bank, they sailed with it to Spain, and throughout the Mediterranean, to vend their English Wares with their Baccalieu, or Poor-John, in all those parts, and in return carried other Goods of those Lands to England.

Finally, we may add the long Persecution of the Puritans in England, which causing the planting of many English Colonies in America, hath given England a very great conveniency to drive a mighty Foreign Trade with the Indies and the said Colonies.

So that this mighty Island, united with the Kingdom of Ireland under the Government of one King, seems not to have need of any Garisons to repel a Foreign Enemy, is situated in the midst of Europe, having a clean deep Coast, furnished with good Harbours and Bays, in so narrow a Sea, that all Foreign Ships that sail to the Eastward or Westward, are necessitated even in fair Weather to shun the dangerous French Coast, and sail along that of England, and in stormy Weather to run in and preserve their Lives, Ships, and Goods,

The Interest of Holland Part II.

Goods, in its Bays. So that it is easy to judg, that the said King having acquired a considerable Naval Power, and being independent on all his Neighbours as to Trade, is very considerable to all that are concerned in navigating the said Narrow Seas.

For its exceeding convenient Situation, to have the Dominion of the Sea.

For according to the Proverb, * A Master at Sea is a Lord at Land, and especially a King of England, seeing he is able both by whole Fleets of Ships, and private Ships of War, at all times to seize Ships that sail by that Coast; the Westerly Winds which blow for the most part on this side the Tropick, giving the English great Opportunitys to sail out of their numerous Bays and Harbours at pleasure, to infest our Navigation. And if this Commerce to the Eastward and Westward were stopt, or prevented, it would certainly prove the ruin of Holland.

Which formidable Power of the Kingdom of England, King Henry the 8th was so sensible of, that he dared to use this Device, † He whom I assist shall be Master: And accordingly made War as he listed, sometimes against France, sometimes against Spain; which was then strengthened with the German Empire, and these Netherlands; making peace at his own pleasure both with Francis the First, and Charles the Fifth, whom he durst so horribly despise, as to repudiate his Aunt.

So that England now by a conjunction with Scotland being much increased in Strength, as well as by Manufactures, and a great Na-

* Imperator Maris, Terræ Dominus.

† Qui adhaere præest.

Ch. 9. as to Alliances with England.

igation, will in all respects be formidable to all Europe, so soon as an Absolute King shall make use of that Power against his Neighbours, without the check and control of a Parliament.

But on the other side, it is also certain that England in a time of Peace has great advantages by the Hollanders, who in their passage are necessitated to frequent their Havens. And there are now in Holland many more English Commodities, which we could very well spare, that are transported and used by us, than Holland hath Wares in England, because the Holland and other Foreign Manufactures have for the most part long since been prohibited. And since the Prohibition in England of importing any Goods, save those of the Growth and Manufacture of the Country, by Foreign Ships into England, all our Navigation to that Kingdom is at a stand.

How much England may be benefited by a Peace with Holland, or damaged by a War.

2. It is evident, that the Rivers in England are very small, and remote from one another; so that all mutual Traffick, and transporting of Goods there, being necessarily done upon the open Sea, the English may suffer great Losses by our private Ships of War.

3. It is certain that the English Traffick by Sea being so great, and remote, may be most prejudiced in the Mediterranean Sea, and the East-Indies, by the Holland Ships, which during our free Government are much augmented, and must and will be increased more and more.

By our great Naval Power.

4. It is clear, that considering our small and dangerous Coast, the English by Land can make no Conquest upon Holland, unless they can

can get footing by means of our intestine Divisions; nor we on them, for another reason. Besides, Kings will ever be conquering of Lands; and prudent Republicks which thrive best by Peace, will never do so, but rather erect Colonys.

A War by Sea too chargeable for England, when we have a great Naval Strength.

5. It is therefore consequently true, That the *English* cannot make War upon us but by Sea. And since those Wars must be carried on purely with Mony, because Naval Power cannot subsist by plundering, and quartering in an Enemys Country, and that the King of *England* cannot employ his Revenue for that end, having occasion for that and more to maintain his Court; It also follows that he would have need of another standing Revenue or Fund, to be enabled to carry on the said War by Sea.

Because that King can carry on that War no other way than by Taxes.

6. It will be granted, That the said King having a new standing Revenue to maintain those Wars, he would never after call a Parliament to desire Subsidies from them, and consequently the Parliament will never suffer that any perpetual important Tax be established in that Kingdom; because the establishment of such a Tax would utterly deest them of so weighty a Privilege, as is the assembling of Parliaments, in which all Abuses are to be redress'd, and the Extortions, Briberies, and other Oppressions of Ministers and Courtiers prevented or punished, and Right done to the People, before they will engage by an Act of Parliament to pay those heavy Subsidies.

Which would be intolerable to the English.

7. It is evident, That so long as we effectually take care of our Naval Power, and increase it as Opportunitys offer, a War with us would require so great and chargeable Fleets, that

that they could not be set to Sea, and maintained by Subsidies or Taxes only, because the Burden would be so great, so unexpected, and so uneasily born by the Inhabitants, that the King would be in continual apprehension and fear of an Insurrection of his Subjects, if he should obstinately persist to make War against us.

8. It is certain, that the Courtiers and Favourites who possess the King's Ear, may make great Profits by this War at Sea, by Prizes taken, and Subsidies granted, as long as they continue on shore to manage the same. But if they go to Sea themselves to command in the Fleet, they put themselves in as much danger of their Lives as the least Person there, by Storms, Shipwracks, Fireships, Bullets; and moreover, run the Hazard of having all their endeavours during their absence from Court misconstrued, and misrepresented to the King by other Courtiers. In a word, if those Favourites, and Courtiers, remain on shore during the War against *Holland*, they will be necessitated to see the Admiral carry away all the honour of good Successes, and they the blame of the bad; whilst instead of carefully providing all things necessary, they study to enrich themselves by the Subsidies and Prizes; and the Nation would gain little Honour or Profit by such a chargeable Naval War. And on the other side, if they go to Sea to command the Fleets, they must necessarily part from the Court, and be absent from the King, and consequently run a great Hazard; lest in the mean time some malevolent private Enemy, who hath the King's Ear, may so manage the matter, that tho they

And a War by Sea is very unserviceable to the Courtiers.

went

went to Sea in the King's Favour, yet they may be called home with Disgrace.

Besides, England may be plundered landward, and compelled to redeem their Towns from firing, but Holland not.

9. It is certain, that *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, having in all parts a deep and bold Coast, their Cities, Towns, and Villages in the Country being weak, or without Walls and Fortifications, they may in all Places be attacked, and our Men may be landed under the shelter of our Cannon, and so plunder and burn those Places. Whereas the *English* cannot do the like in *Holland*, because our small Coast can easily be guarded and secured by our own Forces, and is so foul and shallow, that the Enemies Ships of War cannot reach our Strand with their Cannon; and in case they should attempt to land with their Boats, they would soon be overfet by the high Surges of the Sea, or at least have their Powder spoil'd. So that what we should fall short of in our Privateering by Sea, we should ballance by our plundering by Land, and burning of Towns, and thereby be richly recompensed. Besides, such plundering and burning will strike a greater Terror and Consternation into the Inhabitants there, than any Losses at Sea would operate amongst us.

All Monarchs, especially the English, are very lavish of their Treasure, and withal Thievish.

10. It cannot be denied, but that in all Monarchical Governments during a War, especially by Sea, vast Sums of Money are ill laid out, and embezel'd by Courtiers, Sea Officers, and Souldiers, and the Stores provided for the Navy frequently misemployed and wasted; so that in a little time the Money raised will fall short; more especially in *England*, where the Subsidies granted by the Parliament, being always limited to a certain Sum, are indeed sufficient but not superfluous; and

and an *English* Court, above all others, is prodigal and thievish. Whereas on the other side, in a free Commonwealth, and in a time of War by Sea, such exact Accounts are kept, and Regulation used, that neither those that are entrusted to provide things necessary, nor those that make use of them, can either mispend or embezel the publick Money or Provisions; and this may in a particular manner be expected from the *Hollanders*, who have always been famous for Frugality and Parsimony. And it is observable, that this Prodigality of the one Nation, and the Frugality of the other, is not only visible in the publick Treasure, but is also discerned in the private way of living, both of the *English* and *Hollanders*: so that by a War at Sea the Taxes upon the Commonalty of both sides increasing, and the Profits decreasing, *Holland*, in proportion to the Country and Purse of the Inhabitants, by well husbanding the publick Treasure, would easily hold out longer than *England*, as appeared manifestly in the Year 1667.

But all Republics, especially Holland, are Frugal.

All which Particulars being true, it naturally follows, that a War is for both Nations very mischievous; yet so, that *England* will be able to take many Prizes from us by Sea, and little by Land; We on the other side, few Prizes of the *English* by Sea, but great Booty by Land. But we should be sufficiently prejudiced by them, if we had not a competent number of Ships of War to match their Naval Strength, and by that means should be forced to quit the Sea to the *English*, especially if their Kings and Parliament would not lavish the strength of that Island on their Luxury and Favourites, but rather in Ships and Mariners.

A War with England will be detrimental both to us and them.

So

So that our only Safety is grounded upon the increase of our Naval Strength to such a Degree, that the *English* Fleets may either be over-ballanced by ours, or not able to hurt us, as likewise upon those Accidents to which a Monarchical Government is always subject, and that a War with us would be extremely pernicious to the Subjects of *England*; and likewise that *London*, by means of greater Traffick and Navigation, would be more formidable to the Kings of *England*, than any of his foreign Neighbours.

So that we ought to give the *English* good words,

So that in order to avoid a War, we must in all our Differences give them good words, and gain time, in hopes that in these Monarchical Governments the Kings will either follow their Pleasures, or through excess of Luxury, and Court-robbery, waist all their Revenues, and run themselves into Debts, or die, or perhaps fall into a foreign or intestine War.

But we are to take care, that we do not suffer our selves, for fear of a War with *England*, to be inveigled into an Alliance, jointly to carry on an offensive War against any Nation, which may be very formidable to that Country, and not so much to us. For in so doing we should make our selves considerably weaker, and *England* stronger; who having that Thorn pull'd out of their Foot, might afterwards with less fear oppress and trample upon us, while we remain deprived of that Refuge by our own Folly. The truth is, since *England* is more formidable to us than any Country in the whole Universe, it were an unpardonable Fault in us, to make them yet more formidable to our selves.

Notwithstanding a War threatned.

And

And above all, we are to observe, that in order to shun or avoid a War with *England*, we must not suffer our selves to be seduced to alter the Commonwealth for a Monarchical Government; for * *The free Lion will not be bound again*, was used to be *Holland's* Device and Sense. And if now under a free Government, we should be necessitated to make some steps that way to please the King of *England*; I would then ask how we should be able to make the least Resistance against such a Head, as would in a manner become Lord of the Country, through our Weakness and Chains, when he shall by an innate Hatred (which all Monarchs bear to Republicks) attempt to ruin our formidable Naval Strength and Trade, and deprive us of our Navigation, under colour of favouring a Prince related to him, and a Head of his own making, whilst he designs the supreme Power for himself: he would, I say, by this means make us the most miserable Nation that ever was governed by any Monarch; for such a Government would infallibly strip us of all our natural Advantages proceeding from the Seas and Rivers, and not only leave us charged with intolerable Taxes, but oppress us also with an expensive and luxurious way of Living, together with those other infinite Mischiefs which are found ever in those Governments. From whence it evidently follows, that we must defend our free Government, tho it should be by a War against *England*: For 'tis better and more commendable

Above all we ought not to please *England* by altering our free Government.

* *Leo revinciri liber pernegat.*

to

But to preserve the same sound, whole, and intire.

to fight for our Lives, tho with the utmost hazard of perishing, than to hang our selves like Judas, for fear of receiving some smarting wounds in the Battel, and to murder our selves by a double Death of Soul and Body, without hopes of a Resurrection; seeing if the worst befall us, and we be weakned by an English War, yet still living under a free Government, we might wait for Accidents and Alterations, and hope to have better Success at another time: Whereas on the contrary, by a Monarchical Government we should for ever be deprived of our Fisheries, Manufactures, and Trade, to the Ruin of our selves and our Posterity, who might justly curse such base and cowardly Parents.

And to have no offensive Alliances with England.

In all Events it is evident, that England fearing no Potentate of Europe, except the King of France, can make no Alliance with us grounded upon a common Fear; but that only, and consequently all other Alliances with that Kingdom, will be prejudicial to us.

Because such Conquests would be pernicious to us.

'Tis also as evident, that we are not to make any Alliance with England, out of a desire of Conquest; for at the best, when we have employ'd our utmost Strength in pursuit of their Game, we should at last most certainly differ with the English Lion about dividing the Prey; who taking the whole to himself, might soon after devour the wretched Holland As; or at most we should only be like Jackals, or Ferrets, to drive the Game into the English Net.

It were therefore in truth much better, that Holland in her Actions should imitate, not those two silly and unhappy Beasts, but rather the shy and wary Cat, that hunts only for her self.

Since

Since then we can make no advantageous Alliances with England, neither for common Conquest, nor common Defence, except against France only, we may rationally conclude, that all Alliances with that Kingdom, unless defensive against France, are useless to Holland, even those which might proceed from fear of a War with England: for it is evident, that whatever advantageous Conditions that King acquires from us, we must immediately make them good; and yet expect that he will nevertheless threaten us with a War, unless we will do many harder things for him.

But a defensive Alliance with them against France may be very proper.

And indeed he that will not defend his Subjects in their Lives and Liberties, tho by troublesom and dangerous Wars, is so unworthy of Government, Liberty, and Life, that in all respects he ought to be esteemed the Off-scouring of the World, and his Posterity never to be named by succeeding Generations, without Curses and Detestation.

CHAP. X.

Some General and Particular Inferences drawn from the foregoing Considerations, touching all our Allies.

OUT of all which foregoing Particulars, I conceive we may draw the following Corollaries.

First, That all Alliances which Holland might make in a time of Peace with any Neigh

General Maxims against the three most potent Monarchs,

Neighbouring Princes of Europe, are wholly unserviceable to us; since in our Necessity we shall never receive Aid from them, but rather be drawn into a War. But in times of War and Trouble we should consider, according to what I formerly mentioned, whether Holland were able to defend it self, and continue to do against its most potent Neighbours, France, Spain, and England, without any Assistance from abroad. And seeing I suppose we can, it then follows, that if we are attacked by a weaker Power, we must not seek help from those great Potentates mentioned, because they would thereby become greater and mightier. And on the contrary, a good Patriot of Holland ought to wish, that France and England may decrease, and that Spain may not increase in Strength.

France.

And if it should so fall out, that one of the three abovementioned Kingdoms should make War upon us, it is not at all needful that we therefore should seek Aid from abroad against them by Alliances, unless they of their own accord, and decently offer themselves; for otherwise we shall get nothing but a number of good Words; and if we rely on them, we shall be much hindered, as we lately found in our English War, when we were allied with France, and have learned from that inferior and ungrateful Denmark. But when those Alliances fall into our Laps, then, I say;

England.

2. When Holland is fallen into a War with England, all Alliances with other Potentates are good, in order to escape, provided our Allies first perform their Engagements.

Spain.

3. When Spain makes War with us, an offensive Alliance with France is good, provided

vided the French comply first with their Engagements; and if they will not, it is better to stand upon our own bottom, and to labour that we run not aground: And seeing we must run the Adventure, it is better to endeavour with full Sail to pass over the Flats, than in expectation of foreign Pilots, who all may promise to assist us with their Skill, to let our Vessel drive slowly, but certainly on the Sands, and perish.

It is always more decent and honourable for Men to shew that Courage they have, and effectually to exert their utmost Strength against an Enemy, in order to preserve their Rights, than to surrender all through Cowardice and Fear. For tho they may lose by the War, yet they sell every Advantage so dear to the Enemy, that afterwards neither he nor any other will rashly come on again. But he who for Fear, and want of Courage, gives up any part of his Estate and Right, invites and pulls down upon his own Head all that a covetous Enemy can desire, and is despised by all Men.

That in matters of Polity, relating to an Enemy, none ought to be fainthearted.

4. All these Disturbances and Wars, whether against France (unless that Kingdom were strengthened by devouring the Spanish Netherlands, and so become our Neighbour) or against any other Potentates, may more easily be overcome without any Alliance; tho in such a Case the lesser Republicks and Potentates may, in favour of Holland, be drawn into the War by some preceding Alliance, because we having gotten what we aimed at, will ever interpret the Alliance made to our best Advantage.

Contracts with lesser States are the best.

Inferences drawn from what Part II.

And a good Alliance with a Republick, is better than with a King.

5. It is *cæteris paribus* more useful either for *Holland*, or other Potentates, to have Alliances with a Republick, than with a Prince or King, because such Alliances being grounded upon a common Interest, they may assure themselves that they will always be so understood by the Governors of a Commonwealth, who besides are Immortal and Perpetual. Whereas on the other side, single Persons have seldom so much understanding and knowledg, as to apprehend their own Interest, much less will they take the pains to govern by that Rule; and besides, they are very inconstant and mortal, and naturally hate all Republicks.

But Alliances with France, Spain, and England, are dangerous.

6. It is, and always will be dangerous for *Holland*, to make Alliances with *France*, *Spain*, or *England*, because 'tis probable that they who are more esteemed only because they are Kings, and possess larger Territories than we, will always oblige us to perform our Engagements first, and expound all ambiguous Points to their own advantage. But so long as we are in the least fear of *France*, that is, so long as *Spain* can keep the *Netherlands*, we may best enter into Alliance with that Kingdom for common defence, against those that might wrong, or make War against the one or the other. But when *France* is like to be Master of the *Netherlands*, and become our Neighbour, it is not only necessary for *Holland* to prevent that potent, and always bold and insolent Neighbour, and to take great care not to make any League, by which *France* may in any measure increase in Power; but all the Potentates and States of *Europe* ought to combine together to hinder

Yet that we may not have France for our Neighbour, almost all Alliances are good.

Ch. 10. has been said of Alliances.

der the further growth of that Kingdom, which hath already overgrown all its Neighbours.

Likewise so long as we must dread *England* in the highest degree, it is perfectly useless to make the least Alliance with that Kingdom, save such as is grounded upon a common fear of a greater Power, as now *France* is; seeing all written Alliances, without common Necessity, are interpreted in favour of the greatest, as happens in all doubtful Cases: Besides that *England* will thus find more cause with appearance of Right to make War against us. For if that be found true, which mean Persons conclude, That all that are in Partnership have a Master; and that all such Partnerships begin *In the Name of God*, but use to end in that of the Devil: 'Tis much more true of Kings and Princes, who have outgrown all Justice; and consequently as true, that so long as *England* intends to have the Quiet or Disquiet of *Holland* at their own disposal, she would be the worst and most tyrannical Ally for us that were to be found in the whole World, unless the dread of a more powerful Neighbour should curb that pernicious Inclination.

Above all things we ought to make no Alliance with England save against France.

To sum up all: So long as *Holland* can stand on its own Legs, it is utterly unadvisable to make any Alliance with those who are more potent; and especially it is not good to perform any thing first, or be beforehand with those unconstant Monarchs and Princes, in hope that they will perform with us afterwards, according to the old saying, They that eat Cherrys with great Men, must pay for them themselves; and besides, suffer them

Inferences drawn from what Part II.

them to chuse the fairest, and expect at last to be pelted with the Stones, instead of Thanks for the Favour received.

Benefit of Alliances consists in never performing First.

7. And consequently it is certain, That all the Advantage in Articles of an Alliance consists in this, that Holland do always covenant that the other Allys shall first perform their Engagements. All other sort of Alliances are very prejudicial to us: For by the proper Constitution, or antient Custom of our Government, the Deputys of the Provinces upon all occasion will, where they can expect any private Benefit, suffer themselves to be moved by Foreign Ambassadors to draw in Holland to their Party, when they can see no detriment to accrue thereby to their particular Provinces.

Especially because our Generalitys Colleges are not settled according to our Interest.

And the following Proverb takes place with those especially (whose Commissioners for the Generality are not concerned for the Publick, so long as their Provinces remain unburdened) That it is very easy to lie in the Ashes with another Man's Garment, and be warm. So also 'tis not difficult to take generous Resolutions at the cost of another, to keep Promise, to be liberal and merciful towards our Neighbours, while all other Potentates and States continue to deal openly and fairly with us. But supposing the other Provinces might be somewhat concerned therein, yet is their Interest so inconsiderable, that among their Deputys we ever find that a general Evil is weighed according to the Weigher's particular Interest and no otherwise, how heavily soever another may be oppressed thereby; especially here, because they are seldom called to account by their Superiors for their Transactions. * And

Ch. 10. has been said of Alliances.

And if any one doubts of the Truth of these Inferences, viz. That all Superior Powers, especially the Monarchs and Princes of Europe, play with their Allys as Children do with Nine-pins, which they set up, and immediately beat down again as they please; and that he that first performs is ever the loser, and suffers shame, let him read the Historys of Francisco Guicciardino, and Philip de Commines. And if these two famous Politicians, the one an Italian, the other a Netherlander, writing of Matters in which they had the profoundest skill, and in which they were very often imploy'd; if they, I say, do not remove these Doubts, much less will it be effected by any reasoning from me.

For Potentates trifle with Oaths.

In the mean time, to conclude what hath been alledged above (viz. seeking our Preservation by Alliances) I shall lay before you that which the Antients have figured out by the ensuing Fable.

" A rich but weak Countryman, observing
" that his poor and strong Neighbour, contrary to preceding Promises made of assisting each other, did notwithstanding steal his Apples, and rob'd his Orchard; told him of the Injustice and Perfidiousness of the thing, desiring that he would be satisfied with what he had. To this the strong Boor answered, that this Sermon very well became a rich unarmed Man; but that he being hungry, could not fill his empty Belly with such Food. And as to his former Promises and Engagements for mutual defence, such kind of necessity is ever excepted, and that he could not comply there-with. Upon this the other weak and old

The general Conclusion illustrated by a Fable of an old and rich Man; and a young Country Fellow.

Inferences concerning Alliances. Part II.

“ Boor having gathered a Nosegay of sweet
 “ Herbs and beautiful Flowers, threw them
 “ to the Plunderer, saying, I present you
 “ with these Fruits, that you may not rob
 “ my Orchard, which I use to sow and plant
 “ for the use and refreshment of Friends.
 “ The impudent young Fellow thinking with
 “ himself, that he must needs be very silly,
 “ who being able to take all, will be content
 “ with so small a matter, rob'd him more and
 “ more of all that came to hand; insomuch
 “ that the Owner became impatient, and in
 “ great hast gathered up some Stones, and
 “ threw them at the Plunderer; who being
 “ grievously hurt, was necessitated to leap
 “ down from the Tree and fly. The old
 “ weak Boor finding himself alone, broke
 “ out into these words, Formerly we used to
 “ say, In Words, Herbs and Stones, there
 “ are great Virtues: But now I really find
 “ the weakness of Words and Herbs, *i. e.*
 “ Alliances, and Gifts to knavish Men. For
 “ all Gifts and Receipts are good for the Phy-
 “ sician, and the true Antidote in all Poli-
 “ tick Distempers, is good Arms and Trea-
 “ sure: So that to make an end, I say, that
 “ no body can defend his Goods against
 “ wicked Men, but by Stones, that is, good
 “ Arms, which are the only things left us,
 “ whereby we can bravely defend our
 “ Lives and Estates.

*Weak States
 improving their
 natural
 strength, do
 commonly de-
 fend them-
 selves against
 a bold aggres-
 sing Neighbour.*

But seeing these Conclusions do affirm,
 that *Holland* is able to defend it self against
 all Foreign Power, and yet the same is not
 sufficiently proved; therefore I shall do it in
 the following Chapters more fully, with this
 reserve, that *Holland* notwithstanding ought
 for

*

Ch. II. *Holland can subsist of it self.*

for its own Interest always to maintain the
 Union of *Utrecht*, so long as the other Pro-
 vinces forsake not *Holland*, nor assault it in a
 hostile manner.

C H A P. XI.

*That Holland heretofore, under the Govern-
 ment of a single Person, was in continual
 Tumults and Broils. And that under a
 Free Government it ought, and can de-
 fend it self against all Foreign Power bet-
 ter than formerly.*

BECAUSE in the foregoing Chapters, which
 treat of *Holland's* making or not mak-
 ing Alliances with its Neighbours, it could
 be shewn only in part and by accident, that
Holland effectually minding its own Interest,
 can make a State in *Europe* independent of
 any other, and not to be overpowered by any
 Foreign Force: And that on the other side,
 there are many Magistrates of Opinion, or at
 least have been so, that *Holland* ought not on-
 ly to be joined by the Union of *Utrecht*, but
 also by a Governor or Captain General, to all
 the other *United Provinces*; because if that
 Province should happen to be abandoned by
 the rest, they say, it would by no means de-
 fend it self in time of War against a power-
 ful Enemy: To whom we may add the Cour-
 tiers, and other Flatterers of the Stadthold-
 ers Court, who have for a long time made the
 common Inhabitants of the *United Provinces*
 believe,

*Advisedly to
 consider whe-
 ther Holland
 can subsist a-
 gainst all Po-
 tentates,*

*We must not re-
 gard what
 flattering Cour-
 tiers have gi-
 ven out; but*

Holland may subsist without Part II.

believe, that all those Countrys united would not be able to repel the Force of Spain with their own Strength; and that therefore one permanent Illustrious Captain-General and Stadtholder is very necessary for us, that by his Interest and Favour we may be able to obtain Succours of France, England, or Germany, against Spain. For these Reasons, and on account of the weight of the Subject, upon which most of all that is here treated, or shall be said hereafter, depends, I find my self oblig'd to represent the same more at large, and that effectually.

A Ruler that governs as if his State could not be secure, acts like a Monster;

In the first place it is evident, that there can be nothing more shameful nor prejudicial for a Sovereign Free Government, than to hold for a Maxim in the publick management of their Affairs, That in a time of War they are not able to subsist against all their Neighbours and States, whoever they be: For such Governors do thereby make the Welfare of their Native Country dependent upon those more powerful States, and content themselves of Rulers to become Subjects: Which is the most miserable condition that any Country can fall into by unsuccessful War.

Because he not only neglects himself, but also his innocent Subjects.

And indeed if we may justly blame a sick Person, who because he thinks he is mortally sick, will therefore use no Physician; we ought much more to blame those Rulers, who by base and degenerate Maxims lay aside the use of all Wisdom, Care, and Power, to strengthen and defend their Country to the utmost Extremity: for we might excuse the Folly of a sick Person, because what he does is at his own peril. And because every one is Lord of his own, neither can it be simply said that

Ch. II. the Government of a single Person.

that he increases his Distemper by neglecting the use of Physick. But a Magistrate, who is by Nature and by his Oath to provide for the Welfare of his Subjects, and to defend them against all Force, ought to be accounted the most infamous of Men if he neglects that Duty.

If then by such ill Maxims he uses the strength of his own Country and Subjects to give advantages to another, and is not only careless of his own, but of the Welfare of his innocent People, he tempts his insolent Neighbours, and perfidious Allys, to attack and ruin his Country in that unarmed condition: Whereas if he had made such provision for the publick Defence as he ought, they would have been deterred from any attempt, and have continued peaceable and quiet. For as occasion makes the Thief, and every one will climb over into the Garden where the Wall is lowest; so likewise the Goods of unarmed People are ever common: but one Sword keeps another in the Scabbard; and two curst Dogs seldom bite one another.

But to come nearer to the matter in hand, I shall premise in the general, from the Credit of undoubted History, that most of these Netherlandish Provinces, especially Holland, whilst for many Ages they were governed by Earls and Captains General, not only lived in continual Dissension and Division, but were in perpetual War one against the other, as well as against their Lords, and those that depended on them, unchristianly shedding one anothers Blood: And the reason of it is very evident; for tho the Interest of such Lords is often different from that of the State, and

Deduction, Part 2. ch. 3. fol. 6. Holland hath stood of it self 700 Years together.

It had Breaches and Tumults during the Government of the Earls and Capt. Generals.

CON-

contrary to the common Good of the People, yet have they very many Persons that depend on them, and are of great Power in the Government; by which means it infallibly happens (unless such Lords could be devested of human Nature) that they will endeavour many times to advance their own particular Interests, with the assistance of their Favorites and Dependents: Against which all good Magistrates, who value the common Happiness above all things, and esteem the Welfare of the People to be the Supreme Law, are necessitated, in discharge of their Duty, to exert themselves vigorously against such Persons, without fear of their displeasure; and by this means the Community falls into great Divisions. For on the one side, the Lord will not, and according to the Rules of the World may not bow or comply, because his Honour and Authority stands engaged. And on the other side, the honest Magistrates, relying on their Consciences as on a Wall of Brass, will not be drawn from their necessary Resolution; and if in so dangerous a Conjunction the Lord happen to be of a violent Temper, or apt to be seduced by violent Counsels, that Country is often brought to great Extremities.

Because in those Divisions they sought their own Advantage.

And yet we know that notwithstanding these intestine Disorders, Suspicions and Animositys, the *Hollanders* preserved and defended themselves against all Foreign Force. And it appears by the Negotiations of the President *Jeannin*, that Prince *Maurice*, and his Partisans, in the Year 1608, was of opinion, that *Zealand* alone, parted from the other *United Provinces*, was able to defend it self against

all

all the Power of *Spain*; upon which the other Provinces declared not to agree to a Truce, but to continue the War.

This being premised in general, I come now to the matter in particular. In the first place, Antient Historys inform us, that *Holland* before the breaking in of the Inlet to the *Texel*, about the Year 1170, according to *Goederd Pantalcon*, published by *M. Vossius*, or as others say, about the Year 1400, being destitute of the *Zuyder-Sea*, lay joined to *Friesland*, *Overyssel* and *Guelderland*, or at most was parted by the *Rhine* and *Vlie*, as before the Year 1421; and before the Land near *Dort* was overflown, *Holland* on that side lay joined to *Brabant*, and consequently had many more Frontiers than now. And moreover it is evident, that these Inland Provinces had fewer Citys, and less Populous, and was therefore in respect of their Neighbours every way weaker and poorer than at present.

Holland anti-ently much weaker than at present.

And yet the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, from the unanimous consent of all our antient Historians, inform us in their Remonstrance to the Earl of *Leicester* in 1587. That these Lands (their Lordships speaking there of *Holland* with *West-Friesland*, and *Zealand*) have for the most part bin victorious against all their Enemys, and have so well defended their Frontiers against their Adversaries, however powerful, that they have always had a good esteem and reputation among their Neighbours: At least we may say with truth, that the Country of *Holland* and *Zealand* for the space of 800 Years have never been conquered by the Sword, or subdued either by Foreign or Intestine Wars. Which cannot

Yet hath at a times defended it self well. P. Borre, Book 23. fol. 56.

not

Holland may subsist without Part II.

not be said of any other Dominions, unless of the Republick of Venice. Thus far the said States.

Even against the King of Spain, heretofore very formidable.

2. It is notorious that the Provinces of Holland and Westfreisland never had more powerful Neighbours than the Kings of Spain, who having been Earls of Holland and Zeeland, and still claiming a Right to that Dominion, had an incredible advantage above all other Neighbours to reduce these Countrys under their Power, which were very much divided by many Differences about Religion and other Matters; and yet Holland and Zeeland alone, after they had supported a few Sieges with resolution, so broke the formidable Power of that wise and absolute Monarch Philip the 2d of Spain, that other Provinces afterwards by their Example dared to resist him.

So that the other United Provinces have not brought Holland and Zeeland into a condition of Freedom, but Holland and Zeeland them. And it is to be considered, that the other Provinces (Utrecht excepted) have added nothing to strengthen and fortify the free Government of Holland, or to free that Province from any Inconvenience to this day. But on the contrary, Holland alone erected the Commonwealth-Government for the benefit of the other Provinces, and has done so much for the other Provinces, that every one of them (except Utrecht which has always run the same adventure with us) is now provided with well fortified Citys, Magazines, Ammunition of War, Provision, and Souldiers in Garison; or to say better, Inhabitants, who daily receive their Payout of Holland. And moreover, divers Citys and Forts in Brabant, Flanders, Cleve, East-Friesland, Drente, and Nether-

Who was not only beat off, but other United Provinces in the mean time fortified by Holland;

Ch. 11. the Government of a single Person.

Netherland, have been conquered, fortified, and provided with Souldiers, Provisions, and Ammunition of War necessary for their defence at the expence of Holland.

Against this, if any will object that Holland in the distribution of Taxes pays no more than 58 Guilders 6 Stivers 2 1/2 pence in the hundred for their share, and consequently the other United Provinces have in some measure helped to bear the charge of the War: We might truly answer, that Guelderland and Overysfel contributed nothing to the charge of the Army to the time of the Truce; and that to the Year 1607, we were necessitated at our own charge to compel Groeningen to bring in its proportion for the War by means of a Castle and Garison. And it is certain that afterwards the yearly Demand, or Request of the Council of State for Taxes to pay the Army in the time of Frederick Hendrick Prince of Orange, was purposely raised so high, that half the Sum would very near defray that charge. So that when the said Captain General had once obliged the Province of Holland to give their consent to the Sum required, he used not much to trouble himself for that of the other Provinces. And we have often seen, that in the hottest of the War against Spain, and in the former War against England, together with the Eastern and Northern War, as well as in the last English War, they have often refused to consent to the publick Supplies; and more often have only given their Consent for form-sake, in order to induce the Province of Holland to consent to the Charge; and having done so, because they dared not to deny their Consents for fear

In comparison whereof what the other Provinces contributed was of little value.

Aitzma's Hist. lib. 32. pag. 774.

fear of incurring the Prince's displeasure, they remained in default of payment without being compelled to bring in their promised Proportions; because our Captain-General had rather by such Favours keep the other Provinces at his devotion, and especially their Deputys of the Generality (amongst whom were several who with good reason were called the *Cabinet Lords*) that by them he might be able perpetually to overvote the Province of *Holland*, and make them dance to his Pipe. And this is the true reason of the many Arrears of Taxes which those Provinces consented to raise, but have not brought in to this day. Tho (if we relapse not again under a new Captain-General) Expedients may be found and put in execution for recovery of them, and for prevention of the like for the future.

See in the Year 1662. Sept. 26. Resolution of the States of Holland by L. V. Aitzma, B. 42. p. 481.

Holland in the interim compelled to bow and groan under the Yoke of the Captain Generals.

Most of the Provinces enriched with the Money of Holland.

3. It is to be observ'd that *Holland* during all these Broils and Hardships, was under the Government of Earls and Stadtholders or Captain-Generals, who have ever sought their own private Interest to the prejudice of these Countrys, and have from time to time raised and fomented those endless intestine Divisions, in order to make a Conquest of the Estates and Rights of the Gentry and Citys of *Holland* and *Westfriesland*; so that it remains abundantly evident that all Foreign Wars have been carried on and finished only by a part, or divided Power of this Province:

4. It is likewise observable, that almost all the *United Provinces* have continually lived upon *Holland*, not only by their Deputys in some College of the Generality and other Offices of Judicature, Polity, and the Revenues; but also by great numbers of their Gentry, and

and other Inhabitants, who by favour of the Captain-General have found means to get in to the most profitable Commands in the Army, and are to be paid by the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*; and for that reason, even after the Peace was concluded, kept those Land-Forces long in great pay against the will of *Holland*, tho they had during the War endlessly multiplied those Offices, and Profits. And 'tis yet more remarkable, that almost all the *United Provinces* have continually prey'd upon *Holland*, by bringing in very many mere Provincial Charges to the account of the Generality, in the annual Petition of the Council of State, that under this pretext they might make *Holland* pay yearly more than 58 per Cent. of divers Sums, of which in truth *Holland* owed not one Penny.

See Catalogue of the Generalitys Officers, in Aitzma B. 41. p. 232.

Deduct. 1 part. c. 9. S. 15. 2 part. c. 6. S. 17, to 26.

So that I shall finish all these Considerations with concluding, that the stout and powerful Lion of *Holland* had formerly strength enough to repel all his Foreign Enemys, and those of his Allies, viz. of the other *United Provinces*: But (God amend it) I must add, that this strong and victorious Creature, to the Year 1650, had not the foresight, or fortune to escape the Snares which were laid by his own Ministers and Servants. For our Historys tell us, that the Earls of the House of *Burgundy* and *Austria*, did by degrees more and more bridle and curb the *Holland* Lion; and it is also as evident that our former Stadtholders and Captain-Generals have very well been acquainted with the Politick Maxim of Lording it over a Country, and bringing it under subjection: That the most powerful Provinces and the strongest Citys, together with the best

Holland has cast of the Yoke of all its Enemys, but that of her own Ministers.

Holland may subsist without Part II.

and most venerable Magistrates, were most insulted and brought into the greatest slavery.

