

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 25

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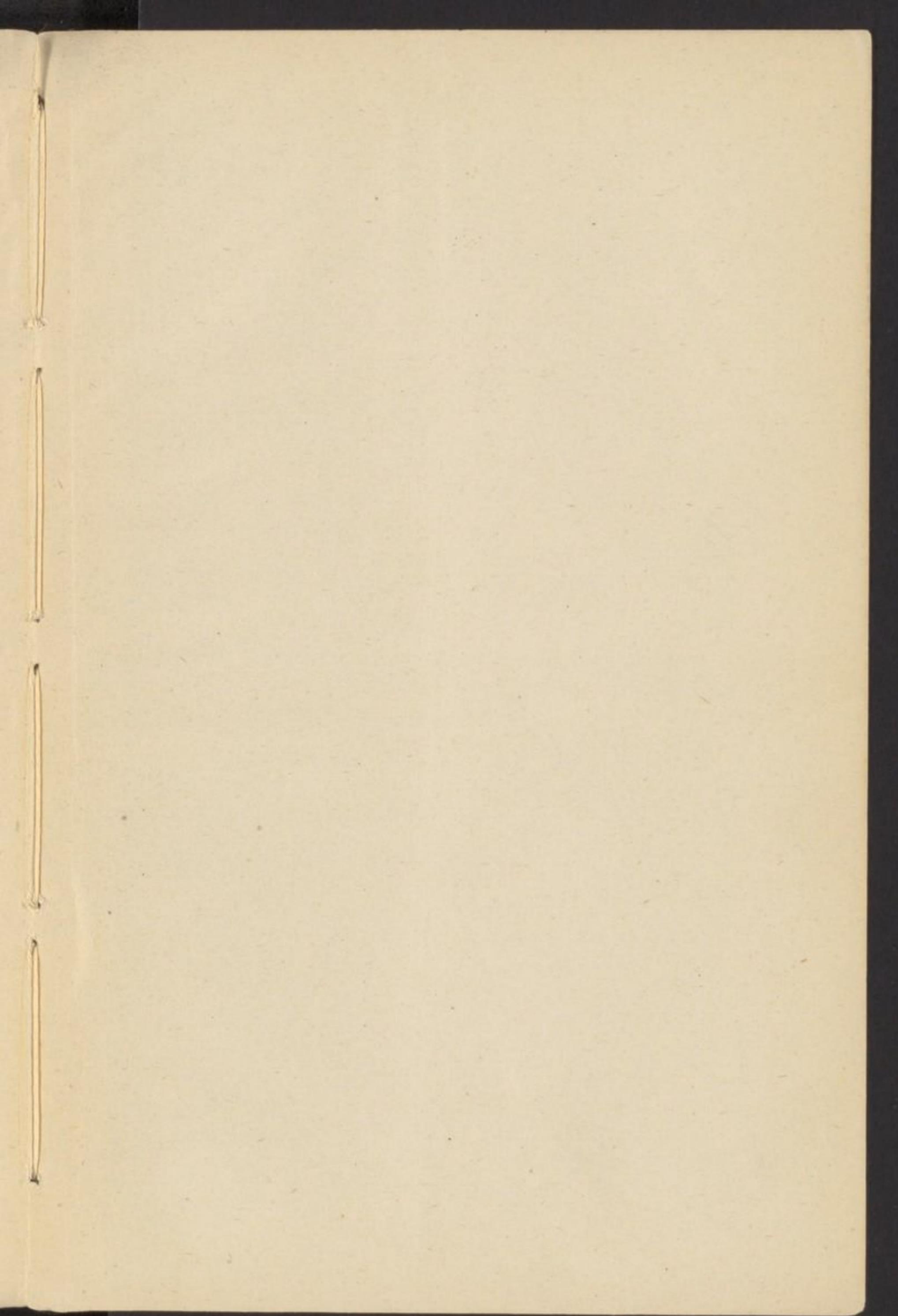
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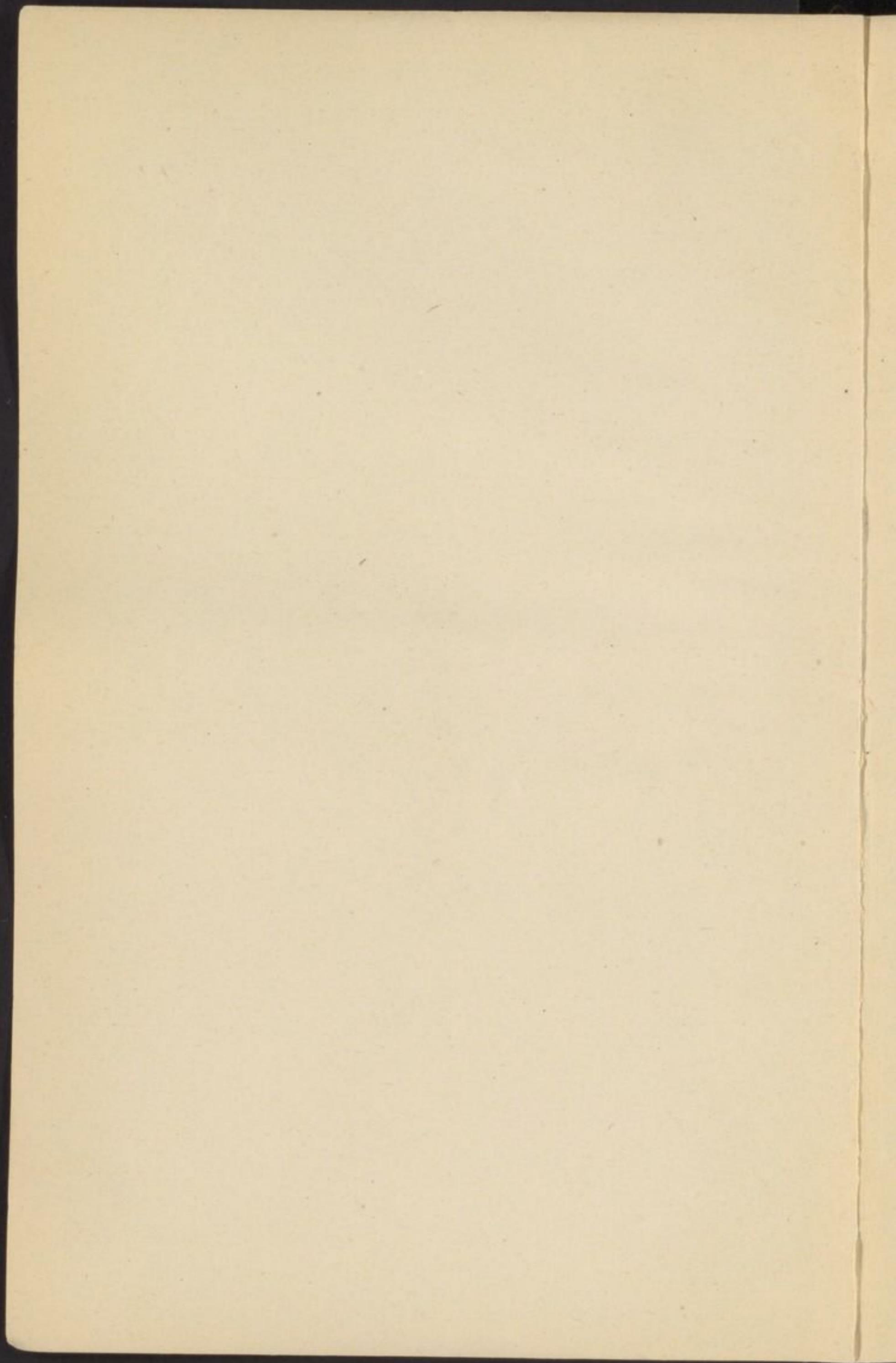


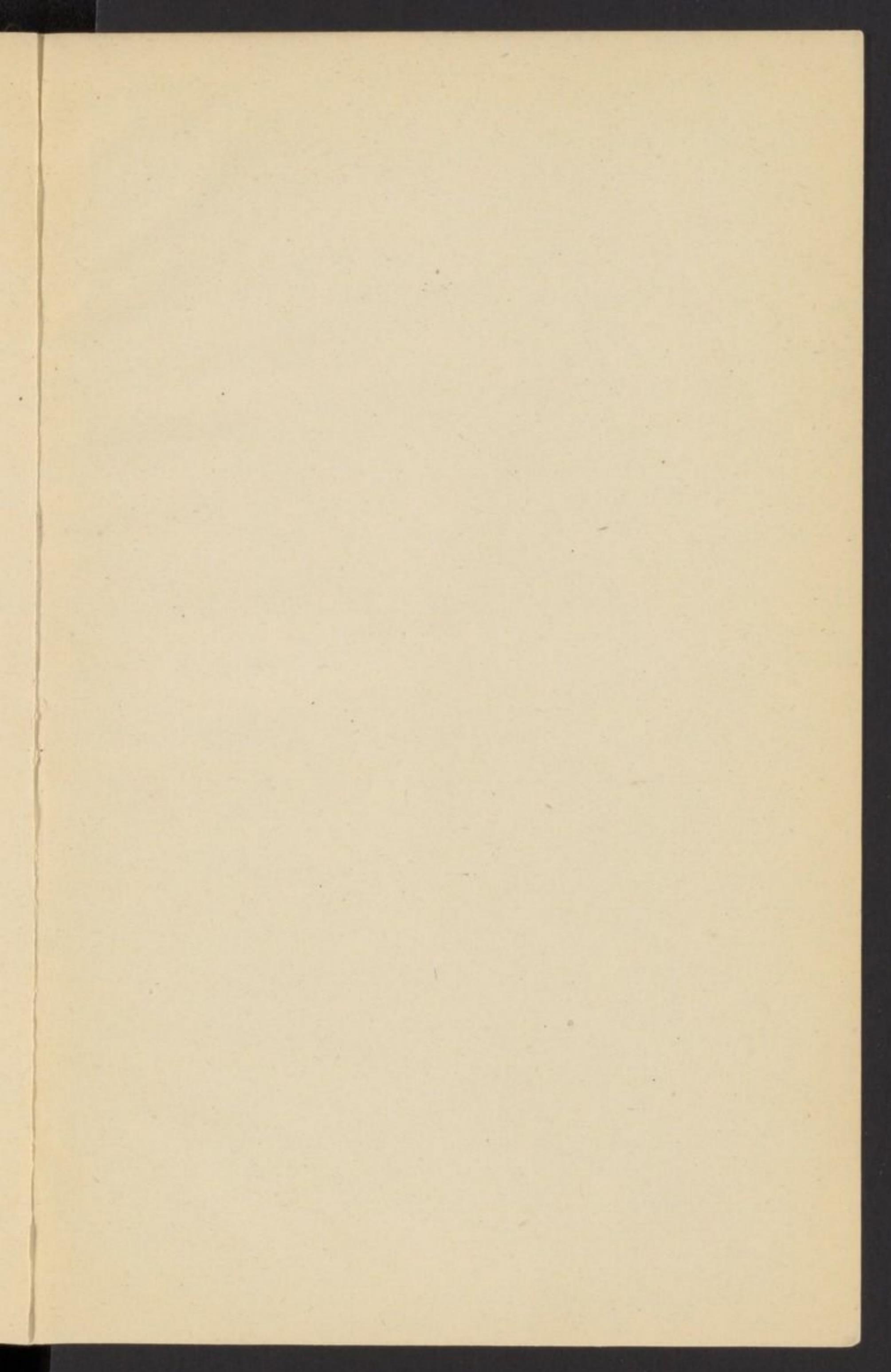


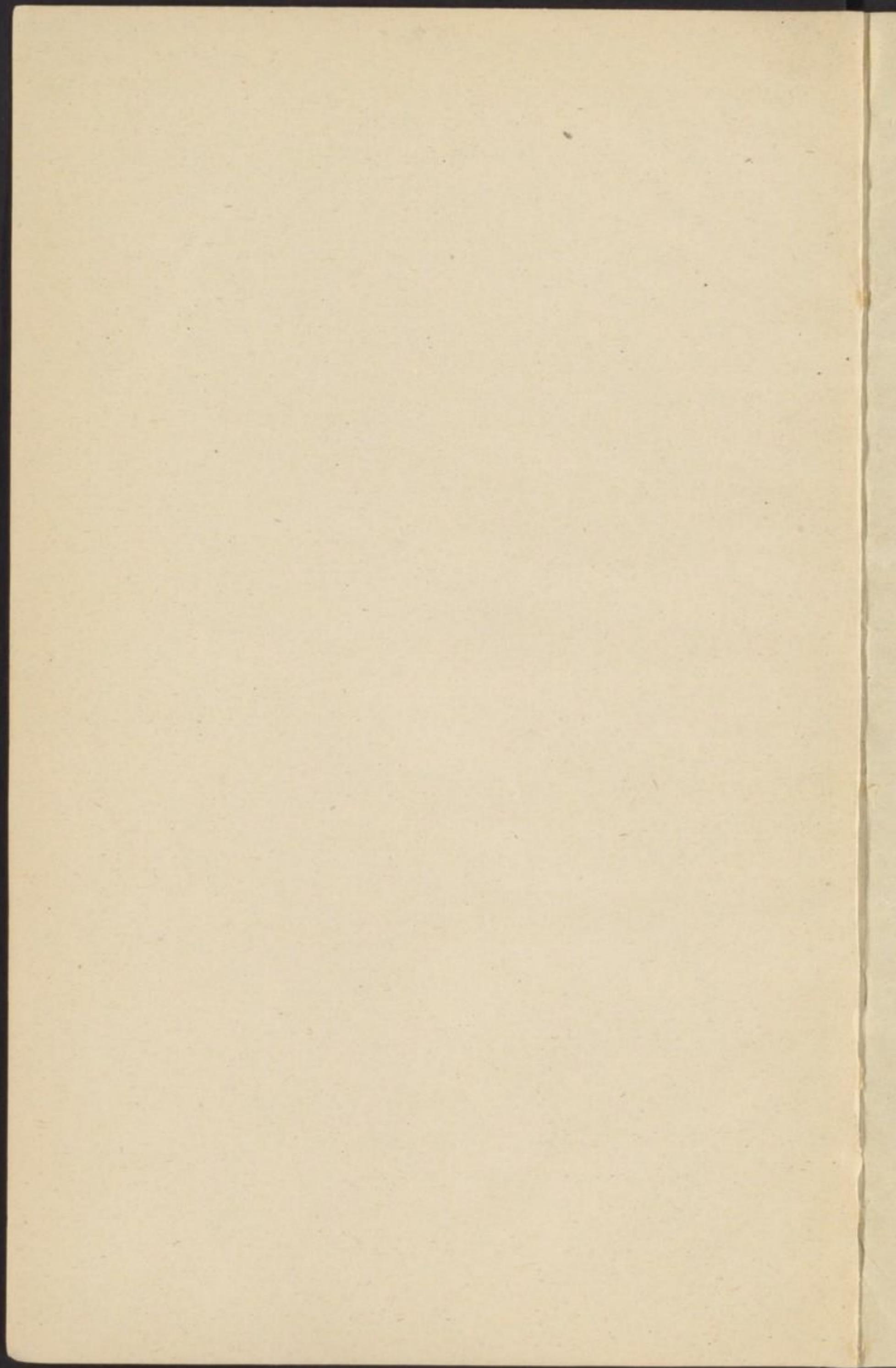
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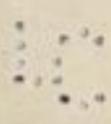
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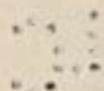
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### Editorial Note.

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IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly*

*Director of the Historical Section.*

*January 1920.*

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## HOLLAND

### I. POLITICAL HISTORY

#### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1555 Accession of Philip II.  
1559 William of Orange appointed Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht.  
1568 Revolt of the Netherlands begins.  
1572 The Sea Beggars capture Brill and Flushing.  
1573 Alva attempts to suppress the Rebellion. Orange adopts Calvinism.  
1574 Relief of Leyden.  
1576 The "Spanish Fury." Pacification of Ghent. Union of Brussels.  
1577 The Perpetual Edict. Orange enters Brussels.  
1578 Parma succeeds Don John of Austria as Governor-General.  
1579 League of Arras. Union of Utrecht.  
1581 Act of Abjuration by the Estates of Holland, Zeeland, Gelderland, Utrecht, Brabant, and Flanders.  
1582 Anjou in the Netherlands.  
1583 The "French Fury."  
1584 Deaths of Anjou and Orange.  
1585 Fall of Antwerp. English intervention. Leicester in the Netherlands. Maurice of Nassau appointed Stadholder and Captain and Admiral-General of Holland and Zeeland.  
1588 Maurice of Nassau becomes Stadholder of Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel.  
1589-1609 Dutch military and naval successes.  
1592 Death of Parma.  
1598 Death of Philip II.  
1599 **The Archdukes (Isabel and Albert) at Brussels.**  
1602 Foundation of East India Company.  
1609-1621 Twelve Years' Truce.  
1617 Religious troubles.  
1621 Renewal of War with Spain. Foundation of West India Company. Deaths of Albert and Philip III.  
1625 Death of Maurice: he is succeeded by Frederick Henry.  
1629 Capture of 'sHertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc).

