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REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

Peggy

BARBARA AND I THANK HER MAJESTY QUEEN BEATRIX AND THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS FOR THE WARM WELCOME YOU HAVE GIVEN US.

THE NETHERLANDS IS AN OLD FRIEND AND HONORED ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES.

- 2 -

THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR NATIONS IS OLDER THAN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION -- AND THE UNITED PROVINCES WERE ONE OF THE MODELS OUR FOUNDERS LOOKED TO IN CREATING A NATION FROM THIRTEEN SOVEREIGN STATES.

IT IS A PLEASURE TO VISIT LEIDEN -- A CITY WHOSE VERY NAME HAS SYMBOLIZED FOR CENTURIES DUTCH DETERMINATION, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AGAINST THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION. AND FOR AMERICANS, TOO, LEIDEN IS A SPECIAL CITY, A PLACE WHERE WE TRACE OUR ORIGINS.

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SO MANY OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO SHAPED THE MODERN WORLD WALKED THE COBBLED STREETS OF LEIDEN. IT WAS HERE IN LEIDEN THAT HUGO DE GROOT [U-GO DUH GROTE] -- KNOWN TO THE WORLD AS GROTIUS, [GROW-SHE-US] THE FATHER OF MODERN INTERNATIONAL LAW -- STUDIED, IN THE NATION THAT IS TODAY HOME TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. IT WAS HERE THAT REMBRANDT LIVED AND WORKED -- AND CREATED A WORLD OF BEAUTY THAT MOVES US TODAY.

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IT WAS HERE TO LEIDEN THAT THE PILGRIMS CAME TO ESCAPE PERSECUTION -- TO LIVE, WORK AND WORSHIP IN PEACE. IN THE SHADOW OF THE PIETERSKERK [PETERS-KIRK], THEY FOUND THE FREEDOM TO WITNESS GOD -- OPENLY AND WITHOUT FEAR. HERE -- UNDER THE ANCIENT STONES OF THE PEITERSKERK -- THE BODY OF JOHN ROBINSON, THE PILGRIMS' SPIRITUAL LEADER, WAS LAID TO REST.

AND IT WAS FROM THIS PLACE THE PILGRIMS SET THEIR COURSE FOR A NEW WORLD.

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IN THEIR SEARCH FOR LIBERTY, THEY TOOK WITH THEM LESSONS LEARNED HERE OF FREEDOM AND TOLERANCE. THE PILGRIMS FACED A DANGEROUS PASSAGE. BUT, CARRIED ON THE WINDS OF HOPE, THEY ARRIVED. ON THE ROCKY COAST OF NEW ENGLAND -- AT THE EDGE OF A WILD AND UNSETTLED CONTINENT -- THEY PLANTED THE SEEDS OF A NEW WORLD -- A WORLD THAT BECAME AMERICA.

TODAY, AS WHEN THE PILGRIMS LEFT THIS CITY, A NEW WORLD LIES WITHIN OUR REACH.

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OUR TIME IS A TIME OF GREAT HOPE -- AND A TIME OF GREAT CHALLENGES. THE NEW WORLD WE SEEK IS SHAPED BY AN IDEA -- AN IDEA OF UNIVERSAL APPEAL AND UNDENIABLE FORCE. THAT IDEA IS DEMOCRACY.

THE POWER OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA IS EVIDENT EVERYWHERE -- IN THE HALLS OF GOVERNMENT, IN THE HEARTS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD.

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IN THE WORDS OF VICTOR HUGO: "NO ARMY CAN WITHSTAND THE STRENGTH OF AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME." LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FREEDOM'S TIME HAS COME.

WE -- THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS -- ARE FORTUNATE. THE FREEDOMS OTHERS ARE STRUGGLING FOR ARE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY. BUT FREEDOM NEVER COMES WITHOUT STRUGGLE -- AND NO STRUGGLE IS WITHOUT SACRIFICE. AMERICANS AND THE DUTCH BOTH KNOW THE COST OF FREEDOM IS HIGH.

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THAT'S WHY BOTH OF OUR NATIONS ARE PARTNERS IN AN ALLIANCE OF FREE NATIONS THAT SPANS THE OCEAN THE PILGRIMS CROSSED. OUR ALLIANCE, THE NATO ALLIANCE, CONNECTS TWO CONTINENTS -- UNITES A HEMISPHERE. BUT WHAT CONNECTS US ISN'T MERELY A FACT OF GEOGRAPHY. OURS IS AN ALLIANCE FORGED ON COMMON VALUES -- ROOTED IN A SHARED HISTORY AND HERITAGE, A COMMON KINSHIP AND CULTURE. WE ARE PART OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS.

- 9 -

ALMOST TWO MONTHS AGO, I CAME TO EUROPE TO CELEBRATE THE FRUITS OF OUR ALLIANCE: FOUR DECADES OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM. AT THE TIME OF NATO'S FOUNDING -- AMID THE AIRLIFT TO BESIEGED BERLIN -- FEW WOULD HAVE PREDICTED A PEACE SO STRONG AND LASTING. HERE IN THE NETHERLANDS -- AND ELSEWHERE -- SOME PEOPLE EXPECTED WAR TO COME AGAIN WITHIN THEIR LIFETIMES. INSTEAD, THE NATO ERA HAS BROUGHT THE LONGEST PERIOD OF PEACE EUROPE HAS KNOWN IN THE MODERN AGE.

- 10 -

WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT TO KEEP THE PEACE IN EUROPE IS TO KEEP THE PEACE FOR AMERICA.

AND TODAY, THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE -- FORMED TO CONTAIN THE THREAT OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM -- IS CREATING NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO EASE TENSIONS -- TO BUILD A NEW WORLD, TO BUILD AN ENDURING PEACE. THANKS TO NATO'S STRENGTH AND UNITY, WE NOW HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT -- TO INTEGRATE THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

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THANKS TO NATO'S STEADINESS OF PURPOSE, AND ITS COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN STRONG DETERRENT FORCES, THE WAY IS NOW OPEN TO REAL REDUCTIONS IN THE LEVEL OF ARMS THAT HAS LONG CAST A SHADOW OVER THIS CONTINENT, THE MOST HEAVILY MILITARIZED ON EARTH.

SEIZING THESE OPPORTUNITIES -- REACHING THAT NEW WORLD -- DEPENDS ON THE UNITY AND STRENGTH OF THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE -- NOT ON THE ACTIONS OF ONE NATION ALONE.

- 12 -

THE REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION -- IN WHICH THE NETHERLANDS PLAYED A VITAL ROLE -- THE GROWING COOPERATION ON SECURITY ISSUES BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND FRANCE; BRITISH AND FRENCH RESOLVE TO MODERNIZE THEIR OWN NUCLEAR FORCES: EACH OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS IS A SIGN THAT EUROPE SEES THE WISDOM OF SUSTAINING THE COLLECTIVE STRENGTH THAT HAS KEPT THE PEACE.

- 13 -

THE LESSON OF OUR POST-WAR EXPERIENCE IS THIS: STRENGTH HAS KEPT US SAFE, AND HAS CREATED OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHANGE. AND FROM THESE OPPORTUNITIES, WE CAN CREATE A NEW ERA OF ENDURING PEACE.

LET ME SAY CLEARLY: A STRONGER EUROPE -- A MORE UNITED EUROPE -- IS GOOD FOR AMERICA.

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IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WE WELCOME -- A NATURAL EVOLUTION WITHIN OUR ALLIANCE -- THE PRODUCT OF TRUE PARTNERSHIP FORTY YEARS IN THE MAKING.

THIS TREND TOWARDS CLOSER COOPERATION ISN'T LIMITED TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY ALONE. AROUND THE WORLD, COUNTRIES ARE NOW RECOGNIZING THAT NO NATION CAN PROSPER IN ECONOMIC ISOLATION. THAT'S WHY WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET AND A MORE INTEGRATED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

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THE WORLD'S MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES MUST WORK TO MAINTAIN AN OPEN TRADING SYSTEM TO PRESERVE SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH.

OUR PROGRESS AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN PARIS BROUGHT US CLOSER TO A MORE COORDINATED AND COMMON APPROACH ACROSS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF CRITICAL GLOBAL ISSUES. THE KEY IS CONCERTED ACTION -- BRINGING THE COLLECTIVE STRENGTH OF THE WEST TO BEAR ON OUR COMMON CONCERNS.

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CONCERNS LIKE THE ENVIRONMENT. GLOBAL WARMING, ACID RAIN, AND POLLUTION OF THE WORLD'S OCEANS -- THESE ARE PROBLEMS THAT KNOW NO BORDERS, THAT NO LINE ON A MAP HAS THE POWER TO STOP. POLLUTION CROSSES CONTINENTS AND OCEANS. IT'S TIME FOR NATIONS TO JOIN FORCES IN COMMON DEFENSE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.

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THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS PART. A LITTLE OVER A MONTH AGO, I ANNOUNCED A SERIES OF SWEEPING CHANGES TO OUR CLEAN AIR ACT -- CHANGES MEANT TO ENSURE THAT EVERY AMERICAN, IN THE SPACE OF ONE GENERATION, WILL BREATHE CLEAN AIR.

SHORTLY AFTER I RETURN HOME, WE WILL SEND OUR CLEAN AIR LEGISLATION TO CONGRESS. LAST WEEK IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, I ANNOUNCED INITIATIVES TO WORK WITH THOSE TWO COUNTRIES TO COMBAT THEIR POLLUTION PROBLEMS.

- 18 -

THE NEXT STEP IS CLEAR: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER -- TAKE CONCERTED ACTION TO COMBAT THIS COMMON PROBLEM, CLEAN UP OUR ENVIRONMENT FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OUR CHILDREN.

AND THE SUMMIT UNDERScoreD THE FACT THAT IT'S TIME WE TAKE THE NEXT STEP IN SOLVING THE DEBT PROBLEM -- TO ENCOURAGE CONDITIONS FOR GLOBAL GROWTH THAT WILL BENEFIT THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS AND DEVELOPING WORLD ALIKE. WE MUST MAKE PROGRESS ON THIS BECAUSE IT IS MORE THAN A MATTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

- 19 -

DEMOCRACY IS AT STAKE. FREEDOM CAN NOURISH THE BARREN SOIL OF POVERTY -- JUST AS THE PILGRIMS LANDED UPON A DESOLATE ROCK, AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY WE KNOW TODAY. ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT GO HAND IN HAND. THE STEPS WE'VE TAKEN TOWARDS A COMMON STRATEGY ON DEBT WILL SUSTAIN A FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR GROWTH -- AND FOR THE FLOURISHING OF DEMOCRACY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

- 20 -

BUT WE'RE REALISTIC. WE KNOW THAT THE FACT THAT THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEGUN TO REFORM HAS MORE TO DO WITH THEIR REALIZATION THAT COMMUNISM IS A DEAD-END DOCTRINE THAN WITH ANY NEW-FOUND LOVE OF FREEDOM. BUT WHAT MATTERS AT THIS POINT IS MOVEMENT, NOT MOTIVE. DEMOCRACY -- ONCE SET IN MOTION -- TAKES ON A MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN.

AND FINALLY, THERE'S EASTERN EUROPE.

- 21 -

LET ME EXPLAIN THE APPROACH I TAKE TOWARDS REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE WILL NEVER COMPROMISE OUR PRINCIPLES. WE WILL ALWAYS SPEAK OUT FOR FREEDOM. BUT WE UNDERSTAND AS WELL HOW VITAL A CAREFULLY CALIBRATED APPROACH IS IN THIS TIME OF CHANGE.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOTHING TO FEAR FROM THE REFORMS NOW UNFOLDING IN SOME OF THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE. WE SUPPORT REFORM -- IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND IN THE USSR.

- 22 -

I'VE SAID MANY TIMES I WANT TO SEE PERESTROIKA SUCCEED. I WANT TO SEE THE SOVIET UNION CHART A COURSE THAT BRINGS IT INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

MY VISITS THESE LAST TWO MONTHS DEMONSTRATE HOW CLOSELY THE UNITED STATES IS LINKED TO EUROPE. FOR HALF A CENTURY, AMERICA HAS BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE FUTURE OF THIS CONTINENT. THAT U.S. INVOLVEMENT WILL BE A STRATEGIC FACT OF THE NEXT CENTURY AS IT HAS BEEN OF THIS ONE.

WE WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN EASTERN EUROPE'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PLURALISM -- AND IN CREATING AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE IN WHICH REFORM CAN SUCCEED. THAT IS WHY AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE SO IMPORTANT. IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE USSR REDUCE PRESSURE ON THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE -- ESPECIALLY THOSE ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF REFORM.

THE NEW WORLD WE SEEK IS A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS WORKING IN CONCERT -- A WORLD WHERE MORE AND MORE NATIONS ENTER A WIDENING CIRCLE OF FREEDOM.

IN THE PULPIT HERE AT THE PIETERSKERK, ONE YEAR AFTER PEACE WAS RESTORED IN EUROPE, WINSTON CHURCHILL SPOKE TO THE PEOPLE OF LEIDEN. THE ALLIES HAD TRIUMPHED OVER TYRANNY. THE OCCUPATION WAS OVER. AFTER SIX YEARS OF WAR AND DEVASTATION, CHURCHILL SAID: "THE GREAT WHEEL HAS SWUNG FULL CIRCLE."

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EUROPE THEN STOOD AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA -- AN ERA WHOSE HOPE CHURCHILL EXPRESSED IN A SINGLE, SIMPLE PHRASE: "LET FREEDOM REIGN."

WE ALL KNOW WHAT FOLLOWED. HALF OF EUROPE ENTERED THAT NEW ERA -- AND HALF OF EUROPE FOUND ITS PATH BLOCKED, WALLED OFF BY BARRIERS OF BRICK AND BARBED WIRE.

- 26 -

THE HALF OF EUROPE THAT WAS FREE DUG OUT FROM THE RUBBLE, RECOVERED FROM THE WAR -- AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREE GOVERNMENT AND FREE ENTERPRISE THAT BROUGHT UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY, AND A LIFE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM.

THE "OTHER EUROPE" -- THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL -- ENDURED FOUR DECADES OF PRIVATION AND HARDSHIP, PERSECUTION AND FEAR.

- 27 -

TODAY, THAT "OTHER EUROPE" IS CHANGING. THE GREAT WHEEL IS MOVING ONCE MORE. OUR TIME IS A TIME OF NEW HOPE -- THE HOPE THAT ALL OF EUROPE CAN NOW KNOW THE FREEDOM THE NETHERLANDS HAS KNOWN, THAT AMERICA HAS KNOWN, THAT THE WEST HAS KNOWN.

OUR HOPE IS THAT THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE WILL NOW COME TO AN END -- THAT THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL WILL JOIN ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST, PROSPEROUS AND FREE.

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POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE AT THE FOREFRONT OF REFORM. THEY'VE TRAVELLED FAR THESE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, FARTHER THAN ANY OF US ONCE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. IN WARSAW, I SPOKE TO THE NEW POLISH PARLIAMENT THAT INCLUDES 100 FREELY-ELECTED SENATORS -- ELECTED TO OFFICE IN EASTERN EUROPE'S FIRST TRULY FREE ELECTION IN THE POST-WAR ERA.

IN HUNGARY, I ADDRESSED THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY -- A UNIVERSITY WHERE THE LESSONS OF THE FREE MARKET ARE REPLACING THE TEACHINGS OF DAS KAPITAL.

AT THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, AND AT THE STATUE OF THE GREAT HUNGARIAN HERO KOSSUTH, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FILLED THE STREETS -- NEW VOICES, FULL OF NEW HOPE.

THEIRS WERE THE FACES OF PILGRIMS ON A JOURNEY -- FIXED ON THE HORIZON, ON THE NEW WORLD COMING INTO VIEW.

AND THEY KNOW AS WE DO, THAT ULTIMATELY, WHATEVER THE ODDS, FREEDOM WILL SUCCEED.

IT'S A LESSON THE WORLD HAS LEARNED SEVERAL TIMES THIS CENTURY -- A LESSON THE DUTCH KNOW WELL. THE NETHERLANDS WILL NEVER FORGET THE NIGHTMARE OF OCCUPATION. SOME OF YOU HERE TODAY SUFFERED THROUGH THOSE LONG YEARS.

