

FRANCISCUS VAN DEN ENDEN

*Free Political Propositions
And Considerations of State (1665)*

Text in Translation,
the Relevant Biographical Documents
and a Selection from *Kort Verhael*

Introduced, presented, translated and commented on

by

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Preface

The text of this book was ready as a draft in January 1991. The reason that it remained on my desk for a period of sixteen years is partly a disillusion in the contacts with a renowned publisher. They mainly concerned a different appreciation of the relevance of Van den Enden's treatises and, secondly, a disagreement about the style of the translations. This author tries to follow Van den Enden's intellectual and rather complicated linguistic meanderings on the heels, whereas the publishing house preferred a breaking up and smoothing of the unusual and very difficult prose, which I wished not to comply with. Regarding the urgency of the publication the time was perhaps not yet ripe for receiving a revolutionary treatise, which blew up the traditional picture of Spinoza's virginal birth from Athena's head. More about this point will be found in the *Introduction* hereafter.

The author, however, could not afford to remain inactive where the riches of the material were to his view enormous and even inexhaustible. First he prepared an accurate Dutch re-publication of the original old-Dutch text, which he introduced with a biography of the master, a survey of his works, a commentary on the main points of the *Free Political Propositions* and a comparison of Van den Enden's philosophy with Spinoza's, maintaining that the master may be considered a 'Proto-Spinoza'.¹ He further explored and discussed the implications of the discovery of Van den Enden's works for the historical and systematical Spinoza studies in his biographical sketch "Spinoza's life and works",² in his translation of and commentary on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*,³ in a chapter of his historical

¹ See Franciscus van den Enden, *Vrye Politijke Stellingen Met een inleiding van Wim Klever* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek 1992). The introduction pp 7-122. Shortly before the English language world was informed by my "A new source of Spinozism: Franciscus van den Enden" in *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 29 (1991) 613-632.

² See Don Garrett (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza* (Cambridge U.P. 1996) pp. 13-61.

³ See Wim Klever, *Definitie van het Christendom. Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-*

monography on the circle around Spinoza,⁴ and finally in chapter 20 of a book about the classical sources of Spinozism.⁵ The Old-Dutch text of VPS was also in total translated in new and contemporary Dutch and extensively commented upon in *Democratische vernieuwing in NL and EU op historische en filosofische grondslag*.⁶

Initially scholars were rather reluctant in accepting a major influence of the master on his Latin student Benedictus. Franciscus' impact on the pupil's mind would have been negligible. Gradually, however, they started to become interested and tried to trace common points and to assess the degree of influence. The first signs of a turning could be remarked in the biographies of Margaret Gullan-Whur and Steven Nadler.⁷ Both biographers acknowledge that Van den Enden was not only for Benedictus his Latin mentor but that he also must have imbibed his mind with a radical form of Cartesianism, which may be described as naturalism. Both, however, will not yet admit the deep affinity between Van den Enden's and Spinoza's political theory that is only explainable as a paternity of the first for the latter. This defect is probably due to the incapability of the English language biographers to read the works of the master in his seventeenth century Dutch, a language completely inaccessible for them (and in most cases also for Dutch students nowadays).

From my first publication onwards the historian Jonathan Israel, for whom the old sources are not closed documents, has immediately avowed the not to overestimate significance of Van den Enden's

politicus *opnieuw vertaald en toegelicht* (Delft: Eburon 1999) 400 pp.

⁴ See chapter 2 (translated) "Van den Enden and his renewal of political science" in Wim Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza. Presentatie van een emanciperende generatie 1650-1700* (Hilversum: Verloren 1997) pp. 31-53.

⁵ See Wim Klever, *Spinoza classicus. Antieke bronnen van een moderne denker* (Budel: Damon 2005) ch. 19 on "Spinoza's complementaire profielen: Iberico-Judaicus, Cartesianus reformatus, Affinianus", especially the section on "Theological-political obsession in the wake of Van den Enden".

⁶ Vrijstad 2003. The comments concerned the influence of this text on Spinoza and its usability for the renewal of our pseudo-democracy.

⁷ See M. Gullan-Whur, *Within Reason. A Life of Spinoza* (London 1998) (on a 20 pages) and S. Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life* (Cambridge U.P. 1999) (also a 20 pages).

philosophical position on itself as well in relation to Spinoza. Already in his *Dutch Republic* (1995) he writes that “His republican tract, the *Vrye Politieke Stellingen*, published in 1665, is of great importance because of its intellectual sophistication, its foreshadowing of Spinoza in several respects, and perhaps most of all for its strong, democratic character, this being one of the very earliest systematic statements of democratic republicanism in the western world”.⁸ Thereupon follows a whole chapter on Spinoza’s master in his now already classic *Radical Enlightenment* under the title: “Van den Enden: Philosophy, Democracy, and Egalitarianism”,⁹ in which he characterizes the VPS as an “uncompromising muscular book, noteworthy for its egalitarianism, emphatic democratic tendency and vitriolic anticlericalism”. Van den Enden’s star has ascended much higher in the sky of radical enlightenment in Israel’s newest volume *Enlightenment contested*.¹⁰ Not only is he treated *passim* in this work; next to Spinoza he is with fullest right considered a central figure in the making of modernity, with whom other ‘philosophes’ of the modern era are compared and at whose ideas theirs are measured.

One might state today that the initial opposition against the thesis of a major influence of the great philosopher Van den Enden on Spinoza’s work is now slackened, albeit not yet disappeared, – I think because of unacquaintance with his work. This, however, ought to change rapidly. Frank Mertens, a Belgian scholar, is so fascinated by person and work of Van den Enden, that he, as a by-product of his PhD project on *Kort Verhael*, has set up a website under the title *Franciscus van den Enden. Former Jesuit, Neo-Latin Poet, Physician, Art Dealer, Philosopher, Teacher of Spinoza and Conspirator against Louis XIV*. See <http://users.pandora.be/fvde/>. Mertens has found many unknown (and highly valuable) details about his family and his early, pre-

⁸ P. 788. The full title is *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford 1995).

⁹ P. 175-185. The full title is: *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford 2001).

¹⁰ Full title: *Enlightenment contested. Philosophy, Modernity, and the emancipation of Man 1650-1752* (Oxford 2006).

Amsterdam period, in which he unmistakably has been rather active in art dealing. The website publishes also most documents that follow hereafter. My own presentation (with comments and translations), however, does not want to constitute a complete intellectual biography, since it is exclusively oriented on origin and greatness of Van den Enden as a philosopher and political scientist. But it is, of course, a happy circumstance for an author, that his readers can refer themselves in many cases for more historical information to a first class and very reliable website. Moreover, the rather long text of the *Kort Verhael* needs not to be reproduced here, because he is already available on the website. This is not yet the case with the text of VPS. This latter text will be placed before long, as Frank Mertens informed me on my request.

The above mentioned website does not make this book redundant for various reasons: my exclusive orientation on Van den Enden's philosophy, the first English translation of this capital work in the history of philosophy, and, last but not least, the book format of all this, which is certainly not yet outdated with the coming up of internet.

A final remark concerning this book: I publish it privately under my own control, precisely as the author Van den Enden published his 'clandestine' pamphlet in 1665 for his own account and spread it under the counter of the bookkeeper. The official publishers have too many improper and inefficient requirements, are afraid for repercussions, take too much time for preparation and printing, and ask a price which has no proportion to the real costs. Nobody needs to become rich over the shoulder of our master. Today there are enough facilities for selfservice in order to publish one's writings.

WK, January 2007.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A genius cannot come from nowhere. Everything must have an adequate cause of its existence. Historians of Spinozism have made a range of persons in Spinoza's prehistory responsible for his appearance as a philosopher. For some of them Jewish medieval thinkers were of primary importance in his development, others traced him back towards Cartesianism, Stoicism and even Scholasticism.¹¹ In more recent studies one finds the trend to search after major influences in his direct environment, the Jewish educators, the circle of his early friends, the Spanish doctor Juan de Prado and the master Franciscus van den Enden.¹²

The early documents from his own lifetime, however, do not hesitate at all; they unanimously ascribe Spinoza's heresy to the pernicious influence of the 'popish schoolmaster' Van den Enden who in his turn, according to some sources at least, was infected by Cartesianism.

Up till now there was not much known of Franciscus van den Enden. J.V. Meininger and G. van Suchtelen summarized the scarce materials in their *Liever met wercken, als met woorden. De levensreis van doctor Franciscus van den Enden, leermeester van Spinoza, complotteur tegen Lodewijk de Veertiende*.¹³ However, some sources were not sufficiently explored by the authors and new documents have

¹¹ See respectively H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Spinoza. Unfolding the Latent Processes of his Reasoning*. Cambridge USA 1962²; F. Alquié, *Le rationalisme de Spinoza*. Paris 1981; Piero Di Vona, *Studi sull' ontologia di Spinoza*. Firenze 1960, 1969.

¹² See I. Revah, *Spinoza et le docteur Juan de Prado*. Paris 1959; Idem, "Aux origines de la rupture spinozienne: nouveaux documents sur l'incroyance dans la communauté judéo-portugaise d'Amsterdam à l'époque de l'excommunication de Spinoza", in *Revue des Etudes Juives* CXXIII (1964) 359-431; G. Albiac, *La sinagoga vacía. Un estudio de las fuentes marranas del espinosismo*. Madrid 1987; K.O. Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn Kring. Historisch-kritische studiën over Hollandsche Vrijgeesten*. Utrecht 1980².

been found in recent years, which contribute not a few details to the biography.¹⁴ On account of these two facts I had already come to the conclusion that new research was necessary for a reassessment of the relationship Van den Enden - Spinoza.

When doing the research and other preparations for a new biography I made the discovery of my life. Like every scholar I had sometimes dreamt of fortune and good luck in my activities. This, however, surpassed everything I could have hoped for and cost me some sleepless nights on account of the excitement. After a strenuous quest in archives and libraries, about which another story could be told, I succeeded in identifying two treatises on political theory and practice, the one pseudonymous and the other anonymous, as being works written by Van den Enden as a philosopher. I felt like the archeologist who after having found a lot of sherds suddenly hits on the tomb of a monarch and, having opened it, gets a view on the riches of a historical figure.¹⁵

This happened in the first months of the year 1990. After I had given the news to the press, which paid much attention to it since it was considered to be a scoop¹⁶, and the news was spread through Europe, I was due for a second surprise. It appeared that the discovery was already done nearly two decades before, in 1971, by a French historian, namely Marc Bedjai, who had, however, never published anything about it so

¹³ Weesp 1980.

¹⁴ The new findings are published or will before long be published *in Studia Spinozana* and in *Cahier Spinoza*. The educational role of Van den Enden in the development of Spinoza's latinity is much elucidated in O.Proietti, "Adolescens luxu perditus; classici latini nell' Opera di Spinoza", in *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scolastica* LXXVII (1985) 210-257 and F. Akkerman, *Spinoza's tekort aan woorden. Humanistische aspecten van zijn schrijverschap. Leiden 1977*.

¹⁵ So it occurred some years ago to Professor Andronikos who discovered in Vergina (Greece) the tomb of Philippos, the father of Alexander the Great.

¹⁶ See Peter van Rooden, "De leermeester van Spinoza. Belangrijkste vondst sinds 1852" and F. Eijgenraam, "Franciscus van den Enden was het brein achter Spinoza", both in *NRC Handelsblad 8-V-1990* (Supplement 'Wetenschap & Onderwijs'.

that nobody (included me) could know about it. Bedjai was at the moment busy with the last preparations for the defense of his dissertation on the subject. Meanwhile this dissertation is available in typescript. The title is *Métaphysique, Ethique et Politique dans l'oeuvre du docteur Franciscus van den Enden (1602-1674): contribution à l'étude des sources des écrits de B. de Spinoza (1632-1677)*.ⁱ It contains a long biographical chapter and mainly concentrates on the *Philedonius* of which it gives a hermetic-alchymistic interpretation. The work presents also a photocopy of the discovered political pamphlets, whose content, however, is barely elaborated.

What could only be presumed before is attested now by Van den Enden's own writings: he really is a great and courageous man, a true philosopher, a fascinating author besides. Reading in the 120 pages we now have from his pen, one becomes convinced of the deep influence he exercised on Spinoza. Apart from the authors Spinoza read himself, among whom foremost Descartes, it is primarily Van den Enden, who is responsible for the making of Spinoza's mind. I hope that I will not be accused of exaggerating, but I can't help to use here the predicate of 'Proto-Spinoza' for Van den Enden. Not only his purely rationalistic attitude, the secular concept of God as nature, determinism, the highly important distinction between the three kinds of knowledge are present in Van den Enden's books. What is more, the main items of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Tractatus politicus* are clearly prefigured and delineated in his work. Van den Enden develops the same political principles as Spinoza, and earlier so.

It is not at all the intention of this work to detract in one way or another something from Spinoza's contrivance. But every Spinozist knows that what we call 'original' must nonetheless originate from a cause, a cause which may be very complicated and multiple. I am sure (and will show it) that Van den Enden's ideas constitute a very important 'partial cause' of the meanings we find under Spinoza's words.

This monography contains everything that is relevant for throwing some light on Van den Enden's philosophical work. I shall try to provide the reader with all possible information, so that he can judge for himself. Of Van den Enden's works the *Philedonius* (1657) is not

reproduced in facsimile, because the reader may today consult Fr. Van den Enden, *Philedonius*. Ed. By M. Bedjai (Paris 1994).

I realize that this presentation can only be a first assistance for further research. More time and energy should be spent to research in archives and libraries, especially the Town Archive (Stadsarchief) of Amsterdam. I cannot wait, however, with the presentation of my findings; all historians and friends of Spinoza have a moral right on it. I, for my part, hope sincerely that this volume will mark the beginnings of a renewal in the history of Spinozism. The predominantly political objective of Van den Enden's works opens, as it were, our eyes for the same characteristic, the obtaining of political well-being together with other people, in Spinoza's life program. "This, then, is the end I aim at: to acquire such a nature, and to strive that many acquire it with me. That is: it is part of my happiness to take pains that many others may understand as I understand, so that their intellect and desire agree entirely with my intellect and desire. To do this it is necessary, first to understand as much of Nature as suffices for acquiring such a nature; next to form a society of the kind that is desirable, so that as many as possible may attain it as easily and surely as possible" (*Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* § 14). Indeed, this seems to be the main lesson that the young Spinoza drew from his master, when he first met him, probably in 1653 or 1654. That the master must have had a very intense interest in politics already in his midlife will be shown by the documents to be presented.

While English is not my native tongue, it surpasses my linguistic capacities to offer the reader from a stylistic point of view an unimpeachable translation of the works of Van den Enden. On account of the high degree of difficulty of the texts, it seemed also impossible to charge a professional interpreter with the job. He/she would have too many difficulties in understanding the very complicated old Dutch of Van den Enden. I have tried to follow very closely the structure of Van den Enden's periods, which have usually a length of ten lines. The reader should realize that apart from the translation the original is also difficult to read.

A short Curriculum Vitae

Born: 9th February 1602 in Antwerpen (Belgium)

Secondary education: six years of grammatics and humanities ('humaniora') in colleges of the Augustinian and Jesuit fathers in Antwerpen

Entry in the order of the Jesuits: 27th July 1619. Two years novitiate in Mechelen (Belgium) 1619-1621.

Higher education: 1621-1623 philosophy in the Jesuit philosophical college in Leuven (Belgium); classical philology in Leuven and Antwerpen. "Magister artium liberalium" (1624)

Teaching activities: Grammatics in Mechelen (1624); syntaxis in Oudenaarde (1625); poetics in Aalst (1626) and Winoxberge (1627); rhetorics in Kassel (1628). All these jobs on Belgian Jesuit colleges.

Higher education (continuation): theology 1629-1633 in the Jesuit 'theologicum' in Leuven. Dismissal from the Jesuit order on 15th May 1633.

Period 1633-1644: probably spent on a) medical studies and acquirement of the doctorate b) travelling through Europe (to France, Hungary and Spain?), c) political activities as advisor (of the States General of the Republic? of the King of Spain?)

Marriage: with Clara Maria Vermeeren in Antwerpen (1642). First born child (Clara Maria) in 1643.

Settlement in Amsterdam: 1644 or 1645. Four other children were born (1648 twins, 1650, 1651), of which only Adriana Clementina and Marianna survived.

Period 1645-1652: "doctor in medicine fugative" in Amsterdam; from 1649 till 1652 having an artistic gallery "In de Konst-winckel" (Art-shop, in the Nes), handling in books and prints. Publication of *Korte Verthooninghe* (1650). Bankrupt in 1652.

Profession from 1652 till 1670: master of his private Latin School (on the 'Cingel') in Amsterdam. Grammatical and philosophical education of the youth of well to do Amsterdam citizens, who did not like to send their children to the official but reformed Latin School of the town.

Theatre performances of the Van den Enden's students: 1654 (Virgilius' *Troje* in the Stadsschouwburg); 1656 and 1657 (Van den Enden's *Philedonius*); 16th and 17th January 1657 (Terentius' *Andria*); 21th and 22nd May 1658

(Terentius' *Eunuchus*, also in the Stadsschouwburg); 1664 (L.Meyer's *Medea*); Seneca's tragedies.

Epistolary contacts with De Witt: 1665-1667.

Migration to Paris: 1670 (second half of the year); Foundation of a Latin school, called 'Hôtel des Muses' (1671) in the outskirts of Picpus. Contacts with scientists. Conspiracy against Louis XIV (1674)

Death: 27th November 1674 (hanged on a gallows-tree).

Chapter II

SOURCES AND TESTIMONIES

One cannot imagine a better entry into the inventory of allusions made to Van den Enden and the series of explicit references to his historical role in the development of Spinozism than the poem, which was dedicated to Van den Enden by the Amsterdam poet Pieter Rixtel. In fact, 'poet' is a too great word for Rixtel's capacities on this field. The poem is not more than a rime in which one misses the poetical genius. But the verses have nonetheless a high value for us, because their author was, as a former student, in close relationship with Van den Enden and knew about his philosophy. Pieter Rixtel, born in 1644, bookkeeper in Purmerend and Haarlem, was a member of the circle around another poet, Jan Zoet. He published his poems in *Mengelrijmen* (Haarlem 1669).

[1] Aan den hoogh-geleerden Heer Franciscus van den Enden,
Medicinen Doctor.
Godts Wesen, dat sigh selfs geheel in 't al besluyt,
Begrypt ghy in uw Geest, en leert het ons bekennen.
Wat heyl uyt weetenschap, wat ramp uyt dwaesheydt spruyt,
Vertoont ge, om ons tot deught, door waarheydt te gewennen.

[1] To the very learned Sir Franciscus van den Enden,
Doctor of Medicine.
Gods Essence, which includes itself wholly in the universe,
Do you understand in your Mind and teach us to confess it,
What salvation shoots from science, what disaster from folly
Do you show us, to accustom us by truth to virtue.

This is undoubtedly a strong attestation of Van den Enden's identification of God's essence with the infinite Nature, of his conception that we actually know and understand God in our mind (which is more than the possibility to infer his existence), of his

educational activity to bring his pupils to the acknowledgment of this secularized theology, and finally of his theory that human well being hangs on science and that misfortune is the consequence of folly; only truth can be the way to virtue.

That Van den Enden gave the young people, which were trusted to his care, a very broad scientific training, may be inferred from another long poem from Pieter Rixtel's pen, in the final verses of which a successful pupil, Jan van Elslant, is addressed:

[2] Vaer voort soo Soontje, leer en weet,
Suygh Geest uit van den Endens ader,
Opdat ons blycke, dat uw Vader
Achil by Chiron heeft besteet.

[2] Go on so little son, learn and know,
Suck Spirit from Van den Enden's vein,
So that it becomes clear, that your Father
has apprenticed Achilles to Chiron.

In fact this rime was dedicated to Jan's father Mr Boëtius van Elslant "Poët and Lawyer, concerning the Latin exercise of his son, Jan van Elslant, eight years old, receiving instruction from the learned master Franciscus van den Ende, M.D. at Amsterdam" (*Mengelrijmen*, p. 16). The young boy is indirectly exhorted, not only to learn Latin grammar and such things, but also to 'know' and to draw 'Geest' (wisdom), let us say highest knowledge, from the lessons of his master. The master, called "medical doctor" in the dedication, is named a Cheiron in the verse. This reference to Cheiron alludes to a complete education, not only in medicine but also in all the 'Centauric' arts and sciences. Cheiron, son of Kronos, was said to excel in wisdom and knowledge and to have formed the mind of many a Greek hero, like Jason and Achilles. Jantje van Elslant is according to Rixtel the Achilles at the feet of Franciscus van den Ende, the Cheiron. This master is considered to be more than a teacher in Latin Grammar or Rhetorics.

The 'ons' (us; in [1]) implies that Pieter Rixtel had also personally enjoyed the wise lessons of the master, if not in his Latin

School, than perhaps in the Mennonite congregation or in Zoet's 'café chantant'. That he was a sincere follower of Van den Enden's worldview can be concluded from another poem (*Mengelrijmen*, p. 141), in which he developed the same theme:

[3] Wie Wijsheidt soekt, aenschou al 't geen de tijt vertoont,
 En let hoe 't quaet en 't goet, zyn Meester straft en loont (...)
 Hoe Godts-dienst het gemoet doet rusten op 't gelooven:
 Hoe Waerheydt onderdrukt, de Loogen raekt te boven:
 Hoe Waen, en Schijn het Volk verblinden in 't verstaen:
 Hoe Raethuys, Kerk en Beurs bestaen door manck te gaen:
 Wie soo de Weerelt in zijn Ingewant beziet,
 Soekt Godt in 't Al alleen, en vint daer buyten niet.

[3] Who looks for wisdom, behold what time displays you,
 And how the evil and the good punishes and pays its master (...)
 How Religion makes rest the heart on believing:
 How Truth is suppressed, how the Lie comes aloft:
 How Delusion and Sham dazzle people's understanding:
 How Townhall, Church and Exchange Bourse exist by going crippled:
 Who so inspects the World in its entrails,
 Seeks God in the All alone and doesn't find anything besides.

These philosophical verses show the same emphasizing of the value of natural science and of pantheism. The 'folly' of the first rime is here represented in the delusion, which mostly blinds the human minds or which is purposively employed by governors, churchmen and merchants. There cannot be a transcendental Judge who would organize compensations for good and evil in a hereafter. That is an erroneous idea, cultivated by the ministers of Religion; that is an illusion in conflict with the truth, which we find when looking into the interior of the world and recognizing its laws.

If Rixtel learned all this from Van den Enden - and there are good reasons to believe so - one can easily imagine how much Spinoza in his turn was likewise indebted to this master. What do we further know about the life and the ideas of this naturalistic freethinker? Dates about birth, childhood, youth and education were brought to light and

published by Vogels and Sterck.¹⁷ In the *Album novitiorum* (1619-1623), found in Drongen near to Gent, Van den Enden wrote himself the following lines:

4] Ego Franciscus Van den Enden Antverpiensis natus anno 1602 mensis Februarii die 9, ex legitimo thoro patre Joë Van den Enden, matre Barbara Janssens, ambobus superstitibus, manuum labore victitantibus; grammaticae et humanioribus operam dedi Antverpiae per sexennium partim apud patres Augustinianos, partim apud patres Soc'is; admissus sum in Soc'em a R.P. Carolo Scribanio, eiusdem Soc'is per Flandrobelgiam provinciali Antverpiae anno 1619, mensis Julij, die 27.

[4] I, Franciscus Van den Enden from Antwerp born on 9th February in the year 1602, out of the lawful marriage between Joe van den Enden and Barbara Janssens, both still in life and living from handwork; in Antwerp I applied myself during six years to grammatics and humanities partly with the Augustine fathers, partly with the fathers of the Society; I was admitted to the Society by the Reverend Father Carolus de Schrijver, provincial of the same Society in Flemish Belgium, in Antwerp in the year 1619, on the 12th of July.

The novitiate, where Franciscus started his formation period as a candidate Jesuit, was in Mechelen (Belgium). He had to stay there for two years of spiritual training, in which he passed successfully four examinations (3-12-1619; 28-6-1620; 23-12-1620; and 26-6-1621). After this introductory period in the Jesuit Society came the so-called 'philosophicum', a three years course in scholastic philosophy and physics in Leuven and philology in Antwerp and Leuven, at the end of which he received the degree of 'magister grammaticae'. As a master in classical philology and liberal arts Franciscus van den Enden was now well qualified for teaching Latin and Greek language and literature in

¹⁷ Is. Vogels, Benedictus de Spinoza" in *Studien op godsdienstig, wetenschappelijk en letterkundig gebied*, deel 48 (Utrecht 1897) 441-499 en J.F.M. Sterck, "Vondel en de kring van Dr. Fr. van den Enden", in *Hoofdstukken over Vondel en zijn kring*. Amsterdam 1923. Zie ook aanvullingen bij Meininger & Van suchtelen, o.c. p. 9-10.

one of the many colleges, which the Jesuits had founded all over the country. In 1624 he started teaching grammatics in the lower classes of the college in Mechelen; in the next four years he gradually climbed to the higher classes. In 1625 he was responsible for the syntax class in Oudenaarde, in 1626 and 1627 for the 'ars poetica' in the fifth classes of Aalst and Winoxberge en in his fifth year (1628) as a Latin school teacher he was charged with teaching rhetorics (the sixth class) in Kassel. This career was undoubtedly a very valuable learning process for the young 'magister' in the black Jesuit gown with white collar. Hard work to prepare the lessons, much experience in the classroom, and meanwhile a strict observance of the rules for the community life, just as the military founder Ignatius of Loyola had prescribed them. The regular promotion from lower classes and responsibilities to higher classes and tasks may well be interpreted as an indication of the contentment of his superiors about his teaching and scholarship.

So there seemed to exist no obstacle for him to continue the normal pattern of Jesuit education. From 1629 till 1633 he studied the divine science of theology, again in Leuven, but now in the theological department of the seminary. His mental development, however, seemed to have run in a different direction than his superiors had planned it. One month before finishing his four years theological course (to be precise: on the 15th of May 1633) he was "sent away" (dimissus) from the Jesuit Society. As a consequence of this act the young man of 32 years old suddenly stood on the street, full of higher learning, of linguistic, philosophical and theological science, but without a job, without a living, without the support of relatives. It was probably impossible to go to Antwerpen and to knock on the door of his poor parents, who earned their living in the weaver's trade. Just before the ordination to the priesthood Franciscus was excluded from the ranks of Jesuit fighters for the kingdom of God and the pope and stood alone in the world.

What was the reason of his dismissal? May we call it an excommunication on account of unorthodox views that could not be admitted? Was it maybe Van den Enden's own wish to go away from the martial company? Or was it an agreement between both parties and in everybody's advantage that he should leave? Is. Vogels S.J. (o.c.p. 461)

suggests that in a letter from the general of the order to the Flemish provincial De Wael there is an allusion to "errors". If true this may be interpreted as an argument that Van den Ende could not conform to the orthodox theology he had to accept as a Roman Catholic and as a Jesuit theologian and that, in their turn, his superiors had no choice either and were obliged to send him away. According to Vogels the document referred to sounds:

[5] Na rijp overleg van hetgeen U eerwaarde onlangs over Franciscus van den Eynden berichtte, machtig ik U eerwaarde hem zo spoedig mogelijk uit de Sociëteit te zenden.

[5] After mature consideration of what you Reverend lately reported about Franciscus van den Eynden, I authorize you to send him as soon as possible away from the Society.

The dismissal would have taken place on May 15th at Halle, Belgium. From the "Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu" (Rome) I received on my request a handwritten copy of De Wael's letter, dated on March 19th 1633. Experts could not completely decipher the manuscript letter; this is what they could read:

[5a] Gulielmo de Wal, Prov. :
 Bene animadvertit R.V. Deo valde cordi esse et coll. coram sese et provinciam suam, cum ... occasionem ei offert, tam periculosa ingenia prius a suo contubernio excludendi quam ab illis gravius aliquod incommodum ... Quare ne occasione oblata
 diligenter quod R.V. de Valentino Le Vray et Francisco Van den Eynden nuper huc sumpsit, R.V. potestatem facio illos primo quoque tempore a societate nostra dimittendi...

So much is clear that Franciscus Van den Enden, as being a serious danger for further contamination of the community, could no longer be tolerated in the company of the fighters for the Roman Catholic Orthodoxy and had to be removed. Since the Latin text gives 'illos', our Van den Enden was not the only one to be sent away. There is no doubt,

however, that he also himself wanted to leave the Jesuit society. In the trial at the end of his life he testified that it was with mutual consent that he said goodbye to his confraters:

[6] Et par le dit Vandenenden a esté dit qu'il demeure d'accord d'avoir esté dix ans parmi les Jesuites, mais qu'il n'estoit engagé que par les voeux simples et qu'il n'estoit point non plus dans les ordres sacrez n'ayant eu que la tonsure, et les quatres moindres, et qu'il est sorti d'avec les Jesuites de leur consentement et avec leur amitié. (*Actes du procès Rohan. Livre manuscrit, 668*)

[6] And it was said by the said Vandenenden that he agreed to have been with the Jesuits for ten years, but that he was only engaged by the simple vows. Nor had he been in the holy orders; he had received not more than the tonsure and the four lower ones. He had departed from the Jesuits with their consent and in friendship with them.

The period of 'ten years' must have been a rough indication - Van den Enden was 72 at the time of the trial - of the years he actually had been in the monastery for his own education, not reckoning thereto the years that he had been a teacher at the colleges. But what is more important, his memory told him that the divorce was wanted and consented to by both parties. The 'errors' were not less a reason for himself to leave the Jesuits than for them to motivate him for a departure.

From documents to be quoted and discussed later on, namely a poem by Antonides van der Goes and the *Memoires* of Du Cause de Nazelle, one may guess that Van den Enden spent some years of the next period of his life in traveling through Europe. And because he is often called a 'medicinae doctor', by others as well as by himself, we must also suppose that he somewhere and sometimes studied medical science, in Leuven, France or Spain (?), and acquired the doctorate in this faculty. On account of the fact that Antonides van der Goes refers to a period of "tweemaal negen jaren in Leuven wyse School" (twice nine years in the 'wise' School of Leuven) there is a certain probability for the hypothesis, that apart from the nine years with the Jesuits in Leuven

(2 years novitiate, 3 years philosophy and philology and after a five years interruption the 4 years theology) Van den Enden was more or less connected with the University from 1633 till 1642, when he went to Antwerpen and married in the town of his birth with Clara Maria Vermeeren. We don't have, however, traces of his residence in Leuven nor of an inscription in its Academy during this period, other than this allusion of Van der Goes.

The first trace of Van den Enden's stay in Amsterdam is dated on October 24th of 1645, when he and his wife acted as witnesses at the baptism of a child of Bertoldus Willemse and Allegonda van Blijdesin in the Roman-Catholic church 'De Posthoorn' on the Brouwersgracht (Meinsma, o.c. p. 127). He afterwards returned four times to this church for the baptism of his own children: on October 27th 1648 for the twins Anna and Adriana Clementina, on April 4th 1650 for a son Jacobus and on March 12th 1651 for a daughter again, Marianna. Anna and Jacobus must have died early, because we never hear anything more about them.

We do not know from what sources Van den Enden made his living in his first years in Amsterdam. Van der Goes suggests that he played a mediating role in the peace negotiations, of which the Treaty of Münster in 1648 was the result: "schoon Spanje (een ander heeft daer d'eere van genoten) op uwen raet alleen, de vrede heeft gesloten" (though Spain only on your advice (another enjoyed its honor) concluded the peace). If this is true - but we have no reason to doubt the reliability of Van der Goes - Van den Enden could have been charged by the city fathers of Amsterdam or by the States General of the Republic with a special mission to the King of Spain, perhaps on account of his language capacities or, eventually, his earlier contacts with the court of Madrid. In the light of his later political activities and his strong interest in political matters it indeed does not seem improbable that he was also actively involved in the crucial dealings between Amsterdam and/or the States General with Spain. But I think, that we have a more specific reason for giving credence to the above quoted line of Van der Goes. In March 1665, during the Dutch-English war, Van den Enden writes a letter to the Council Pensionary Jan de Wit, in which he refers to his former services to the state, "to other services with great effects and

profit ... which I actually rendered to this state" when "conversing with other governors of the country".(see context in [12]). Has Van den Enden fulfilled a secret mission in behalf of the country and is this the reason that no other documents are available to certify the fact? The evidence being deficient we must leave the question undecided.

We know slightly more about Van den Enden's activities in the years 1649 till 1652. He then held a shop, a kind of art gallery, in which also books were published and sold, under the signboard with the name "In de Konst-winckel". This shop on number 59 in the street called 'Nes' does no longer exist now. The directors of the Leprooshuys rented the house to "Van den Enden, '*doctor in medicine fugative*'. This short title, written down by an administrator and based on a requested personal declaration, must be considered a certain indication of his earlier education in medicine. Van den Enden was in Amsterdam a refugee, a medical doctor who had taken recourse to the free and tolerant city of Amsterdam. Although Van den Enden did not reject the Roman Catholic way of life with its ceremonies, it is very probable that his scientific worldview was already in conflict with the dogmas of the Church, so that life in the Catholic south of the Netherlands (Belgium today) had perhaps become hard and unpleasant for him. The Nes was a street where also other emigrated medical scientists from Flanders had found a new living and supported each other, so that Van den Enden's family could feel at home in this quarter of the busy metropolis. .

The production of the bookkeeper/publisher Van den Enden cannot have been great. We only know about one of his items, curiously enough an interesting political title.

[7] Korte verthooninghe van het Recht by den Ridderschap / Edelen ende Steden van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslant / van allen ouden tijden in de voorschreven Lande ghebruyckt / tot behoudenis van de vryheden / gerechtigheden / Privilegien ende Loffelijcke gebruycken van den selven Lande.

Uytgegeven door haer Hooghmogentheden de Staten van Hollandt en West-vrieslandt, Anno 1587, ten tijde van Lyncesters Gouvernement. t'Amsterdam, voor Franciscus van den Enden, in den Nes / in de Konst-winckel / 1650.

[7] Short demonstration (.induction') of the Rights of the Knighthood / the Nobility and the Towns of Holland and West-Vriesland / from all old times onwards used in the above mentioned countries / to the conservation of the liberties / justices / privileges and honourable customs in the same country. Published by her Highpotencies the States of Holland and West-Vriesland, anno 1587, in the time of Leicester's Government.

In Amsterdam, for Franciscus van den Enden, in the Nes / in the Konst-winckel / 1650.

This small treatise - it counts only seven pages - is one of the most important documents in the Dutch history, namely their eighty years war for freedom from Spain. It is the official declaration of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, in which they refer to the historical roots of their autonomy and induce from them their independence from the King of Spain. The tract was also well known to Spinoza who quotes and explains it at the end of chapter XVIII in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*:

"As for the States of Holland, as far as we know they never had kings, but counts, to whom the right of sovereignty was never transferred. As the High States of Holland make plain in the *Induction* published by them at the time of Count Leicester, they have always reserved to themselves the authority to remind the said counts of their duty, and have retained the power to uphold this authority of theirs and the freedom of the citizens, to assert their rights against the counts if the latter proved tyrannical, and to keep them on such a tight rein that they could do nothing without the permission and approval of the states. From this it follows that sovereign right was always invested in the States, and it was this sovereignty that the last count [king Philippus II of Spain] attempted to usurp. Therefore it is by no means true that the States revolted against him, when in fact they recovered their original sovereignty which had almost been lost"

One could hardly give a better summary of the contents of the small tract. Spinoza knew its meaning very well. Did he hear about this, the

Dutch States' claim on their sovereignty, from Van den Enden? Why did Van den Enden reprint this *Korte Verthooninghe*, which was already printed several times before? Was he personally fascinated by the ideas developed in it or by the courageous attitude of the States of Holland? Did he need many copies for educational or activistic purposes? Anyhow, the publication of this declaration fits well in the above-mentioned hypothesis of his political activities in those years. His printing and selling or simply spreading of this text to the people of his time could be interpreted as a proof that he himself subscribed to its view. Therefore I will quote a fragment, in which the foundation of the Dutch (and every) political autonomy is clearly stated:

"In order to discover wherefrom the authority of the States sprouts, one has to consider that the princes who have governed legally, not only have started their dominion by delegation, consent and accord of the natives but also have continued it in the same way, so that all the members of the bodies, at whose head they were placed, remained unviolated, unshortened and unreduced, which could never have been acquired (because the princes are usually surrounded by flattering and ambitious people) if the natives had no means to oppose themselves with good order and discretion, in all times, against bad practices and not only to always remind the Prince, in the name of all members, of the conservation of their freedom and well-being but also to resist against him with the means of the country in case he would let himself mislead to tyranny".¹⁸

¹⁸In Dutch: "Omme dan te ontdecken waer uyt de autoriteyt van den Staten is spruytende / so staet te considereren dat de Princen die opt wettelijcken hebben geregeert / niet alleen hare regieringe met delatie / consent ende believen van den Lantsaten hebben begonnen / maer oock sulcks vervolcht dat alle de leden van de lichamen / daer van sy tot hooft sijn gestelt / sijn gebleven onghevioleert / onverkort ende onvermindert / d'welck niet en heeft konnen worden verhaelt (dewijle de Princen by schalcke ende ambitieuse luyden Lichtelijck worden gecircumvenieert) ten ware de Lantsaten middel hadden om hen met goede ordre ende beleyt t'allen tijden teghen alle quade practijcken te opposeren / ende de Prince / van de behoudenissee haerder vrijheyte ende welvaren / uyten name van alle de leden / niet alleen t'allen tijden te vermanen / maer oock/ om soo wanneer de selve hen tot tijrannije soudē laten misleyden / mette middelen van den Lande hen daer tegens t'opposeren".

The States in their diversity (nobility and towns) represent the people; they only have the right and actually also the obligation to abjure their faith to the king of Spain, until then the count of Holland, because he does not act in the interest of the people and has seriously offended it. This, their right, is deduced from the democratic principle, that the will of the people is the will of God. The fact that Van den Enden published, or better republished in 1650 this tract, is a symptom of his early political engagement in behalf of democratic principles and of his affections towards his new fatherland. Ten years later he would again take up his activities on this political front, namely when he was asked for help by some plain fellow citizens wanting to emigrate to New America.

His art gallery annex bookshop did not flourish. We don't know the reason why it went down with it. Perhaps the necessary money failed him; perhaps he was more equipped for science than for commerce and shopkeeping. The 'Konst-winckel' came to its end on July 16th of 1652 when the notary distrained on his goods because he could not pay his creditors. The list of the things he owned gives a rough impression of his commercial and artistic activities. Apart from the normal furniture and household things one discovers in it the following items: 133 printed books in different formats, 50 small wooden cases for small statues, 6 globes, a quantity of unbounded books and prints, a large quantity of frames, a press, a clavecimbel and about 30 paintings of which various figures were specially mentioned (like: a big 'ecce homo', 10 landscapes, a vanity, a painting of David, one of Catarina, a picture of the King of Sweden, two paintings of prince William and the Royal Princess, two portraits of Franciscus van den Enden and his wife, a representation of Stephanus before his judge). It is not impossible that some of these paintings were made by a talented pupil of Rembrandt, Leendert van Beyeren, who in 1649 rented a room in Van den Enden's house and died in that same year¹⁹. Rembrandt may have been a visitor in Van den Enden's shop because his beloved pupil lived there; but this idea is only

¹⁹See Van Suchtelen / Meininger, o.c. p. 17.. For Van den Enden's activities in the world of art dealing, clearly attested to by the artistic remnants of his shop, the reader must again refer himself to Frank Merten's website <http://users.pandora.be/fvde/>

speculative.

The faillissement ended up in a settlement with the creditors on September 12th of 1652, of which the act is saved in the "Camer van Desolate Boedels" in the Town Archive of Amsterdam:

8] Alsoo Franchoijs van Eijnde geraect is in sodaniegen verloop en ongelegentheijt van saecken dat hij tegenwoordich geen macht ofte gelegenheijt heeft sijne gemeene crediteuren haer repective achterweesen in promptis te cunnen voldoen hadde daeromme aendeselve sijne crediteuren doen versoecken hem te vergunnen uijtstel van tijt ende sulcx met hem in te gaen een redelijck accoord welck versoeck bij sijne crediteuren gunstelyck innegesen wesende sijn met kennisse vande heeren Commissarisen van Desolate boedels met Johannes van Bronckhorst (als speciale procuratie hebbende vanden voorn. Franchoijs vande Eynde gepasseert voordien Notaris Jan de Vos ende seeckere getuijgen binnen deeser Stede opten sesten deser maent September geaccordeert en verdragen in manieren naer volgende. Te weetene dat die voorn. Franchoijs van Eijnde gehouden sal weesen sijne ondergeteeckende crediteuren haer respective volle achterweesen te voldoen op volgende termijnen Namentl. een vierde part binnen den tijt van vier Jaeren naer date deses. Ende voorts de resterende drie vierde parten in drie Jaeren daeraenvolgend. Ieder Jaer gelycke vierde part tot volle en effectuele betalinge toe van ijeders respective achterweesen verbindende die voorn. Johannes van Bronckhorst uijt cracht van sijn vs speciale procuratie tot naercominge en voldoeninge vant geene vs stat des voorn. Franchoijs van Eijndens persoon ende goederen present ende toecomende tot bedwanck van rechteren en rechten. Alles ter goeder trouwen. Oirconde der waerheijt sijn hier affgemaect twee alleens lujdende accoorden daer van teene onder den voorn. Franchoijs van Eynde en t andere ter camere van Desolate boedels is berustende . Actum in Amsterdamme den. 12 September 1652.

Jan van Bronchorst voor Fransoijs Vanden Ende uijt
crachte van Procuratie

Margreta van Dooren; Daniel Denys voor de wedu Mus.

The document says that Van den Enden came in "such a lapse and indisposition of business" that he was not able to meet his financial obligations. The creditors, however, were kindly disposed towards him - "everything in good faith " - and proposed a "rational agreement", in which they would give him "postponement of time" on the condition of a guarantee. The commissioners of the faillissement agreed because a

certain Johannes van Bronckhorst, acting in the name of Van den Enden as his procurator, was willing to stand surety. The details of the agreement were, that Van den Enden should later on pay the whole debt, in the first four year period the first quarter, in the next three years the other three quarter parts.

Jan van Bronckhorst may have been an intimate friend of Van den Enden, who did not unleash him in his bad times. Was he perhaps the father of H. van Bronckhorst, M.D., who in 1664, on the occasion of the Dutch translation of Spinoza's *Principia Philosophiae Renati Des Cartes* by Pieter Balling, composed a beautiful poem in which he praised the noblest roses of Spinoza's mind? Van den Enden was aground as an art dealer and bookkeeper, but was not completely without good friends. What could he do now in order to earn his living and pay his debts? A medical practice was not very promising since so many doctors were already settled in Amsterdam. There was still one possibility left for him and this would become a golden choice.

On the age of fifty years Franciscus van den Enden started a new professional life in the educational field: he founded in 1652 a private Latin School in a building at the Singel. He must have realized that his capacities and his former experience in the Jesuit colleges enabled and forced him in that direction. He had, after all, to care for an income for his family, which consisted at least of five persons. The school became immediately a big success and acquired a great name. Many well to do citizens sent their boys (and probably also daughters) to this new institution, which was independent from church control. They must have known that Franciscus Van den Enden was a learned man with pedagogical abilities, to whose care they could safely trust their children. The method practiced by Van den Enden in his humanistic education system is subject of the next chapter in connection with a short analysis of his own *Philedonius*. Here we will first try to assess his philosophical position and to reach an overall picture of his character and his influence from external testimonies.

Various documents show that Van den Enden could not hide his atheistic sentiments in public meetings. Gradually he got the renown of being a radical atheist. A recently discovered testimony to this is found

in the journal of a Danish scientist who stayed for some years, namely in 1661 and 1662, in Amsterdam and Leiden.²⁰

- [9] Visitavit me Joannes Alexandri, a quo haec audita (. ...)
 Esse hic atheos, eosque potissimum Cartesianos, ut van der Enden, Glasemaker etc. qui et alios subinde edoceant, non quidem profiteri eos Atheismum, loqui crebro de deo, sed per Deum nil aliud intelligere quam totum hoc universum, ut latius patet ex scripto quodam Belgico artificiose nuper conscripto suppresso authoris nomine.
- ... Van den Enden negare sacra, negare omnia quae in sacris habentur, esse atheum; suam religionem autem nullam esse aliam quam sanam rationem, nec credere se Christum fuisse Deum etc.
- ... Van den Enden quaedam philosophiae suae arcaniora communicasse quibusdam amicis manuscripta, sic et Borelium ...
- ... Narravit Joan: Alex: non licere amplius Van der Enden disputare, ob quaedam in ultima disputatione ab ipso allata, quae videbantur Athismum sapere.

[9] Johannes Alexandri paid a visit to me and told me (...)
 that there are atheists here, mainly Cartesians, like Van der Enden, Glasemaker etc, who teach this to others too. Not that they openly propagate atheism, because they often speak about God; but by God they understand nothing but this whole universe, as it broadly appears from a certain writing, which was recently artificially composed in Belgian language and from which the name of the author is suppressed (...)
 That Van den Enden denied the holy things, denied everything that is done in holy service, and is an atheist; that his religion is nothing else than sane reason; he does not believe that Christ is God (...)
 That Van den Enden has communicated to some friends some

²⁰ See my "Spinoza and Van den Enden in Borch's Diary in 1661 and 1662", in *Studia Spinozana* V (1989). The fragments quoted were first published by H.D. Schepeleern in his *Itinerarium 1660-1665. The Journal of the Danish Polyhistor Ole Borch*. 4 vols. Copenhagen 1983. The highly informative fragments were first made known to Spinoza and Van den Enden scholars by my above-mentioned article. The 'artificially composed writing in Dutch language', mentioned in this document, must have been Spinoza's *Korte Verhandeling over God, den Mensch en deszelvs welstand*.

manuscripts about the secrets of his philosophy. Borelius has done the same (...).

Joannes Alexandri told me that public disputations were no longer allowed to Van den Enden on account of things proposed by him in the last disputation which seemed to savour of atheism.

Well, it cannot be denied that this is a clear testimony, in 1662, to the name and fame, which Franciscus Van den Enden had in the public opinion in Amsterdam. He was considered a Cartesian, a rationalist, and an atheist. Mention is also made of atheistic writings from his hand and of an official prohibition of his disputations.²¹ The ‘errors’, about which the Jesuit general had written in his letter to the Flemish provincial, have finally come into the full light. Christ is not a god. Human reason is the only revelator of truth. Van den Enden is seen as belonging to or being the center of an atheist circle, to which also Glazemaker, Spinoza and Borelius contribute their part. Spinoza had been his pupil during some years around 1656 and had participated in the theatrical performances. They now stood side by side in the inner circle of the new philosophy: two masters.

In 1665 - I postpone the discussion of his recently discovered writings - Van den Enden again appears to be seriously involved in the defense of his home country, Holland. His motivation for political activities must have grown very deep roots. Three weeks before the outbreak of the Dutch-English see-war Pieter de Groot, son of the world-famous Hugo de Groot and at the time pensionary of the city of Amsterdam, writes a short introductory letter to Greatpensionary Jan de Witt in favour of:

[10] Doctor medicinae, die alhyer door de institutie van de kinderen

²¹ Intensified research brought me to the hypothesis that Van den Enden’s manuscript on *‘philosophiae arcaniora’* was later (in 1702) seen by the German Travelers Stolle and Hallman, who shortly described its contents. See Klever, “Hoe men wijs wordt. Een gespannen doch vruchtbare relatie tussen Spinoza en Bouwmeester in het licht van een nieuw document” *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 21 (2005) 335-353.

der voornaemste heeren van dese stad redelick bekend is, aen Uw WelEd^t, volgens sijn versouck, te adresseren, om occasie te hebben van Uw WelEd^t. te communiceren seecker secrete, dat hy secht te hebben, om grote afbreuck aen de vloot van de Engelsche, met de onse in bataille comende, te doen, mits hy daervoor geniete een redelicke premie.