- 1631 Acte de Survivance.
- 1633 Death of Archduchess Isabel.
- 1635 Alliance with France.
- 1637 Capture of Breda.
- 1639 Battle of the Downs.
- 1641 Marriage of William with the English Princess Royal.
- 1647 Death of Frederick Henry. William II succeeds.
- 1648 Treaty of Münster.
- 1650 Submission of the Estates of Holland to the Stadholder.  
Death of William II.
- 1651 English Navigation Act.
- 1652-1654 First Anglo-Dutch War.
- 1653 De Witt becomes Grand Pensionary.
- 1654 Conclusion of Peace with England. Act of Exclusion.
- 1661 Conclusion of Peace with Portugal.
- 1665 Second Anglo-Dutch War. Death of Philip IV of Spain.
- 1667 Peace of Breda.
- 1672 Murder of the De Witts. William III Stadholder and  
Captain-General.
- 1672 War with England and France.
- 1674 Peace with England. Treaty of Westminster.
- 1677 Marriage of William and Mary.
- 1678 Peace of Nymegen.
- 1688-1697 Nine Years' War.
- 1689 The English Revolution.
- 1697 Peace of Ryswyck.
- 1698 First Partition Treaty.
- 1700 Second Partition Treaty. Death of Charles II of Spain.
- 1702-1713 Spanish Succession War.
- 1702 Death of William III.
- 1709 First Barrier Treaty.
- 1711 Death of John William Friso.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1713 Second Barrier Treaty.
- 1714 Treaties of Rastatt and Baden.
- 1715 Third Barrier Treaty.
- 1717 Triple Alliance.
- 1734 William IV marries Anne, Princess Royal of England.
- 1744-1748 Austrian Succession War.
- 1744 William Stadholder of the Seven Provinces.
- 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1751 Death of William IV. Regency of Anne.
- 1759 Death of the Regent Anne.
- 1759-1766 Regency of Brunswick.
- 1766 William V comes of age.
- 1775-1783 War of American Independence.
- 1780 Holland joins the League of Armed Neutrality. England  
declares war on Holland.

- 1784-1787 The "Patriot" Agitation.  
 1787 Prussian intervention. Restoration of William V.  
 1794 Pichegru's invasion of Holland.  
 1795 Surrender of Amsterdam. Flight of William V. Founda-  
 tion of Batavian Republic.  
 1795-1813 Period of French domination.  
 1802 Peace of Amiens.  
 1806 Louis Bonaparte made King. Death of William V.  
 1806-1810 Kingdom of Holland.  
 1810-1813 Period of incorporation with France.  
 1813 William, Prince of Orange (son of William V), acclaimed  
 Sovereign-Prince of the Netherlands.  
 1814 Preliminary Treaty of Paris. The Eight Articles. Union  
 of Holland and Belgium.  
 1815 Prince of Orange assumes title of King. Establishment of  
 Kingdom of the Netherlands.  
 1830 Revolt of Belgium. Conference of London.  
 1831 The Eighteen Articles. The Ten Days' Campaign. The  
 Twenty-four Articles.  
 1833 Convention of London.  
 1838 William I accepts the Twenty-four Articles.  
 1839 Treaty of separation between Holland and Belgium.  
 1840 William I abdicates. Succession of William II.  
 1842 Supplementary Treaty between Holland and Belgium.  
 1848 New Dutch Constitution.  
 1849 Death of William II. His son, William III, becomes King.  
 1879 Second marriage of the King with Emma, Princess of  
 Waldeck-Pyrmont.  
 1880 Birth of Princess Wilhelmina.  
 1884 Extinction of male line of the House of Orange-Nassau.  
 1890 Death of William III.  
 1890-1898 Regency of Queen Emma.  
 1898 Majority of Queen Wilhelmina.  
 1901 Queen Wilhelmina marries Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-  
 Schwerin.  
 1909 Birth of Princess Juliana.

## I. THE UNITED PROVINCES, 1579-1648

### (i) *The Revolt of the Netherlands*

The foundations of the Republic of the United Provinces, as a separate polity, were laid in the course of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> The earlier history of the Burgundian Netherlands has been given in *Belgium* (No. 26 of this Series), and is therefore not repeated here.

revolt of the Netherlands in the previous decade against the tyranny of Philip II of Spain had been partly political, partly religious. In the southern provinces political grievances had the chief share in stirring up all classes of the people to resistance in defence of their chartered rights and liberties. In the provinces lying to the north of the mouths and lower courses of the Rhine and the Meuse it was religious persecution which had aroused the fiercest resentment against the bigoted intolerance of a foreign Sovereign. The doctrines of the Reformation had, indeed, before the accession of Philip II in 1555, spread far and wide over the whole of the Netherlands, but they had struck far deeper roots in the north than in the south, especially in the three maritime provinces. The seafaring population of Holland, of the islands of Zeeland, and of Friesland, had embraced Calvinism of the sternest type; and in North Holland and Friesland there were many Anabaptists. The opposition to the efforts of Philip to govern the Netherlands despotically on Spanish lines was in the first instance national and patriotic; and its leaders were the foremost members of the Belgian aristocracy, almost all of them good Catholics. During the reign of terror under Alva, Egmont and Hoorn died upon the scaffold; William, Prince of Orange, saved himself by flight from sharing their fate; and the (so-called) Blood Council set up by Alva pursued for a time without hindrance its appointed task of extirpating heresy by fire and sword.

(ii) *William, Prince of Orange, in Holland*

It was at this moment of despair, and in the face of overwhelming odds, that William of Orange resolved to dedicate his life and fortunes to the task of freeing his adopted country from the hateful fate that threatened it. All his early efforts ended in absolute failure. The first gleam of success came from the sea. William had in 1570, in his capacity as Sovereign of the little Provençal principality of Orange, issued letters of marque to a number of vessels, which, under

the name of the Sea Beggars (*Gueux de Mer*), were in reality corsairs. Their raids were very destructive to Spanish commerce, and, in the lack of harbours of their own, at first they made use of English ports by the connivance of Queen Elizabeth. Owing to the strong representations of the Spanish Ambassador, Elizabeth at length refused the Sea Beggars admission to English waters. This prohibition led to their making themselves masters of Brill (April 1, 1572) and Flushing. The news that the rebel flag was floating over Brill and Flushing spread like wildfire through Holland and Zeeland, and the principal towns declared their readiness to submit to the authority and leadership of the Prince of Orange. Such was the beginning of the Dutch Republic.

Philip, on leaving the Netherlands in 1559, had appointed Orange to the important post of Stadholder or Governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. Orange now determined to throw in his lot with the revolted provinces, and took up his residence permanently at Delft in the early summer of 1572. As Stadholder he summoned in Philip's name the States of Holland to meet at Dordrecht on July 15. At this important meeting the States, by a unanimous vote, recognised William as their lawful Stadholder; and, having set on foot the machinery of a regular Government, clothed him with almost dictatorial authority. Thus the second step was taken in the creation of the future republic.

It was a bold act of overt rebellion, and Alva was determined, with the powerful forces at his command, to crush it. After various alternations of fortune, the siege and apparently inevitable fall of Leyden seemed to threaten the success of the rebellion. The famous relief of that city on October 1, 1574, turned the tide. Holland was saved; and William at Delft found himself master of a tiny corner of half-submerged land, protected on all sides by the sea, the estuaries of the Rhine and Meuse, and the inundations. Its safety depended upon the maintenance of supremacy at sea, and, fortunately for the Hollanders, this never failed them.

Lacking resources to carry on the struggle, William, in the autumn of 1575, with the approval of the States of Holland, made an offer of the Sovereignty over Holland and Zeeland to Queen Elizabeth of England. The offer was declined, but secret assistance was promised. William now took another decisive step. The Estates of Holland and Zeeland were summoned to meet in April 1576 at Delft, with a view to effecting a closer union between them. An Act of Federation, the germ of the Dutch Republic, was drawn up and agreed upon. By this Act the Prince was acknowledged as Sovereign and Supreme Head (*souverein en overhooft*), that is, *de facto* ruler; and dictatorial powers were conferred upon him.

With his position thus strengthened, Orange now issued a stirring appeal to the patriots in the other provinces to take their stand by the side of the Hollanders and Zeelanders. A Congress accordingly assembled at Ghent, consisting of nine members representing the Prince and the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, and nine representing the States-General of the other fifteen provinces, to consider the possibilities of a union based on the principles of exclusion of foreigners, and of religious toleration. The discussion ended in a treaty, known as "The Pacification of Ghent," which bound all the provinces to unite in driving the Spaniards out of the country. The Pacification of Ghent was really a compact between Holland and Zeeland and the other provinces; a little later it received popular confirmation by means of another agreement, "The Union of Brussels," which obtained general support, especially in the southern provinces.

On the arrival of Don John of Austria (November 4), the States-General refused to acknowledge him as Governor-General unless he accepted the Pacification of Ghent. After much negotiation he consented, and signed on February 12, 1577, a treaty called "The Perpetual Edict," by which the authority of the Prince of Orange in Holland and Zeeland was confirmed in the name of the King. For a short time there

appeared to be a real prospect of union between North and South.

(iii) *Union of Utrecht and Act of Abjuration*

But meanwhile Philip had been preparing to take his revenge. Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, was sent to join Don John of Austria at the head of a strong body of veteran troops. On January 31, 1578, he utterly routed the States Army at Gembloux. This victory and the confusion of contending parties which followed gradually drew back to their allegiance numbers of "malcontent" Catholics. Don John died on October 1, and was succeeded by Parma as Governor-General. In him Orange found a rival whose military talents were far superior to his own, and who was fully his equal as a statesman and diplomatist. The skill of Parma in the arts of conciliation and address was quickly visible in the rapid growth in the number of "malcontents," and in the League of Arras for the defence of the Catholic religion, signed (January 5, 1579) by the representatives of Hainaut, Artois, Lille, Tournay, and Douay. The Protestants of the North at once took up the challenge, and the League of Arras was answered by the Union of Utrecht (January 29, 1579). The representatives of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, and the district of Groningen, under the leadership and by the efforts of John of Nassau, Governor of Gelderland (brother of the Prince of Orange), in their turn signed a solemn compact of federal union. The modern kingdoms of Holland and Belgium can trace their origins, the first directly to the Protestant Union, the second indirectly to the Catholic League of January 1579.

The Union was not Orange's work, nor did he sign it until some months later (May 3). He was hoping against hope for the formation of a larger confederacy on the lines of the Pacification of Ghent, to which the important provinces of Brabant and Flanders still adhered. It was, however, only on Holland and

Zeeland that he could entirely rely. Under the spell of Parma's influence secession followed secession. To stem the tide without foreign aid seemed impossible; and such aid was secured by the offer of the Sovereignty of the Netherlands to the Duke of Anjou, who accepted it. William now persuaded the Estates of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Brabant, and Flanders to send representatives to The Hague, and there (July 26, 1581) prevailed on them to take the momentous step of signing an Act of Abjuration, renouncing their allegiance to the King of Spain on the grounds of his misrule and tyranny. Anjou had undertaken (January 23, 1582), in accepting the Sovereignty, not to interfere with the chartered liberties of the several provinces, and in particular that Holland and Zeeland "should have the privilege of remaining as they were in the matter of religion and otherwise." But these two provinces would have nothing to do with a Sovereign who was a Catholic, and they insisted on William himself becoming their Sovereign with the ancient title of Count. After much demur he consented. On February 19 Anjou was publicly inaugurated at Antwerp as Duke of Brabant, and later in the year as Count of Flanders, Duke of Gelderland, and Lord of Friesland. He, however, chafed against his dependence upon Orange and the restrictions that were placed on his authority, and finally attempted by a treacherous *coup de main*, generally styled the "French Fury," to make himself master of Antwerp. Orange had meanwhile resumed his residence at Delft in the midst of his faithful Hollanders. Here the news reached him of the death of Anjou on June 10, 1584, and a month later, on July 10, he was himself assassinated.

These two deaths left the revolted provinces without a Government or a leader. They had abjured Philip II; Anjou was no more; the acceptance by William of the Countship of Holland and Zeeland had never been carried legally into effect. Nevertheless, the Estates of Holland, which were at the time assembled at Delft,

though stunned by the tragic end of their beloved chief, boldly faced the situation. Philip had ruled in the Netherlands as Sovereign, under various titles, of each of the seventeen provinces. By the Act of Abjuration the Sovereignty of which he was dispossessed reverted to the seven signatory provinces. Each of these was independent, but its sovereign rights were limited by the Pact of Utrecht, by which the United Provinces had bound themselves to act together, "as if they were one province, with life, blood, and goods," in defence of their rights and liberties. The Joint Sovereignty, therefore, was vested in the States-General. But, as the States-General was composed of delegates from the provinces, who had no powers except those derived from their principals, it will be seen that any one province had the power of paralysing the action of the rest.

#### (iv) *Leicester in the Netherlands*

The rapid progress of the Spanish arms under the skilled leadership of Parma speedily forced the States-General to seek for safety in a foreign protectorate. They therefore offered the Sovereignty of the United Provinces to Elizabeth of England. Elizabeth once more declined the offer, but the fall of Antwerp (August 9, 1585) decided her to intervene. She agreed to send to Holland a force of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, under the command of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. The towns of Flushing and Brill and the fort of Rammekens, henceforth called "the cautionary towns," were handed over to her as pledges for the repayment of her expenses. Leicester landed at Flushing on December 19, 1585.

On the death of William the executive power had been vested by the States-General in a Council of State, which contained representatives of all the provinces. Count Maurice of Nassau, the seventeen-year-old son of the murdered prince, was made presiding Councillor. A little later his cousin, William Louis, son of Count John of Nassau, was elected Stadholder

of Friesland. In November 1585 Maurice, in spite of his youth, was appointed Stadholder and Captain and Admiral-General of Holland and Zeeland. These two provinces, ever suspicious of the foreigner, conferred these influential posts upon Maurice in order that he, acting in consultation with his cousin the Friesland Stadholder, might be a counterpoise to any arbitrary exercise of authority on the part of the English Governor. By the terms of the treaty with England the right was reserved to the States-General and to the provincial Estates to assemble on their own initiative, and the existing Stadholders were to be irremovable. But Leicester had the supreme command both of the land and sea forces, and two Englishmen were given seats on the Council of State. Unfortunately Leicester aroused the bitter opposition of Holland by a succession of arbitrary acts. The Estates of that province, under the skilful leadership of John van Oldenbarneveldt, defended with resolute energy their rights and liberties; and Leicester, finding himself thwarted and rebuffed, abandoned the struggle in disgust, and returned to England (August 1587).

After his departure it seemed as if the United Provinces, split up by the Leicestrian policy into contending factions, with no allies, with a weak army, and lacking a leader, must fall an easy prey to Parma, whose veteran troops had been advancing from success to success. But the Spanish King's attention was now wholly concentrated upon his preparations for the sailing of the Invincible Armada; and Parma, in accordance with his Sovereign's orders, kept his army for many months in readiness for an invasion of England, which was destined never to take place.

(v) *Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice of Nassau*

This respite from attack was the salvation of the Dutch Republic. The year 1588 saw the civil and military affairs of the State pass into the hands of two men, each of them of the first rank in their respective spheres of action, John van Oldenbarneveldt and

Maurice of Nassau. Oldenbarneveldt had been appointed Advocate of Holland in 1586, and he was to fill the position for thirty-two years. As head of the provincial delegation he was the spokesman and leading representative of Holland in the States-General. The influence of a statesman of great ability and industry in such a post was enormous. Oldenbarneveldt was such a man; and in every branch of administration—in finance, and above all in the domain of diplomacy—his was the controlling voice and brain. Maurice of Nassau, on the other hand, was a born soldier, and, after the death of Parma in 1592, the first general of his time, but he had no interest in politics, and was content to leave them entirely to the Advocate, who had been his father's trusted friend and counsellor. These two men, therefore, for a long period worked together in perfect harmony, the one in the Cabinet, the other in the field. From 1588 onwards Maurice held all the Stadholderates excepting that of Friesland, where William Louis of Nassau was Stadholder.

The twenty years 1589 to 1609 were years of steady success on land and sea and of extraordinary commercial and maritime enterprise and prosperity. Maurice, by the capture of town after town, gradually expelled the Spaniards from the territory of the States and secured its frontiers from invasion. The Dutch fleets became masters of the sea; Dutch merchant vessels the carriers of the world. The second year of the seventeenth century witnessed the creation of the Chartered East India Company, whose successful operations were destined to expel the Portuguese and Spaniards from the Indian archipelago and to establish an eastern colonial empire which for a century and a half completely overshadowed the more feeble beginnings of its English rival.

While the Hollanders were thus prospering, the long struggle had exhausted the resources of Spain. Despairing at the failure of his efforts, Philip II on his death-bed had conferred the Sovereignty of the Netherland provinces, with certain reservations, on his

daughter Isabel on her marriage with her cousin the Archduke Albert. "The Archdukes," as they were officially styled, took up their residence at Brussels in 1599, and were welcomed in the southern or Belgic provinces; but the United Provinces of the North valued their freedom and independence far too highly to subject themselves afresh to rulers who were, in fact, subordinate to the Crown of Spain. So the war went on with ever-increasing exhaustion of the Archdukes' finances. Tentative proposals for peace were peremptorily declined by the States-General unless the United Provinces were treated as a free and independent State. At length the required concessions were granted, and in October 1607 negotiations were seriously begun. After long discussion a truce for twelve years was agreed upon (April 9, 1609). The treaty recognised the *status quo* as regards territorial possessions, and it was concluded with the United Provinces "in the quality of States over which the Archdukes make no pretension."