AND EVEN THEN -- FREEDOM ENDURED. HERE IN THE PIETERSKERK -- BEHIND THESE WALLS, ABOVE THE RAFTERS -- RESISTANCE FIGHTERS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOOK REFUGE FROM THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION, FOUND SAFE HAVEN IN THIS CHURCH.

DAILY ACTS OF HEROISM -- THE CHURCH SEXTON WHO BROUGHT THEM FOOD, THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROCER WHO COLLECTED EXTRA RATION STAMPS -- KEPT THEM ALIVE -- KEPT THE SPIRIT OF DIGNITY AND HUMAN DECENCY ALIVE THROUGH THE NETHERLANDS' DARK NIGHT.

WHY? WHY WOULD PEOPLE ENDANGER THEMSELVES TO SAVE OTHERS? THEY DID IT FOR THE SIMPLEST, MOST HUMAN OF REASONS.

IN THE WORDS OF JAN CAMPERT [YAHN KAHM-PERT], POET OF THE DUTCH RESISTANCE, THEY ACTED BECAUSE "THE HEART . . . COULD NOT DO OTHERWISE."

FREEDOM CAN NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED -- NOT THEN, NOT NOW. EVEN IN THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL, THE DREAM OF FREEDOM FOR ALL EUROPE HAS NEVER DIED. IT'S ALIVE TODAY -- IN WARSAW AND GDANSK, IN BUDAPEST AND ACROSS THE SOVIET UNION.

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE IS CLEAR: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TOWARD THE DAY WHEN ALL OF EUROPE -- EAST AND WEST -- IS FREE OF DISCORD, FREE OF DIVISION. A DAY WHEN PEOPLE IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN ACROSS THIS CONTINENT KNOW THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY.

HERE IN LEIDEN, WHERE THE PILGRIMS DREAMED THEIR NEW WORLD, LET US PLEDGE OUR EFFORT TO DISCOVER THE NEW WORLD OF EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE, A NEW WORLD NOW WITHIN OUR REACH.

FINAL
Peggy

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MY VISITS THESE LAST TWO MONTHS DEMONSTRATE HOW CLOSELY THE UNITED STATES IS LINKED TO EUROPE. FOR HALF A CENTURY, AMERICA HAS BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE FUTURE OF THIS CONTINENT. THAT U.S. INVOLVEMENT WILL BE A STRATEGIC FACT OF THE NEXT CENTURY AS IT HAS BEEN OF THIS ONE. WE WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN EASTERN EUROPE'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PLURALISM -- AND IN CREATING AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE IN WHICH REFORM CAN SUCCEED. THAT IS WHY AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE SO IMPORTANT. IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE USSR REDUCE PRESSURE ON THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE -- ESPECIALLY THOSE ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF REFORM.

THE NEW WORLD WE SEEK IS A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS WORKING IN CONCERT -- A WORLD WHERE MORE AND MORE NATIONS ENTER A WIDENING CIRCLE OF FREEDOM.

IN THE PULPIT HERE AT THE PIETERSKERK, ONE YEAR AFTER PEACE WAS RESTORED IN EUROPE, WINSTON CHURCHILL SPOKE TO THE PEOPLE OF LEIDEN. THE ALLIES HAD TRIUMPHED OVER TYRANNY. THE OCCUPATION WAS OVER. AFTER SIX YEARS OF WAR AND DEVASTATION, CHURCHILL SAID: "THE GREAT WHEEL HAS SWUNG FULL CIRCLE." EUROPE THEN STOOD AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA -- AN ERA WHOSE HOPE CHURCHILL EXPRESSED IN A SINGLE, SIMPLE PHRASE: "LET FREEDOM REIGN."

WE ALL KNOW WHAT FOLLOWED. HALF OF EUROPE ENTERED THAT NEW ERA -- AND HALF OF EUROPE FOUND ITS PATH BLOCKED, WALLED OFF BY BARRIERS OF BRICK AND BARBED WIRE.

THE HALF OF EUROPE THAT WAS FREE DUG OUT FROM THE RUBBLE, RECOVERED FROM THE WAR -- AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREE GOVERNMENT AND FREE ENTERPRISE THAT BROUGHT UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY, AND A LIFE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM.

THE "OTHER EUROPE" -- THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL -- ENDURED FOUR DECADES OF PRIVATION AND HARDSHIP, PERSECUTION AND FEAR.

TODAY, THAT "OTHER EUROPE" IS CHANGING. THE GREAT WHEEL IS MOVING ONCE MORE. OUR TIME IS A TIME OF NEW HOPE -- THE HOPE THAT ALL OF EUROPE CAN NOW KNOW THE FREEDOM THE NETHERLANDS HAS KNOWN, THAT AMERICA HAS KNOWN, THAT THE WEST HAS KNOWN.

OUR HOPE IS THAT THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE WILL NOW COME TO AN END -- THAT THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL WILL JOIN ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST, PROSPEROUS AND FREE.

POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE AT THE FOREFRONT OF REFORM. THEY'VE TRAVELLED FAR THESE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, FARTHER THAN ANY OF US ONCE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. IN WARSAW, I SPOKE TO THE NEW POLISH PARLIAMENT THAT INCLUDES 100 FREELY-ELECTED SENATORS -- ELECTED TO OFFICE IN EASTERN EUROPE'S FIRST TRULY FREE ELECTION IN THE POST-WAR ERA. IN HUNGARY, I ADDRESSED THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY -- A UNIVERSITY WHERE THE LESSONS OF THE FREE MARKET ARE REPLACING THE TEACHINGS OF DAS KAPITAL.

AT THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, AND AT THE STATUE OF THE GREAT HUNGARIAN HERO KOSSUTH, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FILLED THE STREETS -- NEW VOICES, FULL OF NEW HOPE. THEIRS WERE THE FACES OF PILGRIMS ON A JOURNEY -- FIXED ON THE HORIZON, ON THE NEW WORLD COMING INTO VIEW.

AND THEY KNOW AS WE DO, THAT ULTIMATELY, WHATEVER THE ODDS, FREEDOM WILL SUCCEED.

IT'S A LESSON THE WORLD HAS LEARNED SEVERAL TIMES THIS CENTURY -- A LESSON THE DUTCH KNOW WELL. THE NETHERLANDS WILL NEVER FORGET THE NIGHTMARE OF OCCUPATION. SOME OF YOU HERE TODAY SUFFERED THROUGH THOSE LONG YEARS.

AND EVEN THEN -- FREEDOM ENDURED. HERE IN THE PIETERSKERK -- BEHIND THESE WALLS, ABOVE THE RAFTERS -- RESISTANCE FIGHTERS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOOK REFUGE FROM THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION, FOUND SAFE HAVEN IN THIS CHURCH.

DAILY ACTS OF HEROISM -- THE CHURCH SEXTON WHO BROUGHT THEM FOOD, THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROCER WHO COLLECTED EXTRA RATION STAMPS -- KEPT THEM ALIVE -- KEPT THE SPIRIT OF DIGNITY AND HUMAN DECENCY ALIVE THROUGH THE NETHERLANDS' DARK NIGHT.

WHY? WHY WOULD PEOPLE ENDANGER THEMSELVES TO SAVE OTHERS? THEY DID IT FOR THE SIMPLEST, MOST HUMAN OF REASONS. IN THE WORDS OF JAN CAMPERT [YAHN KAHM-PERT], POET OF THE DUTCH RESISTANCE, THEY ACTED BECAUSE "THE HEART . . . COULD NOT DO OTHERWISE."

FREEDOM CAN NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED -- NOT THEN, NOT NOW. EVEN IN THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL, THE DREAM OF FREEDOM FOR ALL EUROPE HAS NEVER DIED. IT'S ALIVE TODAY -- IN WARSAW AND GDANSK, IN BUDAPEST AND ACROSS THE SOVIET UNION.

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE IS CLEAR: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TOWARD THE DAY WHEN ALL OF EUROPE -- EAST AND WEST -- IS FREE OF DISCORD, FREE OF DIVISION. A DAY WHEN PEOPLE IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN ACROSS THIS CONTINENT KNOW THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY.

HERE IN LEIDEN, WHERE THE PILGRIMS DREAMED THEIR NEW WORLD, LET US PLEDGE OUR EFFORT TO DISCOVER THE NEW WORLD OF EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE, A NEW WORLD NOW WITHIN OUR REACH.

ONCE AGAIN, THANK YOU. GOD BLESS THE NETHERLANDS, GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM EVERYWHERE.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: PEGGY DOOLEY

RE: LEIDEN SPEECH

page 1, para 4: pronunciation for Grotius is GROW-she-us.

page 2, para 1: delete "ancient" before "stones of the Pieterskerk." The church dates from around 1500.

page 3, para 2: "Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in all of recorded history." -- does this qualify as rhetoric? Hard to verify -- or to qualify "all of recorded history."

page 5, para 3: Change "A month ago" to "A little over a month ago." Date of Clean Air Act announcement was June 8. Also "changed" should be "changes."

page 5, para 4: Cut "Our European partners understand what is at stake, and you're taking action." Bob Grady says is not true.

page 6, para 5: We changed a sentence earlier in the speech (page 4, para 3) to make it clear that the United States and the Soviet Union have nothing to fear from a united Europe. Now we're splitting it up. Contradiction?

page 7, para 3: "Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk." -- the President is not speaking from the pulpit. It will be to the front of him, to his right.

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1. (Jim) Cicconi / Paris, France

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

2. ~~Christina Martin~~ / Speechwriting Research, X7750

FOR 151811Z C

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8 JUL 15 12:23
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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

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Ch 244-5300
Amb 234-1136

CNN
898-7900

McGroarty/Dooley
July 15, 1989
12:30 p.m.
[LEIDEN]
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that ~~Hugo de Groot~~ [U-go duh GROTE] -- known to the world as ~~Grotius~~, [GRO-shus], the father of modern international law -- studied, ~~In the nation that is today home to the International Court of Justice.~~ It was here that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

Debbie Casio



Grow-She-us
A. Anderson
H. Casio
L. Casio
Ed. Unabridged

2

X
It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ~~ancient~~ stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." Ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling

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for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know the cost of freedom is high.

That's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.

~~We are part of the commonwealth of free nations.~~ Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlift to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and elsewhere -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. ~~Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in all of recorded history.~~

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

~~Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real~~

4

~~reductions in the level of arms -- nuclear and conventional~~
~~that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily~~
~~armamentized on earth.~~

NSC

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; ~~British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear~~

NSC

~~systems.~~ each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America or the Soviet Union need fear. For us, it is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation.

~~what is why we look forward to the single European market and a~~
~~more integrated European community.~~ The world's major industrial

democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

Our progress at the Economic Summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.

The United States will do its part.

A little over a

~~month ago~~

~~announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act --~~
~~changed meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one~~
~~generation, will breathe clean air.~~

~~Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air~~
~~legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I~~
~~announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat~~
~~their pollution problems. Our European partners understand what~~
~~is at stake, and you're taking action.~~ The next step is clear:

We've got to work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

*Announcement
6/8/89*

*CAA
Announcement
speech*

*Sejm Speech
7/10/89
Karl Marx Club
7/12/89*

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And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the **debt problem** -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike. **We must make progress on this** because it is more than a matter of economic development. **Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.**

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And finally, there's Eastern Europe.

Let me explain the approach I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will **never** compromise our principles. We will **always** speak out for freedom. But we **understand** as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of change.

X Just as we have nothing to fear from a stronger, more united Europe -- the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the reforms now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform -- in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR. I've said many times I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings it into the community of nations.

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We can play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development -- and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. ~~What is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduces pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.~~

The new world we seek is a commonwealth of free nations working in concert -- a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom.

~~Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk,~~ one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

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Today, that "other Europe" is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk, and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope. Theirs were the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

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But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And ultimately, whatever the odds, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps - - kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherlands' dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all

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Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to discover the new world of Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, G bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

#

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Jeremy Bangs

Miles Standish

connection

writer/
historian - ~~to~~ Peterburg

Mr. A. Boon

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Degens
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 April 13, 1989

Sejm
7/10/89

compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF; and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a \$100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector -- and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with \$325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about \$5 billion this year, if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleagues at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage -- our common inheritance -- the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries. And this concern is worldwide. Almost two years ago I visited Krakow, your former Royal Capital -- a city recognized by UNESCO as an international treasure. Today, Krakow is under siege by pollution. Its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed. And the United States will help. (Applause.) And I'll ask the Congress for \$15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I began my remarks, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. (Applause.) Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a Cultural and Information Center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us -- all of us -- together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy. For without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure.

The American Constitution was first, and has stood the test of history for the over 200 years of our existence as a republic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer, and in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

Karl Marx Univ.
7/12/89

legislation, OPIC will be able to provide insurance to encourage American investment in private enterprises in Hungary. Through OPIC, American business executives will see first-hand the great opportunity of Hungary.

Private investment is critical for Hungary. It means jobs, innovation, progress. But most of all, private investment means a brighter future for your children; a brighter future for Hungary.

And yet economic progress cannot be at the expense of the air we breathe and the water we drink. Six weeks ago, in Mainz, I proposed cooperation between East and West on environmental issues. And that is why I will ask the United States Congress to appropriate \$5 million to establish an International Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, to be based right here in Budapest, which will bring together private and government experts and organizations to address the ecological crisis. (Applause.) After all, our shared heritage is the Earth, and the fate of the Earth transcends borders; it isn't just an East-West issue.

Hungary has led Eastern and Central Europe in addressing the concerns of your citizens for cleaner air and water. And now you can do even more, working with the West to build a bridge of technical and scientific cooperation.

Along these lines, I am also pleased to announce that the United States has proposed an agreement between our two countries to establish scientific and technical cooperation in the basic sciences and in specific areas, including the environment, medicine and nuclear safety.

It is my hope that this visit will also lead to a wider exchange between East and West, so our scientists, our artists and our environmentalists can learn from one another -- so that our soldiers and statesmen can discuss peace and our students -- God bless them -- can discuss the future. (Applause.)

But to discuss anything requires a common language. The teaching of the English language is one of the most popular American exports. And as students, you know that English is the lingua franca of world business, the key to clinching deals from Hong Kong to Toronto. So to open the global market to more Hungarians, I am pleased to announce that the Peace Corps will, for the first time, operate in a European country. And our Peace Corps instructors will come to Budapest and all 19 counties to teach English. (Applause.)

And in such exchanges, we want to help you in your quest for a new beginning as a democratic Hungary. So the United States is also committing more than \$6 million to cultural and educational opportunities in Eastern Europe. We will make available funds for a series of major new U.S.-Hungarian exchange programs -- among Congressmen and legislative experts, among labor and business leaders, among legal experts, among community leaders, educators and young people. We are creating dozens of fellowships to enable Hungarians to study at American universities. And we will fund endowed chairs in American studies at your universities, and books -- many thousands of them -- to fill the shelves of your new International Management Center and the libraries of schools and universities across Hungary. (Applause.)

And the United States will also open, within the next several years, an American House in the center of Budapest. (Applause.) Today, the celebrated American architect, Robert Stern, is releasing his design for this center, which will be an open house of books, magazines and video cassettes -- an open house of ideas.

And so, in conclusion, in economic reform and democratic change, in cultural and environmental cooperation, there are great opportunities and great challenges. Hungary has a lot of work ahead;

REMARKS: CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT
EAST ROOM
MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989
11:00 A.M.

IN THIS ROOM ARE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS.
LEADERS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE IN CONGRESS.
GOVERNORS. EXECUTIVES FROM SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
COMPANIES AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA.
LEADING CONSERVATIONISTS -- PEOPLE WHO HAVE DEVOTED
THEIR LIVES TO CREATING A CLEANER, SAFER ENVIRONMENT.

- 20 -

SECOND, THIS FEDERAL PROPOSAL WILL CUT THE EMISSIONS THAT CAUSE URBAN OZONE -- SMOG -- VIRTUALLY IN HALF. THIS WILL PUT THE STATES WELL ON THE ROAD TO MEETING THE STANDARD. TWENTY YEARS AGO, WE STARTED THE JOB. IF CONGRESS WILL ACT ON THE CLEAN AIR REFORMS I'M OFFERING TODAY, TWENTY YEARS FROM NOW, EVERY AMERICAN, IN EVERY CITY IN AMERICA, WILL BREATHE CLEAN AIR.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: REMARKS AT THE PIETERSKERK IN LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, July 17, at 3:00 pm, you will speak at the Pieterskerk in Leiden, the Netherlands. The Pilgrims lived in the town of Leiden for eleven years before sailing to the New World. Although they lived near the Pieterskerk, the Pilgrims did not worship at the Pieterskerk.