[10] the medical doctor, who is reasonably known here by the instruction of the children of the principal men of this town. He asks me to address myself to you Honourable in order to get for him an occasion to communicate to you Honourable a certain secret, which he says to own, by which the English fleet in case of a combat with ours could become heavily damaged, on the condition that he would enjoy a reasonable reward for it.

This introductory letter was dated on February 14th of 1665. Van den Enden's first letter to Jan de Witt to be quoted now, was without a date, but will have been written a few days later.²²

[11] Nobilissime atque Amplissime domine,
 Ne in publica commoda peccem, nullas confidentiae meae quae te maioribus intentum rursum interpellare suadet recensebo causas: cum enim a virtutibus tuis eae petendae sint omnes, vanus sim, si eas uno die enumerare incipiam. Quoniam igitur reip. puto interesse ut Nob. Dnao. tua mihi horae quadrantem concedat quo super iis quae ipsi et eius consilio praepotentibus Dominis proposui, audiar, peto, imo publici boni causa obsecro, ut ubi tu voles, ubi tempus tibi erit, mihi tempus constituas, quo a te intelligam num operam perditurus sim an vero quae in bonum publicum me concepisse arbitror, ulterius sint urgenda. Iudicium Nob. Dnaois tuae mihi iudiciorum loco erit omnium, cui etiam uni aveo rei conceptae facere iudicium. Laconismo quaeso meo ignoscat et verbo unico dignetur vel reip. causa ut adiuvetur; vel mea, ut tempestive desistam, mihi expetitur tempus constituere.
 ita supplicat

²² The documents 11, 12 en 13 were first published in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, vol. 1 (1921) 113-117. In his edition of *Brieven aan Johan de Witt. Tweede Deel 1660-1672* (Amsterdam 1922) the editor (W. Japikse) omits the letters from Van den Enden, but he remarks that his first Latin letter was found "under the letters from the end of February".

Nobilissimae atque Amplissimae
Dnaois tuae famulus

Franciscus van den Enden.

[11] In order not to sin against the commonwealth, I will not mention the reasons of my confidence, which advises me to interpellate you, who are dedicated to greater things, once more. Because they are without exception connected with your virtues, it would be in vain when I would try to enumerate them in one day. While I think, then, that it is in the interest of the republic that your Noble Lordship allows me a quarter of an hour to be heard about the things which I proposed to it and on its advice to the high powerful Lords, I beg, yea I supplicate in behalf of the commonwealth, that you, wherever you like and on the time that is convenient to you, indicate me a time, on which I may understand from you, whether I am wasting my energy or that the things, which I consider to have conceived for the public well being, should be continued. The judgment of your noble Lordship will be equivalent for me with the judgment of all other people and is the only one I want to take into account concerning the question conceived. Your Lorship forgive me, please, my brevity and condescend to a single word either to further the cause of the republic or to serve my interest so that I take off trying to get the time beseeched.

Another letter on this subject is in Dutch. From this letter it appears that De Witt has remitted the question to commissioners, that these had accepted to communicate the secret entrusted to them to the Council Pensionary but that they had many objections against the plan.

[12] Erntfesten en Edelen Heer,

Ick heb mijn practijck om de victorie tegen de Engelsche te faciliteren en, mijns oordeels, seecker te becomen door oorden van Haere Hog. Mog. aen myne bygevoegde commissarissen onder verbant van secreet geopenbaert en soo ver smaeckelijck gemaect, dat sy geoordeelt hebben de pyne weert te sijn UEd. vonnis daerover te hooren, en omdat ick op hetselve meest vertrouwe, heb haer toegelaeten onder hetselve secreet met UEd. daervan te spreeken, wel wetende, indien UEd. occupatiën toelaeten sijn gedachten daerontrent met

overweginge van reden pro en contra te laeten gaen, dat in de vierschaere van UEd. verstandt sy niet afgeslaegen, maer als uyttermaeten dienstich sal aengenomen worden. Wat men daer tot noch toe tegen opgeworpen heeft, kan ick lichtelijck soo wederleggen, dat eer voor de saecke als tegen is.

Soo ick nu de eer mochte genieten - indien UEd. doorsienigheyt en in 's landts best te versorgen geoeffent vernuft iet voordr bedocht, 't welck onse practijck sou tegensprecken - dat ick hetselve sou mogen verstaen, om nae mijn begrip te mogen verklaeren, soude my geluckich achten en hetselve voor een weldaet aennemen, omdat ick dan niet sal genootsaecht sijn hetgene ick tot het gemeyne best bedocht en gevonden heb, tot mijn en andere capers particulier profijt te besteden, waeruyt dit ongeval te verwachten staet, dat, de vyanden, door ons goet succes opgeweckt, deselve practijck in 't werck stellende, onsen Staet sullen dwingen tot al de kosten, om tegen haer defensivelijck te gaen, met dewelcke wy haer nu soo krachtelijck en onverwacht soude kunnen offenser. My voorts gedraegende tot het relaes van Menheer Botselaer, aen UEd. te doen, sal verwachten, of UEd. mijn gerinheyt bequaem sal achten, om iets tot het gemeyne best by te brengen of niet. Soo niet, sal noch rusten op de conscientie van mijn devoir gedaen te hebben, gelijk ick andermael my in presentatie van grooter dingen tevreden heb gehouden, alleenlijck omdat onse borgemeesters, die mijn immediate oversten sijn, niet goetvonden, dat ick het overleveren van heel Liefland, met de sleutels van al haer steden en forten, tot Amsterdam op het stadhuys te brengen, in Den Haegh soude overbrengen, alleenlijck daerom, omdat sy meynde, hetselve niet secreet sou kunnen gehouden worden, omdat het aen de Generaliteyt geopenbaert most sijn. Meer andere diensten van grooter gevolgen en profijt als 't gene ick nu voorheb, die ick desen Staet niet gepresenteert, maar effectivelijck gedaen heb en noch sou kunnen doen, soude voorbrengen, indien ick de eer hadde van UEd. conversatie te genieten, gelijk ick wel eer gehadt heb van andere landtbestierders. Welck ick niet uyt ydele waen of pogchery ophaele, maer alleenlijck opdat UEd myn gerinheyt en stille manier van leven in desen niet soude versmaeden, dewyle soowel geestelycke als zedelycke leeraers toelaeten iets tot eygen lof by te brengen, als daerdoor het gemeyne best, andersins te versuymen, schijnt vervoordert te connen worden.

In Amsterdam [Maart]

1665

Blyve, Menheer,

UEd. onderdaene

en ootmoedigen dienaar

Franciscus van den Enden

Van den Enden maintains in this letter, that he has more than once rendered great services to the state. He takes pride in his "presentation

of great services" in the question of Lijfland, and "more other services with greater effects and profits for this state". By this he probably refers to his role during the peace negotiations with Spain, to which Antonides van der Goes also alludes. The secret that he now offers to the authorities is according to his knowledge of great value for the commonwealth and will facilitate the victory over the English ships on the North Sea. He would be happy with an opportunity to declare the details to the great pensioner and to refute the difficulties made by the commissioners or by De Witt himself. But in case his Lordship could or would not accept his advice, it would be a bad thing for the state, because the way would be free, then, for taking advantage from it by the enemy.

A third letter from Van den Enden to De Witt is kept, this time again in Latin. Japikse notices that it was found among the letters of January 1667.

[13] Amplissime Domine,

Sp adductus tempus quod publicae occupationes aptitudinis tuae et privatae meae commoditates vetant audientiae tribui non denegandum inspectioni praesentium, fiduciam sumpsi calamo committendi, quod viva voce explicaturus fueram.

Obiecerat quantum memini Amplit. Tua inventioni meae tria. Quorum primum erat, naves eo, quo ego volebam, modo constructas, vela non facturam ea, qua par est, celeritate id quidem prout ruditer tantum ego tunc me explicabam, valde erat verosimile, sed tempus nactus conferendi rem exactius cum fabris navalibus modum naves ita construendi invenimus, ut nec pons triplex, quem in ijs construere, necaries, quo eas armare volumus, quicquam velificationi officiat, quod ecce testimonio fabri navalis confirmatum cuius copiam Littera A. notatam adiungimus. Recipit enim ille sic eas construere ut nec moles nec ligatura velificationem retardet.

Alterum erat, navem non posse, quando lubet, alteram tangere, cui non ego, sed capitaneus, qui triginta et amplius annis navigavit et toti classi Gallicae officio quod vocant schout by nachte praefuit, ita respondet, ut affirmare non dubitet cum quis ab ea, qua ventus spirat, parte navem aliam infra se habet, modo nec animus nec experientia desit, eam semper posse aggredi. vide litt. B.

Tertium, quodque praecipuum videbatur erat tantos sumptus non facile pro re incerta suscipiendos. Quantum ad certitudinem respondeo: quamvis de rebus ab eventu pendentibus ac individuus scientia demonstrativa dari non possit, ita tamen me de bono rei nostrae successu certum esse, ut de eo nisi scepticus dubitare nemo possit. Sumptus vero nec extraordinarios nec magnos fore; si naves ab Anglis captae et aliae quae iam ut

minus utiles ad expeditionem navalem relinquendae forent, dentur nobis accommodandae; quo fiet ut classis nostra nec ijs quibus usura erat, destituatur et hae inutiles fiant utilissimae, quippe singulae facile tres alias rebus gerendis exaequaturae: sumptus autem, qui ijs reficiendis et ad voluntatem nostram accommodandis impendetur, multis partibus erunt minores ijs quibus parceretur quia pauciora tormenta et milites pauciores requirimus, quam aliae naves desiderant.

His ita se habentibus Amplissimam Dominationem tuam iterum atque iterum rogo per eos animos quibus vitam suam pro salute patriae in certissima discrimina conijcere non dubitavit, dignetur rem hanc cordi habere. Dolerem enim ego, si rem tantam, ex qua - audeo dicere - pendet maris imperium, cogerer, a meis reiectus, alijs communicare qui licet amici nostri iam sunt et confoederati, tamen hostes fieri possunt et infesti: atque ita accideret ut ego, licet indirectissime causa tamen existerem alicuius detrimenti ei terrae inferendae cuius commodis procurandis mallet sanguinem impendere.

Hae rationes sunt quae me moverunt ut rogarem e. De Grand-Champs, curaret hasce ad Amplit. Tuam deferendas, quam enixe rogo tantum dignetur bono publico dare, ut eas inspiciat mihique quid porro faciendum indicet, ut si ad utilitatem publicam promovendam mediocritas haec mea non admittatur, ad privatam procurandum consilia mea convertam.

Amplissimae dominationis
vostrae servus
Franciscus van den Enden.

In this letter Van den Enden replies to the three main objections made by the State-Pensionary Jan de Witt. The ships will be so accommodated that the sailing qualities will not suffer anything from the armament²³; an able captain will always reach the ships of the enemy when he keeps them on the lee-side²⁴; and finally, the expenses will be low in

²³Van den Enden adds to his answer letter A, which is an attestation of the nautic architect and ship builder Harme Diercksen: "Ick onderschreven, mr. schipstimmerman, bekenne, dat my kennis gedaen is van seecker nieuwe manier, om een schip te maecken met dry bruggen, soo gepractiseert, dat de leste altijt het schip noch sal ophouden, als de andere twee soudens doorschoten sijn, en van sulcke kracht met seecker werck van vooren, dat niet alleen capabel is, om een ander schip in de grondt te zeylen, maer oock om te doorbreken een stercke dijck, sonder soo merckelycke schade te lyden, dat het soude vergaen. En ick maecke my oock sterck, om die inventie in 't werck te brengen, daertoe versocht sijnde, soodat het schip niet min zeylen sal als een andere".

²⁴To corroborate his answer on the second difficulty Van den Enden adds Letter B, an attest of a certain Jacobs S. who was a captain sailor for more than thirty years and had commanded the whole French fleet as a rear-admiral. This Jacobs S. wrote that he knew by experience that one could sail excellently with a ship with three bridges, "tellement que, si la machine dont je n'ay pas la

comparison with the costs of normal warfare. Scrapped Dutch ships might be accommodated very easily and without many expenses. One needs moreover much less canons and soldiers. But, naturally, absolute certainty of the outcome is excluded; one cannot have demonstrative knowledge about what depends from concrete and individual things. Van den Enden once more beseeches De Witt to think over his proposal. In case it is not accepted he, Van den Enden, cannot prevent that his discovery eventually comes into the wrong hands (the French or English) and leads to damage for his country, "for whose well being he would prefer to shed his blood".

We may conclude from this series of documents that Van den Enden was much addicted to the well being of his country and tried very seriously to contribute to the victory over the English. It is also clear that at the time he has not a few *French contacts*. He makes use of the authority of an admiral of the French fleet and asks a certain De Grand-Champs to play an intermediary role between him and De Witt, who never received him in an audience. How far was he in 1667 already engaged in French political relations? The refusal of the Great Pensionary to take into account his well meant advices or to meet him personally in order to discuss the objections, must have been a great disappointment. Has he not experienced this as the usual disrespect of the aristocratic governors (*regenten*) regarding the "low" people? The words "myn gerinheyt" (my smallness) and "mediocritas mea" are to read in his second and third letter, as if he wanted to indicate the unacceptable inequality between compatriots.

An important document on Van den Enden's life is the poem of 85 verses written by his pupil Antonides van der Goes, who was an active member of the academy *Nil Volentibus Arduum*. It was published in his *Gedichten* (Amsterdam 1685) and must have been composed,

cognoissance, empesche que les ennemis, se jettant dessus, ne puissent s'en rendre maistres, comme on l'asseure, il est très constant qu'un tel vaisseau surmontera tous les autres qu'il attaquera, n'ayant à craindre le nombre des hommes ennemis ny leur canon. Et sur ce que l'on obiette que l'on ne peut aborder, quand veut, ayant le vent: je dis qu'il n'y a que le manquement du courage ou le peu d'address du pilot out de ceux qui commandent, qui le peut empescher" (See Japikse, *Brieven*, p. 301).

according to this edition, in 1670.

[14] MENGELDICHT

Aen den Heere

FRANCISCUS van den ENDEN,

Toen hy van zijne Majest: van Vrankrijk, tot Raeds-
heere en Lijfarts verkooren wierd.

[14] MISCELLENEOUS POEM

To the Sir

FRANCISCUS van den ENDEN

When he by his Majesty of France was elected
To his Councilor and personal physician

It is difficult to determine exactly the informative content of this poem since the poet allows his phantasy rather much freedom in metaphors and the appliance of classical common places. He addresses his master as if his Majesty the king of France had chosen him to his Councilor and personal physician (*lijfarts*). Nothing is known from elsewhere about a similar appointment, which seems, therefore and for other reasons, a highly improbable statement.²⁵ But this role fits well his poetic imagination and enables him to let his idol enter the "blessed Lily-court, dominated by Louis as if he was an Alexander". The "French divinity" invites him in her palaces. Van den Enden "never flattered the greats with presents neither hastened himself carefully on their nods", and see what happened. They yet raised him to dignity. "Now you cannot longer smother your wisdom under the dust! ...Now your great name flies all over the world..." Antonides van der Goes then says that Van den Enden spent twice nine years of his youth (*tweemael negen jaren*) in Leuven's "wise school", which information we already tried to explain by referring to a first period of nine years with the Jesuits and a second period at the university. The poet hinted that he would have borne there the toga of a professor on the cathedra "had he not refused

²⁵ It can be shown that in the seventeenth century the title of Court Councillor or Court Physician is sometimes used as stereotype expression or a cliché for highly esteemed persons.

magnanimously this honor..., despising greatness and hatred".²⁶ This might be part of Van den Enden's personal history; we don't have, however, other evidence on this question..

Van der Goes further mentions Van den Enden's knowledge of law, his "*rechtsgeleertheit*" which will, in his opinion, certainly be helpful in his service of the crown. We know that Van den Enden showed great expertise in civil and criminal law when dealing with the Amsterdam authorities about the constitution of the colony of New Netherland. Did he study law besides medicine in his second Leuven period? This, again, must remain an open question. According to the poet Van den Enden should have refused an invitation to become a seneschal at the Hungarian court, but was instead politically active in the peace negotiations between the Seven Provinces and Spain: "Though Spain (another enjoyed the honor from this) on your advice alone has patched up the peace, after so many gales, with the free Netherland". We saw that Van den Enden reminded Jan de Witt in his second letter of the fact that he had at least twice rendered great services to the state as an ad-hoc-politician, in a way that implied, that De Witt must have known about these activities or could at least get it confirmed by his Amsterdam friends. Against this background the 'report' of Van der Goes might well be historical.

That is what happened in the past. Now - we are in 1670 - France pulls Van den Enden from the night into sunlight, so that his talents may be universally acknowledged. The final strophe sounds:

"What does it help that you have so clearly experienced
The secrets and grounds of wisdom and nature?
And that Apollo has educated you as his son,
And taught you what is hidden in seeds and herbs?
That no honey drips so sweetly from Hymettos' top,
As eloquence from your gifted lips?
And that your heroic poem, in the Mantuan's style,
Seems to us to be the echo of Virgil....."

²⁶ Cf. VPS, page 7, where Van den Enden requires from the state to avoid and prevent all eminent degrees of pretended knowledge like there are the titles of doctors and professors .

When you always try to hide your glory under sands? ...
 Your name be now celebrated on all the world's ends
 (Enden)".

The peroration hints at Van den Enden's enormous science of nature, at his rhetorical talents and at his poetical gifts. These are three important characteristics about which we have also ample knowledge from other sources. His physical knowledge and eloquence is praised by Du Cause de Nazelle (see later in this chapter); the epic mentioned (*heldendicht*) must be the *Philedonius* (next chapter). He is called 'Apollo's son'. Apollo was the God of all intellectual, medical, technical and poetical arts. He is able to cure people and to avert evils and is as such thought to be the father of Asklepios and the teacher of Cheiron. He is the god of wisdom who gives humans advice by means of wise oracles. He is the leader of the Muses. He is the protector of civil society and even the patron of colonists. He is the Sun-God. All these things are the associations in the poet's mind with the name of Van den Enden. The comparison of Van den Enden's Latin verses with the style of the Mantuan is of course an allusion to Vergilius, mentioned in the immediate context; Vergilius was born in Mantua.²⁷

Our next document dates from the same year 1670 and is to find in a pamphlet which was directed against the art academy NIL VOLENTIBUS ARDUUM (shortened to NVA)²⁸, in which some of Van den Enden's friends and pupils (L.Meyer, J. Bouwmeester and the same Antonides van der Goes) worked together on the renewal of the theatre. The title of this curious lampoon is: *Poetae Heautontumorumnoi, of Pennekrygh tusschen de Reformateurs der Poezy en E.B.I.S.K.A. Voor*

²⁷ I must disagree here with Bedjai, who interprets the expression as a reference to Pomponazzi's *Tractatus de Immortalitate animae* (1516). He writes "Précieuse indication sur son inspiration naturaliste proche de Pietro Pomponazzi Mantouan dont "Morhoff" faisait "le maître de tous les athées", le précurseur de Vanini, de Spinoza, de Hobbes". See M.Bedjai, *Métaphysique* etc. vol. I p. 35.

²⁸ Cf. Guido van Schuchtelen, "Nil volentibus arduum: les amis de Spinoza au travail", in *Studia Spinozana* vol. III (1987) 391-405.

*Willem de Lange, Boekverkooper ter sluyck. Anno 1670.*²⁹ This title is an allusion at the name of one of Terentius' comedies, "The Self-Tormentor", a play that was well known in Van den Enden's Latin School. On p. 15-16 we read the following text fragment:

[15] Sluytelijck heb ick verstaen dat NIL VOLENTIBUS ARDUUM nu niet behoeven meer verlegen te zijn waerse met haer spellen heen sullen, also den Heer die den lapis Philosophorum, so hij seijt gevonden heeft, en bij gevolge Gout als slijck, haer Plaets en Tonelen en sijn leerlingen tot speelders sal verschaffen, doch gelieft wel te verstaen dat sijn lapis philosophorum van die soort is, daer keijser Karel de lieden in haer deur wou voor uijt den diepten o Heere doen zingen".

[15] Finally I have understood that NIL VOLENTIBUS ARDUUM needs no longer be concerned now where to go with their plays, since the man who, as he says, has found the stone of the Philosophers and consequently gold as mud, shall procure them place, stage and pupils for players; but be so kind to understand that his stone of the philosophers is of that kind, for which emperor Charles wanted to let people sing in their door from the depths Oh Lord"

The pamphlet contains a loose leaflet with "a key to open the case with concealed names" in which one reads: "The man who knows the stone of the philosophers, F. van den Ende" (*Den Heer die den lapis philosophorum verstaat, F. van den Ende*).

The document is interesting insofar it shows that there was in 1670 a narrow coöperation between the master of the Latin School by which classical plays had been brought on the stage in the fifties and early sixties and on the other hand the society NVA, founded in 1669, with at least three of Van den Enden's pupils working in it. It developed the theory of "instruction in theatre poetry" and was going to compose and publish 37 (sic) plays. NVA undoubtedly continued the humanistic ideals of Van den Enden and tried to practice his principles of education.

²⁹ The pamphlet is available in the Amsterdam University Library .

The ironical remark about Van den Enden's claim to have found the '*lapis philosophorum*' (philosopher's stone) has to be put against the background that he in fact (together with all his fellow scientists like Boyle, Huygens and Newton and his pupils Spinoza³⁰ and Kerckringh) was involved in contemporary metallurgy, trying to discover the secret structure of minerals and metals, gold included. Looking backwards from chemistry today we call, unjustly however, the primitive work in this field alchemy. The Danish scientist O. Borch who was much interested in the scientific developments of his time described the processes practiced by Joh. Glauber, in whose laboratory also Van den Enden was a visitor,³¹ Du Cause de Nazelle relates in his *Mémoires* that also in Paris Van den Enden was still interested in the "conversion of the metals". And in the trial in 1674 Van den Enden declared "that he had taught Latréaumont a miracle of nature, namely how to change lead in gold and silver"³². The allusion of the anonymous pamphlet-writer to Van den Enden, then, seems to be an authentic report of what he claimed.

It was Kerckringh who more than other pupils continued the research of Van den Enden, later his father-in-law, in medicine and chemistry. When Antonides van der Goes writes in February 1671 a poem in honor of the marriage of Theodoor Kerckringh with Clara Maria Van den Enden³³ he gives a wonderful description of Kerckringh's laboratory, which if it was not the same as the former cabinet of Van den Enden, must at least have been very similar to it.

³⁰ Cf. my "The Helvetius affair, or Spinoza and the Philosopher's Stone: a document on the background of Letter 40" in *Studia Spinozana* III (1987) 439-459.

³¹ See my "Spinoza and Van den Enden in Borch's diary in 1661 and 1662" in *Studia Spinozana* V (1989) 311-327.

³² "Qu'il luy [Latreáumont] avoit apris un miracle de nature de faire changer le plomb en or et argent". Latréaumont was with Van den Enden in Amsterdam in the years 1668-1669.

³³ See *Gedichten* (Amsterdam 1685).

[16] De kamer stont vol vier. ik zag de vlammen spelen
 En zwieren met de tonge uit blakende ovenkelen.
 De vluchtige Merkuur, gegeesselt van den gloet,
 Kromp nu van smart, verhief dan weer zijn trotschen moet,
 En arbeide om door 't glas in d'ope lucht te dringen,
 En wierd een Proteus in gestaltewisselingen.
 Saturnus, altijd blaau van kou, wiert in dit vier
 Zoo root als karmozijn. zelfs Febus vonde ik hier
 Gelijck een Koning met een kroon van goude stralen.
 Terwijl mijn oogen in die wonderen verdwalen:
 Vond ik mijn minnetoorts gesmolten, en het wasch
 Van 't hongrig vier verteert. daer lag mijn hoop in d'asch.

[16] The room was full with fire. I saw the flames play
 and whirl with their tongues from the burning ovens.
 The volatile Mercur (quicksilver), scourged by the glow,
 Now winced under pain, then elevated his proud courage,
 And labored to pierce though the glass in the open air,
 And became a Proteus³⁴ in changes of shape.
 Saturn (lead), always blue from the cold, became in this fire
 So red as crimson, even Febus (Apollo) I found here
 Like a King with a crown of golden rays.
 While my eyes go astray in those miracles:
 I found my love-shaft melted, and the wax
 Consumed by the hungry fire. My hope was in ashes.

We saw in Van der Goes' panegyric on Van den Enden [14] that he called him the "son of Apollo". The "Febus" in this poem on his daughter and son in law must refer to the same person. The conclusion must be that it is Van den Enden who is extolled by the poet as the "king with a crown of golden rays".

Van den Enden was greatly admired by his son in law Kerckringh, himself a famous anatomist. In his *Observationes anatomicae*³⁵ he points out:

³⁴ In antiquity Proteus symbolized metamorphoses.

³⁵ Printed in his *Spicilegium anatomicum* (Amstelodami, sumptibus Andreae Frisii

[17] Cum generosissimi atque illustrissimi Viri Francisci Josephi Burri ... fama esset ingens, fateor me a Clarissimo Viro Francisco van den Enden, Regis Christianissimi Consiliario & Medico, qui me liberalibus & philosophicis disciplinis imbuerat (viro de cujus eximiis laudibus alibi mihi erit dicendi locus) adductum ut familiaritatem Burri affectarem; imbuerat enim Vir ille animum meum inflammato, quo etiamnum ardet, sciendi desiderio: admiranda autem in Medicis & Chymicis scientia excellere Excellentiam illam fama jactabat; itaque molles mihi ad eum aditus, etiam munusculis quibusdam aperui, solitisque humanitatis formulis acceptus, laetior aliquando, numquam doctior ab illo recessi; nec enim ut de scientia quapiam misceremus sermones unquam fuit occasio.

[17] When the most generous and illustrious man Franciscus Joseph Borri ... was very famous, I must confess that the very celebrated man Franciscus van den Enden, councilor and physician of the most Christian King, who had imbued me with the liberal and philosophical disciplines (a man about whose eminent qualities I shall speak elsewhere) adduced me to seek Borri's familiarity; since that man [Van den Enden] had imbued my mind with an inflamed desire to know from which it now still burns. Well, because his excellency Borri enjoyed the fame to excel with admirable knowledge in Medicine and Chemistry, I therefore easily acquired with some presents access to him and, being received with the usual customs of humanity, I sometimes went away from him more gladly, never however with more knowledge; since there was never any occasion to discuss a scientific topic with him.

The Italian Francisco Joseph Borri, who called himself "Excellency" was a very famous man in medicine and alchemy, who settled in Amsterdam in the sixties. Later it appeared that he cheated people and was a charlatan in all his activities.(Meisma o.c. p. 199-292). Van den Enden must originally have mistaken his character when he advised Kerrkringh to seek his company. Kerckringh's testimony is a very valuable one, because it explicitly assesses that Van den Enden's

1670). Quote on p. 199-200. The work consists of four volumes and counts 2027 pages.

teaching activities concerned "the liberal and *philosophical* disciplines", i.e. the liberal arts and the physical sciences. The Latin schoolmaster, then, was a philosophical master in the full seventeenth century meaning of this word. Secondly the document is important because it testifies so nicely to the historical fact that this master inflamed in the mind of his disciples "a burning desire to know"; he transformed his followers into first class scientists, who could work on their own. Bouwmeester, Meyer, Kerckringh and Spinoza are eminent examples of this scientific attitude.

Autumn 1670 or spring 1671 Van den Enden migrated to Paris, where he again started a Latin School, namely in the quarter called Picpus. For the moment we leave aside the question why he did so, a man with the respectable age of 68. The first sign that he cherished plans for this radical and unexpected geographical change may be seen in the registers of notary H. Outgers (register 3204) in Amsterdam. A.M. Vaz Dias³⁶ found here a document from which it appears that on September 13, 1670 Van den Enden conveys to Dirck Kerckrinck an IOU (i.e. 'I owe you') of 1266 florins and receives for it the capital sum plus the unpaid interest. It was an IOU to be paid by Joan Spilberg, a painter. The text of the deed reads in translation:

[18] Appeared Franciscus van den Enden, doctor medicine here in this city, well known to me, notary, and declared herewith to convey, cede and hand over to the benefit of Theodore Kerckring a bond of twelve hundred and sixty-six guilders, chargeable to Joan Spilberg, in the name of him, cessor, dated December 12, 1661: all according to the general contents of the bond, the original of which he, cessor, hands over with all rights belonging to it, without him, cessor, keeping or reserving any claims, to do with it as he would himself and to deal with it as he pleases. He acknowledges to have been fully paid by the said Kerckring for the capital and

³⁶ See A.M. Vaz Dias & W.G. van der Tak, *Spinoza Merchant & Autodidact* (Special issue of *Studia Rosenthaliana* XVI, number 2, 1982) p. 176-177.

the due unpaid interest of the bond from the first penny to the last. He not only receipts him but also promises to adhere to this conveyance and to consider all that will be done because of it as good and valid; binding and submitting according to law. This was thus passed within Amsterdam in the presence of Stephanus Pelgrom and Pieter de Wit as witnesses

Franciscus vanden Enden; Stephanus Pelgrom; H. Outgers, P.F. nots.

Van den Enden may have been planning his migration to Paris, for which he naturally needed some money. Kerckringh, soon to become his son-in-law, was willing to take over the bond for cash.

The exact date of Van den Enden's installation in Paris cannot be fixed. From the interrogations of various persons in the legal proceedings of 1674 we gather many inconsistent indications (Bedjai, oc I/50, note). He attended the marriage of his daughter Clara Maria February 1671 in Amsterdam, but this does not prohibit his being settled in Paris in 1670, since he also declared in the trial that he had once returned to Amsterdam.

DU CAUSE DE NAZELLE'S *MEMOIRS*

I am now going to present the reader a series of extracts from the memoirs of a Paris intimate of Van den Enden, the same man, however, who in the end betrayed his master to the authorities. I mean Du Cause de Nazelle and his *Mémoires du temps de Louis IV*. This text, written probably around 1680, is published by the historian Ernest Daudet in 1899 (chez Plon). Both biographers of Van den Enden, Van Suchtelen and Bedjai, make ample use of the information contained in this text, but I think that the rich contents will better serve our purpose when the selected fragments are presented continuously and at once, with due connecting comments. According to Daudet's judgment the text is pretty reliable: "Sous sa plume, les faits qu'il évoque suent la vérité". Many a

detail can be controlled in the proceedings of the trial and is then confirmed.

When he became a member of Van den Enden's household in Paris, Du Cause de Nazelle was a young man, who as a volunteer or an officer, had participated in French military expeditions in Germany, Flanders, Holland and even Creta. Returned to Paris, he felt ashamed that he was unemployed and decided to look for a boarding house in the suburb. By chance he knocked on the door where an old man of mediocre length held children (*enfants de qualité*) in pension in order to educate them in the humanities. He was welcome in the house and even allowed, because he was so much older than the pensionaries, to sit on the table of the master during the meals. This gave him very frequent opportunities to have conversations with him and to become acquainted with his talents and his personality. Before giving in his memoirs a sketch of Van den Enden's "extraordinary character" he asserts to be absolutely sincere. "Je ne ferai que rapporter les faits dans la vérité, en historien fidèle, n'ayant dessein que de le peindre trait pour trait d'après nature" (p.96}.

Van den Enden was born in Flanders in a family, which cannot have been so poor, because his parents sent him to a school where he could learn languages and sciences. On account of his "higher order genius" he entered on the request of his masters in a religious order, where he later taught grammatics and literature with great success and a growing reputation. He acquired knowledge of "Hebrew, Syric, Greek, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish and French" (p.97). Finally his superiors were obliged to send him away from their company. "Some have pretended that since he could not abstain from women, he left himself willingly that society in order to recover his freedom" (p.99). After having married he retired to Holland where he made many friends in a short time.

[19a] Sa grande capacité et son rare génie pour toutes sortes de choses le firent regarder non seulement comme un savant

homme, mais encore comme un sujet capable des choses les plus grandes.

[19b] Il était de petite taille, mais d'une physionomie spirituelle et très agréable. Sa conversation était charmante. Il était plein de feu dans ses discours, juste dans ses reparties, enjoué sur les sujets les plus stériles, sublime dans ses pensées. La philosophie, la théologie, les mathématiques et toutes les parties qui les composent étaient dans leur plus beau jour quand il avait occasion d'en parler.

[19c] Il avait tout lu, tout approfondi et, suivant l'opinion que les plus habiles personnages avaient de lui, il avait recueilli dans tous les auteurs ce qu'ils ont de meilleur, de grand, de solide en chaque matière et, par la méditation, il y avait beaucoup ajouté du sien. Les ouvriers les plus habiles étaient étonnés, quand, raisonnant sur leur art, ils voyaient qu'il en savait bien plus qu'eux et qu'il poussait ses idées beaucoup au delà des inventions et des recherches des plus habiles maîtres.

[19d] Il avait une mémoire prodigieuse. Il avait tout appris et il avait tout retenu. Son éloquence était douce, insinuante et persuasive; il était grand parleur. Souvent il lui échappait de dire ce qu'il n'aurait pas dû dire. Il s'abandonnait un peu trop à son feu, et il se confiait trop en la supériorité de son génie.

[19e] Personne ne pouvait s'énoncer en des termes plus propres, plus forts ni plus clairs. Ses expressions étaient autant d'images vives, nobles et naïves des choses dont il parlait. Il tenait pour maxime qu'un homme ne sait point véritablement ce qu'il ne peut pas rendre intelligible aux autres, et que lorsque l'on conçoit bien distinctement soi-même ce dont on parle, il n'est pas possible qu'on ne le rende sensible et clair à ceux qui écoutent, la parole extérieure n'étant que la vive et naturelle image de la parole intérieure.

[19f] Il avait un grand penchant pour les femmes. D'ailleurs, il était très sobre et très réglé. Il faisait ostentation, en digne philosophe, du mépris de l'or et des richesses, ou plutôt il

s'était rendu incapable d'en acquérir, ni d'en conserver pour ses besoins, soit défaut de soin ou passion de dépenser. Il ne se laissait jamais rien en réserve. [...]

[19g] Quant à la religion, il n'en avait proprement aucune. Il ne croyait ni à des peines ni à des récompenses après cette vie, quoique d'ailleurs il reconnût un maître souverain de l'univers. On démêlait sans peine ses véritables opinions sur cette matière dans les conversations particulières; mais en public et parmi les personnes avec qui il n'était pas familier, il gardait toujours de grandes mesures.

[19h] Il était catholique avec les catholiques et protestant avec les protestants. J'ai vu bien des fois plusieurs de nos fameux docteurs et M. Arnauld lui-même le venir voir pour conférer avec lui sur les sens des textes hébreu et syriaque des Ecritures. J'ai vu aussi diverses fois le ministre Claude, fameux prédicant de Charenton, venir lui demander des éclaircissements pour soutenir ses erreurs. On peut dire que si Vanden Enden avait quelque religion, ce n'était tout au plus que celle des déistes. Ce qu'il faisait paraître de plus n'était qu'un effet de politique et de son intérêt.

[19i] A l'âge de soixante-dix ans, il était aussi frais, aussi robuste, aussi agile qu'on puisse l'être à trente ans. Je ne sais si c'est par la force de son tempérament, ou par l'effet des secrets que lui fournissait la chimie dans laquelle il excellait, par-dessus tous ceux que nous avons connus. Il est certain qu'il en avait tiré des compositions admirables pour réparer les forces de la nature et surtout pour fournir aux plaisirs des dames, à les embellir et à leur donner une grande fraîcheur de teint (p.100-102).

All these are things, which Du Cause de Nazelle may have experienced himself during the time he lived with Van den Enden and was impressed by his performances. He now continues his story with some biographical information which he must have drawn from hearsay or must have constructed himself from scarce bits. He tells that after the loss of his

wife (year is unknown) Van den Enden's affairs fell in disorder and he was forced by that to try out his fortune elsewhere. He started to travel, leaving his two youngest daughters with a relative in Amsterdam. He visited a great part of Europe and made his acquaintance with learned men in the most important towns. He would particularly have been known by the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in whose honour he would have written various panegyrics. That was in the time that the courts of France and Spain were in conflict on account of the rights of queen Marie-Thérèse, the so-called devolution war, which broke out in 1667 when Louis XIV took Wallonia. According to our biographer the governor in the Spanish Netherlands, count Monterey, would have intended to take advantage from Van den Enden's linguistic and political talents and therefore have promoted his settlement in Paris, letting him enter France from the South, via Toulon and Marseille. If Van den Enden would take up again his educational and scientific activities nobody would become suspicious of his connections with the responsible representator of the Spanish crown. As soon as he was in Paris, Van den Enden immediately hired a great and beautiful house in the suburb Picpus, which had a large and splendid garden with a small wood. Just as in Amsterdam a Latin school was opened for the children of well to do people, and also here the initiative became a big success. A younger woman (Catharina Medaens) came over from Belgium, with whom he started a new life. His youngest daughters arrived from Amsterdam to join their father; one of them soon married with one of the teachers, mister Dargent. "The studies flourished in this school with more reputation than anywhere else in similar institutions" (p.108).

We don't have evidence from other sources about contacts between Van den Enden and Monterey or the Spanish court in the years 1667-1670. The report of Du Cause de Nazelle does have, however, a certain probability, because during the complot against the French king Van den Enden was to be the 'trait d'union' between the conjurors and Monterey. This becomes more understandable when there had been a prehistory between the two. Van den Enden's writing *Vrije Politijcke Stellingen* (1665) and also his letters to Jan de Witt show that he more or less had become an activist. One can hardly imagine that he after his

disappointment about the attitude of the Dutch governors (regenten) would quietly have quietly taken up again his job as a schoolmaster or philosopher. On p. 31 of VPS he wrote that when the governors don't present their services to fight for freedom of the people, *he will do it* for them. Time for action had come; the man of mid-sixty could not wait any more.

But meanwhile the dispute between France and Spain was settled by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668).

[19j] La réputation de Vanden Enden augmenta beaucoup à Paris pendant la paix. Aux bruits des armes, les lettres sommeillent. Mais lorsque le calme revient, alors les muses reprennent leur empire et leur lustre. La maison de Vanden Enden devint une espèce d'académie publique pour tous les beaux esprits. [...] Ceux qui s'attachaient à la chimie venaient lui communiquer leurs découvertes et recevoir ses avis. Les savants dans les mathématiques en usaient de même pour la solution des propositions les plus difficiles. Chacun d'eux admirait également et la profondeur de son savoir et la netteté avec laquelle il décidait sur leurs doutes (p.109).

Du Cause speaks about Van den Enden's "superiors" (Spanish and Dutch authorities) who desired that he would stay in Paris for the time that his service would again become profitable for them.³⁷ This did not last long. On April 6 of 1672 the King of France declared the war against the

³⁷ How is it possible that Van den Enden had diplomatic contacts with count Monterey and via him with the Spanish court whereas on the other hand he was called councillor and physician of the king of France by two of his best friends, Antonides van der Goes [14j] and his son-in-law Theodor Kerckringh [17]. Both these friends used the title in a writing of 1670, not before neither after that year. In the light of Van den Enden's friendship with Latréaumont in his Amsterdam time and his participation in the conspiracy against Louis XIV, which in coöperation with Monterey may have been conceived and prepared in the end of the sixties, it seems not an improbable hypothesis that the public use of the title 'councillor and physician of the king of France' was a well deliberated truc in order to mislead French spies and politicians and to give an official, moreover very acceptable explanation of his migration to France, which otherwise would have been very strange for a man of 68 years old.

Dutch Republic, which would become so disastrous for this country. Du Cause now begins a new chapter to tell the story of the conspiracy, in which Van den Enden was involved. He admired the good order in his house and the discipline among the pupils who were pensionaries. Every day after the meal he walked together with the master through the beautiful avenues of his garden and had fine conversations with him.

[19k] Ses discours me charmaient, je sentais dans nos entretiens qu'il donnait à mon esprit une certaine élévation que je n'avais pas de moi-même, et qu'en discourant sur des sujets philosophiques, ou sur d'autres matières que la conversation amenait et qui passaient de beaucoup la capacité de mon génie, il me les rendait néanmoins si palpables, qu'il m'en donnait une impression vive qui ne s'effaçait point. La haute idée que je conçus de lui fut encore soutenue par l'abord de tant de personnes distinguées, qui entretenaient un commerce réglé avec lui presque tous les jours sur les sciences, sur les nouvelles découvertes et sur les beaux-arts. Ces fréquentes visites marquaient le goût que tant de personnes illustres avaient pour Vanden Enden et l'opinion avantageuse qu'elles avaient de lui (115).

In the following fragment we receive from Du Cause some very substantial information about the contents of Van den Enden's conferences:

[19l) Lorsqu'il sortait de ces conférences dont il était assez souvent fatigué, il recherchait à se délasser dans un entretien familier. Il me faisait appeler, et, après avoir égayé la conversation par quelques discours vagues et enjoués, il rentrait insensiblement dans le sérieux, sans affectation et par son penchant naturel, *tantôt sur des sujets de physique, tantôt sur l'ordre et la construction admirable de l'univers, la propriété des éléments et les merveilles de la nature. Il m'en développait les principes avec tant de netteté et de méthode*, qu'il me semblait qu'il les gravât dans ma mémoire.

[19o] Mais lorsque nous tombions sur des matières de *religion* et sur les différents sectes qui la divisent, il paraissait peu persuadé des principes, et, à l'entendre s'en expliquer familièrement, il était facile de pénétrer qu'il y ajoutait peu de foi, prenant plaisir à balancer les opinions de tous les différents partis par des raisonnements plausibles, sans se déterminer en faveur d'aucun en particulier, laissant toujours dans le doute et dans l'incertitude celui qu'on devait suivre, ou plutôt inspirant un *égal mépris pour tous sans distinction, comme si la religion n'était qu'une production de l'imagination humaine*.

[19p] Quant à la *politique*, il ne pouvait se modérer en parlant de celle de France. *Le ministère n'était composé, selon lui, que de personnes violentes, intéressées, et qui n'avaient pas les vues qu'elles devaient avoir pour la véritable gloire du roi, ni pour le bien de l'Etat.*[...] Surtout quand il parlait de la guerre que l'on faisait aux Pays-Bas et en Hollande, il perdait toute retenue et s'émancipait à dire beaucoup de choses qui pouvaient être criminelles, et que je n'excusais que sur ce qu'il était étranger et qu'il prenait en cela trop vivement les intérêts de sa patrie, qui était tout en feu et presque ruinée (p.116-117).

It struck Du Cause that in the month July Latréaumont very often paid a visit to Van den Enden. "I knew him as an officer in the army with a very bad reputation". Van den Enden was also frequented by the chevalier de Rohan. It surprised him to see here this chevalier. He could not conceive how a man of such a rank might have some commerce with Latréaumont who was absolutely dishonourable in his view. He had the name of being a coiner (faux monnayeur). Like De Rohan he was interested in the conversion of metals, an art in which Van den Enden was famous. The visits of these two persons became gradually more mysterious for Du Cause. They took precautions in order not to be seen or heard. Du Cause became suspicious. He knew that De Rohan was very discontent and indignant over the government and that Latréaumont was a kind of partisan. He therefore decided to gauge Van den Enden by blaming the Dutch Republic and accusing it of being imprudent, not without some result:

[19q] Van den Enden se récria sur le peu de sujet que le Roi avait eu d'entrer en guerre contre la Hollande; que cette guerre ne pouvait avoir d'autre cause qu'une ambition démesurée et l'intérêt particulier d'un jeune ministre qui cherchait de la matière à se faire valoir et à se rendre nécessaire; qu'on n'avait eu aucun égard au droit des gens, ni aux traités; que la République ni l'Espagne n'étaient point encore si abattues qu'elles ne pussent se relever; *que des nations réduites au désespoir trouvaient quelquefois des ressources dans leur désespoir même; que les forces de France n'étaient pas absolument indomptables*; que le coeur du royaume était entièrement dégarni de troupes et que la garde même de la personne du Roi ne consistait actuellement qu'en quelque soixante ou quatre-vingts hommes mal aguerris, tout le reste de sa garde ayant été envoyé à l'armée pour la renforcer; qu'il se trouvait parmi nos ennemis des gens de coeur et de bons partisans à qui il n'était pas difficile de pénétrer jusqu'à Versailles, où le Roi logeait alors; qu'il y avait beaucoup de mécontents à la Cour et dans les provinces; que la plupart même des gens de guerre parmi les officiers étaient rebutés du service par les mauvais traitements qu'ils souffraient du Bureau du ministre, où *tout se faisait par des intrigues de femmes et d'autres personnes intéressées et avides du gain* (p.122-123).

Van den Enden was very agitated when he so gave his views. When Du Cause stimulated his irritation, by conceding that France had also been unjust towards him, one of its faithful military servants, his indignation was raised more by it:

[19r] Il me fit observer que la conduite que l'on tenait en France péchait contre les règles de la bonne politique en plusieurs manières, notamment en ce que l'on employait toutes les forces du royaume à ravager un pays étranger et éloigné, alors qu'on savait de bonne part que les peuples étaient mécontents de tant d'accablantes impositions et très aigris par la violence de ceux qui les exigeaient.

[19s] Il y avait, à en croire Vanden Enden, des seigneurs de très grande distinction qui souffraient impatiemment la dureté et la fierté des ministres. Rien n'était plus facile à ceux contre lesquels on faisait la guerre que de s'emparer d'une grande partie du royaume avant que le Roi y pût envoyer des troupes. Les côtes maritimes étaient partout ouvertes et sans défense. En faisant une descente en certain lieu sous la conduite de quelque seigneur accrédité dans le royaume, on verrait courir les peuples au recouvrement de leur liberté opprimée. Les protestants répandus dans toute la France, qui regardaient les prospérités du Roi comme le dernier signal de leur destruction, ne manqueraient une occasion si favorable de se relever. Les choses pouvaient enfin être disposées de manière que le roi serait obligé de laisser en repos le monde et se trouverait peut-être mal assuré pour sa personne et pour sa famille royale (p. 124-125).

The ideas developed in these fragments from the *Mémoires* agree perfectly with the contents of *Kort Verhael van Nieuw-Nederlants* (1662), written by Van den Enden in 1662. See my analysis further on in chapter V. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that Du Cause is a faithful reporter of what he personally learned from his conversations with Van den Enden. His criticism on French government and French politics is exactly the same as his criticism on the Dutch governors, their exhausting external wars and heavy taxes and their oppression of the people by means of the violence of mercenaries, uttered by 'Mother New Netherland' in the "Na-Reeden" of KVNN. Van den Enden still fights the same battle, the battle for the freedom of the people, the battle against oppression and exploitation of the proletariat, the battle for a democratic and stable democracy, wherever he saw people in great misery. Quite naturally his growing indignation about the French despotic regime got an extra stimulation now that his home country, the Dutch republic, had become the victim of the excessive French aggression. No wonder that he could not completely hide his feelings of disappointment and also his hope on a happy turning of events to his inmate, who more or less provoked him.