(vi) *The Twelve Years' Truce*

This treaty, unsatisfactory in itself, as it left many questions to be reopened at the end of the truce, was, despite the important temporary concessions wrung from the Spanish King, clearly disadvantageous to the Republic, as it gave an exhausted enemy twelve years in which to recruit his strength. It was also the cause of a serious and regrettable division of opinion in the Provinces. The treaty obtained the assent of the States-General by the personal influence of Oldenbarneveldt, supported by a majority of the members of the town corporations (*vroedschappen*), in the face of the strong opposition of the two Stadholders, Maurice and William Louis, of the army, and of the preachers. Rumours, wholly unfounded, were spread about that the Advocate had been bought with Spanish gold; and from this time forth the friendly relations and harmonious co-operation between Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice ceased.

The truce brought material prosperity to the States, but it did not bring internal peace. The primary cause of the civil strife which rent the provinces was theological, and it assumed formidable proportions because there was no such thing as a Dutch nation. Into the details of this conflict it would be out of place to enter here. It must suffice to say that the religious dispute between the Arminians and the Gomarists eventually merged in the wider issue of provincial against federal sovereignty, and that Maurice, acting for the States-General, was brought into violent opposition to Oldenbarneveldt, who championed the right of Holland to settle her own religious affairs. The quarrel ended with the triumphant assertion of the federal authority; the arrest, trial, and execution of Oldenbarneveldt; and the condemnation by the Synod of Dort of the doctrines of Arminius (May 1619).

After the death of the Advocate, Maurice was supreme in the State, but he was content to leave the details of administration in the hands of others, more especially in those of Francis van Aerssens, who was his chosen counsellor. When war with Spain again broke out at the end of the twelve years' truce in 1621, the Prince once more took the field, but died four years later (April 23, 1625). His younger brother, Frederick Henry, succeeded to his titles, dignities, and offices.

(vii) *Renewal of War. Frederick Henry's Stadholderate*

Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, proved himself to be in military skill fully the equal of Maurice, and far superior to him as statesman and diplomatist. Frank, genial, and tolerant, his accession to power did much to allay party and sectarian bitterness. The confidence he inspired was conspicuously shown by the passing on April 19, 1631, by the States-General of the *Acte de Survivance*, which made the offices of Captain and Admiral-General of the Union hereditary in his family, while the Estates of Holland, Zeeland, and

Gelderland declared that the Stadtholdership in those provinces should also be hereditary.

The services of Frederick Henry to his country as general and statesman were of peculiar importance. His aim was to give to the Republic, open as it was on south and east to military attack, a more secure frontier. His capture of 'sHertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) in 1629 and of Breda in 1637 gave to the States the possession of North Brabant, as a *glacis* to cover the "water-line" of the lower Rhine (Waal) and Lower Meuse. In 1632 he took Maastricht, Venlo, and Roermond, thus obtaining control of the middle Meuse and creating a bulwark on the eastern frontier. The death of Gustavus Adolphus and the defeat of Nördlingen led to the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance with France in 1635. A last attempt by the Spaniards to wrest from the Dutch the dominion of the seas was crushed in the battle of the Downs (October 21, 1639). The fact that this action had taken place in English waters led to angry recriminations on the part of the English Government; but Charles I, having quarrelled with his Parliament, had no resources for taking decisive action. On the contrary, contenting himself with a protest, he thought it more prudent in the midst of his domestic troubles to unite the interests of his family with those of the House of Orange by the marriage of Mary, the Princess Royal (aged eight) with William (aged fourteen), the heir of Frederick Henry. The children were married on May 12, 1641.

The Stadholder completed his task of creating a defensive frontier for the Republic by the capture of Sas-van-Ghent in 1644 and of Hulst in 1645, thus securing a strip of Flanders on the left bank of the Scheldt, which, with Sluis already in their possession, gave to the States the complete control of the Scheldt estuary and shut out Antwerp from access to the sea. Frederick Henry died on March 14, 1647, but some years before this the dread of French aggrandisement had led him (despite a treaty of alliance which bound each of the parties not to make a separate peace) to

enter into secret negotiations with Madrid. In this course he had the strong support of public opinion in Holland. The treaty was finally signed at Münster on January 30, 1648.

(viii) *Treaty of Münster*

The treaty of Münster brought the Eighty Years' War of Dutch Independence to a successful issue, and has served as the basis of all later negotiations. Its chief terms were as follows:—The United Provinces were recognised as a free, independent, and Sovereign State. The conquests in North Brabant, Maastricht and adjoining lands, and in Flanders, henceforth known as "Generality Lands," were conceded to the Dutch. Freedom to trade within the limits of their charters was granted to the East and West India Companies, which were confirmed in the possession of the territories taken from the Portuguese in Brazil and of all their other settlements and trading posts in Asia, Africa, or America. No conditions were made in regard to the Catholic population of the Generality Lands. The States-General obtained the right to close the Scheldt.<sup>1</sup> To the House of Orange most advantageous terms were offered, and all their confiscated property was restored. The shadowy feudal relations with the Empire and the Germanic Diet were finally abolished. This followed from the ratification by the Emperor Ferdinand III of a treaty which declared the United Provinces to be "a free, independent, and Sovereign State."

II. THE UNITED PROVINCES FROM THE TREATY OF MUENSTER TO THE TREATY OF UTRECHT, 1648-1713

(i) *Stadholderate of William II*

William II, at the age of twenty-two, succeeded his father in all his dignities and offices. Able, ambitious,

<sup>1</sup> The question of the Scheldt is dealt with in a separate Paper, No. 28 of this Series.

and daring, he was opposed to the peace with Spain, and was no sooner in possession of power than he began to enter into secret relations with the French Government with a view to a renewal of the war. He was, however, confronted with the stubborn opposition of the Estates of Holland, where the aristocratic burgher-regent party was in the ascendant. The Hollanders were determined to carry out the disbanding of the military forces in their pay and the reduction of the navy in a drastic manner. The States-General, by the votes of six provinces to one, rejected the proposals of Holland, and the Prince of Orange was compelled (in 1650) to suppress the Hollanders by force. But his sudden death (November 6) brought about a complete change in the political situation. As he left only an infant son,<sup>1</sup> born a week after his decease, the anti-Orange or States Party at once lifted up its head again.

(ii) *The Great Assembly. John de Witt, Grand Pensionary*

On the proposal of Holland, the States-General called together an extraordinary assembly to consider questions concerning the Union, religion, and military defence. The Great Assembly, as it was called, met on January 18, 1651, and agreed upon a policy of decentralisation. Holland, Zeeland, Overijssel, Utrecht, and Gelderland resolved henceforth not to elect a Stadholder; Friesland, however, remained true to its Stadholder, William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz,<sup>2</sup> who was also elected Stadholder of Groningen with Drenthe. This meant that the United Provinces practically ceased to be a Federal State, and became a loose confederacy of seven semi-independent provinces. This

<sup>1</sup> William III, Prince of Orange, and from 1688 to 1702 King of England.

<sup>2</sup> Grandson of William Louis, Stadholder of Friesland, and brother-in-law of William II, Prince of Orange. He was the ancestor of the present Dutch Royal Family.

state of things was accentuated by the abolition of the offices of Captain and Admiral-General of the Union, and by all troops being required to take the oath of fidelity to the province which was their paymaster, as well as to the States-General. What the Great Assembly really effected, however, was to place the predominant province of Holland in a position of hegemony in the republic. The decisive voice in the States-General was that of the oligarchic Estates of Holland, whose spokesman was the Grand Pensionary.<sup>1</sup> This official, nominally the paid servant of the Estates, became, when he was an able man, by his influence and the multiplicity of his duties, really the First Minister of the Republic. It was fortunate for the United Provinces, at a most critical period in their history, that John de Witt, at the age of twenty-eight, was in 1653 elected Grand Pensionary of Holland.

### (iii) *First Anglo-Dutch War*

De Witt's election took place during the first Anglo-Dutch War. The English had many ancient grievances against the Dutch concerning fishery rights and other matters. Further, the execution of King Charles had aroused an intense popular feeling of hostility in Holland against the English Parliament. Cromwell, however, endeavoured to form, in the interests of Protestantism, a close alliance between the two republics, and in March 1651 sent an embassy to The Hague with this object. The mission was received with scarcely disguised hostility. Annoyed at this rebuff, the Parliament passed (October 1651) the famous Navigation Act, which forbade all foreign vessels to import into English harbours any goods not produced by the soil or native industries of their country. By this Act a

<sup>1</sup> The office of Advocate of Holland, a life appointment with judicial functions, was abolished on the death of Oldenbarneveldt. His successors were styled Council Pensionaries (*Raad Pensionaris*), or by English and French writers Grand Pensionaries. The Council Pensionary was elected for five years only, but could be re-elected.

fatal blow was struck at the Dutch carrying trade to the advantage of English seaborne commerce. The first Anglo-Dutch war ensued.

Both sides fought with great courage and obstinacy, but the war found the Dutch navy in a thoroughly neglected condition, and the superior size and equipment of the English ships gave them, after a long struggle with many vicissitudes of fortune, the final victory. When De Witt in March 1653 became Grand Pensionary, the situation in the United Provinces had become desperate. The war, however, dragged on until the spring of 1654. Cromwell, who had by this time become Lord Protector, was a strong advocate of peace, but the terms he proposed were severe. The Dutch were to pay an annual subsidy for the privilege of fishing on the British coasts, to maintain a limited number of ships, to strike the flag, and to permit the right of search in the narrow seas. A demand still more unpalatable was the exclusion of the Prince of Orange or any of his race from those civil and military offices in the Republic which his ancestors had held. This last demand was subsequently dropped on condition that the Grand Pensionary would obtain from the Estates of Holland a guarantee for the exclusion of the House of Orange from the Stadholdership and the post of Captain-General. The Treaty of Peace, thus modified, was signed on April 22, 1654. This achieved, the consent of the Estates of Holland to the Exclusion Act was subsequently obtained.

(iv) *De Witt's masterly policy*

In the years that followed the peace De Witt's great abilities and industry gradually placed in his hands an immense and ever-growing influence in the conduct of public affairs. He reorganised the finances and placed them in a sound condition. He fostered commerce to the utmost of his power. Nor was his energy less conspicuously displayed by the way in which, through the active intervention of the Dutch fleet, he countered the ambitious efforts of Charles Gustavus of

Sweden in 1656, 1658, and 1660 to conquer Poland and Denmark and make himself master of the Baltic.

The restoration of Charles II to the English throne in the same year (1660) was an event of great importance in the history of the United Provinces. One of his first steps was to commend his nephew, the Prince of Orange, now in his tenth year, to the care of the Estates of Holland. This had the desired effect. The Act of Exclusion was rescinded; and, though De Witt resolutely refused to allow the young Prince to be nominated Captain-General of the Union or to any other office, the Estates of Holland by his advice unani- mously adopted William as their ward, to be educated at the public expense.

The following year (1661) was marked by the conclusion of peace between the Republic and Portugal. The Portuguese colonies in the possession of the Dutch had been ceded to the latter by the Spanish King in the Treaty of Münster. By the treaty of 1661 the States-General abandoned all claims in Brazil to Portugal, which had now gained its independence from Spain, on condition that they received an indemnity of 8,000,000 florins and retained all their important conquests in the East Indies. The affairs of the United Provinces were now in a highly prosperous condition, but this state of things only revived and accentuated the rivalry between the maritime and commercial interests of Holland and those of England. Charles, in complete accord with his Parliament, refused in any way to modify the Navigation Act or to abate the English claim to the sovereignty of the narrow seas. There was constant friction, accompanied by sporadic acts of hostility. War became inevitable, and the final rupture took place in March 1665. The Dutch navy was in a far better state of preparation than it had been in 1652, and the sea-battles were desperately contested.

(v) *Second Anglo-Dutch War. Peace of Breda*

Early in 1667 the strain of the war led both England and the States to open negotiations for peace, but it

was not until after the successful raid on the Medway that the treaty which ended the war was signed (July 31) at Breda. Its terms were distinctly favourable to the States. The Navigation Act was not repealed, but it was modified. The principle of *uti possidetis* was adopted with regard to the East and West Indies. In this manner the English retained possession of New Netherland (now New York State), the Dutch of Surinam and Tobago.

De Witt's conduct of the war greatly added to his reputation and influence. More than ever after the conclusion of peace was he resolved to maintain that supremacy of Holland in a Stadholderless Republic on which his own position depended. No sooner was the treaty signed than, at his initiative, the Estates of Holland (August 5) decreed by a unanimous vote (1) that in Holland itself the office of Stadholder was for ever abolished; (2) that no Stadholder of a province could be Captain or Admiral-General of the Union. This was known as the Eternal Edict. The irony of the situation lay in the fact that the Prince of Orange had been in the previous year adopted by the Estates as a "Child of State" and his education and training in public affairs entrusted to a commission, of which John de Witt himself was the head.

(vi) *The Triple Alliance. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*

The war with England was no sooner over than difficulties arose with France. On the death, in 1665, of Philip IV of Spain, Louis XIV claimed the Belgic Netherlands as the inheritance of his wife, and at the head of an imposing army proceeded (May 1667) to take possession of it (the Devolution War). The Spanish Governor was too weak to resist, and the States-General were thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of having no buffer State between the United Provinces and the military power of France. Direct negotiations proving fruitless, De Witt saw no alternative but a defensive alliance with England. A treaty

between the two Powers was therefore signed on January 23, 1668, to which Sweden became a party. Three days later, confronted by this Triple Alliance, the French King withdrew his extreme pretensions and made peace at Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2, 1668), contenting himself with the possession of the frontier towns he had already occupied. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, following on the peace of Breda, was the culminating point of De Witt's career, and raised the Dutch Republic into the position of a Great Power.

In July 1668 his third period of five years' office came to an end, and he was reappointed with a doubled salary. He was well aware, however, of the increasing growth of Orangist feeling throughout the provinces, even in Holland and Amsterdam. The Prince, silent and reserved, was an enigma to the Grand Pensionary. In 1670 William, now in his twentieth year, became a member of the Council of State; but De Witt in the same year had by great exertions secured the assent of all the provinces to what was called the Concept of Harmony, a modification of the Eternal Edict, which declared that the post of Captain-General of the Union could not be held by the Stadholder of a province.

Louis XIV was aware that the Triple Alliance could not endure. There were many grievances in the East Indies and in Surinam which the Breda Treaty had not settled, and which were embittering the relations between the Dutch and English nations. Taking advantage of this state of things, King Charles concluded with the French King a secret treaty, signed at Dover on December 31, 1671, by which he bound himself to join in an attack upon a people with whom his Government was allied.

(vii) *War with France and England. Murder of the brothers De Witt*

Suddenly, in April 1672, both France and England, and at the same time the ecclesiastical States

of Münster and Cologne, declared war against the States. The Dutch navy was in an efficient state, and under the leadership of Michael De Ruyter was able to hold its own even against the combined fleets of England and France; but on land it was very different. Economy had starved the army, and it was utterly unable to resist the invasion of its frontiers from the south and east by a French force of 120,000 men under Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, aided by German auxiliaries from Münster and Cologne. Within a month the greater part of the country was overrun; only by the opening of the dykes and the flooding of the land were the invaders prevented from penetrating into Holland itself.

In this emergency (June 1672) the Grand Pensionary sent a special envoy (Pieter De Groot) to supplicate for peace, offering the cession of Maastricht, the Generality Lands, and the payment of the cost of the war. The offer was rejected by Louis. All eyes were now turned to the Prince of Orange; and on July 2 he was appointed Stadholder of Zeeland, on July 4 Stadholder of Holland, on July 8 Captain and Admiral-General of the Union. Amidst the enthusiasm aroused by the Orange restoration, popular resentment against John de Witt and the States party, as primarily responsible for the catastrophe gave rise to acts of deplorable violence, culminating in the murder of John and his brother Cornelis by a mob (August 1672).

(viii) *William III of Orange in power*

In 1673 the tide of war began to turn; and at the head of an allied force William was able to take the offensive. He captured Bonn, a success which compelled the French to retreat from Gelderland, Overysse, and Utrecht. These provinces, thus freed from the enemy, elected their liberator Stadholder, with greatly enlarged powers. From this time forth William exercised almost sovereign authority in the Republic, especially in the control of

foreign affairs. Young as he was, he had already set before him as his life-task the curbing of the military power of France and the aggressive ambition of Louis XIV by the forming of a Grand Alliance, of which the two maritime Powers, England and Holland, working in close co-operation, were to be the soul and centre. The first step was taken when peace was concluded with England (February 19, 1674). With the exception of a war indemnity of 2,000,000 florins paid by the States, the terms of peace were practically the same as those of the Treaty of Breda. Treaties were likewise signed with Münster (April 22) and with Cologne (May 11), and France was thus isolated.

(ix) *William marries Mary of England, 1677*

Not yet was William able to obtain that alliance with England for which he was working, for Charles II, though well disposed to his nephew, did not wish to break with France. In October 1677 William's marriage with his cousin Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York, and heiress-presumptive to the English Crown, was celebrated in London. This union was fraught with momentous consequences, both for England and for Holland. In the following year the French Government, anxious for a respite in which to recruit its forces and consolidate its gains elsewhere, made offers to the United Provinces for a separate peace on favourable terms. It was signed at Nymegen on August 10, the United Provinces retaining all their territory, including Maastricht.