This is a preliminary draft, which does not include NSC or any other comments from the staffing process.

II. DISCUSSION

The speech serves as a framework for both of your European trips. It discusses the ever-growing ideal of freedom: how it served as a basis for the common values of Western Europe and the United States. The Pieterskerk is the perfect setting to discuss the future of freedom and democracy at a time when we -- like the Pilgrims of Leiden -- stand on the threshold of a new world.

The remarks will also discuss the accomplishments of the Paris Economic Summit.

#

McGroarty/Dooley
July 7, 1989
6:00 p.m.
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the World Court. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." **And freedom's time has come.**

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The Union of Utrecht [YOU-TRECT], and the tradition of liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a more enduring peace.

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- conventional and nuclear -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West

Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their deterrent forces: each is a sign that Europe is determined to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992 -- and it's the principle reason the world's major industrial democracies must work together to maintain conditions for sustained economic growth.

[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. {Summit}

And it's time we tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a world of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election since the days of Stalin. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland's dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

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**THE
HISTORICAL
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
WORLD WAR II**

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CHRONOLOGY

collapse of German army
rest.
Americans take Frankfurt
Mannheim; Soviets
take Austria.
Americans take Danzig.
Allied forces land on
Iwojima, conquering it
completely by June 21; 21
American divisions are
committed in Ruhr.
General Harold Alexander
announces his final offensive in
the West.
Americans cross Weser;
Germany renounces its non-
aggression pact with
Soviet Union.
Soviet forces take Sarajevo;
British and Canadians
launch general offensive in
the Netherlands.
Americans take Koenigsberg.
Soviet forces take Hanover.
Americans take Essen;
Discovery of Buchenwald
changes Allied attitude;
Soviet Union and USSR sign
Tehran Declaration of friendship
and cooperation.
President Truman
announces his plan to
bring about the
independence of
India.
Americans take Vienna.
Soviet forces liberate
Arnhem.
Americans take the
Luftwaffe; Battle of
Berlin begins.
British Army enters
Bonn.
Americans reach the
Rhine.
General Dwight D.
Eisenhower's general
insurrection in
Germany; British
proposes German
surrender to
Allies alone.
San Francisco Conference
begins to write United
Nations Charter.
Soviet troops
capture the
Barrage of
Ludwigsdorf on Elbe
River; German
surrenders;
Munich liberated

April 27, 1945
April 29, 1945
April 30, 1945
April 30-May 2, 1945
May 1, 1945
May 2, 1945
May 3, 1945
May 4, 1945
May 5, 1945
May 6, 1945
May 7, 1945
May 9, 1945
May 14, 1945
May 20, 1945
May 23, 1945
May 30, 1945
June 1-2 1945
June 5, 1945
June 13, 1945

by Italian partisans; Italian
partisans arrest Mussolini,
execute him on April 28.
U.S. troops take Genoa.
German armies in Italy
and the Tyrol surrender.
Australians land on
Tarakan.
Yugoslavs occupy Trieste.
Doenitz announces death
of Hitler (a suicide the day
before), declares himself
successor.
Berlin surrenders to
Soviets; Australians land
on Borneo; British and
Yugoslavs join forces near
Trieste.
British take Hamburg;
Anglo-Indian forces in
Burma take Rangoon and
Promye; Japanese army in
Burma no longer exists.
German forces in
Denmark surrender to
Resistance.
All German forces in the
Netherlands and north-
western Germany surrender
to British; Prague revolt.
Rebellion at Damascus
against French trusteeship.
Unconditional surrender
signed at Reims by Gen.
Alfred Jodl and, on May
8, at Berlin by Field
Marshal Wilhelm Keitel.
Soviets enter Prague.
Austria declares its
independence.
Anti-French riots occur in
Beirut.
Doenitz and members of
his government arrested.
British force French to end
their resistance to Syrian
revolt.
British occupy Syria and
Lebanon.
Supreme Allied Command
in Germany declares that
"in view of Germany's
defeat" it will assume all
government powers.
Chinese penetrate Indo-

June 26, 1945

June 28, 1945

June 30, 1945

July 4, 1945

July 5, 1945

July 16, 1945

July 17-August 2, 1945

July 26, 1945

July 27, 1945

July 28, 1945

August 2, 1945

August 6, 1945

August 8, 1945

August 9, 1945

August 10, 1945

August 12, 1945

August 14, 1945

August 15, 1945

China.
United Nations Charter
signed.
National Unity Govern-
ment formed in Poland.
French recognize Polish
government of Warsaw.
Western Allies and Soviets
recognize Austria.
Gen. MacArthur
announces liberation of
Philippines, end of
Philippine campaign;
Britain and U.S. recognize
Polish government of
Warsaw.
First experimental atomic
bomb detonated in New
Mexico; King Leopold III
refuses to abdicate after
liberation by Allies.
Potsdam Conference, with
Stalin, Truman, Churchill
and Attlee, held on settle-
ment of German prob-
lems.
Vietnam established; U.S.,
Britain and China send
ultimatum to Japan;
British Labor Party wins;
Churchill resigns.
Attlee forms British
cabinet.
Tokyo rejects ultimatum.
British liberate Burma.
Atomic bomb dropped on
Hiroshima.
USSR declares war on
Japan; U.S., France,
United Kingdom and
USSR agree to create inter-
national military tribunal.
Atomic bomb dropped on
Nagasaki; Soviet offensive
launched in Manchuria.
Japan asks for preliminary
peace talks.
USSR occupies North
Korea, Sakhalin and
Kurils.
Sino-Soviet friendship and
alliance treaty signed;
Japan surrenders.
Japan formerly
announces surrender.

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William Benton, Publisher, 1943-1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973-1974
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Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

transformation of The Netherlands into a parliamentary, liberal state. When the crisis of the 1848 revolutions broke, first in France and then in central Europe, William II turned to the leading liberal thinker, J.R. Thorbecke, to guide the change. A new constitution was written, largely modelled on the British (and Belgian) pattern, which gave effective supremacy to the States-General and made the monarch a servant and not the master of government. The King died the next year, and the work of transformation continued under his son, William III (1849-90), who named Thorbecke prime minister. The constitutional monarchy was consolidated, even though Thorbecke stepped down in 1853 because of Protestant rioting against the re-establishment of a Roman Catholic archbishop at Utrecht. Gradually, over the next century, the scope of Dutch democracy was extended to include ever broader sections of the Dutch population in the franchise; universal male suffrage was achieved during World War I, and suffrage was extended to women after World War II. During this period, political parties of the modern type took shape, organized along religious and ideological lines; to the original Liberal, Protestant, and Catholic parties were eventually added Socialist, Conservative-Protestant, Communist, and minor parties. As no single party was able to emerge with a majority, coalition politics became inevitable. The central issue of political controversy became the "school conflict" (*schoolstrijd*), which pitted the liberal (and later socialist) advocates of public schools against the combined Protestant and Catholic parties, which demanded that the state support private ("special") schools equally with the public schools. For several decades, the liberals remained generally in control and made few concessions on the school issue. But when the Protestant leader Abraham Kuyper formed a coalition with the Catholics in 1888, the religious parties were able to gain power and to favour the special over the public schools. Their policy was assailed by the secular parties, the traditional liberals, the progressives, and the socialists. The liberals, however, were at odds with the other anti-clerical parties on other issues, notably economic policies and the extension of the suffrage. The liberals tended to be the most conservative party on economic issues and favoured a restricted electorate; the progressives were vigorously democratic in outlook, as were the socialists, who also favoured universal suffrage, protection of the right to strike, labour legislation, and other welfare measures. The other major issue of the latter half of the 19th century was the role of the Dutch East Indies. The income received by the Dutch treasury from Indonesian taxes helped balance the national budget; yet the revelations of harsh conditions in the distant archipelago made it impossible to maintain the "culture system," which had been introduced to force the production of certain crops for export, while the long Achin war drained the treasury.

Queen Wilhelmina and World War I. During the first half of the reign of Queen Wilhelmina (1890-1948), the political situation remained fundamentally unchanged. The major parties came to recognize that the school struggle interfered with the solution of other problems. An agreement in principle was reached on the eve of World War I, by which the secular parties accepted state support for religious schools on a basis of equal funds in exchange for enactment of universal male suffrage. When war broke out in 1914, Holland, which had declared its neutrality, put aside the proposed reforms in order to concentrate on the immediate problem of maintaining the country's livelihood in the face of blockades. The "Pacification," as the compromise was called, was adopted in 1917 and put into effect after the return of peace. The war years saw almost all political controversies set aside, while the government took unprecedented action in maintaining trade and guiding economic life. Although spared the horrors of combat, the Dutch had to maintain a large standing army, and mutinies broke out among the soldiers in 1918.

The century from the restoration of Dutch independence in 1813 until World War I saw fundamental transformations of Dutch life. The economic base was mod-

ernized; the role of agriculture fell off, with most Dutch farmers producing dairy and meat products for the market; trade and shipping were revived in the face of fiercely competitive conditions. But most important was the rise of industry—first textiles in the eastern provinces, then coal in the southeast in Limburg, and finally modern manufactures, notably the great Philips electrical products factories at Eindhoven. Rotterdam became one of the world's busiest ports and the centre of chemical and other industries. These changes were paralleled in society by the gradual extinction of pauperism, the domination of the middle class business and professional men, and the improvement of the conditions of working people and farmers, especially after the mid-19th century. Although religious freedom was generally as great as anywhere in Europe, Protestant conservatives faced major difficulties, especially during the first half of the century, when they protested the modernizing ideas of the Reformed (Hervormde) Church; their efforts to create independent religious communities met with sharp resistance from the government, which did not interfere in non-Protestant religions. Some of the Gereformeerden (the older name for "Reformed" used by the conservatives) emigrated, many of them to the United States; but by the latter half of the century, persecution ceased. The cultural life of Holland remained very largely confined within national boundaries; Dutch thinkers, writers, and artists responded strongly to influences from Germany, France, and England but themselves had little impact abroad. Dutch scientists maintained a respected position for their country; Hugo de Vries was one of the principal founders of the science of genetics, while physicist Hendrik Antoon Lorentz contributed greatly to Einstein's theories of relativity. Dutch artists were generally imitative, although the "Hague school" of Impressionists displayed great gifts; only Vincent van Gogh, who spent most of his active life in France, achieved world reputation. Dutch literature ran parallel to main currents abroad; the Réveil early in the century was a movement of intensely religious romanticism with strongly conservative ideas, while Eduard Douwes Dekker (pseudonym Multatuli) in mid-century expressed the moods of social criticism with great power; the movement of "Men of the 'Eighties" (*Tachtigers*) brought to the fore a stress upon aesthetic values and spirituality; and early in the 20th century a literature of social protest re-emerged.

THE NETHERLANDS SINCE 1918

The movement of The Netherlands into modernity was accelerated after 1918. Although the country became a member of the League of Nations, it reaffirmed its neutrality, which seemed to have obtained the respect of the powers and which was symbolized by the presence of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. There was considerable harshness in relations with Belgium, which not only abandoned its neutrality for a close alliance with France but demanded territorial cessions from Holland. The Dutch government, although humiliated by a demand that it present its case before the peace conference at Versailles, successfully resisted any amputation of its territory. The Dutch, for their part, refrained from giving any official support to the Flemish nationalist movement in Belgium, although a "Great Netherlands" movement, principally among intellectuals, emphasized the underlying unity of Dutchmen and Flemings. Domestic politics continued in the same course, with the Protestant political parties continuing to provide leadership for generally conservative policies, especially after the onset of the world depression in the 1930s. Although their small country was particularly dependent for its livelihood upon intercourse with other nations, the Dutch were compelled to introduce tariff measures in order to counter the protectionist policies of other lands.

World War II. At the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the Dutch sedulously maintained their neutrality, although their sympathies lay overwhelmingly with the Western powers. Nonetheless, when Nazi Germany undertook the campaign against France in the spring of 1940, its forces struck not only against Belgium in order

Extension
of the
franchise

Encouragement
of
trade

The Dutch
in the
Indies

The
Belgian
Revolution
of 1830

Economic
transformation

19th-
century
literature

The
resistance
movement

to outflank the French defenses but also against Holland. The Dutch land armies were overwhelmed in less than a week, and the government, accompanied by Queen Wilhelmina and the royal family, withdrew to England, where they formed a government in exile. The work of public administration under German occupation was continued by Dutch organs of state, which attempted to buffer German political repression, deportation of Jews, and forced employment of Dutch labour in Germany. A resistance movement sprang up, which, with the exception of a few Dutch Nazi collaborators, spanned all groups from the conservatives to the Communists. The Germans retaliated by executing Dutch hostages for such measures of resistance as the strike of Amsterdam dock workers against the seizure and deportation of Dutch Jews to extermination camps in Germany. Some Jews were able to "dive under" (go into hiding) with the assistance of friends, but the large majority were taken away to their deaths. In the final phases of the war, particularly after the failure of Allied airborne attempts to capture bridgeheads across the great rivers at Nijmegen and Arnhem, the Dutch suffered from severe food shortages, and during the last months before liberation (May 1945) they were on the verge of famine.

The postwar period. After the war many aspects of Dutch life changed dramatically. Wilhelmina and her government returned from exile to reestablish a government more strongly democratic than ever, with both universal suffrage and proportional representation in elections. Anticipating the characteristic difficulties of postwar reconstruction, the government, industry, and labour agreed upon a plan for industrial and commercial expansion, with avoidance of the rapid expansion of prices or wages that would bring a threat of inflation. The plan worked effectively for more than two decades, so that the Dutch were able to avoid drastic inflation until the introduction of a new taxation system in the late 1960s. Dutch industrialization moved forward with speed and depth, expanding to include the large-scale production of steel, electronics, and petrochemicals. Holland, putting aside the policy of neutrality as a failure, entered vigorously into the postwar Western alliances, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the various organizations of European unity (the Common Market); but its influence was limited, even though it joined with Belgium and Luxembourg in a closer union ("Benelux"). Indonesia, where Dutch authority was reestablished after wartime Japanese occupation, soon became the scene of a nationalist revolution. After some hesitation and bitterness, the Dutch granted it full independence. The Netherlands Antilles remained part of the Dutch kingdom, although no longer under the authority of the government at The Hague; Surinam became independent in 1975 and was renamed the Republic of Suriname in 1978. Dutch political alignments shifted somewhat under postwar conditions. The Socialist Party reorganized itself as the Party of Labour without the traditional Marxist commitments, while the Catholics, who had split politically in the interwar period, united into the Catholic People's Party. The first postwar governments were dominated by an alliance of the Labour and Catholic parties, which continued until the Labour Party went into opposition in 1958. When this coalition broke up, the Catholics—who, as the consistently largest single party at the polls, provided all the prime ministers from the late 1950s to 1973—turned to the Protestants and the Liberals, renamed People's Party for Freedom and Democracy. The Labour-led government of 1973–77 was followed by a coalition of the People's Party and the Christian Democratic Appeal (an alliance of the three major Christian parties, formed in 1976). The general policy of the government was not, however, greatly modified.

During the '60s, the generally peaceful mood of Dutch public life was broken by rioting of youth and labour groups, especially in Amsterdam. The most difficult crisis affected the royal family. The marriage (1966) of Princess Beatrix, the heiress to Queen Juliana (who had succeeded Wilhelmina on her abdication in 1948), to a German diplomat aroused bitter debate. The marriage of Princess

Irene to a Spanish Carlist prince had already come as a shock even to the Catholics but was less difficult politically because she lost her right of succession. Juliana's husband and consort, Prince Bernhard, was involved in a bribery scandal and withdrew from his military offices. Juliana abdicated in 1980, and was succeeded as queen by Beatrix.

Dutch politics, like Dutch society in general, continued to practice what was called pillarization (*verzuiling*)—the organization not only of political parties but of labour unions, businessmen's organizations, social and sport clubs, and many professional groups on the basis of membership in a religious-ideological "pillar," either Catholic, Protestant, or Humanist (the latter including Liberals and Socialists). Pillarization had received official confirmation in the Pacification of 1917 and removed most of the tinder from Dutch politics; but it also kept ordinary Dutchmen separated from each other, by religion, to a greater degree than in any other Western country. Yet, because the leaders of the pillar organizations worked well with each other and the right of each pillar to exist and function was unquestioned, public life generally ran smoothly. A quarter-century after the end of World War II, there were signs of disquiet over the system, however, and efforts were being made to form new political parties, such as the Christian Democratic Appeal, on a comprehensive basis. (H.R.o.)