But this inmate was warned from now on. He became more alert and observed that Kerckringh, Van den Enden's son in law, arrived by postcar from Amsterdam and was very cordially received. He also observed, that this son in law went to see the Chevalier de Rohan with the excuse that he had to cure an injury of this nobleman. Du Cause started to coniecture that Van den Enden and his visitors were planning something, which much raised his curiosity. Van den Enden's daughter Marianne brought him one day a small book, which she had found in a room where Van den Enden had held his meetings with Latréaumont and others. This book contained an alphabet in codes and confirmed therefore his suspicion that perhaps a conspiracy was prepared in greatest secrecy. He naturally tried to get more clarity. Therefore he once more provoked Van den Enden by pretending to deplore the state of Holland with so many nice towns and great fortifications, which were now ruined by the French armies.

[19t] Van den Enden, pénétré de douleur de toutes ces choses, s'emporta furieusement contre l'injustice de cette guerre; elle n'avait aucun fondement dans le droit des gens; on ne l'avait entreprise, à proprement parler, que pour venger des discours et l'insolence de quelques particuliers qui par un génie trop hardi avaient répandu des satires contre le Roi; mais *dans un état républicain, où l'on se pique d'une entière liberté, il n'était pas possible de réprimer les langues ni les écrits particuliers*, et on n'aurait jamais d'imputer à la République des fautes personnelles de quelques malheureux, ni en faire le motif d'une guerre publique. Il ajouta qu'à l'égard de l'Espagne, on avait violé le dernier traité de paix fait avec elle, en passant sur ses terres pour aller opprimer ses alliés, et que ce n'était point là son seul légitime grief; que les sujets espagnols en Flandre étaient, comme les Hollandais, fort à plaindre; que, quoique tout sourît à la France dans ce comble de prospérités où elle se voyait, il ne fallait qu'un petit revers pour changer la scène; que ces peuples avaient encore des troupes et des vaisseaux; que de quelque gloire dont le Roi fût environné, il était peut-être dans un plus grand péril qu'il ne le pensait au milieu d'une cour composée de femmes, de ministres, de

vieillards, sans garde, dans un lieu ouvert de tous côtés, et que *le temps et l'occasion étaient de grands maîtres en ces matières* (p.131-132).

After having overheard, from a conversation between Van den Enden and Latréaumont, concrete details about an invasion in France on a place where the population was already in revolt, Du Cause was told by Van den Enden that he had to depart for Brussels the next day on account of bad news from his family. The excuse did not help. Du Cause was fully persuaded now of the perverse intentions of the group and had acquired certainty about their conspiracy against the King of France. He found himself necessitated, probably also to avoid suspicions regarding his own personal involvement, to inform the court. He felt an aversion to betray De Rohan. "Not less also to betray Van den Enden. This rare and extraordinary man, so much esteemed by all scientists and indeed so respectable, would on this accusation and because he was without resources, certainly be lost" (p. 137). Du Cause revealed everything he knew to Louvois, state secretary of war, on September 1, 1674.

Thereupon the authorities came into action immediately. Apart from Van den Enden, who was in Brussels with Monterey, all participants were arrested, on which occasion Latréaumont who resisted, was so much injured that he died. Meanwhile Van den Enden discussed and organized the last preparations for the invasion in Quilleboeuf (money, troupes, weapons) about which he intended to inform Latréaumont on the 10th of September in a coded letter, addressed to Mrs Dargent, "chez les frères Lemarie, fripiers, faubourg Saint-Antoine:

[20] J'ai été bien reçu de mon gendre [le gouverneur Monterey]. Mais il m'a dit qu'avant que de prendre une entière résolution, il fallait en parler à ma fille Marguerite [le Prince d'Orange) et qu'il enverrait cependant à Rouen pour cent mille francs de diamants, qu'il vous adresserait. (quoted in a footnote ; the original in Bibliothèque Nationale)

After his returning from Brussels on the 18th of September also Van den

Enden was arrested, when he was on the point of flying from the country. His family had told him about the tragic outcome of their plans.

[19u] Il crut d'abord, me voyant entouré des gardes du Roi, qu'on m'avait arrêté comme son complice et il n'oublia rien pour persuader à l'officier que jamais il ne m'avait fait aucune confidence de ses desseins, et que je n'y avais jamais trempé; qu'au contraire, je lui avais paru plein de zèle pour le roi et en avais toujours parlé avec des sentiments pleins de respect et de tendresse. Il avouait ainsi son crime assez ouvertement, et, dès ce moment, il conçut qu'il n'y avait rien que de funeste à espérer pour lui (p.154).

[19v] Cependant, sans se troubler et sans marquer le moindre effroi, il tira de sa poche une boîte qu'il me pria d'accepter, parce qu'il voyait bien, disait-il, qu'elle ne devait à l'avenir lui être d'aucun usage, et que j'en pourrais profiter à l'âge où j'étais. Il l'ouvrit et nous fit voir une poudre dont elle était pleine, assez ressemblante à la fleur de soufre. Elle n'avait nulle odeur. Pour m'en montrer l'effet, il en étendit un peu avec le bout du doigt mouillé sur le revers de sa main, qu'il frota légèrement avec l'autre main, et la peau devint dans le moment d'une beauté surprenante. C'est, dit il, un secret pour embellir le teint des dames. Puisse-t-il vous être utile, puisqu'il faut maintenant que j'y renonce! (p.155)

[19w] J'acceptai la boîte avec l'agrément l'officier et je ne pus m'empêcher d'admirer qu'un homme, sûr de sa perte dans ce moment, eût conservé assez de sang-froid pour raisonner de la sorte. Je me souvins alors de ce qu'il m'avait tant de fois soutenu, *que la mort n'est rien et, par conséquent, qu'elle n'est point un mal* (p. 191).

The papers Van den Enden had with him were impounded and transported with him to the Bastille.

On the basis of the original documents we shall treat hereafter Van den Enden's declarations in the process which followed upon the arrestation of the conspirators. In that process Van den Enden was condemned to be hanged. Du Cause de Nazelle was present at the

execution and gave us this eye-witness impression:

[19x] On vint ensuite à l'exécution de Vanden Enden. Il regarda sans s'émouvoir cette prodigieuse assemblée de peuple, les vestiges de l'exécution de ses complices et son gibet, préparé à quelques pas de l'échafaud. Ses yeux ni son visage n'en furent nullement changés. Loin de faire paraître quelque faiblesse, il montra une fermeté et une constance de héros. *Il soutint parfaitement ce rôle de philosophe stoïque, dont il se faisait gloire. Il avait toujours prétendu que la vie n'était pas un bien, ni la mort un mal.* Il écoutait tranquillement le docteur qui était à son côté pour l'exhorter à mourir chrétiennement. On doit présumer qu'il en profita dans ses derniers moments, qui sont si propres à ramener l'homme à la vérité des principes de la religion. *Quant au crime pour lequel il était condamné, on prétend qu'il n'en témoigna en mourant aucun repentir et qu'il prétendait, dans l'aveu qu'il avait fait de toutes les circonstances de la conspiration, que dans un temps de guerre ouverte il était permis à un sujet de l'Etat attaqué de tout entreprendre pour sauver sa patrie opprimée, et que dans ces terribles conjonctures un sujet est trop glorieux de pouvoir donner sa vie pour la délivrance de ses concitoyens* (p.203).

This, then, was Du Cause's story about life, intellectual capacities and political activities of Van den Enden. I think that we may be very grateful for the rich and seemingly also rather authentic information he gave us about Van den Enden as a teacher and philosopher. His *Mémoires* are the only external source, which allows us to get a view on Van den Enden's lively conversations, the various philosophical propositions, which he defended, and his excelling in many different scientific disciplines (like linguistics, mathematics, chemistry, physics). In the last chapter of this book we shall take great advantage from it in order to characterize and summarize Van den Enden's own philosophical position.

VAN DEN ENDEN'S DECLARATIONS DURING THE TRIAL

But we learn also a lot about Van den Enden's ideas and motivations from what he himself explicitly confessed in the sessions of the trial in which he was thoroughly interrogated.³⁸ I shall take from this process the pieces which may throw a light on Van den Enden's life and thought, not so much, however, in so far as they could contribute to a reconstruction of the details of the conspiracy, which would constitute a separate enterprise.³⁹

On 26th of September 1674 "François Affinius Vandenenden", being kept in the castle of the Bastille, declares on oath that he is 73 years old and doctor in medicine. Further:

[21a] qu'à Paris il enseignoit les langues demeurant au Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, faisant profession de la Religion Catholique apostolique et romaine et estre natif d'Anvers, n'estant habitué a Paris que depuis trois ans et qu'auparavant il a demeuré dans Amsterdam pendant 29 années ou il a fait les mesmes exercices d'enseigner. Enquis s'il est marié. A dit que depuis deux ans il a occultement épousé une femme⁴⁰ qui est originaire de

³⁸ For the original proceedings (425 sheets) see La Reynie, B.N. (Bibliothèque Nationale), Fonds Français, Ms. 7629 or "Procès de messire Louis de Rohan et de ses complices, B.N., Cing Cents Colbert, Ms. 226. This manuscript belonged to Colbert and is a copy of La Reynie's proceedings. There is also a voluminous extract of the proceedings (B.N., Fonds Français, Ms 7576), composed in 1735 by Chavannes and Berryer. Cf. also *Archives de la Bastille*. Ed. par Ravaisson, Paris 1858-1904, vol. VII, p. 419 ff.

³⁹ Cf. for this subject Klaus Malettke, *Opposition und Konspiration unter Ludwig XIV. Studien zu Kritik und Widerstand gegen System und Politik des französischen Königs während der ersten Hälfte seiner persönlichen Regierung*. Göttingen Vandenhoeck 1976.

⁴⁰ The name of this second woman of Van den Enden is Catharina Medaens. When interrogated as a witness she declared herself to be born in Leuven (Belgium) and to have the age of 55 years, so that her life began in 1619. Van den Enden might have known her from his former stay in Leuven, after (or before?) having left the Jesuits.

Flandre mais que le vicaire de St. Paul n'a pas voulu autorizer publiquement son mariage parce qu'il n'a pû prouver la mort du 1er mari de sadite femme et a reconnu avoir aussi esté marié une première fois avec une fille de bonne extraction native d'Anvers et originaire de Dantzic, de laquelle il a plusieurs enfans dont il luy reste quatre⁴¹ filles desquelles il en a deux en Flandre et deux autres en cette ville, y en ayent une mariée au sieur Dargent qui fait le même exercice que luy repondant et qui loge dans la mesme maison et l'autre estant aux Ursulines de la rue Sainte Avoye.

Van den Enden was then asked about his relationship to Latréaumont. From his declaration it appears that he knew him already from the mid sixties⁴² when Latréaumont was some years with him in Amsterdam as a friend and pupil and that they had often discussed political matters.

[21b] Arrivant à Paris il chercha le sieur *Latréaumont*, qu'il connoissoit pour l'avoir veu plusieurs fois à Amsterdam et luy avoir enseigné quelque chose de la philosophie, il y a environ cinq ans, et que le dit sieur de Latréaumont luy devoit 3 ou 400 livres qu'estant en holande ils avoient souvent parlé ensemble des moyens d'establir une republique libre en holande, que Monsieur Le Comte de Guiche estoit souvent présent à leurs entretiens qui ne regardoient jamais rien contre les Interests de la france tant que le dit sieur Comte de Guiche y estoit present, mais bien que le dit sieur de Latréaumont en particulier luy

⁴¹ This confession implies that one of the female twins born in 1648, Anna or Adriana Clementina, must still have been alive. Marguerita was married to Dargent, Marianne was parked in a pensionate.

⁴² Cf. Klaus Malettke, *Opposition*..p.150: "Die Zeitangabe 'il y a environ cinq ans' kann sich nur auf die Ankunft Van den Endens in Paris im Jahre 1671 beziehen, so dasz die Begegnung Latréaumonts mit ihm in das Jahr 1666 zu legen ist. Das Jahr 1669 ... kan nicht zutreffen, denn der Comte de Guiche hielt sich nachweisbar nur bis 1667 in Holland auf, er hätte also in 1669 gar nicht mehr mit Latréaumont an den erwähnten politischen Diskussionen teilnehmen können".

montrant la Carte de la Normandie luy disoit que le foible de ce costé la estoit à Quilleboeuf ... Lors qu'il le vit a Paris ou quant il alla le chercher pour avoir l'argent qu'il luy debuoit le dit Latreaumont luy dit qu'on pourroit apliquer en France l'exécution de cette republique libre dont ils avoient discoursu en Holande. Que pour cela il lui répétoit l'avantage qu'on pourroit tirer de la prise de Quilleboeuf, qu'il ne seroit pas mal aisé après cela de faire soulever la Normandie ... en mettant M. de Rohan à leur tête; qu'après lui avoir tenu ce discours plusieurs fois il luy fit connoître le chevalier de Rohan, qui logeat lors avec Latréaumont, proche la place Royale, en un logis qu'il ne peut pas désigner. M. de Rohan luy fit seulement beaucoup d'accueil et d'honnêteté, et le fit diner avec luy deux ou trois fois, mais quelque temps après environ le temps de la déclaration de la guerre contre les Holandois, étant pres de s'en aller en Holande pour ses affaires particuliers M. le chler de Rohan le fit venir dans le jardin des pères Piquepuces du fauxbourg Saint-Antoine, et là en discourant il luy dist qu'il estoit un cavalier libre qui pourroit servir tel Prince qui le voudroit...

On 2nd October a certain Bourguignet called up as a witness says in the process to have heard from Latréaumont "that van den Enden had been a teacher in Amsterdam with a special method for the instruction of Latin. But that he had no religion at all and that he was forced by the magistrate to go away from Amsterdam". Van den Enden rejected this insinuation:

[21c] Et par le dit Vandenenden a esté dit que tous ceux qui l'ont connu rendront toujours bon témoignage de la profession qu'il a faite d'estres Catholique et que le magistrat mesme d'Amsterdam luy a offert des sommes considerables pour demeurer dans leur ville, et que pour preuve de cela depuis que Luy Vandenenden est rétiré en France, il a fait un voyage en Holande ou il a esté bien accueilli du Magistrat d'Amsterdam qui luy fit payer ce qui luy estoit deub de reste de ses appointements. (Colbert 500 :266, p. 667-668)

Bourguignet excused himself. He had it only from hearsay, like also this that he had been a Jesuit.

[21d] Et par le dit Vandenenden a esté dit qu'il demeure d'accord d'avoir esté dix ans parmi les Jesuistes, mais qu'il n'y estoit engagé que par les voeux simples et qu'il n'estoit point non plus dans les ordres sacrez n'ayant eu que la tonsure et les quatres moindres, et *qu'il est sorti d'avec les Jesuites de leur consentement et avec leur amitié.*

Van den Enden does not recognise a certain witness. He explains, then, that this is not at all astonishing,

[21e] d'autant que les especes et les images des hommes s'effacent aisement de son esprit. (p.. 802)

When Latréaumont was arrested and shot, there were taken in a number of papers found in his luggage. In the interrogation of the 2nd of October, Van den Enden was confronted with each of the eight pieces.⁴³ The first was the draft of a letter, which Latréaumont had written to him in Brussels, in order to confirm the reception of his own coded letter of September 10. The second and third leafs were not important. The fourth started with the words "*Et comme le bien commun et général ne peut estre justement establi si tous les particuliers ne sont a leur aise*" - on itself an important proposition ! -and ended with "*toutes les sommes dont ils déclareront avoir besoin*". Van den Enden recognized in this piece the handwriting of Latréaumont and declared further:

[21f] que Latréaumont avoit leu a luy respondant un projet presque pareil, mais qu'il n'estoit pas sy ample et qu'il ne contenoit qu'environ le tiers de ce nous luy avons exhibé et qu'il croit mesme *que la plupart de l'adition a esté tire d'un projet d'une république libre en holande qui est dans un livre escrit a la main que luy repondant a donné autre fois a garder au dit Latréaumont.*

⁴³ See Marc Bedjai, o.c. vol. I, p. 6-14.

Van den Enden acknowledges here that the '*Manifeste*' [23a-23f] shown to him was written by Latréaumont and that the 'addition' to it was taken from a manuscript of his, in which he had developed ideas about the organization of a free republic in Holland. He entrusted this manuscript to Latréaumont. This confession, then, proves, that a part of Van den Enden's "projet", which will be demonstrated to be identical with the third part of VPS (cf. VPS Voor-Reeden), is incorporated in Latréaumont's text, which, therefore, may be interpreted as an echo of Van den Enden's program. The text of the manifest is to find among the "Pièces originales du procès de Rohan" in the *Archives Nationales* (V⁴1474).

The fifth paper shown to Van den Enden begins with: "*que tous les hommes sont portez avant toutes choses a la recherche et a la conservation de leur propre bien*" – again a fundamental proposition of Van den Enden like also the three next sentences - and ends with: "Quand nous voudront la prononcer, ce qui nous paroît si bien fondé sera renversé en un moment". This paper has only a length of four pages. About the sixth paper, likewise a small leaf the handwriting experts declared that the first sentence sounded: "*ce n'est pas la multitude de ceux qui opinent qui fait la diversité et la lenteur des conclusions*" and the last words: "*Celuy qui veut prouver qu'il est bon compatriote doit toujours estre prest a exposer sa vie et a donner son bien pour maintenir l'un et l'autre*". And they told the judges that in the margin was written with another hand "***Vrye politique stellingen en consideratien van stast***". Van den Enden hereupon declares that he

[21g] reconnoist que c'est de la main de Latreaumont, qu'il ne luy a point montrez, mais qu'il croit que ce sont des ***extraits d'un livre de politique escrit a la main qu'il luy avoit presté***, que mesme parmy ces remarques la, il en reconnoist quelques unes tirées des discours qu'il avoit eu avec Latréaumont, et que l'appostil qui est en marge de la grande feuille de papier folio recto est de la main de luy respondant. Et enquis comment il peut avoir mis des notes en marge dudit feuillet, sans en avoir eu la lecture et la connaissance. A repondu que ces mots, ***vrye***

politique stellingen, en consideration van staet, ne sont pas des notes de ce qui est contenu dans cet escrit, mais que le Sr. Latreaumont demandant a luy respondant ou estoit imprime la premiere partie de ce livre de politique, dont les deux autres ne sont escrites qu'a la main, le respondant escrivit sur le papier que tenoit le dit sr Latreaumont, ces mots, vrye politique etc.. qui est le titre dudit livre.

This title was for Marc Bedjai in 1971 and for me in February 1990 the precious indication, which we both used for a search in library catalogues, whereupon we both found the work itself. And from the information in the preface of this work we both found the earlier work KVNN and discovered that Van den Enden had written a second and a third part of VPS, which were lost but of which the proceedings contained some important fragments.

The seventh paper began with: *"le terme de respect est un nuage bien aisé à percer"* and ended with *"car ils n'en usent que pour ceux qui sont marquez au caractere de la vertu"*. From Van den Enden's answers the judges concluded that it were only common places against monarchism and tyranny and in favour of freedom. They are, however, very close to a beautiful passage in KVNN p. 32.

The eighth paper is again an important document. It begins with: *"Finis est in Holandia erigere statum quemdam populi armis insuperabilem"* and ends with the words: *"modo se prestant bonos cives et libertatis communis propugnatores et non misceant rem religionis cum republica"* (document conserved in *Archives Nationales*). Van den Enden reacts as follows:

[21h] A dit qu'il croit, que c'est de la main du Sieur Latréaumont et que c'est un extraict du livre qu'il luy avoit presté, que ce livre est a la vérité en flamant mais que luy repondant avoit faict un extraict pour ledit Latreaumont que luy repondant avoit mis tantost en latin, tantost en françois suivant qu'il luy venoit dans l'esprit mais qu'en la maniere qu'il est, c'est le Sr. Latreaumont qui l'a mis en latin et qu'il y a mesme des choses que ledit Sr Latreaumont y a adjouté pour

servir a son projet de Normandie qui ne sont pas dans le livre flamant, comme dans la cinquieme page lorsqu'il est dit, 'nullam facere distinctionem inter catholicos et reformatos' et dans la premier page ces mots 'non alium noscant superiorem nisi nobilitatem et populum'.

The document in question is a sketch of the constitution of a free republic, which may with high probability be interpreted as a recapitulation of Van den Enden's ideas, developed in the lost manuscript VPS III. One must not forget, however, that Latréaumont made some adaptations, which could not be approved by Van den Enden. The latter would never be prepared to allow in a democratic state a special position and authority to the nobles. All citizens are equal in responsibility and rights.

Van den Enden defended him self by feigning that he had only coöperated with Latreaumont on a theoretical level:

[21i] A l'accusation que Latreaumont se servoit mesme des instructions qu'il avoit receus de luy repondant soit en discours soit par les extraicts qu'il luy a donnees de livres si contraires au gouvernement et a toute sorte de puissance que mesmes en holande on n'en a pas voulu souffrir l'impression que de la premiere partie, et s'il n'a pas sceu que c'estoit un crime contre l'estat luy particulierement a qui l'on confioit l'education de la jeunesse, a respondu qu'il a bien reconnu que les sentimens du Sr Latreaumont allaient a la destruction de la monarchie et que luy respondant n'a point inspire ces sentiments au Sr latreaumont et que lorsqu'il en discouroit avec luy ca esté comme chose de doctrine, ledit Latreaumont luy avouant qu'il a pris ces sentiments de la lecture de ce livre.

In the interrogation of 21st of November, *during which he was tortured with the 'sellette'*, Van den Enden came to the following confessions (Colbert 500: 226, p. 1016-1034);

[21j] qu'il y eut trois ans a la saint Jean dernier qu'il vint en France par la persuasion de plusieurs personnes de qualité qui

l'alloient souvent visiter en Holande ou il demeuroit qui luy disoient que son beau talent ne devoit pas s'estre ensevely en un si petit espace que la Holande et devoit venir en France, qu'il avoit contracté amitié en Holande avec Latreaumont qu'il luy avoit appris un miracle de nature de faire changer le plomb en or et argent, qu'il avoit grande confiance au dit Latreaumont, qu'il luy dit qu'il seroit mieux en France qu'en Holande, qu'il seroit son conseil, et estant venu en France, il chercha Latréaumont; Mr.le comte de Guiche lui dit qu'il le trouverait chez M. de Rohan, où étant allé, il y trouva le dit Latréaumont qui témoignoit toujours grande aversion pour le service du Roi, qu'il luy parla diverses fois de mauvais desseins contre l'Estat; qu'il y découvrait la foiblesse qui est à Quilleboeuf, et disoit que par là les ennemis de la France pourroient entrer; qu'il avoit dessein de faire une république en Normandie. Pour lors, luy Vandenenden se vit dans une miserable conjuncture parce qu'il falloir ou reveler ce qu'il sçavoit au Roy ou se retirer de France; de se retirer, il luy étoit impossible, ayant fait venir sa famille et employé presque tout son bien pour s'établir en France; et le dire au Roi, il étoit aussi impossible, parce qu'estant étranger, il ne seroit pas cru, n'ayant point de preuve, et seroit puni comme un faux accusateur; outre qu'ayant veu M. de Rohan, il luy disoit que quand on a confié quelque chose à un homme, et que l'on s'en défiait, il le fallait tuer. MM. de Rohan et la Tréaumont ont agi avec grande finesse, n'ayant parlé que seul à seul et jamais de compagnie ... *Il a fait donner à la Tréaumont un livre de Holande pour dresser des memoires pour une republique que le dit Latreaumont en voulut faire un luy seul en latin*, qu'il luy a toujours dit de prendre garde a luy et ne point reveler ce secret a personne, qu'autrement il seroit trahi avant qu'il sortit de France ...

After this comes the story how he, Van den Enden was sent to Brussels for the negotiations with count Monterey.⁴⁴ On his returning from

⁴⁴Malettke found in the National Archive of Spain in Simancas (leg.º 2126) the report, written by the Count of Monterey, about his negotiations with "un diputado de la Provincia de Normandia natural de la villa de Amberes", i.e. Franciscus Van den Enden.

Brussels he realized that things could go wrong. He was afraid for the consequences and having heard about the arrestation of De Rohan and the death of Latréaumont he tried to fly. In vain. He now had told everything straightforwardly and without any disguise. If he would have omitted anything, it is only on account of the feebleness of his memory. Asked whether he has ever said something against the French monarchy, he answered:

[21k] *qu'il y a trois sortes de republique, sçavoir la republique de Platon, celle de Grotius et celle appelée utopique de Morus, que luy repondant avoit entrepris d'en faire une quatrième qu'il avoit proposée aux Etats d'Holande pour l'establir dans la nouvelle Holande dans l'Amerique, qu'il n'a jamais blasmé la Monarchie de France, que quand le Monarche est bon, la Monarchie est bonne, que si on avoit la liberté de choisir un Roy, on n'en pourroit prendre d'autre que le Roy qui a toutes les qualitez que l'on peut desirer dans un grand prince. Il a ouï dire à MM. de Rohan et la Tréaumont que le Roi n'était point courageux, n'avait point de coeur, et autres mépris de sa personne. Dans sa republique il a dit que la vertu est toujours recompensée, qu'il n'a jamais blâmé la monarchie de France, mais bien les moeurs des particuliers. A dit que sa republique qu'il a voulu établir dans la nouvelle Holande, porte cela et que de cette republique qu'il a montrée à Latréaumont, le dit Latreaumont en a voulu faire une semblable pour la Normandie.*

[21l] Il est demeuré d'accord d'avoir été à Bruxelles trouver M.

Monterey writes in this *Memoria*, published in full by Malettke in o.c. p. 377-379, to the Spanish Regent, "que el conde les hiçiese embiar una flota con quatro o seis mil hombres de Infanteria para poner pie en tierra, y entre ella espanoles, Armas para armar la mas gente que se pudiese, Muniçiones y pertrechos de guerra, y algunas piezas de Artilleria sobre afustes para rodar por tierra, declarando hauer escogido por cabo al cavallero de Rouan, cuyo valor, mana y intrepidad es conoçida; pero que desea mucho que su nombre se tenga secreto hasta que el negoçio este declarado. Que haya un fondo de dinero de dos millones de libras sobre la flota, o por lo menos la metad para poderse valer dello, y hacer un tanto mayor esfuerzo Que yo procuraria que el señor Principe de Oranxe mandase venir lo restante de su flota que esta en las costas de Guiena... «

de Monterey, pour avoir sa liberté et revenir le dire au Roi; il ne croyait pas même revenir en France, et quand il est revenu, son intention a été d'aller au Roi. *Il faut distinguer le péché matériel d'avec le formel...*

Ce qu'il a fait a esté par force, et, voulant se retirer, Latréaumont lui a dit qu'il se mettroit en grand péril et que M. de Rohan s'en ressentiroit... C'étaient M. de Rohan et Latréaumont qui négociaient et il n'en était que le porteur, et *il était nécessité* de sortir de France, qu'il estoit sous la tyrannie du sieur de Rohan et Latreaumont et dependoit entièrement d'eux, que son malheur a esté que la chose a esté découverte avant son retour.

In passing Van den Enden remarks also

[21m] qu'il a découvert un secret pour écrire aussi vite que l'on parle et qu'on lit.

This discovery may have been described and explained by him in the booklet *Brachygraphia*, which was found in a packet he had entrusted to a certain Chevalier De Preaux. In the interrogation of the 8th of October, Van den Enden

[21n] interrogé si luy repondant n'a pas mis entre les mains de Chev. de Preaux un Livre et d'autres papiers lorsqu'il est parti pour la Flandre. A dit qu'il luy donna un paquet in folio, ou est un livre de politique dont il nous a parlé dans ces precedens Interrogatoires, et un autre paquet, in quarto, dans lequel il y a *secreta quaedam medicinae* que le chevalier de Préaux mit sur l'un et l'autre. Ce paquet appartient au sieur Van den Enden, ne se souvenant pas s'il les cacheta.

The small packet contained according to De Preaux the books *Brachygraphia* and *Zeilographia*. The large packet, three thumbs thick, contained many cahiers, written in a foreign language, in Van den

Enden's handwriting. The text was divided into 75 chapters.

On the 27th of October Van den Enden was interrogated for a last time, again on the 'sellette'. The torture was very crude and painful. He suffered t at least ten 'coins', of which some were very heavy. I make a selection from the short answers:

[21o] Interrogé si son dessein n'a pas esté quand il est venu en France d'y faire une republique de concert avec Latreaumont. A dit que non ...

Interrogé qui sont les complices des conspirations... A dit que quand on le feroit mourir il n'en diroit rien davantage, que jamais personne autre que luy n'a eu connaissance du chiffre ny des lettres.. Qu'il ne peut dire ce qu'il ne sçait point ...

Au premier coin. A dit qu'il a dit la vérité et n'avoir rien a dire d'avantage, qu'il endure innocent. Ay mon Dieu.

Au deuxième coin, a dit qu'il a dit ce qu'il a sçeu.

Au troisième coin, a crié ah Mon Dieu, j'ay dit ce que j'ai sçeu. ...

Au cinquième coin. A dit qu'il vouloit venir en France pour en advertir le Roy. ...

Au septième coin a crié: ah je suis mort ...

Au dixième coin, ah mon Dieu!

These, then, are the most important statements destillated from the voluminous proceedings of the process as far as Van den Enden is concerned. One may without exaggeration conclude that we have again reached a great harvest of information, not only for Van den Enden's biography but certainly also in behalf of the reconstruction of his way of thought.

Van den Enden was *executed* on December 6, 1674, at the age of seventy-three. I quoted already Du Cause's report of the event. The French National Library keeps in its collection a handwritten document with details about the execution from an anonymous writer, in which Van den Enden's execution is painted like this:

[22] Ensuite on monta le maître d'école à la potence, la question lui ayant ôté l'usage des jambes; il fut aussitôt pendu

par les valets du bourreau, qui leur dit: Vous autres, pendez-moi ça.⁴⁵

The following day the writings of Latréaumont and Van den Enden were officially burnt on the place of the execution. Clio, however, has saved some of Van den Enden's works from this autodafé.

It is certain that various important traces of Van den Enden's work appear in the so-called *Manifest* and the *Outline of a constitution*, which were written by Latréaumont. Latréaumont was inspired by Van den Enden's political theory, so that his drafts may be considered as an echo of the master's voice. We will however not quote these texts here, because they are published already in full by Malettke, to whose work we refer the reader (o.c. p. 337-340).

OTHER TESTIMONIES

In this section I shall present to the reader all the original documents with some informative content about Van den Enden or his activities. This means that it will not contain all contemporary documents (gazettes, letters, reports, historical surveys etc.) in which is referred to the Proces of De Rohan and Van den Enden or simply to the name Van den Enden, his function ('schoolmaster') or his tragic death. My selection is functional in this sense that the quotes have to contribute to our knowledge of Van den Enden, the effects of his work, and his social context.

I start with a small extract from the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, which followed the trial in Paris from day to day. The local journalist reported on the 13th of November 1674:

[23] Onder anderen seght men, dat seecker Spraeckmeester, die de Latijnsche tale tot Picpus, een uur gaens van hier, daer mede schuldigh aen was: self seght men, hy een Nederlander is, tot Antwerpen gebooren, en dat voor desen een Jesuyt, maer de kap op

⁴⁵From Marc Bedjai, o.c. vol. IV, p. 1604-1605. His sagacity made him also discover a planche on which the execution of the conspirators in front of the Bastille is painted. See ib. p. 1603 .

de tuyn gehangen heeft, die tot dien eynde expres herwaers was gekomen.

[23] Amont other things it is said, that a certain expert in language, who [taught] the Latin language in Picpus, an hour from here, was also guilty of it [the conspiracy]. One even tells, that he is a Dutchman, born in Antwerp, that he formerly was a Jesuit, but threw off the cowl, who expressly came here for that purpose.

The title 'Spraeckmeester' is broader and seemingly more appropriate for Van den Enden's linguistic qualities than 'schoolmaster'. On December 4, 1674, the same journalist calls Van den Enden "de Nederlandtschen Tael-Meester" (the Dutch Language-master). From Du Cause de Nazelle we learned also that many learned people consulted him on account of his fame in linguistics. It is likewise interesting that the journalist transfers the public opinion, that the purpose of Van den Enden's migration to Paris was precisely his participation in the political activities of Latréaumont and De Rohan. This is not improbable. Reporting the execution the Paris journalist of the Dutch newspaper wrote that apart from De Rohan the other four conspirators died "met een groote resolutie en stantvastigheit" (very determinedly and unwaveringly).

Van den Enden's involvement in French politics and on the other hand his arrest and trial caused indignation at the Court of Hannover where the Duchess Sophie lived who taught her children (among which the later king of Great Britain George the First) to learn Descartes and Spinoza by heart. During her stay in Holland she must have become acquainted with Van den Enden's personality and talents. On the 20st of November she writes to her brother Karl Ludwig of the Paltz in Heidelberg:

[24] La noblesse en France ne doit pas estre trop esdifié de leur Roy du soin qu'il a de les ruiner tous. Je suis fâchée, que *la douce humeur de Van den Ende* s'est laissée persuader par Mr de Rohan à tremper dans la trahison contre le Roy peu

chrétien. Il est mieux pour ces beaux esprits de raisonner
tousjours et de n'agir jamias.

Her sympathizing with Van den Enden is touching.

The third document in this section is a quotation taken from a libel which appeared in 1670 under the cryptic title *De Koeckoeczangh van de nachtuylen van het Collegie Nil Volentibus Arduum, huylende met eenen naare geest*. In this satirical pamphlet about the members of the theatre academy NVA and their novelties the anonymous author gives us the precious information about the existence of works of Van den Enden. He says that

[25] Die [Bouwmeester] gaat met zijn tronie van twaalf schellingen de Athisterye uit leeren, te bevragen by Joannes Ravestein, wat lessen hy zijn Swager Koerbagh gegeven heeft: hy schrijft boecken, dat de Philosophie en natuurlijke reden de uitlegster is van Gods H. Woort; hy smelt met Spinoza en anderen, de Theologische Politieke Redenkaveling, die van de H.H. Staten verboden is; *Hy heeft alle geheime schriften van Dr. vanden Enden*, die in Vrankrijk om hoogh in de open lucht door een Angina gestorven is.

[25] That [Bouwmeester] with his face of twelve shillings propagates atheism; you may ask it Joannes Ravestein, what lessons he gave his brother-in-law Koerbagh; he writes books, that the philosophy and natural reason is the interpreter of Gods Holy Word; he melts with Spinoza and others, the Theological Political Discourse, which is forbidden by the Lords States; he owns all the secret writings of Dr. vanden Enden, who in France died highly in the open air from Angina.

The grammar of this passage is not perfect, from which one may also expect that the informative content is only loosely composed. The author wrongly attributed Meyer's *Philosophia Sanctae Scripturae Interpres* to Bouwmeester. But until recently⁴⁶ this fragment was the

⁴⁶Until the information contained in Olaus Borch's journal was brought to light in my "Spinoza and Van den Enden in Borch's diary in 1661 and 1662", in *Studia Spinozana* V (1989) 311-327. See document [9].

only source from which we knew about the existence of *philosophical* writings by Van den Enden and that they were in the possession of the Amsterdam friends. The tantalizing question for the historian is, of course, whether those manuscripts can ever be discovered somewhere in archives or private collections. One might suppose, however, that Bouwmeester and Meyer made use of the manuscripts for their lectures in NVA, which are recently republished (by A. Harmsen o.c.).

In the same years 1677-1678 there was a correspondence between the Dutch Roman Catholic Apostolic Vicar Neercassel and his Roman superior Cardinal Barberini.⁴⁷ In the context of a Roman Catholic network one of Neercassel's letters, this time directed to the nuntius Casoni and dated 9-IX-1678, contained substantial and unambivalent information about Van den Enden's role in Spinoza's intellectual development.

[26] Et cum [Spinoza] ad hoc Latinae linguae notitiam sibi necessariam sciret, eam didicit ab homine ex-jesuita cui nomen Vanden Eijnde. Hic, sicut erat malus Christianus, vel potius christianae religionis desertor, Spinosae christiana dogmata non credenda et veneranda commendavit sed dijudicanda et censuranda subjecit....

Spinosae magister Van den Eynden a discipulis desertus innotescere ejus impietate Amsterodamo Parisios commigravit, atque ibi a nobilium pueris quos docebat detectus cum Duce Rohanensi conspirare in raptum Delphini, laqueo damnatus interiit.

[26] And after having discovered that the knowledge of Latin was necessary for this, he learned this language from an ex-jesuit whose name is Vanden Eijnde. This man, as he was a bad Christian or better, a deserter of Christian religion, did not recommend Spinoza to believe and respect the Christian dogma's but stimulated him to judging and censuring them... Abandoned by his disciples and his impiety being known Spinoza's master Van den Eynden migrated from Amsterdam

⁴⁷Published by Jean Orcibal in the *Revue de Littérature comparée*, XXIII (1949) 441-468. Parts of this correspondence are republished in my "Letters to and from Neercassel about Spinoza and Rieuwertsz", in *Studia Spinozana* IV (1988) 329-338.

to Paris. There sons of noble people educated by him discovered his conspiracy with the Duke of De Rohan in order to capture the Dauphin. He was condemned to be hanged and so perished.

Jean Maximilien Lucas must have composed his biography of Spinoza, *La vie de Monsieur Benoit de Spinoza*⁴⁸, shortly after Spinoza's death, probably in 1678. He must have been rather familiar with Spinoza. We read in his obituary of the philosopher:

[27] Le peu d'habitude qu'il avoit depuis quelque temps avec les Juifs l'obligeant d'en faire avec les Chrétiens, il avoit lié amitié avec des Personnes d'esprit, qui lui dirent que c'étoit dommage qu'il ne sçût ni Grec, ni Latin, quelque versé qu'il fût dans l'Hébreu, dans l'Italien et dans l'Espagnol, sans parler de l'Allemand, du Flamand et du Portugais, qui étoient ses Langues naturelles. Il comprenoit assez de lui-même combien ces Langues sçavantes lui étoient nécessaires; mais la difficulté étoit de trouver le moyen de les apprendre, n'ayant ni bien, ni naissance, ni Amis pour se pousser. Comme il y pensoit incessamment et qu'il en parloit en toute rencontre, **Van den Enden, qui enseignoit avec succès le Grec et le Latin, lui offrit ses soins et sa Maison, sans exiger d'autre reconnoissance que de lui aider quelque temps à instruire ses Ecoliers, quand il en seroit devenu capable.**

Spinoza may have told to his friend Lucas that the initiative of his association with Van den Enden had come from the latter. The quote seems to indicate that the two had made a deal which was profitable for both. As we learned also from other sources, it was Van den Enden's practice to engage the most intelligent pupils (or his children) in teaching activities. They became members of the staff and the household. This happened, for instance, also to Dargent in Paris and probably also to some of the well known Amsterdam friends of Spinoza.

Later biographies of Spinoza's life confirm parts of what is said

⁴⁸First published in 1719. See the text in Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinoza's*. Leipzig 1899, 3-25.

by Lucas. Pierre Bayle writes in his well known Spinoza-article in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, éd. 1702, vol.2, p. 344) that Spinoza "étudia la langue latine sous un médecin" and adds in a footnote:

[38] Nommé François van den Ende. Notez que Mr. Kortholt, dans la préface de la 2e édition du traité de Monsieur son père: *De Tribus Impostoribus*, dit qu'une fille enseigna le latin à Spinoza et qu'elle se maria ensuite avec Monsieur Kerkring qui était son disciple en même temps que Spinoza.

Colerus⁴⁹ integrates this point in his own account, which for the rest is founded on his own special research.

[29a] Spinoza van Natuure met een schrandere geest, en een gaauw verstand begaafd zynde, en een groote lust tot de Latynsche Taal hebbende, werd eerst door een Hoogduitsch Student dagelyks eenige uren daarin onderwezen, tot hy daar na besteed wierde ter onderwyzinge van **dien berugten Leer- en Geneesmeester**, Frans van den Ende, die te dier tyd binnen Amsterdam veele van de voornaamste Koopluy kinderen met grooten roem informeerde; zoo lang tot men gewaar wierde, dat hy zyn Leerlingen **wat meer als Latyn, namentlyk de eerste Zaden en Grondbeginzelen van Ongodistery zegt by te brengen.** Hier van zyn my verscheide Voorbeelden bekend van deftige lieden, die naderhand zelfs het Ampt van Ouderlingen in onze Amsterdamse Gemeente bekleed, en 't hare Ouderen nog in 't graf dank geweeten hebben, datse haar de Schoole van deze Godverzaker by tyds ontnomen hadden. Voornoemde van den Ende, hadde een eenige Dogter, die zelfs in de Latynsche Taal zoo vaardig was, dat se haar Vaders leerlingen daarin, alsmede in de Zangkonst quam t'Onderwyzen. Van deze heeft Spinoza dikwils verhaalt, dat hy zin in haar had gekregen, om haar ten Egt te nemen, alshoon se vry wat mank en mismakkt van lichaam was, alleen door haar schrandere Verstand en uitmuntende Geleerdheid aangeprikkelt.

[29a] Spinoza from Nature being provided with a clever mind and a quick understanding, and having a great desire to learn

⁴⁹ *Korte, dog waaragtige Levens-Beschrijving van Benedictus de Spinosa, uit Autentique Stukken en mondeling getuigenis van nog levende Personen, opgesteld* (Amsterdam: LIndenberg 1705) 2-5 .

the Latin Language, was firstly instructed, everyday during some hours, by a High-German student, untill he was apprenticed to that notorious Teacher and Medical Doctor, Frans van den Ende, who in those days informed in Amsterdam many of the children of the principal Merchants; so long till it was discovered, that he tried to teach his pupils something more than only Latin, namely the first Seeds and Principles of Atheism. Various examples of this are told to me by prominent people, who afterwards even occupied the ministry of Eldership in our Amsterdam Community, and were their Parents in the grave still grateful for the fact that they fetched them in due time from the School of this Atheist. Forementioned Van den Ende had a nice Daughter, who was even so competent in the Latin Language, that she was able to teach her fathers pupils in this as also in the art of singing. About this daughter Spinoza had often told, that he was driven to her to marry her, although she was rather crippled, stimulated only by her clever understanding and excellent knowledge.

Follows the story, with reference to the information given by Bayle and Kortholt, that Kerkring scored Spinoza off and married later with Clara Maria. Colerus then continues:

[29b] Van den Ende zelfs in Holland al te bekend werdende, begaf zig naar Vrankryk, en geneerde zig aldaar met de Practyk van zyn Genees-kunde, hebbende ten laatsten een ongelukkig einde genomen. De Heer Bayle in 't leven van Spinoza, door F. Halma Vertaald, pag. 5 verhaalt, dat hy in Vrankryk, om eenig toeleg op het leven van den Dauphin, zoude opgehangen zyn; hoewel andere die hem aldaar gekent hebben, en zeer gemeenzaam met hem zyn omgegaan, andere redenen hier van bybrengen, te weeten, dat hy een Provintie van Vrankryk gezogt heeft te bewegen, om hare oude Voorregten weder te verkrygen, en zoo doende, den Franssen Koning binnen 's Lands wat moite te verwekken tot verligting van onze te dier tyd gedrukte Nederlanden, ten welken einde hem ook eenige Schepen hier van daan zouden toegezonden worden, die egter te laat quamen. Althans indien het eerste waar was, men zoude hem een veel swaardere straffe hebben doen uitstaan.

[29b] Van den Enden becoming too famous in Holland, took to France and there entertained himself with practicing Medicine, finally coming tragically to his end. The Monsieur Bayle in the life of Spinoza, translated by F. Halma, page 5, relates that in France he would have been hanged on account of an attack on the life of the Dauphin. But others who have known him there and were very familiar with him, have adduced other reasons about this, to know, that he has tried to stir a Province of France to recover her old Privileges and in this way to cause some trouble for the French King in his country in order to bring some relief for our in that time oppressed Netherlands, for which purpose also would be sent to him some ships from here, who, however, came too late. Anyway, if the first were true, one would have punished him much more severely.

Both fragments show that Colerus had made some inquiries himself from independent sources, persons who had known Van den Enden and could tell him something. He is, of course, a protestant minister with a special bias in his report. His view has nonetheless a few reliable components. His summary sketch about what motivated Van den Enden to his political activities in France, is not in conflict with our information from other sources: the fight against the oppression of French citizens goes hand in hand with his intention to contribute to a liberation of his fatherland.

Colerus's claim that Spinoza received his philosophical inspiration from Van den Enden, was a decade earlier anticipated in an independent source. Discussing the 'impious infection' of our fatherland the reformed theologian in Dordrecht and later in Leiden, remarked in his *Het Voor-hof der Heydenen, voor alle ongeloovigen geopent..* (Dordrecht 1694, p. 5).

[30] **Een groot werktuyg tot voortplanting van dit quaad** had de Prinçe der Duysternisse voor eenige Jaren aan een Amsterdams kinder-meester, welke in die woelagtige Stad by alle gelegentheyd zijn gevoelen, dat **de natuyr voor de eenige Godheyd** te houden was,

poogde voort te planten; welke namaals in Vrankrijk sig in een binnenlandsche tweespalt bewikkelende zijn leven in een strop eyndigde. **Die op sulke gronden poogde voort te bouwen**, en aan dit gevoelen een fraye smuk te geven, was Benedictus de Spinoza, een afgevalen Jood, welke in den aanvang den verwonderaar en uytlegger van de Cartesiaansche Philosophie speelde...

[32] A great instrument to the propagation of this evil owned the Prince of the Darkness some years ago in the Amsterdam teacher of children, who in that turbulent Town tried to spread on all occasions his sentiment, that nature has to be considered the only Divinity; who afterwards in France, mixing himself in a domestic conflict, finished his life on a gallows-tree. Who tried to built further on such grounds and to adorn this sentiment with fine trappings, was Benedictus de Spinoza, a fallen Jew, who initially played the admirer and expositor of the Cartesian Philosophy...

German travellers, the theological scholars Stolle and Hallmann, pay in their *Journal* also some attention to Spinoza's life and what they heard about him in Holland in 1704. A certain Sebastian Pezold says to them in a pub, having first indicated that Spinoza was after his excommunication in contact with the Mennists, in particular the Collegiants:

[31] Als nun einst der van Ende in diese Versammlung kommen (der ein Atheïste und ein Exjesuite gewest, hernach aber, weil er nebst andern den Dauphin auf der Jagd entführen wollen, in Frankreich einen Kleppel in einer Feldglocke abgeben müssen), und **durch seine spitzigen Discurse sich beim Spinoza beliebt gemacht**, habe dieser sich mit ihm in besondere Freundschaft ein, und von ihm in Latein informiren lassen, als worinnen van Ende vortrefflich, Spinoza aber noch gantz unerfahren gewest. Dieser van Ende habe eine Tochter gehabt, die das schönste Latein parlier können (See Freundenthal, o.c. p. 222).

Again a new point here, namely that Spinoza would have first met Van

den Enden in the meetings of the free-christians, the so called Collegiants. There he would have come under the impression of Van den Enden's acute discourses. Admiration lead to friendship, friendship to entrance in Van den Enden's Latin school.

Our series of late but nevertheless informative testimonies has not yet come to its end. Willem Goeree, a protestant historian, writes in his *De Kerkelyke en weereldlyke historien* (Amsterdam 1705, p. 617) a special chapter on sectarianism. In this context we meet the following fragment, which is based on an indirect but sure tradition concerning Van den Ende.

[32a] En wy hebben omtrent 40 jaren geleden, den bekenden Franciscus Van den Ende binnen Amsterdam, uyt zekere erfgerugten, en als een roemweerdig stuk met veel smaak hooren verhalen, Dát als den Scherpregher, Vaninus zou naar de Vuurpaal leyden, daar men hem eerst van 't Spraaklid berooven; hij hem de Pols belaste te voelen, of hy ook gealtereerd in gemoed of Bloed mogt wezen? Met zulke Bravade luste dien ongelukkigen Mensche een strenge Dood te ondergaan...