So that every one may judg, whether the said Stadtholders, and Captain-Generals might not without difficulty lessen and depress Holland, with its antient and considerable Gentry, strong Citys, and venerable Magistrates, and by that means increase their own Power, since in all Colleges of the common Union or Generality they could very easily engage the most Voices, to over-vote and compel the Province of Holland, even in such Matters wherein plurality of Votes should have no place, neither by the right of Nature, Right of Justice, or the Common Union.

And let the Reader enquire, weigh, and consider whether the Stadtholders and Captain-Generals following the same Maxims, have not in all the Provinces, and especially in Holland, very often taken off the meepest and most indigent Magistrates from seeking the Countrys Welfare, and drawn them to their Party; that in conjunction with others like themselves, they may either over-vote those who are more able, and more affectionate to the lawful Government, or by force of Arms turn them out of their Magistracy, and introduce other needy Persons, and sometimes such as fly from Justice, to serve in their Places.

Besides which, our Stadtholders and Captain-Generals have left our Lion undefended against the new invented Military Arts; or to speak clearer, have left the Citys without any more than their old Fortifications,

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ons, so that they are not tenable against the new invented Art of taking Towns. They have also fettered and manacled these Countrys, by means of Garisons and Citadels placed in the conquered Citys; and have so order'd matters, that most of the Governments and chief Military Offices in Holland have been put into the hands of Strangers, but ever their Relations, or Creatures, and very seldom intrusted with the Gentry of Holland, and Lovers of their Country.

The States of Holland never so much oppress under the Earls of Burgundy or of Austria,

So that the Power of the Captain-Generals was even in the Year 1618, grown so far above the former Power of the antient Earls; and on the other side the Power of our Nobility and Citys so much diminished, that tho many of them for very small Usurpations and Encroachments of their Earls, dared to exclude them out of their Castles and Citys, yet there was not one City of Holland (tho they knew

As under the Stadtholders and Captain-Generals of the House of Orange.

that Prince Maurice as Captain-General came to put out of Office all Magistrates that were Lovers of their Common Freedom, and to remove them from their Benches) that durst shut their Gates, much less make head against, and drive him from their Walls. So that about the Year 1650, it might still be asked, * Whether these Countrys by their Servants of the House of Nassau, or their Lords of that of Austria, were in greater servitude. And farther, it is well known to all, that some Ministers of this unhappy Lion of Holland have endeavoured to break and destroy

Aitzma b. 331 pag. 809.

* Servire Auriacis Famulis, Dominisque Philippis, Dic mihi conditio durior utra fuit?

Holland may subsist without Part II.

all its inward Power, by causing the Union made for general Defence to be so order'd, that in reality it had the same effect in the State as a continual Hectick Fever in the Body, causing us to take up so much Mony yearly at Interest, and for paiment of yearly Interest already due, that in very few Years it would have proved as a Canker, and have consumed all its vital Strength.

Holland now is better surrounded by the Sea and Rivers.

And on the other side it is remarkable what advantage time hath since given us, viz. First, That Holland is wholly surrounded with Seas, or mighty Rivers: in particular to the Eastward by the North-Sea; to the Southward by many Islands, and great Rivers, as the Maese, the Rhyne and Issell, in part begirting Holland; to the Westward, and to the Northward by the mighty Inlets of the Texel, and the Vlie, and likewise the Zuider-Sea, and the Vecht encompassing this Country in part towards the West: So that Holland is now in all respects inaccessible, or would be in time of War, unless to one that is Master at Sea. At least it is evident that Holland hath no community at all with the Frontiers or Limits of the Land, save with some few conquered Citys in Brabant, with a very small part of Guelderland, as also and especially with the Province of Utrecht.

And provided with great and Populous Citys.

See Bentivoglio Relat. B. I. c. 7.

Secondly, It is clear, that Holland is now more than ever furnished with many great and populous Citys and Towns, whose Inhabitants by trading in all the Commoditys of the World, have incredibly enriched themselves; while on the other side Brabant and Flanders are become poorer and weaker. And it must be confessed, that the said Traffick

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sick by Sea hath improved Holland's Strength of Shipping to a higher degree than ever it was formerly.

Thirdly, It must be acknowledged, that Holland is now governed after a free Republican manner; and therefore its Inhabitants are able to pursue their own Interest with an undivided and unbroken Power, and not to be terrified or constrained in time to come by any one eminent Servant of the State with his Adherents, or by any ill practised Union or misled Allys, to be over voted, ensnared, and depressed to its own ruin.

And with a free Government.

Fourthly, It is observable, that the formidable Burgundian and Austrian Power, which formerly was so grievous to us, is now fixed in Spain, to govern from so great a distance those Netherlands that join to our Frontiers, by delegated Governours, and appointed Captain-Generals, officiating in their respective Employments for a very short time. Since therefore they with slow and limited Instructions, and tied up hands, cannot perform that Service to those extreme jealous Kings and Councils of Spain to the prejudice of us, we in that respect need not to fear them.

While the Burgundian and Spanish Princes remain in Spain.

Fifthly, It is evident that the King of Spain, heretofore our old and most formidable Neighbour by Land, is not only weakned in his Dominions. by the defection of Portugal; but by his manifold losses of Territorys, and Citys situate in Brabant, Flanders, Artois, &c. is become so inconsiderable, that to obtain a Peace of us, he in the Year 1648 found it his best course to resign up his Right to the United Provinces, and especially to that of

And their Power is every way diminished.

Holland may subsist without Part II.

Holland, with whatever he might any way pretend to ; so that we are now wholly fearless from that side.

So that Holland is now better able than ever to defend it self.

All which past Mischiefs, and present Advantages of Holland, being thus well weighed, methinks I might generally infer, that Holland is much abler now than ever 'twas formerly to defend it self against all Foreign Enemys.

Against which it is objected, that Holland Land-ward is worse fortified than ever, and the adjacent Provinces and Citys are very strong.

But some may object, that Holland for fifty Years past having abandoned its own Defence, and reversed all good Maxims, has so contrived and constituted matters, that we cannot be safe unless by means of the other Provinces ; and that all our great Advantages of good Situation, Populoufness, and God's unspeakable Blessings upon the Diligence and Frugality of the *Hollanders*, have only served to strengthen the other Provinces and conquered Citys, so as to render them impregnable : Infomuch that they now have no more need of us, unless to draw Mony from us ; and that on the other side, we have left our selves naked of all means, both of Defence and Offence.

Deduct. Milit. S. 75. And hath not kept its Right of giving Commissions to her own Officers without the Province of Holland.

They may also say, that at the great Assembly held in the *Hague* in the Year 1651, Holland granted to the Generality, and the other Provinces, the Right of giving Patents or Commissions to all the Military Officers of the respective Allys : So that it may be affirm'd, that this Province hath utterly de- vested themselves of all kind of Respect or Esteem from the Soldiery, who yet are paid out of our Purse ; tho they are for the most part in Garisons out of the Province of *Holland*, and that we have not preserved that

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natural Right which we have over them. So that if we should want any Companys for the Service of our Province, we should be forced as it were to petition to have them of our said Allys.

To which may be added, that we have been burdened with so many Impositions, that it is impossible they can be long born by a Country that subsists not of its own Fund, but of Manufactures, Fishing, Trade and Shipping, whilst we are burden'd with endless incankering Sums taken up at Interest. So that we might hence conclude, that *Holland* is not indeed esteemed considerable by any of her Neighbours, or Allys by Land ; and that we on the contrary must stand in fear of all our nearest Neighbours that are well armed. And he that doubts of this, let him but consider that divers Provinces during the first and second War, dared roundly to declare, That they would not bear the Charge of any War by Sea whatsoever it were. Let them likewise take notice that the Province of *Holland* to this day could never find any Means to compel the Provinces that are in Arrear of their Quota's, to bring in their multiplied Arrears, to which they gave their Consent : And therefore *Holland* in respect of all its adjacent Neighbours by Land, seems in all regards to be weaker than ever it formerly was.

And in truth, if the Province of *Holland* had not heretofore been compell'd by a Captain-General and Stadtholder, to suffer the things beforementioned, I should much wonder that we have continued so long in such an ill state of Government : For it has always been

X 4

been

How this hap- ned against all Rules of good Government.

*While our Fish-
ers and Mer-
chants are ta-
ken at Sea.*

been a Custom in the World, that the Weak, to the end they might be assisted in their distress against their Enemys, should enrich the Strong in a time of Peace by a yearly Payment of Mony; and that the Strong having receiv'd much Mony and Tribute, whether in times of Peace or War, should for all that never assist their weak Allys in their necessity, farther than might agree with their own Interest: And certainly he is a Fool in grain, who carries Water to his Neighbour's House, whilst his own is burning. Moreover *Holland* hath been for more than fifty Years successively either made, or left disarmed, to strengthen its Neighbours, and to make them rather than themselves considerable: So that in case of a War with them, we might fear lest our small unfortified, and unprovided Frontier Citys, and possibly the other great Citys too, because of their want of Fortifications, and exercise of Arms, tho they are stronger inwardly, might be surprized, and fall into our Neighbours hands.

For, to speak truly, tho we have been like good Wrestlers and Fencers, able to defend our selves with our own Strength, yet we have suffered our selves to be deluded into a belief, that we should be better defended in case we gave up our Arms to certain famous Fencers, or to Neighbours that boast themselves to be better able to wrestle and fence than we, and consequently to expel an Enemy; whereas they are visibly weaker of Body than our selves. So that we having for so long a time delivered up, and lent out our Arms, are, for want of exercise and using the Sword, really become totally disarmed and

weak;

weak; infomuch that in case our weak Champions should come to a Battel, not only they but we also should fall by the Sword: and besides, our weak neighbouring Champions who have borrowed our Swords, are no less mischievous than any other People. And therefore we are to expect, that they not only design their own Advantage, and neglect ours, but also will conceive and esteem their own Burdens very heavy, and ours very light; for I would not say, they will use the Arms and Power they have borrowed of us to our Ruin, whenever they can effect it to their Advantage. By all which it appears, that *Holland* is now less defensible than ever.

But he that examines this general Position on both sides, must acknowledg, that as this weakness of *Holland* was caused by their own Stadtholder and Captain-General: And on the other side, *Holland* by the present free Government is enabled to make use of all its abundant inward Strength, for its own preservation, and with more ease than ever to repel all intestine and foreign Force whatsoever. Now to the end this Conclusion may the better appear, I shall in the next Chapter endeavour to shew, that *Holland* distinctly, and in regard of all her Neighbours, not comparatively, but effectually, may very well defend it self against all inward and outward Force whatsoever.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

That Holland during its Free Government, cannot be ruined by any Intestine Power.

An enquiry whether Holland may be ruin'd by Factions.

In case one Province should take the Prince of Orange for their Head.

IT IS evident that no Domestick Power can subvert the Republic of Holland, nor destroy the Welfare of the Inhabitants, except by a general Conspiracy, Sedition, Insurrection, and Civil War of the People and Citys of Holland against one another, because they are so wonderfully linked together by a common Good, that those homebred Tumults and Wars are not to be supposed able to be raised, except by Inhabitants of such eminent Strength, as is able to force the Magistracy of the Country to the execution of such destructive Counsels. And seeing now in Holland and West-Friesland there is no Captain-General or Stadtholder, nor any Illustrious Person except the Prince of Orange; therefore we will consider, whether if the said Prince who is in no Office of the Generality, continuing in these Provinces, might be able to cause or effect such ruinous and destructive Divisions in Holland.

And indeed as I have a Prospect, that if he should happen to get into any Administration, he might occasion such Divisions and Breaches: Yet on the other side, I cannot see how without employment, either from the Generality, or this Province, he could obtain so great an Interest in the Government of these Countrys, as to be able to cause a Civil War, and make himself Master of them, either

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either with the old or a new Title: For he being no General, nor having any Military Dependents, and out of all Command, tho he might by seditious Preachers cause a few of the Rabble to rise against their lawful Rulers; yet this would not be like to happen at one time, and in so many places together, as to make an Alteration in the Provincial Government. And that Free Government remaining intire, the new Magistrates obtruded on the People upon this rising, would be turn'd out, and the Seditious every time signally punished. And this would also tend to the great prejudice of the Honour of the Prince of Orange; besides, that by this means he would lose all hopes and appearances of ever being employed in the Country's Service; and on the other side might fear, that he and his Posterity should for ever be excluded from all Government and Service in these United Netberlands by a perpetual Law.

It is answered in the affirmative, but else not.

And if the Prince of Orange be not able to cause such Seditions and Divisions, I suppose it could less be done by any College of the Generality: For I would fain know in which of the Citys of Holland would the States General, or the Council of State, without a Military Head, be now able to alter the present free Government by Force or Faction? Assuredly not in any one City. And from the lesser Colleges of the Generality such Mischiefs are less to be feared.

Much less could the Deputys of the Generality, depriv'd of such a Head, be able to cause Com-motions.

But perhaps some may say, that the Rulers or States of this Province, of their own accord, or seduced by Promises and Gifts, forget that warning, Fear those who are

Whether the free Holland Rulers are likely to bring in the Trojan Horse.

See F. Strada. lib. 6.

See Bentivoglio, Relat. lib. 3. ch. 7, 8.

accustomed to do ill, especially when they make Presents *; and will bring in the Trojan Horse. But yet the arm'd Men conceal'd in his Belly, will never be able, by the Conspiracy of some Magistrates, to destroy our Province, and to subdue and burn our Citys by Uproars against the Rulers; but possibly they may by bringing in the Horse, weaken our lawful Governors, and leave our Citys without defence, and then the Horse may be drawn into the inward Court, and into the feeble and weak Assembly of the States. As Ruy Gomaz de Silva says of the Netherlands in general; "That they are more fiery than they should be for the preservation of their Libertys, when by force they are attempted to be taken from them; and yet never any People have been so easy almost wholly to resign them. And the Emperor Charles the Fifth used to say, That no People were so averse from Servitude as the Netherlanders, and yet in the World no People suffered the Yoke to be so easily laid on them, when they were gently treated. Besides which Cardinal Bentivoglio endeavours to shew by many Reasons, That the United Netherland Provinces cannot long preserve their free Government; but seeing the Netherlanders have never before been in the quiet possession of a Free Republick, at least not the Hollanders, there can be no Example given of their neglecting their own Freedom, or of corrupting them with Money for that end. For when formerly it happened in Holland by unavoidable sad Accidents,

* Timeo Danaos, & dona ferentes.

that

that we were necessitated to draw the Trojan Horse into the inward Court, we saw the Fire and Flame, snorting, neighing, and armed Men spring from his Body at pleasure, without regard either to the Benefit or Damage of the Inhabitants. So we shall always find it true, in all chargeable and necessitous Countryes, governed by a few Aristocratical Rulers, and provided with but few unrewarded annual Magistrates, That a great Person obtaining there any Power in the Government or Militia, will easily draw to his Party all Rulers and Magistrates by the most considerable and profitable Offices and Benefices which he can confer; or if any dare to stand it out against him, he would keep him out of employment, or deter him from maintaining the Publick Liberty: So that every one to obtain those Advantages, or to evade those Hardships, will be tempted to give up the Freedom of his Country; and it is no wonder that we have seen such dealings so often practised in these Parts.

Why this happened in part in these Netherlands.

But it is also true, that when the Princes of these Countryes were raised to such a degree, that they conceiv'd it was no longer needful for them to oblige the Rulers and Magistrates of the Gentry, and Citys, not doubting to bear them down by their great Popularity among the Inhabitants, or to suppress them by their Military Authority; it hath often appeared, that beyond expectation many good Patriots, and lovers of Liberty, especially many prudent, antient, and experienced Merchants, have then evidenced their Zeal for the defence of their Privileges, well knowing they should be forced to part with them

Viz. Because the Earls, Stadholders, &c. were to be flattered, not contradicted.

Holland, while free, cannot Part II.

them under a Monarchical Government ; and therefore joined with such Rulers and Magistrates as encourag'd them to maintain their Freedom, as far as they possibly could, nay even the shadow of Liberty, with their Lives and Fortunes.

It is not probable it will now happen so in Holland.

All which ought to perswade us, that the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, and the subordinate Magistrates of this present Free State, having in their own Power the bestowing of all honourable and profitable Employments; and which is more, not needing now to fear their own Military Power, and being able without scruple to command them, and by them to reduce other mutinous and seditious Inhabitants to obedience, will not now be inclined to call in, or set up a Head, which they would immediately fear no less than Idolaters do the Idols of their own making ; and not only so, but they must reverence his Courtiers too, and beseech them that they would please to suffer themselves to be chosen and continued in the yearly Magistracys, and bestow some Offices and Employments on them and their Friends, changing the Liberty they now enjoy as Magistrates of a Free State, into a base and slavish dependance. Which things well considered, we ought to believe that the *Hollanders* will rather chuse to hazard their Lives and Estates for the preservation of this present free Government.

Because all worthy Rulers may perceive it would be their ruin.

As the States of Holland have plainly expressed it in Deduct. Part 2. c. 1. §. 9, &c.

But if any one should yet doubt of this, let him hear the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* speak in that famous *Deduction* now in print, where their Lordships have published their Sentiment in this Matter : For having

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ing been accused by some of the Provinces to have done something repugnant to their dear-bought Freedom, they very roundly and plainly declared ; " That they are as sensible " of those Allegations as any others ; and " that they purpose, and are resolved to preserve and maintain the said Freedom, as well in respect of the State in general, as of their Province in particular, even as the Apple of their Eye. And that as they were the first and chief procurers of Freedom both for themselves and their Allys, so they will never suffer it to be said with truth, that any others should out-do them in Zeal for preserving and defending the Common Liberty.

§. 9. Nay, that it can hardly enter into the head of any Man, according to the Judgment of all Political Writers, who have sound Understanding, That in a Republick, such great Offices of Captain-General, and Stadtholder, can without signal danger of the common Freedom be conferred upon those, whose Ancestors were cloth'd with the same Employments.

§. 10. Laying it down as unquestionable, and well known to all those that have in any measure been conversant with such Authors as treat of the Rise, Constitution, and Alteration of Kingdoms, States, and Countrys, together with the Form of their Governments, That all the Republicks of the World, without exception, which departed from such Maxims and Customs, more particularly those who have entrusted the whole Strength of their Arms to a single Person during Life, with such

They will not easily forget the Violence of their own Stadtholder and Captain-General.

“ such others as continued them too long in
“ their Commands, have been by that means
“ brought under subjection, and reduced to a
“ Monarchical State. And after very many
“ Examples produced for confirmation of
“ what is alledged, their Lordships further
“ add:

“ §. 22. And have we not seen with our
“ own Eyes, that the last deceased Captain-
“ General of this State endeavoured to sur-
“ prize the Capital and most powerful City
“ of the Land, with those very Arms which
“ the States entrusted to him? And more-
“ over, that he dared so unspeakably to
“ wrong the States of *Holland* and *West-*
“ *Friesland*, whose Persons he, as a sworn
“ Minister and natural Subject, was bound to
“ revere? that he seized six of the principal
“ Lords, whilst they were sitting in their So-
“ vereign Assembly, and carried them away
“ Prisoners? And hath not God Almighty
“ visibly opposed, broken and frustrated the
“ secret Designs concealed under that per-
“ nicious Attempt, by sending out of Hea-
“ ven a thick Darkness, with a great and
“ sudden storm of Rain, by which we were
“ preserved?

“ §. 23. And all things well considered,
“ it might be questioned, according to the
“ Judgment of the said Politicians, whether
“ by advancing the present Prince of *Orange*
“ to that Dignity, and those high Offices
“ in which his Ancestors were placed, the
“ Freedom of this State would not be re-
“ markably endangered: For God does not
“ always Miracles, neither are we to flatter
“ our selves that these Countrys shall always
“ escape

“ escape that Destruction which has ever at-
“ tended all those Nations that have taken
“ the same course without exception.

“ And lastly, the States of *Holland* and
“ *West-Friesland* do thus express their unal-
“ terable Resolution upon the last Article.
“ At least their Lordships will on their own
“ behalf declare, and do hereby declare,
“ that they are firmly resolved to strengthen
“ the foresaid Union, *viz.* of *Utrecht*, for
“ the Conservation of the State in general,
“ and for maintaining the Publick Liberty,
“ together with the Supremacy, and Rights
“ of the respective Provinces, according to
“ the Grounds here expressed; and at all
“ times, and upon all occasions, will contribute
“ their help, even to the utmost, towards
“ the preservation and defence of their dear-
“ bought Liberty, and the Privileges of these
“ Countrys, which are so dear, and of such
“ inestimable value to them, that they will
“ not suffer themselves to be diverted from
“ their Resolution by any Inconveniences or
“ Extremities; nor will lay down their good
“ Intentions but with their Lives, trusting
“ that they shall be duly seconded herein up-
“ on all Occasions by our other Allys; for
“ which the said States will send up their
“ fervent Prayers to Almighty God. *Amen.*

They will not lose their free Government but with the loss of their Lives.

This done and concluded by the said States
of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* in the *Hague*,
the 25th of July 1654. by Command of
the said States, was signed

Herbert van Beaumont.

Y

To

To which we shall add the Perpetual Edict of the 5th of August 1667. containing as follows.

“ The States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, after several Adjournments, and mature deliberation, and communication with the Knights and Gentlemen, and likewise with the Councils of the Citys, unanimously, and with the general Concurrence of all the Members, for a perpetual Edict, and everlasting Law, in order to preserve the Publick Freedom, together with the Union and Common Peace, have Enacted, as they do hereby Enact and Decree, the Points and Articles following.

In 1667, they made a perpetual Law to preserve their free Government.

“ 1. That the Power of Electing and Summoning in the Order of the Knighthood and Nobles, together with the Nomination and Choice of Burgomasters, Common-Council, Judges, and all other Offices of the Magistracy in Citys, shall remain in the Power of the summoned Knighthood and Gentry, together with the Citys respectively, as by antient Custom, Privileges and Grants is confirmed or granted to them, or might still be confirmed or granted, with the free Exercise of the same, according to the Laws and Privileges. And that the forementioned Nomination, or Election, or any part thereof, shall not for ever be convey'd or given away.

Prohibiting the electing of any Magistrates,

Or conferring any Employments, or admitting the same.

“ 2. That all Offices, Charges, Services, or Benefices, which are at present in the disposal of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, shall be, and continue in them, with-

“ without any alteration or diminution, excepting only the Military Employments and Offices which may become vacant in the Field, and during any Expedition by Sea or Land, concerning which the States of *Holland* will by a further Order determine, not only of the provisional Settlement, but also principally of the disposal thereof, so as shall be most for the Service and Benefit of the Land.

“ 3. That the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, shall not only deny their Suffrages to the contrary, but also move the Generality with all possible efficacy, that it may be enacted and established with the unanimous Consent and Concurrence of our Allys, and by a Resolution of the States General; That whatever Person shall be hereafter made Captain or Admiral-General, or have both the said Offices; or whoever shall among any other Titles have the chief Command over the Forces by Sea or Land, shall not be, or remain Stadtholder of any Province, or Provinces. And forasmuch as concerns the Province of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, not only such Person who shall be entrusted with the chief Command over the Forces by Sea or Land, but also no other Person whatever shall be made Stadtholder of that Province; but the aforesaid Office shall be, and remain suppressed, mortified, and void in all respects. And the Lords Commissioners of the Council, in their respective Quarters, have it recommended to them according to their Instructions, to give all necessary Orders, and to use such Circumspection

And secluding all Stadtholders of any of the Provinces from being Capt. General.

Holland, while free, cannot Part II.

“ and Prudence, as is requisite in Affairs that
“ may happen in the absence of the States
“ of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, wherein
“ speedy Orders might be absolutely need-
“ ful.

And also
swearing ne-
ver to suffer
any thing re-
pugnant hereto.

“ 4. That for the greater stability of these
“ Resolutions, and for the mutual ease and
“ quiet of the Gentry and Citys, all those
“ who are at present elected into the Order of
“ Knighthood, or that may hereafter be e-
“ lected, together with all such as may be
“ hereafter chosen in the Great Council of
“ the Citys, shall by their solemn Oath de-
“ clare, That they will maintain the fore-
“ said Points religiously and uprightly, and
“ by no means suffer that there be any in-
“ croachment or infraction made against the
“ same; much less at any time to make, or
“ cause to be made, any Proposition which
“ might in any wise be repugnant thereunto.
“ Likewise the Oath of the Lords that shall
“ appear at the Assembly of the States of
“ *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, shall be en-
“ larged in the fullest and most effectual
“ Form. And the Counsellor-Pensionary for
“ the time being, shall also be obliged by Oath
“ to preserve and maintain as much as in him
“ lies, all the said Points, without ever
“ making any Proposal to the contrary, or
“ putting it to the question, either directly
“ or indirectly, much less to form a Conclu-
“ sion.

And that all
Captain Gene-
rals must swear
to maintain
all above-
written, &c.

“ 5. That moreover for the further stability
“ of the said third Point, the same shall be ex-
“ pressly inserted in the Instructions to be gi-
“ ven to a Captain or Admiral-General;
“ and he that is so elected, shall be obliged
“ by

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“ by Oath, not only not to seek it at any
“ time directly or indirectly, much less to
“ form a Design to obtain it directly or in-
“ directly; but on the contrary, in case any
“ other should do it beyond Expectation,
“ that he shall withstand and oppose it: And
“ if the Dignity of Stadtholder should at any
“ time be offer'd to him by any of the Pro-
“ vinces, that he will refuse and decline the
“ same.

And truly this solemn Declaration, and
perpetual Edict of our lawful Sovereigns,
which passed with the unanimous Consent of
all the Members of the Assembly, who were
in perfect freedom to form their own Reso-
lutions touching the preservation of their
Libertys, ought to be of greater weight with
every one, and especially with us, than any
other Declaration made by the States of *Hol-
land* and *West-Friesland*, when they were
under the servitude of a haughty Governour;
or than the Declaration of that formidable
Emperor *Charles* the 5th made to his own ad-
vantage, even tho we should add the Foreign
Testimony of *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, or that of
Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, since they were not ca-
pable of experiencing or feeling how intole-
rably those Shoes pinch'd us; much less
could they be sensible how well pleased the
understanding *Netherlanders* are, whether Ru-
lers or Subjects, to find * themselves in a con-
dition to declare with freedom their Senti-

All good Pa-
triot's admire
and value this
Liberty.

* Nunc pede libero
Pulsanda Tellus. Hor.

ments concerning the Welfare of the Nation ; and living by the Laws of the Country, need to fear no Man, as before they did. But above all other Inhabitants, our Vigilant Rulers, who heretofore durst not open their Mouths for the Privileges of the Land, the Lawful Government, and Liberty of the People, without incurring the danger of being sent Prisoners to *Lovestein* Castle, may consider with themselves, that they can now freely speak their Minds for the benefit of their Country, and themselves : And let this be well weighed by every one that has but one drop of free *Netherland* Blood in his Veins.

Whether our free Citys, if at variance, could ruin each other.

Lastly, It is to be considered, whether the Prosperity and free Government of *Holland* would not probably be destroyed, unless they have an illustrious Head for Life, even by the freedom which the Members of *Holland* do now actually use, in giving their Voices with the States of *Holland*, at the pleasure, and for the benefit of their respective Principals, and by cross and contrary Interests, Dissensions, and Wars of the Citys among themselves ; which some great Men say, cannot be well prevented or quieted without such an illustrious Head.

All Republicks that have such a Head, will come to ruin.

To which I answer ; That indeed all Republicks, without exception, which have constituted Chief Governours for Life, vested with any considerable Power in Civil, and especially in Military Affairs, have been subject to continual Intestine Dissensions and Wars, and have fallen for the most part into Monarchical Governments. This was the fate of all the *Italian* Republicks, except some few that

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that by those Divisions and Tumults had the good fortune to expel their Tyrants, and by that means an opportunity of introducing a better Form of Government without the control of such an insolent Master. This was also the fate of all the Republicks in *Germany*, and these *Netherlands*, under their Dukes, Earls, Stadtholders, Bishops and Captain-Generals. Which is not strange ; for *Divide and Reign* being the Political Maxim of such Heads, they will use all their Art and Power to raise and foment Divisions in their Territories, and fish so long in those troubled Waters, till they overcome both Partys ; as all Ages can witness.

See Deduct. Part 2. ch. 3. S. 6.

2. I have considered, but cannot remember so much as one Example of a Republick without such a Head, which ever fell into any mischievous intestine Commotions that lasted long ; but on the contrary, we ought to take notice, that the free Imperial Citys, or Republicks in *Germany*, never make War against one another ; and that the *Cantons* of *Switzerland* being mutually bound to a common defence (even as we are by the Union of *Utrecht*) do very seldom contend among themselves, and if they do happen to take Arms, very little Blood is shed ; and in a short time, without prejudice to their free Government, they are reconciled by the Mediation of the other *Cantons* : So that their Republicks have now stood near 400 years. Which can be attributed to no other cause than that the differing Parties, mutually sensible of the mischiefs they felt, were not necessitated by any such chief Head or Governor to continue a prejudicial and destructive War :

But Republicks without a Head never will ;

As appears in Germany and Switzerland.

Y 4 FOR

Who are cautious of chusing a Political or Military Head.

For those Cantons have been always careful not to elect any Commander or General during Life over the Confederated Forces of the Union. Neither have any of the said Cantons ever thought fit to place a perpetual Commander in Chief over their own Souldiers in the Field, but always for the Design in hand only; tho after their revolt from their Lords of the House of Austria, they were necessitated to support a War, as long and dangerous as that we had against those of the same Family. And for so much as concerns these United Provinces, let the Reader please to hear the States of Holland and West-Friesland, who after many strong and weighty Reasons add,

Deduct. Part 2. c.3. S. 14.

“ So that their Lordships conceive they may firmly conclude, that in these Lands hardly any other Differences and Divisions have ever existed, at least not of great importance, but such as have been formed on the account of those Heads, or by their Means.

While our Political and Military Head has caused well nigh all our Divisions, which can no more happen in our Republicks, and why.

3. The Citys of Holland by intestine Wars would on both sides suffer infinitely more loss than the Swiss-Cantons, or any other Citys far remote from one another. For all the Inland Citys of Holland, hardly one excepted, do as well subsist by Trade, as those that are nearer to the Sea; and the least Sea-City would by that means be able to make the greatest Booty of the strongest: As it is also known, that the least City of Holland may in a short time so well fortify it self, that it could not be taken by the greater. So that our Citys lying so close together, the adjacent Lands would in case of War be immediately ruined, and all the ways by Land or Water that lead towards

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wards the Citys, would be so infested, that all Trading would immediately cease. Wherefore both Parties would forthwith be moved by the other disinterested Citys to chuse a more profitable Peace, in lieu of such an unprofitable and pernicious War.

Lastly, I observe, that all the Citys in Holland are governed by few standing Magistrates or City-Councils, but rather by annual Magistrates; and that so few Persons as serve for Magistrates so little a time, could not make so great and mischievous a War upon their Neighbouring Citys, and maintain themselves in their obstinacy, without being turn'd out of the Government by their own Inhabitants, who would not suffer such a Temper to their prejudice to continue amongst them; at least they would be kept out of the Magistracy by their Competitors. And I believe no Example can be brought of a few Aristocratical Rulers of a City, or Republick purely subsisting by Trade, who have ever long maintain'd an Offensive War, without causing at the same time their own Subjects to mutiny on that account, and to turn them out of the Government.

And accordingly I shall not only conclude, That Holland during its free Government shall never be more subject to any durable, destructive, intestine Dissension, much less to Intestine Wars, than the Switzer and German Republicks: But I will add, that as the perpetual and true Maxim of a Government by a single Person, is Divide & Impera, by raising and fomenting Divisions among the Rulers, Magistrates, and Inhabitants, to make one Party by degrees Master of the other, and

Holland without a Head can never be inwardly ravish'd.

and then to rule both: So it is also the true and steady Maxim of all Republicks, * to create a good Understanding and mutual Affection between the Magistrates and People, by a mild and gentle Government, because the Welfare of all Commonwealths depends upon it, and is destroyed by the contrary. Accordingly I shall finish this Chapter by saying, That we should have reason to wonder, if any wise Man ever believed that it is the interest of free Republicks to chuse an illustrious Head, vested with Authority for Life, in order to compose the Differences that may arise amongst them: For I think we have already proved, that no surer way can be taken to introduce perpetual Divisions into Republicks, with Foreign and Domestick Wars, and at last a Monarchical Government, than by setting up such an eminent commanding Head.

C H A P. XIII.

That Holland during its free Government is very well able to resist all Foreign Power.

What must be supposed, that Holland may repel all Force from without.

I Shall now endeavour to shew that the Republick of *Holland*, while an intire Free Government, can very well defend it self against any Foreign Force whatever. But first

* Concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

I must premise and suppose, that this is a sure effect of a free Government, viz. That all the great Citys of *Holland* must fortify themselves, and be provided with all things necessary for their defence; as also that the States of *Holland* must out of the common Stock strengthen all the Avenues and Frontier Citys of the Provinces, which of themselves are too weak effectually to repel an Enemy. For otherwise we may well be of opinion, that *Holland* will not be able to deal with the Force of *Spain* by Land; and that it might by surprize be overrun by the Power of some other of the *United Provinces*; yea, that it might be easily plundered by its own conquered Citys. But not to cut out more Work, I shall in pursuance of that Position, look upon *Holland*, and all the other Provinces, as being without Union, League, or Alliance with its Neighbours: For as other Countrys may join in making War upon *Holland*, so *Holland* may make Leagues with Foreign Powers to make War upon others: Which Cases would cause endless Thoughts and Considerations; and therefore I will presuppose, that when *Holland* shall have Difference, or Wars with any one of its Neighbours, all the rest shall be Neuter.

Therefore to come to the Point, I say, that it seems needless for me to shew that *Holland* can very well subsist and endure all the Force of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, and other lesser remote Countrys, since I think I have done it sufficiently in the foregoing Chapters, when I treated of *Holland's* Alliances. So it remains only to be considered, whether *Holland* be strong enough to defend it self against

against the Power of the neighbouring *United Provinces*, and of the associated or conquered Lands and Citys?

Holland can easily stand against the other United Provinces.

Upon which I shall premise in the general, That *Holland* being so well surrounded by the Seas and Rivers, and broken by Waters; so populous, so full of great, well fortified (for this must be supposed) and impregnable Citys lying near one another, every one of which can produce an Army; this being considered, I say no Potentate in the World could invade us with an Army: Or suppose he were entred the Country, it is clear that the said Enemy, by the continual unexpected Attacks of the adjacent Citys, and by the beating of his Convoys, or such as bring in Forage, would in a short time be necessitated, by the continual lessening of his Forces, shamefully to relinquish the Attempt and march away. All which they ought to foresee and expect, and much more of the Forces and Incurfions of our neighbouring *Netherlands*, and conquered Citys.

Because those Provinces gain more by Peace, and suffer more by War than Holland. See a general Catalogue of Offices. Aitzma Book. 41. p. 231.

Again, I must say, that all the said Provinces do receive incomparably more advantage by *Holland*, than *Holland* does from them; which Benefits would all cease by a War, namely, by virtue of the Union, which as it has been practised, the Rulers and Inhabitants of the other Provinces draw Profits from *Holland*; namely by Embassys Ordinary and Extraordinary, by Commissions and Deputations in the Colleges of the joint Allys; or by Offices or Benefices in and about the Government; in the Courts of Judicature, Treasurys, and Affairs of War depending on the Generality, which are paid by the joint Allys.

Allys, by which they accordingly receive above 58 per Cent. of all that they enjoy. To which we may add the Profits they reap by Administration, or Offices about Regulation of Trade, and Maritime Affairs, whether at home depending on the Admiraltys, or abroad by being Residents and Consuls, &c. So that it is evident enough that all Rewards must proceed from *Holland* alone; and by the Traffick of *Holland*, and its wonderful populousness and vicinity, they consume all the Manufactures and superfluous Products of the Inhabitants of the other Provinces at high Rates, and they receive out of *Holland* all that they want at easy Rates: Whereas *Holland* on the other side, in case of a War with this or that Province, would not be sensible, or suffer in its Traffick or Consumption. And besides we see, that from the Provinces of *Guelderland*, *Friesland*, *Overyssel*, &c. the poor young Men and Maids that are not able to live there by their Trades and Service, subsist in *Holland* very well. So that all the Provinces are sensible, that a good and firm Peace is at least as much necessary for them as for us, to maintain the Prosperity of both. And yet it might happen, that some Provinces may be so ill advised as to be drawn aside to make War against *Holland*; and therefore I must consider, and take a view of all the *United Provinces* in particular, viz.

Groningen and *Friesland*, with the conquered Places of the Generality, *Bourtange*, *Bellingwolde*, *Langakkerschans*, and *Coeverden*; which they have found means to bring under their particular Power. Now seeing they appoint or chuse their Commanders there, re-

Groningen and Friesland are now both by Interest of Government and Situation, separated from Holland.