Continued
pillari-
zation

III. The southern Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg (1579 to present)

THE PERIOD OF FOREIGN RULE

The Spanish regime. After 1579 Alessandro Farnese, supported by the Union of Arras, reestablished Spanish authority in the predominantly Catholic southern Netherlands. This territory initially included what is now Belgium and Luxembourg, plus part of northern France and what later became the southernmost part of the United Provinces. In practice, its existence as a separate entity dates from Farnese's reconquest of Flanders in 1585, though Spain did not give up hope of resubjugating the north as well. With this end in view, Philip II granted the sovereignty of the Netherlands to his daughter Isabella and her husband, Archduke Albert, in 1598.

But the northern provinces were never recovered, and Spain allowed only a nominal independence to the south. In 1609 Albert was forced to make a 12-year truce with the United Provinces. He died in 1621, the same year the war was resumed, and Isabella was, from that time on, nothing more than a governor general. During the course of the war with the United Provinces, northern Brabant, as well as the region to the east of the Meuse, and Zeeland, were lost (1621–48). In addition, France, which was allied to the United Provinces, seized Artois (1640). Philip IV agreed to the new northern boundary of the Spanish Netherlands in the Peace of Münster (January 30, 1648), which also confirmed the closing of the Scheldt River to foreign shipping, destroying the commercial importance of Antwerp. Hostilities between Spain and France continued during most of the latter part of the 17th century. The treaties that interrupted this conflict were marked, in almost every instance, by new losses of territory to the southern Netherlands. The Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) confirmed the loss of Artois and provided for a series of French fortifications to be built along the border of what is now Belgium. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), France occupied part of Flanders. In 1700 the Spanish Habsburg dynasty died out with Charles II, who had turned his holdings over to Philippe d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV of France. The Spanish Netherlands was thereafter under French rule until it was occupied by the British and Dutch in 1706. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), ending the War of the Spanish Succession, the territory comprising present-day Belgium and Luxembourg passed under the sovereignty of the Holy Roman emperor Charles VI, head of the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg.

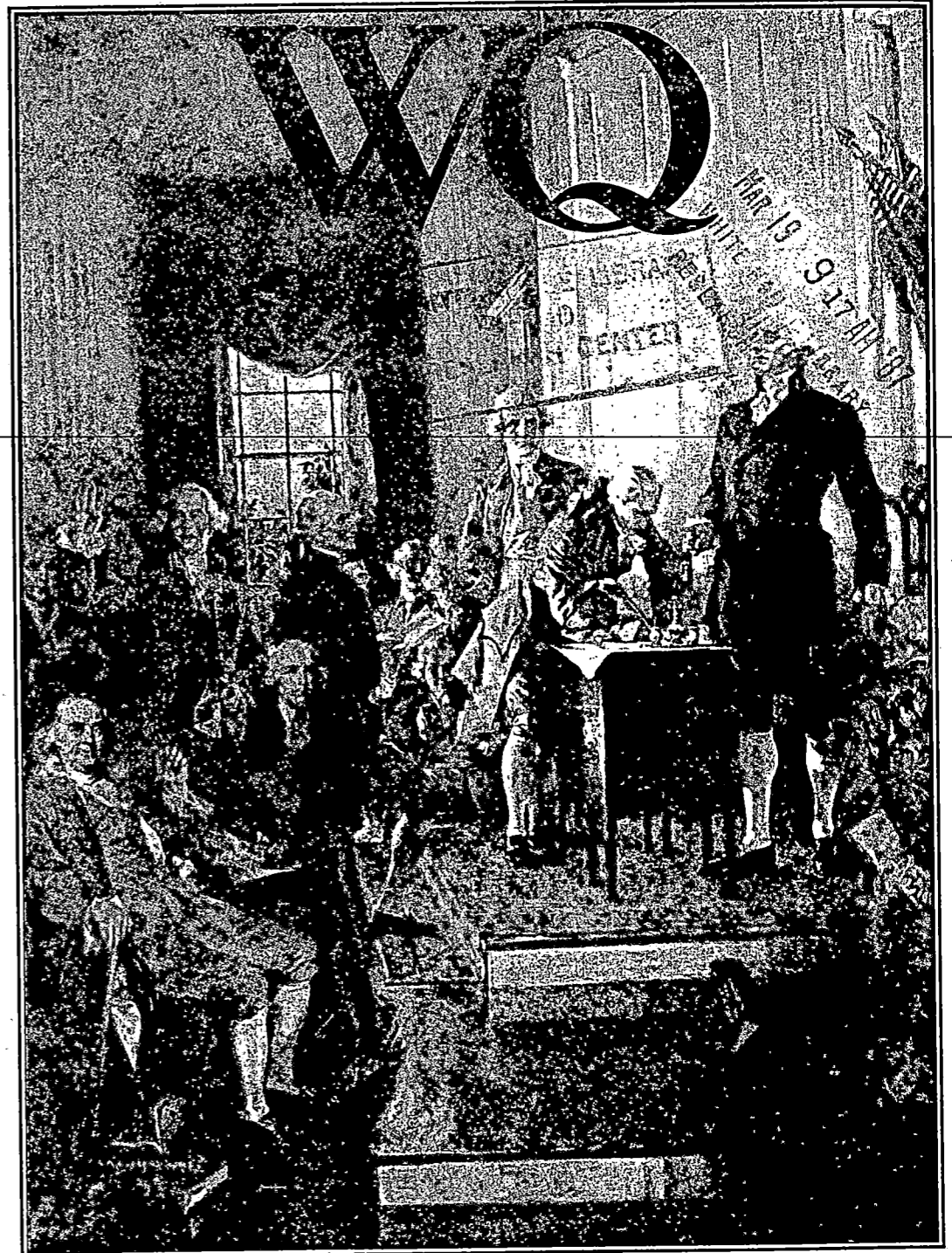
Administration. The government of the Spanish Netherlands, though not independent, was characterized by a

Abandon-
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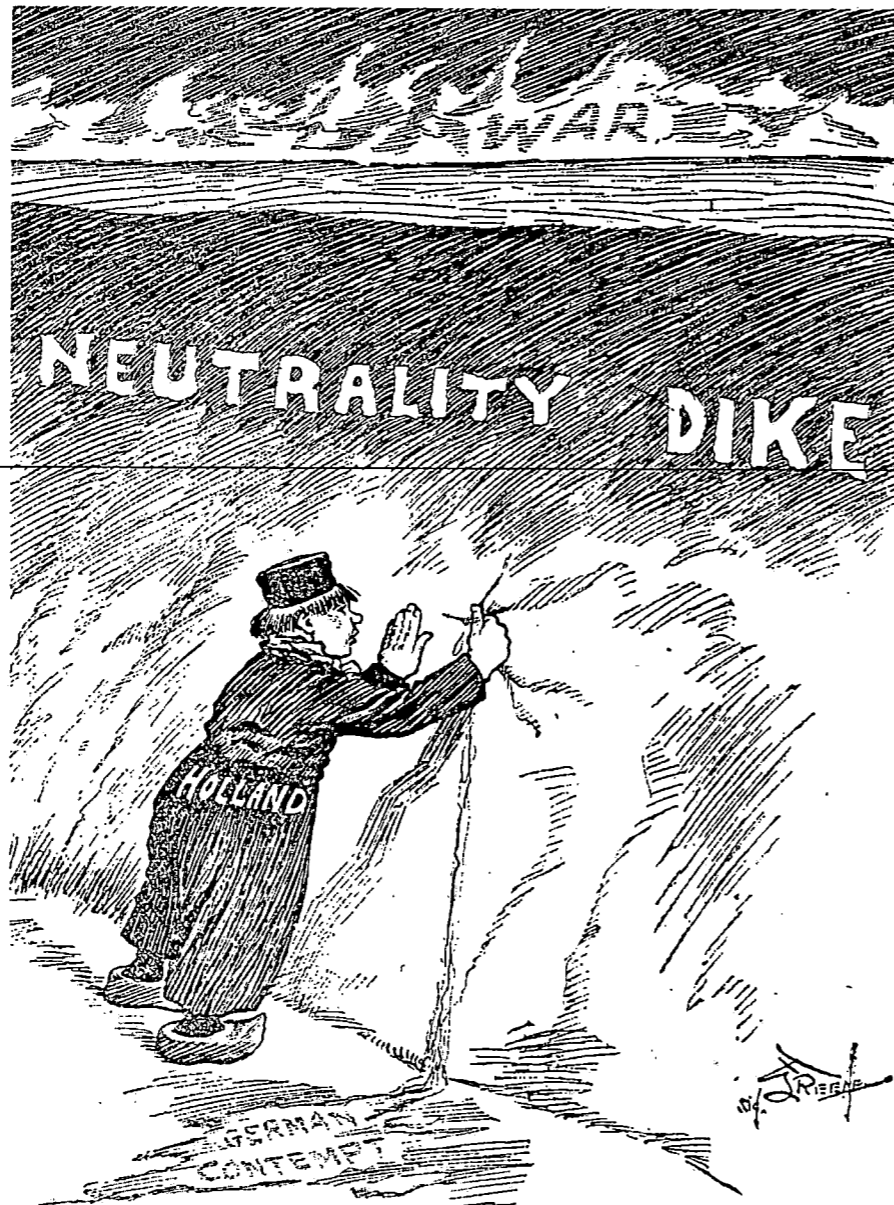
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The Neutrality Dike depicted in this 1915 cartoon withstood "German contempt." The Netherlands stayed out of World War I, even though German submarines sank Dutch merchant ships. The Dutch could not have survived attack by the Kaiser's army. Holland, wrote historian Joost Adriaan van Hamel in 1918, was a flat country of "seaports and river-mouths, padded only by some hinterland."

The Dutch

Over the past several years, the news from the Netherlands has caused many Americans to wonder: Whatever happened to the sturdy Dutch? At The Hague, thousands of citizens have demonstrated against their government's belated decision to allow its allies to deploy NATO cruise missiles on Dutch soil. In Amsterdam, squatters have tossed rocks and bottles at the police. In the capital, sex shops and cafés that openly sell marijuana do a brisk business. In Utrecht, demonstrators greeted John Paul II in May 1985 by shouting "Kill the pope, kill the pope." All this is evidence, some American pundits contend, that too much permissiveness can cause even the most civilized societies to decay. Here, Thomas R. Rochon analyzes the evolution of the Netherlands' generous welfare state, and Stanley R. Sloan examines the nation's role in the Atlantic alliance.

BEYOND PERFECTION

by Thomas R. Rochon

When she was a little girl in the late 19th century, the future Queen Wilhelmina paid a visit to Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany in Berlin. "See," said the Kaiser to the Dutch princess, "my guards are seven feet tall and yours are only shoulder high to them." "Quite true, your Majesty," replied Wilhelmina. "Your guards are seven feet tall. But when we open our dikes the water is 10 feet deep."

The story is well worn, but today, a century later, the Dutch still take pride in their ever-expanding complex of dams, dikes, and sluices—without which half of their land would lie under water. The sea barriers reflect the Dutch conviction that much can be accomplished when everyone works together. British writer Anthony Bailey calls this the "shoulder-to-shoulder-on-the-dike tradition."

That tradition fostered one of the world's most civilized industrial societies. Rich or poor, the 14.5 million Dutch enjoy manicured public parks, efficient mass transportation, and excellent schools and

universities. And, since World War II, the central government at The Hague has created something truly special: a *verzorgingsstaat*,* or welfare state,* unequalled in the Western world.

The *verzorgingsstaat* consists of a wide array of subsidies that provide everything from benefits for the aged, disabled, and unemployed, to salaries for ballet dancers and oboe players, to handouts for sports and youth clubs. Indeed, the Dutch state is so openhanded that there are now three welfare *claimants* (including social security pension recipients) for every four active workers.

During the 1960s, surveys showed, the *verzorgingsstaat* ranked behind only the dike system as the greatest source of Dutch national pride. But during the 1980s, there have been second thoughts.

Big Brother's Question

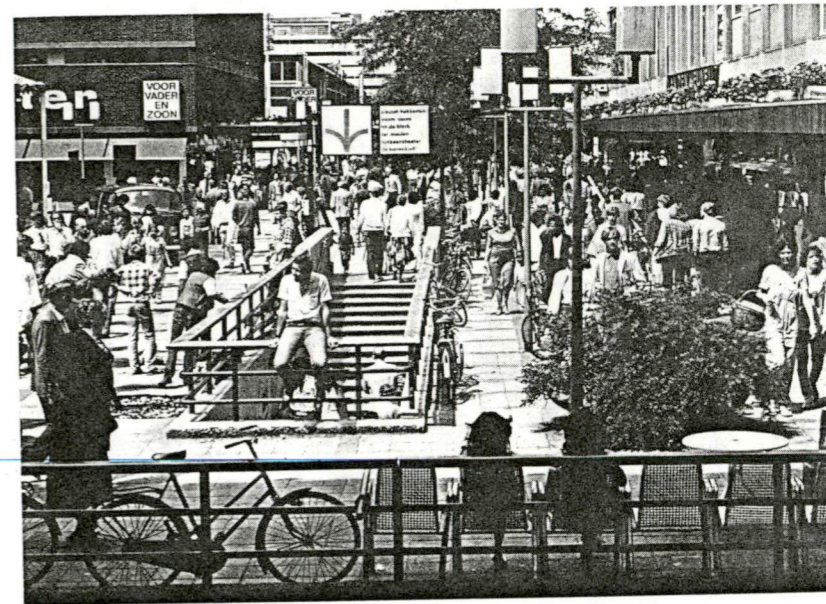
Whatever it once did for Dutch pride, the state's generosity has hobbled the Netherlands' economy. Public spending—which consumes over half of the country's gross national product (GNP)—has discouraged private investment and slowed expansion. During the 1960s, the annual GNP growth rate averaged a robust 5.1 percent, and unemployment was negligible. By 1983, the growth rate had sunk below one percent, and joblessness at 17 percent was a severe problem. The economic underpinnings of the *verzorgingsstaat* were being washed away like a failing sea wall.

As growth slowed, the welfare state became harder to finance—and its costs deepened the economic crisis. The government deficit reached 10.7 percent of national income in 1983. Such a high deficit, warned a committee of economists led by former Royal Dutch Petroleum president Gerrit A. Wagner, reduces the supply of investment funds and “creates a growing burden of interest payments.”

Partly as a result of such anxieties, in 1982 voters replaced the center-left government with a right-of-center coalition of Christian Democrats and Liberals—who belong, despite the label, to the country's most conservative major party. The coalition, led by 47-year-old Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, was returned to power last year. By trimming some programs and eliminating others, it has cut spending

*The term “welfare state” was probably first used in print by William Temple, archbishop of Canterbury and an ardent supporter of the British Labor Party. In *Citizen and Churchman* (1941), the archbishop asserted that “the state has a moral and spiritual function.” In place of “the Power State,” he argued, “we are led to that of the Welfare-State.”

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Shoppers throng “the Fifth Avenue of Europe”—Lijnbaan Square in Rotterdam, today the nation's largest city (population: 1.1 million).

and the deficit. The economy has improved. Unemployment has fallen to 14.4 percent; GNP growth rose to 2.1 percent in 1985.

But even in its trimmer version, the *verzorgingsstaat* bulks large. By the World Bank's reckoning, 59 percent of the Netherlands' GNP comes from government spending on goods and services—a far higher proportion than in Sweden and Denmark (47 percent), France (44), West Germany (31), and the United States (25).

U.S. policymakers debate the merits of food stamps and other components of a government “safety net” woven to aid the poor. The *verzorgingsstaat* offers much more.

Any Dutchman who loses his job, whether salesman, government bureaucrat, or Philips electrician, can count on receiving monthly unemployment checks that provide 70 percent of his previous wage or salary for a full year. If back spasms or some other officially sanctioned disability send him home, he receives 70 percent of his annual earnings in disability or retirement benefits for life. Small wonder that 796,500 Dutch workers are officially unemployed and, despite gains in health services, another 800,000 are classified as disabled.* Thus, by official criteria, more than one-fourth of the entire labor force of 5.5 million is unfit for or out of work.