(x) *William becomes King of England. The Nine Years' War*

The peace, or rather truce, of Nymegen left Louis XIV virtually dictator in Europe. But his sleepless adversary, in the face of many difficulties, was patiently working at the formation of a new coalition to check his ambitious aims. In the province of Holland the anti-Stadholder party was once more lifting up

its head, and it was a peace party. The Prince met with much opposition, especially from Amsterdam. Austria, Spain, and the other States which had been allies of the Republic in 1678 were, as might be expected, shy of associating themselves again with a Power that for its own interests had left them in the lurch. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the accession of James II to the English throne gave to the Stadholder the opportunity of standing forth not only as the upholder of the balance of power in Europe, but also as the champion of Protestantism. In 1686 William succeeded in uniting Austria, Spain, Sweden, and Brandenburg in a defensive alliance with the United Provinces, and in entering into close secret relations with the leaders of the party opposed to King James's arbitrary efforts to re-establish Roman Catholicism in England. The crisis for which he had been steadily preparing arrived in 1688. William landed at Torbay (November 5), and was received with enthusiasm on his march to London. King James fled to France, and on February 21, 1689, William and Mary were crowned at Westminster as joint sovereigns, the executive authority being placed in William's hands.

(xi) *The Grand Alliance. Death of William*

That close alliance of the United Provinces with England for which he had been so long working was now realised in his own person, and he at once proceeded to hasten forward the completion, by a binding treaty, of the Grand Alliance. He was fortunate in having, during his long absence in England, a capable and loyal fellow-worker in Antony Heinsius, appointed Grand Pensionary of Holland early in 1689. The "Nine Years' War" which now broke out was ended by the Peace of Ryswyck (October 30, 1697). The balance of success was, on the whole, on the side of the French; and the moderation of Louis XIV's demands was due to the fact that, as at Nymegen in 1678, so at Ryswyck in 1697, he desired a truce in which to

recruit his strength. He recognised William III as King of England, restored to him the Principality of Orange, and granted some commercial advantages to the Dutch.

William had had to contend against the opposition of a strong peace party both in England and in Holland, and he too regarded the Peace of Ryswyck as nothing but a breathing-time in which to prepare for the renewal of the struggle. He therefore at once began to strengthen and increase his armed forces, while at the same time he endeavoured to avert war by negotiating the Spanish partition treaties of 1698 and 1700. When, however, later in 1700, Charles II of Spain died without heirs-male, it was found that he had left by his will the whole of his dominions to Philip Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. The French King upon this repudiated the treaty he had just signed, and acknowledged Anjou as King of Spain.

William lost no time in bringing together a formidable coalition to resist French aggrandisement. The Grand Alliance formed at The Hague united with Great Britain and the United Provinces, the Emperor (whose brother the Archduke Charles claimed the throne of Spain), Prussia, and the Germanic Confederation.<sup>1</sup> France was supported by the Elector of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Cologne. The interest of the United Provinces was chiefly concerned with the fate of the Belgic Netherlands, which under the rule of a French prince would be a perpetual menace to their independence. The Grand Alliance was to be the last political act of William's life. In the midst of his preparations for the campaign he died (March 1702).

(xii) *Spanish Succession War. Heinsius, Grand Pensionary*

William left his cousin, John William Friso, Stadholder of Friesland and Groningen, his heir. But

<sup>1</sup> Portugal and Savoy joined the Alliance in 1703.

Friso was only a boy of fourteen, and the other provinces, following the lead of Holland, did not entertain the idea of electing him Stadholder. The government of the Republic was in the safe hands of experienced statesmen trained in the school of William III, and ready to carry out his policy. The Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, and his colleagues were convinced that it was the interest of the Republic to make the intimate alliance of the two Sea Powers the means for furnishing the Grand Alliance with that naval supremacy and financial credit without which there was little hope of overthrowing the combined military forces of France and Spain. The first step was to establish unity of command; and in making Marlborough, the English Commander-in-Chief, Captain-General of the Union, the States-General acted with a wisdom that events were to justify. Marlborough, with the loyal support of Heinsius, and working in perfect harmony with Eugene of Savoy, conducted a series of triumphant campaigns, and had, by 1709, completely broken the power of Louis XIV. Negotiations were opened at The Hague, but the Allies not only insisted that the entire Spanish inheritance should pass into the possession of the Archduke Charles, but required that the French King should undertake, if necessary, to expel his grandson from Spain by armed force. These terms were refused, and the war was resumed; but circumstances brought about a peace far less favourable to Holland than those offered in 1709.

(xiii) *Treaty of Utrecht and the Barrier Treaties*

In the first place, the sudden death of the Emperor Joseph I (April 17, 1711) without heirs caused a great change in the position of the Archduke Charles. He succeeded to his brother's dominions, and in due course became the Emperor Charles VI. Thenceforth there were even stronger objections to his candidature than to that of Philip V. In the second place, a Tory Government had in England driven the Whigs from

office. On January 1, 1712, a Peace Congress assembled at Utrecht. But the English Ministry had already entered into secret negotiations with France, and the conferences of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were more or less futile debates. The States were obliged to follow the lead of England, Spain that of France, with the result that the treaties between France and Great Britain, and between France and the United Provinces, were signed at Utrecht on April 11, 1713. The Emperor and the Germanic Confederation eventually came to terms by the treaties of Rastatt (March 7, 1714) and Baden (September 7, 1714). The settlement was completed by a further treaty between the Emperor and the United Provinces—the Third Barrier Treaty—signed at Antwerp (November 15, 1715).

From the time when the Republic first joined the Grand Alliance until the signing of the Third Barrier Treaty the chief aim of the Dutch statesmen, an aim in which they were but following in the steps of William III, had been to obtain military and economic control over the Belgic provinces. The terms of the Grand Alliance concluded in 1701 expressly laid down that the Allies should endeavour to conquer the Spanish Netherlands as a barrier for the United Provinces. A “digue, rempart et barrière” are the words used in this connection. This aspiration of the Dutch statesmen was translated into a definite compact in the First Barrier Treaty concluded by the joint efforts of Heinsius and Marlborough between Great Britain and the States on August 29, 1709, at the time of the abortive peace negotiations of that year. By this treaty Great Britain undertook that the Dutch should have the right of garrisoning nineteen fortresses, already conquered or to be conquered, including Nieuport, Lille, Tournay, Ypres, Charleroi, and Namur and that the future Sovereign of the “Spanish Netherlands” was to pay one million livres out of the revenues of those provinces for their maintenance. Further, the Republic was to have the right of establishing tariffs not merely on the Scheldt but on all the rivers and canals of Belgium.

This treaty, however, had been from the first regarded as too favourable to the Dutch, and a Second Barrier Treaty was concluded on January 30, 1713, by which the number of the "barrier" fortresses was considerably reduced. By the Treaty of Utrecht the sovereignty of the "Spanish Netherlands" passed to the House of Austria, but the Dutch were empowered to occupy them until such time as the Emperor had concluded a satisfactory Barrier Treaty with the States-General. The Emperor was forced to yield, and the Third Barrier Treaty of November 1715 was the issue. By this treaty Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Ypres, Warneton, and Knocke became barrier towns to be garrisoned by the States, and at Dendermonde there was to be a mixed garrison. Thirty-five thousand troops were to be stationed in these fortresses, and three-fifths of their cost was to be a mortgage on the revenues of Brabant and Flanders. Venlo, St. Michiel, Stevenswerd, and Montfort, on the eastern frontier, were ceded to the States, with a rectification of the frontier in Dutch Flanders, which in war-time made it possible to flood the country between the Meuse and Scheldt. The observance of this advantageous treaty was guaranteed by Great Britain.

### III. THE UNITED PROVINCES FROM THE TREATY OF UTRECHT TO THE FRENCH CONQUEST, 1713-95.

#### (i) *Stadholderless Period. Decline of the Republic*

The end of the War of the Spanish Succession was the end of Dutch greatness, the beginning of a period of decadence, a depressing period exhibiting the spectacle of a State that had played a heroic part in history sinking through the lack of inspiring leadership and through hopeless decentralisation to the position of a third-rate Power. The close alliance between Great Britain and the United Provinces had since 1688 made the smaller country a satellite of the larger. The war had left the Republic heavily burdened with

debt, and a reduction of expenditure became necessary. It was made by disbanding a very large part of the army, and by allowing the navy to go to ruin. The truth was that, as a State, the Dutch Republic during these next decades had ceased to count. A haughty burgher aristocracy, consisting in each town of a very limited number of families, closely interrelated, had little by little possessed themselves, as a matter of hereditary right, of all the offices and dignities in the town corporations, in the province, and in the State. Trade and money-making were the objects which engrossed the interest of these petty oligarchies; and the foreign policy which they supported was one of non-intervention and peace at any price.

That the United Netherlands was able in these conditions to maintain anything of its authority in the councils of Europe was due to the fact that its external relations and policy were directed in succession by the Grand Pensionaries, Antony Heinsius (died 1720) and Simon van Slingelandt (died 1736). But these two statesmen, able though they were, had neither the authority nor the powers of leadership of John de Witt or William III. In matters of internal policy they were servants and not masters; and, while the burgher-regents grew rich, the State was continually on the verge of bankruptcy. The Orangist party, which had hoped that John William Friso might have proved himself worthy of his race, had to mourn his untimely death in 1711. He left a son, William, who was accepted by the Frisians as their Stadholder, under the guardianship of his mother. In 1718 William was appointed Stadholder of Groningen, in 1722 of Drenthe and Gelderland; but the regent-mother acted for him until he came of age. The other four provinces, under the leadership of Holland, refused to admit him to any place in their councils or to any military post.

The only event of importance during the first twenty years of Austrian rule in Belgium was the attempt of Charles VI to erect in 1722 an East India Company,

with its port at Ostend. Its establishment gave rise to a long series of negotiations. In 1732, on condition that the States assented to the Pragmatic Sanction, the Emperor finally suppressed it. In 1734 William, now acknowledged as Prince of Orange,<sup>1</sup> married Anne, the eldest daughter of George II. She was the third Princess Royal of England to become Princess of Orange.

(ii) *French Invasion 1747. William IV called to power*

On the death of the Emperor in 1740, despite the Pragmatic Sanction by which all the Powers had acknowledged his daughter Maria Theresa as his heiress, her rights were disputed, and the sudden invasion of Silesia by Frederick, King of Prussia, involved Europe in the War of the Austrian Succession. The United Provinces strove hard to maintain neutrality. But in 1744 France and Spain declared war on Great Britain and Austria; and, greatly against their will, owing to their treaty obligations to England, the States were drawn into the conflict, with disastrous consequences. The French, under Marshal Saxe, in a series of brilliant campaigns made themselves masters of all the Barrier fortresses, conquered Belgium and Dutch Flanders, and in 1747 invaded Dutch Brabant. The imminence of the danger, just as in 1672, made all eyes turn to the Prince of Orange. On April 25 he was elected Stadholder of Zeeland, on May 3 of Holland, on May 5 of Utrecht, on May 10 of Overijssel. The States-General at once appointed him Captain and Admiral-General of the Union; and, a little later, all these offices were made hereditary both in the male and female line of his House. The power conferred was even greater than that which had been granted to William III, for William IV was the first of the House of Nassau to be Stadholder in all the seven pro-

<sup>1</sup> After a dispute with the King of Prussia.

vinces. But the new "eminent head" was not a William III, and, when he acceded to power, he had the humiliation of having to place before the English Government the hopeless financial condition of the States, and their inability to carry on the war without a very large loan. The low esteem felt for the once proud Dutch Republic led to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle being concluded (April 30, 1748) practically without consulting the Dutch plenipotentiaries. It was to the interest of Great Britain that the Austrian Netherlands should be protected against French aggression; and the colony of Cape Breton was given back to France on condition that the Barrier towns were once more placed in Dutch hands. This was a useless concession, for their fortifications had been destroyed, and the States could no longer spare the money to make them capable of serious defence.

(iii) *Minority Government, 1751-1766. Troubles under William V*

William IV died on October 22, 1751. His widow became regent during the minority of her son, William V, who was three years old at the time of his father's death. Her co-guardian was Lewis Ernest, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who had recently been given by William IV the post of Field-Marshal in the Dutch Army. A weak minority Government unfortunately meant that the anti-Orange factions again lifted up their head. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War, in which Austria and France were allies, meant that the Barrier Treaty had practically ceased to exist. Enfeebled by internal dissensions, with no army or navy worth the name, and with crippled finances, the Republic was impotent, and had no choice but to remain neutral.

On the death of the Princess-regent (January 12, 1759), the Duke of Brunswick was appointed Captain-General of the Union, and regent with limited

powers. His seven years' tenure of office was marked by the great tact with which he discharged his duties. On March 8, 1766, William V, having reached his eighteenth year, succeeded to his hereditary rights. A weak character, unfit to deal with the difficulties that confronted him, he married (October 6, 1767) Wilhelmina, niece of Frederick the Great and (on the mother's side) of the Duke of Brunswick, who continued to be his chief adviser. Meanwhile advanced doctrines had spread widely, and a large party had come into existence equally opposed to the Orange Stadholderate and to the patrician regent-oligarchies. The revolt of the American colonies evoked much sympathy in the States, and, when France took their part and declared war against England, this sympathy became pro-French as well as pro-American. This feeling was accentuated by the strong measures taken by Great Britain to stop illicit trading with the rebels from the Dutch islands of St. Eustatius and Curaçoa. The relations between the two countries became more and more angry. In November 1780 the States-General joined the league of Armed Neutrality formed by Catherine II against Great Britain; and it was discovered that secret negotiations had been carried on between certain Amsterdam regents and the American envoys in Paris. Protests proved unavailing, and war was declared by Great Britain against the Republic on December 20, 1780. Thus the alliance of ninety-two years' standing came to an end.

The war with England was absolutely disastrous for the Republic. Its commerce was driven from the sea, its ships captured, its coasts blockaded, and nearly all its overseas possessions taken. The British Government, however, when the negotiations for peace came, through friendliness to the Stadholder and a desire to strengthen his hands against the anti-Orange pro-French party, offered more favourable terms than might have been expected. By the Treaty of Paris (1784) all their possessions, save Negapatam, were restored to the Dutch.

(iv) *Difficulties with Joseph II. The "Patriot" Agitation*

In 1781 the Emperor Joseph II took advantage of the war to demand the evacuation of the Barrier towns. As the fortifications were in a ruinous state and the French were no longer enemies but allies, the States complied. The surrender was humiliating, but was actually a relief in the impoverished state of the national finances. Two years later Joseph II made a further demand for the surrender of Maastricht and the opening of the Scheldt. The intervention of France enabled the States to stand firm in their refusal to make these concessions. Meanwhile civil strife in the Republic was becoming inevitable. The aim of the new democratic or "patriot" party was to effect an entire change in the antiquated system of government, which was hopelessly out of date and was more and more bringing ruin upon the State. Had the Stadholder been in any way a leader of men, he might have put himself at the head of the movement of reform; but such was his weakness and incompetence that his adversaries attributed the disasters of the war to his remissness, and even the Orangists despaired of him. Brunswick, accused of being his evil counsellor, was driven out of the country (1784), and through common enmity to the Stadholder the democrats allied themselves with the aristocratic regents against him. Free corps were raised in many towns by permission of the town council, and armed collisions were frequent.

Holland being the hotbed of the "patriot" agitation, William left The Hague and retired to Nymegen. Things went from bad to worse; and the ultra-democrats, now in the possession of power in the majority of the provinces, took measures to deprive the Stadholder of his authority and hereditary rights. But the Orange party were strong in the army and among the preachers and the country folk. The Prince himself made no move, but his wife, a woman of energy and determination, resolved to return to The Hague and to encourage the efforts of the Orange sympa-

thisers in Holland. On her way (June 28, 1787) she was turned back at Woerden by the commandant of a "free corps." She at once appealed to her brother, the King of Prussia, to avenge this insult. Frederick William II responded by sending an army of 20,000 men, who quickly made themselves masters of the entire country. The "patriot" leaders fled to France; and, on September 20, the Prince made his triumphant entry into The Hague amidst general rejoicings. The result was the re-establishment of the hereditary Stadholderate on a firm basis and with added powers.

(v) *Prussian Intervention. French Conquest*

The military action of Prussia had the strong diplomatic support of England, and was followed by a definite treaty (April 15, 1788) by which these two Powers bound themselves to defend the Republic against attack and to maintain the hereditary Stadholderate. Had the Stadholder been a strong man, like William II or William III, he would have seized this opportunity for sweeping away the cumbrous and complicated machinery of government in the so-called United Provinces, which had long been unworkable, and made himself the Sovereign of a really unified State. But William V had neither inclination nor energy for drastic reform, and he preferred to rely on the foreigner for protection against internal disturbances, and to leave the Princess and the new Grand Pensionary, Van de Spiegel, to carry out a policy of reconstruction under almost impossible conditions. Van de Spiegel, a really able and far-seeing statesman, did his utmost to restore the financial credit of the republic and to rescue the East and West India Companies from bankruptcy; but the weakness of the Prince and the selfishness of the burgher-regents made any attempt at serious reform of the Constitution impracticable. Fear of the democratic principles of the exiled "patriots" had converted the close patrician corporations from opponents into supporters of the Orange Stadholderate.

The outbreak of the French Revolution found the Republic in a moribund condition, and an easy prey to the revolutionary armies. Early in 1793 the French Convention declared war against Holland. Invasion was attempted, but an Austrian victory at Neerwinden (March 1, 1793), followed by the defection of Dumouriez, gave a brief respite to the Dutch. In the following year a French army under Pichegru, with whom marched a Batavian Legion of "patriot" exiles, advanced into Holland at a time when the marshes and rivers were hard frozen, and speedily overran the country. On January 18, 1795, Amsterdam surrendered, and on the same day William V, with his two sons, set sail for England. With his departure the Stadholderate and the Republic of the United Provinces came to an end.