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move or change their Garisons, and give Commissions to their Military Officers, whereby it appears they need nothing of ours; and that they can sufficiently defend themselves against all Foreign Force. So that if they have a Governor in Chief, which in time might induce them to take mischievous Resolutions, we might expect a destructive War to both Partys most from that Quarter, if it had not pleased God to divide us by the *Zuyder-Sea*, and the Provinces of *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Over-Yffel*. So that from that side we need expect no hurt, and the rather, seeing by our strength of Navigation we may presently stop all the Commerce and Navigation of *Groningen* and *Friesland*.

Over-Yffel being without a Head, can never make War upon Holland.

And being now a free Republick, will probably never chuse a Head.

As to *Over-Yffel*, it is well known that it is divided from *Holland* by *Guelderland*, and has no communication with us but by the *Zuyder-Sea*: And moreover the strength of *Over-Yffel* is so inconsiderable, and their Land behind lys so open, that they cannot make War against us but by Sea; nor so neither, without hazarding their sudden ruin by the loss and want of all their Traffick. So that while they have a free Government, we are not to expect it. And if they duly consider the horrid Intestine and Foreign Wars and Discords, which they suffered in the times of their Bishops, and Governors of their Republicks, and likewise the violent Usurpation that they suffered afterwards under their Lords and Stadtholders, there is not the least appearance that they will ever consent to the choice of such a Head or Ruler; but if it should so happen, and they be prest by a contentious Governor to War against us, it would

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be strange if such a War should be long-liv'd; for it is evident they could endamage *Holland* but little, if *Holland* would use its Force against them.

As for *Guelderland*, it is manifest it hath much more communion with *Holland* than any of the foresaid Provinces, for it joins to *Holland* about *Asperen*, and *Gorcum*, and towards *Bommelar* is divided only by the *Maese* from the Land of *Heusden* and *Altena*. Moreover it joins to the *Zuyder-Sea*, and hath under its Power the mighty Rivers of the *Yffel*, *Rhine*, *Waal*, and *Maese*; whereby it should seem those of *Guelderland* are able to infest the Traffick of *Holland* through the *Zuyder-Sea*, and by means of the said Rivers to stop all Traffick from above: And besides, the Men of *Guelderland* were of old famous for their Soldiery, especially for Horsemen. So that it seems to lie conveniently for gaining of great Booty from *Holland* by sudden Incurfions, and to make War upon us.

But on the other side it is as evident, that *Holland* having all the Passages into the Sea from the said Rivers under their Power, would straiten *Guelderland* more in all its Traffick; for *Holland* could carry all its fine Goods in Carts above the Confines of *Guelderland* towards the *Maese* and *Rhine*, and there likewise receive the fine upland Goods. And considering *Harderwyk* and *Elburg* are the only Sea-Ports of *Guelderland*, which notwithstanding are without Havens, their Robberys at Sea would signify little, and besides be easily overpowered by *Holland's* great Maritime Strength. As to their Incurfions by Land, whether with Horse, or Foot; it is clearly

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impracticable by reason of *Holland's* Populoufness, and being so full of Canals, which would easily put a stop to the *Guelderlanders*.

Which cannot be confuted by the Incurfion of *Martin van Rossem*, and the Booty he made in *Holland*.

Their bold presumption of plundering the *Hague*, and carrying away the Booty thereof in the Year 1528, does not contradict what I say. For tho the Duke of *Guelder* gave those of *Utrecht* assistance against their Bishop, and for that end sent his General, *Martin van Rossem*, with armed Men into that Town; and that on the other side, the Emperor *Charles* assisted the Bishop against *Utrecht*; yet was there no open War between *Guelderland* and *Holland*: But the Duke found it good to begin the first Hostility, or be the Aggressor, by *Martin van Rossem*, and to cause 1300 Soldiers out of that Garison to fall suddenly into *Holland*, and having gotten a rich Booty declared War against it. So that the *Guelderlanders* were then to be accounted to have made an unexpected treacherous Incurfion upon *Holland* from that Bishoprick, when *Holland* had but few Inhabitants, and was weakened by the *Hoeksche* and *Cabbeljeausche* Factions, nay was indeed indefensible by reason the Emperor *Charles* employed only the Gentry and Soldiery of *Holland* in his *Italian*, and other Foreign Wars. Besides it may be said, and not without Reason, that *Martin van Rossem* did this by the Privity of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth Earl of *Holland*, or the connivance of *Margaret*, because the States would not at that time consent to the Mony she would have *Holland* to raise: for the said Emperor, or his Governess *Margaret*, would send no Soldiery to suppress the said *Guelderlanders*, nor suffer the *Hollanders* to pursue them.

See MeerBeck Hist. p.78. and Lamb. Horrens, p.140.

Besides,

Besides, *Martin van Rossem* did not the least prejudice to the Ministers of the Court, nor to the Officers of the Earldom.

And on the contraty it is well known, that all *Guelderland*, except the City of *Zutphen*, and the District of *Nimeguen*, lies wholly open to *Holland*; so that from *Lovestein* one might plunder the whole *Bommelerwaard*, yea and cut down its Banks; and it would be the same with the *Tielerwaard*, and *Betuwe*, and that quarter of the *Veluwe* must always expect Incurfions, and Plunderings by our Shipping. So that this War, which would be more prejudicial to *Guelderland* than *Holland*, would soon be ended by a firm Peace on both sides, while they continue under a free Government, and while the respective Citys of *Guelderland*, especially *Nimeguen* the chief City of that Province, do now find the Sweetness of their own Government, after having felt the weight of the late Yoke of the Stadtholders, or that of Captain-Generals, and must again suffer their legally elected Magistrates to be violently turn'd out. Therefore 'tis to be believed that they will not precipitately elect a Tyrannical Head over them.

Guelderland lies perfectly open to *Holland*.

As to the Province of *Utrecht*, it is well known that it lies wholly open, and jetting into *Holland*, and subsists purely by Husbandry; and in that it bounds upon the *Lek* and *Zuyder-Sea*, seems in some measure to be able to disturb the Trade of *Holland*, and for a great way to disturb the Champion Country. But he that will take notice of the great strength of *Holland's* Shipping, may easily conceive that the *Lek*, and *Zuyder-Sea*, lying before the Province, might be made useles

The Province of *Utrecht* wholly indefensible.

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to them by our Soldiers ravaging those Parts by their sudden Incurfions and Shipping. And that *Holland* being a broken Country, by reason of its many Waters, might not only plunder their open Country much more, but also because it runs or jets so far into *Holland*, it may be absolutely seiz'd and kept by them, by which means those of *Utrecht* will be deprived of their best Champion Country.

And so will always continue.

Besides it is very observable, that all the Citys of that Province are wholly undefensible, without any appearance that they shall ever be fortified: For *Amersfort*, *Reenen*, *Wyk*, and *Montfort*, are not only unable to bear the Charge of it; and the City of *Utrecht* will not bestow their Mony to fortify Citys, which afterwards will have less dependance on them; nay possibly they might injure that undefensible City the sooner: For we ought to know that that long Square inland City being deprived of the Sea, and all great Rivers, will be ever chargeable to fortify and keep. And as if this were not enough to bridle that great City, their Bishops of old suffered Houses to be built without the Gates; whence came those four very great Suburbs upon all their considerable Avenues, by which their Fortifications are made of no use. And tho every one may see that this is the usual Polity of the Heads of a Republick to weaken Citys that are too strong for their purpose; yet afterwards when Men have the good luck of having a compleat free Government, it continues remediless. And accordingly I shall conclude, that the Province of *Utrecht* being wholly undefensible, will never make War against *Holland*. And seeing it is the Interest

It will never make War upon Holland, nor endanger her Liberty by such a Head.

Interest of *Holland* ever to seek after Peace, and that all Sparks of War so soon as they arise may be suppress during a free Government: And seeing the mighty City of *Utrecht* of old, in the time of its Episcopal Government, and in the time of the last Wars against the King of *Spain*, felt more than any Town in the *Netherlands*, the manifold Tumults and Mischiefs caused by their Bishops of the House of *Burgundy*, and other great Familys, and afterwards by the Usurpation of the Captain Generals, or Stadtholders, over their lawful Government: It is therefore most unlikely that they will easily dissolve their free Government by electing such a Ruler over them.

As for *Zealand*, it is known to consist in very fruitful populous Islands, separated by mighty Streams of the Sea from all its Neighbours; and besides it hath acquired by its Power, divers Citys and strong Places, lying on the Land of the Generalitys in *Flanders* and *Brabant*: So that the Lords of *Zealand* have the disposal of the Commands, and changing of the Garisons of *Lillo*, *Liefkenshoek*, *Axel*, *ter Neuse*, and *Biervliet*. Insomuch that *Zealand* seems to be able to defend it self very well against all its Neighbours with its own Strength: Besides which, the two good Havens of *Walcheren*, *Flushing* and *Veer* lie very commodiously to annoy the Trade of *Holland* to the Westward with their Men of War.

If the two Vassal Citys in Zealand depend on the first Noble, then is Holland not only by Situation but Interest, almost divided from Zealand.

On the other hand it is also true, that the Inhabitants of *Middleburgh* and *Flushing* drive a great Trade by Sea; and that those of *Zie-vickzee* and *Veer* do subsist most by their Fishing; all which would be immediately ruined

However it could not make War upon us but to its own ruin.

by the great Naval Power of *Holland*, which would be far more considerable against them, than their Ships of War against us. And it is as certain, that the Traffick of *Zealand* will produce them greater and more certain Profit than any Privateering at Sea can do. Moreover, *Holland* hath by *Bommene* sure footing on *Schouwen*, whereby they might ruin all the rich Husbandry of that Island. *Goes* would at least have no Benefit by that War, and is not able to resist the Naval Power of *Holland* in case they came to plunder it, or to burn their Harvest. And on the other side, the *Zealand* Islands have not strength of Shipping sufficient to land and plunder *Holland*: Wherefore I conceive that under their Free Government, every one would be ready to cry out, in case of a War, *Nulla salus Bello*, Peace is best for both Partys.

Which by means of a chief Lord might happen. But some may perhaps say, That the Prince of *Orange* might, by means of the Citys of *Flushing* and *Veer*, and possibly hereafter, by being the chief Lord, and giving his Vote first, in name of all the Gentry in all the Assemblies of the States, and in all Colleges of the Provincial Government, having the first and the two last Voices: So that having Three of the Seven, he must be thought sufficient to over-rule that whole Province; and

Therefore the Welfare or Adversity of the People of that Province, whether in Peace or War, will not come so much into consideration as the Interest of some Court Sycophants, and of such a powerful Lord, who having so great a Stroke in the Government of *Zealand*, would be able to carry on very mischievous Resolutions. I shall not need answer any thing

Tho come which will, Holland can easily repel Zealand's Force.

thing to this, save that from what has been said already it appears, that *Zealand* would not really have more, but much less Power by such a Supreme Governour, than by a free Republican Government; and that accordingly it would soon appear, *Vana sine viribus ira*, that *Zealand* could not repel the Power of *Holland*, but *Holland* could very well repel the Power of *Zealand*.

As to the conquered Lands in *Flanders*, and about the *Rhyne* and the *Maese*, it is evident that they are so far distant from *Holland*, and so divided from one another, that they cannot hurt *Holland*. But *Holland* is much concerned in the conquered Citys of *Brabant*, which are very strong: And altho *Holland* hath born most of all the Charges to subdue and fortify them, yet during the former Government of the Captain-Generals or Stadtholders, they would and could keep *Holland* so low, that this Province which bears most of the Charges of the common Union, was not allowed in any one Place of the Generality any separate Power; whereas nevertheless those Provinces that contribute so little in respect of *Holland*, as *Zealand* and *Friesland* do, have so many fortified Places belonging to the Generality, to dispose of separately, and whereof the other Allys have no Power to take cognizance. But God be praised that our Frontiers are so well fortified against *Brabant*, that they cannot be taken by the Towns of the Generality any otherwise than by Treachery: And besides we are so well divided and separated from *Brabant* by the *Maese*, *Biesbos*, and Arms of the Sea, that we need fear no Enemy that way, altho those Citys

And the conquered Citys being on the Generalitys Fund, are less able to make War against Holland.

So that Holland is able to subsist against them all.

should rebel, yea revolt to the King of Spain. So that by what has been said it appears, that Holland alone is well able to stand against all its Neighbours.

C H A P. XIV.

That Holland, tho she don't fortify her Citys, if she keep united with Utrecht only, is able to defend her self against all the mighty Potentates of the World.

Holland with Utrecht, able to secure it self against the worse that can happen.

If the other Provinces should elect one Head, and have Foreign Forces to join with them against us.

BUT now supposing the very worst that could happen, viz. that the Rulers of the great Citys of Holland neglect to put their Citys into a sufficient State of Defence; and that the States of Holland do not fortify the other lesser Citys of Holland or their Avenues. And moreover I will take it for granted, that the Rulers of the respective Provinces of Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, Over-Yssel and Groningen, shall be so improvident and ill-minded, as to chuse one and the same Person to be Stadtholder, and Captain-General of their Republicks; and that the Deputys of the Generality shall combine with that Ruler to make him Lord Paramount of the said Republicks. And I will also suppose that his blind Ambition shall be as great as that of Lewis Sforza; who to preserve the usurped Dukedom of Milan against the weak King of Naples, who pretended a Right to it, invited the Powerful King of France to make War against Naples; who, as strong Auxiliaries usually do, first swallowed

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lowed up the Kingdom of Naples, and afterwards the Dukedom of Milan. So that I shall now suppose as certain, that such a Ruler of the other United Provinces, with some victorious French and Swedish Forces, or any others joining with them, may endeavour on the sudden to bring into the Heart of Holland a mighty Army to subdue it, and divide it among them: Supposing I say all this, yet I shall endeavour to shew, that Holland making due Provision beforehand, shall be able to subsist against all those Forces, as soon as the Inhabitants shall be brought to a sufficient uniform sense of the Matter, and that both Rulers and Subjects make use of their unanimous Care and Strength to repel all Foreign Hostilitys; otherwise it is certain that no Country in the World being divided and rent asunder can long subsist.

But seeing that upon such an Accident there would follow innumerable Alterations among the other Potentates of Europe, and those Changes I should be obliged to guess at, which would be of great difficulty, and not suitable to my purpose of making Observations upon the present State of Holland; I shall, that I may not miss my Aim, and to clear my self of that trouble, say briefly, That the two Provinces, viz. Holland and Utrecht, might in a little time, by making a Graft, Trench, or Channel, from the Zuyder-Sea into the Lek, order it so by Sluces, that the Country may all be overflowed at pleasure: This might be done with little Charge, and yet be so strong a Defence against any Force, that humanely speaking, it would be impossible to subdue it by any

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outward Power. This Position is strengthened by the Judgment of *William* the elder Prince of *Orange*, who, as I have either read or heard, was ever of that Sentiment, and had Schemes of it made by the best Engineers of that Age.

Viz. By making a Graft, which would render us invincible by Land.

They that are skill'd in these Affairs, will find it practicable in the following manner, viz. If a Summer were spent to surround *Holland* with such a Graft or Channel, beginning at the *Zuyder-Sea*, between *Muyden* and *Muiderberg*, running from thence South to the *Hinderdam*, from thence to the East side of the *Vecht* through the *Overmeerse Polder* to the *Overmeer*; from thence within the East or West side of the *Vecht*, about a hundred or more Rods from the same, or close by it along to the fittest place; and in that manner following the *Vecht* to the City of *Utrecht*, and to run East about the City, and inclose it in the Line; from thence along the new *Vaert* unto *Vreeswyck*, digging throughout a Graft ten Rods wide; and the Walls, Bulworks, and proper Flankings taking up one place with another the like breadth of ten Rods: Such Walls and Grafts would certainly be invincible in so populous a Country against all the Potentates of the World. And supposing it might be taken by Approaches, yet would the whole Land be entirely open behind, that in the mean while new Intrenchments might be made. Yea moreover, supposing that were not done, what Army in the World would dare to force a Breach, where a whole Army of the Enemy should be ready on the inside to resist the Stormers, as would here be the case?

And

And if any object, that this Graft is either not practicable, or too chargeable; I shall add, that this Line would take up twelve thousand *Rhynlandish* Rods, which would require 400 Morgens or *Dutch* Acres of Land; this being valued at 700 Guilders each, it would amount to _____ Guilders 280000

The digging of every Rod of this Graft, with the forming of the Wall and Flanking, 100 Guilders each, which in all would cost no more than _____	1200000
To those concerned, and for extraordinary Charges _____	120000
Total _____	1600000

And would cost but 1600000 Guilders.

But the said Graft might likewise be digged after the following manner, which would be less chargeable, and would best suite with the unfortifiable part of the Province of *Utrecht*; namely beginning at the *Zuyder-Sea* along, or within the West side of the *Eem*, and to the Eastward of the City of *Amersford*; passing there over the *Eem*, and to the Eastward of the City of *Amersford*, to comprehend it in the Line; and thence forward South to the fittest place over *Woudenburg*, along unto the *Lek*, about and to the Eastward of *Wyk* to *Duursteede*, for the taking of that City likewise in: which Line would be in length eleven thousand *Rhynlandish* Rods.

After another manner not above 1400000 Guilders.

The Graft and the Walls, taking them of the same breadth as before, and they taking up about three hundred and sixty Morgens at 500 Guilders each, amount unto _____ Guilders

Holland, with Utrecht, able		Part II.
Guilders,	—————	180000
The digging of the Graft, at 100	} 1100000	
Guilders the Rod, for eleven thousand Rods,		
For extraordinary Charges,	—————	120000
	—————	1400000

If the first way be taken, then the *Lek* between *Vreesmyk* and *Hondwyk*, is to be kept with Redoubts to the length of about twelve hundred Rods. If the second way be taken, the *Lek* would then be to be kept between *Wyk* to *Duurstede* and *Hondwyk*, the length of about four hundred Rods.

Would yet be necessary to Lay out in Fortifications, 470000 Guilders, and why.

Moreover, when it were needful for securing the Land of *Gorcum*, *Vianen*, and the *Alblafferwaard*, there may be digged another such like Graft and Wall from the *Lek* about *Hondwyk*, to the Wall about *Lovestein*, and that over *Akkooy* along the borders of *Holland*: Which Line would be about six and thirty hundred *Rhylandish* Rods, and by consequence there would be taken up one hundred and twenty Morgens of Land, each valued at 500 Guilders, is

The Graft and Wall as above	—————	60000
Extraordinary Charges	—————	360000
	—————	50000
	—————	470000

And lastly 430000 Guilders to be paid once for all.

From *Lovestein* to the City of *Heusden*, the *Maese* would be serviceable for the preservation of the Land of *Altena*, which should be provided with Redoubts the length of about 4000 Rods.

From the City of *Heusden* along and about the

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the old <i>Maese</i> to little <i>Waspik</i> , lying at the <i>Biesbos</i> , for preservation of the Land of <i>Altena</i> , the making of a Graft and Wall as above, and being about three thousand Rods, it would require about one hundred Morgens of Land, each reckoned at 500 Guilders amounts to	—————	50000
Digging of the Graft, and forming of the Wall at 100 Guilders the Rod as above, is	} 300000	
Extraordinary Charges as above,		
	—————	80000
	—————	430000

This in all would amount to two Millions *All which would be but one sixth Part of the yearly demands of the Council of State for 1629.* and five hundred thousand Guilders, in case it was begun about the *Vecht*; and if it were begun about the *Eem*, two Millions three hundred thousand Guilders, besides the Fortifications which might be rais'd along the *Lek* and the old *Maese*.

And if it be observed, that the Mony which the Council of State yearly demanded in the time of Prince *Henry of Orange*, did oftentimes amount to more than sixteen Millions; and that the same for the Year 1629, when the *Bosch* was taken, came to twenty one Millions, and seven hundred eighty two thousand two hundred sixty eight Guilders, you will then clearly see that those Campaigns, and Sieges in that Offensive War, even when they succeeded best, and we made Bonfires for joy, cost the Province of *Holland* alone, omitting the other *United Provinces*, 4 or 5 times more than such a Graft would amount unto; besides that the *Bosch* or *Boisleduc* with its circumjacent Forts, *Breda*, *Bergen op Zoom*, and *Steenbergen*, *And then there would be less to be kept by Garisons than Bolduke, Bergen, and Brethen now require.*

Holland, with Utrecht, able Part II.

bergen, with their Outworks and adjacent Forts, do make together a far greater Line, which either in Peace or War will cost abundantly more: and it is evident, that many of the honest *Hollanders* have been made to believe, that such Conquests have been very advantageous, if not necessary. So that it seems to me that such a Graft and Walls, which will last *Holland* and the Province of *Utrecht* for ever, and sufficiently free the Country from further Charge, will be found exceeding more profitable for these two Republicks, when it is effected.

Utrecht inseparably link'd to Holland's Interest both by Situation and Government.

Lastly, it may be objected, that it is here taken for granted, that the Province, or at least the City of *Utrecht*, ought always to join with *Holland*; whereas it may happen, that that City may join with the Enemy to ruin *Holland*. I acknowledg, if the Sky fall we should catch store of Larks, because all those things are possible, but it would be a great wonder if all those things should happen: At least it is not likely that the City of *Utrecht* enjoying a free Government will ever make War against *Holland*, because the Interests of these two Republicks are perpetually link'd together, and the Province of *Utrecht* has of old been, and is at this day, the most faithful Ally to *Holland*, as lately appeared by their readily bringing in their *Quota* agreed on for carrying on the last War against *England*, as also in mortifying the Stadtholdership.

And by mutual inclination, having of old run the same fortune with us.

And besides that great City hath of old found the Government of a single Person so uneasy, that it hath always been of *Hoek's* Faction, and endeavoured more than any other

Ch. 14. to resist all Foreign Power.

ther after a free Government, being neither able nor willing to submit their Necks to the Bishops, Lords or Stadtholders Yoke. And it is observable, that for that very reason the Inhabitants have gotten the name of *Mutineers*. For those that eat Cherries in common with great Spiritual or Temporal Lords or Princes, must suffer them to chuse the fairest, and yet be pelted with the stones; or if they oppose it, they will be forthwith excommunicated for Hereticks, and punished as seditious Fellows.

Lastly, the Province is in it self very weak by its inland Situation; and continues still unfortified as well as *Holland*, by reason of the Maxims of the Lords Stadtholders and Captain-Generals: So that there is nothing more to be wish'd for by them, than their maintaining a free Government, and erecting such Fortifications. And seeing Experience and a well known Political Maxim teacheth us, *That there is no State in this World so secure, that has nothing left unsecure*; I have already given so many Reasons and Instances to prove That the Republick of *Holland* can subsist of it self against all its Neighbours, and that it is a hard matter to name any other State in the World of which the like may be said with more certainty: But if the Reader hath any doubt remaining, I shall endeavour in the next Chapter to clear it.

CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

That every great City in Holland, whether it be well or ill fortified, is able to defend it self against all Force from without.

Every great City in Holland can subsist of its self,

I Shall now endeavour to shew that each great City in *Holland* is able, no less than other Republicks consisting of one City, to stand against all the Potentates in the World. To which end this Rule of Politicians and Engineers comes into my mind; That all great Citys that can abide a Siege of a whole Season, must be counted invincible; because, tho all things succeed well with the Besiegers, they can in no wise compensate the Charges of the Siege; and that that Power and Expence might with much more Benefit and Certainty be applied against Citys which are not so strong nor so well fortified.

Because it is able to stand out a Winters Siege.

Besides which, for the taking such a City a very great Force of Men and Mony is required, which is seldom found among Monarchs, because of their living so magnificently, and that the Treasurers of Kings and Princes consume all their Revenues; and we seldom find such Republicks so foolish (unless they are ridden by some Tyrant) to make such detrimental Conquests. For an incredibly great Army is necessary to surround so great a City; and while one side of it is attack'd with a great Strength, those on the other side may make such terrible Sallys, that the Enemy shall not be able to keep any Watch in the Approaches or Redoubts, so that thereby whole Armys may be ruined. And

And lastly, tho all things succeed well with the Besiegers, it is certain that Scaling of Walls causeth great destruction among the Assailants, because the Besieged, with the great Military Power which they have in readiness in the Places of Arms, or about the Breaches, as a Reserve, may easily beat back the Assailants: Therefore such Places are usually taken by Famine; and seeing the Besiegers cannot without difficulty cast up Lines of Circumvallation, or intrench a City, and yet with more difficulty intrench themselves well in so great a compass of Ground, as to be able to defend themselves against a great and populous City, and to supply their own Army with all the Necessaries requisite for the furnishing of the City: We therefore see for the most part, that those obstinate Besiegers do melt and consume away, and their great Armies come to nothing. And moreover the Neighbouring Potentates are commonly very jealous, *hodie tibi, cras mihi*, of such formidable growing Conquerors; so that in time Succours happen to come from whence it is not look'd for, according to the Proverb, *Time gained, much gained*; and in truth, the Life of all Men depends upon these political Maxims, That no Man will ruin himself to undo another: So that the contrary hereof is neither to be credited nor practised in the great Citys of *Holland*, so as to make them continue in a defenceless posture.

In which time the City may be relieved, or the Siege raised.

Which is proved by Examples.

For besides all the Reasons abovementioned, this political Rule is established by Experience, That all great Citys that can hold out the Siege of a whole Season, ought to be considered to be able to subsist for ever, seeing

ing at this day many Republicks, consisting of no more than one City, have maintained themselves some hundreds of Years against all their Enemys, altho many amongst them are but meanly fortified, and others tho stronger are but small.

And moreover among the said Republicks, consisting but of one City, there are several Republicks, wherein there are neither great nor fortified Cities, and yet by their own Government, the jealousy of their Neighbours, and other Circumstances, or humane Accidents, have stood very long. We are indeed strong when we dare be our own Masters, and when the Inhabitants begin to know the Metal or Stength of a People that will fight for their Freedom, and when the People of a Republick understand aright the weakness and mutableness of a Monarchical War, and that the Republicks do ofttimes ruin the great Armys of Monarchs by good Fortifications and Orders; or can quietly sit down, and be Spectators of the great Desolations, and ruinous Revolutions which Monarchs do continually cause among themselves by their Field Battels.

Tho the great Citys be not fortified, yet might they resist Foreign Forces.

Moreover, supposing the great Citys of Holland were so improvident, as that during their free Government they should neglect the strengthening themselves with good Fortifications, Gates, Walls, and Gratts, but took care only to furnish themselves sufficiently with good Arms for their Inhabitants, and to exercise them thorowly, those Citys might subsist very well against all Foreign Power; and according to the Political Maxim which teacheth us, That all populous Citys which can

can raise an Army out of their own Inhabitants, cannot be either besieged or conquered; because a dispersed Army without shelter, must needs give way to one within that is united and sheltered by a City. *Vis unita fortior dispersa*, An united Force is stronger than a scatter'd one.

All that hath been said, whether of fortified or unfortified populous Citys, that provide their Inhabitants with Arms sufficient, and train them up in the use of them, is strengthened by Experience: and we shall say, that lately, during that great devastation of Countrys and Citys of the great and Potent Electors and Princes of the Empire, all the free Imperial Citys have very well secur'd themselves, as *Francfort, Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremburg, Breslaw, Lubbeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, &c.* against the Emperor, Spain, France, &c. except poor innocent *Straelsond*, which tho really impregnable, yet *terrore pannico*, dreading the Imperial victorious Arms, took in a Swedish Garrison for its defence, but in truth leap'd from the Smoak into the Fire, and so lost her dear Liberty. Thus have those inconsiderable, or small *Switzer-Republicks*, and Citys, *Zurich, Bern, Bazil, Schaffhuisen, Friburgh, Lucerne, Solothurn, St. Gal, &c.* preserved themselves some hundreds of Years successively against *Austria, Spain, France, Savoy, and Burgundy*; yea, even little *Geneva* hath done the like.

All which appears by Examples.

Of the free Imperial Citys of Germany.

The Cantons of Switzerland.

Thus that small City of *Ragoufa* subsisted very well against the Great *Turk*; *Austria* and *Venice*, which is not above 2000 Paces in circumference, and in its greatest Prosperity could not be inhabited by more than ten

Lucca.

thousand Souls, Men, Women, and Children. Thus subsists little *Lucca*, which hath not above twenty four thousand Souls in it; yet by its Republican Government, and good Fortifications, keeps its ground against the *Pope* and *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Tuscany*, and the King of *Spain* as Duke of *Milan*.

It is not strange to see such incredible Fruits of a free Government: because for a Man to be his own Master, and consequently to feed, clothe, arm and defend his own Body, which he always unfeignedly loves, and will provide for and defend to the utmost, is certainly an incomparable if not an infinite Advantage above Slavery, where a single Person hath the charge, takes care of or neglects other Mens Lives, Healths, and Safetys, according to his own Will and Pleasure.

And if this be true, as it certainly appears to be, we ought in my judgment to esteem that not only all our great Citys of *Holland* which are situated on Havens and great Rivers, are impregnable, yea not to be besieged or approach'd to, if once they can put themselves into a state of good defence, and convince their Inhabitants, that their own Strength is sufficient to repel all Foreign Force: But methinks it is also consequently true, that all our great inland Citys, as *Harlem*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, *Alkmaer*, &c. are sufficiently able to defend themselves against all Force from without, under a free Government, in case they neglect not to provide themselves with all Necessarys according to their Power.

And

The Citys of Holland can better subsist than those fore-named.

And tho it may be objected that *Harlem* being formerly besieged a whole Winter by the *Spaniard*, was yet taken at last. I answer, That *Don Frederico* who commanded there in chief, repented oft that ever he began that Siege; and he himself was for abandoning it, and would so have done, had it not been for that obstinate and impolitick Duke of *Alva's* Son, who wrote him contumelious and reflecting Letters about it, and thereby compeld him to continue that Siege. And besides it is notorious, that some such imprudent Sieges, as that of *Alkmaer*, *Leyden*, and *Zierickzee*, did occasion the breaking of the *Spanish* Power, and the Mutinys of the Souldiers at that time, as it did afterwards to Arch-Duke *Albert* when he besieged other Citys. And moreover, *Haerlem* at that time had not half the Strength and number of Men as it has now; for being newly revolted from its mighty Prince the King of *Spain*, and the *Romish* Religion at once, it must necessarily, by reason of that new Government and Religion, and especially by treating the *Spanish* and *Romish* Inhabitants too hardly and reproachfully, have been at that time much divided and weakned, and not well able to bridle those discontented Inhabitants. And yet with that divided Force, and their weak Walls, they were able to keep off the Army of their old Sovereign a long time. So that this Example of *Harlem* seems rather to strengthen than weaken the said Maxim, that all the great *Holland* Citys continuing in a free State, that are able to form a well-armed and disciplin'd Army out of their own Inhabitants, are impregnable. And we lie in

Vid. Strad. l. 7. Which the Example of Harlem taken in 1573. by the Spaniards, doth not contradict;

Because our Citys have great Advantages above others, therefore is that Maxim the stronger.

so cold a Climate, that it is impossible, unless the Enemy design to consume a whole Army, to hold out a Winter's Siege. Besides, those Citys lie not above a League and a half from the Sea on low and plain Lands, which for the most part may be put under Water in the Winter: So that they have naturally and of themselves great Advantages, and besides might easily be fortified; and Men to defend such Fortifications are easy to be found here from our own Inhabitants, and those of neighbouring Country. These are natural Advantages which are not to be acquired by Art or Mony, but all other necessarys depend on the provident care of the Rulers, who I conceive ought ever to be employed about that Work during their Free Government, without further loss of time; for (*chi a tempo, non aspetti tempo*) He that has time, and does not improve it, shall never be wealthy. If hereafter a Stadtholder or Captain-General be obruded upon them, and they would then possibly make it their business to fortify themselves, they might have cause to fear his displeasure for it.

So that the Rulers ought not to suffer Suburbs to be built.

For in the first place, the Suburbs of Citys in times of Peace having all the Privileges of Citys, and paying no Taxes, are like Wens in the Body, which attract much nourishment, and are very troublesome, and yet good for nothing; and on the other hand, the same Suburbs in time of War do not defend the City from the Enemy, but are commonly the occasion of their being lost, and so may be likened to Cancers, which cannot be cut or burnt off but with the hazard of a Man's Life, a great Charge, Loss and Pain, to which

which Extremitys People are not commonly willing to come but when 'tis too late; so that one may truly say, that that Maxim can never be sufficiently commended, That the Rulers of free Citys should prevent all Out-buildings, or Suburbs, under what Pretext soever.

And consequently the second thing to be taken care of by Rulers, is in time to enlarge their respective Citys according to the increase of their Inhabitants, or Traffick, and continually to have many void Places to set out for Buildings within their Walls, as for all publick known Uses and Accommodations, so for other unexpected Occasions, whether in Peace or War, and especially against a Siege, to secure and harbour the Country people with their Cattel, Fodder, Corn, and Firing; which sort of People during a Siege, can dig, and undergo Rain, Wind, Cold and Heat, and so may be singularly useful, while they have left the Land round about them naked to the Enemy; who otherwise would, by the Assistance of themselves and their Provisions, be enabled to continue the Siege longer, and to starve the City. And moreover by this Method, if a City in time of War be well fortified, many Inhabitants of the weaker neighbouring Citys may there have protection, and many of them will afterwards settle there in time of Peace, when by their Losses they have learn'd the great Advantages which in times of War, and the great Conveniences and Pleasure which in times of Peace the Inhabitants of great and strong Citys do enjoy, above those small and weak ones. Rents would likewise be always kept low,

And to keep vacant Places within the City,

Which are necessary both in War and Peace.

by reserving of Ground in Citys, to the exceeding Benefit of them in times of Peace, seeing thereby Traffick and Trades might be follow'd at a cheaper Rate, and the Inhabitants might dwell in healthful, convenient, and pleasant Houses.

The Magistrates ought to fortify their Citys well,

The 3d Care of Rulers ought to be to surround their Citys with good Walls and Flankings, and provide great Gates, and convenient Watch-houses; and also that each Gate have a fit place to draw up the Souldiery in: And in the middle or heart of the City near the Town-hall (whence all the vigour and strength must be dispersed over the whole Body of the City) there ought to be plac'd the great Guard, and place of Assembly, with sufficient ground to draw up some thousands of Men in order to lead them out thence, where they shall be most useful, whether against Insurrections within, or Assaults from without.

And to provide all Necessarys against any Enemy,

The 4th Care of Rulers ought to be, to build Houses for Arms, and in time to provide them with all sorts of Offensive and Defensive Weapons. It is probable that every great City would require 250 Pieces of Ordnance, and Arms for ten thousand Men: Shovels, Spades, Waggon, Spars and Deals, are in such cases also necessary; as are likewise public Buildings for Provisions, Corn, and Fuel. This being once done, it might be maintain'd with very small Charge. But Provisions are perishable Wares; Corn is preserv'd with great Charge; Turf may always be had in a short time out of the Country, so that in time of Peace Barns seem to be sufficient, which may be let out to the Inhabitants at a small

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small Rent, who oft-times would themselves fill them with Corn, seeing the Traffick of Holland, and small or low Interest, added to the free hire of Garrets, might possibly cause many that live on their Rents, when the Prices of Corn are low, to lay out their Money upon it, in hopes of profit by raising of its Price.

The 5th Care of Rulers ought to be, thoroughly to exercise their wealthy Inhabitants in Arms, for those you have always at hand in time of need; and the rich Citizens will serve faithfully without pay to defend the Lawful Government and their dear-bought Liberty, and will stedfastly endeavour the preservation of other mens Goods from all violence, whether Domestick or Foreign. The poor Inhabitants ought in time of War to be taken into pay, tho it be but small, thereby to prevent their inclination of making Mutinies or Uproars, and they should be commanded by none but rich and trusty Citizens.

And constantly to exercise the rich Citizens in Arms.

The 6th and last Care of the Magistrates of Citys ought to be, to have some Money, tho not much beforehand. And since some may wonder, considering that in the general opinion of Men, Money is the Sinews of War, that I put it in the last Place, and besides that I presume to advise the keeping only some Money in Cash: I shall therefore add, that the Maxim, that Money is the Sinews of War, is never true, but where all means of Defence and Offence is provided. For every one knows, that toothless and unarm'd Gold cannot be defended but by sharp Iron: And that great and unarmed Treasures, or Chests

Lastly, to have in store some, tho not much Money.

Every great City is able Part II.

of Money intice Mutineers within and all Enemies from without to plunder. At least that Maxim hath seldom any place but to make Field-Arms stand to it in Sieges, or to cause Men to keep their Station at advantageous Passes, and thereby to outstand or furnish an Enemy, and when the Enemy gives way, to attack them. But in Cities that Maxim holds not, unless they have already provided themselves with that for which Men gathered or laid up Money. And seeing in Governments where so few are Rulers, as in the Cities of *Holland*, Money is so oft measured and strik'd, and so much of it sticks to the Measure and Striker as the Rulers please; so that good Regents and Patriots must take special care, that the Money be immediately employed about things necessary to the durable Welfare, Ease and Ornament of the City, before it be expended through alteration of the Government by indigent Rulers, and haters of the Liberty of our native Country, to our ruin in building Tyrannical Castles, or by letting it drop through their Fingers into the Blew-bag.