*In the United States, by official count, seven percent of the work force was unemployed in November 1986, and some three percent was disabled.

Not only does The Hague promise protection from financial stress, it guarantees the Good Life as well. In 1983, the Dutch Fine Arts Program supported 4,000 aspiring artists by purchasing their works, much as the U.S. government helps dairy farmers by buying surplus cheese. (Like the U.S. cheese, much of the Dutch art has collected dust in government warehouses.) To outlanders, as to many Dutch, such programs have seemed too generous by half. In a rather excited 1984 segment on CBS News's "60 Minutes," titled "Dutch Treat," correspondent Morley Safer intoned: "By the mid-1970s, the [Dutch] social welfare system had reached a crescendo of plans and programs, a reverse of 1984. Big Brother wasn't watching; he was asking: 'Can I do anything to help?'"

Equal but Separate

The Dutch welfare state resembles the omnibus Scandinavian models. But it differs in a crucial respect. Sweden's and Norway's social programs grew out of a political compromise between socialism and capitalism—a "middle way," as U.S. columnist Marquis Childs called it. What spurred the architects of the *verzorgingsstaat* was not political necessity, but a perceived Christian imperative. Social policy had to deal with "two principles," wrote A. A. van Rhijn, the welfare state's draftsman, in 1944: "human worth and social solidarity. Both are, for me, anchored in religion."

Solidarity was the key word. The functions of the *verzorgingsstaat* had long been carried out by the various religious denominations, which had *no* shoulder-to-shoulder tradition. For nearly three centuries, Dutch society was riven by conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. The rival Christian strains became two of the country's four *stromingen* (traditions), along with socialist and conservative politics, commanding the allegiances of the Dutch.

The *stromingen* emerged from Holland's 80-year war of independence against Catholic Spain (1568–1648). The House of Orange expelled the Church hierarchy from the Netherlands and barred Dutch Catholics from public posts, from government minister to lantern lighter.* They were also excluded from law, medicine, and other professions. From all this arose a pattern of group isolation. Catholics formed their own organizations. In 1881 they founded their own labor organization, the Roman Catholic People's Union, dedicated to shielding workers from "the social errors of our time." The union became the Catholic People's Party, formed in 1904 to seek government funds for parochial schools.

*Catholics won back the right to hold civil service jobs in 1795, but they still may not ascend the throne, occupied since 1980 by Queen Beatrix, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. When Beatrix's sister Irene converted to Catholicism and married a Spanish prince in 1964, she was removed from the line of succession.



Some 14.5 million Netherlanders occupy a lowland area half the size of Virginia. One-third of them dwell in the Randstad, a string of cities along the country's North Sea coast. The Hague is, by tradition, the seat of government, but the constitution designates Amsterdam as the nation's capital.

The isolationist mentality spread. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Dutch society divided into distinct *zuilen* (pillars). Protestants and Catholics—and Socialists and Liberals—founded their own newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting companies. There arose Protestant, Catholic, and secular educational systems—which still exist, from nursery school to college—and separate trade

unions, employers' associations, insurance agencies, and even stamp collecting societies. Instead of one Red Cross organization, the Dutch had a White-Yellow Cross (Catholic), an Orange-Green Cross (Protestant), and a Green Cross (secular). Observed 19th-century Calvinist politician Abraham Kuyper: "Isolation Is Our Strength."

As historian L. J. Rogier noted, the Dutch raised separation to a "basic principle of life." They took pride in the saying, "One Dutchman a theologian, two Dutchmen a sect, three Dutchmen a schism."

Group allegiances were reinforced early in life. Sociologist I. Gadourek studied the schooling of young children during the 1940s and 1950s in the small tulip-bulb-growing village of Sassenheim. The Catholic school texts held that the 16th-century Inquisition was "a tribunal of the Church [whose members] were wise and pious bishops and priests," and that Martin Luther "rejected the Priesthood, the sacraments and the Holy Mass." Of Prince William of Orange, the Dutch Calvinist who led Holland's fight for independence against Spain, Catholic primers declared: "We must esteem [him] as the Founder of our independence, but we cannot approve all his deeds."

Dutch Reformed schoolbooks, by contrast, said that "the Inquisition was merciless," that Luther's 95 Theses summed up "the shortcomings and lies of the Roman Church," and that "the love we feel for our Queen now is like the love people felt for William of Orange, the Founder of our Dynasty."

Goodbye to the Thrifty Housewife

Religious differences evoke less emotion today. Yet the notion of two nations persists. Some 40 percent of the citizens are Catholics; 34 percent belong to one of two Protestant branches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Reformed Church. Protestants in the northern provinces often consider the southern Catholics too fun-loving. Catholics think of northern Protestants as too stern and serious. When I told northern friends that my work would take me to the southern provinces, several said that I should expect people to show up late or not at all for interviews. Southerners laughed at this prediction, but agreed with it (though, in fact, nobody was late). All this in a country that stretches a scant 180 miles from north to south.

To a great extent, the *verzorgingsstaat* has supplanted the churches as the financier of social services. The change occurred during and after Nazi Germany's May 1940–May 1945 occupation of the Netherlands. World War II exposed citizens of every religion and class to poverty and other miseries. From then on, the Dutch, like all Western Europeans, as British historian David Thomson has observed, began to expect more from governments than guarantees of "constitutional liberties and universal suffrage." The new state must secure "the well-being and full employment of its citizens."

Even before the Nazis capitulated, European planners began thinking about how that might be done. In 1942, Sir William Beveridge, as chairman of Britain's Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services, set out to revamp the British welfare system—"a complex of disconnected administrative organs." The comprehensive social insurance system he proposed provided for the unemployed, the sick or disabled, widows and orphans, the pregnant, and the retired. It was, the Beveridge report declared, "a time for revolutions, not for patching."

The Beveridge report became a blueprint for other Western European welfare planners. One was A. A. van Rhijn, the chairman of the Netherlands' Committee to Examine the Question of Social Security, who waited out the war in London with the Dutch government-in-exile. Van Rhijn essentially made Beveridge's plan his own. Moreover, he envisioned that the government would play a central role in the Dutch economy, using deficit spending when necessary to maintain high employment. "The ideal of the Minister of Finance," he wrote in 1944, "can no longer be that of the thrifty housewife."

The Dutch welfare state blossomed swiftly, and almost as Van Rhijn had planned it. Even before the Allies liberated the Netherlands in May 1945, Dutch officials in London moved to broaden future sickness and disability payments. After the war, the government enacted laws awarding the benefits that the Lubbers coalition would later have to trim. The Hague adopted the country's first general old-age pension (1957) and an unemployment act (1965) that originally granted jobless workers 80 percent of the last wage earned, for six months. Eventually the government extended child subsidies beyond the first two children (1963) and expanded the short-term sickness (1967) and long-term disability (1976) benefits. Disabled workers were promised 80 percent of their last wage, indefinitely.

The 45,000-Guilder Man

The crowning achievement came in 1976. Sickness, disability, and retirement payments were tied to changes in the wages of all private-sector workers. As wages rose, so would the numbers on the checks flowing to people drawing unemployment and social security. Whether a Dutchman's income was high or low, whether it was earned or a granted benefit, it increased with everyone else's. This "coupling" would be, in the words of a government minister, "the mark of our civilization."

The Dutch, policymakers hoped, would move toward general prosperity like soldiers in a parade, with everyone marching in step.

The parade would turn out to be an expensive one. But for a time the Netherlands could afford it, thanks to several factors: the postwar demand for new homes and buildings, which put millions to

MAKING ROOM

In The Light in Holland (1970), British writer Anthony Bailey describes how the Dutch, living in Europe's second most densely populated nation (after Monaco), manage to preserve a sense of privacy, even in crowded Amsterdam:

To me, being by myself means being in a room alone. The Dutch, like children in big families, can be by themselves in a room with six other people, or on a canal bank lined with people fishing almost shoulder to shoulder.

Stand on any street corner in Amsterdam at five-thirty in the evening and watch the phalanxes of bicycles go by—a sight not quite what it used to be, but still impressive enough. If you pick at random one serenely pedalling individual from the thick, staggered formation, you see that he isn't really looking at the city, the street, or the bicyclists around him. He seems aware only of a small portion of space, a bubble within which he and his bike exist, with a few spare inches outside his knuckles on the handlebars, his twirling feet, his steady shoulders. He is secure within this space, which encloses him and moves with him, the way energy moves through water, giving an appearance of fast forward motion to a wave. Then the traffic light has changed, he is gone, and others have whirled up to the junction, jousting with each other in a remote, impersonal way, ignoring an interloping car or . . . *brommer* [motorbike].

On any face—the face of a girl, the face of a dignified gentleman wearing a hat—you may glimpse the most private of smiles. Pedalling homeward, they have their own thoughts as their wheels revolve and as cars and trams and even *brommers* assail them from four, or even six directions, the man on the right, whatever his vehicle, having the right of way, which he—sometimes with more courage than sense—always takes, their reflexes operating splendidly though their minds are elsewhere.

These . . . rush-hour riders always fascinate me. They are a wonder, like salmon going upstream, demonstrating, as they do, that in the most crowded places a human being can go on being himself—can become even more himself.

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work; the labor unions' willingness to accept low wages; and the 1962 discovery of natural gas in the northern province of Groningen, which could be exploited to limit fuel imports at home and increase exports to Britain, West Germany, and other Common Market countries. Between 1945 and 1970 the Dutch, like the West Germans, would enjoy an "economic miracle." Annual growth rates climbed to an average of 4.8 percent. Some 1.5 million new homes went up.

Dutch firms competed worldwide for markets and resources, and prospered. By 1970, the "Big Three"—Philips (electronics), Unilever (chemicals and food), and Royal Dutch Shell (petroleum and natural gas)—employed 12 percent of the work force. Rotterdam, the world's busiest port, became the entry point for more than a

fourth of all cargo shipped to the Common Market.* The Dutch imported nearly all of their oil, iron ore, and other minerals, but their exports of gas, chemicals, and dairy products covered the costs.

The benefits of all this economic activity were not restricted to the rich. Even today, the typical Dutchman—let's call him "Jan van Dyck"—enjoys an enviable standard of living. All full-time employees age 23 and over must, by law, be paid at least 23,856 guilders (about \$10,735) a year. As a 40-year-old white-collar professional, Mr. Van Dyck earns some 45,000 guilders (\$20,250). He works some 38 hours per week for the government or one of the big corporations that power the Dutch economy. The Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reckons that more than half of all Dutch industrial workers are employed by the Big Three and 27 other firms.

Not Climbing the Ladder

In a country that offers much to workers, and expects much from employers (who pay among the highest wages in Western Europe), Mr. Van Dyck has reason to want to be on a payroll, rather than be self-employed. He is guaranteed a 23-day annual vacation, and a holiday bonus equal to 7.5 percent of his salary.

Like all Dutch workers, Jan surrenders much of his income to the government. His income tax represents only about 40 percent of his total tax burden. The Dutch finance most of their welfare state in much the same way that Americans pay for Social Security: through employee and employer contributions to social insurance programs. Dutch workers contribute about 25 percent of their incomes to support the Old Age pension, the Widows and Orphans Fund, health insurance, employment insurance, and disability insurance.

Jan thus trades opportunity for security. As the OECD's 1986 profile of the Netherlands explains, the country's "labor market flexibility and mobility are probably affected by very high marginal taxes and generous income-related transfers." That is, Mr. Van Dyck is discouraged from climbing the economic ladder, because the government will take much of his added earnings. With The Hague taxing away about 34 percent of his salary, he has some 30,000 guilders (about \$13,500) to feed, clothe, and house his family each year.

But the rent on his two-bedroom apartment, 600 guilders (\$270) per month, absorbs less than a fourth of his take-home pay. And if the government taxes much away, it also gives plenty back, in the form of subsidies to various privately run social services.

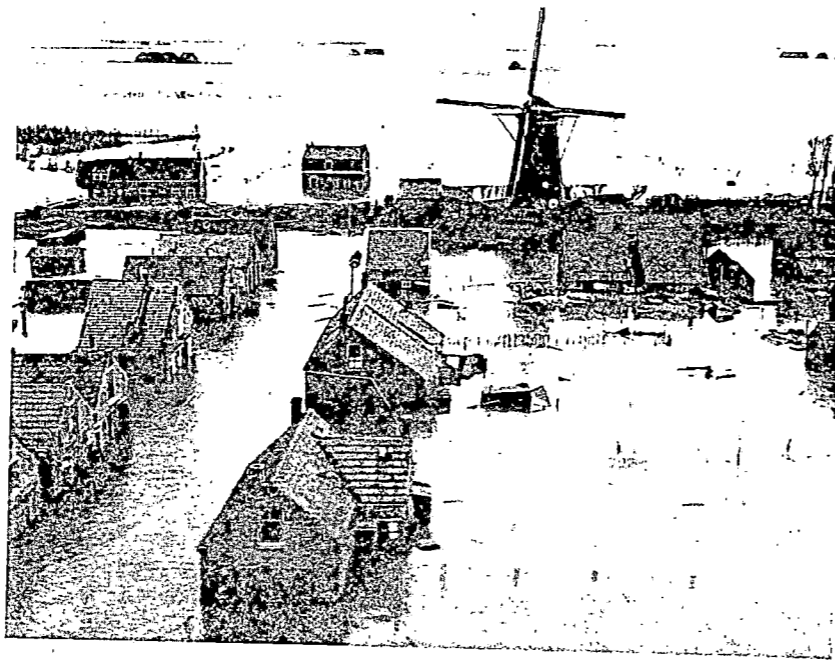
Van Dyck pays no bills when his dentist fills his wife's two cavities, or when the doctor gives his son Kees a tonsillectomy. Since

*In 1984, Rotterdam handled some 250 million metric tons of goods—as much as the total tonnage moved through London, Bremen, Hamburg, Le Havre, and Antwerp.

gasoline costs about \$2.60 per gallon, Jan takes the train to work; he pays just 50 guilders (\$22) a month in train fare to commute, 24 miles each way every day, from Hilversum to Amsterdam. He pays only 15 guilders (\$6.75) a year for his membership in the local soccer club, 10 guilders (\$4.50) to attend a concert at The Hague's elegant Koninklijke Schouwburg theater, and 75 guilders (\$33.75) a year to belong to the Algemene Nederlandse Wielrijders Bond (ANWB), the Netherlands' private, government-subsidized automobile club.

The Dutch pride themselves on making such services work. The ANWB offers Europe-wide assistance to Dutch travelers. Jan need not panic if the engine of his only car explodes while he and his family are spending their month's vacation at the beach in sunny Alicante, Spain. If necessary, the ANWB office in Barcelona will have the Van Dycks flown back to the Netherlands, free of charge.

However efficient the Netherlands' bureaucracies may be, they can only provide slowly and at great expense (through land reclamation) what the Dutch covet most: space. Families like the Van Dycks live in boxlike rowhouses or apartments. Everywhere they go, they



Some 1,800 people died in a February 1953 flood that inundated hundreds of coastal villages. The disaster spurred the Dutch to build the Delta Project—a recently completed two-mile barrier across the Eastern Scheldt.

encounter signs of their country's cramped condition. Stairways are narrow and steep. Those lucky enough to own yards rarely find them big enough to play *verstoppertje* (hide-and-seek) or kick a ball. In some areas, people garden or sunbathe on plots rented from the railroad—just a few square yards of turf adjacent to the tracks. Not even death brings freedom from overcrowding. Often two, three, or even four corpses share a cemetery grave. After 10 years or so, the deceased are exhumed and cremated to make way for new arrivals.

Although public aid has supplanted private charity, the religious pillars still provide the administrative structures through which the Dutch government delivers many services. That is why the government, despite its generosity, employs just 16 percent of the work force—compared with 38 percent in Sweden, 30 percent in Denmark, and 18 percent in West Germany. The Catholic and Protestant denominations still run schools, hospitals, and broadcast stations. But they now receive 90 percent of their operating expenses from the state. The Dutch *verzorgingsstaat*, says Berkeley professor of social welfare Ralph M. Kramer, is "based on the principle of *subsidiarity*, with the government [acting] almost exclusively as financier."

The pillars, of course, are no longer as influential, or as divisive, as they were when Gadourek studied Dutch schools in the 1950s. The curricula in Catholic and Protestant schools, for example, differ little. Indeed, Dutch parents like to brag that they send their children to the *best* local school, regardless of its affiliation.