#### IV. THE UNITED PROVINCES IN THE PERIOD OF FRENCH DOMINATION, 1795-1813

##### (i) *The Batavian Republic*

The coming of the French with their message of "liberty, fraternity, and equality" was the cause of much premature rejoicing in Holland. It was soon seen, however, that the French conquest was far from disinterested. By The Hague Treaty (May 16, 1795) the conditions under which the French Government recognised the independence of the "Batavian Republic" were the payment of 100,000,000 fl. indemnity, the cession of Dutch Flanders, Dutch Limburg, and Upper Gelderland, the occupation of Flushing by a French garrison, free navigation on the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Meuse, and an offensive and defensive alliance. Secret Articles provided for the loan to the French of a number of Dutch warships and for the entire maintenance until a general peace of a force of 20,000 French soldiers on Dutch territory.

The results of this treaty were ruinous. Great Britain declared war (September 1795); Dutch com-

merce was swept from the seas; and all the colonies surrendered, with the sanction of the Prince of Orange, to British squadrons. The cost of the French army of occupation and the building of a considerable fleet pressed heavily on a Treasury already in financial distress. In the case of the ships it was money wasted, for the Dutch fleet was totally defeated by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown (October 11, 1797).

The Gallicising of Dutch institutions at once began, and a National Assembly met (March 1, 1796). Public opinion was, however, strongly divided between the parties of the Federalists and the Unionists, the former wishing to maintain to a large extent the old provincial autonomies; the other to establish a republic, one and indivisible, after the French model. The military chiefs, acting in concert with the French Ambassador, Delacroix, effected a *coup d'état* (January 22, 1798), by which the leading Federalists were imprisoned and a Constituent Assembly created. The old provincial names and boundaries were abolished, and the country was divided into eight Departments. The details of the new Constitution which now came into being are of no interest here, for, with the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte to supreme power in France another *coup d'état* once more changed the system of government in a Federalist direction. The number of Departments remained the same, but they had the names and practically the boundaries of the old seven provinces, North Brabant being the eighth.

The Peace of Amiens (March 27, 1802) gave a short breathing-time and hope of better things, and all the Dutch colonies, with the exception of Ceylon, were restored. But war broke out again between France and Great Britain, and Napoleon treated the Batavian Republic just as if it were a subject dependency. He compelled the "State Government" to maintain a French army of 18,000 men, as well as a Batavian army of 16,000, both under the command of a French general, and besides this, to provide transports for 6,000 men and 4,000 horses intended for the invasion

of England. These demands could not be refused, and once more British naval squadrons blockaded the Dutch harbours and took possession of the Dutch colonies.

Napoleon, having become Emperor of the French in 1804, in the following year determined to create a strong personal Government in the Republic as a transition stage to a monarchy. The Dutch Ambassador at Paris, Schimmelpenninck, was chosen to exercise practically sovereign power, but with the old title of Grand Pensionary (September 1805).

(ii) *The Kingdom of Holland, 1806-1810*

Schimmelpenninck, during his short tenure of office, did excellent work in difficult circumstances. With the help of the financier Gogel, he grappled with the very unfavourable state of the ways and means, endeavouring by increased but equitable taxation to meet the large annual deficits. He also carried out a much-needed reform in the system of elementary education, and was active in reorganising both departmental administration and local government. But Napoleon's triumph at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) filled his mind with enlarged ideas of personal and family aggrandisement. He determined to convert the Batavian Republic into a vassal kingdom of Holland, with his brother, Louis Napoleon, as King. It was in vain that the Grand Pensionary and the Dutch people protested. The Emperor offered them the choice between annexation or the acceptance of Louis Bonaparte as King. They accepted the lesser of two evils. On June 22, 1806, the new King, with his wife, Hortense de Beauharnais, Napoleon's step-daughter, made his entry into The Hague.

It was the object of the Emperor, while giving to his brother the titles and trappings of sovereignty, to treat him as nothing more than the administrative Governor of a subject province. He was to be a vassal prince of the Empire, bound to carry out the Emperor's policy and to obey his behests. Such, however, was not the

view that Louis took of his position and duties. At the very outset he declared that, from the moment he set foot on the soil of his kingdom, he became a Hollander. He proved that his words were sincere by his whole-hearted devotion to the best interests of the country. His introduction in 1809 of the *Code Napoléon*, with some modifications, was a reform of permanent and great value that replaced the confusion of local systems of law and antiquated procedure by unity and clearness. His interest in letters and learning was shown by his foundation of the Royal Netherland Institute of Science, Letters, and Fine Arts.

Not even with the assistance of Gogel, however, could he do much to improve the financial state of the kingdom. The demands of Napoleon for the maintenance of large military and naval forces were a constant drain upon the resources of the Treasury. The relations between the two brothers were quickly strained. Louis, above all things, resented the Berlin Decree (November 21, 1806) prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, and closing all ports to British commerce. The King regarded the Continental System, as it was called, as ruinous to Holland; and his slackness in carrying it out brought upon him the bitter reproaches of Napoleon.

Matters grew worse and worse; and Napoleon, by a Decree dated September 16, 1808, as a reprisal for the infractions of the blockade of which he accused the Dutch, closed the frontiers of France to imports from Holland. In a letter to his brother Jerome (October 15, 1808) the King writes:—

“ Je suis absolument dans la position d'un homme à qui on lierait les jambes et que l'on fouetterait pour le faire marcher. Malheureusement la peine, les chagrins, l'humiliation que cela me cause et les affaires qui assassinent ce pays, loin d'être d'aucune utilité à la France et à mon frère, augmentent ses ennemis. Les souffrances que l'on éprouve conduiront bientôt tout le monde au désespoir si l'on n'y prend garde.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Duboscq, *Louis Bonaparte en Hollande d'après ses Lettres*, p. 271.

The victory of Wagram and the treaty with Austria (October 24, 1809) raised Napoleon to the summit of his power; and he determined to rob Holland of every shred of independence. He sent the Dutch Ambassador, Verhuell, to Amsterdam on November 22 to invite his brother to confer with him at Paris. Louis came after considerable hesitation (December 1), and for the next four months was detained virtually as a prisoner. After many violent scenes Napoleon declared that "this farce must cease," and demanded the immediate acceptance of his terms. Louis had to yield and to sign a treaty (March 16, 1810) by which Zeeland, North Brabant, and part of Gelderland became French territory; all English commerce was strictly prohibited; all riverine navigation was to be carried on by Imperial licence; and a body of French troops and Custom-house officers, at the cost of Holland, were to watch the mouths of the rivers. On April 11 Louis returned to Holland, but new causes of dispute arose. The French Ambassador was recalled, and, learning that Napoleon was sending a French force under Oudinot to occupy Amsterdam, the King abdicated on July 1 in favour of his eldest son. Without delay the Emperor took the final step, and on July 9 issued a decree incorporating Holland in the French Empire.

(iii) *The Period of French Annexation, 1810-1813*

An *ad interim* Government was established by the Decree of July 9, under Charles Lebrun as Governor; and a Council for the Affairs of Holland was created. Meanwhile a Commission was sent to Paris to confer with the Imperial Government upon the future organisation of the annexed country. The new Constitution came into force on January 1, 1811. Hollanders, being now French citizens, took their seats in the Senate and Legislative Assembly at Paris; and Amsterdam was declared the third city in the Empire. The nine Departments had their prefects and sub-prefects, and each municipality its mayor. It was generally expected that the annexation would bring

about a lightening of the financial difficulties, but the way in which this was effected—a reduction of interest on the National Debt by two-thirds—was by no means a relief to the large numbers who had invested in the public funds. Conscription was enforced, and was most unpopular; and the Continental System was strictly carried out. Industries stood still; the price of commodities rose higher and higher; and in 1812 poverty and distress reigned over the whole land. The French Administration meant well, but the ever-growing demands of Napoleon, intent upon the preparations for his invasion of Russia, made any amelioration of this unhappy state of things impossible.

The disastrous retreat from Moscow and the uprising of the oppressed peoples in 1813 against the Napoleonic tyranny brought a stirring of hope. With the crushing defeat of the Emperor at Leipsic (October 16-19, 1813) the opportunity for a stroke for freedom arrived. The evacuation of Holland by the Governor-General, Lebrun, and the French troops (November 14-16), and the approach of a Prussian army under General von Bülow to the Dutch frontier (November 17) was the signal to take action for the immediate restoration of the Prince of Orange. Plans had previously been concerted with the Prince, who was in London, and had already secured a promise of support from the British Government. The rising began at Amsterdam on November 17, and spread rapidly over the country. On November 30 Orange landed at Scheveningen, and was received as he passed through the streets of The Hague with shouts of welcome and general rejoicing. The revolt was an accomplished fact.

## V. THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND AND BELGIUM), 1814-1830

### (i) *William I, Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands*

Holland endured many trials and sufferings during the French domination, but the political benefits

brought in its train were no small compensation. The ancient unworkable systems of government had been swept away and replaced by a unified State; administrative machinery had been simplified and made uniform; and a criminal and civil code, modelled upon the *Code Napoléon*, had been introduced. When therefore the Prince of Orange returned in December 1813, there was no thought of restoring the Stadholderate; and by the general desire of the people he assumed monarchical power with the title of William I, Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands.

William, before setting sail for Holland, had, with the foreknowledge and goodwill of Frederick William III and the Emperor Alexander, sought personally in London the active assistance of the British Government; and support was promised to him by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, on the following conditions:—

“ Extension des frontières de la Hollande, soit par une sorte de nouvelle Barrière plus efficace que l'ancienne, soit par la réunion de quelques portions du territoire voisin de l'ancienne République.”

But the Prince must wait—

“ jusqu'à quel point la Grande-Bretagne croirait convenable à ses propres intérêts de se dessaisir en faveur de cet état régénéré des colonies hollandaises dont elle a fait la conquête pendant la guerre.”

Further there must be set up in Holland—

“ un système de gouvernement qui conciliât le vœu de la nation hollandaise avec les vues des Puissances appelées à influer si puissamment sur les destinées futures de cette nation.”<sup>1</sup>

The first act of the new Sovereign was to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of each province, under the presidency of Van Hogendorp, to draw up a Fundamental Law (*Grondwet*). Their labours were completed with great expedition by February 14,

<sup>1</sup> Colenbrander, *De Belgische Omwenteling*, p. 98, *Minute des principaux points touchés par le Prince d'Orange dans son entretien avec Lord Castlereagh*, April 27, 1813.

1814. The *Grondwet* was submitted to an assembly of notables on March 28, and approved by 448 votes to 26. The *Grondwet* thus approved contained the following provisions. The Sovereign shares the legislative power with the States-General, and alone possesses the executive power with the assistance of a Council of State of twelve members. He appoints and dismisses his ministers, has the supreme rule over the overseas possessions, the right to declare war and make peace, and to control finance. The States-General consists of fifty-five members, elected by the nine provinces in proportion to population. They have the right to initiate legislation and to exercise a veto, and all extraordinary expenditure has to be submitted to them. The Judiciary is independent. The Sovereign must belong to the Reformed Church, but equal rights are guaranteed to the members of all religious bodies. It will be seen that the powers conferred upon the Sovereign by this law rendered him practically autocratic.

(ii) *Negotiations for the Union of Holland and Belgium*

The proposal that the ancient United Provinces should receive an increase of territory in order to create a State strong enough to be a barrier against French aggression<sup>1</sup> was brought before the Allied Sovereigns at Châtillon by Castlereagh.<sup>2</sup> It was soon found that the Austrian Emperor renounced all claims to the Belgian Netherlands, now occupied by Prussian and Russian troops. Castlereagh's first idea of annexing to Holland all Belgium as far as the Meuse and also the territory between the Meuse and the Rhine north of the line Maastricht—Düren—Cologne met with opposition from Prussia, who desired to acquire the land between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle for herself.

<sup>1</sup> Colenbrander, *De Belgische Omwenteling*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> "The Prince of Orange is to be discouraged from any attempt to extend Holland beyond its ancient limits without the express consent of the allies."—Memorandum of Cabinet, Dec. 28, 1813.

Finally, the preliminary Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814), Art. VI, contained merely the vague statement—“Holland, placed under the Sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory”—but a secret Article annexed to the Treaty explained the phrase *un accroissement de territoire* thus—“the countries comprised between the sea, the frontiers of France, as defined by the present treaty, and the Meuse, shall be united in perpetuity to Holland.”

It would appear from the actual wording of these quotations that no thought whatever was being given to the interests and wishes of the Belgian people by the Allied plenipotentiaries. This was not quite the case. A Belgian deputation had been received by the Allied representatives at Chaumont; and an assurance was given to them in writing (March 14, 1814) that the interests of Belgium in the matters of religion, commerce, public debt, and representation would be safeguarded. The Sovereign Prince had been asked for his advice as to the best manner of carrying out these promises; and, on May 16, Castlereagh sent, on behalf of the Allied ministers, a note to The Hague suggesting that the Prince should summon a commission of an equal number of Dutch and Belgian representatives to consider the questions involved in the proposed union. But William had already taken action. He had himself drawn up in eight articles, with the assistance of his Minister Van Nagell, the fundamental conditions for the constitution of the new State, and with these he himself hurried to Paris in order to prevent the summoning of a mixed commission, which he did not consider opportune. The Eight Articles were laid before the plenipotentiaries (May 31) by Lord Clancarty, British Minister at The Hague, and were afterwards adopted by the Allied Sovereigns at London on June 21, 1814. They ran thus:—

- (1) The union shall be intimate and complete, so that the two countries shall form but one State, to be governed by the Fundamental Law (*Grondwet*) already established in Holland, which by mutual consent shall be modified according to the circumstances.

- (2) There shall be no change in those Articles of the Fundamental Law which assure to all religious cults equal protection and privileges, and guarantee the admissibility of all citizens, whatever be their religious creed, to public offices and dignities.
- (3) The Belgian provinces shall be in a fitting manner represented in the States-General, whose sittings, in time of peace, shall be held by turns in a Dutch and Belgian town.
- (4) All the inhabitants of the Netherlands thus having equal constitutional rights, they shall have equal claim to all commercial and other rights, of which their circumstances allow, without any hindrance or obstruction being imposed on any to the profit of others.
- (5) Immediately after the union the provinces and towns of Belgium shall be admitted to the commerce and navigation of the colonies of Holland upon the same footing as the Dutch provinces and towns.
- (6) The debts contracted on the one side by the Dutch, and on the other side by the Belgian provinces, shall be charged to the public chest of the Netherlands.
- (7) The expenses required for the building and maintenance of the frontier fortresses of the new State shall be borne by the public chest as serving the security and independence of the whole nation.
- (8) The cost of the making and upkeep of the dykes shall be at the charge of the districts more directly interested, except in the case of an extraordinary disaster.<sup>1</sup>

It is important to quote these Eight Articles in full, for they stand as a permanent record of the essentially good and fair intentions of their real author, the Prince of Orange; they are conciliatory, broad-minded, and painstaking in their endeavours to place Dutch and Belgians on an absolute equality of privilege and opportunity.

The Eight Articles were not made public until a year later, but, after being approved by the Conference of Sovereigns in London (June 21), they were formally accepted by the Prince (July 21). The Allies had at the same time issued a protocol setting forth the principles on which they were acting. The first Article of this protocol unfortunately betrayed the presence of another influence in the words—"elles mettent ces

<sup>1</sup> See No. 26 of this series, p. 39 *seq.* and pp. 204-205.

“ principes en exécution en vertu de leur droit de conquête de la Belgique.” These words, implying that Belgium took her place in the new kingdom of the Netherlands as a subject province of Holland, boded ill for the future of that “ perfect amalgamation ” of the Dutch and Belgian provinces, which in the protocol is stated to be the supreme object of the Allied Sovereigns. On August 1 the Sovereign Prince, after his official acceptance of the Eight Articles, took over the government at Brussels.

The thoroughness of the understanding between Great Britain and the Prince was evident from the terms of the Convention of London concluded between Castlereagh and the Dutch Minister, Fagel (August 13). In 1814, the English had possession of all the Dutch colonies by conquest from the Batavian Republic. Java, and all the other rich island possessions of Holland in the Indian Archipelago, were now restored. Ceylon had been ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and the Cape Colony was retained, both cessions being due to the fact that these colonies had furnished naval bases for the French fleet during the revolutionary war, and that Holland was navally too weak to defend them.<sup>1</sup> In the West Indies, Holland received back Surinam, Curaçoa, St. Eustatius, but surrendered Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, in which colonies, during eighteen years of occupation, large quantities of British capital had been invested. But these cessions were not made without an adequate return. Great Britain contributed £2,000,000 towards the erection of the new fortresses on the French frontier, £1,000,000 as compensation to Sweden in connection with the restoration of the island of Guadeloupe to France, and half of a sum of £6,000,000 due from Holland to Russia. The compensation in cash payment was certainly in excess of the value of the surrendered

<sup>1</sup> See on this and upon the character of the Convention of London generally the admirable defence of England's part in the transaction, and of Holland's justification in accepting the terms offered, in Colenbrander's *De Belgische Omwenteling*, pp. 98-101.

territories, to which, on the grounds of conquest and possession, Great Britain had a perfect claim. The terms of the Convention were as honourable to both parties as they were advantageous.

(iii) *William becomes King of the Netherlands and Grand Duke of Luxemburg*

The Vienna Congress met in October, but its proceedings were prolonged and discordant. Foiled in her effort to incorporate Saxony, Prussia sought compensation in the west. This led to an abandonment of the proposal of granting to Holland any increase of territory in the direction of the Rhine; and an understanding was arrived at between the Sovereign Prince and his first-cousin and brother-in-law, the Prussian King, for the cession of his Nassau estates to Prussia in exchange for the Sovereignty of Luxemburg, henceforth to be a Grand Duchy and one of the States of the German Confederation. This proposal had the serious drawback that Luxemburg had for centuries been an integral part of the Belgic Netherlands, and had no relations with the German Diet. William, however, had good reason to conciliate the friendship of a Great Power with whose ruling family he was so closely allied, and which would be his eastern neighbour. He wished, moreover, to retain his position as a member of the Germanic Diet; and his later conduct testified that, in accepting the personal Sovereignty of the Grand Duchy, he intended to treat Luxemburg simply as a province, like Brabant or Flanders, of the new Netherlands State.