Because our Government consists of too few to be long burdened with needless Impositions, and not be subject to Tumults.

And that Money may otherwise be ill expended.

And being provided with all Necessarys, the Rulers ought to lay up a Stock against unexpected Accidents.

And when Men have gotten all these necessarys, it's then time to gather a stock of Money. For in times of adversity, when things run cross, and unexpected accidents happen, Money is very necessary to procure all that was neglected or esteemed useless in time of Peace. But for great Treasures, the Cities of *Holland* should not aim at them, for these would cause great Imposts and heavy Taxes, which would make the Rulers of a rich Mercantile City consisting of a small number of People so hateful, that by such Impositions, when necessity requires not, they would be lookt on

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by the Subject as Plunderers of the Commonalty, and run the risque of being kickt out of the Government. The People would easily think, that they had reason to believe, that if the Rulers sought only the Welfare of the Subject, and accordingly depended on their Defence, and to that end gathered of their own Inhabitants the Money thereunto necessary, that they could then also subsist with such small Imposts as other Republicks do. And the Rulers ought to know, that many Republicks have subsisted a long time against very potent Neighbours without any Imposts; and some with very few, but none in the World by such vast ones as are levied in the Cities of *Holland*. So that it will be a Miracle from Heaven if it be long born by Cities that cannot live upon their own Fund, or Country, or unalterable Situation, but where all the Inhabitants must subsist and live upon fickle Traffick, and the uncertain consumption of Manufactures, and Fishing.

Lastly, we may add what has been said already, That the Rulers of the great *Holland* Cities ought to provide themselves with good Allyes of some of the Neighbouring Cities and Lands, who are most concern'd in their safety. But when all things are so well provided, such Cities are usually helped without previous Alliances or mutual Obligations; but when unprovided, there is nothing for all their Care and Charge to be gotten but good Words under Hand and Seal, which are all but feeble things, and are construed according to the sense of the strongest, or of him that hath no need of assistance. So that such Alliances before necessity requires, need not

be

be too anxiously fought after, especially with the advance of much Money. Moreover it is well known how strictly and well bound all the United Provinces are by the Union of Utrecht, and all the Holland Citys by the Provincial Government.

For Jealousy will occasion them of it self.

And if the worst should happen, yet nevertheless all the great Holland Inland Citys by their Vicinity, and Communication with the North-Sea, might expect from thence in their extremity some Succors; and if the Besieged behaved themselves any thing well, one or other of the Citys of Holland lying at a Sea-Port, will be inclined to help them, were it but for injoying the benefit of the Consumption or Transportation of their Commodities, which they either supply them with or receive of them. But when all is well considered, it is most advisable for all Rulers to provide themselves so well of all Necessaries, as if none in the World would or were able to help them but themselves, which is a thing feasible enough, as hath appeared by what I have already laid down.

The Conclusion of this Chapter, that every great City may subsist of it self.

And therefore I hope by what is before alledg'd it is evident, That every great City of Holland, no less than other Republicks consisting but of one City, may very well defend it self against all the Potentates of the World; so that it is at last made evident that this Republick, or all the Gentry and Citys of Holland and West-Friesland conjoined, may very well be able to defend themselves against all Foreign Power whatsoever: which is the thing I had undertaken to prove.

Thus having in the First Part observed the Interest and Maxims of Holland in relation to its

its Inhabitants within the Country; and in the Second Part duly considered Holland's Interest as to all Foreign Powers, I shall now end this Second Part, laying before the Reader a short View of all that has been said at once, and shew him the Inferences and Conclusions which every one ought to make from the same; viz. That in the first place and before all other matters, Fisherys, Manufactures, Traffick and Navigation ought to be indulged and favoured.

That Fisherys, Manufactures, Traffick, &c. ought chiefly to be indulged.

And Secondly, That to that end, the freedom of all Religions for all People is very necessary, viz. such freedom whereby all the Rulers should be of the Publick Reformed Religion, who are bound to defend and favour the same by all lawful means; yet so, that the other Religions may not be persecuted by Placaet, but publickly tolerated or favoured, and defended against all the violence of the Rabble.

Toleration in Religion very useful to that end.

Thirdly, That necessary Freedom be given for all Strangers to dwell in Holland.

Liberty for Strangers,

Fourthly, That it is necessary that every Inhabitant of Holland have the liberty to follow and exercise Merchandize, their own Occupation, and Mechanick Trades, without the control of any other Inhabitants.

And all Handycraft Traders to deal with us.

Fifthly, It is above all things necessary, that the Rulers be prudently wary and cautious, how they lay Imposts upon Consumption, and especially that they be circumspect in charging of Merchandize, or levying any Convoymony upon Ships or Goods imported or exported, without distinction, as also in charging of Ships let to freight.

Freedom from Imposts, &c.

Sixthly,

Impartial Justice.

Sixthly, That the Justice of *Holland* be accommodated or framed, not to the Benefit of the Officers of Justice, but of the Inhabitants, as also *e Mercatura bono*, more to the Interest of the Merchant.

Colonys.

Seventhly, Here is also shewn that which is necessary for all sorts of Governments, and especially for Republicks, which cannot subsist without continual attracting or alluring in of fresh Inhabitants, and to keep them employed about Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick and Shipping; above all, it is absolutely necessary in *Holland*, to make new Colonys in Foreign Parts, that from time to time they may discharge their supernumerary, poor, straitned, and discontented Inhabitants with Honour, Convenience and Profit, whereby also they may increase Commerce.

To keep the Sea uninfested from Rovers.

And forasmuch as in the Second Part we have handled *Holland's* Just and True Maxims relating to Foreign Powers; it is in the first place clear, that the narrow Seas ought to be kept intirely free from Pirates, and that Merchants Ships in the *Spanish* and Midland Seas be continually defended, and freed by Ships of War from *Turkish* Piracys. As also that Peace should by all means be sought with all People: But yet that *Holland* must not seek its preservation from Alliances; for this is the Sheet-Anchor of the weakest Republicks and Potentates, whereas *Holland* subsists not by the Jealousy of its Neighbours, but by its own Strength. And therefore not only the other Provinces and the Generality, but especially all the Frontiers of *Holland* ought to be fortified and provided with all things necessary against any Foreign Attack or Surprize.

To pursue Peace.

And that *Holland* be fortified; which has all not only appear'd to be necessary and true,

prize. And above all, those great and strong Citys of *Holland* ought to be put into a posture to hold out a Year's Siege; because then they will be held impregnable, or at least stronger than many Republicks of single Inland-Citys, situated in a hilly mountanous Country, and therefore cannot be so well fortified. As for example, all the free Imperial Citys of *Germany*, the *Swiss Cantons*, *Geneva*, *Ragouza*, *Lucca*; yea even those Citys that are under Princes, as *Parma*, *Mantua*, *Modena*, which must be somewhat the weaker by reason of their own Princes, for one Sword keeps another in the Scabbard; and in this sense it is true, That two curst Dogs don't bite one another, but the good natur'd toothless ones are always bitten by the curst Curs.

But been manifested by many Examples to be so.

The End of the Second Part.

The

The True Interest, and Political Maxims of the Republic of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*.

P A R T III.

C H A P. I.

Wherein enquiry is made in what the Interest of the free Rulers of Holland, as to all the Particulars by which the People may live happily, consists.

Before we treat of the Interest of Rulers in general, we shall briefly repeat what hath been discours'd of.

HAVING hitherto shewn, that the Welfare of the Inhabitants of *Holland* is grounded upon the preservation and improvement of Fisheries, Manufactures, Traffick and Shipping, and that the same cannot be acquired nor kept but by Liberty, or to speak plainer a Toleration of all Religions, tho differing from the Reformed, and by a free Burger-right for all Strangers that will cohabit with us, with Licence to follow all their Trades and Occupations what-

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whatever without trouble or molestation from their fellow Inhabitants, in respect of any Societys, Companys, Halls, Guilds, or Corporations: And by such moderation about Convoy-mony and Tolls, that no Ships or Goods coming in, or going out, may be charged with, or eas'd and freed from all Taxes, otherwise than as it may be subservient to the improvement of our Fisherys, Manufactures, Traffick and Navigation. Moreover, having shewn that all the things beforementioned are not sufficient to preserve and keep up the said Fisherys, Manufactures, Traffick and Navigation, unless the Courts of Justice, and Laws be constituted and executed more than hitherto in favour of the Inhabitants, and of Traffick. And lastly that in foreign Countrys, Colonys of *Hollanders* ought to be establish'd and protected.

And in the Second Book having likewise shewn, how necessary it is that the Sea be cleared of all Free-Booters and Pirats, and that Peace be fought with all Men. And moreover, having shewed that *Holland* is to beware of entring into any prejudicial Alliances with its Neighbours and Potentates, but rather to strengthen their own Frontiers, and inland Citys, and exercise their Inhabitants well in Arms, and to keep the Sword in their own hands, against all Domestick and Foreign Power, which would be as great a strengthening and security to them, yea and more than any other Country. Therefore I judg it now useful, deliberately to examine whether a Land having such Interests, ought to be governed by a Republican or Monarchical Form of Government: For it is cer-

The power of raising or ruining a People is in the Magistrates hands.

certain that all publick Power to improve, or impair the Interest of a Land, and to preserve and enlarge, or diminish and ruin a State, must be, and is in the Hands of the Lawful Rulers of a Country, whether they be Monarchs, Princes, Statesmen, or the Common Burgers.

And tho I have in many places of the two first Parts of this Treatise seem'd to have said enough that *Holland* and its Inhabitants ought to be governed by a free Republican Government; yet seeing it was done but cursorily, and as *aliud agendo*, and that on a Government that is well or ill constituted according to the Interest of the People, depends all their Prosperity or Adversity: It seems to me that in the Third Part of this Treatise my best Endeavours should be employed to enquire what kind of Rulers would be most profited by the Welfare of the Fisherys, Manufactures, Traffick, and Navigation, and all their Consequences, or be most injur'd by the decay or weakning of them. For seeing it is true generally speaking, that all Rulers whether high or low are alike in this, that in seeking their own Profit, they do not aim at the Benefit of the People to their own loss, but on the contrary (as no man halts of another man's fore) will out of the Common Misfortune seek their own Advantage; it is therefore evident, that of the two proposed Governments, that will be best for *Holland* in which the well or ill-being of the Rulers depends upon, or is join'd with the well or ill being of the Fishing, Manufactures, Traffick, and Navigation, and with all the necessary Consequences or Dependences of the same.

As also that all Rulers seek their own benefit more than anothers.

And

And tho several kinds of Government might here come into Consideration, yet, I conceive, that of the Land of our Nativity is the fittest, and agrees best with my brief Undertaking, to guide my Thoughts upon the Government which is now there in being, and upon that which we lately had, and by many is desired again. And to that end, I conceive it needful to expresse what we ought to understand by the words Republick and Republican Governours, or Monarchy and Monarchical Rulers.

And upon that Foundation we shall consider

What a Republick and a Monarchy really are.

By the word *Republick* and *Republican Rulers*, I mean, not only such a State wherein a certain Sovereign Assembly hath the Right and Authority for coming to all Resolutions, making of Orders and Laws, or to break them, as also of requiring or prohibiting Obedience to them: But I understand thereby such a State wherein an Assembly, tho possibly without any Right, yet hath the Power to cause all their Resolutions, Orders, and Laws, to be obeyed and put in execution. And again, by the word *Monarchy* and *Monarchical Rulers*, not only such a State wherein one single Person hath all Right and Power for the taking, making, or revoking all Resolutions, Orders, and Laws, and to cause Obedience to be given to them, or to hinder the observing of them: But, I mean, thereby such a State wherein one only Person, tho without Right, yet hath the Power to cause Obedience to be given to all his Orders, Resolutions, and Laws, or to suspend or hinder all Orders, Resolutions, and Laws of the True and Lawful highest Assembly, that they be not executed, and this according to his own Pleasure.

Not where the name of Freedom or Slavery is, nor yet where the Right and the Name alone is, but where the Power also thereof is present.

B b

For

What is properly a Republic, Part III.

For tho it be true, that the Republican Form of Government is so acceptable to the Merchants, and all wise and vertuous Men, that many will object, that the bare name, shadow, and appearance of Freedom hath been able to encourage the Traffick and Navigation of *Holland*; yet to me it seems to be no less true, that we ought to expect many more good Fruits from the thing it self, than from the appearance of it: And besides, it cannot be denied, but that the Name and the Shadow must, and shall always give way to, and vanish before the Power, Effect, and Thing it self. So that he that will narrowly enquire into the good or bad Fruits which are to be expected of such or such a kind of Government, would do very ill if he should not let his Thoughts and Observations, in this particular, run more on the Power which can operate without Right, than upon Right which without Power is insignificant, and when Violence or Force comes, must always cease.

The Right and the Name vanish by degrees, before the Power and Effect.

And that this may more clearly appear, the Reader may please to consider, that by the word [Lawful Government] is meant, and must be meant, the Right of compelling Obedience to that Government; and that this is grounded upon antient Possession, or upon Laws, Customs, or Oaths, or upon all together, which are of themselves weak, unless they be back'd by Persons authorized, that are willing and ready at the Command of the lawful Rulers to punish such rebellious or perjured Subjects. Whereas on the other side, a greater or stronger adherence of People to a Governor, or some leading Men, and without the least Right, may have so great a Power,

Which is demonstrated by manifesting,

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Power, that they shall destroy all good Orders and Customs; and such are wont to cast all the antient and virtuous lawful Rulers out of their Right and Possession.

Which adherence of the People I shall consider more at large, because thereby the Being and Power of all Government is either made or broken. I shall first consider and fix upon an unarmed State, wherein the Power of Governing used to reside in those who can force Obedience from the greater number, and especially of the meanest People. For in such a case one Man is not only a Person to be accounted as good as another, but then besides the Poor, the Ignorant, and the worst People will be always sooner ready to help to oppress lawful Rulers than the other few rich, prudent, and virtuous Inhabitants to defend them against that Violence.

Of what importance the Love of the People is,

And as to an armed State, it is held by all Men of Understanding for an infallible Maxim, That he that is Master of the Soldiery, is consequently Master of all those Places where they lie in Garison; and he that is Master of those Places of Strength, and of the Soldiery, is likewise Master of the State, or may make himself so when he pleases. For the Soldiers have always their Officers, whose Commands they are daily accustomed to receive and obey, or else are severely punished for their Disobedience. And seeing for their Disobedience, or Crimes against the Polity of a People, they are not wont to be punished at all, or but very slackly, even when the illegal and wicked Attempts of the Captain-Generals miscarry, as also because they have nothing to lose; and lastly, seeing they have

Or that of the Soldiery.

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thereby also much more Advantage in Tumults and Wars, than they can hope to gain in times of Rest and Peace; therefore he that can get to be their chief Head and Master, tho' by the greatest Injustice of the World, * may suddenly set on foot all manner of undutiful Practices and Undertakings against the lawful and unarmed Rulers, and fall upon them in hostile manner before they have time so to fortify their Cities, and exercise the Burgers and Boors in Arms, as to drive away the seditious Soldiery from their Gates and Walls.

The Rulers, as well as the People, used to be sway'd by the Soldiery.

Epecially by him that has the Soldiery, and at the same time the Rabble on his side.

Because the Strength of a Government consists of such Parties.

And if the said Maxim, That he that is Master of the places of Strength and Soldiery, is also Master, or may make himself so, of the State, be infallibly true; then it is a more material truth, That he who, besides the command of the Soldiery, possesseth the Favour of most of the Inhabitants, or the rude Rabble, can make himself Master of the State when he assembles the said Soldiery for that end. So that if any one may do this by a deputed Power, we must consider him, tho' a Servant or Minister to the State, as having in all respects the Power of the Republic in his hands; and therefore the thing itself being duly considered, he is already Sovereign Monarch of that State, and is so to be understood, that the Name and the Right of that free Republican Government will likewise soon vanish, and consequently after that, not any of the Fruits of the Free Government, or any thing like it ought to be expected. But on the contrary, all that useth to proceed

* Nulla fides pietasq; viris qui castra sequuntur.

from

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from a Monarchical Government, must be supposed to happen; and therefore such a Government ought no more to be called a Republick, but a Monarchy in Practice and in Fact.

And the more, whilst the Governors of a Country, where there is such a Commander in chief, during that colour or appearance of a Free Government, must always have an Eye upon him, and in all weighty matters, Syco-phant like, repair to his profound Wisdom, and take special care that they oppose it not, unless that miserable and humble Suppliant means immediately to be deposed, if not worse handled by the Rulers in Power; wherein * Rome may and ought to serve us for an example: For if Rome, which was provided with so many hundred Counsellors of State *ad vitam*, and so many hundred thousand sprightly Citizens that loved their Liberty, was not able to preserve her Freedom against the Tyranny of one such Head, it is then impossible for others to do it in the like case.

See Aitzma, how the States were fain to demean themselves towards Pr. Henry.

Which we may clearly discern by the Roman Republick.

Epecially when it is considered, that that high spirited Republick having always had several warlike General Officers, who did ever mutually envy one another, and therefore were too weak to master the Republick; yet was it fain at last to bow the Neck under them, and serve them after a slavish manner as soon as one of those principal Officers be-

Which could preserve its Freedom under several Heads of the Soldiery.

* Libertas inquit populi quem Regna coercent, Libertate perit cujus servaveris umbram, Si quicquid jubeare velis. Lucan.

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came too strong for all the rest, or that three of them conspired together, and divided the Republick amongst them. So that a Republick, where one single Person or Head possesseth the general Favour of the Rabble and Soldiery, according to the said Maxim of State, may be accounted to have lost its universal Freedom, or shall certainly lose it.

The common Freedom in Holland cannot subsist under a perpetual Head over all its Forces.

And this infallible Maxim will of all Countrys be found truest in *Holland*, when the said Republick shall maintain a considerable Army of foreign Soldiers in constant pay, that are born and educated in Monarchical Countrys, such as *France* and *England*, &c. and put them into impregnable Cities, and Strong-holds, which surround the Republick of *Holland*: and on the other side, *Holland* consisting of Cities wholly unfortified, and governed by a very few Aristocratical Rulers, and mostly inhabited by a People so ill informed in the Grounds of their own Welfare, and in the lawful Government of the Country, that they will expect much more Prosperity under such a potent Head, than from a free Republick; and besides, will conceive, that they owe more Obedience to the Master of the Soldiery, and Strong-holds, than to the said Aristocratical Rulers; in such a Condition we shall find, that * where Force comes, Right ceaseth; and that a Government cannot be safe without the possession of the Sword.

According to the known Truth and Maxim of Politicians, the Sword of War in the Hand of a Captain-General is always sharper, and

* Inter arma silent Leges. Parum tuta est sine viribus majestas. Liv.

*

reach

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reacheth farther than the Sword of Justice in the Hands of Political or Civil Rulers and Judges. This might be confirmed by numerous Examples which I shall not mention, because they are pertinently related in that unanswerable Deduction of the States of *Holland*, and likewise in the Political Ballance of *V. H.* where it is shewn that all Republicks, which have had a Military or Political Head, have not long preserv'd their Liberty, especially when the Son of such a Head shall come to be vested in the same Office and Dignity. And now to the Matter in hand; The Reader is in the first place earnestly desired maturely to consider, whether the Author of the said Political Ballance has not abundantly shewn, that a Republican Government in all Countrys of the World, and especially in *Holland*, would be much more advantageous to the People than a Government by a single Person.

Seeing the Ministers of Government and Justice can never preserve their own against a hired Soldiery.

See the Second Part, c. 1. §. 10.

Secondly, It is very well worth observation, that in Republicks the Rulers, Magistrates, and other Publick Ministers have very little Reward and Salary for their Service, who while they are in the condition of Citizens, neither may nor can enrich themselves with the Revenues of the Land, and therefore are necessitated by other ways than that of Magistracy, and publick Employments, to maintain themselves and their Families, as by Merchandizing, &c. Thus it is still, or was lately in the Republicks of *Venice*, *Genoua*, *Ragoufa*, *Lucca*, *Milan*, *Florence*, &c. At least it is well known that in *Holland* very many Rulers and Magistrates maintain themselves by the Fisherys, Manufactures,

Fisherys, Manufactures, &c. depend upon having free Rulers.

B b 4

factures, Traffick and Navigation.

Or if some of the Rulers and Servants of the Republick of *Holland* do possess such Estates as to be able to live at ease on their Lands and Revenues, yet it is evident that the Reformed Religion, permitting no Cloisters or Spiritual Revenues, and the Publick Worship being performed by Ministers for a very small Reward or Salary, and by the Elders and Deacons *gratis*, there is no Relief to be had thence for distressed, impoverished Relations and Familys. So that many Rulers being sensible, that according to the Proverb, Many Swine cause but thin Wash; either they themselves, or at least their Posterity in the third or fourth Generation, must in this naturally poor, tho for Merchandize well situated Country, rise again by Traffick. And hence it is that all the Rulers in *Holland* are derived of Parents that have lived by the Fisherys, Manufacturys, Traffick or Navigation, and so their Children after them; and that the said Rulers do still daily to maintain their Familys find it proper to marry their Children to rich Merchants, or their Children. So that such Rulers, whether considered in themselves by their Consanguinity or Affinity, are in all respects interested in the Welfare or Illfare of the Fisherys, Manufactures, Traffick and Navigation of this Country.

Which is the more credible in the Citys of *Holland*, because the Common-Council, and the Magistrates consist but of a few Persons thereto elected in such a manner, that the Government, and those particular Employments being fixed to no particular Familys, those who by accident come to get the greatest Authority

Because the Government and Magistracy yield little Profit here.

They oft breed up their Children to Merchandizing, or marry them to Merchants Children.

*

thority or Administration, do use, out of natural Love, Ambition and Jealousy, to advance their own Friends, and to exclude the Friends of the deceased Rulers and Magistrates, most of them having already had their Turn in the Government and Magistracy: So that from time to time new Familys come into the Government, and the Magistracy of Citys, which yield for the most part but little Profit, and that only during some yearly Magistracy or Commission, fall vacant so seldom, that all those new Familys cannot be provided for, much less maintained by them. Wherefore it is and will be necessary, so long as the Government is not tied or intailed to any particular Family, that many of the Relations of the Rulers in the Citys of *Holland* must live by Merchandizing.

And accordingly we must believe, that the said Rulers and Magistrates, under a Free Government, whether in their own Citys, or at the Assemblys of *Holland*, will, by their Counsels and Resolutions, endeavour to preserve and increase the same means of Subsistence for the Country in general; unless it could be proved, that the Republican Form of Government, and by its necessary Consequences, (*viz.* Liberty of Conscience, Freedom of Burgership, and from Monopolies, laying aside all Trafficking Companys, Halls and Guilds, which defraud other Inhabitants of that way of living; likewise moderating, or taking away of Convoys and Tolls, ordering and directing Justice to the benefit of the common Inhabitants, and Merchandizing, by Colonies, by their keeping the Seas open and free from Privateers; by Peace, fortified Citys,

Whatever is necessary for the prosperity of the Country, will be profitable for the Rulers.

tys, and arming the Inhabitants) unless I say it could be proved that the Inhabitants are more endamaged by these, or put into a better condition by using Compulsion in Matters of Religion, by secluding from Burger-Right, by Monopolys, Societys, or Companys of Merchants, by Patents, Halls and Guilds, unreasonable high Convoy-Mony, and Tolls, corrupt Justice, Sea-Robberys and Wars for want of Colonys, and by weak Citys and unarmed Inhabitants. So that I find my self bound to enquire a little more strictly into all the parts thereof, and yet with all the brevity I can.

Freedom of Religion not hurtful to free Rulers.

As to the Administration or Service of the Church, by the Preacher, Elder and Deacon in *Holland*; it must be confessed that those Services there are of so little Profit and Credit, that the Rulers and Magistrates, or their Friends, are very seldom inclined to perform those Functions: So that the freedom and toleration of the Assemblys of different Worship in *Holland*, cannot be expected (from such a Supreme Head) by Rulers or Magistrates, because the Dissenters, under pretence of assembling for the Service of God, would indeavour to make Insurrections, and thereby depose the Rulers to domineer over the State, and the establish'd Religion. Against which it may be said, that the honest dissenting Inhabitants, who fare well in this Country, or possess any considerable Estates, ought not to be presumed to fall into such seditious Thoughts, so destructive to themselves and the Country, so long as they are not im-bittered by Persecution; but on the contrary will be obliged by such Liberty, easy and mode-

Seeing those would not so much occasion as hinder Tumults.
Vid. Thuan. Hist. in Praefat. ad Regem.

moderate Government, to shew their Gratitude to so good a Magistracy. Wherefore the rascally People, or those of mean Estates, and ambitious and seditious Inhabitants, would be deprived of all Adherents, whom otherwise under the Cloke of Religion they might the more easily gain to carry on their ill Designs.

And moreover it is well known to all prudent Men, that such Persons as seek after Sovereignty, do usually favour seditious Preachers, and zealous Devotees, that by the help of those tumultuous Spirits they may arrive at that Dignity; and yet no sooner do they acquire that Sovereign Power, but presently they are sensible how unfit those stubborn and imprudent Devotees and seditious Preachers are to be made use of in Magistracy or Government; insomuch that they then use to desert them, and in lieu of preferring and enriching them, use to punish them for their Sedition.

The Heads of the Seditious make use of the Tongues and Pens of Preachers, as the Cat's Paw.

Hereof we have lately had very remarkable Examples in *France*, when K. *Henry IV.* had so long favoured the Preachers and People of the Reformed Religion (there called *Huguenots*) as he needed them, and then abandoned and curb'd them as he saw fit: So that now among their Offspring we may see the miserable State of the *Huguenots* in that Country. And later than that we have seen the like in *England*, where *Oliver Cromwel* having craftily made use of, first of the *Presbyterians*, and then of the *Independent* Preachers, and those of their Party to favour him, and by their Multitude to gain the Protectorship, yet afterwards wholly forsook them, and often punish'd them severely. And

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And that Prince William the Elder would have taken the same course, appears clearly by our Historys, which testify that the Reformed Preachers, who in the beginning of those Tumults were very kind to him, afterwards, when he was arrived at his highest pitch of Grandure, they hated and spake injuriously of him, because he was not kind enough to them, and gave more Liberty to those of different Perswasions in the Service of God than was pleasing to them; and things went so far, that the principal and most refined of the Reformed Preachers did in their Pulpits openly exclaim against him for an *Atheist*, and ungodly Person: And therefore in the Year 1580, he found himself constrained to move the States of *Holland* and *Zealand* to make good and sound Laws about Church-Government, declaring, that unless some good Order were taken about the same, the Reformed Religion, and the Country too, would fall to ruin. And accordingly they proceeded so far with these Spiritual Laws, that we may truly say, the only reason why they remained imperfect, was the sudden death of the said Prince. In the mean time he could very hardly maintain his Power against those Ecclesiasticks, and kept it up only by his numerous Adherents, whom he acquired by his great Moderation as aforesaid towards the other Inhabitants that were of different Judgments and Opinions. And this aversion of the Reformed Preachers and Zealots towards Prince *William* went so far, that for that reason they greatly affected the Earl of *Leicester*, and hated his Son *Maurice* whom he left behind him, and became Stadtholder of

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of *Holland* and *Zealand*, &c. till he and the most refined of the Ministry were afterwards reconciled and united, and at last colluded together about the Political Government and Church-Service in those sad unsettled Years of 1618, and 1619. Wherefore it is not to be believed that the lawful Authority of this Republick being now delivered from a single Person that aimed at the Sovereignty, will give much countenance to the most politick and chief Churchmen, or that a Toleration of Religions would easily give occasion of an Uproar here.

But if any should conceive that the Papists, who are the strongest Sect in Number, Order, and Combination (as having the Pope for their chief Head, and others their Spiritual Heads amongst them, and being generally inclined to our powerful Neighbour the King of *Spain*, who formerly was Lord of this Country) might be able, in case they had more Liberty to exercise their Religion, to subvert so mild a Government, and possess it themselves. In answer hereunto it may truly be said, That the *Roman Catholicks* in their Religion are governed in a Monarchical manner, and consequently where they are Supreme, suffer no other Sects; so that in such a case all other dissenting Inhabitants of our Land would join with the Rulers of our Republicks, whereby more than $\frac{4}{5}$ parts of the said Inhabitants would adhere to the Lawful Civil Power, to quell those seditious Persons at their first rising.

But in case of Compulsion there might follow a concurrence in Points of Faith among the Inhabitants; it were fit then to be considered,

Prudent Toleration of the Romish Religion in Holland, would not be detrimental to the Civil Government.

But Coercion in Religion would prove more hurtful.

dered, whether when this difference in Matters of Religion ceased, the Churchmen who have their Office during Life, and not for some few Years, by their Sermons to their Hearers, who for the most part suppose they hear nothing but God's Word out of the Ministers Mouths, and therefore believe they obey God when they obey the Ministers; and also on the other side, when they obey Political Commands and Laws, they obey Men only: I say, it ought well to be considered, whether in a short time they might not acquire a greater number of Followers or Adherents when they give themselves out for God's Ambassadors, and teach men that scriptural saying, *That we must rather obey God and his Ambassadors than Man*; and this out of a corrupt Self-love, and natural Ambition; and so find it good corruptly and impiously to instruct their Auditors, thereby to magnify themselves as it hath oft hapned, and may again happen; and whether their Adherents might not consequently make such ambitious Churchmen so powerful, as to cause the Civil Governours, who exercise the Magistracy here but for a short time, to truckle under them.

The Ecclesiasticks thereby gain too great a Party against the Civil Powers.

We have Examples of the Primitive times, that the spiritual Persons of those days, having first converted the *Roman* Emperors to Christianity, and by degrees brought under the Heathen Opposers more by that Political Power, than by a holy Life, and strong Reasons; did afterwards make use of their Sermons to aggrandize their acquired Ecclesiastical Power to the detriment of the Civil Authority, by erecting an Hierarchy, or Church-Power independent from the Political, such as is now under the Papacy.

From

From this Ambition of Churchmen the Proverb rose, * That the Clergy always fear and hate the Supreme Authority; or to vary the Phrase, It hath been an old Game; My Nunkle is ever plucking my Lords Staff out of his Hand, not only to evade being beat therewith himself, but also to beat others and make them submit to him.

This is also confirmed by *Otto Frisingensis*, Lib. 7. Chron. tho a *Romish* Bishop, who said, That the Empire by reason of its love to Religion, impaired it self, yea was exhausted; and that it had so aggrandized the Church, that it was not only deprived of the Spiritual, but also of the Temporal Sword, which evidently belongs to the Empire; adding thereunto very ingeniously; " And altho it be above our
 " Power to treat hereof, so as to give Sen-
 " tence, yet methinks the Clergy are ve-
 " ry blame-worthy who endeavour to in-
 " jure the State, viz. the *German* or *Romish*
 " Empire, with a Sword which they have ac-
 " quired of the Rulers, and by the Favour of
 " the Emperors; unless they will herein
 " imitate *David*, who when he had fell'd the
 " *Philistine* by the Spirit of God, cut off *Goli-*
 " *ab's* Head with his own Sword.

*The same hap-
pen'd in the
Roman and
German Em-
pire.*

But the truth is, if you please to enquire diligently into the Reasons of these Broils and Jealousies, between the Sovereign Rulers and Magistrates on the one side, and the Clergy on the other, we shall find, that tho the imprudence and ignorance of the Rulers, and their love to the Clergy, might at first have contri-

*Which might
not proceed
from an Eccle-
siastical, but a
general human
frailty.*

* *Cæsares timere & odisse proprium esse Ecclesiaz.*

buted

buted somewhat towards it, yet that Ignorance and Favour was not so great for a long season after their first conversion to Christianity, as to effect it. And as to the Clergys Self-love and Ambition, we shall find that they are not Defects peculiar to the Clergy only, but common to all Mankind.

So that they that will inquire into the Causes why of late times there have been more Diffensions and Enmity between the Civil Rulers and the Publick Teachers of Christianity than before, during Heathenism and Judaism, must observe, that Heathenism and Judaism consisted mostly in Sacrifices, without publick Sermons and Common-prayers, and much more Convocations; and that those Sacrifices for divers things not hapning daily nor weekly, but once a year or seldom, required so little time, that among the *Heathens*, the Kings, Burgomasters, and Principal Field-Officers, whether all together or successively, might officiate as easily as Priests. Wherefore as no Reason can be given, why one Person vested with those two Offices, should be seditious to magnify his Service in the Church, by diminishing that to the State; so we cannot see how those *Heathen* Priests, being divested of all secular Power, could have caused Insurrections, without being immediately suppress'd by the Supreme Power.

We ought likewise strictly to observe, that the *Jewish* High Priests became such partly by birth, and that by virtue of that Office in the time of the *Israelitish* free Government, they might be chosen the second, and in the time of the Kings, the first Person or President of the Supreme Court of Government and

Heathen Priests and Jews have not caused so many Seditions against the State as Christian Priests.

The Heathens least, because they used not to preach.

The Jewish Priests more, because they preach'd sometimes.

See Schikardus Jus Reg. Hebr. p. 10.

and Justice called the *Sanhedrim*; and besides, they had all the Priests and the whole Tribe of *Levi* to follow them, whereby they had great Opportunities to alter the Political State after their own pleasure, when they could acquire the Reputation of being gifted with the Spirit of Prophecy, and be suffered to prophesy publickly before the People. So that indeed there were also many tumults and Changes that hapned in the State when some impious Priests, and false Prophets abused the Power of the Church to make themselves great. But in regard nevertheless that the ordinary *Jewish* Worship consisted in Sacrifices, and that the high Priests were not always chosen Members of the *Sanhedrim*, or did not get the opportunity of prophesying before the People, they could not therefore put their Projects in execution to the prejudice of the Civil Power, and Advantage of the Priestly State.

But it is very observable on the other side, that the Christian Worship doth mostly consist in a verbal Application to God, by such as are no Civil or Armed Teachers, and in their Sermons apply themselves to a great Assembly of People. Which Administration, considering its weight, and constant preparation by Study and Employment, takes up the whole Man, and the abuse hereof may be very mischievous to the Civil Magistrate. The higher Powers have therefore appointed particular Persons to exercise the Civil and Military Offices, and others to take the Charge of the Worship of God in manner aforesaid, and to abstain from all secular Employments; so that it necessarily followed

Ibid. p. 8, 9, 10.

The Christian Preachers most of all, by their Sermons and Prayers.

See the 12 first Titles of the Codex de Novell. of Justinian, and the Constitutions of the Emperor

Cc

hence, Leo.

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hence, that in all those Places where such public Teachers and their Hearers were of the same Mind or Belief, those Preachers have had a great power and influence to quiet or disquiet the Minds of the Subject.

Being always able to irritate or appease their Auditors.

So that Rulers (seeing how the Preachers influenced the People) were compelled to favour them in tumultuous times, if they would be obey'd by their Subjects, who will in such times be more moved by the Admonition of the Preachers, than by the Commands of the Civil Magistrate. For tho Rulers might easily perceive that this Increase of Ecclesiastical Power will be very prejudicial in future times to their Successors, yet they chuse to enjoy the present Benefit, to keep up their own Grandeur, and hereby many times Great, Civil or Military Officers have attempted to obtain the Supreme Power.

Especially in Countrys where the Subjects are of one Religion, and which is Monarchically governed.

So that it is not strange if Preachers, being sensible of their own Strength in Countrys where there are no Dissenters from them, have always opposed the Crown; and yet by reason of their weakness in the Government, their exclusion from Civil Employment, and their being unarmed, they have hardly attained their Ends, but have been able continually to raise Tumults and Dissension. And tho since the Reformation, the Clergy in the German and Switzer Republics have not by their Sermons, and the Unanimity of the Inhabitants in Matters of Faith, been able hitherto to overtop or equal the Civil Power of the numerous free Rulers, great Councils, &c. yet I conceive, that in case of such an unanimous Sentiment of the Inhabitants in the City of Holland, our small number of Magistrates or City

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City Councils could not be able to keep their yearly Magistracy without prejudice by those Preachers. For every one would clearly discern that the Party who adhere to the Clergy do far exceed the Civil Magistrates Adherents, in natural Strength; so that such Preachers would not always be kept under by mercenary Soldiers: Wherefore they and those of their Church-Councils could never have an opportunity of withdrawing themselves from under the Civil Power.

Why the same above all Republics, should be feared in Holland.