An End to Celibacy

In many respects the Netherlands has become more like other Western countries, which is not surprising. As residents of a trading nation, the Dutch are well informed about—and influenced by—world events. Half of all political news in Amsterdam's respected *NRC Handelsblad* is international. Even before college (about half of all Dutch youths receive some higher education), students learn two or three foreign languages—English, German, and sometimes French—which they practice on vacations abroad. And while the Netherlanders produce their own television programs, and 15 (government-subsidized) films annually, much of their entertainment is imported. *Top Gun* and *Ruthless People* (in English, with Dutch subtitles) were big hits last year in the movie houses. French films and British soap operas are popular TV fare. Three U.S. series ("The Jetsons," "Family Ties," and "Dynasty") head the Wednesday night lineup on Nederland One. "The Netherlands," an old saying goes, "trades and breathes over its borders."

Thus the Dutch have escaped few modern fads, movements, or trends, among them the secularization common to all Western societies. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Dutch Catholic church grew

DUTCH MINORITIES: THE THREE WAVES

A diverse array of entrepreneurs sells its wares in the lively open-air market on Albert Cuyppstraat, several blocks from the Rijksmuseum in downtown Amsterdam. Surinamer salesmen hawk their fine necklaces, earrings, and other jewelry. Antillean merchants display their colorful Caribbean garb. Chinese-Indonesian chefs offer *loempia* (spring rolls) and *rijsttafel* (ricetable) at one of the many nearby "Chin-Ind" restaurants.

These businessmen are among the Netherlands' roughly one million resident ethnics (seven percent of the population). Although they come from non-European stock, most are Dutch citizens. And many represent the legacy of the Netherlands' old colonial empire in Asia and Latin America. "They are here," the Dutch say, "because we were once there."

For centuries the Netherlands has accepted immigrants, whether they were Huguenots escaping French Catholic persecution or Jews fleeing the Spanish Inquisition. But most Dutch *minderheden* (minorities) arrived in three waves after World War II.

Some 300,000 Eurasians migrated to the Netherlands after Indonesia won its independence from the Dutch in 1949. Though Dutch anthropologist Topaas de Boer-Lasschuyt described them as "melancholic, brown, big-eyed nowhere belongers," nearly all of these immigrants were, culturally and socially, quite Dutch. Among the Asians, only the 40,000 South Moluccans—who insist that the Dutch government help them recapture their homeland—resisted assimilation. To dramatize their quixotic cause, young South Moluccan extremists have resorted to terror, hijacking commuter trains (in 1975 and 1977) and on one occasion (in 1977) taking six teachers and 105 schoolchildren hostage.

The second wave of immigrants arrived primarily for economic, not political, reasons. Lured by thousands of menial but relatively high-paying jobs in the factories of Amsterdam and Utrecht and on the docks of Rotterdam, some 300,000 Turks and Moroccans flocked to the Netherlands between 1960 and 1974. The Hague expected that many of the *gastarbeiders* (guest workers) would return to their homelands after several years. But as legal beneficiaries of the country's generous welfare state, the Muslim *gastarbeiders* found it hard to leave. Today, to reduce social outlays for non-Dutch minorities, the

more liberal. In 1966, some bishops published *De Nieuwe Katechismus* (A New Catechism), which cast doubt on church doctrine on the virgin birth of Christ and original sin, and suggested that the Last Supper was a symbolic myth. Churchmen advocated the use of contraceptives and an end to priestly celibacy; Catholic universities appointed Marxist professors to teach sociology, economics, and political science. TV networks once affiliated with the Dutch Reformed Church aired shows rife with religious satire, vulgar language, and scenes that many Americans would consider pornographic.

Despite such liberalization, or perhaps because of it, church at-

Lubbers government offers a *remigratie premie* (re-migration premium) of up to \$45,000 to foreign workers who waive their entitlements, leave the country, and agree not to settle in the Netherlands again.

The Netherlands' third wave comprises some 220,000 immigrants from the former Dutch American colonies of Suriname (which became independent in 1975) and the Netherlands



Antilles (which include the self-governing islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, Sint Maarten, Saba, and St. Eustatius) who came in the 1970s. Most are of black African descent. The Hague tried to disperse these newcomers, but most drifted into low-rent neighborhoods in the big cities. Some 35,000 Surinamers dwell in the high-rise apartment buildings of Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer district; fully half of the adults are unemployed.

The growing presence of so many non-European minority groups in the Netherlands has tested Dutch tolerance. "Netherlands for the Netherlanders," cried members of the extreme right-wing, anti-foreigner Centrum Party during the election campaign of 1982. As elsewhere in Western Europe, many minority spokesmen have complained that their people suffer not only from (illegal) discrimination in housing and employment, but from age-old stereotypes as well. Some black Surinamers, for example, now find the popular Christmastime folk character, Black Peter (Sinterklaas's "Moorish" helper), offensive.

—Allison Blakely

Allison Blakely, associate professor of European history at Howard University, spent a year (1985-86) in the Netherlands conducting research on the situation of blacks in the old Dutch empire.

tendance, while still higher than in other Western European countries, has fallen. Some 27 percent of all Dutch adults attend services regularly (compared with 14 percent in Britain and 12 percent in France). Declining too is the churches' strength at the ballot box. In 1963, 83 percent of Catholics voted for Catholic Peoples' Party candidates; in 1972, only 38 percent did so. Many Catholics, and Protestants, have defected to the now more numerous secular parties.

No fewer than six new, nonreligious political parties and three leftist religious parties entered the Tweede Kamer, the lower house of the Dutch parliament, between 1959 and 1982. During the same

period, the conservative Liberal Party doubled in size. The three major church-affiliated parties—the Catholic People's Party and two Protestant groups, the Anti-Revolutionary Party and the Christian Historical Union—responded to the secular onslaught by merging into the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) in 1977. The alliance would have been unthinkable 20 years earlier. A Christian Historical Union leader told me in 1978: "I sometimes fear that our partners in the CDA will swamp us and submerge our identity."

Free Rides

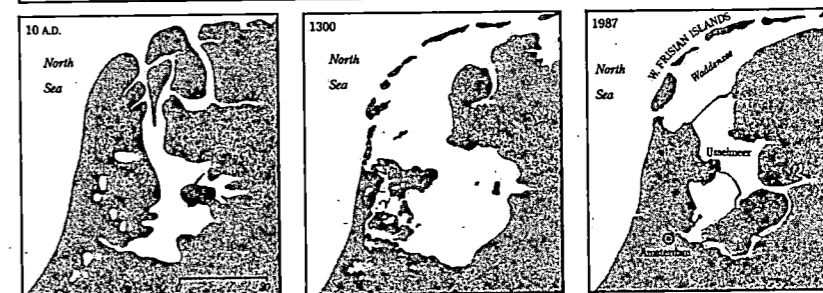
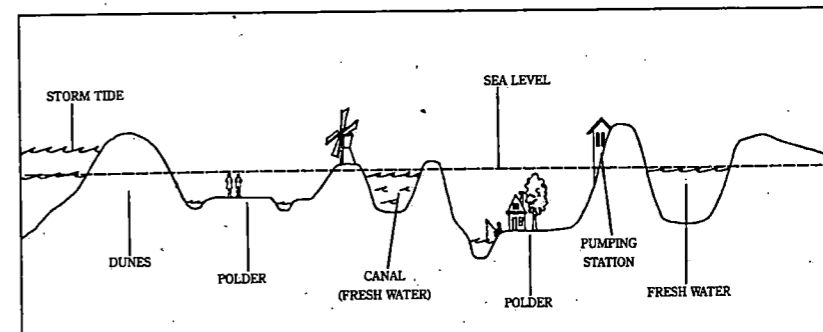
Over the last few decades, traditional Dutch morality has come under assault too. As elsewhere in the West, the prosperous 1960s saw the emergence of blue-jeaned advocates of "free sex," free drugs, and free rides in several senses. The Provos, a band of young anarchists who flourished in Amsterdam in 1964–67, championed an array of "White Plans" designed to improve everyday city life. Their White Chicken plan would have had the police distribute free bandages, medicine, and contraceptives on the streets. The Provos' White Bicycle initiative, which was experimented with for a time, called for Amsterdam to provide some 20,000 white-painted bicycles that would be strewn around the city like shopping carts for anyone's use. A small but radical youth movement still thrives in the Netherlands. Dutch authorities have tolerated the *krakers* (squatters) who occupy uninhabited buildings in several Dutch cities, in much the same way that Dutch Protestants and Catholics tolerated, for centuries, the practices of other groups. Amsterdam officials renovated some of the buildings and rented them, for about \$50 per month, to the *krakers*. "People needed houses and the government was failing to provide housing," explained a Socialist legislator, Klaas de Vries. "What else were [the squatters] to do?"

The *krakers* notwithstanding, the Netherlands is still, for the most part, a conservative society. Its rates of such social afflictions as divorce, juvenile crime, and unwed motherhood have remained lower than those in other Western European countries and the United States. Still, churchgoing rural folk are shocked by the drugs, pornography, and exhibitionism that they see during visits to the cities.

"Last week in Amsterdam I saw a bunch of kids, marching in the street, holding signs that profaned the name of God," a Calvinist farmer from the town of Ede told me. "Is this the result of too much freedom? Everywhere I looked I saw filth and decay. I could not believe I was in the Netherlands. I might as well have been in Paris."

Social change has affected social policy. The *verzorgingsstaat* was affordable as long as the Dutch nuclear family remained traditional and intact, and the economy remained robust. When the policy-makers crafted the various programs, they did so under the assump-

PUSHING BACK THE NORTH SEA



Since the 17th century, the Dutch have reclaimed some 3,300 square miles (20 percent of the nation's land area) from lakes and the sea. The top sketch shows how the country's 1,200 miles of dikes and dunes enable canals, lakes, and polders (areas of reclaimed land) to exist below sea level.

tion—not unreasonable a generation ago—that there would be but one breadwinner per family if unemployment or disability were to strike. The government benefits needed to support only one household: the worker, his nonworking spouse, and their children.

But in the Netherlands, as elsewhere, many fathers, mothers, and offspring no longer share one dwelling, with a rent or mortgage bill that is paid by one wage earner. Divorces, though still low in number, have been increasing, rising from 5,600 in 1960 to some 34,000 last year. In 1960, some 20 percent of adult women worked outside the home; today over 40 percent hold a job, typically in an office or retail establishment. Although many working single and married women are part-timers, they are entitled to full benefits. In some families, husbands, wives, and young adult offspring are all receiving support from the government.

In all Western countries over the last 100 years, the state has, to varying degrees, taken over welfare functions once performed by families, parishes, guilds, and private voluntary organizations. In the

Netherlands, which has a long tradition of private, church-based charity, this shift was particularly dramatic. But to an even greater extent than their Scandinavian counterparts, postwar Dutch regimes also have taken control of peoples' incomes. Now many citizens complain about a government that is "for you, but without you." Indeed, by levying high taxes and subsidizing virtually everything, the state in effect tells the people how to spend their money. When the Amsterdam council gave a subsidy to a motorcycle club to fix up its meeting house, a friend of mine referred to "the Hell's Angels subsidy."

Not surprisingly, abuse became endemic. The fastest-rising category of welfare claimant over the last 25 years has been the disabled. And the most-reported malady? Back pains. "People no longer see the system as a system," observed a 1985 Social Insurance Council Report, "but as something to be manipulated."

Now, The 'Caring Society'

That this should happen in the Netherlands is ironic. The Dutch long stressed the value of hard work and looked to the family or to churches, not to the government, for succor in hard times.

In 1985, the Nederlandsche Bank conducted a study comparing economic trends in New England with those in the Netherlands. Why, the bank wanted to know, had the Northeastern United States fared so much better? One reason was that many of New England's temporarily unemployed helped themselves and the local economy by working as low-paid waiters, cashiers, and bellhops until better jobs came along. Seduced by generous unemployment benefits, their Dutch counterparts saw little reason to choose work over leisure. "There existed a kind of anti-private enterprise mentality in the 1970s," observes Finance Minister Ruding. "But we have learned our lesson, that the private sector is the root for real employment."

To ease the strain on the treasury, Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers's Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition has trimmed sickness, unemployment, and disability benefits. The government has also reduced the number of civil service jobs, lowered the minimum wage, and cut salaries in the public sector. Finally, it has broken the link between wage levels and benefits paid to welfare recipients. Between 1981 and 1986, the purchasing power of individual disability payments fell, on average, by more than 20 percent. The Dutch parade no longer marches in step.

Partly as a result, over the last three years the government has managed to cut public spending by nine percent and drive its annual deficit below eight percent of national income. The number of welfare claimants has continued to climb, due to a rise in the number of old-age pensioners. But the worst excesses seem to be over.

Not everyone, of course, is pleased. The opposition Labor Party

protests that The Hague is destroying the welfare system under the guise of making it work. In 1983, civil servants struck against a proposed 3.5 percent wage reduction (they accepted 3.0 percent). That year, protesting cuts in the now-defunct Fine Arts Program, artists tossed a pie in the face of the minister of welfare, health, and culture at an exhibit. Gerard Veldkamp, a Catholic People's Party stalwart who created many *verzorgingsstaat* programs during the 1960s, has denounced the Christian Democrats for losing their "christian-social vision."

The Dutch would never return to an every-man-for-himself society. But they are rethinking the virtues and vices of their present programs. University of Amsterdam political scientist Kees van Kersbergen foresees a scaled-down, more production-oriented, and less regulation-entangled *zorgzame samenleving* (caring society) supplanting the welfare state. The "caring society" he envisions would try to help only those in need, not try to make everyone equal.

The Dutch experience has prompted foreign scholars to wonder about the future. Kent State University political scientist John Logue speculates that any omnibus welfare state may only work well as "a one-generational phenomenon, after which the values of individual responsibility and collective solidarity begin to weaken."

Heinrich Heine once said that if the world were about to end he would go to the Netherlands, where everything happens 50 years late. Having created what they once saw as the perfect welfare state, the Dutch today seem to be not behind the times, but slightly ahead in a more pragmatic effort to provide what all humane societies should provide: support for the truly needy, and opportunity for the willing and able.



THE INDEPENDENT ALLY

by Stanley R. Sloan

Late in the evening of November 1, 1985, J. M. Bik, a reporter for the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*, paced back and forth outside Nieuwspoor, the press information office at The Hague. Inside the red brick building, in an upstairs chamber, the 14 members of the Dutch cabinet debated whether or not to allow the United States, under the terms of a 1979 decision by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to deploy 48 Tomahawk cruise missiles on Dutch soil. For the Netherlands, this was, in the words of *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham, "the most momentous and tormenting national security decision in postwar history."

For professional rather than political reasons, Mr. Bik probably hoped the missiles would be approved. The edition of the *NRC Handelsblad* tucked under his arm carried his front page story reporting that the cabinet had *already* decided in favor of deployment. Meanwhile, hoping to prove Bik wrong, hundreds of young antimissile protesters pressed against the building, shouting slogans and banging their fists against the doors and windows.

Finally, after 12 hours of cabinet debate, Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers came downstairs to the press gallery, now jammed with weary and impatient reporters, to announce the decision. To Bik's relief, Lubbers announced that his center-right coalition government had, indeed, agreed to let the United States begin deploying the weapons in the Netherlands in 1988. "Further deferment," wrote Lubbers to the Speaker of the Tweede Kamer (the lower house of parliament), "would undermine the credibility of the Netherlands' policy and call into question its reliability as a NATO partner." To mollify the country's vociferous antimissile movement, the cabinet also decided that it would discontinue two other "nuclear tasks" that the Netherlands undertook for NATO.*

Back in Washington, State Department spokesman Joseph W. Reap hailed the Netherlands' "adherence to the fundamental principles underlying the [NATO] alliance." But in the Netherlands, Lubbers's pronouncement drew a flurry of protests. Some 100,000 high school students across the country skipped classes for a day. A group of protesters calling themselves, appropriately, Operation Emergency Brake halted commuter trains by pulling their emergency stop levers. To suggest impending nuclear doom, one radio station in

*In 1988, the Netherlands will no longer assign U.S.-supplied nuclear weapons to its 32 F-16 fighter bombers, or nuclear depth charges to its six P-3C Orion II antisubmarine planes.



Queen Wilhelmina escaped to London when the Nazis invaded Holland in 1940. Here she joins FDR and a Navy aide at Mount Vernon in August 1942 to lay a wreath at George Washington's tomb.

the city of Hilversum broadcast nothing all day but the sound of an airraid siren. Most importantly, Joop den Uyl, leader of the opposition Labor Party, pledged to reverse the decision to deploy. To Laborites, den Uyl said, November 1 represented "a black day for all those striving for an end to the nuclear arms race."