't Zelve word byna in de Voorreden verhaald, die den overzetter van d'Heer Bayle's Leven van Benedictus de Spinoza in 't Frans heeft uytgegeven: daar we geen borg voor willen blyven aangaande de waarheyd. Ondertussen zijn wy in wat later tyd van goeder hand berigt, Dat als gemelden Van der Ende op zyn Ouwde dagen in Vrankryk over deelgenootschap aan konspiratie tegen den Dauphin, tot den strop verwezen was; hy de zelve rol van een Philozoofze standvastigheyd voornam te spelen; hy egter niet langer als tot aan de Galgleer konstant bleef: zoo dat hy opwaards na de Dwarsbalk ziende, teffens de Dood-verf aannam; en niet dan al bevende tot dusken verhooging quam.

Willem Goeree claims that he has heard the story about Van den Ende's recommendation of Vanini's courageous attitude in the face of death directly from Van den Enden's mouth and that it is founded on a sure and safe tradition. Vanini may well have been a source of inspiration for

Van den Enden. The latter's admiration for Vanini's contempt of death conforms well with his own repeated saying, attested by Du Cause De Nazelle, that death is no evil and has not to be feared [19x]. The second part of the quote says, 'from a good hand reported' that Van den Enden intended to be himself philosophically constant when seeing the gallows-tree on which he would be hanged, but that he not succeeded because he became pale as death.

In another context, namely that of the exposition of the emergence of Spinozism (o.c. p. 665), Willem Goeree once more says something about Van den Enden, which again constitutes valuable information.

[32b] Belangende het beleyd van zyn Studie; men zeyd dat hy in zyn eerste Jeugd, de Latynze Taal hier ter Stede by eenen Franciskus van den Ende leerde; een verloopden Jezuit, die Doctor in de Medicynen geworden; by gebrek aan Praktyk, werk maakte eenige voornamen Luyden Kinderen, in de Latynze Taal te onderwyzen; en meermaal de Tragedien van Seneca en andere door zyne Discipelen, 'tzyden huyzen in 't Latyn liet spelen. Een Man die ons in zyn Bloey-tyd alhier, zeer wel is bekend geweest, met den zelden omgegaan en meer dan eens Gegeten en Gedronken hebben; maar weynig van gestigt wierden: en vervolgens naderhand wel hebben konnen gissen, dat ook Spinoza van dezen zynen Meester, weynig goede beginzelen heeft ingezogen; als die zeer mild was zyn Ongodistize gronden, aan ryp en groen uyt te venten, en te roemen, *dat hy zig het Fabeltjen van 't Geloof had quyt gemaakt*. En 't heugd ons dat hy zeker Juffrouw op de Rooze Gragt, die haar eenig Zoontje verloor had, in sté van Gods Voorzienigheyd te leeren berusten; door zyn Onbestopte taal, zoo heftig Bedroefde, dat ze naauw te stillen nog te troosten was. Insgelyk had ook den Genees-Heer Coerbach door verkeerding met dien Man, niet veel goeds uyt zyn vergiftige Prammen gezogen; gelyk gebleken is, in al die lasterlyke Loopjes, met welke hy zyn *Woorden-Boek* of Stinkenden *Bloem-hof*, door-meuijerd heeft; en'er ook niet onverdiend over in 't Tugt-Huys raakte; daar hy stierf.

[32b] Concerning the conduct of his study it is said that he in his first youth learned the Latin Language in the town here with a certain Franciskus van den Ende, a petered out Jesuit, who turned a Doctor in Medicine. For lack of practice he

applied for teaching the children of some prominent People in the Latin Language and often let the Tragedies of Seneca and others play by his disciples in his house. A man who in his flowering-time was very well known to us; we went about with him and more than once dined and drank with him, but were not much edified by him. And therefore we could afterwards easily guess that also Spinoza absorbed from this his master only few good principles, since he was very liberal in propagating to ripe and green his atheistic grounds and to boast *that he had freed himself from the fable of the belief*. And we remember that he instead of teaching a certain woman on the Rozegracht, who had lost her only male child to submit to Gods Providence, so violently afflicted her by his crude language that it was impossible yet to acquiesce or console her. Likewise also the medical doctor Coerbach did not suck, by his intercourse with that man, much good from his poisonous arrows; as it appeared from all those slanderous passages, with which he befouled his *Woorden-Boek* or stinking *Bloem-Hof*. He, therefore, got not undeservedly in the House of penance, where he died.

The style, of course, is that of an arrogant preacher who has no doubts about his Christian worldview. But in spite of this style we still learn a lot about Van den Enden's attitude regarding Christian superstition, his atheistic rationalism, his pithy character, his teaching method and so on. His didactic novelty in Latin education was: classic drama by the pupils, the playing of Seneca's and other tragedies or comedies in the original language. It is stated explicitly also, that Adriaen Coerbach, considered usually as an early Spinozist, came to his radical position by his association with master Van den Enden.⁵⁰ All these bits of information are presented by Willem Goeree as drawn from his personal experience

⁵⁰ The familiarity of Koerbach with Van den Enden was also stated in the Koeckoecxzangh; see [27]. For more information on Koerbach I refer to H. Vandenbossche, *Adriaan Koerbach en Spinoza* (Leiden: Brill 1978) and his edition (with introduction) of Koerbach's *Een ligt schijnende in Duystere Plaatsen* (Brussel: Vlaamse Vereniging voor Wijsbegeerte 1974. See further Wim Klever, *Mannen rond Espinoza* (Hilversum 1997), hoofdstuk 3: "Adriaan Koerbach"

and contacts with Van den Enden. Was he, perhaps, himself once a pupil on the Latin School, later fetched away from it by his parents? "Fourty years ago", that must have been in 1665!⁵¹

Another resonance of Van den Ende is heard in a documentary work of the same period, in Roelof Boukema's *Naamboek der beroemde Genees en Heelmeesters van alle eeuwen* (Amsterdam 1706, p. 151-152).

[33] Hij was een schrander man die zig geweldig in de Natuurkunde oefende, en hy zoude leermeester van den berugten Jood, Benedictus de Spinoza geweest zijn, ja zommige houden het daarvoor, dat hy aan Spinoza vermeld, die gedagten heeft ingeboezemd, waar uyt gevolgljik dat haatlijk boek, de Zedekonst zoude voortgebragt wezen; Tog wat'er van zij, of niet, hy was een man die een goed talent hadde, doch die het zelve misbruikende, een rampzalig einde gevonden heeft, zo als wy kortlijk hier aan den lezer zullen voor stellen. Van den Ende tot Amsterdam, niet wetende van wat hout pijlen te maken, doordien hij van Ongodistery berugt en een kwalijk leven leidende, verliet die stad en begaf zig na Frankrijk, alwaar hy ondernam voor Pedagoog, aanzienlijke luiden kinderen t'onderwyzen, zo als hy t'Amsterdam voormaals ook al gedaan hadde, hier door (mogelyk) by d'een en d'ander in kennis gerakende, wierd hy ingewikkeld met den Ridder de Rohan tot zekere zamenspanning, waar van hy een briefdrager etc. was, dog welke ontdekt wezende, is hy opgehangen...

Ymand pasten dit'er op:

Zo raakte van den End' rampsalig aan zijn end,
Die in zijn 's levensloop, zig had van God gewend,
Des kond hy in zijn end, dan ook geen hemel hopen:
Maar van der galgen leer, wel na den Hel toe lopen.

[33] He was a shrewd man, *who applied himself enormously to Natural Science* and he is said to have been the teacher of that notorious Jew, Benedictus de Spinoza; yes, some people think that he inspired the mentioned Spinoza with those thoughts, from which consequently that hatred book, the *Ethica*, was produced. Anyhow, true or not, he was a man with a good talent, who, though, misusing it, found a disastrous end,

⁵¹ Willem Goeree is born in 1635 in Middelburg. Cf. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. VII.

as we will now shortly reveal to the reader. Not knowing in Amsterdam from what wood to make his arrows, since he was notorious for his atheism and lead a bad life, Van den Enden left that town and took to France, where he, as a Pedagogue, started to teach the children of prominent people, as he had done before. Possibly because he became herewith acquainted with the one or the other, he was involved with the Chevalier de Rohan in a certain conspiracy, of which he was the porter of letters etc. This conspiracy, however, being discovered, he was hanged...

Someone fitted this verse on it:

So Van den End got fatally to his end,
Who during his life had turned from God;
Therefore he could not at the end cherish hope on
heaven;
But from the gallows ladder walk to the Hell.

It is clear that Boukema stands on a slightly greater distance from Van den Enden than Goeree. His article is not accompanied with a mark for its reliability; it presents to the reader the information, which is spread at the time. But precisely for this reason, because it is a deposit of the general knowledge, it is meaningful for us. In the beginning of the eighteenth century it was generally accepted that Spinoza drew his Ethics from the philosophical lessons he had got from master Van den Enden. This is a common theme in Boukema, Goeree, Van Til and Colerus, which one should not underestimate. We will see that this assertion can now be confirmed by Van den Enden's own works, in which the main items of the Ethics are contained or presupposed. - It is also interesting to remark that Boukema assesses the theoretical activity of Van den Enden as physics (*Natuurkunde*) instead of philosophy. He was really a scientist as was also explicitly stated by Kerckringh [17].

One of our professional philosophers mentioned in the handbooks, namely Leibniz, also added some details to our picture of Van den Enden. After having quoted in his *Théodicée* (1710)⁵² what he

⁵² See G.W. Leibniz, *Opera Omnia Philosophica*. Ed. J. Erdmann (Aalen 1959, repr. of the edition of 1840) p. 612.

read in Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, he continued:

[34] Van den Ende, qui s'appelloit aussi A Finibus, alla depuis à Paris, et y tint des Pensionnaires au Fauxbourg S. Antoine. **Il passoit pour excellent dans la Didactique**, et il me dit, quand je l'y allai voir, qu'il parieroit que ses Auditeurs seroient toujours attentifs à ce qu'il diroit. Il avoit aussi alors avec lui une jeune fille qui parloit Latin, et faisoit des démonstrations de Géométrie. Il s'étoit insinué auprès de Monsieur Arnaud; et les Jésuites commençoient d'être jaloux de sa réputation. Mais il se perdit un peu après, s'étant mêlé de la conspiration du Chevalier de Rohan.

As always with Leibniz curiosity drove him wherever was some fame; so he could not leave Paris without passing the house of that much spoken off master Van den Enden. He not only says that Van den Enden was very renown for his didactical practice but also that he boasted himself of his capability to always keep the attention of his pupils. The remark about his contacts with Arnauld confirms similar information of Du Cause de Nazelle [19h]. The jealousy of the Jesuits might well be historical too, considering the powerful position of the Jesuits in those days.

The last word, also in a series of documents, must be given to a poet. In this case the honour is destined for a certain Joachim Oudaen, who in 1691 wrote a lampoon⁵³ to ridicule the famous engraver Romeyn de Hooghe, who thirty five years before, as a boy of twelve or thirteen years, had participated in the performance of Van den Enden's *Philedonius* (1657). De Hooghe was seriously ill at the time, which was interpreted by the satirical Oudaen as God's punishment. For those who don't believe in God's severe hand, stretched out against the sinners, the poet has a good illustration in petto:

⁵³ See Joachim Oudaan's *Poëzy*, vol. II, p. 222: "Op de Rechtsvordering van den Hr. Mr. Adriaan de Bakker, Hooftoff. der Stad Haarlem, tegen den persoon van Romeyn de Hooge, wijlen plaatsnijder tot Amsterdam". I quote Oudaan after Van Suchtelen/Meiningen, o.c. p. 128.

[35] Of meent men dat 'er nu die Proef niet werd gegeven,
 Die proef en is zoo lang nog niet voorby gedreven,
 Die ons Parys beschafft, aan dien verwaten kop,
 Die al zyn dwelmery most smoren in een strop:
 Al zoo gewint en zwaar den arm des Heeren wende,
 Op dat verwarde brein; toen meester van den Ende,
 Die 't niet en had gedacht gelyk het hem beliep,
 Toen hem de zware hand tot zulken stand beriep,
 Die in grootzuchtigheid gevordert als by sporten,
 Noch in veel korter stond zich zag ter neder storten.....
 Wat baat het of men dan gerust en zorgeloos
 De losse jeugt zich doet verlustigen een poos,
 Met Philedonius zyn rol te laten spelen,
 En in hun ziel-verderf des dootslaaps hen te streelen:
 Neemt dit voor 't laatste merk van myn gedagtenis.

[35] In case one thinks that this is not proven,
 That proof not long ago passed us,
 Which Paris procured to that arrogant head,
 Whose knavery had to suffocate in the halter:
 So quickly and heavily the Lord's arm turned
 On that confused head; when master Van den Ende,
 Who had not planned it as it occurred to him,
 When the heavy hand called him to such a position,
 Who in haughtiness advanced with great steps,
 Saw himself fall aground in much shorter time..
 What is the use, then, if one quietly and carelessly
 Makes the loose youth wallow for a while,
 In playing its role with Philedonius,
 And to fondle them in their soul-tainting sleep of death:
 Take this as the last sign of my remembrance.

More than thirty years after the date the reactionary poet still feels the need to vent his spleen on the splendid success that Van den Enden attained with his pupils on the stage in the town theatre of Amsterdam. One may laugh at his theological interpretation of the course of history. Undeniable, however, is the fact that, as is very rightly remarked by Van Suchtelen / Meininger (o.c. p. 128) his poem "shows very clearly the unforgettable impression made by Van den Enden's play on the

spectators". With this closing remark the next chapter is already opened.

Chapter III

Kort Verhael (1662)
 PARTIAL TRANSLATION⁵⁴,
 WITH COMMENTS AND SUMMARIES
 OF NON-TRANSLATED PARTS

TITLE PAGE:

SHORT REEPORT Of NEW-NETHERLANDS Situation, Virtues, Natural Privileges, and special aptitude for population; Together with some Requests, Discourses, Deductions, etc. for that purpose at various times around the end of the Year 1661 presented by some Interested Persons to the Honourable Lords BURGOMASTERS of this Town, or their Honourable Lords Delegates, etc.

See more broadly behind the Preface the Short Contents, together with the Warning for the Booksellers, staying here next to this on the other or opposite side.

[Vignet]

Printed in the Year 1662.

⁵⁴ The transcription of the original Dutch text is made and published by Frank Mertens on the website 'Franciscus van den Enden' <http://users.pandora.be/fvde/> - In my translation of parts of the text I stick closely (as much as possible) to the sentence construction (usually rather complicated and in long periods), word choice (Van den Enden has a rich vocabulary), punctuation (for instance the colon instead of a comma, full stop or point-comma) and even spelling (frequent use of capitals) of Van den Enden, because the many uncommon peculiarities seem to belong to the style of Van den Enden and are very often helpful for a better understanding of his intention. It is sometimes impossible to avoid unusual or antique English equivalents of typical Dutch words (like 'regents' for '*regenten*'), or literal translations of Van den Enden's own, sometimes rather idiosyncratic, creations (like 'evenequal' for '*evengelijk*'). I sometimes add the Dutch original between square brackets .

W A R N I N G (on reverse of title page)

To all honest, and modest Booksellers.

Dear fellow-Citizens, and Compatriots, this *Short-New-Netherlands-Report* etc. does contain more than will be surmised or discovered at first sight or look over. Until now it was mainly confidentially brought to light at the service and observation of our *wise Dutch Regents* and all their *Charity Ministers*, together with the Lovers [*Liefhebbers*] of a stable as well as profitable Colony or People's settlement [*Volxplantingh*] to be founded, with the serious entreaty, or appeal at you, that you will please handle it cautiously, without hanging it before your doors or laying it in your windows: since it is not written for *Jan Everyman* [Jan Alleman], much less - so far only experimentally and as a first sketch - brought to light or trusted to them. This serves to your account.

Instruction [*opdracht*] for the trustworthy Reader.

Reliable, modest, and dear Reader, you who are not concerned with the Preaching-Ministry [*Predick-Ampt*] and all the other mostly also idle scholarly delusive knowledge and are likewise not addicted to all worldly powers founded upon imposture and violence, to you is, under correction, presented, trusted and dedicated, for a first test, the first view and most confidential judgment on this Short-New-Netherlands-Report, with all its Propositions [*Voorstellingen*] and also to a certain extent Deductions, tending to a very best and Free-People's-Government. The Author is convinced (because he aimed not at demonstrations here) that he has offered in this small Work all the main, appropriate and necessary foundations of a best and Free-People's-Government. Whoever now is able to demonstrate in this his faults, will be him the dearest of all. For the rest he takes no or little notice of the judgment of the fool, schoolishly conceited Know-alls [*betweeters*], cocky Grammarians, and similar jealous Night-animals.

EDITIONS

According to the preface of *Vrye Politijke Stellingen* (1665) (see chapter IV) the author was asked in 1661 by some shy people to compose for them a request (*verzoekschriftjen*) to be addressed to the

Colony Chamber of Amsterdam. This occasioned him to write much more things about politics and to publish some of them in 1662 as *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlant* (forthwith to be abbreviated as KVNN) and two later reprints under the title of *Zeekere vrye voorslaghen, en verzoeken*. This latter title covers the contents much better than the first title, because '*Kort Verhael*' fits only to a minor part of the text, in which the situation of New Netherland is *reported* on the basis of available literature.

The quotes presented here are translations from a copy of the first edition, which is kept in the 'Zeeuwse Bibliotheek' at Middelburg. The Royal Library in The Hague owns a copy too. According to Bedjai (o.c. vol.II, p. 636) a third copy is in the possession of the Library of the New York Historical Society.

AUTHORSHIP

The author of *Vrye Politijke Stelloingen* called himself on its title page "**Meest Van Zaken Houdt**" and signed personally with the pen every copy of this text with the first characters of this autobiographical pseudonym

The further to discuss requests contained in this '*short report*', which is in fact an accusation of the authorities, were subscribed with H.V.Z.M. This is simply a reversal of the same sentence; the different word order does not change the meaning. The hardly visible 's' in the signature might be interpreted as an indication for 'saken' that is equivalent for

the spelling ‘zaken’ The meaning of both words and both phrases is the same: "who most loves things", i.e. who is a realist. Van den Enden wants to tell us how the things really are and how procedures really happened. We also find his realistic attitude beautifully formulated in *Philedonius* (p. 18), where he is exclaimed by his hero *rem volo, rem, rem volo; umbrae facessant* (I want things, things, things do I like, not shadows; let these fade away).

That the subscriber MVZH is identical with Franciscus van den Enden is shown in the proceedings of the Paris trial, where he declared to be the author of the *Vrye Politijke Stellingen*. See the documents [21g], [21j] and [21k].

FIRST OBJECTIVE

It was said in the instruction for the trustworthy reader as also on the title-pages of the reprints, that the author presents in this small work the foundations of a free and best democracy. These foundations are not fully demonstrated but more or less programmatically introduced and fragmentarily developed in "propositions" (*voorstellingen*) or "proposals" (*voorslaghen*). In the "*Korten Inhout*" (short content) the political contents of the work is summarized as: the defense of perfect equality (*evengelijkheid*), "together with various substantial concepts or foundations (*gronden*) conducing to the stabilisation of a glorious and unperishable democracy". What is here stated explicitly is valid for the whole work; it presents "*stoffe van staet*", i.e. political stuff. Nine years before Spinoza published his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) his master Van den Enden started to put his political ideas on paper. But let us not make the mistake to suppose, that he then first started to think about political matters. His edition of the *Korte Verthooninge* (1650) proves that the interest in political stuff was present more than a decade earlier. The birth of his clear ideas on this subject must have taken place long before 1661. A man of sixty publishes what has grown in his mind when he was forty or fifty. So is life.

SECOND OBJECTIVE

In the *Voor-Reeden* Van den Enden criticizes contemporary political writers, especially Pieter de la Court and his consorts, to which also belongs Jan de Witt, who contributed to the second impression of the De La Court *Politijke Consideratien* (1660) in which they detracted something from the intentions of the original author, Johan de la Court. The latter's assessment of the popular government as the most natural and reasonable form of government is excellent, like also his definition, "that the best government conceivable among Humans will be found in an assembly, consisting of all the Inhabitants of the Country, who can be presumed to have enough power and knowledge to care for their own well-being" (III/18-22). Van den Enden considers this to be the most essential and proper definition of true democracy, since it would be completely unreasonable that in a well-ordered society the poor and indigent together with the subservient and other 'impotent' people would be entitled or should be advanced to governing. There remains, however, an objection (*swarigheid*), which is not touched by those writers, namely whether a comfortable and stable government is possible among an innumerable crowd of many thousands superstitious and divided people. "We claim no" (*wy sustineren van neen*). Van den Enden reproaches the "free writers" of having neglected the problem of the growing proletariat, which in the end will certainly threaten the stability of the State. He suggests that one could give a good advice (*Raet*) to lead so many thousands of people to a sentiment and "Interest of State", especially when the regents could understand it. This expression, "Interest of State", is evidently an allusion to Pieter de la Court's *Interest van Holland* (1662), implicitly criticized by it. The writer of this mercantilist treatise, in fact, only scamps the problem and comes often in conflict with his own views. He does not want to see the danger, which is formed by the enormous proletariat.

THE NATIVES

In this introduction I skip the details of Van den Enden's descriptions of New-Netherland's situation and virtues. He simply summarizes what he can find in the available sources, the writings and

words of "reliable eye-witnesses". The authors referred to are: Van der Donk, David Pieter de Vries, Nicolaes de Ringh, J. de Laet, a remonstrance of the communities in New Netherland in 1650, Otto Keye. The subjects treated are: the soil, the geographical situation, the rivers, the fruitfulness of the country, the animals, the trees, the birds, the fish, plants with healing power, minerals, the climate. Special attention is given to the natives (*Naturellens*) and their stature, morals and political organization (p. 18-23). Van den Enden considers their behavior and way of life exemplary. They are, as it were, the paradigm of a free people with a democratic constitution.

"They are commonly very modest or steady in all their conduct, speech and being. They use, even after long deliberation, few words. Not rashly lying they are neither too scrupulous or slavishly, to say it politically, to keep their word. Cursing, swearing, slanging and similar impetuous passions one does not hear among them. They are praised for their being quick and cunning in their attacks during the war, but on the contrary also disapproved for their obstinacy and thirst for revenge. They are despisers not only of pain and sorrow, but also even of death, to which they can expose themselves in high spirits and singing. Not mischievous, but from nature very free and with a generous character; for which reason they, incapable to bear any dominion over them, they are with all close inspection and energy opposed against it. The distinction between people under them is nowhere so remarkable or so great as among us; so they say straightforward that concerning our respect for authorities (*Overheits respecten*) they cannot understand the one man being so much more as the other" (19/13-26)

Criticism on Dutch social inequality and the mastery of the one over the other is uttered, in Van den Enden's scenery, by American natives! In the community of the Indians one still finds real nobility. The authentic nobles are provided with courage and understanding; they enjoy a natural authority. Institutes of justice are superfluous. They don't know most of our crimes. "Adultery and fornication remain unpunished; love play is exercised freely without people looking at it" (20/in margin). They keep to their appointments and promises, "unless high need and injury or protest (*tegenroep*) of the common people (which is for them

as the voice of God) compel, as it were, to break them" (21/28-30). The Indians also acknowledge the supreme authority of the people, one of Van den Enden's political principles. The following quote betrays Van den Enden's democratic ideal:

"Further, concerning their government, this is said to be free and wholly popular, most authority being with the Heads, Nobles, Oldest of the tribes and families. In questions of war also the Generals (*Krijghs-overste*) are consulted, but nobody else. All these men together think and decide and the community rejects it or accepts and executes it. Important matters are considered by them very slowly and carefully...When something is concluded by them, the common people are gathered on the same place. One of the most eloquent from the most important men presents the treated and concluded thing openly and in the most savory way to the whole community whereas meanwhile all the heads try, in all modesty and quiet, to move the community (*Gemeinte*) to the approval of their decisions; if it does not go easy over the bridge, they know various means to operate upon them, since without the consent of the community they can't get to the execution, which the community reserves for itself, of even their minor decisions. Therefore also the most eminent men in the tribes and families apply many special and serious inductions and instructions on the community" (21/43 - 22/14).

So much concerning their political organization. Van den Enden says that he has not much to report on the religion of the Indians, since they live according to the law of nature. They do have a word for 'devil', namely 'Monitto' or 'Ottico', but indicate with this name only corporeal grief, "not understanding or conceiving anything essential or substantial in nature by it" (22/21-22). According to them there is nothing but nature. "Divorce is in that country a very usual and common thing" (22/42). Marriage is definitely broken by one of the parties on account of a misunderstanding or displeasure. They don't object to other people's immigrating in their country. They are not struck by envy or greed. Their country is open for everybody who is not an enemy. Settlers are welcome if they intend to support themselves.

In his conclusion Van den Enden asks respect for the "very

excellent, treatable and freedom loving Nation" (23/2), which one should greet as a people of fellow Christians and with whom one should cooperate as with allies.

"This should not happen in the usual, confused and superstitious mode of most deluded contemporary pretending Christians with the recommendation of many obscure, home feigned (*eigen verzierde*) and consequently also mostly unintelligible sophisticated articles or propositions of the imagination (*waan-geloof*); but by a pure instruction of the clear reason in all necessary, profitable true civil and moral propositions conducive to God's service (*Godts-dienst*), which demonstrations should partly be deduced from fixed and infallible axioms of nature (*kundigheden der Natuer*) and for another part from the very best experiences and probabilities" (23/7-15).

After this peroration in a flaming style, in which a science of morals ('ethica') is methodologically anticipated, Van den Enden announces that he "as an admirer of the New Netherland's Indian morals, trade, liberty and polity" (23/21-22) will later on greet his reader with "notable free speculations" (23/21). This means that he already in 1662 planned to write his VPS! And that his sketch of the '*Naturellens*' was inspired by his ideas on politics as they were in his mind in those days.

CRITICISM OF SLAVERY

In the chapter on agriculture Van den Enden discusses in detail many technical aspects of plough land farming, following the advices of Van der Donk and David Pietersz de Vries. By this instructive chapter the candidate colonists know what they will have to do after arrival. For everyone who wants to work New-Netherland is a marvelous promising country, with many possibilities and a moderate climate. A certain Ottho Keye, however, praises the advantages of a hot country like Guyana, above New Netherland. Van den Enden considers this a monstrous elevation (*wanschikkelijke verheffing*) because the use of slaves is presupposed in Keye's comparison. He launches a furious attack against Keye's pernicious proposals and earns so the honor of being one of the first opponents of slavery in the American history:

"If we, then, would come to compare this Keye's trifling Guyans-advantage account seriously and sincerely with the own New Netherlands advantage-account, where could this Keye hide his head or face for shame, if he had any? Apart from the inconsistency (*strijdigheit*) implied by the keeping of slaves with regard to our free nature and government, being completely powerless against this what he according to the usual rut of arguing from imperial laws etc. unsalted as well as invalidly adduces in favor of the free-keeping of slaves: for our part, we would earlier like to maintain with powerful reasons and to demonstrate that in so far the Christian Religion is a reasonable Religion, that it consequently is also in conflict with it and with sure Reason, to hold humans as permanent slaves. It is likewise not allowed and against all human right and dignity to deal greedily in harmless people and to transport them into undeliverable slavery" (26/26-40)

Van den Enden was a convinced abolitionist, two centuries before slavery became a first order political item. The argument, of course, has much to do with the principle of complete equality among humans and the rejection of all interhuman dominion. A free society with slaves is a flagrant contradiction, in fact an impossibility.

A PROBLEM: THE THREATENING RUIN OF NEW NETHERLAND

New Netherland is a country which may become very rich and prosperous, with ample possibilities for Dutch traders. It can serve as a refuge for all needy (*behoefte*) persons in the Netherlands, if they are willing to put their shoulder to the wheel. So the country might become profitable for Holland in more than one aspect.

But on the other hand, in a remonstrance of the New Netherland's communities in the year 1649, it is clearly indicated, that prosperity and profits can only be the result of some previous investments with heavy costs: assistance for boundary fortifications, reduction of rates and taxes, and populations measures. New Netherland is anno 1649 in such a miserable situation that if nothing is done by the Dutch authorities, "it will be dominated by foreigners and will totally perish for the state" (27/27-28). This has now to be feared much more

than ever, continues Van den Enden in 1662, thirteen years later. It is his intention, however, "to strut, stop and prevent (*stutten, schutten en weren*) the ruin and loss of New Netherlaand as much as is in his power" (27/43). This will serve two, three purposes at once: apart from the safety of the colonists who are now in distress, also the glorious welfare of the town and government of Amsterdam, who will become "formidable and constant" (*ontsaghyk en bestendigh*) by its extension in the colony, and, thirdly, the well-being of the needy proletariat in Holland.

Until then Van den Enden contributed to the acquirement of the necessary conditions and liberties for the candidate colonists. He acted as their representative in the negotiations with the Town's Chamber of Colonies, and wrote for the colonists the requests and deductions. He now publishes all the relevant materials because "rather many well to do and consequently deserving interested people (*Liefhebbers*)" (28/3-4) want to know and understand everything and prompt him to let everything print, so that one avoids mistakes in copying the documents. A second reason for the publication is for Van den Enden that he wants to protect himself against "sinister scandal" (*sinisterlijke opspraeck*) (28/17) from the side of the ignorants as well as the envious people, who will not be wanting in view of human weakness. Some points of what was conceived and proposed rather roughly have to be explained here in order to prevent misunderstandings.

'STAETS OR STADTSPROVINCIE'

The original intention of the requisitionists, being mostly very humble and poor people, was to found a stable colony in the form of a village or neighbourhood, anyhow an unpretentious or moderate economy (*zwakke huis-houdingh*), as is indicated in Remonstrance A. (see hereafter). But during the period of negotiations many considerable interested persons (*considerabele Liefhebbers*) appeared on the scene, who incited to a larger enterprise. That is why in Remonstrance F is spoken about a glorious State or Town Province, "wherefore we are allowed to declare and say here forthright and freely that in this respect nothing else than good and proper conditions do fail" (28/34-36). The

results of the negotiations are insufficient for a large-scale colony, which is nonetheless necessary for all parties. This is a first critical note addressed to the stubborn civil authorities.

PREACHERS FORBIDDEN

The candidate colonists conformed to the exclusion of all kind of ministers, which is, of course a very radical attitude in the mid-seventeenth century by which they caused a scandal. Partly they were probably adherents of Van den Enden's atheistic philosophy. He thinks it advisable to give the reasons for this refusal. His argument is complicated but clear and valid.

"In order to destroy all the suspicious and insulting profane [!] accusations concerning the refusal of any however sect-minded Preacher, one should pay attention to the fact that wanting to found a Society of different people with conflicting sentiments we were at once also necessitated to desist without exception from all Preachers, since they are feeders and stiffeners of everyone's particular opinion (*als voeders en stijvers van ieders particuliere opinie*); because in case preachers from one sect were chosen, it would be impossible for so many people of different humors and inclination to agree with it; and to appoint particular Preachers for each sect, such would become, apart from its impracticability for such a beginning Society, an unavoidable ruinous pest of all peace and concord, without which no sound (*rechtschapige*) Society can be considered to have started or advanced neither to be stable in one way or another. Further it is difficult for us to understand the peculiar utility that one could or would like to draw in one way or another from any Preacher for such a society: inasmuch as we are equally provided with the very best (which according tot the judgment of most Preachers is the H. Scripture) and we are no less than they entitled to an orthodox explanation to which everything comes down. Baptism and Holy Supper we take as ceremonies or memorials more becoming for weak children than for men in Christ. So that consequently, according to our judgment, for such a New Society one can indicate, with regard to the external or public service of God, nothing better as a stable foundation of the common quiet, peace and concord, than to keep oneself only and always to the very most peaceful and also cheapest (*onkostelijkste*) Preacher, the H. Scripture"

(28/37 - 29/13).

The analysis of this important justification of the refusal of preachers in the colony will be easy for everyone who quietly reads the passage. The text is a piece of clear argumentation, besides that also original and courageous. The main point is that political stability and therewith everybody's well-being stays or falls with peace and concord and (second premise) that the presence of ministers necessarily disturbs this political concord. As oriented on dogmatic idiosyncrasies and supporting particular opinions against other fictions the ministers will unavoidably disturb social life and consequently lead the state to its ruin.

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF REASON

Instead of trusting the delusive opinions of the preachers, the people should prefer the guidance of their own reason, which leads them from sure principles to safe conclusions. A marginal note on page 29 says: "Scriptural hermeneutics by means of fixed and certain reasoning is by far preferable above the pedantic explaining and elucidating of the scripture and the settling of one dispute with another". Van den Enden opposes "sure and fixed reasoning" against "all uncertain explanation of the H. Scripture" and prefers the first above the latter as a rule for good morals and civil government. This plea for a rational approach of scriptures has to be understood in the sense of Spinoza's TTP and Meyer's *Philosophia Interpretes S. Scripturae* (1665), namely as a plea for a scientific method, a reading of the texts and interpreting them with historical and philological assistance which enables the discovery of the true meaning of the words and sentences, meant by the author, even when and where they don't contain the truth..

As an enlightened thinker Van den Enden puts a heavy accent on the value of reasoning and science for human life:

"And in relation to civil as well as ethical (*zedelijke*) control of our life's dealings and behavior among people, we would consider it very necessary for peculiar common utility that abundant or sufficient schools in the mother tongue of the same Society are erected for adults as well as young people, in which one tries to ascertain and teach

everything most clearly and surely by a fixed and indubitable reasoning, deduced from certain infallible principles. The experiences from the Histories, etc. together with all probable conjectures and appliances, rationally taken out of it, could also be not less pleasant as well as instructive for adults as well as young people. Mathematical exercises and others depending on it, to be organized by the same public schools, would also contribute more than common utilities to these societies. It is desirable that the medical art (*Geneeskunst*) will be brought on a safer foot so that it will even be possible that this art may at least be applied obligatorily by women on women, daughters and children, because truly, it seems to us too abominable (*vyf*) and low for young and also adult generous men, that they alone want to be esteemed for it or must earn their bread by it. Good heaven! How much progress would be made in short time or how much would be won or advanced in experiencing the useful and delicious sciences if one only would find enough People who would have delight and satisfaction in properly and diligently striving and hankering after them. And it is this we mainly aim at, the white on which we shoot" (29/23-46).

So we see how strongly Van den Enden advocates the promotion of an enlightened educational system in the society, the promotion also of history, mathematics, medicine and other sciences, the promotion also of participation of females in the medical profession, the promotion finally of the use of the mother tongue so that all members of the community may enjoy (and control) the fruits of scientific research. Everything has to be based on certain infallible principles, which must be the axioms of nature, mentioned earlier. From the depth of his heart Van den Enden, a first class scientist himself, desires that many of his fellow citizens also aspire after scientific knowledge.

EVENEQUALITY (*EVENGELIJKHEIT*)

We now have to study the most fundamental premise of Van den Enden's political theory and strategy, mentioned as article 1 of the constitution in Letter D. The first difficulty here is the precise translation of the unusual Dutch pleonasm "*evengelijkheid*" which literally means 'equal equality' or 'perfect, complete equality'. The doubling of the concept in two different words accentuates its importance in Van den

Enden's system. Therefore and because 'even' may have in English also the same meaning as in Dutch, my choice is "evenequality". With "evenequality", however, is not meant a kind of complete leveling of all differences between people. That is the first point to be remarked by Van den Enden. People don't have the same nature neither the same properties. So it is impossible that they ever become or should become fully equal in all respects. This also implies that they should not be treated in this way by laws forcing them to exactly the same behavior. On the contrary, equal treatment of unequal beings has to fulfill their different needs and aspirations! This brings Van den Enden to the proposition that "*evenglijckheit*" requires that everybody in his distinctive position and disposition, high and low, comes to a better situation. A society whose measures don't have the result that everyone's well-being is furthered, is not based on the foundation of "*evengelijckheit*". Let us now go to one of the most important fragments of KVNN, in which the reader may himself discover the power of Van den Enden's powerful reasoning:

"Concerning our asserting the EVENGELIJKHEIT to be the principal foundation (in the first article of Discourse D) we hope that nobody will be found to be so dull, much less so malicious, who, contrary to the adequate evidence in our notorious and clear distinction in the same discourse, would still think or like to interpret that we here which for our part would try to take away all distinction between persons. Truth is so far from this that we, on the contrary, consider this as much impossible to happen as that our fingers being the same as they are now, could get the same length or be made equally long. Because every human, constituting a world on himself by his natural essence (*Nature-wezenheit*) and particular properties, always remains different from all other people and according to the qualities or properties of his body and mainly his soul he is also more or less eminent in all his actions or behavior, since all his particular qualities also have their particular effects, wherefore justly have to be considered the greatest fools in this world those who try to bring many people, not to speak about whole landscapes, under one rule or strict way of life, without being able or liking to pay attention to what the nature (*aert*) of such a country or also society together with everybody in particular requires for his

nature. And wherefore we also would like to have thoroughly recommended in this, that in all laws and statutes for the common (*'t gemeen*) one should primarily aim at the common utility, but on the other hand nonetheless be very careful, that everyone's particular and natural evenequal freedom, irrespective of persons, is not in the least lopped (*besnoeid*) and injured by this; because where the contrary happens, there is no lack of frustration (*onlust*) and displeasure, which in course of time may cause and bring about harmful and ruinous fruits for a society. Trying, as usually is practiced in the world, to suppress this continually by means of brute force, is to our judgment checking a bit the greater evil, but finally making a hold up stream to burst with more violence and more frightfully, apart from the fact that at most ever among such a compressed heap of people filled with opinions (*opinieuxe Menschen*) any the least ground or bond of peace and concord, let alone of true affectionateness and love may be pursued, much less practiced" (29/46 - 30/31).

IMPLICATION: THE IMPROVEMENT OF EVERYBODY'S SITUATION

Before continuing my translation of this passage I wish to remark that Van den Enden argues from a physics according to which everything, included every man, is a very particular being, in a certain sense incomparable with other beings. Everybody is a specific being on account of his being a particular combination of qualities, which naturally has specific effects in his behavior. Therefore one cannot cast people into the same mould or organize them along the same lines. Equality of treatment does immediately result here in an (unequally) levelled treatment as the obligatory form of justice. Plato called this the numerical equality as opposed to the right proportional equality. Van den Enden clearly advocates this higher type of equality which takes people as equals in their different dispositions, which comes down to the claim, that every member of the society is acknowledged as such and that his well-being is indeed advanced, on whatever level of social rank he actually finds himself. If this is not reached one is on the way to the abyss, since on displeasure follow discord and civil war, which is the end of the state's stability and of the state as such. This is the central point in Van den Enden's argument, as is shown in the next paragraph.

"And therefore, one turns it over and over in his mind as much as one can and wants, wherever in a society of many people, all without exception and irrespective of persons, common as well as particular members or citizens, are not conceived under an **evenequal interest of always getting into a better situation** (*altoos tot beteren stant*) (and which always gives most reason to displeasure), it falls short or long, there it finally will necessary bend or burst in itself, besides that such a Society, in spite of all her external splendor or glorious power and strength of walls etc., rightly seen in her entrails, finds herself by this so much enfeebled and weak that, not being capable to resist unanimously against the least adversity coming from exterior and mainly against the domestic disagreements and quarrels, may easily be conquered and oppressed" (30/32-43).

This is a clear theorem which cannot easily be misunderstood. But because human history has so often forgotten this truth and Van den Enden sees it severely offended and neglected in his time and country, he wants to stress it once more in a more elaborated form. No labor is too much where the most fundamental principle of any society is at stake:

"And this, then, is the only thing we want to indicate with our principal (*voornaam*) foundation (*grondslag*) of evenequality, namely that in order to establish a sound (*welgestelde*) Christ-civil Society, Republic or Common best (*Gemeen-best*), before anything else (*voor alle zaken*) such an equal proportion (*gelijkmatigheit*) (between more and less intelligent, more and less well-to-do people, male and female sex, governor and governed people etc.) must be discovered by reasons and experience, that one may feel (*bevinden*) and conclude from this most surely that each member in his degree (*graet*) not only is not enfeebled or injured by this, but on the contrary may be strengthened and more and more promoted and advanced; because when everybody is well considered and accounted for in his particular situation (*stant*), all will be found to need evenequal improvement in their state" (30/44 - 31/8).

A country, which respects constitutional equality, cannot allow that whatever group or class does not have any benefit (corresponding to its concrete situation) from its natural domicile in this country. Everyone should experience in his personal life the profits from being a member of this society. If not, it goes unavoidably downwards and the state will be destabilized.

THE DENOUNCEMENT OF ALL DOMINATION

Gradually Van den Enden has explained what he in his Voor-Reeden meant with the "*swarigheid*", neglected by the so-called "free writers". Freedom and democracy are illusory where large parts of the population are destitute and exploited by other parts. Such a state of civil affairs and relationships is not only corrupt but also extremely ramshackle. In the next paragraph he explicitly rejects any relationship of master-slave as being inconsistent with the equality principle, yea with political freedom as such.

"Which afore mentioned and true foundations of freedom are, to our understanding, incompatible with all mutual domination between members of the Society or their use of violence, like also all blind obeying and trusting that one nowadays tries to persuade us or make us, freedom loving Dutchmen, believe in a mean and contemptible way" (31/9-13).

Every reader of this text in the starting sixties knew the target of Van den Enden's sharp arrows: the 'Regents' who dominated and violently oppressed the common people by means of high taxes and military garrisons of mercenaries. A state with an upper and lower class is doomed to fail. Blind obedience is only fitting where authority comes from above, which is not the case in a democracy. And least of all could trust become a basis for social and political life. We will hear more about this theme in a moment.

A PRETENDED QUOTE FROM A CERTAIN NEW NETHERLAND'S WRITING

For a further elucidation of his propositions Van den Enden now

says to take an extract (*uittreksel*) from a certain "Nieuw-Nederlants geschrift". The quotation of two and a half pages (31-33) is marked by double commas before every line in the first margin, until the bottom of page 33. Is this really an extract from an existing work or does Van den Enden refuge to strategy in order to consolidate and protect his position? The latter alternative is the right one because argument and style are typical for Van den Enden and cannot be the product from another one's pen. Moreover Van den Enden betrays his artifice in the first line by saying "which we have touched also here fore" and referring so to the passage about the government of the Indians in the chapter about the natives! He will use the same strategy (pseudo-quoting) twice in the VPS. Not only real life is a (sometimes tragical) drama, which he likes to represent in plays (the comedies of Terentius and his own *Philedonius*) and describe in his essays; his literary work itself is also often composed as a drama with more participants (real or fake contributors). A marvelous example is the *Na-Reeden* of this work, in which he represents New Netherland as a mother, which rebukes another mother, Old-Netherland. One should not forget, moreover, that 'New Netherland' by his procedure acquires more or less a symbolic value and is also a kind of 'Utopia'. The reason of the literary trick is evidently that he now continues with a more detailed and subversive criticism of the existing system of the 'regents' and with more concrete proposals for an improvement of the society. I go on where I had stopped:

"To which purpose or aspect and afore mentioned proposition we'll think it now worth while to bring forward the next extract from a certain New-Netherland's writing. The New Netherland's Indian government which we have also touched here fore, seems us to be in all manners a rough sketch of an Athenian or old-Roman popular government, which to our judgment is also by far the best for the common freedom, the freedom of the people, primarily to be pursued for a society firstly to start or to erect, and has also yet to be conceived and to be practiced much better than in Athens or Rome; because like the Town or Citizens of Athens have, on account of their illustrious Men, Commanders or Captains General etc. been subjected to much

undermining of their freedom, and likewise the Roman people has been violated in its freedom by her Generals, powerful Nobility etc. and was consequently finally ruined in itself and conquered. So these free New-Netherland's Indians would according to the ordinary course of this world be subjected to the same and have to expect the same when among them would grow and rise particular men, excellent in riches and honor" (31/17-31).

CONTRA-MEASURES (*TEGENMIDDELEN*), or HOW TO FORESTALL DOMINATION

By the foregoing passages Van den Enden claims that in all societies, even the best democracies like the Indian kind sketched earlier, will naturally crop up the evil of greedy and ambitious great men repressing their compatriots, if no special measure is taken against this disease of inequality. Societies, which neglect such measures, will necessarily perish. What can we do against it in order to prevent the ruin of class opposition and civil war? This is the greatest problem for all legislators and politicians. Spinoza would later dramatically accentuate this point by exclaiming "*Haec opus, hic labor*" and so baptizing it as a Hercules labor. Van den Enden continues in the same solemn style:

"And this could be called indeed the right man in the world and for the commons, who would be capable to assign and establish to that the just and sure or assured contra-measures (*tegen-middelen*) for a freedom-loving People and Republic. To our judgment the avoidance of wars of conquest or only aiming at dominion, together with the combat against the indigence of the common distressed citizens apart from all mean, superstitious and despicable poor-relief's to fulfill by obligation, and the cautious exclusion of all men outstanding in excessive richness and glory, would be extremely helpful for this; because we think that these were the reasons why in all times the prominent and in most freedom excelling Republics have suffered the severest damage, and against whose both excessive efforts for Richness and Honor like also against the wanton only at dominion aiming wars (being an important cause and mostly also proper food for these two eminent idols, namely excessive richness and honor together with an exhaustion of good and blood of the community) to our judgment have to be made provisions not only by bare and poor laws, but besides that principally also by and

through fundamental, clear and public inductions or instructions about their true objectives to the common citizenship and its young manhood and youth to their profit" (31/32 - 32/4).

This is again a substantial period with much stuff in it, typical also from the sheath of Van den Enden. Exhausting wars, mostly originating from greed and ambition of greedy and ambitious men, have to be preemptively averted like also the misery of the proletariat. Poor relief out of religious sentiments is no solution for the problem of depravation, but will on the contrary reinforce the abominable class oppositions. The three evils (war, powerful men with riches, the people's need) hang fundamentally together. Wars of conquest and aiming at dominion are always on the cost of good and blood of the poor and to the profit of the governors. In general the pernicious disease can only be effectively countered by laws forbidding such wars, such excessive richness and such private charity or poor relief, laws however, which are accompanied with enlightened public education, in which the purpose and necessity of the contra-measures is thoroughly explained and even demonstrated to every citizen, old and young.

WHY COUNTERMEASURES HAVE TO BE TAKEN

“With this end in our view how one could most fruitfully form a common best not only from people striving after wisdom but from the great majority of unwise and passionate (without superstition, however, and amenable for reason) people and so that yet, notwithstanding everybody's particular passion, the common best not only is not prevented but even advanced by it, one should therefore beforehand and most of all very sharply remark and understand the ordinary weakness of human nature, which is generally of such a character that (according to the well known saying that love always first starts from itself) it is hardly possible to found anything, especially regarding the common best, on mutual love and righteousness of humans. Indeed in so far also that in this respect for all and every attentive, reasonable or in this world rather well exercised and experienced souls there is hardly anything more clear and evident in this contemporary world as that mutual common trust and love cannot or may hardly be found among

humans; and for that reason where a heedless and cowardly trust on the fidelity or virtue of some eminent men took place among whole peoples or mostly only inexperienced humans, there also excessive tyranny mostly has extended and established itself by the efforts of their felonious, ambitious, grubbing and imperious men (*schalke, eergelt- en heerszuchtige*), (supported and stiffened by the deceit of the pseudo-Saint-Hypocryts)" (32/5-25)

One cannot deny that in this text a full anthropology appears to be the foundation of Van den Enden's political theory. Man is a passionate being, i.e. he is subject to passions on account of the many overpowering influences from the exterior world. This implies that his nature is essentially weak, unable to cope with seductions and harmful influences. Nobody is an exception. Van den Enden talks about the ordinary weakness of human nature. This nature, in all its feebleness, is what it is, concerned with itself and its own well-being. That love is self-love, is insinuated by a common proverb. Originally we are not altruists, not orientated on the promotion of other people. We try to acquire as much as possible for our self and are forced to behave so on account of the passivity of our nature. This means that we strive naturally after much safety, goods and acknowledgment for ourselves, in order to survive in the struggle for life. The situation or distress of other people in our environment doesn't really interest us, except insofar as they can be useful for our own well-being.