And seeing the Preachers and their Adherents by such opportunities, are daily capable of putting their ill Designs in practice when they please; we are therefore to expect that all Preachers will not keep within their due Bounds, but that many of them in seditious Times will extend their legal and limited Employment under pretence of their Ecclesiastical Power, to the chief or Sovereign Command in the Affairs of the Church, and to an impudent boldness of expounding in the Pulpit all Political Acts or Laws, under the pretext of God's Word, and so to say whatever they have a mind to: Unless we had reason to believe, that the Reformed Preachers pretending to a Revelation and special Assistance of God's Spirit, or a special Godly Call to the Ministry, and accordingly being sufficiently qualified to that Service consisting in an extraordinary Holiness and obedient Reverence towards God, and their Lawful Magistracy, are not so subject to Ambition and Covetousness as other Clergymen are.

See that excellent Book Luc. Antist. Const. de Jure Ecclesiasticorum, printed 1665.

Preachers are but Men as well as others.

But God amend it, says our Proverb, Ministers are no Saints, and therefore the same
Cc 2 Temp

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Temptations that ensnare others, mislead them too, which hath often appeared in these Countrys formerly, and since the Reformation, by frequent Political Corrections and Banishments of Preachers from Citys for their offensive Sermons and Prayers; and every one still remembers what hapned about the same in our times at Amsterdam, Utrecht, Delft, Goude, the Hague, &c. And tho those that are good Preachers should not be oppressed for the said Defects, Weaknesses, and Ambition, yet it is necessary that Rulers so govern the State that seditious and proud Preachers shall not be able to subvert the Republick, and ruin the Prosperity of the Land.

And therefore we may presume that our wise free Rulers will ever continue to indulge and permit the Religious Assemblys of Dissenters, hereby to invite over continually more dissenting People into Holland; and will plant and improve the Reformed Religion, not by Compulsion but Moderation, and soft Means among their good dissenting Inhabitants; and that they will always preserve, and maintain in like manner our present publick Worship, without ever admitting of an Episcopal or any other coercive Spiritual Authority.

A free Burger-ship would do more good than harm to free Rulers, because it would cause populous Citys.

An open or free Burger-ship, with a Right for all Foreign Inhabitants to follow their Employments, being added to Liberty of Conscience in Matters religious; it will certainly cause very great and Populous Citys, and incredible many conveniences and divertisements for all the Inhabitants: so that all Civil Magistrates ought for that reason, were there no other, to endeavour it; and the more

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more the better, if we observe that in such Lands and Citys, Offices do exceedingly multiply, and are made profitable, and that then the Rulers would have the Power to prefer many, if not all their Friends to make them to live in Credit and Ease.

And consequently many Offices and Benefices for their Friends.

Moreover, in such Lands and Citys there will be found naturally among the Inhabitants diversities in Religion, Nations, Tongues, and Occupations: So that there would be no occasions ministred to the few Aristocratical Rulers who govern our Republick, and Citys, of dividing the People by artificial, and often impious Designs, in order to govern them: for by these natural Divisions, and the Diversity of the Peoples Occupations, they may as peaceably and safely govern them, as in the open Country; for in the great Citys of Holland, and other Citys filled with Foreign Inhabitants, as Amsterdam, Leyden, Haerlem, &c. there have been nothing near so many Seditions against the Rulers, as in other Countrys, and much less and worse peopled Citys, unless when they have been stirred up to Mutiny or Sedition by a Sovereign Head. For in such a Case, I confess that no Countrys or Citys great or small, are or can be at rest, and without Uproars of the Subjects against their Rulers and Magistrates, any longer than such a Head pleaseth to leave such Lands and Citys in Peace.

And those Rulers will thereby have an easy Government.

Finally, it is to be observed, that the Rulers of such populous open Countrys and Citys, are also much better able to defend themselves against all Foreign Power, whether by an Army formed of their own Inhabitants, or by strengthening their respective Citys by good

And be better settled against Foreign Power.

Fortifications, and repelling all Enemys from their Walls. And seeing on the other side the Rulers of *Holland* will not be advantaged by a Burgership that excludes all Foreigners, we may therefore believe that they will easily approve of it.

Select Companys, &c. excluding other Inhabitants, are very prejudicial to free Rulers.

As to Societies or Companys erected by Patents, Halls and Guilds, upon Manufactures, Trades, Fisherys, Commerce, and Navigation; It is certain that the Rulers, Governours, and Masters of Guilds, having power at their pleasure, or at certain Times and Places, to call Assemblys, and by a general Interest having an united number of Dependents, Members and their Followers, whether of Mariners, Soldiers, Clothiers; and Brethren of the Guild or Workmen may have fair opportunitys by Sedition to displace a few Aristocratical Rulers, and put themselves into their places, as hath been seen in all *Netherlandish* Citys, where heretofore such Halls and Guilds have been erected, viz. *Gent, Bridges, Iper, Loven, Antwerp, Dort, Liege, &c.* wherein there were many Tumults proceeding from that cause.

Because they may cause Up- roars.

And tho hitherto there hath arisen no seditious Commotion of note from the Patent Companys, yet it is certain that they tend only to the advantage of some very few Persons, and to the detriment of all other Inhabitants of that way of dealing; and having laid the Foundation of one Government within another, they may in time expect from thence, especially under a free Government, more Commotions, unless the Civil Rulers be so prudent and happy as to appoint their Deputys in all the said Assemblys, who will not seek their own Welfare in the Govern-

And lay the grounds of one Government in another.

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vernment by Faction or Combination, but by a praiseworthy desire after the Welfare of their Native Country, to seek the common Good.

So that if on the other hand we do rightly conceive that the Rulers of the *Holland* Citys by erecting of Companys, Halls and Guilds, have not the prospect of a considerable Benefit to arise thereby to themselves; we may presume to say, that hereafter they will have little inclination to bar the freedom of their Commonalty by new Grants, and consequently that the old Grants and Restrictions which hereafter shall be prolonged or continued, will be in such a plight, that they cannot, according to the Proverb, without prejudice to the Nation, be either altered or annul'd.

Concerning the Rates of Convoy-mony, or Customs upon Goods exported or imported; let them be laid on with such prudence and moderation, that they may be calculated purely for the benefit of our Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick and Navigation. I have already shewn how much the Rulers of *Holland* are concerned in the flourishing of those Particulars. Wherefore on the other side it is evident, that during a free Government a very good Account of all Monys received ought to be given, and that the same ought to be employed for the clearing of the Seas. It is self-evident that the Rulers cannot enrich themselves with the Mony issuing thence; and therefore the said Rulers of the *Holland* Citys will not henceforth be inclin'd to charge Goods with such high and prejudicial Rates, but rather in process of time to favour the Merchants in that particular; and that the Seas be cleared by such Monys as are the publick

Free Rulers ought to set the Rates on Goods paying Convoy-mony with great caution.

Because they may not put the Mony into their own Purses.

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Revenue of the Land, raised of all the Inhabitants as such, and to defend the Merchant from oppression by Sea.

Courts of Justice should be better regulated by Republic Rulers, because they tend to their own advantage.

Moreover, from what is said before it may be fairly inferred, that such interested free Rulers should incline to enact good Orders and Laws, and so to frame Justice, that there may be quicker Dispatch made, and better Justice done, and that knavish Bankrupts be punished and the honest Merchants protected in their Right: for the Civil Rulers by increasing the number of subordinate Judges and Counsellors, may be able to bestow on their best Friends more honourable and profitable Employments, and by that means the better settle themselves in the Government and Magistracy. Whereas by the contrary, such Judges will rather be prejudiced than advantaged by Bribes, and the favour or disfavour of the Rulers, because possibly they would not give so much Money on that score as others would.

They should erect new Colonies for the same reason.

As to Colonies, it is evident that the Rulers of Republicks do not pay out of their own Purses the Expence of erecting and protecting them from outward Violence; but it is paid out of the Publick Treasury, and in the mean while they would reap this Benefit for their indigent Relations to send them to such Colonies, when they are not able to prefer them all in Holland: And the like might be done with many other Inhabitants that are ambitious of Government, or publick Employment; and the said Colonys would in no other regard be hurtful to the Republican Rulers. So that since those Colonys would be so generally profitable for the Land, and Inhabitants

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habitants of Holland, as is heretofore described, we are then rationally to expect that they will be erected by our Rulers.

As to the clearing of the Seas against Enemies and Piccaroons; it is certain that during a free Republican Government, the Treasure requisite for building and setting forth of Ships, proceeds not out of the Rulers Purses; and that they and their Friends that trade at Sea, being as liable as other Inhabitants to lose their Goods by such Enemys, and that this may be prevented without putting them to any charge, we may likewise expect the same of them. And that the Sea may with Honour and Safety for the State be cleared by the free Rulers, cannot be denied.

And the Seas ought to be kept clear from Pirates or Enemys.

For tho the Admiral of a Fleet going to Sea without a sufficient Strength, should lose the said Fleet to the Enemys of the State, and thereby might exceedingly mischieve our Republick, yet would it not totally bereave us of our Liberty, nor should it be dissolved by such a Treachery; but on the contrary, our Republick has ever been able to be recruited, and has oft-times been reinforced by our Land Forces, when they have been intrusted to Captain-Generals; and even when they have thought fit to use their Strength to conquer the Citys of Holland, and to seize their Deputys when they were assembled by Summons. And therefore since the free Rulers will not incline to carry on an Offensive War, and consequently to send a chargeable Army into the Field to take Citys from our Neighbours; it is not credible that the said Convoy-Monys paid for clearing the Seas, will be taken from the Admiraltys

Without Prejudice to Republican Rulers.

miraltys to make therewith any needles and yet chargable Conquests by Land, and in the mean while to abandon our Inhabitants, or their Goods, to the Depredations of the Sea-Robbers.

The free Holland Rulers ought especially to aim at Peace.

Lastly, It is certain that the Rulers of Holland, and all their Trafficking Subjects would fare much better in Times of Peace than in War, because then they would be revered and obeyed by them without any opposition. And besides, our City Magistrates cannot receive any considerable Profit by War, either by Land or Sea, but must bear all new Burdens and Taxes thereby arising, as well as the other Inhabitants, and cannot be freed from the same, as the late Heads of our Republick were. It is evident the Soldiery, and their Officers, who are for Monarchical Government, and an Illustrious General *ad vitam*, would not use their due and strenuous endeavours to perform the Commands and Counsels of the Republick, or those that are in Authority for the State: So that the Rulers of the Republick of Holland, in case of an unsuccessful War, would soon see their respect from the Subject diminished, and be every way aspersed by the sottish ill-natur'd Rabble, who always judg of things by the Success, and ever hate, and are ready to impeach the Aristocratical Rulers of their Republick; with whom some lavish, ambitious and debauched People, whether Rulers or Subjects, might join themselves to stir up Sedition, and under pretence of being of the Prince's or Captain-General's Faction, turn this Republick into a Monarchy, in hope of attaining the most eminent and profitable

Because they as well as the common Inhabitants must bear all the Burdens of a War,

ble Employments under the Monarch.

And above all, the present free Governours would be liable to that hazard in case they should make use of such a Field General in their Wars by Land, whose Ancestors have had the same Trust reposed in them; for then, whether in good or bad Successes, those few Citizens that rule in Holland during Life, and serve in the Magistracy but a Year or two, would soon find that none amongst them would dare to tie the Bell about the Cat's Neck, to discharge such a Captain-General with so many Dependents and Adherents, when they have no further need of his Service, or to punish him when he deserved it, whether by Disobedience, Correspondency with the Enemy, or any Attempt against the free Government, even tho an open Endeavour to gain the Sovereignty; so that thereby alone our Republick would be really changed into a Monarchy.

And of a Captain-General,

And moreover, suppose we should chuse a meaner Person to be our Capt. General, and give him the Command of the whole Troops of this State, and that but for a short time, yet it is evident that the Rulers of Holland would put themselves in great danger of being overmastered by that Captain-General, as by innumerable Examples which hapned here and in other Countrys may be perceived; unless Men could make the dull *Hollanders* to believe that God hath indued them with two miraculous Privileges above all other People in the World: The first is, that they shall never chuse any Captain-General but out of such excellent and blessed Familys, that tho they could, yet differing from all other

Tea be kick'd out of Employment by a common Field-Officer.

Unless God would continually work Miracles for our Country.

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ther Men, they would not rather chuse to be Lords than Servants; and that therefore that Ambition that is natural to all Men, even to their very Graves, should find no place in him during his whole Life. And the second is, That the *Hollanders* having at first, whether voluntarily or inadvertently, and after that by Succession or Constraint, placed over themselves a Monarch *in fieri*, that then God from Heaven will snatch away such a Monarch suddenly, and by an unexpected Judgment deliver a People from Slavery, who are so unworthy of Liberty, as indeed hath sometimes hapned.

But it would be cursed Divinity, which instead of forewarning us, that if we love the Danger, and will not avoid the Places where Plagues do reign, we shall find our certain ruin in those Places; and moreover instead of teaching us to be thankful to God for that great and undeserved Mercy, should continue to instigate us to seek Mercy once again, and provoke him by publick and private Prayers, tending to cause us to return to *Egypt* out of that free Land of Promise, and there obstinately to pull down upon our own heads a heavy Yoke, under which our Forefathers were constrained to groan, and from which we by the Mercy and Blessing of God were wonderfully delivered.

Republican Rulers ought to make good Alliances with Foreigners.

And concerning Alliances with Foreign Princes and Potentates, it is apparent that Princes have not so much Interest in the Welfare of their Subjects as in a Republick; nor is there that Wisdom or Virtue in a Monarchy, as in a free Government: we shall here more and more shun those prejudicial Ingagements. And

Ch. 2. The Interest of Monarchs:

And as touching the Interest of the Rulers of a free Republick, or of Kings and Princes about fortifying the Frontiers and populous Citys, as also about exercising the Commonalty in Arms: I suppose it hath abundantly been shewed you in the first Chapter of this Book, that it is only to be expected of Rulers of Republicks, but not at all from Kings and Princes; so that it is needless to speak any more of it here.

And to fortify the Citys sufficiently, and provide them with Arms.

CHAP. II.

Wherein is maturely considered the Interest of the Monarchical Government in Holland as to all the foregoing Matters, by which the Commonalty may thrive or prosper.

Come now to enquire whether Manufactures, Fishery, Traffick, or Shipping, and all the means beforementioned, that are necessary or useful for the Prosperity of the Country, would be well managed and laid to heart by Monarchical Rulers; or on the contrary neglected and ruined by them.

Monarchical Government would be very chargeable to Holland by its Court.

For the solution of this Question, we ought to consider, That so small a Country producing nothing of its own for which Foreigners bring Mony into *Holland*; and on the other side, being charged with all the natural Taxes mentioned in the third Chapter of the First Part of this Book: It would be farther charged by a Monarchical Government, whose Family

Family Expences would yearly consume many Millions. And it is also certain that the good Inhabitants, out of whose Purfes those Sums must be squeezed, would moreover at the same time be subject to all manner of uneasiness, which necessarily attends a Monarchical Government, and are expressed in a Book intituled, *The Political Ballance of V. H.* with many Circumstances, so that I shall be but short in relating them here.

And would both lessen and weaken great Citys.

It is acknowledged, that an intelligent Prince will by all means endeavour to bring the great Citys of *Holland* into such a state or condition, as to lord it over them without any controul; and at the best it would follow, that to weaken the Power of the old Rulers and Natives, such a Sovereign would, as much as in him lay, bring in new Upstarts or Foreigners into the Government; and would moreover continually favour the Villages and smaller Citys, to the prejudice of the great and strong ones.

And keep them in awe with Castles;

And seeing neither the Rulers nor Inhabitants of such great Citys could with any patience look upon their own ruin: He will therefore fill their Garisons with Foreign Troops to force them to bear it, at least so long as those Troops are too strong for the Citizens. And since this would not give him sufficient Satisfaction, and would besides be extraordinary chargeable, he would therefore force such populous Citys by erecting Citadels over them.

As we have seen by the Spanish Monarchs.

Thus the wise and absolute *Spanish* Monarchs, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second, knew no better course to make those great trading Citys of *Naples* and *Milan*, *Antwerp*

Antwerp and *Gent* submit to their Yoke, than by forcing them with Citadels. Moreover we have seen, and may still see in our own Days, that the late King of *France* going yet further, and following the Maxims of the famous Cardinal *Richelieu*, he intirely dismantled and bereft of all Strength that Maritime and Frontier City of *Rochel*. And upon the same Motive *Lewis* the Fourteenth, in the Year 1667, having taken the two trading and populous Citys of *Dornick* and *Rissel*, gave command immediately to overawe and curb them with Castles.

And the French.

So that it is no wonder if the City of *Amsterdam* in the Year 1571, being then about the bigness of 200 Morgens or Acres of Land, tho the Rulers thereof were no less faithful to the King than other zealous *Roman* Catholicks were, gave occasion to the said *Philip* of *Spain* to intend to build a Citadel there, because of the flourishing of their Eastern Trade, their Populousness, and formidable Greatness, or apt Situation to defend it self against all Foreign Power: But the King was moved to leave that Castle unbuilt, not so much by the *Amsterdammers* offering him two hundred thousand Guilders for the building of the Castle at *Flushing* which was then begun, as by reason of the sudden Troubles which soon after ensued, with the loss of the *Briel* and *Flushing*, when he had no more occasion for the *Amsterdammers* Favour. And therefore 'tis not improbable, that our last Captain General and Stadtholder, following these Maxims of Sovereignty, designed in the Year 1650 to force the City of *Amsterdam*, which was then enlarg'd to 600 Morgens

See Vigil. Ep. 136. ad Hopperum.

Above all places Amsterdam would have been under the power of Castles.

gens or Acres of Land in circumference, and inhabited by three hundred thousand Souls, by building a Castle on the *Vigendam*, and another on the *Voolwyk*.

Guardians, Favorites, and Courtiers will rise and drain the People.

But it very seldom happens that Monarchs and Princes do rule by themselves, and not by others; there are also Children, weak-brain'd, and old doting Persons that bear the name of *Rulers*, and yet in effect must be ruled by others; and such Monarchs and Princes that are in the flower of their Age, take greatest pleasure in fulfilling their fleshly Lusts: So that while they are Orphans, and old Men, those that are their Favorites or Guardians, whether Women, Princes, or Nobles, and sometimes Courtiers, Whores and Rogues, who minister Fewel for their Lords or Ladys Debauches and Lusts, and so gratify their Delights and Pleasures, use to rule all. And therefore it is reasonable to believe that all these Persons, whether Guardians and Favorites, or Ministers and Courtiers, that for some time govern the Land instead of their Sovereign, do not in that time wholly forget to enrich themselves and their Relations by all imaginable means, and many times by Rapine out of the Estates of the rich trading Inhabitants. All which being discoursed at large in the *Political Ballance of V. H.* I shall not hear speak of it in general, but go over it in particular, and examine how much the Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick, and Navigation of *Holland*, and its Dependences, are likely to be prejudiced or improved by a Monarchical Government.

As is set forth in the Politick Weeghschale van V. H.

And in the first place I conceive, that neither such Rulers as do actually govern, whether

ther Men or Women, their Guardians, Favorites or Courtiers, Princesses or Nobles, will regard or concern themselves in the least for the Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick or Navigation, and what depends upon them: For according to the Calculation or Number of the few Familys of the Courtiers, compared with all those of *Holland*, there are an incredible number of both honourable and profitable Employments and Benefices belonging to the Government of the populous Countrys, and great trading Citys; and these Courtiers would make them much more beneficial for themselves than they now are, under pretence that the Monarch's Revenues would thereby be improved. Whereas indeed, when all the Revenues of the Monarch are sum'd up, the bestowing of such profitable, yea and creditable Offices which may always be made profitable, are therein included. And therefore such Guardians, Favorites and Courtiers, being able to enrich themselves and their Friends after this manner, none will be so sottish as to seek their Maintenance by an uncertain Gain, and with the danger of losing all in that ever laborious and anxious way of Merchandizing.

Courtiers will drive no Trade.

But supposing that the Sovereign, or his Guardians, Favorites, Courtiers, and their Relations should seek their gain by Manufactures, Fisherys, Traffick, and Navigation, or what depends on 'em, they would then make such Orders and Laws by their overswaying Power, or would manage it so, that it might tend to their own Benefit, tho all the other Trading Inhabitants of *Holland* should be thereby prejudic'd.

If they merchandize, it must be to the prejudice of others.

D d

And

Hollanders having a natural aversion to Court-Flatterers,

And besides it is certain, that the rich, and naturally Clownish Hollanders, would not be so apt to gain the Love and Favour of our Monarchs, Princes, or Nobles, by Courtly Services, as the indigent younger, and ingenious Sons of the French and English Gentry, or the adjacent beggarly laborious, and slavish *Moffen*, or *Eastlanders*; who being accustomed to accost their Lords and Gentry with great Humility, and many Flatteries, and to serve in their own Country, are oft-times compelled by Poverty to forsake it; and then by introducing those genteel Foreign Recreations, and Debaucherys, as well as their slavish manner of Services, they endeavour to render themselves acceptable to our Monarchs: While on the other side a Monarch or Prince of *Holland* would sooner and more expect, that such indigent Strangers (who would be indebted to him for all they have of Estate and Office, and which without his Favour they could not hold, as being an Ineroachment upon our Privileges) should be always inclined to encrease the Authority of the Monarch, or Prince, tho to the Ruin of the Commonwealth.

A Dutch Prince will ever entertain Foreigners to the ruin of Holland.

All which cannot be expected from Natives who are in the Government or Magistracy of the Land, and are generally Wealthy, and as such pretend to a Right to the said Government and Magistracy, especially when their Parents have served in the Government. And then *Holland* will be continually ruled and served by Foreigners, who have neither by themselves nor by their Relations ever been in any measure concerned in the Prosperity or Decay of the Manufactures, Fisherys, Traf-

Traffick and Navigation, and their Dependencies: So that those Courtiers would and must by all endeavours seek themselves, tho to the neglect, yea subversion of the Foundations of *Holland's* Prosperity, and the annihilation of the Commonwealth Government; and accordingly we may conclude, that the same would certainly happen.

As for the Liberty of Religion, or Toleration, it is clear that under a Monarchical Government, it is not to be expected; for *no Bishop, no King*, is a common Maxim. As it is certainly and ever very dangerous for Kings, their Minions and Courtiers, to have Subjects, that under pretence of Right will not be subject to the Civil Government in being, but assemble to order matters of Weight by majority of Votes: So it is principally hazardous under a Monarchical Government, in Affairs which in the highest degree concern all Men, viz. Religion, where the Ecclesiasticks who oft-times dare undertake to demonstrate that their spiritual Authority is deriv'd, neither from the higher, nor subordinate Magistracy of the Land, would soon under pretext of such a Holy League draw in a number of discontented, ignorant, indigent, and consequently most seditious Persons. So that if they are but resolved to countenance their contents against Kings, their Favorites, &c. in their Sermons and Publick Prayers, they will soon invite into them a number of considerable tho poor mutinous People, that are inclin'd to them as their Hearers, who then term them Nursing Fathers, and Men of God, and so appoint them Captains and Superior Officers

Church Government consisting of Councils, Classes and Synods, will offend Monarchs, as well as the freedom of Religion. See A. Constantes de Jure Ecclesiasticorum. Because a Prince would oft be silent at so great an Assembly.

Officers to make head against their Sovereign, his Favorites and Courtiers.

And by having Bishops placed and displaced by himself, would acquire a great Power over his Subjects.

But on the other side, Kings gain a great Power in Matters of Religion, and in the affection of their Subjects, if by their own Authority they may place or depose Bishops or Superintendants that may be chosen by them in all the Parish Churches in their Diocesses, viz. such Pastors and Preachers, as will and must teach the Subject that which best agrees with the Power of the Monarch. Moreover, seeing the Bishops or Pastors are not to have their peculiar Church-Councils under a Monarch, such Kings and Princes may in case of disobedience easily and suddenly depose them.

Wherefore it is probably the main Reason why under the Roman and Grecian Emperors an Episcopal or Monarchical Government was every where introduced; which afterwards by the Papacy, and the Bishops, extended to other free Countrys Northward. And thus in the preceding Age we found that King Philip the Second of Spain intended to assume a greater Monarchical Power in these Netherlands by new Bishops of his own Election. And at this day the English Protestants that are for Regal Government, see no means of preserving the King's Monarchical Power by a Presbyterian Church-Council, or Republican Church-Government: So that they did not only think fit in England now of late years to annul the same where it was set up in the late Troubles, but even in Scotland, where that Government stood firm since the beginning of the Reformation, even against the inclination of very many English, and all the Scottish

Which is particularly proved.

Scottish Nation almost, to erect in lieu of a Church-Council, a Monarchical or Episcopal Church-Government. And thus likewise in Germany at this day, we see that the Protestant Princes have possession of the *Jura Episcopalia*, all the Power of the Bishops whom they have cast out; and none of those Princes have suffered or set up any Church-Councils, Classical or Synodical Assemblies independent of them.

And moreover we have in all Ages under the Papacy observed, that Episcopal Government is very dangerous in Republicks; so that the Bishops in many Places, especially in Germany, and in these Netherlands, where at the time when the Christian Faith was receiv'd, there was for the most part a free Popular Government, have been able by little and little, by their pretended holy Sermons to the People, to make so great a Party among them, as to get the Temporal Government of Citys and Countrys; and in other Republicks, as Ragusa, Venice, &c. there were many Laws made against such Bishops to prevent the like Usurpation. Yea among all the Switzers, German, or Netherlandish Republicks, that have received the Reformed Religion, there is to my knowledg not one of them that have not expelled their Bishops, and erected in their stead a Church-Council, or Republican Ecclesiastical Government, whereby the freedom of the Republick might be better preserved.

Bishops are intolerable in Republicks, and much desired in Monarchical Governments.

So that now we may conclude, that if the Monarchs of Holland, or their Favorites and Courtiers, should introduce Episcopal Government into the Church; we are to observe

that the Bishops who are elected, and deposed by such Monarchs and Princes, must needs have Friends at Court, and continually make more. And if such Bishops become not the Minions of the Monarchs, and Princes of *Holland*, we may then well suppose that at least they will use all the interest of their Friends at Court to enlarge their own Power, Honour, and Wealth, which would chiefly consist in this; That all the Subjects should acknowledg and repute them for Orthodox Spiritual Fathers. And seeing it might very well consist with the Supreme Magistrates Interest, that the Subjects who chiefly depend on him, be revered by the Inhabitants as Holy and Orthodox Persons; the Bishops might easily by this means obtain all that they desire of the Sovereign tending to that end: And then such Bishops would never rest, till they had procured a Law to have all Dissenters from them in Matters of Religion, to be either brought over to their Opinion and Faction, or banish'd the Country; as we have had experience in former Ages under the Bishops, and may at this day see it take place every where. Infomuch that under them there will never be any freedom of Religion for Dissenters, but only for the *Jews* who indeed have Liberty for theirs, which they purchase for Money.

Bishops are Enemies to all Toleration of Dissenters.

Moreover, tho Kings and Princes by such Christian Bishops, Superintendants, and Political Church-Councils depending on them, seem to be secured against the danger of Christian Preachers; yet such is their aptness to raise Seditions, that oftentimes by their licentious Sermons, and publick Prayers, many

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terrible Changes might have been occasioned in that Government: As appears in the foregoing Age at the time of the Holy League, for the *Romish* Religion in *France*, and in our times in *Scotland* and *England* by the Holy Covenant for the Reformed Religion. And therefore many Protestant Kings and Princes, especially those who own themselves Heads of the Church, and disown the Pope of *Rome*, did for their greater safety find it convenient to prohibit all publick Extemporary Sermons and Prayers, and in lieu thereof appointed others by their Sovereign Power to be read *verbatim*.

Popish Princes will easily change the way of preaching studied Sermons into reading of set Forms, Homilies, &c.

This the Political Martyr, *Charles the First* King of *England*, had in part effected by taking away the Sabbath Days Afternoon's Sermons, or changing them for the reading of the Book of Common-prayer. And as I have understood, the Protestant Prince of *Transylvania, Ragotzki*, went yet further, and by advice of four of his most Learned, Wise and Virtuous Preachers, having caused some Sermons and Prayers to be composed suitable to all Occasions, which being afterwards examined by a Synodical Assembly, and judged by Unanimous Consent very solid and edifying Sermons, and Prayers; he laid aside the Vizard, and ordered that no other Sermons, and publick Prayers should be used, but that they should have them word by word read to the People in the Churches. As of antient times also in *Muscovia*, where by command of the Czar there were some old Homilies of the *Greek* Fathers suting all Occasions translated into the *Slavonian* Tongue, and upon occasion of War, Famine, or Plague, &c. appointed to be read

This was begun in England, increased in Transylvania, and antiently practised in Muscovia

Vide Thuan. Hist. l. 69. p. mibi 305. Atlas of J. Blaw, Part 1. fol. 7.

D d 4 by

by his Metropolitan; so that all the Preachers there were compelled to use no other Prayers or Sermons, and forced to read them *verbatim*.

And among all Mahometan Princes.

Which Maxim likewise very well futes all the Monarchs and Supreme Rulers in *Asia* and *Africa* that are addicted to *Mahometanism*, and therefore acknowledg neither Pope nor any other Head Superior to themselves: For tho that Religion by reason of the differing Expositors of the *Alcoran* is divided into several Sects, infomuch that the *Moors*, *Turks*, *Persians*, &c. in that behalf do very much differ, and hate and persecute one another; and that the *Mahometan* Religion being a Mixture or Collection of the Heathenish, Judaic, and Christian Worship, acknowledg no Sacrifices, and in lieu thereof each Sect seems to be maintain'd by the publick Speeches or Declarations of the Priests or Teachers; yet it is certain, these Priests may do nothing in the Churches, but sing some well-known publick Prayers, or read the same, or the *Alcoran* to the People.

But never yet in free Christian Republicks.

And on the contrary, I cannot remember that any free Republick of the Christian Religion, separated from the Pope of *Rome*, and that by consequence hath acquired the Supreme Right and Power about the publick Order of Ecclesiastical Affairs, ever prohibited extemporary publick Prayers and Sermons, and in lieu thereof caused any set form of Prayers, or Sermons to be read *verbatim*.

Monarchs will ever use Foreigners in their Government,

As to Liberty for all Foreigners to dwell in *Holland*, and live by their Trades, and also to be taken into all Places or Employments of

of the Government; I must acknowledg it would prove an accession of Strength to a King or supreme Head, and his Favorites and Courtiers: and therefore we ought to conceive, that under a Monarchical Government Strangers would be every where placed in the Government; as heretofore those of *Haynault*, *Burgundy*, and *Flanders*, under the Government of the Earls, and the *German*, *French* and *English* under the Captains-General, or Stadtholders of *Holland*, have had the greatest Employments in the Country. But that this tends to the benefit of Manufacture, Fishery, Commerce, and Shipping, I cannot imagine; but on the contrary, it is easier to believe, that those Strangers, whether Favourites or Courtiers, having any Employment in the Militia, Law, Civil Government, Treasury, as Captains of Foot or Horse, Colonels, Governours of Cities and Forts, Schouts, Bailiffs, &c. would use all their Power to rob the richest trading Inhabitants, upon one Pretence or other, of their Wealth, and thereby enrich themselves with the Sweat and Blood of other Men. For because these indigent lavish new Upstarts will have need of it every where, therefore it is certain they will seek it where it is to be had, and so they may easily borrow, or take it from unarmed People. And it is also certain, that the said Strangers will not rest till they have broken down, and destroyed both the Substance and Shadow of the States manner of Government, to the end that in time to come they might not be subjected to any Punishment for their Crimes, and destroying the Liberty of the Country, and

To the Ruin of Trade.

And the Destruction of the Government by States.

Monarchies promote Monopolies,

and turned out of their ill-gotten Employments.

As concerning the Freedom of all Inhabitants to set up their Trades every where in Holland, without Molestation from the Burgers, select Companies, and Guilds; this is not at all to be expected under a Monarchical Government. For every one knows, that at Court all Favours, Privileges, and Monopolies are to be had by Friendship, or else by Gifts and Contracts, for the King's Profit, and that of the Favourites and Courtiers. This is an epidemical Evil, and in continual Vogue in all Princes Courts, not one excepted; so that there needs no proof of it. But yet I confess that no Grants by Patents of so great Companies as our West-India Company have been, and our East-India Company still is, would be tolerable under a Monarch; so that the Grants of both, for these and many other Reasons, would be voided or annulled before the Governours or Members should arrive to be so powerful as now they are. And then those Monarchs would make Money of those Grants again, by selling them to others to make new and weaker Companies of, and so make more Money of the new Grants or Charters, than they could do by continuing the old ones.

Under a single Person in Holland, Customs would be very much heightened,

Moreover, as to the charging of Convoymonies, and Customs upon Goods with such Moderation and Prudence, that our Manufactures, Fisheries, Traffick, and Navigation, may be thereby encreased; it is apparent that this cannot be expected under a Monarchical Government: For seeing Kings with their Favourites and Courtiers, have good Reason to fear,

fear, that the Prosperity of such Manufactures, Fisheries, Commerce, and Navigation, with the numerous Advantages arising thereby, will cause such mighty and flourishing Cities, as could not easily be forced by a Sovereign and his Courtiers, therefore they will endeavour to keep them as low and mean as possible.

To lessen the greatness of their Cities.

For Monarchs and their Courtiers, in lieu of affecting the Welfare of Manufactures, Fisheries, Traffick, and Navigation, will envy the most fortunate Owners of Freight-Ships, Merchants, and Traders, because by their honest Gain and Riches they obscure the Lustre and Pomp of the Court and Gentry, and because all that they force from the Merchant and Owners of Freight Ships for Convoymony and Customs, can presently be put into the King's or their own Purse, and not as by a general Imposition, equally burdening all the Inhabitants alike: So that it is not strange, if under all Monarchs it be affirmed as a good Political Maxim, That no Impositions are less hurtful than those that are laid upon Goods Imported and Exported, because they are for the most part born by Strangers, and therefore all Goods coming in, or going out, are unreasonably charged; as it appears in Spain, Portugal, France, Sweden, and also in these Provinces, there being still a remainder of our rigorous Government. It was the like also formerly in England: But since the last Troubles there have in some measure increased the Power of Parliaments, and consequently of the People, such Duties are considerably abated, and were with great Circumspection imposed on Merchandize, Anno 1650.

And in the mean time put the Customs into their own Coffers.

We

And Justice would be corrupted thereby.

We are much less to expect under a Monarchical Government, that Laws and Justice will be better framed to the Benefit of the Community, and especially of the Merchant: For (as was formerly said) besides that the rich Merchants will be pillaged and exhausted by those Rulers, or at least envied and hated by them; the Rulers, Schouts, and Bailiffs, have moreover such Friends at Court, that they publickly sell Justice, and none that are wronged dare complain of them. Yea, seeing all Laws and Judgments are made and pronounced in the King's Name, and according to his Pleasure; we cannot therefore expect under such a Government, but that all things will be carried for the benefit of the Sovereign and his Courtiers. As the Scripture teaches us, That a Prince asks not so soon what his Lust dictates, but the Judge as readily granteth it, that they may do Evil with both Hands. So that it is no wonder, if in all Monarchical Governments these Verses be found true, which were made by one Owen an English-man:

Micah 7.

Judicibus plus quam Furi studuisse juvavit,
Hos Tibi quam Leges conciliato prius.

And if any one will alledg, that this tends no more to the prejudice of a Monarchy than of a Republick, let them please to consider, whether all the Monarchical Cities belonging to the *Hollanders*, as *Culenburgh*, *Vyanen*, *Ysselstein*, &c. do not so practise their Justice to the prejudice of the Merchants of *Holland*, as that they might be aptly resembled to *Algier*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Salley*, &c. yet with this Dif-

Difference, that those Pirates being Inhabitants there, do take the Goods of the *Dutch* by force, and carry them away as good and lawful Prize. Whereas on the other side, our Inhabitants, or Strangers, having by Fraud gotten some Merchants Goods into their Power, can secure them in their own Monarchical Cities, to the prejudice of the honest *Hollander*, they giving but some part of their treacherous Booty to the Servants of Justice. But in both Cases, whether by Force at Sea, or by Deceit, and such undue Countenance or Protection given to Cheats by Land, the *Holland* Merchants are equally sure to lose their Goods. And therefore we have no reason to expect an Amendment in Justice under the Government of a single Person or Monarch, to the benefit of the Trade of the Inhabitants in general.

Whereof Culenburgh, Vyanen, &c. are very sensible Examples for Holland.

And tho Colonies would be very useful for Monarchs, thereby to ease themselves of their discontented People, which daily increase by their rigorous Government; yet is it true, that the old Monarchical Lands are thereby more depopulated, and improve not so much by foreign Traffick and Navigation as Republicks use to do. Besides, generally Kings and Princes are too indigent and unconstant, and of too short Lives, to be at those lasting Expences often required in erecting Colonies. And when such Colonies are planted, if they be not strong enough to defend themselves against any foreign Power, it is not rationally to be expected that the indigent, mutable, and mortal Prince will out of his own Purse protect such foreign Colonies by vast Expences, and continual Care for the common Good

Few Colonies made by Monarchs, and less defended.

of

of his People, and to the Prejudice of his Courtiers: so that the same, for the most part, under such a Government would fall to Ruin, and tend to the great Loss of the Inhabitants.