The deliberations of the Congress were rudely interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba, on March 8, 1815; and hasty preparations were at once made by all the Allies for a renewal of war. The Sovereign Prince in this emergency resolved to assume the title of King without awaiting the consent of the Powers. He issued a proclamation, as William I, King of the Netherlands and Duke of Luxemburg, on March 16,

and called upon all his subjects to defend their common country against the enemy. The Powers raised no protest against the *fait accompli*; and the new kingdom was officially recognised on May 23. The King lost no time in carrying out the modification of the *Grondwet* of Holland, stipulated by the Eight Articles. He appointed a Commission (April 22), again under the presidency of Van Hogendorp, consisting of twelve Dutch and twelve Belgian members, carefully chosen so that Catholics and Protestants should have equal representation, and different schools of political opinion have their spokesmen. Theirs was a difficult task; but, when Dutch and Belgian soldiers were fighting side by side at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, the duty of completing it as quickly as possible in a conciliatory spirit was paramount. The powers conferred upon the Sovereign by the Dutch Committee of 1814 were left unchanged. The States-General was to consist of two Chambers—the First Chamber to contain sixty members appointed for life by the King; the Second to contain 110 members, fifty-five each for North and South, under a very restricted franchise. No change was made in the autocratic powers vested in the King.

The new Fundamental Law was adopted by the Dutch States-General on August 8, 1815, by a unanimous vote, but encountered strong and not wholly unjustifiable opposition in Belgium, where it was rejected by an Assembly of Belgian Notables on August 18. The King, however, overrode this decision, and on September 26 made his state entry into Brussels, and publicly took his oath to the Constitution. With this act the Kingdom of the Netherlands began its legal and administrative existence.

The boundaries of the new kingdom had been determined by the Congress of Vienna in a treaty bearing the date May 31, 1815. It consisted of the former United Provinces and the Austrian Netherlands (less Luxemburg) as they existed in 1792, together with the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, the Duchy of Bouillon, and several smaller pieces of territory. On the eastern

frontier, however, a number of border strips had been cut off from Luxemburg, Liège, Limburg, and Gelderland, and annexed to Rhenish Prussia.

(iv) *The Fifteen Years of Union. Belgian Grievances*

It is unnecessary to relate in detail the tale of the grievances which after fifteen years of union led to the Belgian revolt of 1830. They are set forth in the paper<sup>1</sup> dealing specially with the history of Belgium. The chief causes of dissatisfaction were: (1) the unfair representation of the Belgic provinces in proportion to population in the Second Chamber of the States-General; (2) the bestowal of almost all important offices—political, diplomatic, and military—on Hollanders; (3) the imposition of unpopular taxes in face of the solid opposition of the Belgian deputies; (4) interference with the education of the Catholic seminarists; (5) arbitrary and harsh press laws; (6) the attempt to enforce Dutch as the national language.

These were real grievances, but there was something to be said on the other side. The Dutch claimed that (1) though the population of Holland itself was less than that of Belgium, account must be taken of the Dutch Colonial Empire, at that time the second largest in the world; (2) there were many more trained diplomatists and ministers in Holland than in Belgium, during the period 1795-1815; Holland had its own army, officered by Dutchmen, while Belgians, after the annexation, had served in the French armies; in 1815 there was no separate military organisation in Belgium; (3) the unpopular taxes fell just as hardly on the Northern Province as on the Southern; (4) the Clerical party in Flanders and Brabant was intransigent and suspicious of the motives of the well-meaning Protestant King; (5) though the press prosecutions were politically unwise and of doubtful legality, they were provoked by the virulence of the attacks made in news-

<sup>1</sup>No. 26 of this series.

papers, pamphlets, and lampoons against the King and his Dutch ministers; (6) the later history of the Flemish movement justified the attempt of King William to give to Dutch the status of the official language of the kingdom.

There can be no question that the King, in assuming the government of his newly created State in 1815, was animated by a real desire to weld together North and South, and that he worked hard to promote the material prosperity of his whole realm. His intentions were excellent, but he was autocratic in temper, self-opinionated, and obstinate, and he committed errors in his dealings with his Belgian subjects through narrowness of outlook and lack of sympathetic consideration. At the same time he deserves great credit for the way in which, largely through his initiative, the commerce and industries of the whole country advanced during his reign, and no less for the care that he bestowed upon improving the means of communication by road and by water, for his interest in educational reform, and for his patronage of literature, the arts, and science.

## VI. SEPARATION AND SETTLEMENT, 1830-1839

### (i) *The Belgian Revolt. Conference of London*

The immediate causes of the Belgian revolt against Dutch rule have been dealt with fully in the paper devoted to the history of Belgium. By midsummer, 1830, there were many signs of a coming storm. The July insurrection in Paris increased the feeling of unrest, and on August 25 there occurred a wild riot in Brussels. The King failed to act firmly, and the Prince of Orange, being bent on the avoidance of open hostilities, withdrew his troops from Brussels. Advantage was at once taken of what was thought to be the weakness of the Royalists. Armed bands (chiefly Walloons) poured into the capital from the provinces. In an attempt to quell the insurrection, the Dutch troops, under Prince Frederick, the King's second son, who had entered Brussels, sustained severe losses, and were

withdrawn to Antwerp. The revolt spread; and the Provisional Government, which had been set up at Brussels, was recognised throughout the country. On October 4 Belgium was declared to be an independent State, and a National Congress was summoned. It was in vain that the King sent the Prince of Orange to Antwerp with the mission of trying to place himself at the head of the Belgian movement by an offer of administrative autonomy. The Prince's efforts met with no response.

Meanwhile (October 2) the King had appealed for the assistance of the Powers, by whose action in 1814-15 the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been created. In response the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France met in conference in London (November 4). Their first step was to insist upon an armistice, and to decline to give the King the armed intervention for which he had asked. The representatives of Great Britain and France, Palmerston and Talleyrand, were determined on a peaceable solution, and were friendly to the Belgian cause; Austria and Russia were busied with their own affairs and indifferent; Prussia, whose dynastic ties with King William were so close, could not venture to take armed action in opposition to the two Western Powers. The King had appealed to the Powers to maintain the arrangements of the Treaties of Paris and of Vienna, and was sorely disappointed to find that his envoy, Falck, was only admitted to the Conference as a witness, and that the Belgian Congress was being treated as practically on the same footing as himself. That this was the case was made evident by a protocol issued on December 20, which accepted in principle the independence of Belgium.

The Conference next proceeded to set forth, in two protocols of January 20 and 27, 1831, the conditions of separation, the independence of Belgium being assumed as a *fait accompli* recognised by the Five Powers. The first protocol defined (Article I) the

limits of Holland, as being those of the former Republic of the United Provinces in the year 1790. Article II created the new Belgian State as comprising the remainder of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The status of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, as established by the Treaties of 1815, was to remain unchanged.<sup>1</sup> Belgium was to be (Article V) a State perpetually neutral, whose integrity and inviolability was guaranteed by the Five Powers. By the second protocol the proportion of the debt to be borne by Belgium was fixed at  $\frac{1}{3}\frac{6}{1}$  of the whole. King William thought it politic to give his assent to the two protocols (February 1831), hoping, no doubt, that the strong opposition offered by the Belgian National Congress to the exclusion of Luxemburg and to other boundary questions, and the difficulties which faced it in making choice of a King acceptable to the Powers, might bring about a failure of the negotiations.

Finally, however, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, whose candidature was favoured by Great Britain, was elected King (June 4); and he succeeded in obtaining from the Powers some modifications of the conditions laid down in the two protocols, which were embodied in the preliminary treaty of peace known as the Treaty of the XVIII Articles, dated June 20. The XVIII Articles, nevertheless, found little favour in Belgium; but, as Leopold made his acceptance of the Crown conditional upon the ratification of the treaty by the Congress, after a stormy debate a majority of votes were given for the proposed settlement (July 9). Leopold thereupon set sail from England for his new kingdom, and publicly took the oath to the Constitution at Brussels (July 21) amid general rejoicings.

(ii) *William refuses to accept the Proposals for Separation*

The rejoicings were, however, premature. The King of Holland absolutely refused to sign the XVIII

<sup>1</sup> The question of Luxemburg has been fully treated in a separate paper, No. 27 of this series.

Articles, declaring that he adhered to the bases of separation which had been set forth in the protocols of January 20 and 27, which the plenipotentiaries of the Powers had themselves, in a protocol of April 17, pronounced "*fondamentaux*" and "*irrévocables*." The despatch (dated July 12), containing this refusal, concluded with the ominous words:—

" Sa Majesté, dans le cas où un prince, appelé à la souveraineté de la Belgique, l'acceptât et en prit possession sans avoir préalablement accepté lesdits arrangements [les protocoles], ne pourrait considérer ce prince que comme placé par cela seul dans une attitude hostile envers elle, et comme son ennemi."

This was followed, after King Leopold had taken the oath, by another despatch sent to the Dutch envoys at Berlin, London, Paris, Petersburg, and Vienna (August 2) for communication to the several Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which concluded with the announcement that simultaneously with the negotiations in London the King [of Holland] was determined "de mettre son armée dans la balance, afin d'obtenir des conditions équitables de séparation." On that very day the Prince of Orange, at the head of a well-equipped force of 36,000 men, with seventy-two guns, crossed the frontier. The Belgian army was divided into two parts, and was quite unprepared. The Prince, knowing that the Conference had on July 25 declared that it would permit no resumption of hostilities, and fearing French intervention, advanced with great rapidity between the two hostile forces. Despite the personal efforts of Leopold, little serious resistance was made. Orange took possession of Louvain (August 11), and had Brussels at his mercy. On being informed, however, by the British Ambassador at Brussels that a French army had entered Belgium, the Prince accepted British mediation, concluded an armistice, and slowly withdrew his army. His object had been accomplished. In this short "Ten Days' Campaign" Belgium and its newly elected King had been thoroughly humiliated in the

eyes of Europe. Despite the success of the revolt, it was shown that the Belgians were no match for the Dutch when it came to the ordeal of battle.

The Conference met again to consider the new situation. Belgium had only been saved from conquest by allied intervention, and had to pay a penalty for defeat. The Treaty of XVIII Articles was revised, and replaced (October 14) by a Treaty of XXIV Articles, which was declared to be final and irrevocable. The disputed questions were settled in a sense more favourable to Holland, and, though the north-western part of Luxemburg was assigned to Belgium, the Grand Duke received a portion of Belgian Limburg as compensation.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was received with anger and strong opposition by Belgian public opinion; but, owing to the firmness of the King, who knew the necessities of the case and threatened abdication, both Chambers of the Legislature voted for acceptance, and with the signing of the treaty (November 15) the Kingdom of Belgium was recognised by the Powers.

The King of Holland, however, stood obstinately aloof. He had hoped to obtain better terms, and he refused to sign the XXIV Articles, just as he had previously declined to accept the XVIII Articles. He also refused to evacuate Antwerp or the other places he held within the appointed frontiers of Belgium. Unwillingly, the Powers were driven to use coercion. Austria, Prussia, and Russia had delayed their ratification of the XXIV Articles, the two first until April 18, Russia until May 4, 1832, in order to give William time to reconsider his position. The Russian Emperor even sent a special envoy to The Hague in the hope of bringing him to see the folly of resistance, but without avail. The autocratic Governments of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg had, in fact, strong sympathies with King William, but in their fear of provoking a general war they declined

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of the Luxemburg and Limburg questions see *Luxemburg and Limburg*, No. 27 of this series.

to give him any assistance in repudiating a treaty to which they, in concert with Great Britain and France, were parties. But, while assenting to the necessity of coercive measures, they delegated to the two Western Powers the task of carrying them out.

(iii) *Franco-British Coercion. The King obstinate*

A Franco-British fleet therefore blockaded the coast of Holland and the mouth of the Scheldt, while a French army, 60,000 strong, entered Belgium and laid siege to Antwerp, which surrendered on December 23. After the capitulation the Belgian forces took possession of Antwerp, and the French army retired. The Dutch, however, still held the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, lower down the river, which barred access to the town, and these William refused to evacuate. The efforts of diplomacy during the spring months could not succeed in persuading the Dutch King either to accept the XXIV Articles or to surrender the forts; but the Powers were weary, and by consenting to raise the blockade arranged an unsatisfactory compromise, known as the Convention of London (May 21, 1833). By this Convention it was agreed that, pending the signing of a definite treaty, no acts of hostility against Belgium should be undertaken, and that navigation on the Scheldt and Meuse should be free. This Convention was really a recognition of the *status quo* so long as the Treaty of the XXIV Articles remained unsigned and the conditions which that treaty imposed were not carried out. Its effect was to leave Belgium in *de facto* possession of the whole of Luxemburg and also of the portion of Limburg which had been by that treaty assigned to Holland.

(iv) *Period of the status quo, 1833-1839*

So matters drifted on in a manner entirely to the advantage of Belgium. In October 1836 Dedel, the Dutch Minister in London, was, indeed, instructed to

approach Palmerston with a view to summoning the Conference afresh. The British Foreign Secretary, however, declined to take any steps until the King had obtained the consent of the Germanic Diet and the Nassau agnates to the proposals regarding Luxemburg and Limburg. For another seventeen months William persisted in his policy of waiting upon events, but meanwhile the Belgian kingdom was increasing in strength and prosperity; and, with the lapse of time, the Belgian people had come to regard the question of Luxemburg and Limburg as no longer a subject of dispute, so completely had the two provinces by tradition, habit, and the goodwill of the inhabitants become part and parcel of the Belgian State. At the same time, the cost of maintaining their army on a constant war-footing had at last exhausted the loyal support given by the Dutch States-General to their King's policy; and, fearing that their growing restiveness might become settled opposition, William suddenly instructed Dedel (March 14, 1838) to inform Palmerston that he gave his adherence to the conditions laid down in October 1831, and that he was ready to sign the Treaty of the XXIV Articles.

(v) *The Treaty of April 19, 1839*

The Conference again met, and the plenipotentiaries had to face the passionate protests of the Belgian Government and people against the territorial cessions they were now called upon to make. Belgium counted on the support of Great Britain and France, and offered to settle the matter by a large pecuniary indemnity. But Palmerston insisted on strict adherence to the Treaty of the XXIV Articles, and on his initiative the other four Powers agreed to oppose any modification. Only on one point—a reduction of the annual payment in discharge of the debt from 8,400,000 fl. to 5,000,000 fl.—did the Belgian diplomats obtain any advantage. Resistance was hopeless; and the treaty was finally signed by the Belgian envoy.

Van de Weyer, at London on April 19, 1839. There were still many details as to boundaries, finance, and the navigation on the Scheldt and Meuse<sup>1</sup> to be settled between Holland and Belgium, but all was arranged amicably and a final treaty signed (November 5, 1842), which at last placed the relations between the two countries on a friendly footing.

## VII. THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND), 1839-1914

### (i) *Reign of William II. Financial Difficulties*

Before this final settlement took place William I had abdicated. Confronted with financial difficulties and with loud demands for constitutional reforms, autocratic to the last, he preferred to leave Holland and retire to his private estates in Silesia.<sup>2</sup> His son, William II, succeeded him. The financial situation first demanded attention. The new King found in F. A. van Hall a Minister who, by a series of bold financial measures, was able to relieve the country from a portion of its crushing indebtedness and to provide the Treasury with the means for meeting its liabilities. The large profits which about this period began to flow in from the East Indian colonial possessions helped in no small measure to restore the credit of the State.

### (ii) *Constitution of 1848. Ascendancy of Thorbecke*

It was at this time that Johan Rudolf Thorbecke<sup>3</sup> rose into prominence as leader of a powerful Liberal party. The King was well-intentioned, though not inclined for

<sup>1</sup> These have been more fully discussed in *Luxemburg and Limburg*, No. 27, and *The Scheldt*, No. 28 of this series.

<sup>2</sup> One cause of dissatisfaction was the marriage of the King with a Belgian Catholic, the Countess d'Oultremont. William died at Berlin on Dec. 12, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> Professor of Jurisprudence at Leyden.

drastic changes; but the revolutionary movements of 1848, which followed the flight of Louis Philippe from Paris, forced his hand. On March 17 William appointed a State Commission of five members, Thorbecke being the leading spirit, to draw up a scheme for revision of the Fundamental Law. Their proposals were adopted with few modifications by the States-General, and received the King's assent on November 3.

The chief provisions of the new Constitution were: the Crown to be hereditary, both in the male and female lines of the House of Orange; the executive power to reside in the Sovereign; the legislative with the States-General, the Ministers being responsible; the First Chamber to be elected by the Provincial States, the Second Chamber by electors paying a certain amount in direct taxation; annual Budgets to be presented and approved; freedom of worship and equal protection to be granted to all religious denominations. The authority of the States-General over colonial affairs was extended; public primary education placed universally under State control; the provincial and communal administration at the same time reformed and regulated. The King was fully prepared to accept loyally these changes, which largely curtailed the power of the Crown, but unfortunately the country was at this important moment deprived of his experienced guidance, for he died suddenly on March 17, 1849, and was succeeded by his son, William III.