Such protests did not surprise Lubbers or the Christian Democratic and (conservative) Liberal ministers in his cabinet. The missile question had generated recurrent indignation among Netherlanders ever since December 12, 1979. On that day, NATO foreign and defense ministers, meeting at the alliance's Brussels headquarters, formally approved a plan for closing a perceived gap in the alliance's deterrent strategy: They would station 464 cruise and 108 Pershing II missiles in five NATO countries (West Germany, Italy, Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands). The so-called double track decision also called on the United States to negotiate cuts in the number of missiles that would be deployed, in return for Soviet reductions in the number of their new SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe.

Dutch antimissile protesters, many of whom were organized by the country's powerful church-led Interdenominational Peace Committee, soon grew restless. U.S.-Soviet arms control talks in Geneva had stalled, while the initial deployment of missiles in West Germany

and Britain grew imminent. Some 555,000 Dutch citizens took to the streets of The Hague, protesting against the NATO missiles, in November 1983. One farmer, Leendert Plaisier of Dronten, even offered the Soviets his 109-acre farm as a site for their SS-20s. "A nuclear equilibrium," Plaisier explained, defending his unorthodox view, "will make our country a safer place to live in."

At any point during the six-year Dutch missile debate, a casual foreign visitor might have wondered: Why all the fuss about these particular weapons? Indeed, the Netherlands had, for many years, served as a depot for U.S. nuclear artillery shells, depth charges, and other nuclear arms, which NATO would use against Soviet-led Warsaw Pact forces in the case of an attack.

Whales, Spices, Neutrality

For some American officials the missile protests raised fundamental questions about the Netherlands' loyalty to the Western alliance and, for that matter, about the character of the Dutch themselves. To some extent, the drama reflected the special political tensions that repeatedly have surfaced over nuclear weapons and NATO policies within most other Western European countries.

At the height of the missile controversy, American political commentator Walter Laqueur argued that the Netherlands had become "one of the weakest links in the Western alliance." The missile protests, he suggested, were symptomatic of a broader Dutch (and Northwestern European) phenomenon. The ranks of Dutch pacifism had been swelled by a variety of "confused but well-meaning 'troops.'" According to Laqueur, these included "idealists in search of a cause, ecologists fearful of irreversible changes on earth and in the atmosphere, churchmen in pursuit of a new faith, young people bored by the absence of genuine challenges and attracted by any movement promising action."

It is true, of course, that several Dutch politicians have ranked among the sharpest Western European critics of U.S. and NATO policies in recent years. But has the country really drifted away from its duty as a Western ally, as Laqueur and others suggest? Perhaps. But it may also be that the Dutch are simply reverting to their historic role as citizens of a small, highly independent country.

Throughout their history, the Dutch, for various reasons, have been wary of entanglements. Indeed, between 1648 (when the Neth-

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erlands won its independence by ousting Spain in the Eighty Years' War) and 1940 (when Nazi Germany occupied the country), the Dutch made a religion of neutrality. As Dutch scholar and parliamentarian Joris J. C. Voorhoeve wrote in *Peace, Profits and Principles* (1979), they sought "friendly relations and maritime and commercial treaties with all, but alignment with none."

Neutrality seemed a good choice for the Netherlands to protect its commercial and political interests. As Spain's overseas empire declined during the 16th century, the Dutch became Europe's great maritime power. During the 17th century, Holland's "Golden Age," as British historian G. V. Scammell observed in *The World Encompassed* (1981), "Dutch ships pursued whales in the Arctic, seals off South Africa, carried coal from England to Europe, grain from the Baltic to Iberia, slaves from West Africa to Brazil, silver from Europe to Asia, and spices from Asia to Europe."

Neutrality continued to serve the Dutch well as their maritime hegemony faded during the 18th and 19th centuries. A small nation hemmed in by military giants and traditional rivals—Germany, Britain, and France—the Dutch wanted to protect the flow of trade in and out of their ports, and to preserve access to their East Indian colonies. They did not want to upset the European balance of power. Nonalignment and nonparticipation became their creed.

'Island of Sanity'

Staying out of European conflicts, of course, was not always easy. Thanks to their geography—and their position as a major commercial crossroads—the Dutch would find themselves caught between Great Powers more than once. France's Napoleon III, for example, grew wary of German military power after Prussia crushed Austria in the Seven Weeks' War (1866). In an effort to extend French influence, he sought a bargain with Holland's King William III. The French emperor urged William to cede to France the adjacent Grand Duchy of Luxembourg—which then belonged to the Netherlands—in exchange for a monetary indemnity.

The Prussian prime minister, Otto von Bismarck, evinced no objection to the deal—until it was leaked to a soon-outraged German public. Then Bismarck had little choice but to threaten France with war. To stave off a European conflict, at least temporarily,* the Dutch refused to cede Luxembourg to France. As prince lieutenant of Luxembourg, William's brother, Henry, granted the Grand Duchy's independence and neutrality at the Conference of London in 1867. "Dutch statecraft," as the 19th-century Dutch statesman, Johan Rudolf Thorbecke, rather confidently saw it, "itself free of the lust of power, is the fairest judge over the ambition of others."

*The Franco-Prussian War erupted in 1870.

DOING BUSINESS IN AMERICA

Practical, hard-working, and business-minded, the Dutch have loomed large in American life. Notable Americans of Dutch descent include three presidents (Martin Van Buren, Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt), empire builders (Cornelius Vanderbilt), writers (Herman Melville), actors (Humphrey Bogart, Audrey Hepburn), and journalists (Amy Vanderbilt, Walter Cronkite). But there are only six million Americans of Dutch ancestry today—compared with 40 million of Irish and 12 million of Italian descent.

The early Dutch ventured across the Atlantic mostly to explore and exploit—not to settle—the New World. “The nature of the Dutchman,” Sir Walter Raleigh said in 1593, “is to fly to no man but for his profit.”

The first Dutch foray to North America came in 1609, when the *Halve Maen* (Half Moon), commanded by an Englishman, Henry Hudson, sailed up the Hudson River in search of a Northwest Passage to the East Indies. Dutch explorers who followed, such as Adriaen Block, sought beaver skins from the Mohican Indians, who then inhabited the Hudson River Valley. In 1614 Dutchmen built Fort Nassau near present-day Albany, New York.

The Dutch also imported the first slaves to the New World. The Dutch ship that delivered 20 black Africans to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 was the first of many to bring bondsmen to labor-short English colonists.

Attracted by the lucrative fur trade, 13 Dutch merchants established the Dutch West India Company in 1621, and gained exclusive rights to develop the colony of Nieuw Nederland (which encompassed parts of Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York). A group of farmers founded Nieuw Amsterdam in 1625 at the mouth of the Hudson River. It was here, the following year, that Pieter Minuit, Nieuw Nederland’s director-general, concluded his famous pact with the Indians to purchase Manhattan Island for 60 guilders (\$24) worth of merchandise (including 80 pairs of hose, 30 kettles, and one frying pan).

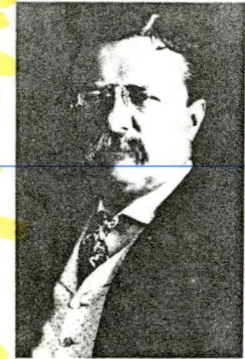
Dutch outposts such as Wiltwyck (today’s Kingston, New York) and Bergen (Jersey City, New Jersey) sprang up throughout the area. But only 10,000 Dutch inhabited Manhattan, Long Island, and the Hudson and Delaware River valleys in 1664, when a British force led by Colonel Richard Nicolls seized Nieuw Amsterdam and named it after the Duke of York.

Through no virtue of their own, the Dutch, unlike the neighboring Belgians, escaped the devastation of World War I. Germany’s famous Schlieffen Plan had originally called for Kaiser Wilhelm II’s troops to invade Belgium *and* the Netherlands on their way to France. But a neutral Holland, calculated General Helmuth von Moltke, would best serve the German war effort—by keeping the mouth of the Rhine River, at Rotterdam, open to German imports. A combination of “opportune Dutch timidity” and “considerable good fortune,” as Voorhoeve put it, “saved the Dutch.”

Through the 1920s and 1930s, the Dutch remained faithful to neutrality. Holland joined the League of Nations in 1920. But the League, as Foreign Minister H. A. van Karnebeek was quick to note,

Dutch immigration virtually ceased for 180 years. Then a fundamentalist revolt at home against the increasingly lax Dutch Reformed Church rekindled interest in the New World. Beginning in the mid-19th century, Dutch pastors led entire congregations of dogmatic Calvinist “Seceders” to America. Unlike their 17th-century predecessors, they came to establish their own isolated, God-fearing communities. In 1846, Dominie (Pastor) Henrick Pieter Scholte and his 900-person congregation from Amsterdam and Utrecht built the town of Pella on a prairie in central Iowa. The next year, Dominie Albertus C. van Raalte led his congregation from rural Drenthe and Overijssel to the forests of western Michigan. The new community, named Holland, he wrote, would be “a center for a united and spiritual life and labor for God’s kingdom.”

Today, Pella, Iowa (population: 8,300), and Holland, Michigan (10,400), are successful Dutch-American communities. Pella hosts two large companies—Rolscreen (windows) and Vermeer (farm equipment)—that maintain branches in the Netherlands. The town’s 1985 median family income (\$30,945) lives up to the local motto: “A Nice Place to Live, and Make a Living.”



Teddy Roosevelt

Pellans, says Robert van Hemert, head of the local chamber of commerce, are more frugal, and more apt to vote Republican, than most Americans. He attributes Dutch-Americans’ success to their ability to seize new opportunities while preserving Dutch values. Perhaps this is what Theodore Roosevelt was referring to when he spoke before the Holland Society of New York in 1890.

“Hollanders,” said the future U.S. president, could never have won “re-nown had they remained Hollanders instead of becoming Americans.” Had Cornelius Vanderbilt remained “alien in speech and habit of thought,” TR went on, he “would have remained an unknown boatman instead of becoming one of the most potent architects of the marvelous American industrial fabric,” and Martin Van Buren “would have been a country tavern-keeper, instead of the president of the mightiest republic the world has ever seen.”

did not represent a one-sided political agreement or a military partnership. Moreover, within the League, the Netherlands and other small European nations refused to align themselves with Britain and France. On July 1, 1936, three years after Hitler took power, the Netherlands and six others (Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway) declared themselves exempt from any future League decisions imposing economic sanctions against an aggressor. The likelier another war seemed during the 1930s, the more the Dutch clung to their faith.

To many Dutch politicians, neutrality seemed not only prudent, but also *morally* superior to military conflict. The Dutch, proclaimed P. J. S. Serrarens, a member of the parliament, after Germany in-

vaded Poland, "have the duty in these days to guard the higher ethical values for mankind and in particular for Europe." Holland would remain, in the words of his colleague Rutgers van Rozenburg, an "island of sanity" amidst "the folly of peoples."

Even after the Germans invaded neutral Denmark and Norway in April 1940, the Dutch thought they could avoid the worst. Hitler had other plans. "The violation of Belgium's and Holland's neutrality is without importance," the Führer had told his leading military commanders at a November 23, 1939, meeting in Berlin. "Nobody will question that after we have conquered."

Into the Attics

The Nazi attack began in the early morning hours of May 10, 1940. The Dutch spotted German planes penetrating Dutch air space at 1:30 A.M. But the aircraft did not attack; instead they proceeded out over the North Sea, on their way, it seemed, to England. At 4:00 A.M., the planes circled back toward the Netherlands, this time dropping bombs, then paratroopers, on Dutch airfields. Meanwhile, the Wehrmacht poured across the border. "The city is surrounded by strong German troops," warned Nazi leaflets dropped from the air on The Hague. "Any resistance is senseless."

As it happened, resistance *was* senseless. The Luftwaffe wiped out the Netherlands' meager air force within two days. The Germans delivered the final blow at 1:30 P.M. on May 14, when their aircraft began carpet bombing the city of Rotterdam. Gusts of wind whipped flames into a fury, as people poured into the streets. The city was devastated; there were some 1,000 dead. Within only a few hours of the attack, General Henri Gerard Winkelman, the commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces, called on his 300,000 poorly armed troops to lay down their weapons. To the Dutch people, Winkelman broadcast this stark explanation of the quick capitulation: "Our air force was too weak against the German air force and our anti-aircraft batteries also were not up to the might of the German power from the air . . . We were left to ourselves."

Neutrality, however noble in principle, had proved no guarantee of national survival. The Dutch forces had resisted only long enough to permit Queen Wilhelmina and the Dutch cabinet to flee to London aboard a British destroyer. Thousands of Dutch refugees soon followed. Their vessels, under frequent attack by Luftwaffe planes, steered zigzag courses as they steamed toward England.

The Dutch who stayed in Holland would live under Nazi occupation for the next five years. Berlin put Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart, a Viennese Nazi, in charge of the Netherlands. On May 30, 1940, Seyss-Inquart delivered his "inaugural address" in the historic Ridderzaal at The Hague, where the queen had given her

traditional Speech from the Throne.*

The Nazis would soon abolish the parliament, political parties, and the free press, set up German courts, and hand over much administrative authority to the Dutch National Socialists. They rationed the distribution of food, shoes, textiles, and soap, and confiscated foodstuffs and other valuables. Zinc tokens replaced Holland's copper, nickel, and silver coins. The Germans conducted *razzia*, or man-hunts—first for Jews, and later for other able-bodied men—to provide workers for war industries in Germany. Some 300,000 *onderduikers* (underdivers) resisted the *razzia* by hiding themselves in the attics or basements of sympathetic countrymen.

1944 began auspiciously for the Dutch. The Allies landed in Normandy on June 6, and went on to liberate Paris on August 24, Brussels on September 3, and parts of the Netherlands' southernmost province of Limburg by September 9. But Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's northward push into the Netherlands failed at the Battle of Arnhem (September 17–27).

Van Kleffens's Vision

The Dutch would suffer two more major wartime disasters after the loss at Arnhem. To open up the seaward approaches to newly captured Antwerp, a key Allied supply port, the British routed the German garrison on the Dutch coastal island of Walcheren—a victory achieved only after the Royal Air Force bombed the sea dikes there. The resulting inundation, combined with heavy fighting, wreaked havoc on the island, drowning some residents, and sending others scurrying for higher ground. The last eight months of occupation also saw the Germans halting food shipments to western districts of the Netherlands. City dwellers in Amsterdam and The Hague survived Holland's "Hunger Winter" of 1944–45 by trading clothes, furniture, and jewelry for food. In rural areas, their starving countrymen ate the pulp of sugar beets and roasted tulip bulbs like chestnuts.

By the time Germany's General Johannes Blaskowitz surrendered on May 5, 1945, at the Hotel Wereld in Wageningen, 200,000 Dutch had lost their lives. Roughly half of these were Jews, who had been deported to Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Sobibor, Bergen-Belsen, and other Nazi concentration camps.†

*The Dutch East Indies, meanwhile, fared no better. Following their December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese captured, in rapid succession, the islands of Borneo, Celebes, Timor, and Bali. After eight days of fighting Allied forces, the Japanese took the archipelago's chief island of Java on March 9, 1942. Japan's often-brutal occupation of the Dutch colonies lasted over three years.

†Among them was Anne Frank, who hid for two years with her family in the "Secret Annex"—a hidden attic in her father's spice business—in Amsterdam. Acting on a tip from Dutch informers, the Gestapo discovered the Franks on August 4, 1944. Anne died, at age 15, of typhus at Bergen-Belsen in March 1945. Her father, Otto Frank, survived Auschwitz. He recovered Anne's now-famous wartime journal, which was published in 1947 as *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*.

The trauma of World War II forced the Dutch to reconsider the wisdom of neutrality. In London, officials of the Dutch government in exile reflected on the role in European politics that the Netherlands might play after the war. In 1943, Eelco N. van Kleffens, the Dutch minister of foreign affairs, had sketched the outlines of a future "Atlantic alliance" in a radio address to the still-occupied Netherlands. Van Kleffens envisioned that

there would emerge in the West a strong formation in which America with Canada and the other British dominions would function as an arsenal, Great Britain as a base (particularly for the air force) and the Western parts of the European continent—I refer to Holland, Belgium, and France—as a bridgehead. In this manner we would be dependent, it is true, on the Western powers; but these powers would, conversely, have a need of us. It is difficult to think of a stronger position for our country.