Van den Enden has sharply observed and analyzed human nature and its properties. He remarks that tyranny and on the other hand the misery of a proletariat are the unavoidable effects, if we deliver ourselves to the hands and brains of other people. So-called 'eminent' men are exactly like everybody: else oriented on themselves, trying to use other people as means for their own well-being. This must be crystal clear for all who make use of their reason and try to learn from human history. Mutual love is an utopian, not a real quality of human pre-political behavior. One may be sure that Spinoza has learned a lot from this master's lessons about human nature, which without exception found their way into his Ethics. Trust is not a basis for politics, as is now further elucidated.

THE EXPEDIENT (*BEHULP-MIDDEL*): DISTRUST

"And in order to provide duly the usually simple and inexperienced people in this respect with a generally light and available expedient (*behulp-middel*), we don't know to bring forward anything better as to inculcate upon them (primarily concerning the noticing and observation of the common best) a deeply circumspect and secure distrust (*wantrouw*) and to make them thoroughly understand that there can hardly be conceived or found greater sins or imperfections among the People as credulity (*lichtgelovigheid*), a cause of nearly all extravagances (*extremiteiten*) in this world, in politics as well as in the churches, and like the proverb says: 'who quickly or easily believes, is likewise quickly and easily cheated'. And also to recommend to the same as one of the most profitable-freedom-pursuing-ground-rules to remain loyal (*trouw te zijn*), but to trust nobody in full. If one would like to ask us here now in doubt, how we then ever will be able to carry out anything with our fellow citizens (*even-naasten*), because without trust we could not perform or conduct trade or dealings? The answer must be, that we don't say nor recommend to trust nobody morally, but: to trust nobody in full, which makes a big difference; because in the first way all honest and friendly intercourse and dealings with the fellow man depends on the true-hearted himself which nobody may reasonably be against or contradict, whereas the not-trusting-in-full only serves to a very useful, even necessary cautiousness and control (*om- en toezicht*) concerning the behavior of our in all respects (*alleszins*) weak fellow man; since in that point it is likewise also notorious that the one man can never be sure about the fidelity (*trouwheit*) of the other, and that who today seems to be faithful, tomorrow appears to be unfaithful; therefore shall nor can the very most faithful and wise man ever become angry in case he finds himself in a certain sense mistrusted by another's circumspection. Yes, he will (if it is not too blunt and censorious concerning minor things of everyday's civil intercourse) praise this as a particular deed or work of prudence and willingly give full information about the state of affairs and be fair about accounts and alliances to the entire satisfaction of his fellow man. And above all this has to be recommended in all dealings

and account-affairs of Town and States Governments; because insofar the general welfare, being the foundation of all particular welfare, supersedes the particular, so much more enviously should and must it be pursued and controlled with the accurate supervision by the honest and attentive soul (without the least trusting-in-full on somebody's virtue etc.), which we here therefore try to inculcate the more and seriously upon the Reader" (32/26 - 31/16).

I gave this passage without interruption because it is a marvelous example of a realistic and enlightened 'induction', an example of how the people has to be educated and emancipated according to the view of Van den Enden. I think that nowhere in the history of political literature may be found a similar lucidity and logical strength on the basis of a sound analysis of human nature. As in the case of the 'tegen-middelen' also this '*behulp-middel*' is enforced by the universal and therefore also human selfishness. Distrust in political matters is a must. To demonstrate this straightforwardly is no doubt a very courageous attitude. Spinoza will later follow this line of argument in his *Political Treatise* (see e.g. I/6) and then this voice will never be heard again in the history of political writing!

THE COMMON BEST (*GEMEEN BEST*)

The necessity of political distrust was argued for by a reference to the eminent value of the general welfare as compared with private welfare. Van den Enden now concludes the theoretical chapter right in the center of his KVVN by a moving peroration on this elevated subject:

"Since we consider the care for the common-best to be one of the most important properties of a honest (*rechtschapige*) soul; because, pray (*ey lieven*), what proper pleasure could a truly generous soul enjoy in his particular or only private abundance in case he, next to him and in spite of him, would have to see that his equal was emaciating and desiccating by hunger and unquenched rational desires and inclinations or also comes to degenerate to infernal furies and the ruin of his fellow man? In case somebody may be hardly provided with any reasonable perceptions, awareness or compassions with the discomfort of his fellow man, such one we would like to remind and also cordially

exhort that all his particular cares and pursuing of honorary posts, treasures etc. without considering (*zonder reflexie op*) the common best, are the dullest passions which to our judgment can or may be found among humans; because what could there be conceived more miserable than to want to be constantly in a situation where one in a honest man's suspicion is convinced that our fellow man is so much shortened (*verkort*) that he seems to be deprived of all corporeal, even soul's well-being? And who therefore also never (according to the law of nature which does not suffer injure or violence but as soon as an opportunity presents itself strives after her first freedom) will come to rest or they find by one or another means some issue or relief against the oppressors from which then mostly originate very lamentable destructions of country and people, with the result that mostly at the end the oppressor finds himself woefully destroyed and suppressed with the oppressed, and if it is allowed to speak like that, in this way they both receive their just penalty, the one since he has desired and seized too much and the other since he has too much trusted and omitted" [33/16-44).

Excessive care for one self's well-being at the cost of other people's is contra productive and therefore irrational. Rationally living and honest people do know this and infer from it a moderation in favor of their fellow men, so contributing effectively to their promotion, and to the common best. The regents in Holland did not have, according to Van den Enden, this elementary compassion and their free writers also neglected very inconsistently the fate of the poor and deprived masses. This in fact was the "*swarigheid*" to which Van den Enden alluded in his *Voor-Reeden*. The regents must by now understand the hint at their address. Van den Enden accuses in plain terms the smarting pauperism of his time and what is more, he argues clearly against this ominous disorder from a sure and fixed axiom of nature, this time called "law of nature". This (33/44), by the way, was also the end of the pretended quotation from a certain New-Netherland's writing.

OTHER POINTS CONCERNING THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

The pages 34 till 42 contain various remarks by which details of the important Letter D (see here after) are elucidated, specified or

verified. I shall **select** a few, which to my view are especially relevant.

It appears that Van den Enden now assesses the initial size of the colony at 600 families (35/3), so that the democratic council consists of "at least 600 defensible (*weerbare*) men" (34/8-9). The colonists need not to swear, as was originally foreseen, obedience to the West Indian Company except regarding some commercial privileges. Only one sovereign is possible. The community ministers (*Gemeenten-Bedienaars*), chosen according to precise democratic rules of the society's mutual treaty, have to enjoy a strong authority for the conservation of public order and general well-being.

I skip the economic details and conditions to ask attention for what we could call the *law of tolerance*, stipulating "that nobody, foreigner as well as bare inhabitant, and citizen of this society is in one way or another allowed to be molested on account of whatever assertion in matters of religion or opinion" (38/17-18). The judgment about intractability (*intractabelheit*) is reserved to two third of the citizens (council members). They and only they may decide about the question whether somebody is intolerable in the society and has to be warned, punished or excommunicated. The consent of the council is essential for all important measures.

Foreigners are not allowed to buy land inside the boundaries of this society. It also would be advisable, says Van den Enden, to have "a Law, rule or Measure of how many adjacent fields or estates one is allowed to own" (41/36-37). In case of transgression the community has a right of expropriation. Van den Enden aims at a certain proportion between lesser and greater land property.

The citizens cannot be summoned to participate in wars outside their country. About a tenth part, yearly to be specified, of the income, together with the product of the common land, serves for the support of the common burdens. The colony should strive after the least measure (*minste maet*) of the budget and prevent secret dissipation of the common income.

The society is "bound to support and help fairly all its disabled (*impotente*) men and women, needy widows and orphans, if necessary also to provide for their total maintenance, and that not by way of alms

but as an obligatory debt, originated from antecedent agreement and profit" (42/18-22). Ample assistance from the side of the society is a right for all its members when they come to need it.

Well, these were some special points of Van den Enden's more elaborate comment on the articles of the constitution, laid down in Letter D, finally approved by the deputies of the Colonies Chamber and presented to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam. The points of this comment were, of course, not part of the text of the constitution.

SOME WORDS ON THE REQUESTS, DISCOURSES AND DEDUCTIONS
(letters A till G, page 43 till 67 of KVNN):

A

Letter A is handed over by H.V.Z.M. to the authorities on the 22nd Nov. 1661. He acts as representative for his principals, namely various capable citizens with their families "who are inclined to let themselves on honest and fair conditions transport to the South-River in New Netherland, under supervision of the Town of Amsterdam and with the approbation of the States General" (43/26-32). The solicitor says to have met these people in the Bourse (*ter Beurs*) and elsewhere, and explains why they have planned to emigrate: the scarce possibilities for business and employment in this country. They cannot accept, however, the conditions stipulated by Amsterdam for colonization, because these are programmed for building a town in America, whereas they only have before their eyes a village or quarter, anyhow a very modest economy. The colonists request freedom of tax for 35 years and protection of the Town against pretensions of neighbors. All the costs of transport and installation will be paid by themselves. They want to become fully autonomous in political, juridical and economic respects. The costs of a preacher will be saved; the colonists will restrict themselves to reading the Scripture and singing psalms.

B

Letter B is written on December 20, 1661 and contains a reaction in the name of the candidate colonists on two points discussed with the authorities in a meeting on December 16th. The first point concerns criminal and civil law, which they want to keep in their own responsibility, except for highest appeal and the general approbation of the details of their system of justice. Further the authorities had objected to the period of tax freedom, which they thought was too long. Here they answer that their colony will after all become more profitable for the Town than the colony of Nieuwer-Amstel for which Amsterdam has to pay excessive costs, because everything goes wrong there and is badly organized, to the disadvantage of the colony and the mother state. That colony is not attractive for honest and reasonable people. His masters, says M.V.Z.H., think it necessary, and for the town profitable, to adapt and correct the rules for colonization. Moreover, they cannot afford more than the costs of common troubles and dangers. What they ask does not seem exceptional, since in Holland itself people, this time rich inhabitants, enjoy the same period of tax freedom for lake reclamation! "What, then, should be allowed to poor and indigent citizens, who in order to find better opportunities for their needy entertainment with women and children, are in a sense necessitated to exchange their dear Fatherland (abundant with everything, but, unfortunately so unequally divided, for a rough, wild, waste, uncultivated country; what must not be allowed, so they say, to their needy salvation and advancement?" (47/15-20).

Well, this is a rather sharp and critical tone in an official request. Just before this quote one finds in the text a series of dots. Why does Van den Enden leave away a part of his letter? The city fathers must have wrinkled their eye-brows!

C

Letter C, delivered on the 23rd of December, is first of all a declaration of sincerity. The remonstrants request the authorities to explore and control their motives and intentions. They wish to accommodate themselves in criminal causes to the high jurisdiction of Amsterdam.

But

"they understand that for the enduring well-being of this their intended society must be observed as unchangeable and highest laws:

1. That among them to nobody particular, under whatever pretext, will be permitted any commanding awe (*ontsagh*).
2. That in this respect nobody will profit ever a penny (*stuiver*), under whatever pretext, from the common. The most powerful in goods and not less in knowledge will have to serve in turn in all main offices without drawing a penny's profit from it ...
3. The Lowest should be treated with equal justice and right as the Highest. Yes, where the thing may or can bear it in one way or another, the Lower has to be seen with more propitious eyes as the Higher person, as being above him. To the continuation of the society, one must give and provide the Lower man every opportunity for promotion to a better situation (*stant*) in order to acquire in this way in course of time more and more useful members of their intended society" [48/29 - 49/2).

MVZH asks the Lords to consider these principles and expects that all their worried suspicions (*achter dochten*) will disappear. The sheriff (*schout*) of Nieuwer-Amstel should not intervene in the colony's justice without consent of the ministers of the community. Above all the colonists want to prevent that justice will degenerate into justice of classes separately and differently.

This third letter gives the impression that the City fathers felt a bit uneasy and were indeed alarmed by the clear arguments and the critical tone in the writings of the solicitor, in whom they unwillingly had to acknowledge a very intelligent man. Their "suspicions" were not ill based. He was superior as a politician with a social program. That they were afraid about wider consequences of their permission of this colony may be concluded from a reassuring remark in this letter:

"Finally and at last is it in this question the very explicit will of my masters and principals, that this and all previous as well as following, epistolary as well as oral utterances concerning this requesting Society (as serving firstly not more than an essay about their intentions and only

roughly and casually conceived and proposed) may not be drawn nor anyhow interpreted in a wider sense as only regarding the purpose and well-being of their specific society. They not at all intend to assess, much less to offend, by this another government of whatever form, since they don't like to be considered or hold for so inexperienced and ignorant people in this world, that they would not know how that different dispositions, of human nature as well as countries, of great societies as well as small ones, require different types of government" (49/38 - 50/4).

Yes, this remark implies indeed that Van den Enden meanwhile must have been recognized as a danger for the Dutch society, i.e. for the authority of the Regents.

D

This is the most important letter. It contains the "mutual compromise" (*onderlingh Compromis*, 50/26) of the sollicitants about all civil affairs, which have to be regulated in a civil society. It consists of 117 articles and was presented to the authorities on the 10th of January at 4.00 o'clock in the afternoon, under the title: "Still larger discourse and under-correction-concept-articles of an enduring colony to found under the highest auspices of the most reverend Burgomasters of the Town Amsterdam" (62/24-27). The articles form the sketch of a civil constitution which shall be improved and corrected where necessary, or required by the authorities who had explicitly demanded such a sketch. Their comments (from February 25) are printed in the margin of the text and answered in the next letter.

I will pick out some points, taking into account what is already touched earlier or will be explained more fully later on. Article 1 mentions as the primordial foundation of this society the complete equality (*evengelijkheit*). Every citizen, i.e. every man who is not subservient and does not live from public payment (cf. art. 11), has to swear and promise "that he will never aspire to any particular supremacy or commanding power in this society neither tolerate that it will ever in the least be pursued by somebody; but for the common best to avert and

oppose it with body and soul as far as lays in his power and with common help" (50/45 - 51/1). And, of course, to accept and fulfil everything that is decided by the majority, or in some cases by two third of the votes of the society.

The "common consultation" (*gemene Raedts-plegingh*, 51/18) has to be organized on Sundays after the "common service" (reading H. Schriptide and singing psalms), on which point the Lords remarked that this could not be allowed because Sundays are days of rest!

'*Ordonnantien*' or Laws need two third of the votes to be introduced, changed, extended or nullified (art. 5 and 6). The first proposals must come from the "community ministers" (*Gemeenten-bedienaers*, 51/32), later also together with the past ministers, this to prevent ill-considered proposals or decisions. The names of all members, women and children, servants and maids, together with their addresses, trade and religious conviction (*gezindheid*) have to be recorded (art. 13), "since all intractable humans, like obstinate and to the Roman Stool closely addicted Papists, usurious Jews, English obstinate Quakers, Puritans and audacious dull Millenarists, together with all obstinate contemporary pretenders of Revelation etc. should be cautiously averted from this yet tender Christ-civil Society, to the preservation of the common quiet" (art. 14).

Five ministers, who may not have blood relationship, have to be chosen by secret vote (by means of a rolled up paper). The number 'five' is related to the hundred citizens with whom the colony is expected to start. For every 20 newcomers another minister has to be added, so that the proportion 1 : 20 is retained. The term of office is one year; and re-election is only possible after a year. The oldest in years and later in service will be the President and as such serve a second year (art. 15-22).

It is a holy obligation for the ministers to desist from every kind of dominion over the common and to watch "with Argus eyes" against lust of power among members. They may not offend the principle of publicity: everything has to be open, controllable by everybody (art. 27). They don't receive a salary but are expected to serve the community in love and for honor (art. 29). It is allowed, however, to appoint a diligent

and trustworthy member as a pensioner for the book-keeping and writing of acts, who could at the same time also serve as a schoolmaster (art. 30-31). He should be paid by means of exemption of labor for the common and is not allowed to ask a price for his services as a notary.

The head of the citizen soldiery (*schuttery*), who is responsible for the defense and for the weapon-exercises, has to be elected yearly by majority of votes, on the proposal of the ministers, to which he is subordinate (art. 33). Every colonist has to be armed; he should be provided, on his own expense and head for head, with a flintlock, pistol, sword and gunpowder (art. 40).

By similar "common consent" (54/43) many other things of the common must be regulated. I will not recapitulate them in detail. In the beginning the land is common property, but after five years of labor like as it were in a common farm, time is ripe for the division of land. "Then it may be time that for the optimal continuation (*meeste voortzettingh*) of the common best and that of everyone in particular, estates, cattle etc. till then mainly belonging to the common, are internally divided by drawing lots" (56/30-33), so that every colonist cares independently for the maintenance of his family by his own business, "since this will mostly arouse and better further everyone's particular industry and zeal for the acquirement of his own excellent well-being" (art. 62). Van den Enden is not a utopian Christian communist like Plockhoy, the leader of another group of colonists who negotiated with the Town of Amsterdam in the same period and had written some utopian works. Van den Enden is a *realist*; only private ownership is efficient in the long run. As an excellent anthropologist he knows about the power of human selfishness and the mechanism of passions, which works as a lever in the 'intercausal' machine of human personal and collective behavior. He continues in art. 63: "And shall consequently likewise also awake in the more or less cold or inert human nature an emulation (*na-yver*) in order not to become totally despised or remain behind similes (*van gelyken*), i.e. fellow citizens. "All of which, then, will **necessarily** procure and more and more effectuate (*veroorzaken*) a special well-being (*byzondere welstandt*) for the common" (art. 64). This insight could have been a source for Adam Smith's 'invisible hand'! One must not be

so worried about an inert or indolent human nature. The common is inventive enough for exploiting and controlling it (art. 65).

The administration of criminal and civil justice is developed in art. 66 - 101. I select only this seemingly important point that everyone is bound to present personally his cause in a trial (art. 93). Barristers are not allowed on account of the weakness of human nature: "It is absolutely unbelievable that when people know how to obtain profit by quarrel feeding (*twistvoedingh*), they will ever try to accelerate the end of the cause, but much more etc." (art. 95). The community ministers should above all do their utmost to achieve an amicable arrangement (*minnelijke vergelijkingh*) between the parties. "If this is wisely managed, it will hardly ever fail, especially when all therefore wage drawing (*loon-trekkende*) seed of strife sowers (*quaet-zaet-zaeyers*) and quarrel feeders are watchfully eliminated" (art. 102). "Because it is sure enough that from their own nature, without undeniable instigation for hope on remarkable profit to reach by means of sharp and enduring quarrels, people will never be found so obstinate that they would be inclined to oppose against what the whole society estimates and approves for its peace. This is anyhow not to expect from the small or least powerful people, and on account of the suspicion of a wise government and the preference of the Lesser (*mindern*) man the Major (*meerderen*) will also be open to good advice etc.." (art. 103). According to Van den Enden's psychology greed will be crossed and coerced by fear for social contempt and censure, leading to a thwarting of one's ambition, likewise a strong passion.

The fate of the deprived must be a source of anxiety for the society: "This young and tender society has especially to care, not only to protect always the Lesser (*Minderen*) man (as as possible and the cause however may tolerate) against all oppression of the Major (*Meerderen*), but also even to prefer him, so that the Lesser will never be deprived of the least opportunity to attain to a better situation but will always get more and more possibilities for it" (art. 104).

Marriages should be registered only "politically", i.e. not by church ministers (art. 105). Sexual education is recommended in order to prevent the too early appearance of the swinging love (*slinger-*

liefden), to foster the procreation and ascertain the exclusion of prostitution (art. 107-108).

The officials of the common have to institute commissions for the care of needy widows and orphans, sick and poor, in short all impotent male or female people or children. Van den Enden requires their full maintenance at the expense of the common, "and this not parsimoniously but very liberally and brotherly, in order that they may be fully saved by it, so that they instead of remaining shabby, poor and indigent, they may come to grow and flourish to generous, active and communicating members of this Society" (art. 110). He advises the foundation of a professional hospital (*ziek-huys*), in which everybody, the poor free of charge and the rich against payment, can get medical service under the supervision of a surgeon (*chirurgijn*, art. 112).

If anything is crystal clear in this constitution, it is surely this that it is a kind of what I would like to call a scientific socialism. This socialism is pragmatic or strategical; it is not based on and regulated by an unrealistic ideal of altruism and wrong interpretation of the Christian charity, but simply by a 'reason of state', an "interest of State", lastly by the natural engagement for one's own safety. The major feature of this practice is the institutionalization of a systematic and liberal care for the poor and other deprived persons, in such a way that they develop to valuable members of the society.

E

This letter, dated the 3rd of March, contains answers and reactions on the fourteen remarks made by the delegates of the Colony Chamber on the proposed constitution, the so-called "*Noch-wyder-Vertoogh*". Generally Van den Enden sticks to his text and defends the "foundations" (*fundamenten*) of the colony as they were conceived. The most important point in the discussion is the question of highest authority. In his comments he makes it clear that the colonists, although they aim at a stable, defensible and powerful society with regard to the dangers from the side of the English, they yet don't claim any more than

the "low jurisdiction" (*lage jurisdictie*), "by which they think to come round in everything, to the full satisfaction of State, Town and Company" (64/25-26). The oath of obedience to the Society (art. 77) does not have another pretension. In case the Lords don't permit this low jurisdiction "then until now the work has been done in vain, and I for my part would have wished that we would have heard so after the first three discourses delivered" (64/34-36).

F

This letter, from the 5th of May 1662, is addressed directly to the Lords Burgomasters, from which we may conclude that the preparatory negotiations with the Chamber of the Colonies had been rounded off successfully. This is confirmed by its saying that the delegates (*commissarissen*) had animated the suppliants to direct themselves now with their plans to the burgomasters. The letter says that apart from the five notes, there had been ten oral conferences between the parties. It further recapitulated the intentions of the candidate colonists; they asked permission from the Town Amsterdam, to start under its supervision a heroic and excellent enterprise, "namely to conquer at their own danger and expense an uncultivated, wild and waste country, until now made fruitful by nobody, not only to their private use and profit, but consequently also to that of the State and especially of this Town..." (66/1-5). The authorities are requested not to consider this concept of an illustrious province of the state or town like a "castle in the air" (*luchtkasteel*). Greater things have been brought about in history by minor causes. The colonists ask freedom of all taxes for 35 years; that is all. It is their intention to sail already this summer with hundred men over the Atlantic.

G

This short letter from 25th May 1662 seems to indicate that somehow a hitch arose. Probably the burgomasters have scented some danger and therefore postponed the decision by insisting on a specification of some

articles of the constitution. From his side Van den Enden offers his services for further deliberation with a delegate and insists on a quick date.

KVNN does not contain a resolution of the Town Council with the approval of the plan and the required permission. I doubt whether such a resolution has ever been decided. It cannot be found in the "*Groot Memoriael*" or elsewhere in the Burgomasters Archive, this in contrast with the charter given to the group of 30 colonists around Ploekhoy on the 9th June 1662.⁵⁵ The negotiations may have broken down on account of a theoretical clash between Van den Enden and his opponents or because the latter were offended by his sharp criticism of their autocratic attitude. But it is, of course, also possible that the cause was not yet decided and that Van den Enden tried to extort a resolution by means of this his publication, especially with the now following Na-Reeden.

NA-REEDEN (epilogue)

This 'After-discourse' (*Na-Reeden*) is again a substantial part of KVNN. It counts eleven full pages of text with much biting critique on the shortsightedness of the Dutch governing class and its bad institutions. It is, of course, again a pleading for the colonization, but this time only indirectly. The author realizes and makes it clear that the state has first to be reformed before it may come to a positive attitude regarding colonies. A corrupt state is unable to further colonies, certainly not as they should be allowed to develop. In the *Na-reeden* Van den Enden justifies his theory of a democratic state, as proposed in the requests and their elucidations.

⁵⁵See Pieter Cornelisz. Ploekhoy van Zierck-Zee, *Kort en klaer ontwerp, dienende tot een onderling Accort, om Den arbeyd, onrust en moeyelijckheit van Alderly-hand-wercxhuyden te verlichten door Een onderlinge Compagnie ofte Volck-planting ...aen de Zuyt-revier in Nieu-neder-land op te rechten ... steunende op de voor-rechten van hare Achtbaerheden (als hier na volgt) tot dien eynde verleent*. Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz. Smient, 1662.

FIRST: REFORMATION OF THE CORRUPT STATE

What Van den Enden now communicates to the Reader by means of a printed text concerns "a thing which is essential for the common and therefore deserves to our judgment one of the highest or first places among the true and just interests of the faithful Dutch people" (68/10-12). The allusion to Pieter de la Court's neo-liberal *Interest van Holland* cannot be missed. Time is not yet ripe for an open and complete induction of these true interests: such a thing would become more harmful than favorable for them. The demonstration that free colonies are not in conflict with the general advantages of this state would not be effective and successful for those weak governments, "who are seemingly only based on egoism (*eigen baat*) and lust of power (*heerszucht*)" (68/28). The state nowadays is "full of endless inconsistent (*tegen een lopende*) interests" (68/36). The intelligent man will rashly understand what has to be done in order to make a politics of colonization possible. Van den Enden confesses that he was often desperate about the outcome of his work,

"but by a constant deliberating and reflecting we have come to this thought that in order to start and continue an illustrious and in freedom excelling society out of the mass of people which is a burden and annoyance for that state, yet to its pleasure, assistance and remarkable profit; so is first necessary and must before everything precede the reformation of this same state in all those parts, which are by many inveterate corruptions found to be in conflict with its proper and true grounds of freedom; since a state is unable to spend the good that it does not have in itself. And therefore it appears to us absolutely impossible that without reformation or improvement (*verbeeteringh*) of a more or less corrupted state one can expect or hope whatever good for a freedom loving people" (68/42 - 69/7).

FREEDOM OF SPEECH REQUIRED

"The most harmful, yes the most pernicious thing for a state, then, is that no due freedom is allowed (*gelaten*) (we say allowed since owing to *God or nature* (!) there is not granted in the world to anybody in particular a power to give freedom to a whole people where it is not previously usurped by unbecoming, yes often violent means) to bring

forward everything with solid reasons what one understands or thinks that it can or may be profitable for the common best, apart from which no state can possibly be freed from ruin (*verderf*). And consequently without free rebukes and clear indication of its extravagancies in one respect or another, the state also must always in the end (according to the examples of all past societies, no one excepted which were founded on the usurpation of the freedom of the people) come to the unavoidable destruction and fall into the abyss. And from which usurpation of the people's freedom this country or to be more precise, this our lovely and dear Holland, has mostly in all centuries and times (as far and as much as the histories reach) shaken, trembled, yes, thundered. But thanks God we now witness such a century that we have reason to believe that after the first usurpation of the people's freedom there never has been so much freedom in Holland to suggest or propose something openly to the common use. Which heavenly bliss (*Hemels-geluk*) we also will try to appropriate for the common best. Therefore not less than the contemporary loose Discourses, and mutilated Dutch Interest-writers etc. we have dared to take the boldness to suggest or propose, by provision and under correction, something as a small sample or nearer essay for the faithful Dutch people of what we, after much and serious deliberation, have understood as being of general profit" (69/8-33).

I have quoted this passage in full because it is a striking example of how Van den Enden anticipates some of Spinoza's main theme's. One must assert that the idea expressed is elaborated and demonstrated in Spinoza's TTP, six years later. Van den Enden must have been Spinoza's source of inspiration: the freedom to philosophize, the freedom of speech and science is the essence of a sound political organization according to both. Both refer in this context also to the happy freedom in Rome at the end of the first century, described by Tacitus. But Van den Enden goes further. He not only defends freedom of research and speech in general, he also suits the act to the word and offers a concrete piece of criticism.

COLONIES INSTEAD OF WARS

The extension and procreation of a free state in a waste and

fertile country is not the least of the necessary interests of the state.

"For apart from many other advantages to originate and to expect from it, colonization is to elevate and to praise far above all useless, good and blood of the common guzzling, only at dominion aiming, therefore the freedom of the country violating Wars, which might be contradicted in this way seemingly as if (*in schijn als of*) the many empty and uninhabited but excellent American world countries, especially New Netherland, addressed our Holland with rebukes and reproaches like this" (69/42 - 70/1).

The objective, then, of the following speech is trying to persuade the readers, hopefully also the regents, that they are on the wrong way with their habit of warfare against external and internal enemies. Wars are usually contra-productive and are mostly not in the true interest of the people, this in contrast with colonies, which may be very profitable. The passage also makes clear that the speech of the personified MOTHER NEW NETHERLAND, addressed to her 'co-mother' (*commere*) OLD-NETHERLAND is a strategic invention of the author, by which he enlivens his critical expositions. Was he not a playwright when he composed the Philedonius? This, his dramatic talent, is demonstrated here once more.

"Oh powerful Holland, rich of people and ships, why went you wantonly squandering such incredibly great treasures, not to mention now the mass of destroyed people, in order to conquer Towns and Places, who have nothing useful or valuable for you, but who are nowadays, apart from an excessive debt made for that reason, a pressing burden to you, being mostly filled with inhabitants whom as suspected enemies you are necessitated to coerce with expensive garrisons, which garrisons mostly are composed of foreign, usually unfaithful and empty vagabonds and who, or principally its officers, unoccupied and luxuriously feed up their lusts at the cost of the dear sweat and labor of your frugal, industrious and very carefully living children" (70/2-12).

In this style the accusation goes on and on for many pages. Why should

one please the always-discontent allies? Mother New Netherland beseeches the Regents to have compassion with the poor, with the thousands of families, which could and would like to seed and plant her fruitful fields. "And I, New Netherland, will at my turn deliver you in due time thousand fold fruits, without the least costs, and yet to your glory and relief" (70/21-23).

THE 'CONDITION' (*expres bedingh*): REFORMATION

"Yet on this explicit condition, my dear Holland, that you don't send to me, to my and your faithful children's here from originating undeserved shame and blame, before there are first laid good foundations, only a part of ignorant, shabby and scummy people, still being oppressed and coerced by greedy military disciplinarians (*Inschrapende Militaire Tuchtmeesters*); but send me, corresponding to the nature of your all-old and my yet present right free-inhabitants, children of human race, who know how to govern themselves with each other's help and provided with capable and sufficient means and liberties in order to approach me overseas properly and worthily" (70/24-33).

In other words, New Netherland is not well served with unfree and slavish colonists who don't have self-confidence and are not used to work and care for themselves. It is impossible, however, to get free people and worthy colonists from Holland, if there does not precede a revolutionary political change, resulting in other "foundations" of the State. The character of people depends on the political system; if this system is dictatorial (as is the case in Holland), its inhabitants will also be unfree in their behavior. Mother New Netherland is not unwilling to forgive the many faults of the Dutch governors as their deficit financing, their wars against the common best, their oppression of needy inhabitants with the help of mercenaries etc. But they should realize that "without the most common, least capable and nonetheless faithful inhabitants children" Holland's garden would produce nothing, "not

considering what on the contrary your Interest-Writer at the end of his thirtieth polish- or idle Glory-Chapter (*Smeer- of ydel Roem Capittel*) in vain tries to inculcate your ignorant children or whatever things he aims at (71/48 - 72/3) This chapter must have annoyed Van den Enden utterly. He more than once sneers at its author, who thinks that mercantilism is a panacea for all evils in society. The interest of the rich and the external splendor of a country is not in the interest of everyone: plutocracy makes a country unstable and shaky.⁵⁶

Mother New Netherland flatters the readers by comparing Holland's modest "natives (*inboorlingen*) together with its naturalized inhabitants" with her own natives (*naturelle*) and praising their common free character. Addressing her dear "people-rich Holland" she exclaims: "I court you for your children whom I need" (71/14-15). She reminds Holland of the fact that before thousand years its inhabitants were likewise only naked children. What they are now, they owe it to the "All-Disposer" (*Albeschicker*).

"And to the destruction of all unjustified suspicions, as if I, New Netherland, aspired to my enrichment and your disadvantage, receive, my lovely and dear, and as I hope, my future Dutch co-mother (*mede-Moeder*) of our yet to procreate common children, from me this following faithful advice, the best for your resolution, and we shall as two attached mothers, to the admiration of all Inhabitants of the Earth, be able to produce the most glorious and free living Peoples, which ever have been or will ever be seen" (71/23-30).

The scene is set up. Playwright Van den Enden delegates his criticism to the personified America.

⁵⁶ The title of this thirtieth chapter is: "The good fruits to which the principles of a free government have already given birth". The marginal notes of this chapter summarize its contents. Heavy emphasis is laid on the economical, fiscal and military reform of the Seven Provinces, especially Holland during the past decade, due to the strong hand of De Witt. - Many sentences in the final redaction of *Interest van Holland* must have been written by the great pensioner himself (to his own praise)! See Ivo W. Wildenberg, *Pieter de la Court 1685 - 1985. Tentoonstellingscatalogus* (Rotterdam: EUR), p.11.

FAITHFUL ADVICE (*getrouwen raedt*) : DEBT REDEMPTION

The first thing that should be done is the economical relief (*verlichtingh*) of the sorrow and misery of the common inhabitants. Without a remarkable relief the tame sheep will soon become furious for disillusion and tiredness. Debt-redemption, therefore, is very urgent. According to Aitzema the debt was in 1649 raised to 1400 tons gold; of which yearly a rent of sixty tons gold had to be paid. According to the Interest-writer 130 tons have to be added to the main sum by which we come to a total of 1530 tons gold. "It is incredible ... What kind of economy is this, my dear Dutch commere, of your children?" (72/5-6). Johan de la Court and Jan de Witt try to shove the fault on the shoulders of the past princes, but Van den Enden cannot accept this explanation. In a free country one man is unable to exercise such a power. "He must have had a good part of your unfaithful children as his compliants..." (72/11-12). Holland should, therefore, imitate the custom of the natives of New Netherland and never allow one man or a few to acquire so much power over the public purse. The evil result is "deficient control" (*quade toeversicht*), and nothing else.

What is done cannot be made undone. But there is a way out. Mother New Netherland (the economist Van den Enden) has a solution for two purposes at once: debt redemption and diminution of burdens for the citizen. What is his advice? Apart from a debt of hundred and fifty millions Holland is also provided with a crowd of rich children and inhabitants, "all of whom, together with your common children, will here as with one mouth at once permit and affirm or confirm, that it would be good when you were free and unburdened by debts" (72/31-33). The poor are sincere in this wish since they are heavy encumbered; not so the rich because they desire benefit from your debts by obtaining high interests" The state pays four percent interest instead of the normal rate of 2½ percent. A drastic reduction of the interest with 1½ percent would constitute an amount of 3/8 part of 50 tons, i.e. 22½ tons gold to be deducted from the state's debt, which amount can be used for discharge. For a full discharge we must not wait, however, 41 years. "Who knows what will happen in the interval?" (72/47). Above this

notorious reduction of interest the state should take advantage from the possibility to negotiate half of its debt in life annuities (*lijf-renten*) against 6 percent. Half of its debt is away then; the interests will die out. Eventual protests of the rich should be waved aside by referring to the fact that they themselves are willing to acquire a state's obligation minus two years interest. They are content with less profit and even inclined to prefer a loan to the state against 2½ percent above a loan to private persons against 3 percent. And they would not hesitate to spend a sum of life annuities against 6 percent on common people. So they would have no solid reasons against this measure.

The "faithful advice" of Mother New Netherland is in fact a proposal for a radical monetary reform. The state economy has to be reconstructed financially. This is a double-edged sword, which combines the clearing away of deficit financing with welfare politics and social justice. The result would also be that many thousands of rich inhabitants instead of only a few would be bound to their country.

OTHER ECONOMICAL MEASURES

Mother New Netherland reminds the Dutch of the fact that they always complain about the unbearable tyranny of the former counts, who are now rejected and sentenced.

"But why do you, simple Commere, still carry the name of a countship (*Graefelijkheid*)? And the most strange thing is that, as if you were returning to the place of your former spittle and keep it open for the choice of a count, there are yet on that name many considerable goods benefited by your richest children, without being understood what profit flows from it to you, seemingly only a Mother bearing debt and burdens? According to all right and reason those considerable goods as being sprouted from the common or by their forfeiture on account of the damnation of the counts, do belong to you" (73/27-34).

It is clear that Van den Enden, as a political activist, persuades the people of *their* ownership of the goods of the former counts and suggests that it confiscates them. Such a confiscation would much contribute to the discharge of its debts. Being in many displeasures and

smart discomforts the uneducated and dull people will not be able to understand all elements of the economical reform at once.

"I would be inclined to talk a lot to you, Commere, about your Dutch and also my greatest interests of Monopolies or Charters etc. which, as I well know, are today not maintained or stiffened by any Counts, Princes etc.; but since I, New Netherland, am very much involved in this point (with respect to my non-population) and it would seem therefore, that I only spoke from passion, I will not specially concern myself about it now" (74/6-13).

Van den Enden considers the monopolies, formerly chartered to the East- and West Indian Companies as the pest for the Dutch Society, a cause of many of its diseases and social tenses. He can't refrain from mentioning this fundamental evil "at the risk of incurring to his great disadvantage the hatred and disgrace of his rich and powerful compatriots" (73/35-37). His scenario for the economic recovery is rather impressive and testifies to a serious care for the common well-being. Appealing to the reasoning capacities of the regents and the rich he always tries to show the relation between causes and effects. So he also remarks that mutual competition between the rich will necessitate them in the end to listen to the advice of Mother New Netherland and to advance colonization. In a long footnote he confesses his intention to publish in due time an already started work on *Amsterdam Merchant's Calculation and Book-keeping* in order to refute De la Court's proposals concerning Bankrupt Laws and to show how easily all kinds of economical or commercial imposture may be prevented.

FRUITS OF COLONIZATION

Discharge of the debts and abolition of exhausting taxes for paying the freedom violating army of foreign soldiers will immediately result in an incredible relief for the common inhabitants, so that their seditious thoughts will disappear as smoke. Like the New Netherland's natives the inhabitants will live together to their mutual profit. The towns will become greater by the influx of artisans and other workmen from the countryside and from abroad. And the remainder of capable but

superfluous people is very welcome in America. "Then I assure you, my dear and most loved Dutch Commere, once more thousand fold fruits without the least costs" (76/6-7). The Dutch economy is totally based on fishing, industry and commerce; she cannot be saved without a considerable colony. New Netherland will transform the poor and needy people into generous and helping members of a transatlantic Dutch commonwealth, which will be a free community, not a slavish one like the Spanish, Portuguese, French and English colonies. The growing population of New Netherland will become a blessing for the old state and its market economy. Superstitious alms, freedom violating houses of correction (*tuchthuizen*), hangmen and gallows, together with tyrannical bankrupt-laws, all those things, remnants from the time of the counts, will disappear.

CLOSING ADVICE

A glorious future is waiting for Holland and New Netherland when the worst corruptions are healed and emendated. Mother New Netherland has been plain with her criticism since she loves the Dutch children of freedom and applies for an eternal and natural alliance with them. But she beseeches her commere not to listen only to her much benefited and chartered rich children, who want to have the butter on their cake alone:

"This is the main leak in your Dutch ship or the proper snake, hidden in the grass. The leak has to be stopped and the snake killed before your Dutch children in general are or may become happy. By which I only will tell or indicate this that your chartered rich children have to be taught fully and have to be saved or healed from this superb thought: since where is it owing to you or to *God Nature* written on the back or forehead of the aforesaid children, that they are more free of service and labor than the common children or that they shall reign over them like Gods and herewith as it were check and stop for your common children (in order to make them remain asses or slaves for eternity) every way or spur to come into a better position? Not that I want to say or drive here, Commere, that your lower children would not have to offer and practice servitude to the higher children, that is not at all my

intention. But I only contradict this and it is against all rationality and justice: that your chartered rich children have succeeded in getting the helm of the dealings with extra-European business in their own hands only and manage it so that they knot all freedom and profits to themselves and their own people and let the rest of your common children from generation to generation only slavishly work for them without any way out or relief..." (78/11-34).

Essential inequality in social and economic respect is against God-Nature. [Mind this 'Spinozistic' expression!] First this evil has to be combated in Dutch society in behalf of its own survival, then and only then she will become stable and strong and will be able to further a fruitful colonization. On the other side, New Netherland, then, will become her "most considerable and kindest ally (79/18), after having been first an asylum for all superabundant Dutch children.

TWO EXTRACTS

The pages 80 till 83 present a four page quote from a "certain courageous discourse" by a French author, Lord of Aubeigné, friend and minister of Henry the Great. According to its Dutch title, given by Van den Enden, this text indicates and demonstrates the inconsistency in the reasoning of those who don't want to allow that somebody speaks about Reformation. Another single page quote is taken from a discourse written by a Leiden magistrate in 1582, in which is argued that the most important element in a state is the freedom to express his thoughts, the freedom of speech and publication.

Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants' last words are: "God save our country against famine, etc." This line, then, is subscribed by "*E Y N D E*", a word quite customary to finish a treatise. In this case, however, it may also be interpreted as a clue to the identity of the author, whose name was originally (in Belgium) spelled as "*Van de Eynde*".

Chapter IV, Part A - Translation

FREE POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS
AND
CONSIDERATIONS OF STATE,

Given after the **grounds of the even equal freedom** of the
True Christians; tending to an honest and true
Improvement of State, and Church.

Everything
Proposed shortly and concisely, under correction,
By
A Lover of the **even equal freedom** of all competent Citizens,
And who, for the common best, **most loves Things**.

The people's prosperity is the highest LAW

And

The people's voice is God's voice

THE FIRST PART
[vignet]

At Amsterdam, Printed for the Author.
To obtain from Pieter Arentsz. Raep, Bookseller /

in the Beurssteeg / In the three Rapes / 1665.

P R E F A C E⁵⁷

[I] Dear Reader, it is clear and true enough for anybody who in the least or somehow knows God and human affairs, that, God only excepted, nothing is found without a cause, and thus we also daily experience that like the one deed or action is the cause of another, that thus also, not less, the one thought is caused by another, and thus as well by each other, the one action is found to be the cause of this thought and reversely this thought the cause of such an action etc. At the end of the year 1661 I had not yet the least idea ever to publish or bring to light even the least written characters about political matters, until an occasion came over to me, unexpected as well as unsuspected, to request the past colonies-chamber of this town a worthy expediency to New-Netherlands behalf of some few and shy people. And see, this small pressure upon me only to conceive and hand over a small request, has later caused me to describe Books of paper, some of which, by various insights and incitements in the year 1662, I was moved to communicate by the press, under the Title or superscription of *Kort verhael van N. Nederlandt*, etc. [*Short Story of New Netherlands*], afterwards under the Title of *Zeekere vrye voorslaghen_en verzoeken* [*Certain free proposals and requests*]. Since which time, I feel inclined to confess it here, I, being alone with me, could hardly evacuate my serious thoughts to other thoughts. Strange, or at least in my apprehension, strange experiences have overcome me, in that situation, of mostly all sorts of types and positions of people, which have awakened and sharpened me so much that I now presume firmly, to have fallen in such a labour from which I cannot be rescued before my death and which now not only does not at all grieve me but rather and generally procures me the greatest pleasure of my life. I have here fore let you know, my Reader, my obligation and offered you the hope on a second part about the same subject; now you may taste, then, the *first part* of two more following parts (which together will amply constitute the planned *second part*) and deliberate it, until the Printer, by

⁵⁷ (wk) With the exception of the notes indicated with 'wk', like this one, all the footnotes of this VPS-text are by Van den Enden, in spite of the ongoing numbering of this book.

experience of profit, will be encouraged by you to print also the *two* remaining parts, which were practically already finished last summer.

[III] Theoretically or rationally considered I am still the same man and uttermost assured, that Holland's people by means of a good and free administration and more than double increase and corroboration of population in itself following from it, together with, next to it, an extremely strong extension of the free people and depending on this the East- and West Indian free trade and shipping, will be able to become the happiest, the most glorious and invincible people which has ever existed or may be conceived to come in the future on this earth, and likewise justly disposed even to preserve this earth in an infinite improvement and well-being: since the Nature of all human affairs is thus that nothing can remain in the same situation; but everything is subject to necessary change, and where, then, the human affairs are not directed in wisdom towards a constant improvement, there they must finally, by deterioration, unavoidably fall in ruin. And consequently it will rather probably happen that the Dutch people, now wanting to go upwards and also having to do so, but not being able to it on account of a too weak administration (*bestier*), but apparently also being oppressed, finally, and as one has to fear, perhaps all too hasty must come to its fall...etc. To the prevention of which, and further to its advancement and constant improvement, there cannot be found or given, to my judgment, in the first place a better advice or remedy than to relieve immediately and forever the Dutch common people of all its unbearable burdens and then further to protect an equal, well regulated East and West-Indian free commerce and shipping, depending chiefly on a Dutch free people's increase, powerfully with the strong hand against all Potentates, and so continue it, together with the introduction of a right and free political structure, and which alone can be called the source of all desirable well-being of a people. The one thing as well the other, and principally regarding the best and true interests of the Dutch people, and consequently also of the regents shall I, my Reader, truly and most forcefully try to induce and inculcate in the next two parts, on the condition that you will show to like it and enjoy it; but otherwise, 'sick I found you, sick I leave you', die then in the Name of the Lord, the

completely slavish death of all even equal freedom and well-being; and on behalf of which I also want to have thoroughly warned all the few Dutch regents and attentive even-equal freedom loving Citizens and to have impressed upon them that the present few, and with reason for external, and principally indigenous ambushes and undermining fearing, and consequently weak Dutch Regents will impossibly manage to preserve themselves further on with whatever strong guards of hired foreign or native soldiers provided and protected; [III] but without the faithful and well united support of the citizens, they will necessarily perish. And of this I am completely assured by the uppermost certain and infallible divine reason, also in such a way that I presume to convince every Dutch even equal freedom loving Patriot undoubting of this. To say it shortly: I want to see the Dutch government, as she truly must, in order to exist, freely disposed, without any the least fear. Catch who can catch it. Take then all my faithful Dutch evenequal freedom loving Patriots also yet this following valuable notice with you, for a more precise and clear understanding of my real and most useful intention to the best of the Dutch people, and consequently also the Regents. For the purpose of which I also advice and recommend to you my Reader most seriously to penetrate well into my Preface and Postface of *Zeekere vrye voorstellen en_verzoeken* [Certain free proposals and requests] and what is added at the end of the Book, like the Chapter of the Lord of Aubeigne, French nobleman and past intimate Minister of Henry the Great, Extracts, etc. and to use them as the principal Preface or introduction to this and the next parts, together with the things adduced from page 28 beginning with "*tot vernietingh din*" (to the destruction then] till page 33. What I require, in one word, I require reformation or improvement of the Dutch altogether languishing State, and Church, and to which I intend to lay in this my first Part, the real and solid foundations. In the *Second Part* I will also propose most clearly and shortly and concisely for your eyes, without the least disguising or concealing, the real and very hard pressing interests of the Dutch people and the Regents, together with the added concise indication of what according to my understanding is required for its necessary emendation. In the *third Part* I will propose to you most

shortly, clearly and concisely the main points of my conception, how the most narrow and harmonious union of Dutch towns has to be built and invincibly strengthened. Together with a paper about how I understand that a prominent town provided with at least hundred thousand defensible and in weapons well exercised men has to be organized and ruled in the best way towards the conservation of the evenequal freedom and the promotion of an always growing, and flourishing people's well-being, to an invincible strength. And so I will also demonstrate clearly that by wise conduct it is possible to advance and realize in Holland in less than half a man's life time indeed six or eight of such prominent towns and along with this to strengthen oneself on occasion invincibly in America gradually with a no less powerful free people's extension. **[IV]** About which conduct and administration I have, to the best of both mutually, my particular considerations, requiring now⁵⁸ to underlay and start it with, yes, a twenty four or twenty five thousand families (more or less depending on place, etc.) and in thus a way with servants and serviced, by amicable agreement, joined and arranged, that they, being connected mutually with full pleasure, will exist readily and may arrive surely to a desirable well-being. And I am also of the opinion, and of which I will advance my reason in due time too, that the Dutch people, trying to extend itself thus heroically, herewith, and with what there is still to do then in Europe, notwithstanding all European oppressions, in the first place will be able to maintain itself in existence, and consequently etc. in the case that the foreign and neighbouring etc. and oppressed peoples were allured to it most rigorously, freely and orderly. This also is certain for me, that the Dutch people, wishing to see itself once manly released from the continual complotting molests and travails of the European Potentates, that this can never happen otherwise than that it, by its yet incomparable ships power, etc. widened vigorously the crowd of own depending Countries, and peoples in the best parts of

⁵⁸ With, yes, a twenty-four or twenty five thousand families etc. To the ignorant this will appear to be an impossible thing; but I, on the contrary, will show in due time that such a thing (being prepared in full freedom) in course of time, year after year, and to the greatest advantage, and deliverance of all European oppression in Holland too, will be performed and laudably executed.