In the newly elected States-General the Liberals had a majority, and were supported by the Catholics, who now, for the first time since the Union of Utrecht in 1579, were given the rights of citizenship. Their votes were at present cast for the Liberals, to whom they owed the possession of the franchise. Thorbecke became First Minister; and from this time until his death in 1872, whether he was in or out of office, his commanding personality exercised a continuous and dominating influence on Dutch political life.

The Ministry of Thorbecke was marked by popular reforms in many directions. It eventually fell

through the action of the Vatican, which took advantage of the removal of all Roman Catholic disabilities in the reformed Constitution of 1849 to establish a Catholic episcopate in Holland. The Pope, however, committed the great mistake of issuing his "allocution" without consulting the Dutch Government, and of laying stress in it upon the importance of counteracting in Holland the heresy of Calvin. A wave of indignation swept over the Protestant population; the Ministry had to resign; and an "anti-revolutionary" majority<sup>1</sup> was returned at the election that followed. This sudden turnover of public opinion is known in history as the "April Movement."

During the following decade a series of short-lived Ministries held office, the questions of primary education and of colonial administration chiefly occupying public attention. Thorbecke again became First Minister in 1862, and remained in power for four years. During his administration he was actively engaged in the development of the industries, commerce, and material resources of the country. Indirect taxation was largely replaced by direct, and communal dues were abolished.

### (iii) *Reign of William III. Period of Unstable Ministries*

Differences on the subject of colonial policy caused a change of Ministry; and an Administration under the joint leadership of Baron van Zuylen van Nyevelt and J. Heemskerk had a precarious and stormy existence (1866-68). During its tenure of office the Conference of London (1867) was held, when, by the decision of the Powers, Limburg was entirely severed from all connection with Germany, and became a Dutch province; while the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, of which King William was Sovereign, was created a neutral State

<sup>1</sup> The orthodox Calvinist party, opposed to French revolutionary principles. Its leader was the historian, G. Groen van Prinsterer.

under a joint guarantee of the signatories of the treaty.<sup>1</sup> On being thrown out by a small hostile vote, Thorbecke declined office, but by his advice the King called P. van Bosse to form a Cabinet. It is chiefly remembered by the law which it passed for the abolition of the death penalty. The Franco-German War of 1870, however, called for a stronger Government; and the veteran Thorbecke once more became First Minister, and continued in office during this critical period until his death in 1872.

The period of Dutch history which followed the death of Thorbecke is uninteresting. The Liberals, though they retained a majority in the States-General, were divided amongst themselves; and a succession of weak Ministries held office. Gerrit de Vries (1872-4) was followed by Jan Heemskerk, who had already been First Minister (1866-8). Heemskerk was an able man and clever politician, and for three years by dexterous opportunism he remained at the head of affairs in the face of the combined opposition of the advanced Liberals, the Calvinist anti-revolutionaries, and the Catholics. Groen van Prinsterer, leader of the anti-revolutionary party, died in 1876, and his place was taken by Dr. Abraham Kuyper.<sup>2</sup> Kuyper was an eloquent speaker and a trenchant journalist, who knew how to infuse into the formerly aristocratic and Conservative anti-revolutionary party his own democratic enthusiasm for reform and progress upon religious lines. That religious teaching should be recognised by the State as an essential part of primary education was the fundamental principle of the policy he advocated.

<sup>1</sup> The Luxemburg question (1867) is fully treated in the special paper on Luxemburg, No. 27 of this Series.

<sup>2</sup> Born 1837. After a number of years as a Calvinist pastor, he undertook the editorship of the anti-revolutionary paper, *De Standaard*, in 1872, and in addition that of *De Heraut* in 1878. He was elected member for Gouda in 1874, but resigned immediately, that he might devote himself to editorial work. His political career in the States-General began in 1896.

The support of this principle was a bond of union between the anti-revolutionary party and the Catholics, who were under the leadership of Dr. Schaepman,<sup>1</sup> and had now severed their connection with the Liberal party. An advanced Liberal Ministry held office from 1872 to 1879. It was displaced by that of Count van Lynden van Sandenburg, whose tact and resourcefulness enabled him, with a Ministry formed of men of all parties, to carry on the Government in a period (1879-83) of much disquietude and uncertainty. A series of misfortunes fell at this time upon the House of Orange. In 1877 Queen Sophie died; in 1879 Prince Henry, the King's brother, for many years Stadholder of Luxemburg; a few months later, the Prince of Orange; in 1881 Prince Frederick, the King's uncle; and in 1884 Prince Alexander, his younger and sole surviving son. Not one of these princes left an heir-male to succeed to the throne. In these circumstances the now sexagenarian King married the youthful Emma, Princess of Waldeck-Pyrmont (January 1879); and the birth of a daughter, Wilhelmina (August 31, 1880), caused general rejoicing throughout the country. During the administration of Van Lynden public opinion in Holland was deeply stirred by the revolt of the Boers in the Transvaal against British rule, which ended in the restoration of their independence as the South African Republic (1880-81).

The Van Lynden Ministry fell in February 1883 on a proposed modification of the electoral franchise, and Heemskerk for the third time became First Minister at the head of a Coalition Cabinet of neutral character. One of its acts was to provide for a Regency in case of the King's death during his daughter's minority; and provision was made for Queen Emma to exercise that office with full powers. There had long been an agitation for a revision of the Fundamental Law and for an

<sup>1</sup> Born in 1844, the Abbé Schaepman was elected member for Breda in 1880. He, like Kuyper, devoted himself largely to journalism, contributing to *De Tijd*, *De Katholiek*, and many other papers and reviews.

extension of the suffrage. The Chamber was divided into many groups, but there was a general agreement that revision was necessary; and, after long debates, the Fundamental Law was altered in a democratic direction, though no violent changes were made. It was determined that the First Chamber should consist of fifty members, chosen as before by the Provincial States; the Second Chamber of a hundred members, by an electorate of all males of twenty-five years having a residential qualification and possessing "signs of fitness and social well-being," a phrase reserved for definition by a later law. By this reform the electorate was raised from (about) 100,000 to (about) 350,000.

The general election which followed in 1888 was fought on the question of primary education. In 1857 a law had been passed by which the State declined to give subsidies to any private schools, but only to public "mixed" schools, which were to be "neutral," *i.e.*, to receive no instruction in any specific religious belief or doctrine. This law was revised in 1878, when the Liberals had a large majority in the States-General, and further restrictions were placed upon the teaching of religion, while State assistance was denied to the "free" private schools, supported by the various denominations. The Catholics, who had at first, in gratitude for their emancipation in 1848, voted with the Liberals, were driven into opposition by the Education Bill of 1857 and drawn closer to the anti-revolutionary party of Groen van Prinsterer.<sup>1</sup> The more stringent law of 1878 brought the two groups into still more intimate co-operation; and when, with the election of 1888, a first appeal was made to the largely increased electorate, the two "Christian" parties, under their two eloquent and talented leaders (the Calvinist pastor, Dr. Kuyper, and the Catholic priest, Dr. Schaepman), combined their forces. The result was a decided Coalition triumph. The Liberals were defeated, and a

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Dutch political parties after 1848 see *infra*, p. 68.

Ministry under Baron Mackay, an anti-revolutionary of moderate and conciliatory views, was formed, in which two Catholics had portfolios. The first task of this Ministry was a revision of the education law of 1878. The "Mackay Law," as it is generally called, aimed at a settlement which would "pacify" both parties and be permanent. The "neutral" schools were not touched, but subsidies were extended to the "free" private schools, under condition that every such school should have at least twenty-five scholars, should conform to the official regulations, and be organised by a society or body recognised by the law.

(iv) *Death of William III. Regency of Queen Emma, 1890-98*

The death of the King (November 23, 1890), after a prolonged period of ill-health, was deeply regretted by the Dutch people, who saw in him the last male representative of that House of Orange-Nassau, to which they were strongly attached. He was succeeded by his daughter, Wilhelmina, under the regency of the Queen-Mother, Emma.

An attempt of the Mackay Ministry to introduce a system of compulsory military service, with substitution, alienated the Catholic section of its supporters; and owing to their withdrawal from the alliance, and to a split in the anti-revolutionary party, the Liberals at the election of 1891 obtained a majority. The new Ministry of Van Tienhoven contained two men of special ability—the Finance Minister, Pierson, and the Minister of the Interior, Tak van Portvliet. Pierson succeeded in the task, in which his predecessors had failed, of so reorganising the system of taxation as to avoid a deficit in the Budget and at the same time make sufficient provision for the national defences and for social reforms. But the question of an enlargement of the electorate once more rent the Liberal party. Tak van Portvliet brought in a proposal for practically universal suffrage. The moderate Liberals,

under the leadership of Samuel van Houten, opposed it. The conservative section of the anti-revolutionary party, headed by A. F. de Savornin-Lohman, and the bulk of the Catholics went with Van Houten; the "democratic" followers of Dr. Kuyper and Dr. Schaepman supported Tak. The ordinary parties being thus broken into fragments, the election became a contest between "Takkians" and "anti-Takkians." The Takkians were beaten. A new Ministry under Jonkheer J. Roëll was formed, and the duty of preparing an alternative project of electoral reform fell upon Van Houten as Minister of the Interior. His proposals were finally accepted in 1896, and contained the following provisions. The numbers of the Second Chamber were fixed at 100, to be elected by single-member districts. All males of twenty-five years of age and over received the vote, provided they came under one of these comprehensive categories—(1) payers of at least one guilder in direct taxation; (2) householders or lodgers paying a certain minimum rent and having a residential qualification; (3) proprietors or hirers of vessels of twenty-four tons at least; (4) earners of a certain specified amount of wage or salary; (5) investors of 100 guilders in the public funds or 50 guilders in the savings bank; (6) persons holding certain educational diplomas. By this law the number of electors was raised to about 700,000. The election of 1897 gave a small Liberal majority, and a change of Ministry followed. In 1898 personal military service was established, students and ecclesiastics being alone excepted.

#### (v) *Reign of Queen Wilhelmina*

Queen Wilhelmina attained her majority on August 31, 1898, and herself assumed those duties of sovereignty which the Queen-Regent had discharged admirably for eight years. The first Peace Congress at The Hague, convoked on the initiative of the Tsar Nicholas II, was held from May 18 to June 29, 1899. The outbreak of the Boer

War in the autumn of that year caused a wave of sympathy towards their South African kinsfolk to sweep over the country. The fugitive President Kruger sought refuge in Holland, and met with a warm reception from the Queen and people. The Liberal Ministers maintained, however, a perfectly correct attitude. They had become unpopular by the law of military service and by their efforts to secularise primary education. To resist the establishment of religious neutrality in the schools, the anti-revolutionary (orthodox Calvinist) groups united once more with the Catholic groups in defence of Christian teaching. Victory at the polls attended the "Christian" coalition; and Dr. Kuyper, the leader of the democratic anti-revolutionaries, became First Minister.

Queen Wilhelmina was married to Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin on February 7, 1901; but it was not until 1909 that an heir to the throne, Princess Juliana, was born.

Early in the twentieth century socialistic propaganda began to make great progress, and in 1903 a general strike was threatened unless the Government conceded the demands of the Democratic Labour Party. The military were promptly called out, and an "anti-strike" Bill passed. This determined attitude was successful in averting the strike. In 1905 the elections, after a very close contest, resulted in a Liberal Ministry, dependent on the Socialist vote, replacing that of Dr. Kuyper. This Ministry struggled on under the leadership of De Meester without a working majority in either Chamber until the beginning of 1908, when the rejection of the War Estimates by the Second Chamber caused its resignation. Th. Heemskerk undertook the formation of a Cabinet from the anti-revolutionary and Catholic parties, and in 1909 obtained a decisive victory at the General Election. The programme which achieved this result contained the promise of many social reforms, including old-age pensions, relief of the sick, and poor-law provisions. To meet the heavy burden of such social legislation, a

measure for the establishment of a protective tariff was introduced by the Minister of Finance, Dr. Kolkman, but in face of the opposition which it aroused it had to be withdrawn. As the result of the Ministry's failure to redeem its pledges, the quadrennial election of 1913 resulted in the return to the Second Chamber of fifty-four Liberals and Socialists of various groups, against forty-six anti-revolutionaries and Catholics. The Socialists gained a number of seats, and Dr. Bos, who had been asked by the Queen to form a Cabinet from the different sections of the Left, was unable to do so, as the Socialist group refused their support. Dr. W. P. A. Cort van der Linden was then commissioned to form a Liberal Ministry, and succeeded in doing so. The objects which it proposed to accomplish—the settling of the schools question and a revision of the franchise—have, owing to the outbreak of the war in 1914, had to be postponed.

A general election in the summer of 1918 resulted in a victory for the anti-liberal Coalition. Dr. Cort van der Linden resigned, and a Cabinet was formed (September 6) under a Catholic Prime Minister, M. Ruys de Beerenbrouck.

## II. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

### (1) RELIGIOUS

The growth of Roman Catholicism during the past half-century has been very marked. The provinces of North Brabant and of Limburg have always been overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, and in North and South Holland, Gelderland, and Overijssel the Roman Catholic minority is very large and increasing. The strongholds of Protestantism are the provinces of the north-east, Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe.

Political parties in Holland, as in Belgium, are chiefly divided on religious lines. The religious census of 1909 gave the following results :—

Dutch Reformed.	Other Protestants.	Roman Catholic.	Jansenist.	Jews.	Other or no Religion.
2,588,261	746,186	2,053,021	10,082	106,909	358,158

There is no State Church, but the Budget makes certain fixed allowances for the maintenance of all Churches, the proportion being (about) :—

Protestants of all varieties, 1,376,000 fl.

Roman Catholics, 568,000 fl.

Jews, 14,000 fl.

## (2) POLITICAL

(i) *Form of the Government*

The original Constitution of the Netherlands, as established by the Fundamental Law of 1814, was in principle autocratic. The executive power was vested in the Sovereign. The First Chamber of the States-General consisted of his nominees; the Second Chamber was elected on a very limited franchise; the Budgets were decennial; there was no responsible Ministry.

This Fundamental Law of 1814 was revised in a liberal direction in 1848, and the franchise was greatly extended. A further revision took place in 1887, when a wide extension of the franchise was made. The effect of these changes has been the establishment of a limited constitutional monarchy, on the model of that of Great Britain.

The succession to the throne is vested in the Royal House of Orange-Nassau in the male line, but in default of male heirs it passes to the female line. During a minority a regent is to be appointed. The Sovereign attains his or her majority at the age of eighteen. In default of any legal heir a successor is to be nominated by a joint meeting of the two Chambers of the States-General (with doubled numbers). The Crown possesses large executive powers, and is assisted by a Council of State (*Raad van Staat*) consisting of fourteen members nominated by the Sovereign.

The States-General or Parliament consists of two Chambers—a First Chamber of fifty members, elected indirectly by the Provincial States; a Second Chamber of one hundred members, elected directly by single-member constituencies. The members of the First Chamber must possess a certain high property qualification. The franchise of the voters for the Second Chamber, which is a very wide and complicated one, dependent upon a variety of qualifications, dates from the Electoral Reform Act of 1896. The details have been given above (p. 63). A pecuniary allow-

ance is made to members of both Chambers. The First Chamber is elected for nine years, but one-third of the members retire every three years. The Second Chamber must be re-elected as a whole quadrennially. The Sovereign has the power of dissolving one or both Chambers. A new election must ensue within forty days.

(ii) *Political Parties and Groups*

The political parties or groups are numerous, but in recent years the main division has been religious. After the revision of the Constitution in 1848 the Liberal party, under the leadership of Thorbecke, enjoyed a long lease of power. They had the support of the Catholic vote for some years. This was an act of gratitude on the part of the Catholics for their enfranchisement in 1848, after being excluded from all offices and all political power for well nigh three centuries. The Conservative party, which had been strong before the Reform Act, gradually lost popular support, and soon ceased to exist. The Opposition chiefly consisted of the anti-revolutionary party, ably led by G. Groen van Prinsterer. This party was composed of Orthodox Calvinists, and derived its name from its condemnation of the principles of the French Revolution, principles upheld by the Liberal followers of Thorbecke. The question of religious education in the primary schools was their constant battle-ground. The death of Thorbecke in 1872 and that of Groen van Prinsterer in 1876 led to a break-up of the old parties and to a refashioning of new groups and alliances. The Catholics were inevitably drawn towards the anti-revolutionaries by their common support of the cause of religious education. The Education Act of 1878, passed by the Liberal Minister Kappeyne, brought about a real coalition between them; and under two brilliant and energetic leaders (the anti-revolutionaries under Dr. Kuyper, a Protestant pastor, and the Catholics under Dr. Schaepman, a Catholic priest), the two

“ Christian ” groups learned to work together with definite programmes of social reform upon a democratic basis. The first decisive victory of the Coalition was in 1901, when Dr. Kuyper became First Minister.

Meanwhile the Liberals had aided their opponents by their internal dissensions, and had become broken up into three groups: (1) Old or Independent (*vrij*) Liberals; (2) Liberal Union or Progressive Liberals (*Unie van vooruitstrevende Liberalen*); (3) Liberal-Democrats (belonging to the *Vrijzinnig-democratischen Bond*).

On the other hand, the anti-revolutionary party fell apart into groups: (1) an aristocratic group, which dissociated itself from the democratic views of Dr. Kuyper, and which, under the name of Historical Christians, followed the leadership of Jonkheer Savornin-Lohman. It had its beginning in the *Christelijk-Historische Kiezersbond*, founded by Pastor Dr. Bronsveld. Its principles were those of Groen van Prinsterer, strictly “ orthodox,” and were at once “ anti-Roman ” and “ anti-Kuyperian ”; (2) a separate Frisian group of Historical Christians, which for a while acted independently, but ultimately became amalgamated with the party of Savornin-Lohman.