Which is not refuted by the Portugal, Spanish, and English Colonies.

Seeing those Monarchs have contributed very little to the Colonies.

Against which Reasons it cannot rationally be objected, that the Portuguese, Spanish, and English Colonies in the Indies have had better Progress and Success than ours; and consequently, that Republicks are neither so inclinable, nor fit for the planting and preserving of Colonies, as Monarchies are; seeing those Monarchs have born little or no Charges towards the planting and defending of them.

But in answer to this, we may with truth affirm, that the Subjects of the said Monarchs are governed with more severity in their Native Country, than in the Indies. And moreover, the People in those Colonies enjoying every where a greater Freedom to plant Lands, and exercise Traffick, than in their own Country, they are excited alone by that, and not put into any better Capacity to erect or improve such Colonies, by the Act or Favour of their Prince.

Our India Companies only have hindered the erecting of Colonies.

It is likewise certain, that the Inhabitants of Holland enjoy a much softer or milder Government than they do in the Indies, where our privileged Companies, by their single Generals and Governours, do rule over some particular Cities and Lands with a Monarchical Severity, and oft-times despotically; not by way of Laws, and general Commands, but by separate or different Commands and Declarations: and moreover, they have there the Trade to themselves, with Exclusion of all

all the other Inhabitants. So that it appears, that this letting and incumbring of our Colonies in the Indies, ought not to be ascribed to the Free Government of Holland, but to those privileged Companies, and their Monarchical Government, as also to the Monopolys in those parts; or else to the Prince of Orange, or his Deputies of the Generality, by following whose Counsel or Command the West-India Company have so weakned themselves, that they have not been able to maintain that Colony they begun.

All that has been said being found true under a Monarchy, and well apprehended, I suppose none will be so foolish as to believe, that Kings, or their Favourites and Courtiers, will out of their own Purses set out Ships to clear the Seas, for the benefit of the Merchant; I say, out of their own Purses: For seeing all that is by Monarchs levied from the Subject, comes into their own Purse, to manage as they please; and those Sums go not into the publick Treasury, wherein no Person has a particular Interest, but must be employed only for the Service of the Country; the difference between Monarchies and Republicks is in this respect so great, that none can shew us any Monarch that ever kept the Seas clear, only for the benefit of the Merchant. On the contrary it is certain, that during our Stadtholders Government, when we possessed a shadow of Freedom, the Monys that were received of the Merchant, applicable only for clearing the Seas, were very often wrested from the Admiralties for the use of unnecessary Land Armies, and not to the Profit of Holland nor the Merchant, while in the

The Sea would not at all be scour'd.

Because those Princes would give no Money out of their own Purses.

See Chap. 1. Part 2.

the interim the honest Inhabitants shamefully lost their Ships at Sea.

But Holland would be ever falling into Wars.

Lastly, It is evident, that Monarchies of themselves are more subject to Wars than Republicks, whether by Inheritances, or to secure their Relations, or to assist them in the Conquests of foreign Countries. And moreover, these Princes and Captains-General are much more inclined to War than * Republicks: insomuch, that they often are the Aggressors, or pick a quarrel to make glorious Conquests; and at the same time by their Forces, which they have in readiness, they cause all their great Cities to be curb'd and made to bow to them with the greatest Humility, or to render themselves so necessary to their Republick or State, that they cannot be disbanded.

Make bad Alliances.

And as to Alliances with foreign Nations and Potentates, it is clear, that if Holland were governed by a single Person, or his Favorites and Courtiers, he might easily, either by Ambition, or foreign Coin, be moved to make very hurtful offensive Alliances: Since such a single Governour of Holland would for his great Naval Power upon all Occasions be fought to by Countries and Potentates far and near for that end.

And continue unfortified and undisciplin'd.

Lastly, A King, or Prince of Holland, would not hasten his own Ruin, by fortifying the great Cities of Holland, and exercising their

* Quod si Regum, atque Imperatorum animi Virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, æquabilis atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent, neque aliud alio ferri, mutari, & misceri omnia cerneret. Sallust.

Inha-

Inhabitants in Arms, to repel other Forces as well as his own: whereof, I suppose, I have spoken sufficiently. But in case any Man should yet doubt of this, I shall affirm, that formerly our Earls have demolished many of the Castles and Strong-holds of the Gentry, even when the Strength of Holland consisted in them. And further, to break the Strength of the Gentry, in whom only (conjointly with the Earls) the lawful Government of this Republick first consisted, they have from time to time, and especially since the Year 1200, built several Cities in Holland, and given Freedom to the Inhabitants of certain Places and Towns of the adjacent open Countrys, or even to Foreigners, who would come and dwell in those Cities, and have freed them when they had dwelt therein a Year and a Day, from the Vassalage they were under to their Lords, or even to our own Gentry; and likewise freed such Inhabitants from all Taxes due to the Earls, and from the Jurisdiction of Bailiffs with their Assistants, and other Persons, and from the Domination of others. And those Earls did, especially in those days, indulge the said Cities, by giving them Privileges, viz. that their Schouts, and Schepens should be free of those Cities, and that they should make their own Laws and Statutes for all their Freemen; according to which the said Inhabitants (by their Fellow-Citizens, Schouts, and Schepens, with those who were before chosen by the Earl according to his Pleasure, or out of a great number of Men nominated to him by the People) were to have Justice done them.

Which our Earls have taught us, by razing the Castles of the Gentry.

And by raising Cities, whereby the Inhabitants might be able to curb the Gentry.

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And

And not suffer'd
the Cities to be
wall'd.

And tho those Burgers did moreover continue Masters of their own Mony, Provision, and Arms, and by virtue of that natural Equity did, with the Inhabitants, chuse by plurality of Voices, some of the Freemen their own Counsellors and Burgo-masters, to order and govern the Government, Treasury, and Militia of their own City; yet the Inhabitants of the Cities might not, tho at their own Charge, set up Gates and Walls to preserve their Cities, but with the special Favour and Privilege of the Earls, which was obtained commonly against their own true Interest, by giving Mony to those lavish and indigent Earls, whose Design was not to strengthen those Cities, as the Castles of the Gentry had been, but to bring the old powerful Gentry to their Bow, by the number of those inconsiderable Freemen.

But to beat
down their
Walls.

And hence proceeded the Difference between walled and unwalled Cities in *Holland*, as also that the Earls of *Holland* being afterwards jealous of their walled Cities, by reason of their increasing Power, thro this Freedom, did totally burn and destroy *Vroonen*, *Gaspaarn*, *Luick*, &c. and pull'd down the Gates of *Utrecht*, *Delft*, *Ysselsteyn*, *Alkmaer*, &c. with special Command to the Citizens never to set them up again. And this is that which *Pontus Heuterus*, a Friend of those Earls and Princes, did acknowledg of our Earl *Charles* of *Burgundy*, namely, * That he as Earl of *Flanders* had firmly resolved to

* Decreverat ex urbe Gandavo oppidulum facere.
Rerum Austriac. p. 45.

make

make of that great and potent City of *Gent*, a very weak and small Town, that it might not oppose its Earl any more. Wherefore I again conclude, that *Holland* by such a Monarchical Government, according to the true Interest of such a Head, will not be more strengthened, but rather weakned, and bereft of its Strength.

C H A P. III.

Wherein is examined, whether the Reasons alledged in the two preceding Chapters, receive any Confirmation from Experience.

HAVING thus laid before you the true Interest of the Republican and Monarchical Governments, relating to Manufactures, Fisheries, Traffick, and Shipping, and their Dependencies; it is necessary that we relate Historically what hath hapned as to those Maxims of our State, both in Republican and Monarchical Governments, that so the Reader may see, whether our former Reasonings can be confirmed by Experience. In order to this, it is very necessary to observe, that to the best of my Knowledg, Merchandizing, and the general Staple of Traffick, and publick Exchange-Banks were never found, or continued long under a Monarchical or Princely Government. So that Manufactures, Fisheries, Traffick, and Navigation have thriven very little in those Monarchical Lands of *America*,

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History teaches that Traffick has thriven little in America, Asia, and Africa.

See Acofta of the Citys in America. The Atlas of J. Blaw, and P. Martinus of China.

And not at all but in Republicks.

Gen. 10.

Josh. 11.

rica, Asia, and Africa, and that the great and strong Citys of those Lands have been enlarged by the Residence of great Monarchs Courts, and consequently by the exhausting, plundering, and sacking of all adjacent Countrys, whether of Enemys, or their own Subjects. Which we may perceive by the Citys of Cusco, Quito, and Mexico, &c. in America; as also in the Asiatick great Citys of Japan, China, Persia, India; and lastly, by Morocco, Fez, Jerusalem, Ninive, Cairo, and other great Citys on the Coasts of Europe, or in Asia and Africa.

Moreover History tells us, that the Flower of the Traffick of these mighty Countrys is no where found but in Republicks, as Sydon, Tyre, Carthage, Banda, Amboyna, &c. and that Traffick hath exceedingly flourished in those Lands, only so long as they enjoyed their free Government. But because these three first Places are known to be the first and most antient Trafficking Citys of the World, I shall therefore speak particularly of Sydon and Tyre, supposing it will not displease the Reader to touch on them, seeing those Matters are not much known abroad, and yet are very useful to confirm what we have advanced.

Sydon being a City in Syria, upon a Coast abounding with Fish, and good Havens, tho without Rivers, built by Sydon a Grandson of Cham, who was Son to Noah, was in the earliest times that we have any notice of, a Mercantile or Trafficking City, which according to the Jewish computation of Time was in the Year 2500 after the Creation of the World; and in the time of Joshua was so improved, that

that it was termed, The great City of Sydon. And it appears that 220 Years after, viz. in Sampson's Time, it was a very plentiful, strong, and well-fortified City, whose Inhabitants lived in profound Peace and Safety in a free Republick, having no King or Sovereign Head over them, which might have weakned them. And about 210 Years after Sampson, the Sydonians were much commended by Homer for great Artists.

And that Sydon afterwards in the time of the Prophet Isaiab, and Ezekiel (who lived the first about 180 Years after Homer, and the last about 225 Years after Isaiab) was very famous for her Traffick, we may see in their Prophecys. Now this City of Sydon having flourished above 1500 Years, and raised many Colonys, it was about the Year 3590 after the Creation, besieged by Artaxerxes Ochus King of Persia, with a mighty Land Army, 300 Gallys, and 500 Ships of Burden by Sea, till they were betrayed by the Chief Head of the Republick Tennis, as also by their General Mentor. So that the Sydonians seeing no way to escape, and bearing a deadly hatred to a general Slavery or Monarchy, they set their own City on fire, wherein 40000 of their Inhabitants perished; and the King of Persia sold the Rubbish of this incredibly rich City for many Talents. And yet we read in Q. Curtius, that Sydon about 25 Years after became very considerable again; whenas the Head of the Republick, Strato, having first joined with Darius King of Persia, was afterwards compelled by the People to yield up the Place to Alexander the Great, who in the room of Strato set up an

As first of all at Sydon, when it was a free Government.

Diod. Sic. l. 16.

But under its Heads of the Republick it suffered much. Just. lib. 11.

inconsiderable Person, called *Abdalonimus*, giving him Power of Life and Death over the Citizens.

But in regard *Alexander* soon after died, and his Monarchy was so rent and divided under his several Chief Commanders, that most of all the Republicks by him conquered, recovered their Freedom; we may therefore suppose the *Sydonians* did the same: For *Strabo*, who lived about 340 Years after, says, That *Sydon* was in all respects comparable to *Tyre* in Greatness, skill in Navigation, and many other Sciences and Arts relating to Traffick. And in regard he writes at large of these two Citys at once, it may be understood of the *Sydonians*, who are by him spoken of in common, tho with more regard to those of *Tyre*, viz. That they were not only left to their Freedom in the time of the old Kings of *Phœnicia*, and had their own Government; but that under the *Romans*, by giving a small Sum of Mony, they preserv'd their Liberty.

Strabo lib. 1. Geog.

Lib. 16. lb.

During the Reign of the *Roman* Emperors there was little mention of *Sydon*, nor yet in the time of the *Saracens* afterwards, or of the Christian Kings of *Syria*, save that that City was taken, sometimes by one, and sometimes by another, till at last with their Hereditary Prince, formerly tributary to the *Saracens*, and the *Mamalukes* of *Cairo*, they were upon the same Conditions brought under the Monarchy of the *Turks*, about the Year of Christ 1517.

It lost all its Trade by Sea, when it fell under a Monarch.

And tho since its old flourishing State, viz. about the Year 600 after Christ's Birth, the Silk-worms in those Parts, and afterwards

*

wards the *Turkish* Yarn came to be known; so that now much Silk is found there, and in the adjacent Places of *Begbasar* and *Angori*, much of the Yarn of Goats-hair is spun, and therefore they are able to set up a much more considerable Traffick and Navigation, by means of the Manufacturys and Fisherys: yet on the other side it is certain that *Sydon* now yields no Manufactures of their own, nor Ships, nor Traffick, because the Inhabitants under the present Monarchical Government could not peaceably possess their Wealth, and follow their Trades; insomuch that most of their Traffick in raw Silk is now driven by Strangers, who have their own Consuls, and are always ready to depart from thence, when by the Government they find themselves too much oppressed: And it is said, that there are continually at least 200 *French* Factors that reside there, to manage that important Silk Trade.

Tyre lying within sixteen *English* miles of *Sydon*, was first built upon the Continent; from whence the Inhabitants fled to an Island lying within a quarter of a mile of it, to withdraw themselves from the Attempts of the *Israelites* who were then possessing the Land of *Canaan* under the Conduct of *Joshua*, where they built *Tyre*, who by taking of the purple Fish which were mostly in those Seas, and thereupon dealing in the dying of Purple, making of Garments after the manner of *Tyre*, and Trafficking or using Navigation, became so famous during their free Government, as you may see in the Holy Scriptures, where *Tyre* is said to be a Crown of Glory, or Pearl of Citys, and her Merchants

At Tyrus Traffick and Navigation flourish'd, so long as it kept its free Government.

Iſa. 23.

Ezek. Ch. 26,
27, 28.

Princes, and her Traders the nobleſt of thoſe Lands. That City, and the Traffick thereof, is likewiſe mentioned by *Ezekiel*, of whoſe ruin he likewiſe prophesied, which happened after had flouriſhed 880 Years, about 3360 Years after the Creation; at which time the King of *Babylon*, *Nebuchadonoſor*, after thirteen Years Siege, took the ſaid City, and deſtroyed it.

We read alſo, that about this time the Men of *Tyre* had in their Republick two Officers called *Suffetes*, or yearly Burgomaſters and Rulers, who ſerved in the chief Magiſtracy: And that this Republick ſoon after got its Head above Water again; for about the Year of the World 3615, and when about 255 Years were expired, viz. in the time of *Alexander the Great*, it was according to *Q. Curtius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, the greateſt and moſt renowned City of all *Syria*; and ſo conſiderable in reſpect of its Navigation, that the People and Council of *Tyre* had the Courage to repulſe that victorious Commander from their City, which in no leſs than ſeven months Siege, and incredible Oppoſition, was at laſt overpowered and burnt, and almoſt all the Inhabitants were either deſtroyed or ſold. Nevertheleſs the Men of *Tyre*, in a ſhort time after the death of *Alexander the Great*, by means of their old free Government, Diligence, and Frugality, arrived to their former Power and Riches. We likewiſe read in *Strabo*, that this City of *Tyre*, during their Republican Government, and in the proceſs of 350 Years after, arrived at its antient Luſtre and Riches, by means of Traffick and Navigation.

Q. Curt. l. 4.
Diod. Sic.

Juſt. lib. 18.
Strab. Geogr.
l. 16.

And

And tho the Emperor *Septimus Severus* about 170 Years after ſacked the City of *Tyre*, and demolished it, yet *Ulpianus* about thirty Years after this tells us, namely about 220 Years after Chriſt, " That *Tyre*, his native City, was an Ally of the *Roman Empire*, and was very conſiderable and mighty for War. And that they of *Tyre* had obtained of the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, the Right of the free Citizens of *Italy*; and according as a free State had power of chuſing and making their own Laws and Magiſtrates. And to this day *Tyre* hath been expoſed to all the ſame Accidents by Monarchical Governments, which thoſe Lands were ſubject to in the following Times of the *Saracens*, *Chriſtians*, and *Turks*, which we before mentioned of *Sydon*: So that *Tyre* is now inhabited by almoſt none but Strangers and Merchants, who for ſome ſmall time reſide there; among whom are many *Frenchmen* that deal in Silk.

Dig. lib. 50.
Tit. 15. l. 1.

After that is
loſt all its
Traffick.

And thus we ſee theſe two Republicks loſt their Traffick and Navigation, not by Wars or Earthquakes, by which they were more than once overthrown and ruined; but by the loſs of their free Government, whereas otherwiſe they as often reſettled themſelves. And in what condition thoſe two Citys are at this time, we may be inform'd by the Travels of that worthy *English Writer Sandys*, who ſays, " That the *Emer*, or *Hereditary Prince of Sydon and Tyre*, was ſprung from the old *French* that went thither with the *Chriſtian King Godfrey de Bouillon* to conquer the Holy Land; who beſides ſeveral Taxes and Impoſts he exacted of his Subjects,

Q. Curt. l. 4.
Strabo l. 16.

As is ſeen by
Sandys his Voyage,
p. 209, to
214.

“ Subjects, takes the fifth part of their Revenue. And tho he takes for Custom but three per Cent. of Foreign Merchants for their imported and exported Goods, yet we may easily observe how little Traffick and Navigation can prosper there, seeing, as Mr. Sandys says, “ The said Christian tributary Prince, named *Facardyn*, keeps continually in his Service forty thousand Soldiers, and lately, viz. in 1611, caused false *Holland* Lion Dollers to be coined, and made them pass current in Receipts and Paiments as if they had been of good Alloy; and that it is usual with him to seize the Goods of Merchants that die there, yea even the Goods of Foreign Factors, so that the right Owners or Inheritors cannot get them out of his hands, unless they agree to pay him half the value. And besides, those Citys are wholly unfortified, having only a Castle for the Prince to keep his Court in. It is not therefore to be wondered at what *Sandys* says, “ That these two Citys are so ruined, that they scarce retain a Shadow of their antient Grandeur and Renown; therefore they deserve to have no more said of them.

I should leave off here, but that I foresee it will be objected, That *Sydon* had certainly one Supreme visible Head of their Republick. And besides, the Kings of *Tyrus* are by Sacred and Profane History represented as very famous: from whence we may conclude, That such a Government very well consists with the flourishing of Trade and Navigation. I answer, That the said Historys do clearly inform us, that the said Sovereign Princes of

of *Sydon*, namely *Tennis*, *Mentor* and *Strato*, were in their respective times the Ruin of *Tyrus*. And as to the King whom *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Arrianus* report in their Historys to have been in *Tyrus* when *Alexander the Great* besieged that City, the Learned affirm, that 'tis a mistake, and must be understood of *Sydon*, and its last Government.

Notæ Var. in Q. Curt. & Just.

And that we may clearly expound what the Holy Scripture speaks of the Kings of *Tyre*, without contradicting what I affirm of their being a free State; I shall translate a Passage out of the 16th Book of that authentick Writer *Strabo*; and the rather, since I conceive that the State of these two Republics are there well express'd, “ Next to *Sydon*, *Tyre*, says he, is the greatest and oldest City of *Phœnicia*, may be compared with it for Largeness, Beauty and Antiquity, and is famous in many Historys. And tho Poets extol *Sydon* more, yea and so far, that *Homer* makes no mention of *Tyre* at all; yet is *Tyre* by its Colonys extending as far as *Africa* and *Spain*, without the Straits of *Gibraltar*, become more famous. So that these Citys, both now as well as of antient Times, are so eminent for Gallantry, Lustre, and Antiquity, that at this day it is questioned which of them ought to be accounted the chief City of *Phœnicia*. *Sydon* lies on a Sea-Haven, on the Continent; but *Tyre* is an Island, and is almost as well inhabited as *Aradus*; it is joined to the Continent by a Bank or Causeway made by *Alexander* when he besieged this City. It has two Havens, one of which was called the inclosed Haven, the other named the

Strabo lib. 16. Geogr.

“ *Egypt*

" Egyptian, or open Haven. It is said, that
 " the Houses here have more Storys than
 " those at Rome, and therefore that City
 " was sometimes well nigh destroyed by
 " Earthquakes, as it was by *Alexander*. But
 " it overcame all those Disasters, and restored
 " it self by means of its Navigation, where-
 " in, as also for its Purple Dye, those of
 " *Phœnicia* exceeded all other Nations. The
 " Purple of *Tyre* is accounted the best, and
 " that Fishery lies very near them, as do
 " all the other Necessarys for Dying; and tho
 " the great number of Dyers made the City
 " uneasy to other Inhabitants, yet they were
 " thereby enriched. They did not only un-
 " der their Kings preserve their own free
 " State, and Power of making what Laws
 " they pleased, but also among the *Romans*,
 " who for a small Tribute established their
 " Council. *Hercules* is extravagantly ho-
 " noured by them. How powerful they
 " were at Sea, appears by their numerous
 " and large Colonys. So much of *Tyrus*.
 " The *Sydonians* are famous for their ma-
 " nifold and excellent Arts, whereof *Homer*
 " also speaketh; they are moreover renown-
 " ed for their Philosophy, Astronomy and
 " Arithmetick, having begun it upon Obser-
 " vations and Sailing by Night: For those
 " two Arts are proper for Traffick and Na-
 " vigation. It's said the *Egyptians* found out
 " the measuring of Land, which is needful
 " to set Limits and Bounds to every Man's
 " Ground, when the overflowing *Nile* de-
 " stroys the Land-marks. It is believed,
 " that this Art came to the *Greeks* from the
 " *Egyptians*, as the *Grecians* learned Astrono-
 " my

They kept their
 Freedom in the
 time of the
 Phœnician
 Kings, and of
 the Romans.

" my and Arithmetick from the *Pbœnicidns*;
 " and all the other parts of Philosophy may
 " be fetch'd out of those two Citys: Yea if
 " we may believe *Possidonius*, that antient
 " Learned Piece (*de Atomis*) concerning the
 " indivisible Parts of all Bodys, was written by
 " *Moschus* a *Sydonian*, who lived before the
 " Trojan War. But I shall let these old things
 " pass, and say, that in our time *Boethius*, with
 " whom we practised *Aristotle's* Philosophy,
 " and his Brother *Diodotus*, both excellent
 " Philosophers, were *Sydonians*. *Antipater*
 " was of *Tyrus*, as also *Apollonius*, a little
 " before our time, who made a Catalogue or
 " List of all the Philosophers, and of the
 " Books of *Zeno*, and of all them that fol-
 " lowed his Philosophy. Thus far *Strabo*.
 " I shall now turn to the other Republicks of
 " *Asia*; amongst which those small Islands of
 " *Banda*, and *Amboyna* are very remarkable,
 " because they were formerly governed in an
 " Aristocratical manner by the most considera-
 " ble Inhabitants of those respective Islands;
 " which during that Government drove so
 " great a Trade in their Spices, of Cloves,
 " Mace, Nutmegs, and the Return and Depen-
 " dencies of them, that tho the third part of
 " the Spices were not caried by Shipping to
 " *Calicut*; that great Staple or Storehouse of
 " *India*; and being sold, were carried to *Basso-*
 " *ra*, and from thence to *Cairo*, with Caravans;
 " and lastly from thence transported to *Europe*
 " by Shipping: nevertheless the Sultans of *Syria*
 " and *Egypt*, thro whose Lands the same were
 " brought hither, as also the Cloves of the
 " *Molucca* Islands, were wont to receive yearly
 " above eighty thousand Ducats for Custom;
 " so

Grot.Hist.l.15.
 TheInhabitants
 of Banda and
 Amboynagreat
 Merchants du-
 ring their Re-
 publican Go-
 vernment.
 Maffei Hist.
 Ind.Grot.l.11.

so that the said Islands flourished then in Riches.

But in 1512, when the *Portuguese* first navigated those Seas, and afterwards fought with the People of *Banda*, the Inhabitants were so terrified by these new People, and their unheard of Military Art, that conceiving themselves unable to withstand that formidable outlandish Power, they rashly agreed to elect out of their own People the most considerable Persons for their better defence, and thereby immediately lost much of their Freedom; and afterward they were, partly by the jealousy they had of each other, viz. of the free Inhabitants against their respective Heads, and of such Superiors among themselves; and being in part likewise overcome by the *Portuguese*, they were at length forced to submit to that Foreign Yoke.

And lastly, there was some Freedom still remaining in those Islands, when the *Netherlanders* that were Enemys to the *Portuguese* began to frequent them; and these People of *Banda* who greatly affect their Liberty, look'd upon the *Dutch* as Angels sent from Heaven to defend them, and to deliver the other Islands from the Slavery of the *Portuguese*. For which end the Natives entered into Alliances with us for common Defence; covenanted, that we might not only build Houses and Warehouses, and dwell there to trade in their Spices, but expressly agreeing that they of *Banda* and *Amboyna* should sell their Spices to no other People. Whence proceeded all that usually happens when weak States or Potentates call in too powerful Assistants, viz. That not only the *Portuguese*

Grot.Hist. ib.

guese lost their Power over these Islands, but the Natives lost their free Government and Trade, and are now under the Dominion of the *Dutch East-India* Company. It is also very observable, That the Spices of those Islands, when brought into *Europe* by way of *Portugal*, produced yearly to the King above two hundred thousand Ducats. But the said Islands being ruin'd by the Forces of the *Portuguese*, and those of the *Dutch East-India* Company, and the said Company destroying their Spices which produced too great a quantity for them to vent, their Plenty by degrees decay'd, and their Commerce is now mightily diminished, as we may understand by the Historys of *India*, and from those that have been lately there.

And are now under a miserable Subjection. Grot. l. 15.

Hitherto I have at large insisted upon the causes of the Ruin of Traffick, and Navigation, in the Republicks before mentioned, because they were not common. But seeing the Cases of the following Republicks, together with their Navigation and Commerce, are sufficiently known by most men, I shall use no more words about them than may serve to the purpose we aim at. It is well known that the City of *Carthage* was built by a Colony from *Tyrus*, about the Year of the World 2940; and that it was governed by its own free popular Government, under two *Suffetes*, or yearly Burgomasters, and Judges, who jointly for that time were supreme Magistrates, and had a Council consisting of some hundreds of Persons, without any Supreme Head; and about 800 Years successively was very famous for Navigation and Commerce, and became incredibly Wealthy and Populous.

The City of Carthage kept its Navigation and Trade so long as it enjoy'd its free Government.

So

So that after the said Republick and City by manifold Wars, and especially by its last against the *Romans*, had lost an infinite number of Burgers in several unfortunate Battels, and was near its ruin, yet by what *Strabo* credibly testifieth, there were remaining in *Carthage* at least seven hundred thousand Inhabitants, who also at the same time in a very short space, built and made an extraordinary number of Ships, and Arms. And besides, it is well known, that the *Carthaginians*, living in great plenty, were by their too powerful Nobility involv'd in many Wars, to make Conquests, by which at last they were so overborn by the *Romans*, who were more warlike than they, that *Carthage* was wholly destroyed; and tho it were afterwards rebuilt, and again ruined, yet being devested of its free Government by the *Romans*, and the succeeding Monarchs, it was never afterwards famous for Merchandize or Navigation. Those that desire to know more of *Carthage*, let them read *Justin*, *Diodorus*, *Polibius*, *Livy*, *Strabo*, and especially *Appianus Alexandrinus*.

Geogr. I. 17.

And lost by War, and the Slavery there-upon following, all Traffick and Navigation.

Thus went matters with the Traffick of the Grecians,

And the Itals.

Afterwards, Commerce and Navigation did incredibly flourish in the *Grecian* Republicks and Islands; amongst which *Athens* and *Rhodes* were very considerable. And it deserves our notice, that all that Country, when under the *Romans* as their Allys, did still retain a great part of their Government, together with their Commerce and Navigation; but lost all after they were brought to submit to the succeeding Monarchs.

After this, Commerce, Navigation and Manufactures, settled and continued in the
Ita-

Italian Republicks, so long as they enjoyed their Liberty. But we may easily perceive, that *Florence* and *Milan*, tho they became the Courts of Monarchs or Stadtholders, did much decrease in their Commerce during the Monarchical Government. It is also known ^{Viz. Milan,} that *Pisa* under a free Government was famous for a Foreign Trade, but now since ^{Florence, Pisa, &c. have} its subjection has lost all its Commerce; and so ^{lost their Liberty and Traffick.} in truth have all the old great *Italian* Citys since the loss of their free Government, so that they are fallen almost to nothing, unless where the Princes or Stadtholders by their Train, and the Consumption of their Courts or Families, have in some measure prevented the same. Whereas those two ill-situated Towns, *Venice* and *Genua*, by their free Government, notwithstanding the loss and removal of the *Indian* Trade, have preserved their Greatness and Traffick, as much as possible, and little *Lucca* keeps her Trade still.

Genua, Lucea, and Venice, retain their Liberty and Trade.

It's known that afterwards by the Conversion of *Prussia* and *Liefland*, much Foreign Traffick and Navigation settled in the ^{And the Hansa} *Hans* Republicks; and that all those that were not able to hold and preserve their Freedom in former Ages, lost all their Traffick; so that *Stralesond*, *Riga*, *Stettin*, *Koningsberg*, and other Citys which are under a Monarchical Government, or have lost their Liberty, can expect no more Trade than what necessarily depends on their own Situation. Whereas on the contrary, *Lubeck* and *Hamburgh*, with a free Government, have had a greater Trade and Navigation than their Situation necessarily required. As we see it still in *Germany*, that

that *Bremen, Embden, Munster, &c.* being continually put to wrestle or contend with their Prince or Head, are much obstructed in their Trade; and that the Traffick there could not keep its footing in any Monarchical inland Citys, but only in the free Imperial Towns, as *Nuremburg, Ausburg, Frankfort, &c.*

In the Netherlands Merchandizing and Navigation have been both advanced and ruined.

In the *Netherland* Provinces it is manifest by the Manufactures, Fisherys, and Foreign Traffick, that Commerce thrives best in free Governments. For when the Earls or Dukes were so weak and ill-armed, that they were forced to submit to those Citys that flourish'd by Traffick, and could not oppose the true Interest of the Merchants, Merchandize flourish'd: But when the Earls or Dukes became so powerful as to make War against the great trading Citys, Cloth-Trade, Fishery and Traffick, were by little and little driven out of the Land. Thus about the Year 1300, and after, the Citys of *Gent, Bruges, and Ipres* lost much of their Trade in Manufactures; and about the Year 1490, the City of *Bruges* lost most of her Trade by Sea, when the Arch-Duke *Maximilian* brought that Town into subjection. And lastly, all the other *Flemish* Sea-Ports lost their Fishery, when they were forced to submit to the King of *Spain*; and yet during our Wars, they would rather turn all their Force to invade us by Land, than bestow their Mony to clear the Seas for their own Inhabitants, by which they could have done *Holland and Zealand* much more Mischief.

In Brabant Manufactures and Trade did formerly flourish.

Thus those of *Brabant* also, particularly in *Brussels, Tienen and Louvain*, lost much of their Trade in Manufactures about the Years 1300 and

and 1400; and in the following Age under the House of *Burgundy*, when those Dukes were so powerful as to force those Towns. Thus we saw in the following Age, that the Duke of *Anjou* being an Illustrious Prince, and a great Warrior, was no sooner become Duke of *Brabant*, than the mighty Mercantile City of *Antwerp* ran a great Hazard by the *French* Fury of losing all its Traffick. And lastly, it actually lost all its Traffick by Sea about the Year 1585, when *Philip II.* took the City by the Prince of *Parma*, and built a Castle with a *Spanish* Garison there, without ever endeavouring to restore to the Merchants their Trade, by opening the *Scheld.*

Thus were most of the antient Citys of *Holland* oppress'd, so long as they had their particular Lords, who used to curb the Citys, and open Country, by Forts and Castles, but would not suffer them to be walled and fortified for the Security of the Inhabitants; as appears by *Haerlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Goude, Gorcum, &c.* But those Citys afterwards enjoying more Freedom under their indigent unarmed Earls, when they made use of them to overpower the antient *Holland* Gentry and Nobility, who likewise oppress'd their small Citys; they did about the Year 1300 begin to gain the *Flemish* and *Brabant* Manufacturys, which forsook their places of abode; and they lost most of them again about the Year 1450, or soon after, when our Earls or Dukes of *Burgundy* were able by their Forces to subdue all those Citys. And tho during the last Troubles, and Compulsion in Matters of Religion, many *Flemish* and *Brabant* Clothiers and Merchants retired

Likewise in Holland Manufactures thrived whilst the Earls were weak.

As did the Fishery and Traffick during the Government by Stadholders and ders.

and settled in *Holland* about the Year 1586, yet were they presently in great danger of being driven out again by the zealous, and seemingly pious Activity of our Captain-General, otherwise called *the Government of the Earl of Leicester*, who by the Interest of the Clergy with his Courtiers, and *English* Soldiery, endeavoured to make himself Lord of the Country: And for that end having reviled the States, and the Merchants for Libertines, and despicable Interlopers, issued very prejudicial Placaets against Traffick and Navigation; and lastly, design'd by surprizal to have taken and seized the three greatest trading Citys, viz. *Amsterdam, Leyden, and Enchuyfen*.

At last the Stadtholders would have driven away Traffick out of *Holland*, but were prevented.

So that if this Governour and Captain General had not perceived that our Soldiery were incensed against the *English* Forces under him, and that the Government of the Land was by this means able to oppose him, by setting up another Military Head, whether it were Count *Hobenlo* or Count *Maurice of Nassau*: and again, if this Earl of *Leicester* had not been a Subject to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, whose Favour he much needed to make himself Sovereign here; and besides, if afterwards he had not found himself constrained to leave these Lands by command of the said Queen, he had certainly by this his Monarchical Government, driven away our Manufacturies, Fisheries, Traffick, and Navigation.

The same were afterwards in great Danger under the succeeding Captain-Generals (when we might have had a Peace) by the continual high Convoy-monies, and the

no less formidable Piracies of the *Dunkirkers* upon our Merchant-men and Fishers, and also by the needless and intolerable Imposts raised in the Year 1618, but especially in the Year 1650, at which time the Citys were brought under by our own hired Military Forces, as is yet fresh in Memory.

C H A P. IV.

Reasons why the Inhabitants of *Holland* were no more damnified under the Government of the Captains-General or Stadtholders.

BUT some may object, That all these Reasons and Examples cannot weigh down a contrary Example taken from ourselves, viz. That *Holland* having a Governour for Life, or a continued Captain-General, carrying on a constant War both by Sea and Land, with a great Army in pay, obtained the Trade which removed from *Antwerp*, and keeps it still. That during the said Form of Government *Holland* hath advanced it self in all sorts of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation, incomparably above all other adjacent Countries, and especially above *Flanders* and *Brabant*, where the Trade of Manufactures and Traffick had some time before mightily flourished: so that the said Form of Government seems to consist very well with the Interest of the Country. Tho' this Objection is perhaps sufficiently refuted in the foregoing Chapters, yet it will not be

Object. Has not *Holland* prospered under the Conduct of Captains General?

amiss to answer it distinctly.

*That flourish-
ing State may
be attributed to
other Causes,*

*Namely to the
Monopolies and
ill Government
of the bordering
Countries.*

*And the out-
ward appea-
rance of our
Republican Go-
vernment.*

First, It is to be noted in general, that at the time when *Antwerp* lost its Traffick, as also afterwards, there were in all the adjacent Countries much greater obstructions to Trade than in *Holland*, viz. among all the Monarchs and Princes, whose lavish Government preys upon all Burgers and Peasants, and lays upon the Merchant the intolerable Burdens formerly mentioned, without toleration of Religion, save only in *Poland*. And that in all the Republicks on the *Eastern* Sea, and Land-Citys, all Strangers were, by the Monopolies of the Burgerhip, and Guilds, excluded from Traffick, from being Owners of Ships, and meddling in Manufactures; and besides they tolerated but one Religion. So that at the beginning of the Troubles especially, there being no such apparent Monarchical Government in *Holland*, but the shadow of Liberty, the Prince of *Orange* and his Favourites, to encrease his Party, and make them adhere more close to him, continually boasted that he had no other intent but to defend the common Freedom, and to increase it in these Countrys. And indeed there being at that time in *Holland* freedom of Religion, Burgerhip, and Guilds, with small Charge of Convoy and Customs applicable to the clearing of the Seas, which were then very little infested; it is no wonder that Traffick and Navigation settled here.