America, mainly N.Netherlandt, and Brasil, and should herewith, in America as well in Europe, by its most free and powerful people's-extensions, try to determine the market for all the rest. To demonstrate clearly that this may easily be effectuated by the present power of the Dutch people together with its free administration, in spite of all the European Potentates etc., is the work that I am willing to take upon me with pleasure, and also that there cannot be found in Holland such a miserable (*verschoven*) man to whom one might not procure, according to his capacities, a desirable and self supporting outcome? And further, in case of a failure of the aforesaid things in the first place to be practised in Holland, that it has to be feared in full, that then the Dutch people, hastily deprived of its well-being, will also perish very quickly (on account of the incessant machinations and molests of the European Potentates, with its great and very precious War-fleets, still provided with partly untested as well as inexperienced ship-fighting Captains, etc. without the least performance, like last year, about this year time will learn, together with the loss of nearly all trade and shipping). [V] Which I also thus, as a first beginning, to the best of my ability, as formerly, shall try to avert: because according to my insight, the Dutch people is now fully enabled to be either totally rescued or reduced, and who seek it in Holland between the two, these will serve as notorious Upholders of all necessary vigorous resolutions for the salvation, and consequently as sure instruments to the ruin and destruction of the Dutch people. Yes, everything will come down in Holland to a good, manly resolution. The failure in this will be the failure of everything. You my Reader are warned by this, that in case you would find here something objectionable, to be so kind to postpone your refutation or contempt till the time that you will have seen or read the following two parts, since these will certainly procure you a special light and further opening in all the here occurring difficulties and doubts. Since my dear Reader this Entrance or Gate of Preface concerning the following building now seems to be large enough for you as also for me, so please, to excuse me, take your reflection with you on the following Parts, whose contents I have touched here so far. Thus finished this ninth of May of the year 1665, and on which day I most forcefully hope and desire, that our

Country's mighty War-fleet with this favourable North-East wind will have chosen sea favourably, and may return to Holland with a most opportune success: that in this way herewith full opportunity to the execution of all further good and wise advices may be granted and given to Holland from Heaven. And herewith I remain totally yours, whether you know him or not, it is someone who to the common best, *Meest Van Zaken Houdt* ([who] Most Loves Things).

[VI] To fill up this empty place I adduce here a certain extraction from the Book of the *Consideratien, en Edempelen van Staat*, printed at Jan Jacobsz. Dommekracht, Amsterdam 1660, relating that if one continues ruling in Holland according to the same maximes, Holland will certainly perish, page 176.⁵⁹

That Holland is burdened with so many great debts, that it notwithstanding its blessed situation, in the midst of Europe, on the sea and mighty rivers, notwithstanding that courageously sailing the seas, in winter times and to countries far away, notwithstanding that bold investments and continuous labour, notwithstanding the great thrift, simple food and drank of its inhabitants, necessarily grubs against the death and must certainly come to such a horrible fall, that one might hardly discover in the Histories similar examples of ruins by a bad government and not by an armed force from the exterior, to have come over civilized peoples, who yet have contributed so much to their own conservation, if one would have liked to spend it well.

⁵⁹ (wk) The author of this work is "V.H." (according to the title-page), i.e. Van Hove, who is more known as Johan de la Court. A copy is to find in the Royal Library The Hauge (signature: 942 f 25). See Ivo Wildenberg, *Pieter de la Court 1685 - 1985, Tentoonstellingscatalogus* (Rotterdam: EUR 1985)[wk]

[Page 1] FREE POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS, AND CONSIDERATIONS OF STATE, Given after the grounds of the even equal freedom of the true Christians; tending to a honest and true improvement of State, and Church, everything proposed shortly and concisely, under correction, by a Lover of the even equal freedom of all competent citizens, and who, for the common best, Most Loves Things.

THE FIRST PART.

In order to bring a well with power provided and formidable people or collection of men gradually to an invincible strengthening and always growing and flourishing well-being; so must then previously to some extent be taught (say to some extent be taught: therefore because all further or more perfection has to be taught, practised and expected as a result of time) what necessarily and in the first place is required for a good polity or administration of their common affairs. And to attain this perfectly and most certainly; people should also beforehand in some degree and roughly have conceived and understood wherein their general interest, concern or best mainly does consist, and which, to my judgment, can be best of all perceived and discovered out of the own nature and disposition of man himself. By nature then all people (consisting of male and female sex) are born free and to nobody earlier or closer obliged than to seek the best of their own self and their well-being above that of all other [men] and in case they would know to obtain this earlier and better on themselves alone; so were that a reason that man together with all other shy animals would try to avoid and shun all narrow sociability and companionship with other people. But considered that every man committed to himself is found to be very weak and impotent, even unable to supply his sober wants, and finds himself moreover also affected with the lust to procreation and similar inclinations; so reveal themselves, both for man and woman, also as a consequence of their very tender education and discipline as children, so many urgent needs that they are fully necessitated **[2]** to look out for mutual help of their fellow men and to choose some kind of fixed or lasting dwelling-place. And thus we can discover from men's own nature

and disposition that he is necessarily driven towards mutual sociability and cohabitation with his fellow men, first from need and for more assistance and afterwards also to enjoy more pleasure and entertainment. And to which a man is automatically driven by his own nature, character or disposition, to that he can also be said to be fully capable. Notwithstanding at all what by merely base and courtly flatterers together with a part of schoolish pedants is brought forward against this. Judging the folk or common people to be very dull, resentful, harsh and cruel from nature and consequently totally unable to helpful and amicable companionship and cohabitation, they therefore, to the delight of all Tyrants and for the shameful pleasure's sake, condemn and refer them to a completely slavish compulsion and deceit to all eternity. But we and all those who are able to look into the thing (*zaak*) and disposition of the human nature apart from all vile passions and base egoism, know on the contrary that all excessive base passions of the humans are not sprouted and originated from their first and plain Nature, but that they usually are so disposed owing to their nature, that they after the encounter with things, good and bad treatment, are driven in a certain degree, the one more the other less according to everyone's disposition, to impetuous passions. And depending on whether the overcoming injuries (*swaerigheeden*) are less or more, shorter or longer pressing, one sees accordingly the same passions less or more, shorter or longer excessively be present or endure in them. Because if it were differently and man were from his first nature or character equal to a Wolf etc. cruel, harsh, rancorous and consequently unsociable, it had to follow that he always also had to be and remain such, as a wolf, during his existence. And the contrary of this is notorious for us. As it is also not less notorious for us, that all excessive and most base passions of the humans don't originate⁶⁰ from anything else than that they are generally

⁶⁰ Like all extravagant and wicked passions of people can be said to originate only from the bad administration of the Republic, so also on the contrary that all the good of human life does absolutely depend on the good administration of the Republic. And I beseech the attentive Reader to thoroughly deliberate this, so that he learns to elevate his, in a certain sense still slavish, mind and to apply it to politics (*regeer-kund*): since this is the only track or way towards all temporal and eternal beatitude, and easily to

kept in continual ignorance by violent government, various wicked artifices or better trickeries of all kinds of superstition and accordingly wicked education. Apart from people's deliverance and salvation of which it will always and throughout be impossible that in this world may be practised, much less be found any the least welfare (*heil*) and well-being (*welstand*) in any society or assembly of people. And regarding to this salvation and acquirement of the growing and flourishing well-being of a people's right alliance I cannot believe at all that somebody, gifted and affected with some true knowledge will ever be able to remain motionless and will with respect to that, as is said, let flow God's water over God's fields? [3] The more so because I am neither able to see nor to believe that anybody living outside a people's right free alliance in this world might be called or estimated happy. Because this is only all too sure that among a part or heap of people coerced together no others are found than Deceivers and Deceived, Coercers and Coerced. From which last two (since I consider a Deceiver to the ruin of his fellow man to be like a devil among humans, and the Deceived to be close to animals) to be one, I would not know what to choose would be the best for me. Inasmuch as for the generous and freedom loving man both have to be considered and countered as wicked extremes (*uiterste*) to avoid and shun wholeheartedly. Being also well enough known that like no Deceiver or Tyrant (*Dwingeland*) in any society or assembly of people before that assembly itself ever wants to be acknowledged or anyhow considered for such as he is neither also anybody may be willingly deceived and coerced; that so in the same way the Deceived and Coerced together with the Deceiver and Tyrant constitute, without any exception or escape, an assembly of unhappy and miserable people. And which invariably and finally, by externally impelling distresses and adversities, together with internal discords and dissensions are doomed to be ruined and to perish. To

perceive and to understand after the foundation of the even equal Freedom, also far separated from all pretended Deep, most all deceitful, speculations; but plain and right, and apart from a certain understanding and accordingly acceptance of which nobody can, for me, be esteemed or considered to be a sane (*rechtschapigh*) man, let alone a Christian.

which no other advice or remedy will ever be found than that they altogether or to begin with partly come to be saved or delivered by clear reasons from their inconsistent and against freedom running misunderstandings. And which may be expected and believed to happen so much lighter and easier, in so far it is evident (*kennelijk*) that the one feels ashamed to acknowledge what he is and feigns to be what he is not at all, whereas the other against his will must be what more or less, in proportion to his natural disposition grieves him considerably and is repugnant to his breast. The natural even equal freedom, then, has to be most clearly induced and made known to every man and Member of an assembly of people. Mainly consisting in this, that they never nastily or slavishly submit their natural free judgment about what belongs to their well-being and best, to anybody in particular, under whatever pretext. But try to the best of their ability to understand what belongs to their well-being and best. And that they likewise must suspect all those who try to advice them differently, of being foul Deceivers; Because no well-being, acquired without the own judgment and approval, can be pursued or accepted as rightly human, much less as desirably stable: therefore whatever one on that head obtains quickly on another's judgment and belief, that is likewise, being in the rest to the pleasure of the believed person, also easily lost and often obtained never again. And most times all such reckless and credulous people are also according to all world's and peoples' examples irrecoverably conveyed from a bad to a worse slavery. Let us then altogether, as before, to the best of our ability learn to understand that we don't have to seek or pursue any assembly of people to subjoin, as only in order to acquire and obtain most safely and most surely our particular best: [4] Since we also can nor may oblige ourselves for no other reason or cause to it: Because the own and particular welfare is the highest reason to do or to omit something, which there is to find for us in Nature. And where our well being ceases through the internal bad disposition of a Republic or society; there also stops every reason for commitment to that assembly. Yes we have reason to consider as enemies and to try to destroy all those who intentionally endeavour to deprive and debar us from our own well-being. Man consisting of Soul and Body has accordingly also two kinds

of well-being. In such a way, however, mutually connected that coming to lack the one's or the other's wellbeing the whole man has to suffer more or less, having that man to suffer most, who is most weak in his soul and is accordingly also most cheated. And where a deceived soul is housed, there the whole man may be said to be wretched. But being dominated and coerced in the Body, all people are then according to the disposition of their souls the one more the other less incapable to practise their welfare for soul or body to the requirement of their natures. For which reason all generous people before all things have to attempt honestly to acquire reasonably not only for themselves alone but also to their better security and strengthening for their fellow men, without any deceit of the soul, violence and annoyance of the body, in a full and even equal freedom and fearlessly their particular wellbeing and best according to everyone's disposition and nature's requirement. It is impossible that this will not be realized when to some extent most men of some formidable assembly of people or at least some few of them know the common best and aspire to induce and continue it industriously as well as clearly. And consequently where somebody, by the bad disposition or disorder of an assembly and stoppage of an even equal freedom is necessitated to live basely, in great contempt, also in notorious need and poverty; such a situation is a clear proof that in a similar congregation of people not the least common-best and consequently neither the least Religion or love of God and the fellow man (everything, considered after degrees, being one and the same for me) is conceived or practised, much less known: Because where to a certain extent the common-best is known and pursued, there also, in the same proportion, finds place knowledge of Religion, or love of God, and of the fellow man. In one word: without a common best in one way or another there cannot be found the least Religion in a congregation of people. And where in a congregation of people the evenequal freedom, the true foundation of a common best is not vigorously and courageously induced, supported and recommended by anybody among them, it is clear and true enough for me, that in that assembly is not yet found anybody who has in this respect the least knowledge or insight. Whereas it also in all times will be found to be not less clear and true

that all this contemporary pretended Theologising, Philosophising, Moralising, Politicising etc. (without any knowledge of the common best) will never be found powerful enough to rescue one single man from the oppressing and harmful [5] passions. Because where the one man is found to be the Devil or Deceiver or Tyrant of the other; there is not experienced the least pleasure nor tranquillity of life; but rather a jolting and jerking to the ruin and destruction of all of them. Yes even the ordinary human passions (*tochten*) of Love and Gladness (*Blijdschap*) in which all animal and human well-being may be considered and said to exist, remain outside a certain common best as blocked (*opgestopt*) and as without their right natural breath in the hearts and souls of men as in smother pots suffocated and without any the least effect. The common best of an assembly of people, then, I understand, after the foregoing foundation of an evenequal freedom to include such a proportion of orders, laws and supports between more or less intelligent, more or less well-to-do, male and female sex, Parents and children, Servants and Served or Governor and Governed, to discover by reason and experience, from which one may conclude and trail most surely, that each Member in his degree, is not only not weakened by this and injured; but on the contrary to common use strengthened and his pleasure and appetite (*zin*) more and more advanced and both his soul and body always may be furthered to a greater well-being: Because when everybody is well accounted for in his particular disposition, all will be found to need even equally, mainly in respect of their souls, improvement of their disposition. According to which definition (*beschrijvingh*) of a common best I ask all rational and not by superstition and immoderate ambition and greed perverted, judicious people whether it were not desirable to live among such an assembly of people, where one tries to regulate all laws, orders and mutual supports in such a way that they would harm nobody but were most highly profitable for all and everybody? So that everybody, without discrimination remained most carefully unprejudiced and unshortened in his natural evenequal freedom? And what is more there could be procured to all and everyone, to the extreme possibilities of that

assembly, the opportunity⁶¹ to provide for his own wellbeing according to the own rational desire, intention and inclination. If somebody by bad Fortune, or otherwise by a natural reluctance is found to be averse from adventurous Enterprising (*Negotiëring*), or other customary occupation (*hanteringh*), that one should afford him according to his appetite (*sinlijkheit*) either for the War or for useful agriculture or something else to which he is judged to be more inclined or more capable, a quiet opportunity, in order to live quietly with his family, benevolently, without any indignity or contempt? And accordingly I also judge it to be the one and real purpose of a true Polity, that a people in an endless general improvement of the well-being of Body and Soul will always be able to grow and flourish: Indeed permitting that in that respect the one man may excel in well-being above the other; but never, however, so far (6) that the well-being of the lower is notoriously opposed and prevented by this: Because though being established that in a well organized Republic the one man, according to his excellent quality's requirement, may well fare better than another of lower condition or dignity; it remains, however, not less sure, that nobody how low, by any disorder of the same Republic, ever should fare badly (*qualijk*), and where nobody with regard to the disposition of the Republic can be said to fare badly, there they may truly, in the same respect, altogether be said to fare well. From which adequate (*rechtmatige*) definition of a common best I conclude (against all bombastic and extravagant common-best's Drivers who maintain that one must pursue and promote the common best without considering his particular best, without being able, in their confused speculations about the common best, to see and remark that the common best is the sum or the whole collection of everyone's particular best, and from which nobody of the Members without injury of the common, may or can be excluded) that by nobody, being in his right senses, a common best can be pursued or assented to as only to

⁶¹ Without that people can be given employment (*employ*) according to the own desire, rational lust and inclination, it will everywhere appear to be clear and true that the unsatisfied crowd of people of such a pretended Republic will in continual misery jolt and jerk on each other and finally are damned - it falls short or long - to perish altogether.

obtain the better his particular best and well-being. And insofar we perceive and can understand that apart from the common no particular best may be considered or said to be rightly pleasant or enduring, so much stronger and more eagerly the general well-being will be practised by every honest soul. The corporeal interests, then, are (and in which also the greatest agreement among people is found, as which they altogether also accord and correspond with each other) that they, out of all corporeal constraint and torture, well covered and fed in lively (*hups*) health may enjoy with highest security the fulfilment of all reasonable lusts and appetites. Concerning the souls they altogether also agree in this and which accordingly also may be posited for a first and foremost general interest, that nobody wishes to be deceived; for which reason also everybody from his nature flees the Lie, the Liar and Deceiver; but all, the one more the other less, hanker and strive after hearing, adhering to and promoting truth and its proclaimers and clear expositors. But on account of their undetermined desire's nature they are usually, and before their judgment is ripened and stabilized, occupied and captured with many false opinions and prejudices by their mischievous ambitions and greedy fellow men, so that they, so to say, mostly all are drowned before knowing the water. For the due and effective prevention of which we require, contrary to all pretending political Writers, that all deceit, and violence will be countered and averted from a free Republic with the most precise circumspection and supervision. Because up till now it has been a common custom in this world of nearly all who ever either originally brought any collection of people to a certain polity or aimed at some change or improvement in it; that they in the first place before anything else recommended and tried to establish their pretended Religions, indeed a lot of feigned superstitions. Man, so affected by this with thousand kinds of terrors, fears and unfounded hopes, finds himself deprived of all his worthy freedom's [7] thoughts, to such a degree, that he is made entirely capable to be adduced and directed towards all slavish extravagances to the pleasure of the Deceivers and Usurpers. But we as before considering that all people from Nature, in behalf of their common well-being and best, are well inclined and as if necessarily driven to mutual companionship, also come to be dissuaded from all

kinds of deceit as from the really most horrible evil; so there remains nothing else than to show the people and doing them understand by means of the most evident reason, what may be most conducive to their mutual companionship and necessary strengthening, to the repelling of all corporeal and psychical evils with a certain obtaining of goods and well-beings of body and soul. And we think that this mainly does consist in the pursuit and induction of a common best as being, for all congregations of people, the only true and firm Ground, Bond or Religion which ever with full certainty can be understood or proposed by somebody. The corporeal interests being the most evident ones and for the preservation of people the most hardly and closely pressing, on those I shall try to base myself chiefly, and let them go, according to the arrangement (*schik*) of Nature, in order before the particular interests of the Soul. The more so because I am convinced that no well-being of the soul of somebody in particular, much less with many people in communication or community can be attained with security without keeping off bodily slavery and vexation. And what is still more I also judge that to start a common best among a collection of people, this might well reasonably be realized without specially considering the particular well-being of the souls, but never without accurate observance of the interests of the Bodies, and which accurate observances of the corporeal interests and well-beings also must continue as long as the common best may stand firm or can be hold firm. Concerning the interest of the soul I would suppose that by provision (*op voorraet*) enough would be done at the beginning of a common best, when all passes to deceit were cut off most zealously and cautiously. And to which the principle of an evenequal freedom, namely to be allowed to look for and pursue to the extreme his own soul's particular well-being without any harm of the common, repelling all impostures, would contribute enormously. Principally if there were added to this a strict law of the common, that nobody, on forfeit of his life, would ever be permitted to oppose or teach something against the general and evenequal freedom. In which respect it also would be entirely necessary that in a right evenequal freedom observing Republic or Common-best with highest caution and supervision must be avoided and refused all

titles of excellency or degrees of pretended knowledge like the names of Doctors and Professors etc. Because these can cause nothing else than an idle high-conceitedness to the Privileged and Owners, and contempt of all the rest of the otherwise evenequal free Citizenship, the notorious ruin of all sane knowledge and the dear evenequal freedom. Therefore in a well established Republic one must concerning all education (*onderwyzingh*) of adult as well as young persons [8] hold to this indissoluble principle (*voet*), trail or method (*Wech*) that all Teachers of any art or science, apart from all authority, in their instruction have to appear sure and infallible only after reasons. Or at least always by a distinct expression of what they firmly assert and not firmly assert: So that one may always ask them specifically for the proof or the ground of probability of their assertions: Because it is irrefutably clear that if one in the case of art or science, like the contemporary Theologians, Lawyers and Medici, appeals for proof's sake to another's saying or writing, that one then, as before, is fully known to be without any knowledge of that science or art. This once well being perceived and understood; a door may have been opened to a most certain structure and infallible improvement of a most worthy and soul-glorifying Christian-Religion, Protection against corporeal evils and insanities and their surest and speediest recovery. Together with a civil jurisprudence fitting to an evenequal freedom, the faculty and power of which only consists in this that all and every Citizen together with the young men receive a fundamental, clear and concise instruction about all the laws and ordinances of the Republic, tending to the evenequal freedom and the common best. The health care should to my opinion, in behalf of the best possible common and clearest notoriety, be trusted to certain community Colleges to be founded.⁶² The Medicines (*middelen ter*

⁶² The remedies etc. It is in conflict with all reason, and justice, and accordingly also against the common best, that in such a highly important thing, as there is the health care and the cure of diseases, private avidities are allowed, yes, are also favored with privileges; because by this it happens that the practitioners of this art are hidden for and protected against each other and moreover still try to hamper and offend each other, contented with their excellent and octroyed Title of Doctor etc., they conceitedly throw out their chest and further for the rest lazily and inertly, satisfying themselves only with consulting Books, apply themselves only to the winning of money. And if we also might

geneesingh) should likewise be collectively researched, practiced and most surely and clearly taught by some Colleges to be founded and provided with some privileges and subventions, protecting this against all dirty pursuit of gain and riches. And which all and only necessarily has to happen by means of the mother tongue of this same Republic, under exclusion of all old and worn out Book languages: so that all, and everyone of the citizens, can freely hear it and get access to it, in order to be able in this way to realize and understand easily the reliability together with the infallibility of those masters and teachers, which is of great importance for the common best. Because [9] it is now but all too evident and clear that all this contemporary Jewish and Popish custom of old and worn out Book languages has no other purpose than to cheat the common and accordingly to deceive it. For a general language, in any part of the world, the most commonly used language, as for example the French in Europe, should be proposed and be perfectly induced and taught to young and old, most easily and without costs, to female as well as male persons, daughters and boys, so that they learn to speak, read and write in it. The young youth, whose use of reason is found to be much too weak and tender to perceive well and to understand all purposes, contents and power of the laws should be affected by respectability and ceremonies, which stimulate good morals and by good impression of Rules of firm and evenequal freedom in such a way that they, coming to their years of discretion, could arrive and pass very

believe the Amsterdammer Dr. Koster, as I for me can't refrain from believing on account of the complete uncertainty which the frank and best Medici in their art are now necessitated to confess, so it were by far the best that such pure Book-Medicine could not be found at all. And for that reason I am firmly convinced that this otherwise noble art should only on certain general permits and with honest support of the Common be collectively studied (*onderzocht*), taught and practiced, by those, and who would exclusively and willingly present themselves to it, who had a natural inclination to it, and which certainly would also produce the best Medici. Without ever permitting, that they, practicing privately, would enjoy for this the least compensation; but given the nobility of their art and a honest salary, drawn from the common, they would have to be content. This treatise does not at all allow me to digress above this annotation about the further utilities of this system of collective research, teaching and practicing etc. of this worthy and noble art.

easily and lightly to the understanding and pursuit of everything belonging to an evenequal freedom and common best. And in order to perform this most surely, so the young youth as well as adult persons have to be carefully protected from all imposture and superstition or endeavours to make believe things as from the most dangerous rock of obstinacy: Because the superstition is the only rock of obstinate conceit; on which up till now mostly all excellent minds (*verstanden*) in this world can be said to have struck inadvertently and to have perished. In which respect one should also most surely try to induce and expose plainly that the mutual interests and honest well-beings of soul and body concerning a common best never can come into conflict. But in all times have to be furthered and directed towards mutual strengthening. And accordingly; so when somebody by conceitedness or pushed by a spontaneously received opinion would absolutely like to teach, drive and carry through, that to obtain the eternal conservation and best of our souls one should put aside all mutual strengthening and best of our bodies; I would judge that such a man should be considered to be a harmful instrument and to a certain extent a destroyer of the common best and should consequently with the greatest supervision, as early as possible, be countered and according to the circumstances either curbed or subjugated. But all otherwise opinion based (*opinieuxze*) inclinations, not directly in conflict with the pursuit, advancement and strengthening of a common best, there I would think that a complete freedom of the use of reason (*vryheit van reedens-gebruick*) would be strong enough to let them in course of time and most appropriately and surely to the common best disappear and die out: Because this free use of reason, and support of a common best's and evenequal freedom will not only be found to be powerful for the destruction of some privately received loose opinions or passions; but also even to the complete destruction of all pretended highest respectabilities, of human writings, and propositions which are found to oppose the indubitable reason, true support of a common best as well as the evenequal freedom. With this, namely the indubitable and consequently Divine reason, I will further to the best of my abilities try to inquire, how in a collection of people the common best shall be most surely and safely [10] pursued, promoted,

and will be freed from and protected against all violence coming from within or from the outside, and will in all times be able to grow and flourish towards an invincible well-being: Because, although we knew how to propose the very best principles and rules to save the common best for an assembly of people and apart from this were not able to indicate a means by which the same principles or rules could be introduced and well maintained among an assembly of people; it is clear enough, then, that few or nothing was accomplished for such an assembly. The names of Master and Slave, as being two extremes, are not allowed to be mentioned, much less practised or cultivated in a well ordered republic: Because in a free Republic, Country, State or Citizenship can nobody be known to be free from serving or being served. But on account of the dissimilarity between the possibilities of souls and bodies the more or less dignity of mutual service rendering can indeed take place there. We must therefore pave a just way and leave enough space for all acts of service, so that whoever strives after it may get into a more worthy condition; Because where the contrary takes place, there is no lack of frustration and displeasure. And which in the course of time will cause and effectuate harmful and ruinous fruits for a society or assembly of people. Countering this always, like usually is done in this world, by violent means, comes down to our judgment, to stopping a bit the greater evil, but finally letting it, as a hold up stream, bursting out more violently and frightfully. And from which, then, generally originate very tragic devastations of Country and people, whereas also mostly the oppressors find themselves in the end sadly destroyed and subjugated together with the oppressed, and, if it is allowed to speak like this, they thus both receive their just punishment, the one because he has desired and taken too much, and the other because he has trusted and omitted too much. Besides yet that, in the best case, under such a coerced great heap of opinion-people (*opinieuxe menschen*) can never be pursued, much less found, any the least ground or bond of peace and concord. And therefore, one weighs the pros and cons as much as one likes, wherever in a society or assembly of many people, all of them without any personal distinction or respect, common as well as particular members or citizens, are not

conceived under an even equal interest of always being able to get to a better condition, which is mostly always a reason for displeasure, there, it falls short or long, it will necessarily in the end bow or burst in itself. Besides yet, that such a society, in spite of all its external splendour or illustrious power and strength of walls etc., on a good view into its entrails, is found to be so much weakened by this and so feeble, that not being unanimously proof against the least adversity pressing from the outside and principally the domestic disagreements and conflicts, it will readily be conquered and subjugated. And it is in this that all pretended Politicians, known to me, err and fail most seriously: Because not being capable to put for their eyes a true and sound common-best, the even equal freedom included; [11] so one sees that they steadily and mostly altogether tumble into endless faults and trifles. Some of them, only instigated by dirty selfishness, ambitions and lust of power; trying to recommend to uneducated people the one headed tyranny as a most Divine Government. Others, though driven by similar ideas, praise the reign of a few, the most powerful men of a people, and this under the pretext that they should be considered to be most capable and intelligent to advance the common best. But in behalf of the only true and worthy Government of the people there are, to my knowledge, in the Dutch language found not more than two [Political writers], who in that direction have dared to assert and propose something openly. Who before all others have tried to proceed most accurately and not one-sidedly and also with the best semblance of reason, are those who try to elevate the example of Lycurgus above all others. Consisting in this that he in order to balance or equalize the aforesaid three Political States has tried to mix them. And which weight or just value of the mixture they only try to justify by the long lasting duration of those mixed and poured out (geplenghde) pretended Political States, as for example happened in Sparta and Rome. But surely, what is the value of six- or eight hundred years of constant and frightful worrying ups and downs (hobbens en tobbens) in comparison with the permanently growing and flourishing well-being of a world-enduring people? N. Machiavelli, an unfeigned and open supporter of all foul superstition and imposture, and in this probably a follower of the Greek Polybius, comes at the end of the first

book of his *Discourses*, in the second chapter, where he enumerates the various Polities to six kinds, to this conclusion: Therefore it seems to me that all those manners of Polity are not firm neither durable. The three good ones on account of the short life of humans, the other three on account of their own imperfections. Therefore the eminent lawgivers, knowing these deficiencies of each of the above mentioned states, have composed the Body of their state out of three Members, i.e. that of the Monarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy; so that the one would serve as a bit on the other, and would keep it in its determinations, and conserved it that it would not so easily fall out of its bolts and plunge into ruin. Lyncurgus etc. Fully incompatible things like water and fire cannot be mixed. In the same way fully contrary things like dominating and governing cannot be combined and therefore after some time the one must necessarily yield for the other and strike the sail: Because when our aforementioned Writer had duly understood and realized the deficiencies of his three pretended true Political States whose low durability he only seems to ascribe to the short life of humans, he would also at once have seen that the first two, namely his Monarchy, and Aristocracy, draw their defects and low durability from their freedom violating disposition and evil Nature; But that the third, being the government of the People is only by external evils and internal weaknesses generally coming from one of the two first, is roguishly and cunningly undermined and finally surprised and oppressed. [12] Otherwise the people's and only free government is the only, which from its Nature permits the continual emendation and includes it. And consequently with no reason can be demonstrated by this pretended wise mixture of the three mentioned States; that the Monarchy, Aristocracy, being also even dominions or tyrannies in conflict with each other, ever brought from their nature any profit to the Democracy or the people's only free and true government; but on the contrary indeed all harm and hindrance to the people's freedom and accordingly all its further well-being. Therefore all the good that seems to be a fruit of this pretended useful mixture, must only be ascribed to the people's co-ruling (medesturingh) and authority. And which is very remarkable; so it will everywhere be found to be clear and true that all the good which is

seemingly produced by this pretended useful mixture, has exclusively to be ascribed to the people's authority, co-voting (*meede-stemmingh*) and co-ruling: Because I think that it will nowhere ever be found different from this, that according to the increase or decrease of the people's authority, to that degree also the well-being of that pretended Republic is increased or decreased. And what does one think, then, since the co-ruling of a rude and superstitious heap of people has yielded the main profit to the Greek as well as Roman pretended Republics; what does one expect, then, I say once more, to what things a people, which is totally free, formidable (*ontzaglijk*), well disposed, liberated from superstition and only accustomed to proceed according to the reason, would be capable for the common well-being or best? To my judgment this would supersede by far all miracles of the world. And whoever would like to consider accurately the example of Sparta, founded by Lycurgus, will assent to my perception that notwithstanding the pretended useful mixture of the three states the long lasting existence of the Spartan people was principally depending on the possession of few or no riches, the maintaining of the least difference of the condition (*staet*) and respect of the one above that of the other, together with a free and courageous exercise of weapons, and in case Lycurgus had not been too wise and narrow in the always precise conservation of his institutions and had been prepared to receive appropriately and integrate the foreigners, eventually to the strengthening of the people, and had nonetheless refused all superfluous riches and difference of possessions; well Sparta could to my judgment, have existed yet much longer and also have superseded Rome in power and strength. Further, for my part, it does say or mean only very little whether a people, albeit for many centuries successively without being superseded or conquered by other peoples, seems to exist more or less freely on itself; when it finds itself far from a free State or Citizenship, like at Sparta in a freedom violating bride well (*tuchthuis*) or like at Rome in a haunt of robbers (*roofnest*) which mostly forces everybody to robbery. And what further concerns Sparta, it seems to me, that Lycurgus' aim, like that of more other pretended founders of a common best, has more intended the greatness and eternal duration of his name: (by his special institutions which also

served more to a real oppression of the people than to its enduring freedom, growing and flourishing well-being and reinforcement), because what an idle temerity of a man, that he, to a certain extent being able to measure from the disposition of the Spartans [13] in that time what could be profitable, has endeavoured to tie up the same Spartans, notwithstanding so manifold future necessary changes of nature, for all eternity and unchangeably to some very good but other very hard, with freedom conflicting and also trifling institutions? And is it not evident that all those conceited and overweening (*laetdunkende*) founders of a Polity confusedly and bumptiously presume to have more knowledge not only than all the present but also what all the future people as well would ever be able to conceive and to understand. And which I take for one of the most detestable failures, which could ever be committed by such a man of respectable fame to the ruin of the general invaluable even equal freedom? For which he too might not unjustly be accounted to the deceivers of the people, especially if one also pays attention to his pretended Oracles, etc. with which also yet so many other older and younger pretended Polities for want of the undeceivable and accordingly divine reason are usually larded. Concerning Rome, in which our fore mentioned author takes most pleasure in his speculations, he says further on in the aforesaid second chapter, bursting out as it were with these words: 'Then Rome started to lay the foundation of its highness and incomparable Majesty, by this mixture of the three states, of which each had there its power and respect, etc. She never deprived the Royal [state] of her power, in order to trust it to the Council, neither in the same way this [state] in order to give its power to the people: she only restrained what was too strong in each of them, and let the three in company in the reign, to become by this trinity so great as one knows.' With permission I add to this 'also generally so miserable and destroyed as one knows'. And this to my judgment for no other reason than because the Roman people was more provided and affected with an abundance of robbed goods and a mass of superstitions than with a more or less good instruction of the reason for the knowledge of a sound and free government of the people. Because her prominent men, being fond of and keen on plunder and booty, chased nothing else than what next to

their acquirement could serve to their greater esteem, highness and their insurance, wherefore they have tried to keep the common people to loathing under, also in all superstitions and idolatries, to suppress it most carefully with all kinds of rogueries and imposture and to its permanent slaughter urge it to war and robbery. And thus they finally have also surely caused their ruin and destruction. These, then, are the just and proper, yea necessary fruits of these Machiavellistic, highly pretended, three mixed Political States, baptized by him with the name of Trinity. And accordingly I consider this pretended mixture of states no more a valuable government as a nicely looking but dirty and pock-marked body can be looked upon and considered to be pure and sound; but that without the people's unique, highest and most worthy authority it necessarily must fall aground, and in the unavoidable abyss, and is destined to destruction. Because all bodies of state, being contaminated with some high authority, apart, let alone above the people's authority, [14] I take, for the reasons mentioned and on account of the universal nature or property of the **human unlimited desire**, to be affected with a languishing, mortal disease. If somebody would like to object here the ordinary stupidity or ignorance of a people? I acknowledge this too. But I never can allow on that account, that any people, however bad and ignorant it is found to be, would therefore be obliged, to renounce its best knowledge: because in such a case I not only prefer the lesser knowledge of the people to its own best; but moreover I assure it that by blindly following [others] it will certainly be deceived and fall to the extreme misery and slavery. For which reason this could to my judgment serve to the very best principle, that in case somebody would like to accuse any people of stupidity in order to save it and bring it to a better condition (state), so he has to try to persuade it by sound reason, and only along this way bring it to better councils, decisions and performances. And for the people one cannot devise or realize anything better or safer than closing and stopping the eyes and ears once for always for all other means and motives, having to know most absolutely, that whatever one tries to recommend to it as something special and salutary, that such always must be done by sound reason and by nothing else. From which, then, it also follows clearly,

that who has an absolute and perfect right to the judgement about a thing, the same has also fully the highest authority in it. Well, the judgment about the common best is the people's full privilege, therefore also its highest authority and conduct in this. And consequently I also demand, then, that in all political questions one should comply with the prevailing condition (*ghesteltenis*) and demand of the people's majority, notwithstanding, however, that everything happens candidly and only according to reason, which reason mainly and provisionally (*by voorraet*) has to be deduced from their most agreeing general interest, best and aim (and without which it will always be found impossible to found anyhow a common best). For which generally agreeing (*accorderende*) interest, aim and best we will by provision, as shown above, take here the interest of the bodies, and with respect to the souls, to be freed from all deceit. Everything to pursue by an even equal freedom, to the advancement of everybody's particular well-being, after everybody's approval (*goeddunken*). On the condition that the particular well-being, will never be permitted to offend or hurt against the general well-being and best; but always must adduce improvement and strengthening to it. And which judgment I absolutely and fully will have to be entrusted only to the people: Though I have to confess that the one people from nature or by other circumstances more, is better disposed to it than the other, I still take it that all of them (except the Hottentots at the cape of Bon Esperance, if it is true what is written about them that they are more like an unconscious mass of flesh than as humans) can and also must be conducted by reason, without any deceit, to their best. The reasons are that the instruction of reason is cordially strived after by all people capable for reason as the most glorious and salutary thing, and also that everybody tries to the best of his abilities [15] to avoid and avert the deceit as the foulest and most harmful thing. And since they thus desire and covet most strongly the best; will it, then, be difficult to persuade them of it? But shall the Deceiver, in order not to be decried so, object me ostensibly, that [what he is doing] are only artifices in order to bring the wild and dull man to a better listening to reason? I, then, on the contrary ask him where it with such artifices ever succeeded and prospered to any people. And at the same time I assert that nothing

else than the own imperfections and adhering weaknesses, broached by excessive desires of money and honour are the causes of all deceitful ill-treats and pretended artifices concerning our fellow man. Nobody, then, can deny that like the whole is greater than its part, so also the wisdom and knowledge of its best and particular well-being of a whole people is in all circumstances better and farther stretching than the knowledge of one or a few among the same people. And consequently that no wisdom, however great, of somebody in particular among any people, much less of somebody outside the same people, may be pretended, to which a whole people, concerning to the common best, could entrust itself quietly and safely without looking back: Because there will not neither can be given a better reason for suspicion about any secretly harmful imposture, than in case somebody would desire that concerning the common best one should quietly, without anyhow looking back, commit it only to his word and conduct. But perhaps somebody, seeing and perceiving this clearly, will urge and maintain that on behalf of more concord and quick decisions, which are prevented by the many-headedness and⁶³ diversity of opinions of the whole people, one would be allowed to trust and commit the care and responsibility for the common best exclusively and most safely to the most intelligent and best [men] among the same people. Against which I would not try to object so much, in case one knew to give sufficient certainty about such a means, by which one would be able to recognize and choose exactly, clearly and indubitably the most intelligent and best among them, so that there would not be left some capability for the remaining people. And what is more; that next to this, and what would be the most important thing, there would be no less insurance that those pretended most intelligent and best people would always and continually be honestly committed to the common best above their private best, and would remain inclined to pursue and seek it sincerely at all times. And likewise, which above is shown to be impossible, that they, when desiring it, would know to realize it, on itself as well as together with the

⁶³ (N.B.) Not the many-headedness and diversity of opinions; but the multitude of diverse interests of a Council, though existing in a few heads, are the cause of stiff and difficult (*stribbige*) deliberations, and often of harmful as well as slow decisions.

whole people. The one thing as the other is impossible: since people, well understood in their particularity, cannot, on account of the unlimited nature of their desires, omit to seek always after their extreme and best concepts their own greatest advantage and well-being. And therefore it is likewise not possible that any human (I speak not about Saints, who probably will not be found many, much less can be recognized among people) [16] can be forced to the pursuit of any common best by something else than only this: to arrive by this better to his particular well-being, profit and best. And therefore I consider it to be one of the most valuable observations concerning the best of a people, that all things among that same people are organized in such a way, that every member or man of it will most difficultly (*op 't swaerst*) be able or know to acquire any particular or private profit to the disadvantage of the common. So that everybody's particular and first-rate well-being will not only never weaken or hurt the common best; but the Enjoyer (*Genieter*) is by this always the more necessitated to promote (*op te helpen*) and reinforce the same [i.e. common best] more and more to the well-being and the good pleasure of everybody. To sum up: this and everything which one knows to devise to the best of the people, being with reason and most clearly induced to the same people by the intelligent members and submitted to the judgment of the people, also has to be approved and decided by it as far as it can reach in knowledge and can realize it: Because the whole people taken together does not will nor can will anything else than purely its common best, nor would it be, stimulated to this, be capable to omit its pursuit to the best of its knowledge and abilities. These are such properties that it is absolutely impossible that without these a common best could anyhow be brought about. It is likewise neither possible that these properties can be pretended with the least semblance of truth by somebody in particular among the same people, much less still by somebody from the outside of the same people. From which to my judgment also becomes uncontradictorily evident that all that stifflingly wringing and pressing of the old and new Writers, together with their highly and lowly piping and jumping about that some would defend and maintain the one-headed and others the few-headed dominions as the right Governments; have to

be considered and judged for nothing else than for partly sophisticated and musty, courtly and schoolish dozings (*sufferyen*), yes for pure trifles, if not for pure impostures. The government of the people, the only worthy and Divine government, this, then, alone includes in itself all the good properties for the always needy correction and invincible reinforcement, growth and flourishing of a people. And this alone is to be considered the best and most stable of all popular governments; where a people mostly tries to maintain after reason and wisdom the common best by an evenequal freedom and to carry it on by ordinary free deliberations. In case somebody would like here to resist and demur by sustaining that all peoples are by their nature intractable, unmanageable, stern, unpliant (*onrekkelijk*), or rather that they only or for the greatest part would include furious, rapacious and accordingly antisocial (*ongezellige*) animals and which would need to be ruled and conducted by means of all kinds of deceit and violence; such one is bound to demonstrate this. And he is likewise bound to prove that he himself, together with his similes, is not only free from this, but also, that he, and all the others, his partisans, are the right and capable people to conduct and rule such an intractable people by deceit and violence in the best way. And I would cordially desire to meet and hear such a Prover (*Bewijzer*). I, on the contrary, maintain that in general people are by nature [17] freely born, the most ingenious among all other kinds of animals, gifted with language to the mutual communication of thought, tractable, docile, pliant, loving other people and children, and consequently fully capable to companionship and the highest Christian Service of God. Because who sustains differently, gives plainly to understand, that he believes, that neither truth nor well-being can be established among the people. And this is really and clearly the belief of N. Machiavel and the rest of the political writers known to me, albeit they however covertly and feignedly believe it, or don't know in the least what they write and urge to. Considering therefore here as by provision sufficiently indicated and demonstrated that for the people's best there cannot be shown or given any more faithful advice nor any more certain judgment and decision than the ordinary deliberation, judgment and resolution of the people itself. And for which reason it will everywhere

appear to be clear and true that the voice of a people for the same people truly has to be in full considered and hold for the voice of God. To which also may be added that for an ordinarily deliberating and voting people nobody's wisdom or knowledge can remain without effects; and consequently the people is not only served from within with all wisdom and knowledge in all circumstances and crises. But by such meetings and mutual deliberations of the free people all [members] are also from time to time more and more stimulated, sharpened and whetted to the knowledge of the common best. And like it is clear, then, and sure that a people, in whatever condition, cannot aim at anything but the common best, so it is also not less clear and sure that the greatest profit and the least danger is situated in the deliberations and resolutions of the people: Because although it sometimes will come to failures in correctly judging and choosing according to the dubitable fortuities of human affairs; yet the experience of harm and discomfort is powerful enough to save it from that evil as soon as possible or at least to make it acquire further counsels and thoughts to perceive them better and prevent them. To the quick acquirement of which all the most well-to-do and intelligent people, on account of the great interest which they currently have in the common well-being, will be mainly and as it were automatically necessitated to vigilate, watch and labour. And which is probably also the principal advantage that any prominent man or men are able to contribute to the common, and for which reason: the more closely their particular interest is found to be connected with the general well-being, freedom and best, the greater is and remains their obligation to the common. All which has to be considered for such an excellent profit and advantage for the common, that all other forms of only pretended Governments, together with the Politics not based on the even equality, in this respect must be clearly taken as deficient and useless. And can also never be estimated or accepted as somehow worthy Governments, just like one could not continually acquiesce in a lesser evil to the prevention of a greater evil; but indeed one might so in case one would judge that they were instituted and directed towards the acquirement of a free people's government. Whether it ever happened or will happen, thereof one [18] really has (on account of the general weakness and the

Nature of human unlimited desires) the greatest and prevailing reason to doubt: Because all world's examples confirm that it is so far away from it, that wherever the co-ruling (*meede ghesach*) seemed to be recommended to the people, it still was usually undermined and completely suppressed by its pretended heads. And in which things the Heads of the Greek and Roman mixed and shedded (*geplenghde*) Governments have marvellously excelled by their maintaining of all disorders, since the people being full of superstition and the most prominent among them masterly knowing to play their deceivers-roll; so the people's assemblies were only kept as a routine (*by sleur*); the simple people meanwhile receiving by similar sloppy and entirely cheated (*gedoekte*) gatherings (like nowadays some of our bad and pretended plain Mennist-Ministers also know to practise rather successfully) nothing else than an apple to play with. The pretended Heads craving for State, Dominion and money meanwhile sewing their false seam to drink the fattest broths of the common well-being, as their and the people's manifold conflicting struggles, with the loss of all the people's freedom and their final ruin have sufficiently shown so. And thus a ship aground provides a beacon on sea, even for all those who in that way, albeit only by commerce, greedily try to scrape together by means of patents etc. the riches of all the world and think to chase and conquer their greatest profits by the ignorance of the people and the discord of the manifold opinions and sectarianisms with diversion of the needy politics and statecraft. Being thus always and everywhere found clear and true that concerning a good government of a people it were never the common people; but always its pretended Heads, Leaders and Teachers who failed and made mistakes: Because these aiming at nothing but how they may get to greater power and absolute authority by the people's ignorance,⁶⁴ sectarianisms and discords; their practice is nothing but how the people plunged in a continuous and hopeless ignorance, may be kept suppressed. Letting it by an incessant and superfluous taxing and shaving (*schatten en scheren*) acquire not more well-being and strength than which accords and agrees well with the power, riches and greatness

⁶⁴See concerning sectarianisms and discords a certain extract, added below, tending to bring the Dutch people to a feeling and interest of State.

strived after by them. Whereas, on the contrary, the people, taken together, is by its nature fully and purely inclined to its eminent and unlimited common well-being, reinforcement and best, and is also determined to desire and appetite nothing else than its common best most perfectly. Also, apart from any hindrance, never being able to omit pursuing and exercising it to the best of its knowledge and its abilities. For which reason I wished that the people, instead of saying 'if there were no sins, there were no plagues', would understand that 'if one would govern well, what would harm us?' And to stimulate a people more and more to this, is the main, yes the suitable work of a pious and courageous Man, and without doing so in a moderately Free-land, I will nor can ever believe that any etc will be found. Who also were ever missing on all places and times in this world: to know a sufficient number of pious, courageous and [19] generous Men. To pay some more attention to this and understand it better; let us conceive here an assembly of competent (*wel bevoegde*) men or Citizens. (Because the well-being of women, young people, children, servants etc; must be judged to depend fully on the well-being of competent men and to be completely connected with it). The competence (*wel bevoegtheit*) of which men or Citizens in a very formidable, free and only legal assembly of people I think to consist in this that they, being well instructed about their natural freedom, know it and love it as the highest value. They are least, or better not at all, afflicted or affected with superstition and may therefore be said or estimated to be free from all violent sectarianism. They know to be self-supporting without any mean servitude and have moreover a capability of years etc., taking the voice of the people to be truly, and only among the same people and assembly, the voice of God. And of which assembly I think that it will always be found to consist of three kinds of Men or Citizens. Firstly of Men (Gave God that they could constitute a sufficient number in any people or assembly of men) who have enough capacities and courage to contrive, propose and induce good and freedom advancing concepts and useful propositions for the common best, and on which all the good for an assembly may be judged and confirmed to depend and to consist; for this reason that a people cannot desire or wish anything but the common

best. Secondly of Men (and of which all free assemblies for the above mentioned reason always to pursue its best, must always be presumed to be amply provided with) which are capable of well understanding all good concepts and propositions next to their clear and serious inductions, and consequently may be very much motivated to seriously realize them with word and deed. And thirdly of such Men (and who I think will now usually constitute the greatest heap and will gradually come to decrease remarkably by often attending the free and wise deliberations and will so make increase and grow the second or even the first kind) who mostly simply assent to everything, mainly after the feeling of their well-being and will desire and try to obey ardently. Meanwhile, as is already said, having the opportunity that everybody according to his capacity may climb to the second and first level of dignity and consequently also to the most esteemed ministries of the common. And which to my judgment is the only thing which can occasion the most significant health and well-being for the common: Because on this foot of free and well ordered civil counselling and voting all the wisdom of a people or Citizenship will be able to shine and excel to its extreme ⁶⁵ without, so to say, being lost [20] the least grain of wisdom or knowledge or that it could be put aside. And this is the thing that I would like and desire before all things whereas it is also found to be uncontroversial and without being contradicted, that the less and better mode (*wijse*) of an assembly can never be distinguished or separated, and have accordingly always to be mixed in a legal assembly. In which respect it also can always be said that in such a sovereign and free assembly the wisest or most intelligent will always rule, but never can be said or indicated who they are. And where this among a formidable people or assembly of people (in a for trade, commerce and

⁶⁵Whoever is able to realize, perceive and conceive the power lying in this, will easily understand everything which is asserted here fore and hereafter: because it will also everywhere be found to be uncontradictorily true that there never has been shown or found a one- or few-headed government where the advices and counsels of the common man, and this mainly in extreme distresses, did not procure and introduce the most profit and protection? And so likewise, that all the extremities of a people are usually or always brought about by the pretended wisdom of one or few Rulers for the sake of their own pleasure.

shipping well conditioned corner of the country) would once justly take place and be established, in such a way that their most eminent minds by desiring an evenequal freedom and a common best come to be affected by a sound appetite and industry to advance it instead of feeding on it (*azen*), exhausting it and constantly blindly hacking on it, and to give comfort to it, together with opening the eyes and making them clearly see; where this, I say, once takes place and comes to be established with fundamental knowledge and insight and comes to be maintained and continued by the most intelligent; there will be done and accomplished whatever can possibly be done and accomplished by humans. Nobody, however rich and highly elevated, may feel terrorized by this by dreading and fearing that he so behaving and in this way will be deprived of his most pleasant feathers and flight feathers? Not at all; but he will by this assure himself with all his offspring in such a way and relieve himself from all heavy packs and burdens under which he is really curved and bent, that he will only in this manner be able to experience to a certain extent, what is included in a right happy and man-befitting life. Whereas he now on the contrary, severely tormented by his fellow man, is loaded and goes pregnant with a thousand cares and timidities and has to be on his guard against inmates and bedfellows of himself and his comrades, and is usually as it were determined (*genoodzaakt*) to very frightful suspicions. And those who are less provided with sharpness of mind or brains and accordingly find their heart a little more care-free, these are often warned with a thunderclap and further as it goes commonly: who comes last has to close the door. In short: the destruction of all evils and production of all good things of a Republic, Citizenship or Common-best, considered in particular as well as in general, depend, on my judgment pointed out before, altogether on a well ordered free Citizen-assembly, counselling and resolutions, together with a most jealous own weapon-exercising. Three kinds of opportunities for a people's arriving at this rise up in my mind, all of which may be procured by the Need (*Noot*); to know, a flight from oppression by enemies. Civil revolts. And what is most rare by a generous resolution of those who have the helm. Concerning which last I don't know or can hardly believe on account of the weakness of the

human unlimited nature of desire that it ever happened or will happen with wise provision and good will. With respect to the space I will, however, reflect here on the two last mentioned, from which also [21] the first may easily be concluded. First, for the case of civil troubles and revolts, I will introduce (*invoeren*) a certain Dutch Freemouth (*Vrymont*)⁶⁶ who speaks in the times of the Spanish rebellions. The third case will be mainly treated in my planned Second Part.