The Socialist party sprang from the *Algemeene Nederlandsche Werklieden Verbond*, founded in 1871, whose principles were those of Karl Marx and the German Socialists. It found a leader in a Lutheran pastor of The Hague, Domela Nieuwenhuis, a revolutionary agitator of the first order. Under his auspices the Socialist groups formed themselves into a federation, the *Social-democratische Bond*, in 1881. Domela Nieuwenhuis was the first Socialist deputy. He was elected in 1887, and the movement spread apace. He lost his seat at the elections of 1891, and this led him to abandon political for anti-religious and purely revolutionary methods. In this course he was followed by only a portion of the Socialist Bond; a schism took place, and a new organisation was formed, the “ Social-democratic Workmen’s Party,” under the

leadership of Troelstra, Van Kol, and Van der Goes. The avowed object of this party was to fight by parliamentary means for the improvement of the social condition of the proletariat. The revolutionaries in 1894 discarded their old title of "Social-democratic Bond," and henceforth were known as the "Socialist Bond." Their principles were defined as "the destruction of actual social conditions by all means legal and illegal, peaceful or violent." Not only was militarism in every form denounced, but it was determined that a declaration of war should be met by a general strike. The happiness of humanity was to be found in perfect equality, having neither "God nor master." This anarchical party, however, lost ground rapidly, and in 1898 Domela Nieuwenhuis retired, discouraged by the lack of success of his propaganda, and the "Socialist Bond" was dissolved. The remnants joined the "Social-democratic Workmen's Party" in 1900, and since then this party has been advancing in strength, and now returns a sufficient number of deputies to the Second Chamber of the States-General to be a power in the State.

The General Elections of 1909 and 1913 gave the following results:—

Year.	Old Liberals.	Liberal Union.	Democrats.	Catholics.	Anti- Revolut'y.	Historical Christian.	Socialists.
First Chamber—							
1909 .. ..	2	15	0	18	10	4	0
1913 .. ..	9	6	2	18	19	6	2
Second Chamber—							
1909 .. ..	4	21	9	26	21	12	7
1913 .. ..	10	22	7	25	11	10	15

## (3) TAXATION

The Budget estimates were :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1914	232,586,000 fl.	255,203,448 fl.
1915	216,217,909 fl.	253,094,484 fl.

Taxes per head of population in 1913 = £2 5s. 8d.

The National Debt in 1915 was 1,140,272,000 fl. = £95,022,666; the annual interest in 1915 was 38,568,000 fl. = £3,214,000. Between 1850 and 1914 375,430,000 fl. have been devoted to the reduction of the debt, and the Sinking Fund in 1915 was 6,346,000 fl. There is no general income-tax in Holland. There is a tax on capital and a tax on professional incomes. Capital is held to give a profit of 4 per cent., and on this the tax is charged. There is, for instance, no income-tax on the earnings of agriculture. The value of the land is assessed as capital, and the income is supposed to be 4 per cent. on this capital value, and the tax on this is divided in a certain proportion between the owner and the occupier.

Direct taxation (*personeele belasting*) is based on the rental value of house lived in—the number of fireplaces, the furniture, servants, horses, carriages, motor-cars, &c., being taken into account. Another peculiarity of Dutch taxation is that in respect of this item (*personeele belasting*) the towns are divided into nine different classes, with varying rates.

There is no poor rate in Holland. The relief of the poor is entirely carried on by private charity, mostly administered by religious associations. The State does not interfere. If private charity be not forthcoming, an indigent person must be supported by the commune

in which he lives. Such cases are rare. Begging and tramping are punishable as crimes.

#### (4) PUBLIC EDUCATION

##### (i) *Primary Schools*

The subject of religious teaching in primary schools was for many years the cause of political struggles in the constituencies and in the States-General. The law of 1878, which is still in force, separated the teaching of religion in the official State primary schools from the secular teaching; in other words, they were made "neutral" schools. This led to the coalition of the Orthodox Calvinists with the Roman Catholics; and by their efforts Baron Mackay effected a revision of this law in 1889.<sup>1</sup> By this Mackay law private schools supported by a recognised religious body have the same title to a subvention from the State as the official "neutral" schools. But all schools alike are subject to Government and also to communal inspection, and all teachers must qualify for their profession by obtaining certain certificates through examination. It was not till 1900 that attendance was made compulsory from the age of six to that of thirteen.

##### (ii) *Intermediate Instruction*

Between primary education and the higher education of the "gymnasia" and the universities comes the *middelbaar onderwijs*, i.e., intermediate instruction. This is represented by "burgher night-schools" and "higher burgher schools." The first-named are intended for those engaged in industrial or agricultural work; a small fee is payable, and the course extends from two to four years. In the higher burgher schools the instruction is largely technical, and has special reference to local industries. These schools are supported partly by the communes in which

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 62.

they are situated, partly by the State. Scholars can enter at twelve years of age, and the courses last from three to five years. An entrance examination must be passed, and every teacher must possess university diplomas. The subjects taught are those of the "modern side" of an English public school, but much stress is laid upon the study of languages, the *vier talen*, French, English, German, and Dutch, being a necessary part of the curriculum. The expense is very moderate, varying according to the number of courses taken, but not, in any case, exceeding 200 fl. per annum.

In connection with the *middelbaar onderwijs* must be mentioned the School of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Forestry at Wageningen, in Gelderland, with courses of two to four years, and the branch establishments which have been recently started at Groningen and Deventer, the first for scientific agricultural training for the home country, the second as a school of special preparation for colonial life. The fees are very moderate.

### (iii) *Gymnasia*

Above these are the gymnasia. These are intended as preparatory to the universities. Pupils cannot enter before the age of twelve, and the course lasts six years. In addition to modern languages, the study of Latin and Greek is compulsory, and Hebrew may be added. At the end of the fifth year the pupils are divided into two classes: (1) students of theology, letters, philosophy, and law; (2) students of the mathematical sciences, of physics, chemistry, and medicine.

A gymnasium is to be found in every large town, and is supported by the municipality with a grant from the State. In the gymnasia and burgher schools girls are admitted as students, and have access to special courses and classes additional to the usual curriculum.

### (iv) *Universities*

There are universities at Leyden, Utrecht, Groningen, and Amsterdam. The first three are known as

State universities, and were founded respectively in 1575, 1624, and 1636. In 1877 the city of Amsterdam transformed its Athenæum into a municipal university.

The universities are alike in constitution and methods, the subjects to be taught and the examinations to be held in the various faculties being laid down by statute. Instruction of the most thorough and up-to-date character is given by professors, who are mostly men distinguished for their learning and attainments. The system is non-residential, and there is no pretence of discipline of any kind. The student can attend any or all of the courses of lectures by paying the small fees, but he need not attend any. No student can obtain the degree of "doctor," however, unless he has first passed the final examination at a gymnasium and obtained a certificate from a State jury composed of professors of faculties. The course is a long one, varying from four to six years. A "doctorate" in law may be obtained in four years, a "doctorate" in medicine rarely under seven or eight years. The possession of this degree is necessary for magistrates, advocates, physicians, and for teachers' posts in the gymnasia and higher burgher schools.

### III. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

#### (i) *Period from 1814 to 1839*

Holland, when the country regained its independence in 1814, was burdened with a very heavy debt. During the half-century before the French conquest the United Provinces, by maladministration, long-continued civil discord, and the war with England, had been continually adding to an indebtedness which already in 1747-8 was threatening the Republic with bankruptcy. Such was the financial condition of the country that Napoleon in 1810 had decreed the suppression of two-thirds of the debt. William I on his accession considered it a point of honour not to repudiate the national liabilities. He was an able financier. He divided the total obligations, amounting to two milliards of florins, into two categories—800 million florins of active, 1,200 million florins of deferred debt. This deferred portion was to be converted gradually into active stock by a series of annual drawings. The Dutch Budget of 1814 showed a deficit of 16 million florins, that of 1815 (after Waterloo) of 40 million florins. One of the objections raised by the Belgians to the VIII Articles accepted by the Allied Sovereigns in the Protocol of June 21, 1814, as the basis of union between Holland and Belgium, was that by Article VI the latter country, whose debt only amounted to 32 million florins, had to bear half the joint liabilities<sup>1</sup> of the newly created kingdom of the Netherlands. Its unfairness was, however, to a considerable degree com-

<sup>1</sup>About 1,800 million florins.

pensated by the freeing of the Scheldt and the opening of commercial access to the Dutch colonies.

In 1814 it had been the intention of the Dutch Government to reduce very greatly all duties that were a hindrance to freedom of trade. But the union with Belgium brought into relief the fundamental differences between North and South in this as in so many other respects. Holland at that time had no mineral resources, grew little corn, and had few manufactures; her chief interest lay in her sea-borne commerce. Belgium, on the other hand, was essentially an industrial and agricultural country, and while building up her industries afresh she called for Protection. The result was a compromise. The tariff introduced in 1816 was, on the whole, Protectionist, but the duties were kept low. Export premiums were given for some home products, and export of raw materials was forbidden. In 1822, and again in 1824, the corn duties were raised, and in 1835 a sliding-scale system was introduced.

(ii) *Period since 1839. Free Trade Policy*

The complete separation from Belgium in 1839 was followed by financial and commercial distress. King William, by keeping his army on a war footing for eight years, had largely increased the Dutch National Debt; and the treaty of April 19, 1839 had fixed the share of Belgium at an annual payment of 5,000,000 florins, which was but a small relief at a time when trade and commerce were suffering greatly and were steadily on the decline.<sup>1</sup> The Public Debt stood at 2,200 millions, and the burden of interest had become intolerable. William II confided the task of dealing with the matter to F. A. van Hall, who as Minister of Finance in 1843-44 was successful in restoring the country's solvency. He offered the Dutch people the choice between raising by voluntary subscription a loan

<sup>1</sup> See D. A. Portielje, *De handel in Nederland in 1844*.

of 127 million florins, at 3 per cent., or submitting to an oppressive income-tax. The loan was raised. By this means and by capitalising a large part of the annual Belgian payment of five million florins, Van Hall was able to clear off the preceding four years' deficits and to convert the 5 and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Stock into 4 per cent. These measures and the large profits which began at this time to flow into the Dutch Exchequer from the East Indian colonies through the application of what was known as the *Cultuur-Stelsel*<sup>1</sup> eased the situation, and enabled the receipts to balance the expenditure.

After the revision of the Constitution in 1848, and during the long ascendancy of the Liberal party, under the leadership of Thorbecke, the policy of the country moved steadily in the direction of Free Trade. In 1850 transit and navigation dues ceased to be levied; some other duties were also lowered; and a further reduction was made in 1854. Thorbecke in 1862 to a great extent superseded indirect taxation by direct, and removed, as far as possible, all restrictions pressing upon trade and industry. The new tariff imposed a duty of 5 per cent. on fully manufactured goods, and of only 2 to 3 per cent. on partly finished articles for industrial purposes. Raw materials were admitted free. In 1863 communal dues were abolished. In 1877 duties on grain, seeds, and flour were extinguished. The 5 per cent. duty of 1862 was still retained, but entirely for revenue purposes.

Various unsuccessful attempts have been made in more recent years to impose Protectionist duties, *e.g.*, in 1895 and 1899. In 1905 it was proposed by the Ministry of Dr. Kuyper to raise the 5 per cent. duty on manufactured goods to 10 or 12 per cent.; but the Bill introduced by the Finance Minister, Harte van Tecklenburg, was not carried, and the Ministry were defeated at the General Election in that year. The

<sup>1</sup> The "Cultivation System," by which the native cultivators were compelled to pay a proportion of the products of the land to the Government as rent.

quadrennial election of 1909 again returned the Christian-Coalition party, of which Dr. Kuyper was the leading spirit, with a large majority; and Dr. Th. Heemskerk formed a new Ministry, in which Dr. M. J. Kolkman was Finance Minister. To meet the cost of carrying out the social reforms promised by the party,<sup>1</sup> the Government announced its intention of increasing considerably the amount of the existing duties, and of largely extending the list of dutiable imports. The Bill was introduced on August 1, 1911. It is needless to state its provisions, for it gave rise to many petitions and a widespread agitation in the country; it was finally withdrawn, and the elections of 1913 led to the resignation of the Heemskerk Ministry. Holland remains thus a free-trading country, duties being paid on a very much smaller number of articles than in Great Britain, and intended for revenue purposes only.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 64.

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## NOTE ON TREATIES, &c.

The Treaties, Protocols, and Conventions for the period 1814-1830 (during which Holland and Belgium were united) and for the transitional period 1830-1843, being of common interest to the two countries, extracts from them are given in the Appendix to *Belgium*, No. 26 of this series.

The following authorities are cited in this work:

1. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1911, p. 101.

2. *British Medical Journal*, 1911, p. 101.

3. *Lancet*, 1911, p. 101.

4. *Medical Record*, 1911, p. 101.

5. *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians*, 1911, p. 101.

6. *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1911, p. 101.

7. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1911, p. 101.

8. *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology*, 1911, p. 101.

9. *Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society*, 1911, p. 101.

10. *Journal of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 1911, p. 101.

NOTE ON TREATING

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1. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1911, p. 101.

2. *British Medical Journal*, 1911, p. 101.

3. *Lancet*, 1911, p. 101.

4. *Medical Record*, 1911, p. 101.

5. *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians*, 1911, p. 101.

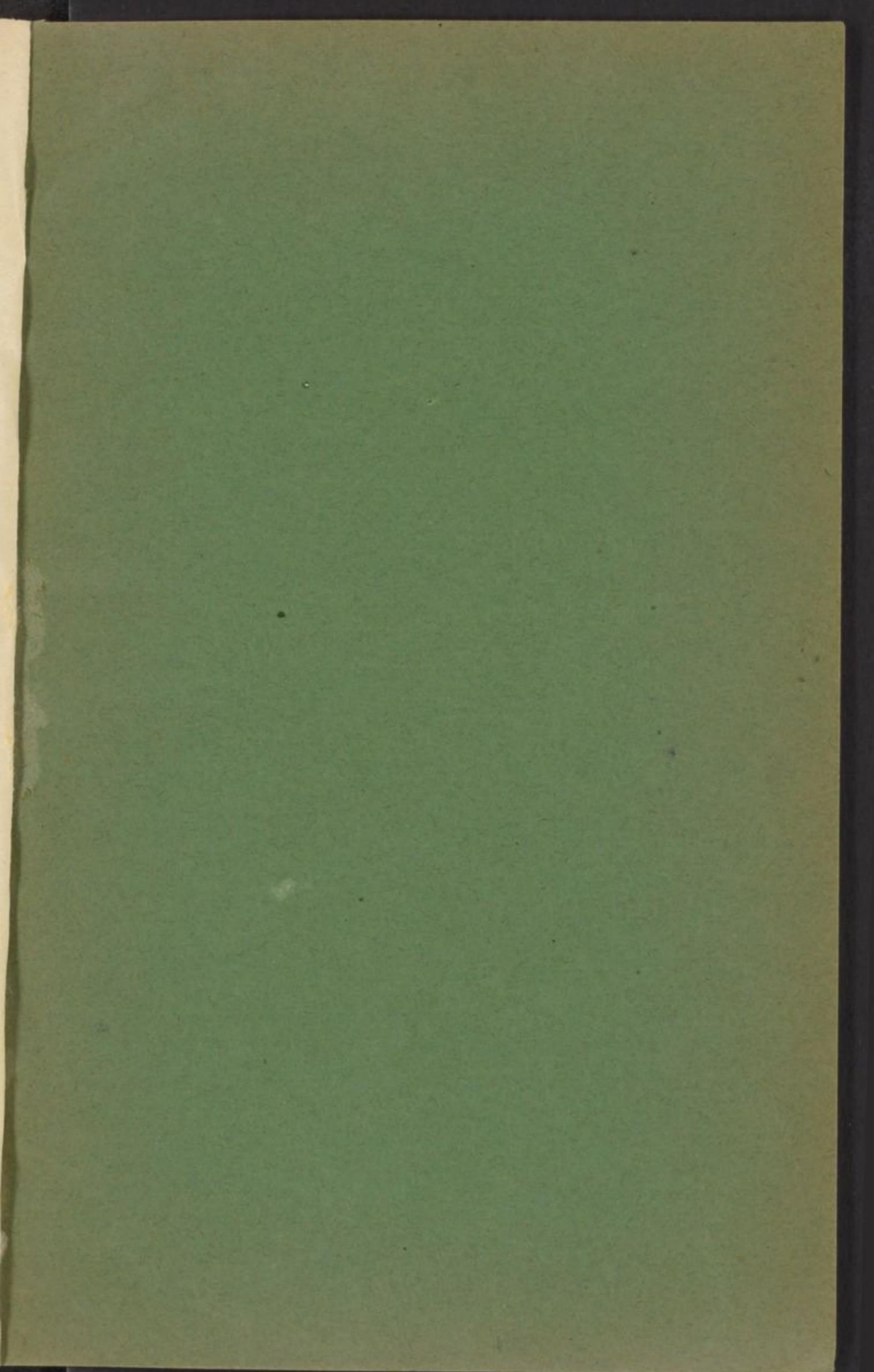
6. *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1911, p. 101.

7. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1911, p. 101.

8. *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology*, 1911, p. 101.

9. *Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society*, 1911, p. 101.

10. *Journal of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 1911, p. 101.



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