For it is evident, that all the forementioned Vexations, viz. that violent Oppression of the lawful Government, and all those Taxes with which the common Inhabitants are now burden'd, were introduced gradually, and from

*

from Year to Year encreased; so that they were heaviest in the Year 1650, in a profound Peace, and likely to continue so for ever, when the Captain-General openly set himself against his lawful Sovereign, and not only impiously trampled upon his Masters that payed him his Wages, but also upon the sacred Rights of the People, and their Representatives; six of whom from the Cities of *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, *Horne*, and *Medemblick*, legally appearing at the Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, his Sovereign, he dared to imprison, only for having the Courage to refuse to keep on foot some Taxes for maintenance of the Soldiery; which said Representatives he released not till they had renounced all Government in *Holland*: so that every one might see what a terrible thing a Tyrannical Monarch, Prince during Life, or Stadtholder was in *Holland*, and how little appearance there was, that the Inhabitants of the Country should ever be eased of their Taxes.

Secondly, As to the Captains General, or Stadtholders in particular; I say, seeing these Lands under our first Captain-General, Prince *William* of *Orange*, who was a prudent Lord, were oblig'd to make War against their own puissant Prince, who was irreconcilable to the Captain-General, he was in no Condition of saving either his own Life or Estate, but by promoting the Prosperity of these small Countries as far as he was able, in order to keep his footing in them. For in case the said General had in those days not been careful to gain the good Will and Affection of the Rulers and Inhabitants, by providing for their u-

*See the Deduc-
tion, Part 2.
Chap.1. §.22.*

*We ought to
consider when
the Captains
General, or
Stadtholders
have done
good or harm.*

*And first as to
Pr. William,
who placed his
Safety in some
measure in Hol-
land's Prospe-
rity.*

niversal Welfare and Preservation, he had certainly run the risk, which might have ensued upon the People's making their Peace with their Sovereign; which how advantageous soever the Terms might have been for the Captain-General, yet it would necessarily have drawn on his Ruin sooner or later.

And afterwards the Earl of Leicester, who did not so.

Our second Captain-General, the Earl of Leicester, proved so detrimental to us during his two Years Government, that if he had not stood in awe of the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who were still obeyed by Prince *William's* Lieutenant, the Count of *Hohenlo*; and had he not been afraid of the Army, most of whom were not *English*, and dreaded *Q. Elizabeth* of *England*, he would certainly, by continuing such Maxims, have driven away our Trade and Republican Government, and ruin'd the whole Country.

As to our third Captain-General, Prince *Maurice*, it is confess'd, that in the 18th year of his Age, when he became Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*, by the Conduct chiefly of *John van Oldenbarnevelt*; and because in his Youth he followed that Gentleman's grave Advice, and obey'd his Masters the States, he did them great Service, and help'd to conquer many of the Enemies Cities in a little time, and with small Expence: But it is no less true, that the said Prince, especially after the Year 1600, being 32 Years of Age, and following no longer the Command of the States, nor the Counsel of the said *Barnevelt* of honourable Memory, but his own Maxims, or those of Count *William*, he was hardly able, with much greater Expence, to keep what he had gotten.

Prince Maurice being young, and so obedient to the States, did much good.

At

At least, as soon as the said Prince conceiv'd that the Countrys under him could subsist against the King of *Spain*, he not only neglected, but opposed and withstood the Welfare of the Country, thinking thereby to increase his own. Thus did he set himself so violently against the Truce with *Spain*, that in the Year 1608 he wrote to the particular Cities and Members of the Government of *Holland*, and to *Henry* the 4th of *France*, contrary to the Laws and Order of the Government, to persuade them and him against the Treaty for a Truce; yea, and threatned to continue the War against the King of *Spain*, tho he should have no Assistance but that of *Zealand* only. Nor could the said Truce be concluded till Arch-Duke *Albert* had first promised to pay him or his Heirs the Sum of three hundred thousand Guilders, to take him off from his unrighteous Designs, or from his unjust Pretensions, as the Ambassador *Jeanin* wrote to *Henry* IV. and that the States of these *United Provinces* had moreover engaged to continue him, during the Suspension of Arms, as they did formerly in the War, in all his military Offices, and other Advantages which he receiv'd by the occasion of the War, and likewise in all his Annual ordinary and extraordinary Salaries or Entertainments; and moreover presented him with a yearly Hereditary Revenue of twenty five thousand Guilders, which at twenty Years Purchase would be five hundred thousand Guilders (See the Negotiations of *Jeanin*, who as Ambassador of *France*, was Mediator in that Treaty of Truce) And which is more, the said Captain-General prosecuting severely

But grown older, and following bad Counsel, did afterwards much harm.

See Negotiat. de Jeanin.

ly

ly several Persons under pretext of establishing the true Religion, the most zealous lovers of *Holland's* Welfare were forcibly turn'd out of the Government, imprisoned, and slaughtered, and many Inhabitants driven out of the Country.

See Part 2. Chap. 1. of this Book, &c. Under Henry's Government all *Holland Merchant Ships, and Fishers,* were a continual prey to the *Dunkirkers.*

He fought to continue a chargeable War on us, till a Peace was concluded at *Munster.* Aitzma p. 233.

In the time of the 4th Captain-General or Stadtholder, the Reader is desired maturely to consider, whether for twenty Years together the clearing of the Seas, in as much as it concerned the Fisheries, Manufactures, Traffick and Navigation of *Holland,* was not designedly neglected: and therefore whilst the *Dunkirkers* were very strong, and did us much damage by Sea, those Monies were withdrawn from the Admiralties of *Holland,* which were necessarily designed for scouring the Seas, and levied for that end on Goods imported and exported. And moreover, we have seen those manifold Imposts raised, all the Forces of the Land made use of, and also incredible Sums of Mony taken up at Interest, to make Conquests as advantageous for the Captain-General, as ever they were hurtful and chargeable for *Holland.* And how little the Captain-General, or he who, in respect of his great Age and Unfitness, had then the Administration, and really ruled in his stead, was inclined to this present Peace with *Spain,* appears by this, that in the Year 1646, the 25th of *August,* Monsieur *Knuit* made a Report to the Prince, and assured him, That he had covenanted at *Munster* for his own or his Lady's particular Satisfaction, to have the value of upwards of five Millions of Guilders. Which if true, we may perceive that in the said private Treaty of Peace by the Prince of *Orange,* his Pre-

tensions that were annihilated at the Charge of the King of *Spain,* served only for a Cloke ^{Making clande-} to his frivolous Actions, that under pretext ^{destine Cove-} of a Treaty he might gain the Lordships of ^{nants of sever-} *Montfort, Sevenbergen and Turnhout,* with the ^{ral Lordships} Castle called *Bank of Schoenbroek;* as likewise a yearly Increase of Revenue of more Lordships, to a very considerable Sum.

And how much the exchanging of some meaner Lordships belonging to the Prince of *Orange,* has tended by a fair Pretext to gain the mighty strong City and Marquisate of *Bergen op Zoom,* may be guessed, if it be observed that the Countess of *Hobensolern,* being unwilling to quit her Right to the Marquisate, and he in the mean while dying, the Executors of the succeeding, and now reigning Prince of *Orange,* in *October* 1651, adjusted with the King of *Spain* upon that Point, viz. that the Prince of *Orange* should continue in possession of all those Lordships which by exchange were covenanted to him, and moreover should receive in Mony the Sum of two hundred thousand Guilders; and 5 Months after the signing of the Covenant, three hundred thousand Guilders more: And lastly, besides these five hundred thousand Guilders, a yearly Rent of eighty thousand Guilders for twenty Years to come. So that it seems by this covenanted Exchange of some Lordships against the Marquisate of *Bergen* alone, the said Prince should receive the Value of twenty one hundred thousand Guilders.

And therefore it is evident, that the King ^{Of the King of} of *Spain* has been oblig'd to do much to ^{Spain's.} move the Prince in particular to agree to this present Peace; which for many Years has been

been so frequently offered to *Holland* by the King, and was so necessary for us: As those continual and extraordinary Robberys of the *Dunkirkers*, and the taking of our Fishermen in great numbers, and our exhausted and indebted Treasury do at this day testify. But if nevertheless it should be objected, that it is lawful and commendable for any Man, and consequently for the Prince of *Orange*, to obstruct a Peace which would be disadvantageous to himself, and afterwards during the Treaty of *Munster* privately to covenant with the Enemy of this State for his particular Profit, to obtain as much as possibly he could: I desire it may be observed, that the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* give quite another construction of this affair, viz.

Part I. ch. 7.
S. 7.

Which tho contrary to the Instructions given with an Oath, yet,

“ That when Monsieur *Knuyt*, Plenipotentiary of this State, at the Treaty of *Munster*, by command and instruction of the Prince of *Orange*, of Laudable Memory, without the knowledg of the State, managed and concluded the forementioned Treaty; he was nevertheless bound up to the Instructions agreed on for him, and the other Plenipotentiarys of this State upon the 28th of *October* 1645, viz. That no secret Instruction, without the previous knowledg of the States of the respective Provinces, should either be given, or sent to the Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiarys. And in case either of the Provinces, or any other Person, should beyond expectation attempt or endeavour such a thing; They the Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiarys, shall not receive, but forthwith reject it, and give

“ give immediate notice thereof to the States General. And that the said Monsieur *Knuyt* in pursuance of the 91st Article of the forementioned Instructions, had solemnly sworn thereunto. Whereunto the said States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* in the 9th Chapter do add.

“ §. 8. That the States and the respective Provinces, were certainly well informed, what great care and vigilancy hath been us'd on behalf of the State, that in all Places, none excepted, comprehended in the Treaty of Peace to be made with the King of *Spain*, it should be covenanted, That the Sovereign disposal in Matters of Religion should remain in the States; and by what serious and expresse Orders the fore-said Intention of the State was recommended to the said Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiarys, and consequently to Monsieur *Knuyt*. Nevertheless the States, and the respective Provinces do find in the foresaid Treaty of the 8th of *January* 1647, That the said Monsieur *Knuyt* in the Name of his said Highness, did expressly grant and agree, That in all Places which by the said Treaty were conceded and granted, either to his said Highness, or to his said Lady the Princess of *Orange*, the *Roman* Catholick Religion should be maintained, as the same was at the time of concluding of the foresaid Treaty; and also the Spiritual Persons should be maintain'd in their Estates, Functions, free Exercises, and Immunities.

For the magnifying of himself to the detriment of the United Netherlands, especially of *Holland*, it was carry'd on and effected.

“ §. 9.

Why Holland suffer'd no more Part III.

And unknown to the States, there was promis'd on the Prince's behalf to the King of Spain, that the Romish Religion should be maintain'd in several Places.

“ §. 9. So that in regard of the City of *Sevenbergen* only (over and above the other Places in the foresaid Treaty mentioned) the said City being within the Province of *Holland*, and lying under the Sovereign command of those States; there was granted much more to the King of *Spain*, than was made over by the Act of Seclusion to the said Lord Protector.

“ §. 10. It is unquestionable that the most valuable Effect of the Sovereignty consists in the free disposal of Matters of Religion; which by the said Treaty, as far as it is there specified, is quitted, and yielded up to the King of *Spain*.

“ §. 11. Besides, the aforesaid Resignation is made by, and on behalf of them who have no disposal thereof at all. So that the foresaid Contractors did as much as in them lay clandestinely, to deprive the States of so sensible a share of their Sovereignty.

“ §. 13. That tho the States being afterwards inform'd of the Contents of the said particular Treaty, did expressly declare, that they would not be subject to the said intolerable Stipulation, in respect of the practice of the said Religion in *Sevenbergen*; yet they afterwards fell into many Inconveniences by that means.

And lastly, the said States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* do say:

“ §. 15. That so notable a part of their Sovereignty and Right as the free disposal of Matters of Religion within their Dominions without their knowledg, by him who had not the least Power or Qualification
“ to

Ch. 4. under their Stadtholders.

“ to grant it, was without any apparent Cause yielded to the King of *Spain*.

So that it doth unanswerably appear, that our Captain-General and Stadtholder, his Secret Treaty was concluded for his private Benefit, and to the prejudice of *Holland* and the Peace thereof.

Yea, after the last Captain-General had in a full Peace seized and imprisoned six Deputys of *Holland* assembled upon Summons at the *Hague*, because according to their Duty they had dared to refuse the payment of some Companys of Soldiers, and to resolve to disband them as far as concerned the Province of *Holland*, he miscarried in the Design of seizing our Principal City by surprize. So that if he had not died about three weeks after, we should in a few Years have seen that *Holland*, and *Amsterdam* first of all, would have lost all their Traffick, by contending against their own Governour and Captain-General, or would have been compelled to submit to his Yoke; as formerly *Flanders*, *Bruges*, *Brabant* and *Antwerp* were bereft of their Traffick by the Quarrels between them and the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, and King *Philip*.

'Tis well known that the ruin of Holland was design'd by our last Stadtholder.

For tho our said Captain-General's attempt on *Amsterdam* succeeded not, yet all the flourishing Citys of *Holland* that were unarm'd, and much more those many Citys which had Garisons mostly of Foreign Soldiery at his command, would have been forced eternally to have submitted to his Monarchical Yoke, if his unexpected Death had not delivered them from that Slavery.

He

Deduct. of 1654. Part 2. ch. 2. §. 13, &c.

Who domineer'd extremely over Holland.

He that doubts of this, let him hear the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* as speaking of this Matter to their Allys. " But especially let the said Provinces please to remember what hapned in the Year 1650, within our own Body. Did not in the same Year the Rulers of the City of *Amsterdam*, to prevent greater Evils, grant by Capitulation to his Highness Prince *William* of immortal Memory, Father of the present Prince of *Orange*, That the *Heeren Andries*, and *Cornelis Bickers* should quit their Offices of Burgemasters, and Counsellors, and become private Men, and never be readmitted into the Government? And were not the Citys of *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, *Horn*, and *Medemblick*, because of some honest Regents, or Magistrates in their Citys, compelled afterwards to do the like? Altho God Almighty so ordered Matters by his Providence, that some few days after the same Persons were restored to their former Dignitys. Those were the true Tokens of an usurped Power; and so much the more intolerable, because he to whom such Conditions were granted, was by the Nature and Virtue of his Commission, and likewise by his Oath therewith taken, only a Subject of that Body, whose Members he thus endeavoured to bring under subjection. It was then indeed the true time for unfeigned Patriots, and true lovers of Liberty to appear upon the Stage, and with Heart and Hand to make head against such Usurpation. But what Zeal did the foresaid Provinces then exert? Were not they the Men, who on *June 5.* of the

fore-

" foresaid Year 1650, granted that Authority to be lawful, at least so far, that under pretext thereof the said Prince of *Orange* undertook those Actions? And were not they also the Men who afterwards, when those Actions were in part executed, did by special Resolution or Letters Missive declare, that they judged the Resolution aforesaid of the 5th of *June* 1650 to be applicable thereunto: And who in pursuance thereof expressly avowed, approved, and commended the foresaid Actions; yea even thanked his Highness for it, and besought him (tho'tis scarcely to be believed) to persevere in such a laudable Zeal?

All which being true, and the Rulers of the other Provinces, who ought to have offered their helping hand to *Holland* against these violent Oppressions, having on the contrary either of necessity or willingly flattered the Prince in this, and sought to bring our Province to a greater Thralldom: No rational Man could have expected but that Traffick and Navigation, &c. would have had its overthrow here, as in other Monarchical Countrys; and that consequently all the Inhabitants of *Holland* in a few Years would necessarily have sunk into unexpressible Misery.

And had the Thanks of the other Provinces for its

CHAP. V.

The Reason why the General Liberty in Holland hath caused no more benefit, since the Death of the Prince of Orange, the last Stadtholder of Holland and Captain-General during Life.

Reasons why Holland has enjoy'd a little Fruit by its free Government.

See R. Scheele Gemeene Uryheit.

BUT it may be objected, That God hath given us Peace with Spain, and snatch'd away our Captain-General and Stadtholder, without leaving one of Age enough to be his Successor; which seem to be the two most desirable things that the Inhabitants of Holland could wish for, seeing they are thereby become a People really Free, subject to none of what Quality soever, but only to Reason, and to the Laws of their own Country, that can only be governed by the Interest of their own Province and Citys: And yet for all this we can see no alteration, but only in this, that the Lives, Estates, and Reputation of the Inhabitants, do not depend upon one Man's Will; and that the Citys cannot by their Soldiery suddenly be surpriz'd. So that the Rulers, and Ministers of the Republick of Holland and West-Friesland, as well as those of the particular Citys, are now, in as much as concerns every Man's Person and Transactions, liable only to the Laws and Constitution of the Republick, and the Citys thereof; and being absolutely their own Masters, they need fear no more by ruling well to offend a single Head, and consequently to lose their Authority, Life, and Estate for so doing.

In

In answer to this I must acknowledg, that the much wish'd for Accident aforesaid hath not hitherto produced such wholesom Fruits as might rationally have been expected, especially since hitherto there hath been no ease given to the People from such heavy Taxes and Impositions. But when the reason of it is rightly scann'd, we shall find the Cause is not to be imputed to the present free Rulers, but to the former Usurpation of the Stadtholders, Governors, and Captains General, together with the remaining Disorders that had their rise from thence. Yea, it is to be admired, that Matters in the present Conjunction are already brought to so good a condition: For when the known and evident Causes of what is before expressed are looked into and enumeratd, every one may soon perceive these four good Effects.

Why there was no easing of the Imposts.

In the first place, That at the time of the death of the last Stadtholder and Captain General, the Province of Holland being of so small a Compass, and so poor in Treasure as is before expressed, was left charged with so dreadful a capital Debt upon Interest, and such an excessive number of daily incident Debts, that it will not be believed by other Nations, nor possibly by our Successors in Holland, that so small a Province could subsist under such great and heavy Taxes; and that the Inhabitants thereof could bear, not only the Annual Interests of such an immense Sum, but so many Taxes besides for the defence of themselves and their Allys: It being remonstrated by the States of that Province to Prince William, a little before his Death, and also afterwards for Justification of their Proceedings,

Why we have flourish'd so little Part III.

Because Hol-
land was in
debt 140 Mil-
lions, &c.

ceedings, Anno 1650. That the Province of Holland was then charged with Mony taken up at Interest, amounting to the Sum of one hundred and forty Millions of Guilders, besides other Debts amounting to thirteen Millions.

Secondly, That the good Inhabitants of the said Province, driving their Trade to the Levant about the same time, and especially in the Years 1650, and 1651, were by the French Corsairs in the Mediterranean extremely endamaged, even so far, that a part only of the foresaid Loss, viz. as much as the Merchants of Amsterdam by Publick Command brought in, amounted to above one hundred Tuns of Gold, or ten Millions of Guilders.

Together with
the English
War,

Thirdly, That this State in the Year 1652, fell into and continued in open War with the English until 1654, which occasioned a remarkable decay of Trade, and many great Losses to the Traders of the said Province.

And the Eastern
War.

Fourthly, The Eastern Wars soon after hapned, between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark; and this State became engaged in it as Auxiliaries. All which must be acknowledged by every one for Reasons of what I said before; but the right Grounds and true Causes are curiously inquired into but by very few, and therefore are look'd upon by many as the Effects of the present Government. I have therefore thought it necessary to shew, to the best of my knowledg, how those things came about.

And first concerning the one hundred and forty Millions of Guilders, with the other undischarged Debts abovementioned; it is

well

Ch. 5. since the Pr. of Orange's Death.

well known, and easy to be comprehended, that that Debt was forcibly occasioned by the Captain-General and his Flatterers; the said immense Sums being wasted to promote his Ambition and Glory, by having great Armys in the Field, and undertaking great Sieges to take such Citys, as at this day tend to the heavy burdening of Holland. And that which is most to be bewailed was, That the Frontier Citys were intrusted to the sole command of the Captain-General, who placed therein Governors and Garisons; so that they served only for so many Citadels to hold poor Holland in Fetters. And we have often with grief been forced to see, that whilst so many Millions were sacrificed by Land to the Ambition of the Captain-General, the necessary Defence of Navigation and Commerce, must depend upon the Revenue of the Convoys and Customs, which are received only of the Merchant; and sometimes a part of the said Mony too was diverted to carry on the War by Land.

Our former
Capt. Generals,
with their De-
pendants, the
Cause of our
dreadful Taxa-
tions.

For the Sums
so taken up and
misspent for the
Conquest of
Citys.

And thereby to
keep Holland
in slavery.

I know very well, that this way of management was not afterwards discommended, because many of our Inhabitants had the good Fortune not to be damnified by Losses at Sea, and the ill Conduct of the West-India Company, whereof mention is made in the first Chapter of the Second Part of this Book; so that they fared at least as well or better than at present, and found there was then Mony to be got. Besides, those manifold destructive Wars which hapned in most of the neighbouring as well as remote Countrys, inclin'd many rich Fugitives to settle in Holland. But I wish those poor People would

Which is illu-
strated by a Si-
militude, how
much the Coun-
try under this
free Govern-
ment fares bet-
ter than under
the Stadthol-
ders.

Then Mony was taken up at Interest to consume and waste.

have a little foresight, they would then consider that it went with the Affairs of the Commonwealth, as I once remember it hapned in a certain Family that was blessed with a fair Estate. The Parents being dead, the Children were put under the Care of a lavish Guardian, who giving no Account, spent the Estate hand over head; and when there was no more Mony in Cash, immediately took up a good Sum upon Interest, at the Charge of the poor Orphans; so that not only the foresaid Children, but all the Children and Servants of the Neighbourhood liv'd most bravely, and had and did every thing that their Hearts could wish for. But it afterwards hapned, that the wasteful Guardian died, and the said Children fell under the care and tuition of the Chamber of Orphans, who kept a continual eye over them, and plac'd them under the daily care of an honest, diligent and sober Man, who regulated the House after a quite different manner, without any waste. So that whereas in the time of the foresaid Guardian, there was yearly more spent than the Revenue amounted to, and every time Mony taken up at Interest, the Revenue did afterwards considerably exceed the Expence; and the Surplus was laid out to pay off a part of the Debt which the former Guardian had contracted.

But now we husband it to pay off the Debts contracted by the former lavish Housekeeping.

But then the Children murmured, saying, That their Condition was much impaired, that they had a pleasant Life under the former Guardian; and so did the Neighbours Children and Servants, they said they could enjoy themselves with delight in that Family under the former Guardian, but that it

Which displeases many unthinking and ill-meaning Inhabitants;

*

was

was now become a barren Place. But those poor Orphans little thought, that in case the former Management had lasted longer, it would have proved fatal to them in their riper Years. And we poor simple *Hollanders*, who may with reason be called Orphans, how long shall we remain in our Childhood and Minority; not observing that the Plenty we then were sensible of, proceeded from the ill Husbandry of a prodigal Guardian or Steward, which hath run us in Debt as aforesaid? At least we ought to conceive, that we must now still be taxed and fleec'd to pay off the Interests of that great Sum; which Taxes alone under our present Governors, would defray the whole Charge of the Government. So that all that we must now pay for our Subsistence and Defence, and which lies so heavy upon us, must be look'd upon as the bitter Fruits of that Tree of Wantonness which that lavish Guardian hath planted among us, and which we silly Children danc'd about with so much delight; and our Neighbours Children of *Guelderland, Utrecht, Over-Yssel*, and others, to whom Plenty was no Burden, and our hired Soldiers, with whole Regiments of *French, English, Scots, and Walloons*, who lived in our Family, were very well pleased with that kind of Life, and it makes their Hearts to rejoice when they talk of reviving those Times. It is good cutting large Thongs out of another Man's Hide. But that we *Hollanders* should be so stupid as not to perceive that the present Government is our Safety, and that the former would infallibly have procured our Ruin, is indeed not to be comprehended.

And Neighbours and other Strangers, who by our Wastfulness use to live at ease.

Why we have flourish'd so little Part III.

The French and English Depredations by Sea hapned by means of the late Government.

Asto the Second Cause, viz. the Depredations committed in the Mediterranean Seas, and thereabouts: It is first apparent, that seeing all the Wealth of Holland, as well the said borrowed Capital Sum, as that which is squeezed out of the Sweat and Blood of the good Inhabitants of the said Province, was sacrificed to the Ambition of the Captain-General; and by his Neglect of a vigorous Defence by Sea, there was a fair and open Field given to all Nations greedy of Prey, to set out Men of War against our rich laden Ships. Who knows not that the greatest inticement to Evil is the hopes of Impunity? He that will always be a Sheep, must expect to be eaten of the Wolf at last. To which is to be added, that under pretext of a Peace concluded with Spain, as if there were no more ill People in the World, and as if all coveting of one anothers Goods would have thereby ceased, the Captain-General by his Creatures, and Flatterers, had so subtilly contrived Matters, that several of our Ships of War were sold, and thereby we were left naked of our necessary Defence by Sea. Our honest and most provident Rulers could the less oppose it, because there was another Mischief impending over them by the Captain-General, viz. That as soon as he (who then passed his time chiefly in Hunting, Hawking, Tennis-playing, Dancing, Comedies, and other more infamous Debaucherys) should begin to apply himself to Affairs of State, he would imploy the remaining Naval Power of the Land against the Government of England for the advancing the Interests of his own Family, but certainly to the oppres-

Seeing by their endeavours our Ships of War were sold.

Ch. 5. since the Pr. of Orange's Death.

oppression of all the Inhabitants of Holland, especially of the Trading part.

Upon which it also followed, that some of our Ships which were thus sold, became the Chief of the foresaid Corsairs against us: Which brings to my remembrance, that which was publicly spoken in the Year 1651, and probably very true, viz. That the aforesaid Depredations, and others were to be made by Shipping that were to sail out of the Sorlings (or Islands of Scilly) and elsewhere by our Captain-General's appointment; and that some of the Earwigs of that young Prince had perswaded him, that robbing at Sea was the surest, yea the only expedient to bring the Amsterdammers, with whom he had been for some time before his death at great variance, to his Lure or Devotion: It being accounted a sure Maxim among such great Persons to weaken and ruin all great and strong Citys which may oppose their designs; yea, and when private Methods are wanting, to make use of open Violence for that end: as all Historys and Examples, both Antient and Modern, do clearly testify. And that Consideration alone ought to be sufficient for us Hollanders (whose Welfare entirely consists in flourishing, mercantile, and populous Citys) to take a firm resolution, never to put our selves under a perpetual Chief Head, by what Name or Title soever, and to persist therein immutably.

That the Pirats might bring Holland, and especially Amsterdam, to be divided and weakned.

To the 3d Cause, viz. the War against England; I may well say, and that truly, that we have suffered that for the sake of the House of Orange. For those of the Parliament of England having cut off the Head of their

The War with England was brought upon us for the sake of the House of Orange.

own

own good King, and being therefore exceedingly hated by all the Monarchs in the World, and likely in all human appearance to be called to account and punished for it by Neighbouring Princes, lest such a Crime remaining unrevenged, their own Subjects might be thereby excited to act the same thing against them: They therefore found themselves under a necessity to seek the Friendship of this State; and for that end, soon after the death of the Prince of *Orange*, they sent a considerable Embassy hither, without shewing the like Honour to any other Potentate or State in the World.

For the English sought our Friendship first.

I shall not here particularize all that they offered to settle a Friendship between both Nations; it will be sufficient to observe, That they did by Commissioners earnestly insist with the States General to renew that well known Treaty of Intercourse made between both Nations *An. 1495*. Tho I am of opinion, and have before amply proved it, That it is wholly unadvisable for this State to enter into any farther League with *England*; yet by renewing the said Treaty we should not only have settled a Friendship, but also at the same time have established our Commerce and Fishery; as to which the Articles of the said Treaty (especially in regard of the Fishery) are expressed in the most desirable terms. Yet those that conceived themselves bound as Slaves to the House of *Orange*, did not only oppose the concluding of the foresaid desirable Treaty, but also sent away those Ambassadors with all manner of reproach and dishonour: First, by opposing them in the publick Deliberations of the State against the progress

Some Rulers still remaining Slaves to the Prince of *Orange*, set themselves against the Alliance with the English.

The English Ambassadors suffering great contempt.

progress of the said Treaty, especially by framing delays, alledging that we first ought to see the issue of the Designs of the present King of *Great Britain* (then declared King in *Scotland*) and on the other side exciting the Rabble against the Persons of the said Ambassadors to such a degree, that the States of *Holland* perceiving the aversion, and daily threats that were uttered against their Persons, were necessitated, for preventing of greater Mischief, to appoint a *Corps de Garde* to be erected before their House, to secure them from the like mischief which befel *Dr. Dorislaus*, Envoy from the said Parliament, at the *Swan Inn* in the *Hague*.

Which the States of *Holland* were willing, but not able to prevent.

What aversion such Proceedings might have caused in the said Ambassadors, is easy to be apprehended, as it also followed; who having observed after they had stayed here a considerable time, that the Zeal of the honest and upright Governours, especially in the Province of *Holland* and *Zealand*, was not able to ballance the Faction of *Orange*; they returned in great discontent to *England*; one of them, *viz. Mr. St. John* (upon taking his leave) told the States Commissioners: "My Lords, you have your eye upon the Issue of the Affairs of the King of *Scotland*, and therefore have despised the Friendship we have profered you; I will assure you, that many in the Parliament were of Opinion, that we ought not to have come hither, or to have sent any Ambassador till we had first overcome our difficultys, and seen an Ambassador from you. I now see my Fault, and perceive very well that those Members of Parliament judg'd right; you

On which those Ambassadors parted discontented.

One of whom predicted, that we should repent to have rejected the Friendship of *England*.

Why we have flourish'd so little Part III.

As we have
found by
experience
most true.

“ you will in a little time see our Affairs
“ against the King of *Scotland* dispatched, and
“ then you will by your Ambassadors come
“ and desire what we now so cordially come
“ to profer. But assure your selves, you will
“ then repent you have rejected our Kindness.
Would to God that Experience had not ve-
rified the foresaid Discourse to our great Loss:
For the King of *Scotland*'s Affairs being de-
termined by a Battel, and a War with this
State following upon it; the Wounds and
Losses occasioned by that War effectually
brought to pass the Repentance aforesaid; but
fronte capillata, post est occasio calva: It's in vain
to shut the Well's Mouth, when the Calf is
drowned.

And this is the
real Cause of
the first English
War.

This is the true Reason of that lamentable
War: to which may be added the intolerable
Humour of that Nation, their continual
jealousy of our flourishing Traffick, and the
innate hatred of *Cromwel* against the Prince
of *Orange*, as a Sister's Son of that King,
whom of all the World he had most reason
to dread. So that every one may easily ima-
gine, what pain and care it hath cost our ho-
nest Rulers to regain a Peace with that Nati-
on.

The Remain-
ders of the for-
mer Govern-
ment, the Cause
also of the Ea-
stern Wars, so
far as related
to Holland.

Lastly, As to the Fourth Point, viz. that
of the *Eastern* War: It is certain in case this
State had had the good Fortune to have framed
its Consultations according to its true Interest,
without having in their Breasts the same Evil
which had occasioned the War with *England*,
the growing Flames in all probability might
easily have been quenched at the beginning,
at least in all Events the War between *Swe-
den* and *Denmark* had certainly been prevent-
ed;

Ch. 5. *Since the Pr. of Orange's Death.*

ed; but it is to be lamented, that all the
Deliberations that hapned in the Government
were travers'd and thwarted by the fluctua-
ting and changeable Humour and Interest
of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, only because
that Prince was related to the House of *Orange*
by Marriage, and acted a considerable, but
a very strange part in that Tragedy.

For at the beginning, when the King of
Sweden was preparing his Attempt against
Poland, the Duke of *Brandenburg* opposed it
with a more than ordinary Animosity; and
accordingly seeking to strengthen himself by
Friends and Alliances, those that were inclin-
ed to the House of *Orange* here, were able to
effect so much, that the States obliged them-
selves firmly by a Treaty of the 27th of July
1655, to defend the said Elector against the
foresaid King of *Sweden*, having after a few
days deliberation undertook the Guaranty
of the Electoral *Prussia*; a Point, which ever
till then (tho it was uncertain whether there
would have been any Attack to be feared
about it in a long time) was looked upon to
be of so great Weight and Importance, that
for that Reason only, the Alliance profered
by the said Elector for divers years together
with such a Clause of Guaranty, never took
effect. The States by this means being visi-
bly left out of the Neutrality, could be no
effectual Mediators to end the War between
Poland and *Sweden*, which by their Interposi-
tion and Direction had ever been formerly ac-
commodated.

But it soon appeared that we were not a
little mistaken; for after the said Duke began
to enjoy the effect of the foresaid Treaty,

The D. of Bran-
denburg, and
those that were
slavishly in-
clin'd to the
Prince, wheedl'd
Holland into
it.

First causing us
to enter into an
Alliance with
the D. of Bran-
denburg.

Who having
receiv'd a good
Sum of us, got
out of that Al-
liance, and took
part with the
Swedes.

especially after he had received a good Sum of the promised Subsidies, he suddenly and without the privity of this State, joined with the King of Sweden, cast off the Oath of Vassalage he had sworn to the King of Poland, expressly renounced the foresaid Alliance with us; and soon after, joining his Forces with those of the King of Sweden, gave the Polish Army Battel near Warsaw.

Which caus'd here a great aversion to that Elector.

And caused the advantageous Treaty of Elbing for us.

The Advantages that would have accru'd by that Treaty, were, viz. Tolls no higher than in 1640.

It is true, this Action being in it self odious, and extremely contrary to the Genius of our Nation, rais'd in them so very great an aversion to this Elector, that the best affected to the House of Orange were for a long time ashamed openly to patronize the Interests of his Electoral Highness; by which it hapned that the Faithful Rulers, taking to heart the true Interest of this State beyond all others, their wholesom Advices took place afterwards so much the better.

And accordingly with great Prudence, and upon right Maxims for a Country subsisting by Trade, that Treaty was carried on with Sweden, on the 11th of September 1656, at Elbing in Prussia, between the Ambassadors of this State, and Commissioners of the King of Sweden; whereby it was firmly agreed, that seeing the Swedes had for some Years rais'd the Customs excessively high over their whole Country, and especially had charged the Inhabitants of these Netherlands to pay more than their own Subjects; Therefore for redress thereof, the Customs and other Taxes under the Power of the Swede, as well without as within the Kingdom, should be brought to the same Rate they were at about the Year 1640.

And

In the Second place, that in case of the raising of Customs, and new Taxes, the Inhabitants of these United Provinces shall be no higher or more charged than the Swedes themselves: So that as to that Point, there shall be kept a perfect Equality in all things between both Nations.

And no higher than the Swede himself pays.

Thirdly, That the Inhabitants of these Netherlands in all places under the Swedes Command, as well in regard of Customs, as to all other Advantages, none excepted, shall be treated as well as any other Nation shall be treated by the Swede.

And as low as any Strangers pay, including all other Lands where we are concern'd.

Fourthly, That all those on whose Preservation and Peace this State, and the Commerce of its Inhabitants, is especially concerned, as among others principally the King of Denmark and his Kingdoms, the Elector of Brandenburg and his Dominions, as also the City of Dantzick, and all Places belonging to them, be comprehended in the foresaid Treaty, with an expres Covenant, that neither the King of Sweden, nor his Subjects and Inhabitants, directly nor indirectly, shall give them any molestation, or hindrance in their Traffick, much less make War against them.

Whereby much harm would have been prevented.

Would to God, that these Affairs so well commenc'd had been pursued to perfection! Then should the King of Denmark at this day have been Master of the Province of Schonen, and other Countrys which were taken from him; and the good Inhabitants of Holland have been in possession of many Millions, which in the last War were consumed on behalf of the Publick, and lost by private Persons at Sea.

But

And the reason why the same was not ratified, viz.

Holland's Omission caused by their affection to the E. of Brandenburg.

Who to obtain the Sovereignty of the Electoral Prussia, fell a gain from the Swede, and join'd the Poland;

To our great damage.

But altho a Treaty concluded by those that are imployed and duly authorized, ought to be ratified by those who gave such full Powers under their Hands and Seals; yet after the conclusion of the said Treaty, there was such a Fluctuation of Humours, that it could not be ratified here. I cannot with truth affirm that the Province of *Holland* was altogether blameless in this Matter; but what Authority was made use of underhand, the Sequel plainly discovered. For when the good King of *Denmark* being privately excited to it, had put on his rusty Armour, and drawn the King of *Sweden* that way; then did the Elector of *Brandenburg* effectually shew what that Occasion was worth to him: for as soon as the King of *Sweden* had turned his Back upon *Poland* and *Prussia*, he made no more scruple again to break the Covenant of Vassalage he had made with *Sweden*, than he formerly made conscience of solemnly renouncing the Alliance he had made with this State; and accordingly by that opportunity entred into a new Treaty with the King of *Poland*, and covenanted to have the Sovereignty of the Ducal *Prussia*, which he formerly held of that King in Fee, with other Advantages that are not necessary here to enumerate.