"Dear Men and Fellow-Citizens, it will not in the least befit us nor have we time to draw up here and propose to you exactly the origin of our very old ancestors and the principle of their habitation in this Country etc.: because like all this is usually very uncertain for us, so we will neither receive the least utility or profit from it: this always remaining sure, that the principles of all people have been very rough and unhewn in such a way also, that concerning the life style of their old and far Ancestors for the descendants is usually given more reason to aversion than to blessed memory. It will neither be necessary that I burden here your memory by telling you about manifold examples of some prominent and powerful peoples who lived many centuries before us: because to my judgment all those examples would tend for us more to their avoidance than to their imitation. And apart from this I think that a few centuries hither there will not be wanting in our history worthy examples to the good and necessary warning and to the perception of our better preservation and freedom, and these will also better be able to enlighten and help your natural judgment in this matter instead of confusing it otherwise. The best thing, then, which I find among the oldest examples of our very old Ancestors; is the respect (*hoogachtingh*) of their Weapon-exercise and the maintaining of their evenequal freedom in the most important affairs and counsels about the

⁶⁶ [W.K.: The long speech (from page 21 till the bottom of page 38, laid in the mouth of Vrymont, cannot be but from Van den Enden's own hand. Style and argumentation are well recognizable as being his. Vrymont reminds the Dutch reader of the Dutch history and the principles on which his forefathers defended their freedom against tyrants. The address of Vrymont is a literary creature from Van den Enden's pen, comparable with the "Mother of New-Netherland" at the end of KVNN].

best of the whole Country and the People, even in the time when they were already, in favour of a secret dominion, quite far undermined and undercut by a rough War-exercise of many prominent ambitious and greedy Members.⁶⁷ Because the common and small things were decided by their principal Lords; but about important things all the commons counselled together in such a way, however, that all those things in which the common people had a vote, were likewise treated by the principal Lords, and in case there happened not something unexpected or which required speed; they had, on account of their superstition and with hope on good luck, a custom to gather on fixed days of the New or Full Moon. In their gatherings everybody was allowed to speak freely and to say his opinion without forfeiting anything, from which the Princes together with the Nobles and Wise men made a resolution,⁶⁸ not with authority [22] in order to command, but to teach the people. When this satisfied the community, one could conclude it easily from their Swords and Pikes, thrown together by them. And in case it did not please them; they used to despise it with shouting and screaming. In this Council everybody could make his complaints and address an other man personally (*aan den lijve*).⁶⁹ Concerning the common they never deliberated without being in weapons. And it was a custom among

⁶⁷ Confer Tacitus, *Van de zeeden der oude Duitschen*, printed by Joost Hartgers, Anno 45. pag. 679. 680. 681. en 682. *de Hollandtsche Chronijk* of Gouthoeven, ch. 10, pag.5. And the *Chronijk van Zeelandt*, by Jan Reigersbergen, printed by Zacharias Roman at Middelburg, Anno 1634, as the first part of the *Boek van de oude zeeden, manieren, gewoonten, en costumen der Zeelanders*: with comparison of what is contributed by Grotius, and Van Someren to the same subject in their descriptions of *Batavia* or *Hollantze Republijk*, and how faithfully?

⁶⁸ See here how the Nobility of the free human nature or character excels in this nearly most rough kind of people, really to the blame and shame of all contemporary pretended wise Politicians; but in fact, etc.

⁶⁹ The most important things, then, they knew to attend with the surest means of protection and to entrust them only into somebody's hands with highest cautiousness. Being far from this; that they would have confided the H[oly]-Weapons to the hands of hired vagabonds to watch over them which heinous custom has its origin from nowhere else than from vile Tyrants.

them, that nobody was allowed to bear any weapons before the whole Freedom had approved him for it, and after this the same, being a youth, was clothed with an armour suit by one of his close relatives. And this was for them the true manly cloth, and the highest honour of the Youth: because before this time they only seemed to be part of a particular family; but then they had become a part of the Republic. And the worst that one may remark among them up to this time is the neglect of the aforementioned free assembly, counselling, voting and accusations of the community, together with the sliding (*sloffingh*) of the own private weapon-exercise, and the cultivation of the Heathen superstitious idolatry. About the cause of these extravagant evils of our Ancestors I would not know to give or raise another reason as that of their rude ignorance, on account of which they were after the example of all rude peoples easily circumvented and dominated by their pretended Leaders and Commanders to their particular greatness. Apart from this also, that the Popish Hierarchy (being much more astute than the superstition, or better idolatry and deceit of the Heathens) will have contributed enormously to this in the course of time; because before all other superstitions and bigotries she has as it were this property that she makes people by means of manifold threats together with very beautiful and high promises after this life, depressed, deprives them of all manly courage and pursuit of freedom and alienates them far from it. Knowing also to make by this means the unskilled people, even to their pleasure, to despisers of their temporary goods and freedom. Adjudging a point of highest happiness to those who make the least work of the wellbeing of their body and their freedom. Recommending the people, before all things, as a highest virtue, a blind obedience and voluntary poverty. So that by this the steadiest, most honest and best people are so tempted that whereas the Heathen superstition recommended to them and let them pursue the manly courage as the highest aim of happiness, this, however, produced in them just the contrary, from which it sprang, that the scum of people has become, by the Rule of their counts Tyrants, masters of the weapons and therewith of everything, to a general

suppression of all freedom and well-being.⁷⁰ The very first and in greatness excelling Count and Tyrant, was according to the histories, a certain Diederik, thanks to a still [23] greater Master or Ruler in France, called Charles. And after that our Ancestors started to be distressed by his Tyranny and were necessitated to aspire to a conspiracy against him with their Frisian neighbours, they also discovered that the conspiracy of Diderik with king Charles and the Pope had become by far too powerful for them and on the latter's advice and counsel (by the example of his three times heading of the great and lesser great trees etc. in the Court of Ments) Charles and Diederik have raid our Ancestors and their Frisian neighbours with a very great power⁷¹ and have in one night drawn the richest and most powerful Lords of Hollandt and Vrieslant from their beds and made them, the day after, decapitate, together with some of the Communities, in the sight of the whole crowd and people. Our Ancestors, then, were of course in heavy grief and cried 'Grace my Lord, grace my Lord'. And this was the end towards which the Tyrant strived and desired. See here, pious Fellow-citizens and countrymen, the legal starting point of our tyrants and Counts under whom our Ancestors at times more at times less have up till now been forced to sigh and fear in a continual slavery, just like we nowadays experience most intolerably under the present Tyrant Count Philips and king of Spain. And what might I add to this for a more and better understanding of what all of us feel so painfully now? And since it now seems to have been perceived among us, how we most surely and effectively will unburden and save and free ourselves for ever from this Count's Tyranny with all its appendage to our general freedom and best, so it will not be quite useless to explore (*ondertasten*) a little bit further the real condition of our present pressing count's Tyranny, and knowing

⁷⁰ See and read about this P. Schrijver, in his Preface and Introduction to the *Graven van Hollandt*, also called *Out Batavia*. Further *Hollantze Chronijk* etc.

⁷¹ This means: be careful. In which respect in the contemporary circumstances and conjuncture of Times there cannot be indicated a better or more assured advice nor means for the present few and weak Dutch Regents, than to reinforce themselves unconditionally and even equally with the crowd of competent Citizens.

it better along this way, not only to counter and oppose it with a right manly courage and valour, but what is more, that its remembrance, as the very greatest and most frightful evil for the common, may work in us and our descendants in such a way that being now finally destroyed and wiped out by us, will never again be able to crop up in one way or another, much less to grow. And consequently must be as far as possible absent from our thoughts every opinion according to which any domination in conflict with the general freedom might contain in itself something good by which we somehow could be occasioned to⁷² make it agree with its first principles and to bring it, for the common, to a hoped for improvement. [24] But let us establish this unshakably, that domination and tyranny can only be remedied by a total destruction. Our present Count and Tyrant, then, is the powerful and all absolute domination and Tyranny pursuing Philips King of Spain, who in the wake of his ancestors is working so much by all kinds of questionable freedom violating means, in conspiracy with the Popish Hierarchy and by moral constraint, that if we don't know to resist bravely against it with all manly courage and provision, we will get first selves and

⁷² With its first principles etc. In order to keep a Sect or common Government in a long life, one often has to draw it back to its first principles. Likewise is it necessary that whoever tries to change the old state of a Country, has to maintain its semblance. Both these things are affirmed by N. Machiavelli, see the first chapter in the third Book and the 25th chapter in the first Book of his Discourses. And this doctrine or awful opinion doesn't originate from anything else than that he, distrusting all stability in Polity, therefore finds himself necessitated to keep staying as long as possible his pretended Political States by all kinds of deceit and violence. And if no longer possible, to give it up then, regardless whether the people was incarcerated like at Sparta or used as gun-dogs like at Rome and when it could only exist and run so for a long period, all people might be called and considered as rabble (*meutjen*)? Away, away with such a lazy (*vaetze*), yes most knavish Doctrine. In case we want to keep ourselves to the first principles, we first have to examine whether they are good, and agree with the principles of the even equal freedom; but if not, we may destroy them all very readily, lightly and to our greatest profit: because no calmly and competently economizing citizen will ever be found to be so dull or stupid, that he would not, in case it was well proposed to him, like to help annihilating everything which opposes the principles of the even equal Freedom. And this I take not only for the only right medicine of all civil evils, but also for the exclusive unshakable firm ground of an everlasting Polity or common best.

afterwards also our descendants into the most miserable and irrevocably slavery of body and soul: because with respect to the body this Tyrant tries to rule us wholly after the interest and the pleasure of his very avaricious, for pride stinking, lawless, us implacably hating and to our blood thirsting Spaniards and to make us entirely dependent on them, above which nothing worse can be conceived with respect to the body, suffering death itself being for all of us, honest people, thousand times more pleasant. With respect to the soul the Tyrant stays in a very close alliance with the Chief Impostor, the pope of Rome, who teaches; but why do I speak about teaching, I much prefer to say: who by his devilish invention and coercion of the inquisition tries to deprive us from all judgment exercised with the free reason and tries to alienate us as purely unreasonable slavish animals or beasts only to his service and pleasure as far as possible from God and his only true service by means of a blind obedience and voluntary poverty. And this we must thoroughly remark here that in this world is never found any tyranny without accompanying popish imposture, and likewise never any popish imposture without tyranny. And therefore if we want to be totally free from tyranny; so we have to unburden ourselves firstly not less from all Popish imposture. Because these two incline to each other like iron and the magnet. Coerced by extreme distress and need many peoples have often succeeded⁷³ in revolting in fact energetically against the tyranny; but as far as I know there was never a people, which was able to cleanse and relieve itself completely of the popish imposture, and therefore, before it perceived or knew it well, it was also at all times, and always, by that, again coupled to the tyranny and so suppressed. [25] So it is also unlikely, that ever any people, provided with power, will be found to be free from superstitions: because wherever a people provided with means, disposed of more ingenuity and industry; there also superstition has gradually taken its place for the enjoyment of popes and has struck roots in the minds of the evil people in such a way (on account of their

⁷³ With respect to this the attentive Reader is asked to once conceiving exactly and reflecting the causes and motives of the rebellion at Naples, not long ago happened in our times, together with the reason why this very excellent and formidable people came again so miserably under the slavish yoke and was conquered.

unlimited desires to live after their death forever in the glorious Elysian fields without any troubles); that though it is surely known that many pagan peoples moved up and changed from the one superstition to the other, one yet has not found any, which was fully free from superstition: because all who ever originally brought any society of people to any polity or aimed in the same at any change or improvement, have before all things and first in order recommended and tried to establish the Religion, as they call it. And for this reason, because there cannot be given examples for the contrary, so it seems to be a certain argument with all politicised and anyhow capable peoples,⁷⁴ that the religion must

⁷⁴ That the Religion the principal etc. All pretending and seemingly precise religious Politicians conceive and understand by Religion nothing but **a necessary and pretended holy deceit**: because for every attentive judgment it is clear and true enough that whatever they try to bring about in this religious way, only happens (if well understood) for the foolish and badly instructed crowd, without being ever found capable to give only the least intelligent description of whatever superstition, let alone, true religion. This, for example, is always the case with our Dutch discourser (*discoueerder*), talking bunkum endlessly. Only Polybius and N. Machiavel are plain in this matter, I think. 'Therefore it seems to me', says Polybius (p. 413 and 414 in the Dutch translation), 'that the Ancients introduced not in vain nor without important causes among the common people that opinion of the Gods and of the chastisements in the hell'. And further he praises and extols very much the fruits of the Roman superstition, having hardly or not at all understood the misery in which the Roman people is constantly and finally to the ruin of everybody, kept by the same superstition and the food of coarse ignorance. Machiavelli speaks, in behalf of the maintenance of his totally loose and accordingly also completely desperate Polity, surprisingly as well as confusedly about this; see his *Discourses* in the first Book, the chapters 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. At the one place he seems to be wholly religious; but at the other place he plainly declares that he had not the least knowledge of Religion nor had believed that there was any. See and read about this in the 12th chapter mentioned, among other things these following words and you will be able to feel as it were with your hands that he does not take religion for anything but simple superstition and a necessary deceit. 'Therefore, he writes, the king who wants to protect his kingdom, should uphold the basic principles of the Religion and that he well gives heed that it does not become deficient, then he will keep without labor his subjects in devotion and holiness'. This seems quite a lot, but see here the explanation and purpose of this his pure Religion, and well in his own words: 'By this bridle he will bring them to reason and treat them as he likes; Yes, if there comes up any, false or not (it does not matter whether it is to the profit of the same king), let him consent to it and enforce it. He will do so if he is wise and understands reason'. A little below, having told the deceit in the

be the principal and first foundation of the Republic, or Common-best. I grant indeed that the true Religion (as far as she concerns the supreme well-being of our souls) is the most worthy and unbreakable Bond of the common best of a people; but I cannot understand how religion should have to be the first foundation of a Republic: since it has to be, with much mature counsel and judgment, [26] most surely deliberated and accepted by everybody in particular and does not exist either in the least external gesture or in the feeding of idle hope and fear. And apart from this external and ritual etc. I do not know to indicate any value for the Republic in our up till now exercised and pretended Religions; but if I am allowed to speak frankly, these are altogether only adorned (*versierde*, imaged) superstitious ceremonies conflicting with the true Religion, and which as yet may be fully accused and charged of the fact that we are mostly so rude and ignorant concerning the true and highest Religion, which exists in nothing but truth and Mind, together with the Christian and civil Freedom. With regard to salvation from this popish imposture, no people was ever closer to it than we: since that the manifold impostures of pilgrimages, auricular confessions, indulgences, requiems, fake miracles, moral constraint and the from this originating [activities of] burning and scorching, drowning, hanging and strangling, together with the destruction of all well-being, is discovered to us in such a way that most of us are with most violent passions to their total destruction as it were grimly and extremely exerted and opposed against them, which, as before, is to take as a great means or occasion to the rescue. But if not enough tending to our complete deliverance and without being totally released from them; there will hardly or not be accomplished anything to our general rescue and the attainment of the

oracle of the goddess Juno, he says: 'Camillus and the most prominent people of the Town, as soon as they knew it, feigned to believe it and to consider it as the best thing of the world. Gave God that the Christian monarchs did the same; I think that if they would all of them so well uphold their Religion, as it was given to them, their kingdoms and common Governments would nowadays be in a slightly better condition'. Can there be given any clearer description of a heinous deceit of any irreligious man, yet done under the pretext of Religion? And therefore is it my wish that the whole man, to his temporary and eternal salvation is once for all freed from this by the instruction of clear reason and that I could see him solidly taught about the true Christian-Religion.

required freedom and common well-being. And to treat this here properly according to its worth; is not yet permitted by our present circumstances and condition of affairs, for which reason I intend here to propose to you shortly and by provision what I in this matter consider most necessarily to be fulfilled. It is not unknown, I think, to anybody among us that the principal peoples of Europe like the German, French, English and mainly the Netherlanders to which we also belong, are so much disconcerted and disarranged by the manifold opponents and blind resisters of the Popish Hierarchy and impostures, that it is not unreasonable to fear that among them the last error may become worse than the first: because I pray you to consider once quietly what assurance there may be found for us in all this diverse resisting and screaming of these manifold Sectarians against the greatest Impostor the Pope. To my judgment these people don't have more semblance of truth than that the one succeeds in indicating more smartly and glimmeringly than the other the great impostures and failures of the Popish adherents; but what assurance do we have that for the rest these people are likewise not blind zealots, being mislead and deceived and trying to mislead and deceive us too. One example, occurred in the lifetime of many of us, at Munster in Westphalen and here in the centre of our country at Amsterdam among the Baptists and the Enthusiasts, should be enough for us and persuade and stimulate us to a closer and better keenness; so that we don't rashly and as it were cheated with highest axioms, hand over ourselves to any great Pretender, Sectarian or Resister of the Pope in order to be blindly conducted by him. And therefore [27] my provisory sentiment and advice in this matter would be that after having abolished all external ritual all of us try to serve and please our God and in anticipation (*op voorraet*) by a most scrupulous practising of the Common-best (which only contains and includes the love of the fellow man, yes outside which the love of the fellow man cannot in the least be practised or found): considering also that the infallible Divine and accordingly unerring reason shows us most clearly that one should never exchange the sure for the unsure [thing] nor spend even the least money without knowing for what purpose, which among us is done by all those who thus enchanted by foolish delusion issue their money where is

nothing for sale but idle wind and trickeries of auricular confessions, pilgrimages, requiems, indulgences, donations of extravagant superstitions, alms to very rich pretended Houses of God, churches and chapels, whereas they also as it were fling away their money out of their hands to extravagant excises, tolls and taxes of which is given no account to the common; and what is still the worst of all, is that this [money] is mostly to the final ruin used and laid on the feeding and reinforcement of all impostures and tyrannies as we now unfortunately hardly feel and notice. Therefore I wish that all of us are thoroughly and soundly instructed in this, being this also something which is entirely intelligible, that before stretching our hands and opening our purse we should first open our eyes in order to observe for which and on what purpose we are going to spend our money and the labour of our hands? Well having to know that both these things can never get a higher respect or use than that by them each of us is allowed to pursue and practise, here in this life, even equally and safely, under a common protection and help, his highest well-being, for body and soul, according to his own judgment and without harming the common. And all this by anticipation and until the time that among us something which is certain and without all doubts, deceit, exploitation and domination, may be discovered and unshakably established by the most excellent and souls-saving Religion. But perhaps somebody might object here and bring against me that we are not yet allowed to be without Religion and that as long as we counsel about it and take care and watch with all circumspection against the false ones, we nevertheless in this way remain without Religion? I answer that the first pitfall is clearly revealed here, and I add moreover straightforwardly that all those who recommend you in this way to accept, as being necessarily pressing, without indubitable assurance the most valuable and surest Religion, and already seems to have accomplished their great work when moving you to say only yes and amen, that they, consciously or in ignorance, have to be considered and hold for pure Deceivers. And I claim likewise that in case you are so, in caution and prudence, provisionally contented with a first and proper Religiousness of a common-best, aiming at an indubitable certainty in point of the most worthy Religion, and well

heeding and watching against all kinds of deceit, that you then, I assert, are already true religious, yes blessed children in Christo. [28] And to give here, then, also and provisorily a true impression of the true and only beatific Christian belief, criterion (*richtsnoer*) for all false and pretended Religions, superstitions and delusions; so must first and before everything, with respect to this, be understood and known by you solidly, clearly and distinctly; in what the same does exist. The Christian belief, being entirely reasonable, does not exist in adherence to any external ritual neither in the least in an unintelligible purely unreasonable consent to any high or low honest proposal; but does exclusively consist in the conviction of clear and distinct reason leading to the acceptance of those things which further us indubitably to the knowledge and love of God and the fellow men: because the whole sum of Law and Prophets is to love God above everything and his fellow man like oneself. The sum of the Christian Gospel is a glad and unlimited spreading of it and this not only to one people in particular; but to all peoples of the Earth, exonerating them from all Ceremonies, precise Rules and Laws (forced down their throat without any deliberation of reason or legal approval): because where Mozes, only enlightened by external revelation, has directed all his labour and wisdom to acquire by Ceremonies and detailed Laws a particularly illustrious and prominent power of the people and an only external well-being; there Jezus Christ, by his own Divine Nature and wisdom, has passed all this without paying attention to it and stepping over it as being of no value for him. And for what else than because it was fully known to his Divine wisdom that when he had induced and taught people by reasoning the highest beatifying knowledge of God and the here from flowing love of the fellow man, that after this nothing in particular would remain to be strived after in behalf of a people's particular power and well-being. In which respect I would also like to recommend you to take in highest esteem and observation, that all practised Ceremonies, commands and advices together with promises, threats and miracles etc. mentioned in the New Testament don't have to be explained or interpreted otherwise than that our Saviour herewith has tried to accommodate, to suit and conform himself to the condition and requirement of the common

Jewish People: Because this people, up till then suppressed childishly or slavishly by nothing but respected laws, commands, promises, threats and miracles; would probably, becoming acquainted with it, immediately have shown its contempt and aversion from our Saviour, like he finally also died a disgraceful death as an ignominious visitor of luxurious parties, a friend of public male and female sinners and publicans, yea as a blasphemer, as a consequence of the incitements of Scribes and Pharisees. And further on it should equally well be remarked by us, that Christ our Saviour, and accordingly a Pursuer of the Common Best of all peoples, has necessarily abstained from meddling with the realization of an external common-best of a particular and separate people specifically, leaving such, after God's uncreated character and the property of each Country's and people's nature, to their free disposition: because the manifold changes and accidents of human affairs, being well acknowledged, don't seem at all to permit or allow that a firm and unalterable precise law or rule could ever be conceived or established, to a general profit, over all human particular and external actions, and for which reason it also seems to me that the best knowers of a Christ-Civil-government are those who in all occurring crises and requirements are able to advice to the common profit a whole people most easily, capably and prudently towards improving (verbeterende) changes. For this time, then, putting aside all further care about the manifold pretended religions, with in itself totally conflicting sectarianisms hating and persecuting each other until death; let us only proceed with firm constructions on this principle, to assent to nothing in matters of religion but what we perceive clearly and distinctly, that it necessarily is and should be so and not otherwise. Knowing with certainty that in this way, according to the degree and talents given to us by God, we will be free and likewise happy children in Christo, and accordingly also, once for all, will be, in and by Christ,⁷⁵ acquitted from all particular failures, sins and scruples not conflicting with the

⁷⁵ Concerning this 'acquitting Christi' of all kinds of particular failures, sins and scruples not conflicting with the common-best, the intelligent and attentive Reader is requested to remain a bit deliberating. Because, to my concept, this has a lot to say in relation to the common-best.

common-best, and made fully capable to arrive, each according to his state and degree, to highest beatitude. Well then: who of us went ever short of bread and was at the same time concerned about the butter? By which I wish to say that the real point is now the total loss or preservation of our chosen and newly resolved maintenance of a full and evenequal freedom and by the lack of which we are totally deprived of all further obtaining of temporary and eternal well-being. Let us now, then, also without stripping ourselves naked to the shirt, and provisorily as it were without any further anxieties, most powerfully cooperating, risk, fearless and even eagerly, this our animal life for the true and evenequal freedom, the foundation of all human well-being and without which this life cannot be esteemed a life for the right generous man, and one of both: either live as a free people or die as the Numantins.⁷⁶ Never was there a people, as we, called by God to a more fair and highly valuable fight or combat and never is there for us or will there [30] be after us given a better stuff to exercise on it, to the general profit, our manly courage and free ingenuity, each of us, head for head, as is now granted by God to us on this occasion. And it will therefore not at all be needed here, to exhort us, people, anyhow by heavy promises or otherwise superstitious oaths to mutual commitment: since we altogether after mature deliberation whole-heartedly want to declare to be to the utmost resolved to live and to die for the most dearest

⁷⁶ This dying of the Numantins for their freedom may extensively be found and read in Anthonius de Guevara. It is, to my judgment, a very remarkable history and when in this question the power of a defensive Freedom could have been rightly estimated by the Dutch Regents and prominent Citizens, they would never have wanted to entreat any Potentate, much less, as one says, to creep in the hole. (For example the Year 1585 concerning the French and the English with the pawning of Vlissingen, Remmekens and Den Briel, etc., the Year 1654, to please Cromwell, and now, if I am right, also the year 1660, and 1663, concerning the Stuarts etc.). And by which disease I have reason to fear that Holland's Regents, much too lax against internal and external enemies, now also all too decried, skittish, soft and much too greedy looking for money, together with the slavish Citizens, divided in manifold sects, will surely altogether come to die, and probably quickly the absolute death of freedom. Nevertheless I keep hoping for the contrary, as long as some freedom is left to me in Holland to move and stir (*reppen en roeren*) pen and mouth in behalf of the even equal freedom of the Citizens.

evenequal freedom: because I pray your people: what is for the right generous man more desirable and in this life sweeter and more pleasant, for us as free born more and best befitting, than to be able to pursue freely at all times and hours by our own free counsels and decisions, apart from anybody's compulsion, our own general best? My dear Co-citizens and Countrymen, to say it in one word, that's an invaluable treasure-of-life, let us first and above all try to insure it and we will in this way accomplish a work that will supersede all past people's remembrances, actions and concepts so far as the sunlight's splendour excels above the shine of the moon. Yes, what is more, the whole nature seems with desire to sigh for such a people and don't resent me my resoluteness of daring to say that God cannot fail to overburden such a people liberally with all temporary and eternal blesses because of our ways such pleasing him, so will even our enemies be necessitated to strive after peace with us. Let us then now activate the talent granted to us by God, i.e. the never erring and unfailable Divine reason, to this most dignified purpose, that all our free counsels and actions may exclusively be directed and destined to this that we, from the lowest to the highest, may first find ourselves assured in a complete evenequal freedom, to obtain a general corporeal well-being, with a clear away of all particular poverty and shortage. Further satisfaction and fulfilment of all reasonable desires and inclinations together with a growth of all other riches, and principally of our souls, consisting in rightly knowing, loving and serving God alone, above which there cannot be given a more valuable or better purpose. The weapons, then, must not less steadfastly than courageously be seized in hands (I mean not in foreign and hired, but in the own, well exercised hands). And the situation of the fortification of our Country, towns and Citizenship together with victuals should with highest attention be accurately considered, deliberated and most quickly before all other things being cared for. So we likewise have to reflect whether we with our present citizens, countrymen, together with inhabitants may consider ourselves to be a match for our Tyrant and all other foreign violence? If not; what neighbours, how many and on what worthy freedom's Terms have to be most safely, to our needy fortification, be invited by us and be called

upon by cheerfully holding out the hat of our freedom on the top of the spear, neighbours with whom we have and have not to keep peace⁷⁷ [31] Because to set up and start alliances, much less unions, with Tyrants and otherwise slavish Peoples or pretended Republics totally drowned in superstition, is in my opinion the most reckless stupidity). Our principal towns have to be most quickly brought to a mutually unfearable and most similar greatness and fortification of ramparts, and their Citizens and Inhabitants to a mentality and interest of state. Small towns, boroughs and frontiers, together with villages and hamlets etc. have likewise to be made entirely dependent on the principal, greatest and most powerful towns laying in the middle of the country or on the sea. In each of them has to be set up suitably a most notable Council of all even equally free vote having Citizens, with a properly dignified session. Perhaps in the beginning this will be among us the best means⁷⁸ that we try to raise a provisional Citizen-council from the most civilized and moderate characters of the prominent and best men among us and never determine its number; but each year increase and augment it with a considerable number, in order to arrive along this way in course of time very orderly to a most formidable free Citizen-Assembly and Council. Its meeting-place should in my view be planned and built roundabout with various galleries and banks rather elevated going up from below

⁷⁷ In setting up alliances, unions etc. the Dutch Regents have up till now generally blundered and misjudged, and one cannot expect any improvement in this respect as long as the weakness of the Dutch Government thus endures, with having to fear so many foreign and domestic evils, and when they don't manage to strengthen their ruling with the help of honest and competent fellow citizens, it is according to me absolutely impossible that the few Dutch Regents and the people will any longer be capable to free themselves from external and domestic tyranny and ruin? And when the present few Dutch Regents had no lack of courage to this, I know well and am prepared to demonstrate it, that her nobilities will not be in want of sufficient and worthy stuff, but for fear to give offence nobody dares to present his service. I, then, shall do it in their place, though I am well convinced that nobody will express to me his thanks for it.

⁷⁸ By setting up such a provisional Citizen-Council decently; I think that the Dutch people and consequently its present Regents will in spite of all European Potentates surely arrive at an eternally enduring, growing and flourishing well-being and invincible reinforcement.

(being the principal, in turn prominent presidents and directors of that assembly, containing some thousands of citizens, placed in the centre of the ground floor) after the degree of everybody's citizenship: so that all citizens may well be seen and heard by each other and their votes might be orderly and secretly, by globules, most freely given and collected. The very first resolution of this prominent assembly of the town should according to me consist in this that every Citizen, yes even every Inhabitant would be permitted or better stimulated to bring afore, under correction, in writing what he thought to belong to the Common-best and mutual reinforcement, as also to the growing and flourishing well-being of each state, with the addition of a due reward of all [proposals] which are approved by the general citizenship and deemed valuable enough for being put into practice. On this foot and condition I would yet be inclined to propose, under correction, another thing: because I think to have already perceived and understood that we, well organizing our affairs as is required by an evenequal freedom, apart from all [32] ramblings and the institution of base entreaty Embassies etc. as also unnatural alliances, much less unions with Countries and peoples, which don't advance our interest, would very well and easily be able to subsist. And therefore I assert that after having well maintained and fortified our principal towns and mainly the frontiers, we must before all things care for the marine affairs and appendices: because our safety and wellbeing is only dependent on these, also thus that without these it is impossible for us to subsist. By the fortunate situation of our country this our wellbeing is increased to such an extent that in case we continue it only with our usual industry, courage and diligent thrift, in a well regulated evenequal freedom without any base, with freedom conflicting⁷⁹

⁷⁹ **Charters Monopolies.** Well, as far as the most pernicious Pests of the Dutch People are apparent, I [!] have analyzed and discovered them to my best knowledge; but Time does not allow yet, to divulgate this openly. I will, however, with God's help, at some time later on not be able to withhold from it. In case God gave meanwhile the least successful outcome from these hardly pressing needs? Then, or after the Need will require it otherwise, I will show as clear as I can that it is impossible for the Dutch People to exist without the absolute destruction of these both, the East, and West Indians cankering Monopolies: because without free commerce in the West, it will everywhere be clearly conceived and understood, that the Dutch Shipping has to perish

patented Monopolies; we will, with God's help, shortly be able to conquer easily, on ourselves alone, all our troubles. And I dare not yet fully express myself concerning the high feeling, living in me on this point, yes I hope still to witness, that all our principal towns will so at least contain and cover ⁸⁰ thousand Morgen [M = 2 Acres, wk] of Land and be well provided with such modest buildings and houses as are most becoming and suitable to a most dignified free Citizenship. Let us, then, also, to a first entrance and celebration of our manly resolution trample down all pretended Count's privileges, Placards and Ordinances,⁸¹ wrong and exhausting, freedom-violating Administrations of justice etc. of all

totally, and must so leave freedom around the West too; so the compulsion around the East must collapse from itself, apart from this yet, that she also now cannot be kept going any longer on account of the Compulsion around the West. Trying to maintain it anyhow by some particular freedom of commerce besides the Monopoly in East-India, such I consider as possible as to mix water and fire. And all this will become apparent uncontradictorily, easily and most clearly from the nature of monopolies itself as also from the example of the ruined West-Indian Monopoly. Likewise it can also be shown that by a free, well regulated frequenting of both these fairways, constituting three quarters of the richest regions of the world, the Dutch Commerce and Shipping will at least, it is hardly credible, come to double and increase itself ten times. From which, then, one may also clearly see and perceive what incomparable harm occurs, will occur and has to occur by further continuation to our Dutch People by its unwise maintenance. Above all indubitable reasons to adduce for this, together with the examples of the hoarse West-Indian Monopoly I will also still adduce the irrefutable example of how the former Greenlandish Monopoly is destroyed by the incomparably industrious courage of particulars, in spite of, yes, against the liking of the Regents of that time. Its dissolution can now truly be said to have been and still to be the main subsistence of the whole Dutch Shipping, yes at one time even of the whole State: because I pray you, from where would the State in the Cromwellish English War have drawn the sailors, without suspending that trade? About the year 1659, in the Swedish War, I shall in due Time tell you a noteworthy thing concerning the accomplishment of the Greenlandish Shipowners for the State. And now concerning this Stuarts English War one will, I hope, yet come to hear a remarkable thing of its accomplishment in favor of the State. In short, this noble Greenlandish trade is increased from one to 20 ships by the incomparable industry and courage of particulars, and likewise instead of formerly only employing about 500 sailors, there are nowadays yearly employed about 10000, and further everything of coopers, rope-makers etc. in proportion. At some time it will also be clearly indicated that this Greenlandish Trade, albeit usually being frequented with damage for some particulars, will notwithstanding be able to subsist and tend to a special subsistence of

former Tyrants as well of our present Tyrants, despising them as shackles and fetters, and make them burn openly by the fire, as signs of our deprived and violated freedom, by their appointed executioners, to their abolition and as a last service. And this may, then, really and justly be called: *pro libertate Populi, or Patriae*. Consisting in this, that we henceforth will not accept or follow other laws or rules than those which are to our general well-being both for town and country, approved, resolved and established by our general sovereign free assemblies, after mature counselling and with a majority or otherwise a two third or three fifth part of the votes, or also which afterwards changed and improved

the common. Where on the contrary, if it had continued to be frequented by a Monopoly, it would necessarily have perished already long ago and would moreover have brought irreparable harm, perhaps also ruin to the state, all which has quite a lot to say for me. Who is able to catch it, catches it. And if it is permitted to me to add another thing? I claim, that the North- and also South-Holland's, together with the Zeeuwsche Regents etc. who have the opportunity to deliver from their relatives the range of skippers, super-cargo's and other chief-sailors together with the crowd of faithful seafaring men, have up till now, by granting consents to an East- and West-Indian Monopoly, been blind with open eyes. From which deep sleep I once intend to awake them thoroughly and honestly. To which I firmly hope and trust that these awful molests of the English and other European Potentates, likewise at some time being founded on these Monopolies, will be able to contribute considerably. Also in such a way as I also very often have expressed openly, though without success and mostly scorned out of a natural Dutch Patriot's industry) that these obstinate molests founded on Monopolies, now being exploded to a public rupture with the English, will altogether come to thrive uniquely to full freedom and the best of the Dutch peoples. So that we, or at least many of us, who now, or later on, will live in Holland, will be necessitated, to confess openly, that God has notoriously raised the English and other European Potentates, in order to bring Holland's competent Citizens and Inhabitants altogether, nobody excepted, by means of their molests inclining towards a complete ruin, to the most worthy degree of complete evenequal freedom, and consequently to an invincible, always enduring, growing and flourishing well-being. As long as my breath passes through my nose or perhaps uppermost after my life here, I will, thus reasoning, without injuring and indefatigably, contribute to this.

⁸⁰ All those people in Holland, who at present don't yet conceive or understand that every Dutch principal and prominent town may be brought in a short time to the size of 1000 Morgen of Land, in proportion well occupied and provided with Citizens and Inhabitants and to the required well-being, those I say haven't yet conceived or

by better experience are assented to. And which in respect of the Country or unified principal towns should not be practised by a⁸² vote of town for town, but by head for head of each citizen of the town: because in this way the general interest of all towns which must prevail above all, might be best approached and maintained to everyone's pleasure and an invincible fortification without any jealousy of the particular towns. About the one as well as the other subject I hope to declare myself further in writing on our forthcoming and first assembly and on that occasion, under correction, point out further and broader, how close and far our towns have to be mutually united and connected, and to which their natural evenequal interests, also closely knitted, will procure marvellous advantages. All common and considerable worthily services (*bedieningen*) of a town I want to be administered by a number of well ordered Colleges of the rich and moderately well to do Citizens mixed together, without any charge of the common, and that after Christ's

understood anything valuable concerning the best of Holland's people, and from the same ignorance, and probably also from the interest of a few Regents, it came about in Holland, to my judgment, that towns with an excellent situation in Holland were by far superseded by towns with a worse situation. And which point of the equality of Dutch towns in size and number of Citizens serves me to a most high and important point of the well-being and existence of the Dutch people, in such a way that I dare to claim forthrightly, notwithstanding all the twaddle of Dutch Interest-Writers, that Holland when failing in this point, will very soon have to contort in itself and to languish. And about this I will in due time also adduce and present solid reasons.

⁸¹ About this in Holland still valid, Count's pretended but in fact wrong and only exhausting as also freedom violating administration of justice, I will on occasion have to digress thoroughly.

⁸² **Not by vote of town for town.** You must know, Reader, that there is much power in this and being this accurately observed in Holland [34], you would see originating in Holland a miracle of miracles, and would perceive the industry of the Citizens to strengthen themselves with fellow citizens and to increase their towns, and this is also the main thing I aim at: so that one will never again have in Holland a lack of boats mates; but find itself abundantly provided with Inhabitants, though whole Europe was on its legs and active against Holland. Neither also that they ever would need to be chased away with sticks from the East-Indian House, and thus one sees in the course of time coming the Holy-people for their washing.

lesson: whoever is under you the greatest, shall be the servant of you all. The finances also must without in the least taxing the poor workman and the common housekeeping people most surely and⁸³ without any dissipation on size- or fiddlestick be invented and administrated. (Without that Town or Country will need to fall into the least debt. Nor also will ever want special public, much less secret treasuries: since the welfare of the Citizens is the safest and surest Treasury for the common).

So that it will not be possible to live anywhere cheaper than in Holland, and by referring to the shipping I hope to demonstrate this in due time so clearly as the sun is at noon.

The all too fanatical and bestial working, and which mostly makes the somehow still noble people fall into a desperate impetuosity or also otherwise lets them remain in a bestial ignorance, that I want to be relieved in a way worthy of a human being by other human intermediate exercises which sharpen the ingenuity:

[35] Because all the immoderate and more than bestial working causes an ineffable harm to all pretending Republics.

And from which also may be said to originate that the crowd of five penny beanstalks (*Sladooten*) may so easily be found in this miserable world, which in truth may be said and considered the power and food of all Tyranny.

I require also that the children of the common people like also

⁸³ **And without any dissipation on size - and fiddlestick.** This is a thing of highest concern for the Dutch Republic, and is entirely dependent on this, that the income to support the common burdens is most surely (without all wicked farming out and herewith connected most wicked smuggling and blabbing, real disturbers of the common rest) and suitably contrived with prompt accountancy as is done by merchants; and I maintain and will also, with God's help, clearly demonstrate that this can be practiced in Holland without any in the least sensible cost for the common and that accordingly without public, much less secret treasuries and incomes of the Towns, but with the destruction of all artificial as well as exhausting extravagant debts which are so much in conflict with the common country etc. that then nowhere in whole Europe may be lived cheaper than in Holland. And in this way and along this line I will also be able to point out how one might at all times in Holland be provided with an infinite crowd of right Lovers and firm as well as uncosting Advocates of the common freedom and well-being.

their orphans are moderately, according to everyone's capability, instructed in the ordinary exercises of their livelihood as well as in all man-befitting arts and sciences.

The youngsters must, when arrived at their manly years, before all things be taught how to handle courageously the H. Weapons.

So that one never needs to entrust them to the hands of the continually hired foreign Vagabonds:

Because where the force of a pretended Republic is mainly practised by means of a continuous hired army (*Soldatesque*), to the continuous and unbearable burdening of the common; know by sure that this finally must unavoidably result into an unbearable Tyranny, and ruin of that pretended Republic. And this will happen so much earlier as when there, like among us, are found Men who consider themselves, either on account of their Ancestors, or of their own pretended good services, not only qualified for the Supreme dominion or tyranny; but are also publicly glorified and as it were adored by the major part of the still badly instructed communities, in their hearts and orally and by some criminals also with the pen. Yes, what is more, although it is freed from these first and putatively preferred by some few, in power and authority far excelling above other Citizens; the common runs the same risk from the side of these same tremendous liberators: Irrespective of the kind of Zealots for which they try to show themselves to the common.

And this is a thing of such great importance that in this is never allowed any the least trust; but on account of the ordinary weakness of the human nature this [trust] must continually, by the authority of the civil free assembly and councils, together with the own weapon-exercise, be stopped, opposed and prevented.

In this question one needs principally to keep a very accurate watching eye against those who excel in bold ingenuity, rhetoric, in handling weapons and the pen and also in abundant and extravagant striving after riches:

Because according to the inclinations of all humans these will mainly be found to be Lovers of their own sensuality, and by the strong impressions of their knowledge and desires of greatness, which is stronger than in other people, they are always very violently necessitated

as it were and instigated towards a sovereign and absolute dominion.

To the promotion of the most respectable Female state, and prevention of all base fornication of popes, monks and beguines etc. like also the vile and irregular prostitution together with the wastage of male and female semen and foetus, yes the often intentional abortion (*vruchts verdervingh*), on that point I am not inclined to require severe and consequently more harmful than profitable laws;⁸⁴ but for diversion (*aflokkingh*) well tested and to the marriageable youth, etc. mainly those who went to war, satisfying means, unimpeded the wedded state yet fruitful to the common best.

So that our Dutch Republic may powerfully increase and be strengthened in people by a mild, prolific and nonetheless well regulated procreation. Without yet that a man should need or be allowed to marry more than one woman;

Because I consider this to be one of the most harmful practices for a free Republic: for this reason that there cannot be found, with respect to the necessary satisfaction, any proportion between many women and one man. And although this eventually somehow could come to happen by arrangement or casual disposition of persons, it is too uncertain, too much liable to alienation (*verwijderingh*), casual changes and basenesses; since it is impossible, on account of the inequality of the properties and charms of the women, that a Man with alliance and obligation to many Women would be capable to practice peacefully the required pleasant satisfaction to the same.

Apart yet from the fact that the various natural cases of a Man's incapability to his nuptial obligations may spoil everything and consequently also shall make the fecundity of those women totally in vain, to a remarkable disadvantage and damage of such a Republic etc.

But this might also be reasonably objected against a too narrow alliance between one Man and one woman.

Wherefore, when it is permitted to be consistent with respect to the matrimonial obligations, I would, under correction, judge this to be the most appropriate for the greatest wellbeing of a Republic and for

⁸⁴ Concerning this point I have written a certain notable concept.

each Member, women as well as men in particular: that for a family's wellbeing and maintenance; not more than one husband, and mother should be found or permitted in the most narrow alliance and supreme responsibility of a family. Meanwhile leaving to each family Father and Mother their natural freedom to license each other so widely and far as they would be able to agree upon and to approve to their family's wellbeing concerning their conjugal duties and mutual contentment.

In the case of some intended or involuntarily rising public conflict between both of them and a not being able to tolerate each other (and which should always be kept for an extremely great disrespect for both or mainly for the Men, or also mainly for the party which is the first with a public complaint), there should be left open a way to the needy pacification or otherwise also to an absolute divorce: because it is against all reason and equity that two people, after having come together to their mutual pleasure [37] and assistance would be necessitated to remain together to their mutual great sorrow and often also to their total ruin and that of the family. And about which way of separation and the most cautious procedure to follow in it, it is now not the time to digress appropriately:

Since it will appear in due time next to all other ways or manners of procedure and civil free administration of justice, like also the institution of Law courts and Judges about what is criminal and deserving punishment in injuries, cases of quarrel and dispute, discords about goods and chattels, originating from inheritance, handicrafts, trades, commerce, ship owning, contracting, agriculture, etc. and everything what is further specially required for an optimal condition of a prominent city or Republic concerning the police companies, the election of their head-officers for one year etc., all this, I say, will reveal itself in due time by our free Civil counsels most effectively, to which I therefore refer myself in principle:

Because for me, like for all of us and everybody in particular, it is impossible to propose all peculiarities of the optimal condition of a city: since they proceed endlessly and accordingly also can only be found and introduced at all times and occasions by an endless and enduring free Civil assembly:

And in this respect also this thing should once well be conceived and understood, how it is with the Nature of all human affairs; namely that nothing can be put or conceived apart from the necessary change (*nootzakelijke veranderingh*), and where the same changes cannot wisely be steered and conducted to an always growing and flourishing wellbeing, there all human affairs must necessarily fall and come to an unavoidable destruction.

For which reason all those people who aspire after supporting the affairs of State or Church only according to their privately conceived opinion and will, so in one blow (*dreun*), stature and pretended Belief or Confession; the same also aspire, with all continuous adhering misery, after a sure ruin and downfall of both, State and Church.

And which is likewise the Belief, or Confession of the prominent Politicians I know of;⁸⁵ that no solid or stable good can be put or found in the Polity, and consequently they also strike round about to everything like the Blind [38] man to the Egg, and find themselves therefore also necessitated to manage miserably with so many thousands artifices, courtly tricks, knaveries etc.

So that I cannot imagine that the life and existence of Devils could be much more miserable than the life of the contemporary vile Politician who is moreover also responsible for the miseries and infernal decline of so many millions people.

But we, then, who pursue for our Dutch Republic and People an

⁸⁵ N.Machiavel, usually a very acute (zeer scherpzinnig) Judge and Observer in political matters, treating in the first Book of his discourses in the 2nd chapter the differences and changes of Polities casually born in the world, finally, despairing of a steady and just Polity, bursts out in these words: 'Such is the cycle through which Polities turn, have turned and will turn as long as there will be commonwealths on earth' etc. Which I also consider to be the reason why this otherwise very free ingenuity and not by superstition spoiled judgment has excelled and eclipsed so blindly and rashly in his custom of teaching all kinds of trickeries and impostures: because not being able to conceive anything solid or stable concerning the common best, he has been necessitated to teach and advice everybody in particular how to make a good Fortune by means of all kinds of trickeries and knaveries. And which really is still the whole and highest doctrine or lesson of most of the old as well as contemporary politicians etc. and with which devilish fruits most old and new Histories also abound, to the ruin of all human societies.

eternal or earth enduring salvation and always improving, growing and flourishing wellbeing, find ourselves for that reason also necessitated to form and propose quite different thoughts than were proposed up till now among us?

By way of a conclusion we have yet to add to this that when we, as pointed out earlier, wisely dedicate ourselves, besides all other good things, to a mild and well regulated procreation of our required growth and extension; so it will very quickly and in less than half a man's life happen, that our prominent Towns, considered also the affluence of yet so many expected foreigners and neighbours (who meanwhile also would be willing to adopt and take upon them the task of procreation) would necessarily and as a rule get stopped up by various kinds of people.

For the efficient salvation and thinning of these people after the custom of wise Gardeners in the transposing of their Trees, Plants and Herbs, the holding and most sure maintenance of a highly free, well regulated shipping and here fore required free people's plantation in the most fruitful regions of America will be able to procure the finest opportunity to a further incredible increase of shipping and commerce.

Yes, in such a way that when in course of time the European Potentates might obstinately try to thwart us or also on account of the eventual death and ruin of trade in Europe, we would never be in a needy position but always have an abundance of countries and peoples for our subsistence.

Because where a continuous and heroical employment of people together with a mild and well-regulated procreation is wisely practised, there one will necessarily come to experience and desire the afflux of a crowd of oppressed people, just like the water necessarily flows into the valleys.

The more or less Wise people among us will, as I hope, have understood me in this point like also the rest of my useful proposals.

Being for me the growth and increase of people and extension of our free State things of the highest importance; but I also confess that speaking more about this, especially the latter point, would be much too early.

So far VRIJMONT, quite apposite on the times of the start of the Domestic and Spanish Troubles; I will now conclude this Treatise and first Part with the following propositions and considerations. And in case [39] I shall perceive that the drift and appetite to such stuff of free Political propositions will come to increase and grow in Holland; then all this will truly be merely a small specimen.

All laws, rules and ordinances must exclusively be conceived, arranged and applied to the common use and best.

And they must not be composed like the weak cobwebs, through which the big flies breaking them may harmlessly fly and the small flies only are determined to hang and stifle; but like powerful and strong cords and strings of the Republic, by which all excesses injuring the common best and extravagancies of all persons, without any distinction, are opposed most powerfully, surely and safely or also may be regulated: because the prosperity of the whole people is and must be the highest law, or law of the laws.

To the accurate discovery of which, as also the introduction and strict observance, shall be applied and devoted all the judgment and wisdom together with the respectability and power of a total and competent free Citizen assembly or people, with the most precise circumspection and surveillance, unimpeded the evenequal freedom.

Since without the jealousy, surveillance and control of a whole people concerning the fair and evenequal execution of the salutary laws, it will always and at all times be found to be impossible, to practise the same thing anyhow with other means.

And in which respect I am here fully entitled to conclude that just as it is impossible that any society of people may exist without rightful introduction, conservation and evenequal execution of the salutary laws; that likewise no society of people can subsist without employing its whole authority, wisdom and power.

Everything having to be done, in this respect, well and heroically, nothing excepted; and to be said and judged; by which the common best is promoted, and mainly that by which the Fatherland,

freedom and best is saved and freed from the extreme ruin.

And what concerning this is granted and permitted to somebody by un wisdom (*onverstand*) and without a sufficiently clear understanding of the matter etc. to his perdition, that is afterwards, after better insight and knowledge, with highest justification renounced and in supreme power again withdrawn to the common best:

Because the common best prevails above everything, and where it is notoriously prejudiced or shortened, there accordingly all contrary or differing Oaths and promises have to yield, yes to stand dumb.

The reasons of this are clear and true, also uncontradictorily, for every intelligent man: therefore because no Oaths, promises, nor whatever kind of Contracts, alliances or Peace-Treaties may ever, on whatever occasion, take place against the common best,⁸⁶ but in cases of

⁸⁶ But in cases of extreme distress etc. Here I believe that ignorants will consider or perhaps scold me for a Machiavellist. It is true, and I confess it too, that Machiavelli seems to teach this; but I deny and disavow most forcefully and strongly that he would have well conceived and understood it; because having not the least concept or understanding of a common best, he also applies this holy Rule, only becoming to a common best, in particular [40] also on all kinds of base impostures and tyrannies. As the accurate Reader and somehow knower of the common best may also perceive and check this clearly in the 41st and 42nd chapter of the third Book of his discourses. As the accurate Reader and somehow knower of the common best may also perceive and check this clearly in the 41st and 42nd chapter of the third Book of his discourses. In chapter 41 he absolutely seems to approve the folly of the French in their unconditional endorsing of the deeds of their Kings, however done, to the adstruction of his confused opinion, 'that the Fatherland, whether in honour or ignominy, justice or injustice, mercy or cruelty should always be defended'. At the end of chapter 42 about the question whether promises etc. ought to be kept, he behaves in agreement with his most knavish Book about the instruction of the Princes, in which becomes evident that he has no other or further concept of the common best than what is in the interest of the reigning heads of a Dominated people. Which I most forcefully contradict and reject, because I understand and know that the common best has to extend itself to the lowest as well as to the highest, according to the requirement of everybody's nature. And of which I refer the judgment, as being truly God's judgment concerning such an assembly, totally to the whole competent Citizenship of that society or assembly of people; and what this [assembly] finally comes to conceive and understand relating to its general best and wellbeing, all this has to prevail and anyhow to be pursued and promoted without any hesitance. And everything comes down to this that they are by mutual reasoning well

extreme distress (*nood*) they can never be taken obliging; one must then always look and strive after opportunities for jumping out.

And about which holy proposition all reasonable people and lovers of a common best including an evenequal freedom, ought before all things most clearly and concisely, without the least hesitation or shyness be instructed and enlightened, this being a highly important point in order to be most surely safe for all vile impostures and tyrannies.

The extravagancies of all particular passions like the immoderate desires after excessive princely Riches, the most noxious ambition and lust for power, together with prostitution, drunkenness, orgies, luxury and exuberance in buildings, clothes and furniture etc. ought to be slightly infringed by laws and as time goes on one should attempt and endeavour to regulate them well under the leading of reason and try to extirpate the rest with all other harmful and pressing passions totally from the people's souls.

Which teaching ought not at all be founded on terrorizing threats neither anyhow on unintelligible promises (and by which up till now the superstitions and greatest ignorance of this world are heaped up and grown to a nearly undeliverable slavery), but upon evident reasons and demonstrations of the advantages, immediately and later, attainable for each conqueror of his harmful passions, and so likewise the harms and disadvantages which surely come over anybody who follows his passions etc.

But all those who try to oppose and destroy the human passions, failures and mistakes by an extreme rigour and severity of laws and pretended penalties; such people either have tyranny and oppression in their heads or are in fact totally pitiless and inexperienced passionate people, who have not yet conceived or understood anything worthy concerning the weak human nature and its determination (*nooddwang*).

Which determination is such that no human, (being such as [41] he is before that time) can behave otherwise than he does, and consequently will all miserable people according to the intelligent man

taught about their best, to which no better means will ever be found nor given than to maintain carefully an evenequal freedom in their common civil counseling etc.

earlier and more deserve compassion and help than the affection of some vexation or torment: with respect to this the poem about the Destiny (*Noodlot*) of our very distinguished Dutch Historian and Poet P.C. Hooft I consider here worth to be included:

Happy who understands the causes
Of things; and how firmly they are mutually
Shackled, so that no living beings
(Except God) ever from themselves did anything
Or suffered it; but all by pressure of other causes.

By causal force is driven what is seen happening,
Were this too weak, no activity would last;
And cause would not be cause. All, which is done
On earth, is effectuated by a power
So great, that it cannot remain undone.

Each cause has on its turn a mother cause.
It passes as it must go; and descends from God.
His goodness, wise and mighty, is the Source
From where everything flows, like rays from the Sun.
He could and would, if useful, help us better.

On which foot further also the particular utilities, which may be drawn for the common from this⁸⁷ most holy truth, can be taught and indicated to the common very profitably:

Because from ignorance about this truth originate all the errors, that man would not totally, after body and soul and with all his actions, depend on God, together with the idle praise, honour, shame and slander:

Because the humans claiming in their infatuation (*dwazelijk*) to

⁸⁷ Most holy truth, etc. If those of the public church also knew how to apply suitably this most holy truth, also confessed by themselves, and to desist properly from their heartlessness against other convictions (*gezintheeden*), which is in conflict with it; the Dutch people would have to expect from no sect more good than from this.

be the first causes of their ideas and actions, take this as a reason justifying them to their mutual appraisals and despises, accordingly also in order to extol each other exceedingly and reversely also to envy, to hate, yes persecute most severely and kill each other.

And further, concerning the excessive repression of human passions, it is very remarkable that when they in Holland near to Petten tried to keep back the sea forcefully with three double heavy and most strongest dikes, these most strongest dikes then experienced the violence of the sea in such a way that she I don't know in how short a period three times replaced and made recline the dikes together with the country house standing on it.

Till the time that somebody in Holland came upon the idea to build the dikes outside the ordinary violence of the sea.

And by which it happened that the sea provided itself, by the sand thrown out by her, with a most stable dike or shoal.

Which example can be applied very appropriately on the making of Political laws and orders against the curbing of human extravagant inclinations or passions, failures and mistakes.

All of which one should not try and endeavour to curb with blunt, much less severe opposition; but only laxly with complaisant and compassionate concessions and continuous reasoning, on account of the essential (*aankleevende*) human weaknesses and the determination (*nooddwangh*): because we ought not try to forestall totally, with our light care, nature which has her determination in all particular things; but rather entrust her much or even the most.

And in which respect I also firmly believe that the multitude and severity of political commands and laws, according to the afore mentioned example of the sea, produce more a provocation and stimulation than a restraint of the human passions.

When these together yet with all the earlier conceived and adduced even equality's grounds and propositions are seriously considered and well reflected by you, oh all adult, modest, reason and equity pursuing Dutch highly respectable Regents; then you highly noble people will be able to see and perceive so clearly as the Sun is at noon, that all of us, nobody excepted, will be found to be weak and mostly

also paltry (*nietige*) humans and among which nobody has on himself alone the power to subsist properly and worthily without mutual help and assistance from each other.

And therefore, everybody being well considered in his particular state, all will be found to need even equally, mainly in their souls, improvement in their situation.

This may be the end of my *first part* of the free Political Propositions and considerations of state, etc.

FOLLOWS A CERTAIN EXTRACT, TENDING TO BRING
HOLLAND'S PEOPLE TO A FEELING AND INTEREST OF STATE.

Concerning the question how Sectarianisms and Dissensions not only have to be diminished but also must be totally destroyed in order to bring Holland's people in the course of time most safely and surely to a feeling and interest of state, this I also understand to be a point of highest importance for Holland's people, and that this will not be possible by other means than the infallible Divine reason and its lessons. And in order to introduce in Holland this most worthy custom and respect for the only convincing Divine reason among the Jewish and Popish reverends and to make it operative, that is, so I confess too, exclusively dependent on a very distinguished and formidable provisional Citizen-Council to be erected, (and about its safe, appropriate and most profitable introduction I intend to speak most accurately on another occasion). This provisional and prominent citizen-Council should, then, according to my view, in the first place link hands to give not in the least any support to each of the Heads, and Proponents of some sects; but to leave to everybody his sect entrusted and recommended, in the manner of the now only tolerated Sects. From which one would, firstly, attain this utility for the common, that they thus would find themselves in a position, that their conceitedness and arrogance for being respected by the Republic above all, would considerably sink and be taken away. By which their customary and illegitimately applied desire for guardianship over Church and citizens would also appear to be remarkably bruised and undermined. And further, in order to deprive all of them, nobody excepted, from all powerful means, tending to feed their sectarianisms, I would, among other things, consider this to be an excellent and effective means, to know, that all the indigent and impotent, old as well as young persons of the Sects, without any distinction, would be accepted as fully chargeable to the common. And to appoint the principal, most distinguished and moderate men, selected from all Sects together, to their general Surveyors. The costs entailed with it might be defrayed from the one or

other tax, equally imposed on all Sects. I am firmly convinced not to err in this when the Dutch Republic and Citizens could once become so happy that their understanding was proportional to their power which is adequate to it, to help and save all their humble and impotent Fellow-citizens; they would, thus laudably improving the superstitious exercise of all divided Sects, namely the support by means of vile and parsimonious alms, by this, nearly by this alone, succeed in making in a short time the whole citizenship and community to right ardent Lovers of the Republic, averse from the separate Sects. Especially when this was daily accompanied by a honest public education of sure reason, to be given by men who truly knew to teach as clear as indubitably, even to the adolescent youth, what does in truth belong to the office and obligation of a more or less free Christian man. The first beginning of which must be, according to my judgment given under correction, that people are thoroughly and concisely taught about their three kinds (*driederley*) of knowledge, namely fancying (*wanen*), believing (*gelooven*),⁸⁸ and clear knowing (*klare kennis*). And primarily the distinction between the first two, how the only fancying man is to be estimated most miserably among all adults. But that the one who is convinced by certain reason and has accordingly a most stable and sure belief, possesses the true and unique foundation of a Christian: Because like it may be proven that in order to come to God, one first has to believe surely, that God is, so it may likewise be demonstrated, that this certain and only true Christian belief has to be taught by the only certain and infallible reason, leading to the persuasion that the thing is so and so and cannot be otherwise. After this it would to my opinion, be most profitable to learn to distinguish well between man's Soul and Body together with their imagined and intellectually postulated soul's modifications (*wijzingen*), and so on to undertake it in the best way to arrive concisely at the most worthy knowledge, or love of God and the

⁸⁸(wk) 'Gelooven' means in this, also Spinozistic, distinction of three kinds of knowledge not faith, which belongs to the first kind of knowledge, but an indirect perception on account of cause and effect, which is reasoning, the second kind, just as it is the case in Spinoza's *Korte Verhandeling*, Part 2, chapter 2 about "Wat waan, geloov en klare keennis is".

Fellow man, or common best. In which way there will be most clearly shown to us an inexhaustible sea of the most delicious (*alderheerlijkste*), and best things, offices and solemnities of a right free Christian man or highest worthy Citizen. Without ever by means of anyhow slavish, also much and often deceitful Jewish and Popish manner or way of human-scriptural authorities etc. having to break or disturb each other's head, and senses. In this or similar fixed reason's way, and not otherwise, it will happen to you, oh Dutch people, that you, being once absolutely delivered from all superstitions and tyrannies, will attain the highest growing and flourishing Christian freedom and wellbeing (*welstand*). And such Teachers who, leading you surely on this track or way, are capable to bring you surely to the desired harbour of loving God above all and your fellow man like yourself, these alone, and no others, are to be estimated worthy Teachers for you, dignified Holland's people. But, may be objected by somebody, what advice, to get at such Teachers in Holland? In the first place there may not be found any other advice or means, as that without risking reproach or calumny a full freedom of modest and nonetheless serious writing and speaking is permitted, and so one will be able to discover immediately, what Lovers will present themselves to the service of the common best, in order to trail the wandering stars (*dwaelsterren*) with the help of fixed and certainly shining stars. And when, then, along this way a desire and serious hunger for the plain and right truth' knowledge of the common best once came to grow among Holland's Citizens, so it would further on become evident from itself, what other things would be required to be done for the common profit. So far provisionally (*op voorraet*),⁸⁹

.....

And remaining totally yours, acknowledging no others copies for authentic but those which are signed by me (*geen andre Exemplare voor de mijne kennende, als die dusch van my ondergeschreeven zijn*)

⁸⁹(wk) See signature on p. 86. The 's' means 'saek', an equivalent of 'zaak'. - The Epilogue, containing four pages and being merely an allusion to the sea-war between Holland and England and its latest developments, is left untranslated).

Chapter V - Part B

Articulation of the argument in VPS
(with a short commentary)

In the translation we have abstained from dividing the dense text in sections and giving heads to them. Instead of this it seemed much better to follow here the argumentation and its conclusions in a separate part of the chapter on VPS, indicating severally the pages of the original text, which are printed in bold characters.

In his *Preface* Van den Enden first tells us about the occasion, which elicited his writing on politics (**I**), namely his being asked by candidate colonists to request in their name from the city magistrate certain exemptions from taxes in their prospected colony New Netherland. The laborious and in the end failing discussions with the authorities awakened in him the interest and need for writing on politics, which gave him the greatest pleasure of his life. The Dutch common people have to be relieved from its unbearable burdens (**II**). The state has to be transformed into a free political structure. A government without the support of the citizens will necessarily perish (**III**). Plans for a reformation of politics were already developed in KVNN and are now systematically argued for in this work and its two subsequent parts. A drastically reformed Holland can become a powerful, even invincible nation in Europe (**IV**). The extension of Holland with a flourishing colony in America will become highly profitable for the economy at home. It all depends from ‘a manly resolution’ to choose for and institutionalize even equality among citizens. A quote from De la Court (**VI**) warns for the ruin of the state by internal disease, which is a much greater danger than the attack of an armed force from the exterior.

On **page 1** Van den Enden starts the *logical deduction of the best political organization from the human nature*, i.e. from its essential inclination to strive after its own well-being. This will also become Spinoza’s starting point in *Tractatus politicus* (forthwith TP) 1/7 where he asserts: “the causes and natural foundations of a state are to be

deduced from the common nature of humans and its situation” (ex hominum communi natura seu conditione deducenda sunt). The same view also on the essential selfinterestness of the human nature: “Each one necessarily seeks or turns from, by the laws of his nature, what he judges to be good or bad” (*Ethica* 4/19). Socialization is the way human nature tries to arrive at its well-being, not on account of a kind of altruism, but simply because of its weakness and its knowing, from experience and education, its usefulness and its delight. Contrary to Plato and Aristotle, who based the origin of the state only on human need and indigence (See *Politeia* 369c and *Ethica Nicomacheia* 1132b32) Van den Enden explicitly claims a role for the human desire of lust and (eventual sexual) satisfaction: “to enjoy more pleasure”. A sharp reproach of the pedant schoolmen (**page 2**) is here on its place. They wrongly teach that human nature on itself is unfit for mutual help and delightful cohabitation and that love of pleasure would be shameful. Likewise also Spinoza distinguishes himself in the beginning of his political treatise from the theoretici seu philosophi (1/1) and theologi (2/6) who in their pessimistic worldview consider men’s properties and reactions as defects and sins.

Van den Enden presents a different *theory of passions*. Those who study the thing (*zaak*) on itself ⁹⁰ and consider human nature in a neutral way must discover that bad passions do not belong to human nature as such but originate as *effects of (political) ill-treatment (quade onthaling)*. They are produced in man by an adverse environment. This is also the theory of *affectus* (= reactions) as pointed out by Spinoza in *Ethica* 3. *Affectus* is defined as the *pathema*, to which man is determined from the exterior. Man is necessarily liable to passions (4/4c). Our own power to exist is infinitely superseded by external causes (4/3), i.e. is nothing by itself.

This means that in the end *politics is responsible for the bad behavior of people*. Bad passions are the product of *geweldige bestieringh*, i.e. of violent government. Confer again Spinoza, who writes: “it is certain that rebellious behavior, contempt of law etc. are due to a bad regime. By

⁹⁰ See explanation of Van den Enden’s pen-name (*Meest Van Zaken Houdt*) on p. 51, sub ‘Authorship’.

nature all people is everywhere the same. In case, therefore, there is more moral decay there and more sins are committed in one state than in another, it is sure that the reason is that this state has not cared for concord..." (TP 5/2). The reverse is also true: all the good in human life is the effect of excellent politics of the republic and its excellent practice of education. Human well-being is only possible in a society, in which people are bound to each other. *The realization of a good society, therefore, must be the first objective of every man, who has acquired only the least true knowledge.*

Nobody, is explained on **page 3**, can be called happy outside the truly free bond of a people for political cooperation. *Freedom is essential for happiness.* Well-being can never be the product of force, repression and deceit. *People have to be taught this* by clear instruction. They must be freed from their misunderstandings about the pretended authorities and have to learn by clear induction about their even equality. The first lesson will be *that they always have to keep themselves to their own judgment* concerning what is the best for them, and that they never ought to subject themselves to the judgment of other people about their own well-being. Advisers in this matter are usually deceivers.

Let us, then, try to understand (**page 4**) that *our own interest is the decisive and even exclusive reason for our membership of a republic or society.* Where our private profit stops, as a consequence f.i. of its disorganization or abuse, our obligation to loyalty stops too. Confer again Spinoza who likewise asserts that "human nature is so constituted, that everyone seeks with the utmost passion his own advantage" and that all those who intentionally bereave us from our particular advantage are our enemies to be destroyed. (TP 7/4).

Our well-being has two sides: a mental and a corporeal side. Man consists of mind and body, and the interests of the mind are so narrowly connected with the interests of the body, that an attack on the body is an attack on the mind and makes him incapable to care for himself. Disease and deceit are equally disastrous. Again this parallels Spinoza's proposition about "man consisting of mind and body" (*Ethica* 2/13c) and their identity (2/13s), including their precise correlation. The

power to act of the mind is proportional to the power to act of the body , and the reverse (5/1).

But the promotion of our own interests can only become effective via the promotion of the interests of our fellow men. And this has to be done with generosity (*genereuxs*) and courageously (*edelmoedighlijk*). Without caring for our neighbors it is impossible to assure our own life. Spinoza wrote the same sentence down when he was still in Van den Enden's home or environment, writing the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*: "It is a thing of my happiness and my interest to devote myself to other people and to form a society, so that as many as possible other men arrive to it as safe as possible" (§ 14). He also uses in exactly the same (political) context the words 'generositas' and 'animositas' : "Quae de vera hominis libertate ostendimus, ad fortitudinem, hoc est ad animositatem et generositatem referuntur" (4/78s).

Social misery necessarily betrays a lack of religion or (what is the same) lack of love of our neighbors. A real common-wealth depends unconditionally on the effective realization of social equality and mutual help. Only this practice is able to free us from bad passions, in spite of the fact that theologians try to convince us of the contrary. In Spinoza's treatise this proposition will develop into the famous 4/37: "The good which each virtuous [generous, courageous] man desires for himself, he also desires for his fellow men, and the more so the more knowledge he has of God [i.e. processes of divine Nature]".

Van den Enden provides us now (**page 5**) with a very strong and historically unique *definition of a state*. The word he actually uses for 'state' is '*gemenebest*', which means 'highest common good'. Spinoza's equivalent was '*bonum commune*'. The most important elements of this definition are the emphasis on proportionality between the parts of a state and, secondly, the requirement that each citizen profits from the political organization. In case some people have in some degree, in their specific state, no advantage from the political organization, this structure cannot be called a state, a 'common good'. The master especially stresses this point. The word 'common' in '*gemenebest*' has to be taken in a mathematical sense, and means: for *all* participants, for each

citizen. Since there are often destitute or poor people in a state, the responsible magistrate has to care also for *provision of work* according to the capabilities and interests of the unemployed.

Another point, which is especially stipulated by Van den Enden, is that *differences in prosperity are only acceptable on the condition and in correlation to everyone's progress*. Economic growth of a country, which includes decline in welfare for a certain class of the people, is a sure announcement of its downfall. **(Page 6)** The definition of a state, given by Van den Enden, is *miles away from totalitarism*, as defended by extravagant fanatics, who pretend that we ought to devote ourselves in a disinterested and unselfish way to the general interest of the commonwealth. The state is the result and the sum of all particular interests. Nobody of good senses does serve the state without keeping his eye on his personal interest. *Altruism is unnatural and inefficient*.

Next to the most urgent interests of the body (absence of physical coercion, health, food and the fulfilling of reasonable lusts) the *most important thing for the soul is truth instead of deceit*. From nature everybody flies the lie and the liar. But on account of the nature of their unsatisfiable desire people are nonetheless usually misled by false opinions and prejudices spread by sly impostors. Therefore a public religion (with preachers and priests) *has to be refused admittance in a free republic*. **(page 7)** All pretended religions occupy and indoctrinate the soul with invented superstitions that are in conflict with intellectual freedom and lead to a slavish attitude. *The most urgent thing in a free state is, therefore, the enlightenment of the people*. No public health, no system of justice is attainable without health of the souls. Therefore *measures have to be taken against the spreading of pseudo-knowledge*. Titles as 'doctor' and 'professor' have to be avoided like also the appeal on the authority of persons and books. **Page 8)** The state, and *the state alone, cares for public education in elementary schools, medical colleges and also for medical care*. On this field there is *no place for private pursuit of profit*. Schools and health care are not a territory for the market.

(page 9) Teaching has to be done in the language of the people, eventually also in French (a language, which would nowadays to be

substituted by English), but not in old and worn out book languages like Latin. The youth must be instructed in the principles of the political community. *Never is it allowed to propose to their tender minds that corporeal well-being has to be postponed to the eternal salvation of the soul.*

By far the most important, the easiest and most effective means for the acquirement of enlightenment of the people is the full freedom of expression, more precisely *the full freedom of the public use of reasoning*. Van den Enden's passage about this point is a marvelous and very impressive (courageous also) anticipation of Spinoza's plea for the *libertas philosophandi* as contained in his TTP. The free *reedens-gebruik* will be able to expel the loose and unfounded opinions and to destroy the so-called highest axioms of pretended holy writings and false holy norms.

(page 10) Van den Enden's next point is to propose a means for establishing a free commonwealth and a device against its degeneration. In this point he disagrees with Machiavelli who thought that there do not exist means against the deterioration of a political system into its contrary (See *Discorsi* 1/12). The device *par excellence* is the *banishment of all kinds of mutual domination*, which, of course, is not the same as rendering services by the one to the other. Peace and concord are impossible in a state where some dominate over others.

This brings Van den Enden (page 11) to his sharp critique on the political writers, who either praise monarchic tyranny as a god given form of government or prefer the aristocratic domination of the richest and most powerful citizens. He also explicitly *criticizes the advocates of a mixed form of government*, which tries to combine monarchy, aristocracy and democracy into one balanced control-system: *Lycurgus*, the lawgiver of Sparta, *Polybius*, an enthusiast admirer of the Roman system, and the 'first class impostor' *Machiavelli* whose defense of the mixed form (*Discorsi* I/2) is quoted in the text. Incompatible things cannot be mixed: like water and fire domination and democratic self-government don't tolerate each other.

(page 12) *The government of the people (democracy) is the only free government, the only one also, which by her nature (uit haer*

Natuur) *allows for and is oriented on a continuous improvement of itself*. In so far other types of government in our Western history existed for a long period, as e.g. Rome, this was only thanks to the people's 'co-government' and its 'co-election'. *States were only strong or weak in accordance with the strength or weakness of the people's authority*. Sparta is an exception. This state was mainly a 'freedom-violating bride well'.

It is, moreover, arrogance to conceive in advance laws for many centuries, as it was the intention of Lycurgus. **(page 13)**. Given the manifold and necessary changes of Nature and historical circumstances laws cannot have an eternal life. Lawgivers, who pretend so under appeal to God's oracles, deceive their people. Van den Enden heavily criticizes Machiavelli's praise of Rome's constitution and political practice. All kinds of government with a sort of supreme authority above the people are infected with a fatal virus, this on account of 'man's general infinite natural desire'. {Cf. Tacitus, *Annales* IV/33/1: *ex iis conflata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel, si evenierit, haud diuturna esse potest*}.

(page 14) If somebody would object the common people's 'ordinary foolishness' Van den Enden will not deny this, but this does not imply that the people would on that account be obliged to follow blindly the knowledge of others. This would certainly turn out to their damage. If one thinks to have better knowledge, one should follow the rule of trying to convince the people of his better proposals by means of clear arguments. What is the best for the whole society is subject to the final judgment of the people alone. *The people, in fact its majority* (meesten volx) *has the highest authority concerning what has to be done for its well-being*. **(page 15)** *The wisdom of the people is always greater than the wisdom of particular persons or of an elite* (also according to Spinoza, TP 7/27). Its slowness in understanding is not a real problem. *Quickness in decisions is hindered by contrasting interests*, which are equally present among a few aristocrats as in a people.

It is absolutely no solution to delegate political responsibility to a few, because we have *no safe means to select the most intelligent*

persons from a council and, second, *we cannot be sure, that the selected persons will not prefer their own interests above the interest of the commonwealth* (also according to Spinoza: TP 1/6). Both are impossible. Van den Enden underlines again the reason: on account of the natural unsatisfiability of everyone's desires.

(page 16) *Our unavoidable selfishness makes it also necessary to institutionally couple the care for the common good to private profit of the magistrate.* When things are so organized that nobody can acquire private profit to the disadvantage of the common good, but only in a manner, which strengthens the common power and well-being, then everybody will by his own nature (his essential selfishness) be determined to further the common good to his own pleasure. Van den Enden accentuates that this is one of the most valuable considerations of a sound political theory. The '*coupling-principle*' is also the foundation stone of Spinoza's *Political Treatise*. "If human nature were so constituted, that men most desired what is most useful, no artificial device would be needed to produce concord and mutual confidence. But, as it is admittedly far otherwise with human nature, a state must of necessity be so ordered, that all, governing and governed alike, whether they will or no, shall do what makes for the general welfare " (TP 6/3) {See Klever, "Het koppelingsbeginsel in Spinoza's politicologie", *Acta Politica* 1988, 359-379}

Van den Enden now draws a preliminary conclusion: *the whole people together can nor will anything but its own common best and cannot abstain from striving after it.* And it is impossible to realize the common best otherwise than by the people's voice, in spite of what all sophisticated scholiasts and pedantic politicians write and teach. (page 17) Humans are in general not obstinate, refractory or asocial; they are uttermost capable and desirous to unite themselves in a political association, in which alone consists the Christian religion. *The people's voice has to be considered the voice of God.* This classical proverb (*vox populi vox Dei*) was quoted already on the title page and functions here as the conclusion of a long argument. (Also Spinoza gives it a prominent place, see TTP 19, TP 3/14 and 7/5).

Further, where the whole people participate in the deliberation,

no precious insight of parts of the people gets lost. Another effect is that by this continuous deliberating the common man's mind is more and more awakened to attention at the public things and that *his reasoning is 'sharpened and whetted'*. It cannot be accidental that Spinoza emphasizes the same point and uses the same word: "Men's natural abilities are too dull to see through everything at once; but by consulting, listening, and debating, they grow more acute (*ingenia accuuntur*), and while they are trying all means, they at last discover those which they want, which all approve, but no one would have thought of in the first instance", TP 9/14).

And when things go wrong, the people will be rashly inclined to change the law. *True democracy is always ready to self-improvement*, this in contrast to monarchy and oligarchy. Van den Enden is persuaded that the more intelligent citizens and those who have more possessions and / or industries shall be willing to co-found the democracy on account of their particular interest in a general well-being. **(page 18)** The common people does, of course, need leaders, which incite it to resistance against its being exploited. They will be there in a truly democratic society and take their responsibility, because admonishing and helping one's compatriots is the highest kind of piety (*vroomheid*) and courage.

Only the economically independent (wel bevoegde) men are qualified to constitute the people's council. One has to be able to care for the sustenance of oneself and his family. Dependant persons like women, children, youth and servants are not citizens (as also maintained by Spinoza in TP 11/3).

(page 19) The council of all free citizens is awe-inspiring and always composed of *three kinds of members*: 1) those who are able and have courage to offer freedom furthering proposals and to convince others of their necessity,⁹¹ 2) a much greater amount of members who are able to understand the argumentation for the proposals and are easily incited to their enactment, and 3) by far the greatest part of the council

⁹¹ Cf. Spinoza who writes: "Among hundred well-to-do and respectable persons one can hardly find two or three who excel in knowledge and counsel and have vigour of mind" (TP 8/2).

who always ‘follows and obeys’ other people, simply because it has then a good feeling. In the process of deliberation most persons of this third kind move to the second category and some of them to the first.

(page 20) In the free deliberation of a well-organized council of the people *all grains of wisdom will be taken into account*, the advices of the common man included. Rich people need not be afraid to become the looser. The ‘*common good*’ *will be the best assurance* for their safety and the safety of their possessions. In short: the creation all good things in a republic depends on the institution of a well ordered and free society of all citizens *and their armament*.

(page 21). Van den Enden, then, asserts that *it is only extreme distress and need that causes the foundation of a democracy*. This may happen in three ways: 1) by flying for oppressing enemies, 2) by the rebellion of citizens, 3) by a magnanimous resolution of those who are in autocratic power. The third possibility is improbable on account of the weakness of human nature, which is the prey of insatiable concupiscence. He does not believe that it ever happened in history or will happen in the future.

(page 21) Van den Enden now concentrates on the introduction of democracy by rebellion. And does so by *telling the history of the Dutch revolt against the tyranny of Spain*. He, thereto, quotes a speech of a certain *Vrymont* (‘freemouth’) addressing the oppressed Dutch during the reign of Philips the Second. The speech is, of course, made by the author himself. *Vrymont* first admonishes his compatriots to *learn a lesson from history*.

The best thing, he can find among our ancestors is *the necessity of our armament for the protection of our freedom*. He refers to the famous report of Tacitus (*Germania* 11) about the democracy of the Germans. Their council was a *meeting of the armed citizens*. In case they agreed with the proposals of their ministers they threw their swords and spears on a heap. When they disagreed they made a heavy noise with them. *The armament of the citizens and their regular exercise in using the weapons is a condition sine qua non for free citizenship*. Also in this point Spinoza will follow the master. He considers this to be of greatest importance since governors fear nothing more than the weapons

of the compatriots. Confer TTP 17/67 and Klever, “Krijgsmacht en defensie in Spinoza’s politieke theorie” in *Tranasktie*, 1990, 150-167.

(page 22) The decline of our original democracy was due to 1) the neglect of the armament and 2) the *pernicious role of the church*, which by her promises of a happy hereafter brought people to despising the earthly goods and bereft it of its manly courage and striving after freedom. (page 23) Most disastrous was the cooperation of the worldly sovereigns (the count Diederik and king Charles) with the church authority (the pope). This led to the massacre among the most important men of Holland and Friesland. Nowadays we sigh as slaves under the oppression of the Spanish king, the latest count of Holland. Domination of one part of the population by another part, the count or king, is always fatal for its freedom. Domination (*heersingh*) is never profitable for its wellbeing, in spite of all misleading promises. (page 24) *Philips II’s dictatorial regime is founded on papal imposture. The pope of Rome is the chief impostor* who by means of the devilish force of his inquisition tries to deprive us of the free judgment of our minds. His pseudo-religion leads straight on to the despotical coercion of the last count, the king, who usurped the democratically legitimized power of our former counts.

If we want to liberate ourselves from his political force, we must first liberate ourselves from the papal deceit and superstition. (page 25) *All political writers* (De la Court, Polybius, Machiavelli, Livius on Camillus) have to be criticized, according to a footnote remark of Van den Enden on his ‘Vrymont’s speech, for their *wrong ideas on the relation between religion and politics*. They wrongly assume that the use of religion and superstition is unavoidable for politicians. Religion is in no way the foundation of healthy politics. (page 26) We in our time (16th century) are so much tormented by the swindling of pilgrimages, indulgences, masses for souls, false miracles, oppressive taxes, murders etc., that we are by these injuries made rebellious. *Let us take the opportunity of our indignation to free ourselves from the oppression.*

(page 27) Let us avert us from all exterior cults and *apply ourselves intensively on the realization of the common best, because only the common best (gemenebest) is the practice of the love of our*

neighbors; and without the common best there is no love of neighbors really possible.

True religion can only be properly conceived as the ***religion of the ‘gemenebest’***. This is one of the most important propositions of the whole treatise VPS. One ought to read it in the Dutch text, which is more compact and still well formed. This proposition will also become one of the central propositions in Spinoza’s TTP. See its Preface, chapter 14 and chapter 19. Demonstrating this point by a series of quotations would bring me too far outside the scope of this recapitulation. Both philosophers, Van den Enden and Spinoza maintain with their highest emphasis, that religion, *Christian religion included, means nothing but acting as a good citizen and contributing as a citizen to the foundation and conservation of our common good*, the democratically organized state. Both thinkers maintain that the service of God consists only in the love of our neighbors according to the moral teaching of Old and New Testament. And this can only be arrived at by obedience to the laws of one’s democratic country.

Observation of external cults and adhesion to ecclesiastical dogmas is worthless. **(page 28)** *Christ was not a universal lawgiver* and certainly not the prescriber of new laws unheard of, but *he was a teacher* (cf. Spinoza: “nam Christus ... ut doctor documenta docebat”), a philosopher with immediate intellectual knowledge of the divine nature (cf. Spinoza’s ‘amor intellectualis Dei’). In this wisdom he knew and taught us that our salvation does not depend on the fulfillment of external ceremonies and rituals. See again Spinoza: “Concerning the ceremonies of the Christians, as baptism, supper, feasts, prayer exercises etc. ..., these are of no avail for the happiness of humans and have nothing sacred in them” (TTP 5/32.).

Christ can perfectly well be described as ‘the promotor of the common best of all peoples’, but not in this sense, that he would have given in advance precise rules for all people’s life and well-being. He did not give us a set of commands and prohibitions.

(page 29) Vrymont, then, launches a vigorous call-up to throw off the yoke of slavery and to risk our lives in order to attain a true and even equal liberty, the only foundation of our salvation. *Let us either*

live as a free people or die like the Numantines. (page 30) After this he comes to more concrete suggestions concerning the provision of enough weapons and the defense of our towns against the invasion of foreign troops. In case the local regents are afraid and coward, we, citizens, will rebel without (and against) them. In a remark to this word of Vrymont Van den Enden bitterly predicts the fall of the Republic of his own time because there are too few regents. Cf. this with Spinoza's identical indication (in TP 9/14) of the 'paucitas regentium' as the cause of the state's ruin.

(page 31) As soon as possible all citizens have to be educated to the *consciousness of their political responsibilities*. All great cities have to be governed by the highly *impressive Councils* of all their citizens. There must be built amphitheatres for their sessions, which may comprise *some thousands of citizens*. The presidency of the meetings has to be alternated. The very first decision ought to be that each citizen has the right to make a proposal and that he will receive a becoming remuneration in case the majority accepts his proposal. (page 32) Further all existing patents, monopolies, placards and earl's *privileges shall be abolished* "for the liberty of the fatherland". (page 33) They were violations of the people's justice.

In the provincial states (confederation of autonomous city states) the *voting is not per town but per head*, i.e. according to the different numbers of citizens of each town. (page 34) The public service by the citizens themselves in the various colleges of government will not be honored with a salary from the treasury. There ought not even exist treasuries or public debts. Taxes will be democratically imposed on the rich only in behalf of common facilities. It is the wish of Vrymont that people do not work 'like beasts'; he criticizes the idol of economic growth. (page 35) Armament and the *exercise in using weapons is obligatory for every citizen*. It is further of the highest importance never to trust citizens who excel above others in power and riches. On account of the ordinary weakness of human nature they will necessarily be driven to arrogance and to domination of their compatriots. (page 36) Concerning sex, marriage and divorce Vrymont cherishes a rather liberal attitude, which allows pre- and extra-matrimonial sex and

divorce with mutual consent, but which excludes polygamy. **(page 37)** He stresses that it is impossible to go into further details concerning this and other fields of legislation on account of the fact that all things are in a permanent change. He *concludes* his speech in the confidence that the sketched democracy of the Dutch people will exist as long as the earth itself.

(page 38) After this speech Van den Enden, responsible for the speech of Vrymont, takes again the word in his own name and formulates a few additional reflections and propositions. He first underlines that the laws must be devised and executed for the general profit. *The wellbeing of the whole people is the highest norm, i.e. the law of the laws.* **(page 39)** But this purpose can only be attained if all parts and classes of the people cooperate to their formulation and to unconditional and full execution in all circumstances. Without its continuous application and supervision democracy will remain a utopia.

As a system, which makes self-improvement possible and is oriented on it, democracy functions best when it is uttermost flexible. One has to desist from decisions and regulations as soon as one has come by experience to better insights. *Contracts have to be broken as soon as one discovers that they develop to the disadvantage of the people.* Van den Enden disagrees with Grotius' normative principle (*pactis stare*) and Spinoza will follow him on this point too. See TTP 16 and TP 3/14. Without fear of hurt or hope of gain a commonwealth is independent and has the right (and obligation) to break its contract.

(page 40) It will be useless to oppose extravagant desires and reactions, such as excessive riches, harmful ambition and domination, drunkenness, luxury of buildings etc. by forbidding laws. It is better to regulate and reduce behavioral excesses indirectly by means of good education and instruction. This passage about the way of moral improvement is an anticipation of Spinoza's *Ethica*, part 4 and 5.

(page 41) Van den Enden also subscribes unconditionally to Spinoza's determinism. Human nature is subject to an enforcing *nootdwangh*: it cannot behave otherwise than it actually does behave. He illustrates this with a poem from a famous Dutch poet, P.C. Hooft. He further maintains that this 'most holy truth' (determinism) has a great

value for the community. (page 42) The man who has internalized this item and knows that everything is determined by God or Nature, will not boast of himself nor despise or reproach other people. This is again an impressive anticipation of the whole of Spinoza's *Ethica*. (page 43) The same must be said about the so-called *Extract*, which is added to the text because there were a few blank pages left. This 'extract' must be, to judge from the style, a part from an earlier text of Van den Enden, in which he explains how sectarianism and dissensions have to be diminished and a '*feeling and interest of state*' can be promoted. The *care for poor people* may not be in the hands of churches, but *is fully chargeable to the common*. (page 44). Most important is also the typical Spinozistic *distinction between three kinds of knowledge*, which is here already fully present. The distinction is given in the words we also find in Spinoza's *Korte Verhandelinge*, which proves that the two thinkers work on common ground. The other parts of the fragment are likewise signs of a *shared philosophy*.

A final remark

The above comments on Van den Enden's magisterial text were short, much too short. The text is dynamite of the highest possible and most explosive caliber. The deep sense of the Dutch text cannot get its full and sharp relief in my poor English. I gave a number of references to Spinoza, which prove that the two great men really have the same political theory. In my recent publication of a translation of Van den Enden's old Dutch into new Dutch⁹² I gave at least fifty other striking quotations from Espinoza, which prove my claim that they without any doubt are twin philosophers. Naturally the elder genius, who was already for a long period 'busy' with politics, must have been the stimulator and inspirator of the younger one and may, on that account,

⁹² The full title is: *Met de oude Grieken, Van den Enden en Spinoza naar echte directe democratie, inclusief hertaalde en toegelichte Vrye Politieke Stellingen, Tweede (herziene en uitgebreide) druk van Democratische Vernieuwing in NL en EU op historische en filosofische grondslag* (Vrijstad 2007).

be called a 'Proto-Spinoza', as I claimed shortly after my discovery of his political writings in 1990. There is plenty of evidence for his priority, as is shown in the chapter with the available sources. Not only is Spinoza's political theory in all its glance and glory already present in Van den Enden's KVNN and VPS, often also more extensively and better argued for, but apart from this also all the main themes of his *Ethica*, for which his name is so great and so much contested, are anticipated by the incomparable talents of the philosophical mastermind, the teacher par excellence. And in contrast with the political propositions the ethical ones are not so far elaborated as was done by the great disciple. But yet: they are there and cannot be misunderstood. They concern determinism, naturalism, the theory of the three kinds of knowledge, the mechanism of reactions and so on. Especially on the last few pages of the VPS one doubts whether one is reading Van den Enden or Spinoza, so much close are their texts to each other.

This book must come to an end. The above mentioned claim about Van den Enden's philosophical greatness and his formatting Spinoza must be tested by the reader through analyzing and assiduously studying the presented material and comparing it with the riches of Spinoza's work. My contribution to this scholarly work, which in my view drastically changes the history of seventeenth century philosophy, is finished. It is my wish and expectation that many Spinoza scholars will find the way to his master and will be as much fascinated by his personality as it happened to me.

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