But since by not ratifying the Treaty of *Elbing*, we help'd the King of *Denmark* to put on his Armour to so little purpose, and procured those notable Advantages to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Kingdom of *Denmark* (God amend it) hath cost us dear enough: But that which most troubled us, was, that the said Elector again arming himself against the *Swede* and this State, being in

in manner beforementioned drawn into the War between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; the Interest of *Brandenburg* was so powerful, that it was impossible for us afterwards either to get out of that War, or to put an end to it, till not only *Brandenburg*, but *Poland*, and the whole House of *Austria*, to whom the Elector of *Brandenburg* had obliged himself to make no Peace without them, had first concluded their Treaty, and had obtained their ends by the Arms of this State. So that for the Interest of *Brandenburg* we were just at the Point of falling into a War with *France*, *England* and *Sweden* all at once, and consequently of fixing our selves to the Party of *Austria* and *Spain*, which would have tended to our utmost Ruin. From which being at last delivered by the sage Direction and Management of the Faithful Rulers of *Holland*, tho not without their signal and personal danger, we have great cause to be highly thankful to God for it.

Who to please Brandenburg have been in the utmost danger.

CHAP. VI.

What good Fruits the beginnings of a Free Government have already produced, from the Death of the last Stadtholder and Captain-General, to the Year 1662.

AND now that I may more fully shew, that notwithstanding the sad Effects of the Relicks of the former Stadtholders, Governors and Captain-Generals; yet that our Affairs since the Death of the last, are by the

Notwithstanding the foresaid remainders of the Stadtholders Government it is evident,

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The Fruits enjoyed by the free Government are, first, the not taking up Money at Interest.

prudent Management and Zeal of our Faithful Rulers, brought very far on towards the Welfare of these Provinces. And first, as an eminent token of it, it is worthy observation, That not only a vigorous opposition is made against that ruinous Course of taking up excessive Sums continually upon Interest, but that in the Year 1655, by the Zeal of our good Rulers, an Expedient was found to discharge the said Province of the one hundred and forty Millions of Guilders, viz. by reducing the yearly Interest of the said Sum from the 20th to the 25th Penny, or from 5 to 4 per Cent. and employing the yearly Advance of it towards discharging those Sums: Which Advance increasing yearly, that formidable Sum of 140 Millions will in Twenty one Years (whereof a sixth part is now expired) under God's Blessing be totally discharged.

The reducing of five to four, wherewith to discharge the Capital taking up.

To the Loss of the Rulers, and the great Benefit of the Merchants, &c.

It is a pity that many of our People comprehend not this Benefit.

But that which is most to be gloried in is, That tho the greatest part of the Regents of that Province have lent a considerable part of their Estates to Holland and West-Friesland, nevertheless the consideration of their own Profit did not hinder them from cutting off a fifth part of their Revenue for the necessary Service of the Publick, and among others to so many thousand Merchants, Artizans, and others, who have no Estate in the hands of the Government at Interest: So is it also to be greatly lamented, that there are still Inhabitants of Holland, who either cannot or will not be sensible of the Benefit and Necessity of so doing. They ought in truth to consider that this Country is an Orphan, and that the Rulers being Guardians, they cannot with a good Conscience suffer Money to run at so high

all

an Interest at the Charge of that Orphan, when the Credit of the said Orphan is so great, that he can take up Money sufficient at 4 per Cent. and it would above all be inexcusable in the Guardians to keep their own Money still at the Orphan's Charge, and require 5 per Cent. for the same; when others, and perhaps the elder Brothers and Sisters of the Orphan, are ready to lend him their Money at 4 per Cent.

And understand not that this Country's Guardians must give no higher Interest for the Orphans use, than for their own.

But above all they ought to consider, that the Revenue of Holland in it self was of little or no value; and if it be now otherwise, it doth purely and merely depend on the Blessing of God upon its Commerce and Traffick; and that if any considerable diversion or diminution of it should happen, 'twere impossible to raise the seven Millions from it, which before the foresaid Reduction were yearly demanded by Petition for paiment of the foresaid one hundred and forty Millions; which by continuation of such an Oeconomy as was kept in the time of the Stadtholders and Captains-General, would in time have been so much increased, that at length it would have exceeded all the Revenue and Product of their Trade: And the neat Revenue of Holland being by this means brought to less than nothing, and its Credit thereby necessarily at a stand, the said Province must have sunk and come to nothing of a sudden.

Especially when the Revenue of Holland by those high Interests would have been swallow'd up.

I can compare those People to nothing better than to a certain crack'd-brain'd Son of an industrious Husbandman, who seeing his Father once and again take a great Quantity of Corn out of his Barn, and carry it to his Land and scatter it upon the Earth, his crazy

How great the Fruits of this discharge of the Debts are, is set forth by a Similitude.

Un-

Understanding began greatly to murmur, saying, That they had wont to take the Corn out of the Barn only by the handful, to bake Bread and Cakes, whereof he, his Brothers and Sisters were daily to eat; but by this way of taking so much together it would shrink and come to nothing; and that his Father ought not to have denied them their former Liberty. But that silly Fellow understood not that the Corn scattered upon the Land was in no wise wasted or destroyed, but sowed in the Earth in order to a great Increase the Year following; and that his Father had taken sufficient care to leave so much in the Barn as would bring the Year about without want: whereas if they had taken Corn out of that Barn from time to time for Bread and Cakes, without sowing any, it might indeed for some time have caused a merry Life, but the Event would have been sudden Misery and Famine. Even so those weak People perceive not that that which seems to be withheld from them or their Neighbours by the aforesaid Reduction, is by no means squandered away, but laid up as good Seed, to produce more Fruit from Year to Year, that it may by the Blessing of God, be truly said to be only our Surplusage; and in case that be neglected, according to the fancy of such foolish Persons as aforesaid, and the Extremity be taken, we may for a time live in jollity, but at length the Burden of it would have ruin'd us all.

And further, to discover the difference between the present frugal and the former lavish Government, we may remember that in our time there was another Reduction made of

Rents

Viz. by Seed-corn, which cast into the Earth seems to be lost.

But afterwards produces abundance.

So does that Reduction bring a great Benefit to the Country.

Ch.6. *Free Government in Holland.*

Rents and Interests from 16 to 20, and from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 per Cent. But the benefit of it presently dropt through our Fingers, even to the raising of more Horse and Foot, that were employed contrary to the desire of most of the honest Rulers of *Holland*, and to the great detriment of that Province sacrificed to the Ambition of the Captain-General; so that the foresaid Reduction may be truly said, not to have serv'd to the easing of the Country, but to a new and heavy taxing of the Commonalty.

And had we then been so fortunate, that the good Rulers at that time had been able to have made use of the Advance of the foresaid Reduction (as they do now) for discharge of the capital Sum, and reducing the yearly Charge (with the Interest upon Interest) without running our selves again into new Negotiations to the prejudice of *Holland*, we should in lieu of being so vastly in Debt as at present, have been free and on even ground. And if therewith we can discharge our selves of seven Millions of yearly Imposts, and all Taxes on Consumption, which lie so heavy upon the Commonalty, and do so remarkably hinder the increase of our Trade and Commerce, and withal a good part of the Poundage upon Lands and Houses, and of the Customs and Convoys, and yet after that have a better and clearer Revenue than we have at present; besides the Benefit we should enjoy of having all Handycrafts-men, Manufacturers and Traders who would resort to us from other Countrys, under the Advantages of having the foresaid Taxes discharged: If this were, I say, so ordered, this

Which under the Stadholders was converted, to the levying of many needless Soldiers.

Yet out of its profit, had it bin managed, Holland would now have been out of Debt.

And have subsisted without any Imposts on Consumption.

To the unutterable Benefit of all Trades.

State would (humanely speaking) have been already, or at least in a few Years be the most Considerable, Puissant, and most Formidable Republick of the whole World.

And as we should certainly have possess'd and tasted that Prosperity, in case the former Government had had the freedom of making the best use of the Interest of *Holland*; so in all probability we may yet enjoy and be sensible of it in our own Persons, or at least our Children after us, if we do not shamefully suffer that Golden Liberty which is put into our hands by Heaven, to be pluck'd from us, and don't with the Sow return to the Mire.

Which Blessing we hope, preserving our Liberty, to bequeath to Posterity.

This certainly no generous *Hollander* can rightly consider, without being inflamed with an ardent Zeal to hazard his Estate and Life for the preservation of the present Government, and maintaining our true Liberty, and thereby to leave our Children at leastwise that Happiness and Success which we, in case our Predecessors could have effected that which in our Times (as aforesaid) is so commendably settled, should now effectually enjoy.

Let none imagine that during the War with the King of *Spain*, it would have been impracticable to imploy the Advance of the foresaid Reduction for discharging part of the Monys taken up at Interest, and to continue it till the whole were paid off, and the Country out of debt; seeing the contrary hath effectually appeared, that during the forementioned *Eastern* War, where in proportion of time there was more than twice as much extraordinarily raised and paid by the Province of *Holland* as, since the foresaid first Reduction, ever hapned in the War with

Spain;

*

Spain; yet the last Reduction from five to four in the Hundred, by the Care and Vigilance of the present Rulers, hath continued by the yearly Advance thereof, without any intermission or diversion, and is imployed for the discharge of the capital Debt.

In the next place we may observe, as a singular Effect of the present free Government, that by their Prudence and good Direction a good part of the supernumerary and useles Land-forces, and especially of the Foreign Soldiery, is reduced and discharged, to the ease of the Province of *Holland* in particular, of the Sum of near five hundred thousand Guilders per Annum. Concerning which it is specially to be noted, that the foresaid Reduction and Discharge was effected by the good Conduct of *Holland*, with the universal Satisfaction and Approbation of all the other Provinces. Whence therefore (by comparing it with what passed in the Year 1650) may be inferred, that the present time is much better than that, when our own Captain-General thrust his Sword into our Bowels, for no other Reason, but because the upright and faithful Rulers, according to Justice and Duty, did only disband and reduce some part of the said Forces for ease of the Country, and as preparatory to the necessary disburdening of the poor Commonalty.

The third fruit of this free Government is, A great part of the superfluous Soldiery, &c. is disbanded, whereby *Holland* saves yearly 500000 Guilders.

It is also at present firmly resolved for our Good, that the benefit of the said Reduction, as also that of Rents and Interests, shall be imployed for discharging that intolerable Burden which the Ambition of our Captain-General laid upon our backs.

The Profit of which is converted to the discharge of Debts.

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Whereby the Sums that oppressed Holland will be the sooner discharged.

By this means the above-levied capital Sums will be sooner paid by six Years than otherwise they could : So that now in that respect about a full fifth part of the time requisite for the payment of the whole is expired ; besides, that a part of the abovesaid one hundred and forty Millions, which were many Years since negotiated upon Rents for Life, and likewise grow less every day, will infallibly expire in a few Years. So that we do visibly approach the Land of Promise ; and if by reason of our unthankfulness, and murmuring against the Almighty, and against our Moses, he does not cast us back into the Egyptian Slavery, the remainder of the Journey through the Wilderness will soon be at an end.

The 4th Fruit of this Government is, that all Contentions of Citys and Provinces are ended to satisfaction.

The such Differences are mostly caused by such as affect Slavery.

Fourthly, Let us observe, as another singular Effect of the present Free Government, That tho it was formerly judged and maintained by many, that it would be impossible, without Stadtholders or Governors of the Provinces, to compose and reconcile the Differences and Disputes of Province against Province, Quarters against Quarters, Citys against Citys, and Rulers in Citys with one another, which will infallibly arise from time to time ; and that by this means the State for want of such Stadtholders and Governors, will e're long fall into great Dissensions and Civil Wars, and in time come to ruin ; yet Experience hath taught us that on the contrary, the many and great Disputes and Differences that have broken out, and were mostly caused by the instigation of those that long after Slavery, have since the Death of the last Prince of Orange been laid down and appeased

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peased with much better Order and Effect than formerly. Yea, and which is wonderful, almost all the foresaid Differences and Disputes were so well allayed, by the Authority and good Conduct of the lawful Government, that at one and the same time the differing Partys have found their satisfaction and contentment in laying them aside.

Whereas, on the other hand, we have formerly seen, that the Stadtholder irritated and stirred up such Differences, at least cherish'd them, when it was for his Interest and Advantage ; and at last made the Partys who had most right, submit to the Sword, because he knew best how to arrive at his Ends by those who least regarded Right, and consequently made little Conscience, so they could please him in obstructing Justice, and the Welfare of the Land : it being the Maxim of all Great Persons, Divide & impera ; for in troubled Waters they have best fishing.

If ever any Governour or Stadtholder, and his Adherents, had had such cause of Offence as was given to the Province of Holland, Anno 1650. and in case the same Stadtholder and his Adherents had had the same Power to revenge themselves as the States of Holland had after the death of the last Prince of Orange ; who can doubt but their desire of Revenge would have made the whole State to tremble, and that much Christian Blood would have been sacrificed to their Passion ? But seeing the common Good is more regarded and pursued by the Rulers of a free Republick, than the satisfying of any violent Passion ; and that by executing that Revenge,

Whereas on the other hand the Stadtholders caused many Differences, and generally wrong'd the Injur'd Partys.

All which appears by Examples, viz. by the Amnesty of 1651.

or

or rather just Punishment, it would have sustain'd a signal Damage, the said Crime was wisely and prudently buried by a general Amnesty or Pardon; and so that great Breach, made on purpose to keep the whole State a long time in a troublesom Alarm, was presently repair'd.

And the allaying the Dissension in Over-Yffel.

The most considerable Dissension and Rent which in the memory of Man hath hapned in these *United Provinces*, was that of the Province of *Over-Yffel* into two considerable Partys about the beginning of the Year 1654; which was of such a Nature, that both the differing Partys behaved themselves as States, and as the lawful Sovereign Powers of that Province, infomuch that they made War against one another in that Quality, and after such a manner, that the City of *Hasseld* was, after a formal Siege, taken by one of the Partys. In this Dissension (according to the forementioned Maxim of great Men) the Stadtholder of *Friesland* had concerned himself, and was received by one of the Partys for Stadtholder, Governour, and Captain-General of *Over-Yffel*, by which the Dissension was brought to that Extremity, and lasted between three and four Years.

Which broke out into an open War.

And yet by intercession of the H.R. Pensionary it was first stoppt,

But at last those Lords observing, that their Disputes were infinitely multiplied, so that the Wound was almost incurable, they submitted at the Mediation of the Pensioner of *Holland*, to refer all their Differences to the decision and determination of two Persons appointed by the States of the same Province, who were the *Heer van Polsbroek* Burgomaster of the City of *Amsterdam*, and the said Pensioner; who reconciled the contending Partys of

of the said Province in most of their differing Points in an amicable manner: and afterwards all the necessary Regulations, Orders, Instructions and Affidavits as to Affairs of the Government of the said Province, being set down in Writing, a solemn Sentence and Decision was made and pronounced upon the 20th of *August* 1657, of all the said Differences, in the Name of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and all confirmed under the Great Seal of the said States, inserting therein the foresaid Regulations, Orders, Instructions, and Oaths, for preventing the like Inconveniences for the future; and all with that Prudence and Moderation, that both Partys receiv'd intire Satisfaction. Hereupon the divided Government was immediately consolidated and heal'd up, and the Quiet and Peace of the said Province restored, and so continues to this very day.

And afterward amicably ended.

In the Province of *Groningen* and *Ommelanden*, there arose likewise a notable Dissension at the beginning of 1655, and again at the end of 1656; infomuch that the Body of the foresaid *Ommelanden*, and half of the Province being divided, all Government and Administration of Justice was at a stand. Upon this Occasion it manifestly appeared whether such Dissensions could be best composd and quieted by Stadtholders, or by the Authority and Conduct of other Rulers. The States General having gotten information of those Differences at two several times, did immediately desire the Stadtholder of that Province to be present in Person, and allay the Difference if possible. But Experience taught us, that it was but like Oil cast into the Fire:

What hapned in Groningen is worthy observation.

Where the Stadtholder, not able to allay the Differences, desir'd the States to do it by their Deputys.

So

So that the Stadtholder was necessitated to return answer to the States General, that he found it impracticable, and desired the States would depute some of their Number for that End. Which having performed, those Deputys compos'd and allay'd the said Differences, to the satisfaction and contentment of both Partys; and the Government of the Country was settled and confirmed, in the Name, and under the Seal of the States General, with consent of the said Country.

Which also was amicably effected.

And in Holland many Differences that arose have been happily ended.

At Dort, Enchuyfen, Gor-nichem, Roter-dam, Briel, &c.

As also in West-Friesland, and the North-Quarter.

It would be too tedious to mention Circumstances, how prudently and happily, by the wise Direction of the States of *Holland* or those Authorized by them, all the Commotions that hapned in the Citys of the same Province, and all Differences, as well between the said Citys against one another, as between the Rulers of one and the same City, were every time extinguished and allay'd. Yea even old Disputes, that from the time of the last Troubles had been carried on with much heat between some Members, and which under the Stadtholders could never be allay'd, were by the States of *Holland* amicably decided to the satisfaction of the Partys concerned. Which Examples in respect of the Commotions that have heretofore, and now lately hapned at *Dort*, *Enchuyfen*, and *Medenblick*, as likewise the appealing of the Differences between the Governours of *Gornichem* and *Schoonhoven*, about the chusing of their Magistrates; and of those of *Rotterdam*, and the *Briel*, about the Pilotage of the *Maeße*, and the Passage into *Goeree*, as also the old Disputes about the Investiture of the Colleges of the Generality, between the Members of

West.

West-Friesland and the North Quarter, which were depending beyond the memory of Man, are very notable Instances.

Here might also be shewn, that the beginnings of all the said Commotions and Dissensions were first designed or contrived by the last deceased Stadtholder; and others were excited and fomented by his Creatures that he left behind him: So that all that are Lovers of Peace and Quiet, and would rather have all Discords compos'd by wise and mild Conduct, than carried on and increas'd by Passion, or decided by the Sword, have need carefully to beware of electing a Stadtholder or new Baitmaker.

Where the beginnings of Mischiefs were contriv'd by our last Stadtholder.

But the greatest and most valuable Benefit of the present Free Government, is, that now, according to the true Interest of *Holland*, all the Revenues of the Land, both Ordinary and Extraordinary, that remain over and above the Payments of the Principal and Interest of the publick Debts, are applied for the increasing and strengthening our Naval Power, whereas it was heretofore wasted upon unprofitable, nay and oftentimes pernicious Sieges and other Expeditions, according to the Vain Glory of the Captain-General. It is particularly observable, that at present the ordinary Naval Power of this State is above three or four times more formidable than ever it was during the War with the King of *Spain*. And as after the conclusion of the Peace with the said King, during the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, the first Design was (as I formerly mentioned) to sell the most considerable of our Ships; so after his Death, one of the first Cares of the States was, to put the Colleges

The most considerable Fruit of this Free Government is, that the Powers of Holland are disposed to strengthen our Naval Forces.

Considering that in two Years, 60 new Ships of War were built.

And new Magazines built, provided with all Necessaries for Shipping, Cannon, &c.

Whereby much Pirating by Sea will be prevented,

Especially in the Mediterranean

leges of the Admiralty in a Posture of acting Offensively at Sea: The States having (which is a thing incredible) during the chargeable War against England, from 1652 to 1654, built in the space of two Years, sixty new Capital Ships of War, of such Dimensions and Force, as were never before used in the Service of this State. And thus they have proceeded with the like provident care to build other Ships, to buy Cannon, to erect vast Magazines and Store-houses for securing and preserving Naval Stores, and making of publick Rope-allys, and the like, and for providing all things necessary for the equipping and setting of Ships to Sea; and generally have done all that's fit for the strengthening of our Naval Power, which hath been continued diligently from time to time.

This is known to be the only means whereby, under the Blessing of God, this State may progressively increase in Fishing, Commerce, and Navigation, and draw an incredible concourse of People out of all Countrys, as we daily experience to our great joy. For who can be ignorant, that the awful regard to our foresaid Naval Power alone hath, next under God, been the cause of putting a stop to the aforementioned intolerable Piracys of the French in the Mediterranean Seas, by which the Government is brought into a Posture to be able, yea and did resolve to attack, take and destroy, not only common Pirates, but even the King's Ships of War which were made use of for that end? So that two of the King of France's Ships being taken by Vice-Admiral de Ruyter in the Mediterranean in 1657, his Majesty who had caused all our Ships

Ships and Effects throout his Dominions to be seized, was thereby readily brought to free us from that Inconveniency.

Without the influence of this Naval Power, it would in all humane Probability have been impossible to deliver our selves with any reputation out of the Eastern War formerly mentioned, without being expos'd to many more Difficultys. In short, by this means the Commerce and Navigation of these Provinces have, notwithstanding the heavy burdens fore-mentioned, been kept in a tolerable good Posture and Condition, and do now considerably improve.

So that the Folly or Malice of some People is intolerable, who dare complain of our present State of Affairs, and esteem the former Times better than the present. If those stupid or ill meaning People cannot or will not be at the pains to consider the noble Effects of the present Free Government, yet they should at least suffer themselves to be convinced by the evident Prosperity of the Citys of Holland. What could they answer if they were asked, Whether it be not a manifest Token of Prosperity, that the most considerable and greatest Mercantile City of the Province, viz. Amsterdam, hath been enlarged two parts in three; and that none can observe, that either the Houses or Inheritances are thereby lessened in Value; yea that it is so augmented in Buildings of Houses, that the Imposts on the Bulky Goods of that City only in the last Farm, yielded above thirty thousand Guilders more than in the former, and yet the said Impost was in the foregoing Years considerably improved? We may affirm the same

And the Eastern Affairs dispatched.

And our Traffick and Navigation considerably encreased.

The stupidity of those who complain of our Affairs, is inexcusable.

Seeing the Prosperity of the Country appears by other Symptoms.

By laying out the Ground of Citys. Gallantry and Magnificence of the Inhabitants. And the few Bankrupts of honest Merchants.

same of Leyden and Dort, and other Citys in proportion. And that the Riches, and Plenty of many cannot be kept within the Walls of their Houses; but that over and above their Costly and Stately Buildings, they are visible in their Coaches, Horses, and other Tokens of Plenty in every Part. There are but very few in the Citys of the foresaid Province, that do not yearly increase their Capital. Yea, if the foresaid Complainers and Murmurers look but into their own Books, I assure my self that most of them (unless they are profuse, negligent and debauched) shall find their Stock, one Year with another, considerably increased.

CHAP. VII.

The third and last Part of this Book concludes with this, That all good Inhabitants ought to defend the Free Government of the Republick of Holland and West-Friesland, with their Lives and Estates.

THEN since we have already enjoyed such noble Fruits of the present Free Government, notwithstanding the grievous Obstructions beforementioned, and that we are as yet but in the Winter of this happy Change, wherein a great part of the said good and fruitful Seed lies still hid in the Ground, and the other part is but preparing to be sowed in the Spring; who is there that may not easily apprehend, how noble and happy

the

the approaching Spring and Summer will be; but especially the Harvest, when that horrible Burden of one hundred and forty Millions will be paid off and fully discharged, and when the Taxes upon Consumption, Commerce, and immoveable Estates, will be lessened by seven Millions, and yet the Treasure of the Land not one Stiver less.

And if at present under so many intolerable Burdens as are expressed in the 5th Chapter, and what have since the Year 1662 befallen us (of which we might give a large account) our Citys and Inhabitants have under a free Government been visibly enlarged and increased; who will not easily apprehend that by continuing the same Government we shall in time with God's Blessing be the most happy and mighty Country for Strength that is to be found upon the Face of the Earth? And therefore we are oblig'd to pray fervently to God Almighty, that he would be pleased not only to keep us in the same State, but also upon occasion to make us willing to hazard our Lives and Estates, and that joyfully, to maintain the same; that so our Children may at least possess that full Happiness, and that compleat worldly Felicity which they cannot fail of, (without God's Extraordinary Judgment) unless we should by our Revolt to a Stadtholder, Governour or Captain-General, pull up the stately Foundations which have so prudently been laid by the present Free Government, and which without such defection will the more easily by continuance be kept up, yea and may from time to time be improved.

All the Inhabitants of Holland ought to support their Free Government.

Holland's *Inhabitants ought* Part III.

With this general Conclusion, I might now end the third Part of this Book, were it not that the great Weight of this Affair presseth me to say further, That upon this foregoing Argument, illustrated by Antient and Modern Historys, and also by our own Experience of the many Mischiefs of the former compulsive Government, and of the many good Fruits of the present free Government, we might well hold it for an unchangeable Maxim, That a Country having such Interests or Advantages as *Holland* now hath, ought in all respects to be governed by a Free Republick and States: And that all the good Rulers of this Land, and especially all the Inhabitants that are in any measure concerned in the prosperity of Manufactory, Fishery, Commerce and Shipping, ought to maintain the present Free Government with all their might, and by no means to suffer, and much less to occasion that any Inhabitant, of what Quality soever, do under any specious Title or Denomination acquire so great a Power, that the Gentry and Citys of *Holland* should submit unto, or truckle under him, or not dare by their Deputys at their Assemblys to speak out, and declare that which tends to the true Interest of the Country, and the respective Citys of *Holland*, when it thwarts the Interest of a Political or Military Head; or when they having declared it, dare not maintain it without running into eminent Danger.

Especially those of the Reformed Religion.

And above all we may conclude, That the Ecclesiasticks, who in any wise regard the true Interest of the Reformed Religion, that do not impiously trample upon the Honour of God, and shamelessly sell the Reverence due to them

Ch. 7. to support their Free Government.

themselves for a mess of Pottage, ought to support this Free Government, and with their Spiritual Weapons defend it against the In-croachments of such a Ruler; considering that the Reformed Religion will be surer and better preserved by the prudent, immortal, and almost immutable Sovereign Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and other Colleges subordinate to them, than by those Voluptuous, Lavish, Transitory and Fickle Monarchs and Princes, or their Favorites, who alter the outward Form and Practice of Religion as may be most consistent with their Pleasures or Profits; and besides, when they die, do often bequeath their Lands to Inheritors of others, and especially of the *Romish* Religion, who by their high Places, Politick Conduct, and the Eminency of their Ecclesiastical Honour and Extraordinary Riches, attract to themselves Great Persons, and especially the surviving poor Daughters and younger Sons, who by them may easily arrive to great Inheritances, as we have often seen in this and the foregoing Ages, in *France*, *England*, *Germany*, *Orange*, &c. And seeing the Consistorys, Classes, and Synods being in some measure inclined to obey this Lawful Government as the Sovereign Power set over them by God himself, have a plenary and ample Freedom allow'd them in all their Ecclesiastical Determinations, and are likely so to continue, pursuant thereunto each Minister doing his duty during Life, and presiding or voting among the yearly Elders, Deacons and Members that depend upon him; and he himself being subject to none save the Sovereign Power, is in effect a little Bishop,

Because a Republican Government can hardly alter, but a single Person may change the Religion of the Place he lives in.

and so will continue; and moreover the said Ministers will retain the due freedom of expounding God's Holy Word left us in the Writings of the Old and New Testament, in Spirit and Truth, and may frame their Expositions, and publick Prayers according to the Occasion, Time and Place, to the greater advancement of God's Honour, and the Edification of the Church, wherein the greatest Comfort, and highest Praise of an upright Reformed Minister does consist. Whereas on the other side, a Monarchical Governour, tho not acknowledging the Pope of *Rome*, must and would necessarily turn off, and discharge such a Church-Council, to make way for the Ruling of Bishops, or a Political Church-Council, to cause them, and all other Preachers to depend on himself as Head of the Church. And moreover, a single Person would for his greater Security, and Quiet in his Government, deprive the Ministry of their Freedom to expound the Word of God according to the best of their Skill, and to sute their publick Prayers to the Edification of the People, and instead thereof give them formed or composed Sermons and Prayers; or if the Prince found himself not strong enough to introduce this Church-Government, and thereby to curb Proud and Seditious Preachers, he would then perhaps rather endeavour to make such Ministers and Clergy submit to the Pope of *Rome*, than suffer them to be their own Masters, in hopes that by length of time, and manifold Accidents, and by an Ecclesiastical Government in some measure regulated by a Foreign Head, it would be more tolerable

to him than these upstart Seditious People, whom no Body knows how much Power they will pretend to, and of whom, as of a hidden Distemper, and a secret Enemy, the Sovereign is always in jealousy and fear.

Lastly, We may well conclude, That all the forementioned Evils would certainly befall these Lands, as soon as any one single Person, under what specious Pretence or Title soever, shall have the command of our Forces, either during Life, or for a long time. We must consider, that in these unfortified Provinces, where Foreign hired Souldiers are continually entertained in all the adjacent strong Holds, such a Souldiery will not only obey him in despite of the Civil Magistrates who are their Directors and Pay-Masters, and in despite of the honest Ministry, and to the ruin of such as live on their Rents, Trades and Husbandry; but likewise all other ill disposed Inhabitants, as well as the Rabble, will always be ready, tho not stirred up by any wicked and seditious Preachers, to join themselves with the Party of such a Courteous, Liberal, and Valiant Captain-General. So that the most honest, and virtuous Rulers and Magistrates must be forc'd by constraint to demit, and others to prevent the losing of their Lives, Honors and Estates; or else, to gain more Wealth and Honour and Authority, must concur with him, and dissolve such a Government.

The matter being thus, we must say, that all Persons, who for their particular Interest do wilfully introduce such a Monarchical Government into our Native Country, will

*The Contrary
hereof would
be Treason.*

By this Crime alone all the Laws of the Land are in danger at once of being subverted.

commit a Crime which afterwards can never be remedied, but like Adam's Original Sin be derived from Father to Son to perpetuity, and produce such pernicious effects, that all the good Orders, and Laws of these Provinces, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, must at length be subverted. And seeing *Crimen Majestatis* is properly committed against the Laws of the Sovereign Power, namely either to assault the Legislator himself, or to endeavour to alter the Sovereign Government; we must therefore conclude, that the said Inhabitants will by so doing make themselves guilty of *Crimen Majestatis & perduellionis non fluxum sed permanens in aeternum*, the most grievous, most durable and endless Treason against their Country.

The Welfare of all the Inhabitants would be likewise obstructed hereby.

To conclude: We must grant that this Republick of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, being deprived of their Free Government by erecting a Stadtholder or Captain-General for Life, would in a few Years lose both the Name and Appearance of a Free Republick, and be changed into a downright Monarchical Government; which the Merchants perceiving, they would leave our Country as they have done others, that they might be under a free Government. But God forbid and divert it, that being the greatest worldly Mischiefe that can befall us; for this Country which subsists by Manufacturers, Fishermen, Merchants, Owners of Ships, and others depending on them, who by this means must be all bereft of their Livelihood, will become a Land desolate and uninhabited, a Body without a Soul, and a lamentable Fountain of unspeakable Misery.

CHAP. VIII.

The Conclusion of the whole Book, with a Declaration of the Author's Design, and a Caution both to the ill and well affected Readers.

THESE my Remarks upon the three premised Parts of the True Political Maxims of the Republick of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, hapning to be made Publick, tho' very imperfect, under the Title of the *Interest of Holland* in the Year 1662; and afterwards in the Years 1667, and 1668, being more carefully perused, and more maturely deliberated upon, the Reader ought to be forewarned, that sometimes the Affairs of those respective Years ought to be adverted to in the reading. And that my intent was, both in general and particular, to shew briefly wherein the Interest of *Holland* consists, viz. That as in all Countrys of the World, the highest perfection of a Political Society, and in a Land by accident labouring under Taxes, and naturally indigent, as *Holland* is; there is an absolute necessity that the Commonalty be left in as great a natural Liberty for seeking the Welfare of their Souls and Bodys, and for the Improvement of their Estates, as possible. For as the Inhabitants of the most plentiful Country upon Earth, by want only of that natural Liberty, and finding themselves every way encumbered and perplexed, do really inhabit a Bridewel or House of Correction, fit for

The Whole concluded with this Affirmation,

That Holland's Interest consists in the Freedom of all its Inhabitants.

none but miserable condemned Slaves, and consequently a Hell upon Earth. Whereas a Power of using their Natural Rights and Propertys for their own safety, provided it tends not to the Destruction of the Society, will be to the Commonalty, tho in a barren and indigent Country, an earthly Paradise: For the liberty of a Man's own Mind, especially about Matters wherein all his Welfare consists, is to such a one as acceptable as an Empire or Kingdom.

That this Interest agrees well with that of the Rulers.

I have likewise shewn, that such a Liberty and Prosperity of the Subject does very well consist in *Holland* with the present uncontrolled Power of the free Government, and with none other.

So that all good Patriots, and true Lovers of our Native Country, who peruse this Book, are earnestly intreated to consider deliberately whether the two most weighty Points before mentioned are not strongly and sufficiently demonstrated.

The Author's aim was not to prescribe any thing to the Rulers as a Pattern.

But whether, when, and how the particulars here treated of, may all at once or at several times be set about, or perused, was not my intention in the least to direct. For the Higher Powers, whom it only concerns in a Republick to conclude of these Matters, and all Politicians know * that such things as may be born with less inconvenience than removed or changed, ought to continue, and remain in being. And when such wise and good Patriots will make any alteration, they

* *Multa facere non oportet quæ facta tenent. Multa scire pauca exequi.*

* must

must go by degrees, and as far as they conveniently may; yet they must rather stand still, or remain as they are, than run their Heads against a Wall.

And indeed Reformation in Political Affairs depends on so many, and such various Circumstances, namely Customs, Times, Places, Rulers, Subjects, Allys, Neighbouring and Foreign Countrys, that such a Reformation is either proper, or improper to be undertaken, according as the several Circumstances are well weighed, such especially in a free Republick, which is govern'd and managed by prudent Assemblys of the States, venerable City Councils, and reputable Colleges; in which it would be a great Presumption and Self-conceit, yea indeed a Crime for a private Person to dare to conclude any thing, and in so doing to arrogate it to himself, or to put a Hand to that Work which properly and of right belongs only to the States of *Holland*, and those that are thereunto Authorized.

For that would be worthy of a severe punishment.

Especially in this Country, where are so many Sage and Prudent Rulers.

If any Man should object by way of Reply, That throughout the whole Book I use no doubtful Proposals, but positive Reasonings, and a conclusive cogent way of Argument: I answer, That all matters which not only consist in knowing something, but also and chiefly in desiring or opposing any thing, and which moreover thwarts the Prejudices and Interests of many Men, neither can, nor ought to be otherwise handled. For if an Angel from Heaven should propose to Mankind such matters doubtfully and faintly, he would have but little audience upon Earth, and

and gain no Credit by People that have imbibed such Prejudices beforehand. So that being desirous of having what I write of such matters to be read with consideration, and maturely weighed, and to make some impression on the Reader, I have been necessitated to use this manner of writing. And therefore I find my self likewise oblig'd at the end of this Book, when I presume all hath been read, and duly weighed, to declare thus much, and to give this Caution, that the same may be made use of for the good, and not for the hurt of our Native Country.

I shall add, That such a circumspect Censure of the Readers is the more requisite, because I shall have done much, if in proposing matters which relate to the Prosperity of *Holland* my Judgment hath in the general been rightly directed: For it would be incredible, and almost above humane Power, not to have err'd and mistaken in proposing and relating so many several Particular matters. But since notwithstanding my Aim hath been to set nothing before you but Truth, which might tend to the Benefit of my Native Country; I hope, I have not always strayed, and run into mistakes. God grant that in the Judgment of my several Readers, and especially those of the lawful Magistracy, and true Fathers of their Country, I may have come so near the mark in many things, that my Errors which in such a Case I renounce, may be so overlooked by them, as they may commend my laudable Zeal, and be excited to greater matters them-

themselves, or may imploy others that have more Ability and Leasure; that by such Countenance and Favour they may be encouraged to write something necessary for the Service of their Native Country, and that more Amply, Methodically and Solidly than I have done. If this be effected, I have my principal End and Design.

But in case any Reader be so ill minded, tho neither willing nor able to effect such a commendable Work himself, as to oppose and despise what I have here laid down; let him remember, that I desire nothing of him but to judg of mine and other Writings with consideration and circumspection; and that I shall be far from such foolish Ambition as to write an Answer which would neither be serviceable to my Country, the Reader, nor my self: For I intend to follow this perpetual Maxim during my short and transitory Life, To make no Man Master of my Time and Repose but my self, and particularly never to grant or yield so much to any ill designing Person, as for their sakes to fall into troublesom, contentious and unprofitable Scribling. For whether my Errors be truly discovered, or peevishly and falsely laid to my charge, the several Readers must be the Judges.

Farewel, and remember this saying, * It

* Boni Civis est liberum Reipublicæ statum tueri, nec eum mutatum velle.

The Conclusion. Part III.

is the Duty of a good Citizen, to preserve and defend the Common Freedom of his Native Country, as far as in him lies.

FINIS.