The Allied liberation of Holland, therefore, also set the stage for the end of Dutch neutrality.

World War II had demonstrated that an independent, neutral



NATO commander Alexander M. Haig, Jr., chats with a Dutch conscript in West Germany (1976). The Hague allots 13 percent of the national budget to defense—less than Washington (27 percent), Paris (19), or Bonn (19).

Holland might be *more*, not less, vulnerable to a hostile Soviet Union or a resurgent Germany. The conflict, moreover, had left behind a Europe divided between Eastern totalitarianism and Western democracy. The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia (February 1948), the USSR's "mutual defense pacts" with Romania and Hungary (February 1948), and the ominous Soviet blockade of West Berlin (June 1948 to May 1949) solidified Western, and Dutch, resolve to stand up to the Russians. One 1948 Nederlands Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie poll showed that 71 percent of the Dutch expected another world war within their lifetimes. Another survey revealed that 76 percent had a "friendly" attitude toward the United States, versus only 27 percent with similar sentiments toward the Soviet Union.

NATO's 'Conscience'

The Netherlands thus became an enthusiastic member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which was formed in Washington, D.C., on April 4, 1949. Dutch diplomat and former NATO official S. I. P. van Campen has reflected that "the security factor dominated all other considerations." But the Dutch chose to join the alliance not only for practical but for ideological reasons as well. They believed that, through the alliance, they could gain what they had once enjoyed by remaining neutral: peace, independence, and free trade among nations whose actions would be governed by international law.

The Hague became one of Washington's most reliable partners. The Dutch actively supported plans for a European Defense Community during the early 1950s. In spite of their wartime ordeal, they endorsed U.S. efforts to rearm West Germany and bring Bonn into the alliance. The Dutch generally supported NATO's defense goals, and accepted the deployment of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in 1957. The Hague thus welcomed America's presence in Europe as a deterrent to the Soviet threat and as insurance against a hostile Germany. The Dutch preferred, as Voorhoeve put it, "the gentle hegemony of a remote Atlantic superpower" to potential subordination to Britain or France.

The Dutch, almost automatically, assumed the role of NATO's "conscience." They were always prepared to remind other allies, including the United States, of the North Atlantic Treaty's principles, such as the promise to "live in peace with all peoples and all governments." The Netherlands supported NATO's adoption of a 1968 report, drafted by Belgian foreign minister Pierre Harmel, that urged the alliance to provide a strong deterrent *and* seek better relations with the Soviet bloc. "Military security and a policy of detente," the Harmel Report said, "are not contradictory, but complementary." The Dutch thus sought to mediate and mitigate East-West tensions, much as they had done during the 19th century, when they avoided,

at all costs, upsetting the balance of power.

The Netherlands also became NATO's self-appointed interlocutor with the Third World. Under pressure from the United States and Britain, the Dutch reluctantly ended their colonial rule over the East Indies in December 1949 [see box p. 64]. They lost a fortune when the Indonesians expropriated their assets. But with the fervor of a converted colonialist power, the Netherlands became a generous source of aid to the Third World.*

All in all, the Netherlands found it easy, during the early days of the alliance, to be a "loyal" ally. But a series of world events, beginning in the 1960s, changed the Dutch view of the United States, just as the Soviet threat appeared to be receding.

Bashing the *Neutronenbom*

Following the U.S. lead, the Dutch became increasingly convinced of the Harmel Report's wisdom. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (1971), the SALT I Treaty (1972), and the Helsinki Final Act (1975) appeared to demonstrate that East and West could differ profoundly and still not go to war. Moreover, the Dutch, along with many other West Europeans, saw little chance of a Warsaw Pact attack—as long as the NATO alliance maintained a strong military deterrent, and kept up good relations with the East.

At the same time, the Dutch became distressed by what Washington was doing around the world. Perhaps more than anything, U.S. involvement in Vietnam tarnished Washington's reputation in the Netherlands and across Western Europe. President Lyndon B. Johnson sought European support for America's costly effort against communism in Southeast Asia. "Send us some men and send us some folks to deal with these guerrillas," the president asked Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson in 1965. But the British, Dutch, and other Europeans balked, on several grounds. First, some were unhappy that Washington had to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe to fight a war in faraway Asia. Second, many opposed the conflict on moral grounds; and third, most believed that, against Hanoi's tenacity, the United States could not succeed. Many Dutch, like many Americans, winced at news photos of American GIs laying waste to seemingly innocent villages in Southeast Asia. In Holland, such sights may have stirred up bad memories of Dutch oppression in their own East Indian colonies.

The fall of Saigon in 1975 did not mean the end of Dutch, or

*According to the World Bank, in 1985 only Norway gave more aid to underdeveloped countries—measured as a percentage of gross national product (GNP)—than did the Netherlands. The Norwegians donated one percent (\$555 million) of their GNP to Third World countries; the Dutch gave 0.9 percent, or \$1.123 billion. The U.S. contribution: \$9.5 billion, or 0.24 percent of its GNP.



Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers (front center) meets with peace activists (October 1985). Some 3.7 million citizens signed petitions demanding a ban on NATO deployment of 48 cruise missiles on Dutch soil.

Western European, distress over U.S. policies. Peace activists seized on another cause for outrage when Jimmy Carter contemplated (only later to "defer") the production and deployment of the neutron bomb in 1978. In contrast to existing nuclear weapons, the "enhanced radiation" nuclear artillery shell, its proponents argued, would enable NATO to counter a Soviet armored thrust into Western Europe while causing relatively little blast damage to nearby towns and villages. European and American journalists dashed off stories about the bomb that would "kill people, but not buildings." Egon Bahr, secretary general of West Germany's Social Democratic Party, called it "a perversion in human thinking."

Many in Holland agreed. A Dutch political action group, Stop de Neutronenbom, circulated anti-neutron bomb petitions and sponsored large street demonstrations in Amsterdam. There, during the spring of 1978, roughly one in 10 homes sported a yellow "Stop the Neutron Bomb" poster, which hung on the front door or in a window. When his fellow cabinet ministers refused to denounce the weapon, Defense Minister Roelof Krusinga resigned in protest. The *New Statesman*, a leftist British magazine, observed that "although [the Netherlands] is a loyal member of the Western alliance, it has not lost

the habit of thinking for itself.”

Thus, the alliance-shaking cruise missile controversy of 1979–85 was only one signal of Dutch anxiety. The Reagan administration's fiery early anti-Soviet rhetoric, its support for the *contra* rebels in Nicaragua, and the U.S. invasion of tiny Grenada added to the Dutch impression that Washington was losing the moral judgment and political acumen to lead the alliance properly. Moreover, some Dutch politicians began to doubt whether the United States, as President Reagan insisted, considered NATO “our first line of defense.” Would Washington actually defend Rotterdam, as American politicians had long promised, at the risk of endangering New York? European politicians were stunned when the president himself rashly remarked in 1981 that he “could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing The Button.”

Such Good Friends

Yet, despite all the trans-Atlantic bickering, Prime Minister Lubbers's government values the alliance and, along with other Western European governments, cherishes Washington's nuclear guarantee. The possibility that President Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev would actually eliminate all strategic ballistic missiles—as proposed by President Reagan in Reykjavik last October—gave Dutch leaders the jitters. They rely, after all, on America's “nuclear umbrella” to compensate for the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional forces, especially tanks and artillery.

“Drastic changes in the nuclear [weapons] field,” said Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, understating the Dutch government's worries, “could, beyond a certain point, have the effect of emphasizing the significance of the present conventional disparities.”

Dutch politicians are like most political leaders within the alliance: They want it all. On the one hand, as Dutch journalist Maarten Huygen has written, “the Netherlands wants American influence as a balance against Britain, France, and West Germany as the ultimate guarantor of peace on the European continent.” But the Dutch also feel that Washington exercises too much power over Dutch and European security interests. Says Dutch socialist Klaas de Vries, “We [Europeans] want to control our own destiny.”

Polls have shown that the Dutch, like other Western European citizens, seem to suffer from an apparent mild case of schizophrenia: Sizable majorities have opposed certain NATO initiatives, such as the deployment of the cruise missiles, yet remain firmly committed to membership in the alliance.

The Netherlands, it should be remembered, shoulders modest but important nonnuclear tasks within NATO. While the Dutch, un-

like the West Germans, do not play host to many U.S. personnel, they have taken on responsibilities beyond their own borders. The Dutch are assigned to defend a crucial sector of the North German plain, and their navy joins in NATO antisubmarine and sea-control efforts in the North Sea and in the North Atlantic. Dutch ground units perform well in NATO field competitions, despite the fact that their unionized conscripts are allowed to wear beards and long hair. Senior Dutch military men claim that they could, in time of war, mobilize some two million reservists within 24 hours.

But the Netherlands' record is far from perfect. Although NATO would like to see two Dutch combat-ready brigades stationed in West Germany during peacetime, only one is deployed there. And the Netherlands, along with most allies, has fallen short of the NATO-wide goal of increasing defense expenditures by three percent, in real terms, each year.

The Dutch know that they have, in recent years, gained a reputation abroad as one of the sharpest critics of U.S. policies. But, as they see it, their criticism expresses what is needed within the alliance: more European self-assertion to uphold the principles on which NATO was founded. They reject the notion that complaints and disagreement equal disloyalty.

In 1982, Leopold Quarles van Ufford, the former Dutch consul-general in New York, was invited to the University of Pennsylvania to address the topic: “Are the Dutch Good Friends?” Van Ufford was apologetic. The Dutch, he explained, possess “an undeniable degree of self-sufficiency, which motivates us to correct others and at times makes us rather unliked.” But “this urge to point a finger at others,” he added, “does not make us less good friends, just less jolly.”

BACKGROUND BOOKS

THE DUTCH

"The People of Holland may be divided into several Classes: The Clowns or Boors (as they call them), who cultivate the Land. The Mariners or Schippers, who supply their Ships and Inland-Boats, The Merchants or Traders, who fill their Towns. The Renteneers, or men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents or Interest of Estates formerly acquired in the Families. And the Gentlemen and Officers of the Armies."

So wrote Sir William Temple, Britain's ambassador to The Hague from 1668 to 1670, in his lively and highly opinionated **Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands** (1673; Oxford, 1972). Although Temple penned a 17th-century "map of state and government," his views of Dutch society have enduring interest.

"All appetites and Passions seem to run lower and cooler here, than in other Countreys," he noted. "Temper are not aiery enough for Joy, or any unusual strains of pleasant Humour; nor warm enough for Love."

Current general works on the Netherlands, such as Frank E. Huggett's comprehensive **Modern Netherlands** (Praeger, 1971), are usually more dispassionate. Because of its location on the North Sea, the Netherlands was destined to become an early commercial and trading leader. But its political future was less clear.

Indeed, the Low Countries—the region that now encompasses Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—remained a patchwork of principalities until the mid-15th century, when the ducal House of Burgundy brought them together in a single realm. Through marriage, the Burgundian lands passed to the Hapsburg family. In 1549, Spain's Charles I (1500–58) incorporated all 17 provinces into the Holy Roman Empire's Burgundian District.

Problems began after Charles's son, Philip II, acceded to the throne in 1555. Philip believed—as Bernard H. M. Vlekke writes in **Evolution of the Dutch Nation** (Roy, 1945)—that "the Spanish monarchy as well as the Catholic Church represented Absolute Truth." In the Netherlands, he levied a general sales tax, promoted Spanish noblemen to high offices, and persecuted Protestants.

Eventually, the Netherlands rebelled against what they saw as a distant, "popish" government, intent on suppressing their liberties. Led by aristocrats, merchants, and churchmen, the uprising—as Charles Wilson stresses in his concise **Dutch Republic** (McGraw-Hill, 1968)—"was not a single movement, [but] congeries of revolts by different classes and groups with many, often conflicting motives." Nevertheless, the rebellion soon evolved into the Netherlands' Eighty Years' War against Spain. The rebels triumphed in the territories that lay above the Rhine, Maas, and Waal rivers—roughly dividing the provinces into an independent Dutch republic in the north and the Spanish Netherlands (which would become Belgium) in the south. The seven northern provinces (Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Gelderland, and Utrecht) that would eventually join in the Union of Utrecht (1579) pledged to remain "sovereign allies."

Even before the Eighty Years' War ended in 1648, an economically vigorous Dutch society had begun to emerge. "It was an age rich in material gold and in the cultural treasures [of] art and science," writes Adriaan Barnouw in "The Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age"—one of 27 essays by Dutch and American scholars appearing in **The Netherlands** (Univ. of Calif., 1943), edited by Bartholomew Landheer.

To the Golden Age belong rationalist

philosopher Benedict de Spinoza, poet and dramatist Joost van den Vondel, Hugo Grotius, the father of modern international law, admiral Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter, and painters Jan Vermeer, Frans Hals, Jan Steen, and Rembrandt van Rijn.

Prosperity touched not only Holland's aristocrats and wealthy merchants, but the professional classes as well. "Rembrandt and Frans Hals did not merely paint mayors and leading dignitaries," as Johan H. Huizinga notes in **Dutch Civilisation in the Seventeenth Century** (Ungar, 1968), "but also writing-masters, preachers, Jewish physicians, engravers, and goldsmiths."

The prosperous years could not last forever. The 18th century saw Holland's maritime dominance fade; Britain's navy prevailed almost everywhere. At home, an increasingly corrupt upper class, Hendrick Riemens observes in **The Netherlands** (Eagle, 1944), "was rapidly becoming a hereditary caste to which even great merchants with new fortunes were denied access."

In January 1795, a French republican army marched into Holland, where it encountered little resistance. Stadholder (governor) William V and his family fled to England as the French declared a new Batavian Republic. French rule survived until November 1813, when an uprising led by Amsterdam shipyard workers forced the French to withdraw to their homeland.

As Johan Goudsblom points out in **Dutch Society** (Random, 1967), the Industrial Revolution came late to the Netherlands. Holland, he says, was still a country whose "leading classes cultivated a disdain of 'progress.'" Only one

factory boasted more than 1000 employees in 1850. But there was rapid progress in health and sanitation. Between 1850 and 1940, life expectancy at birth increased from 30 to 67 years.

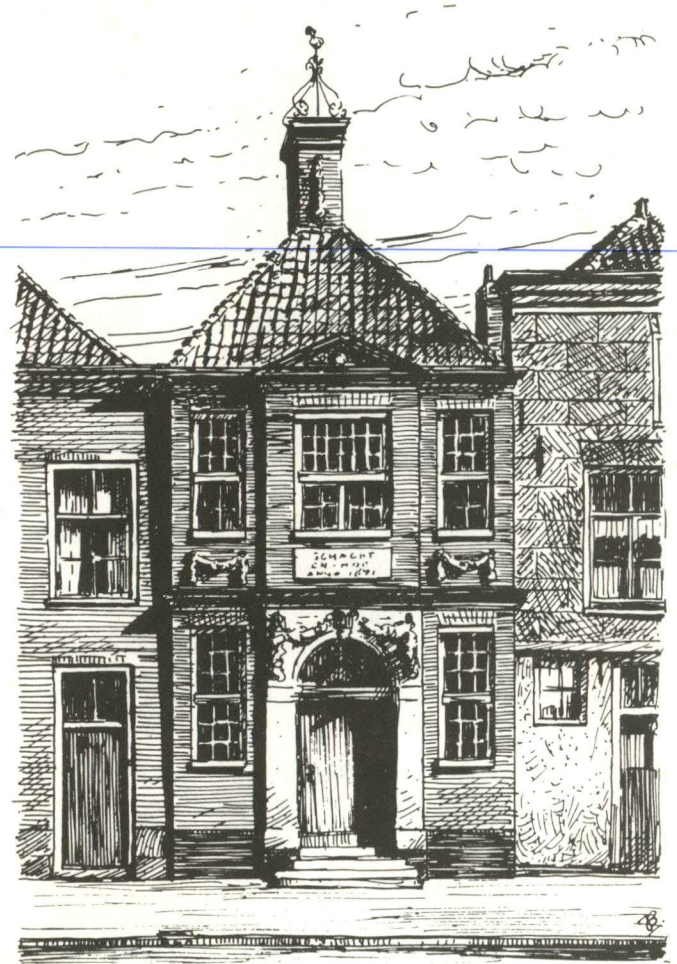
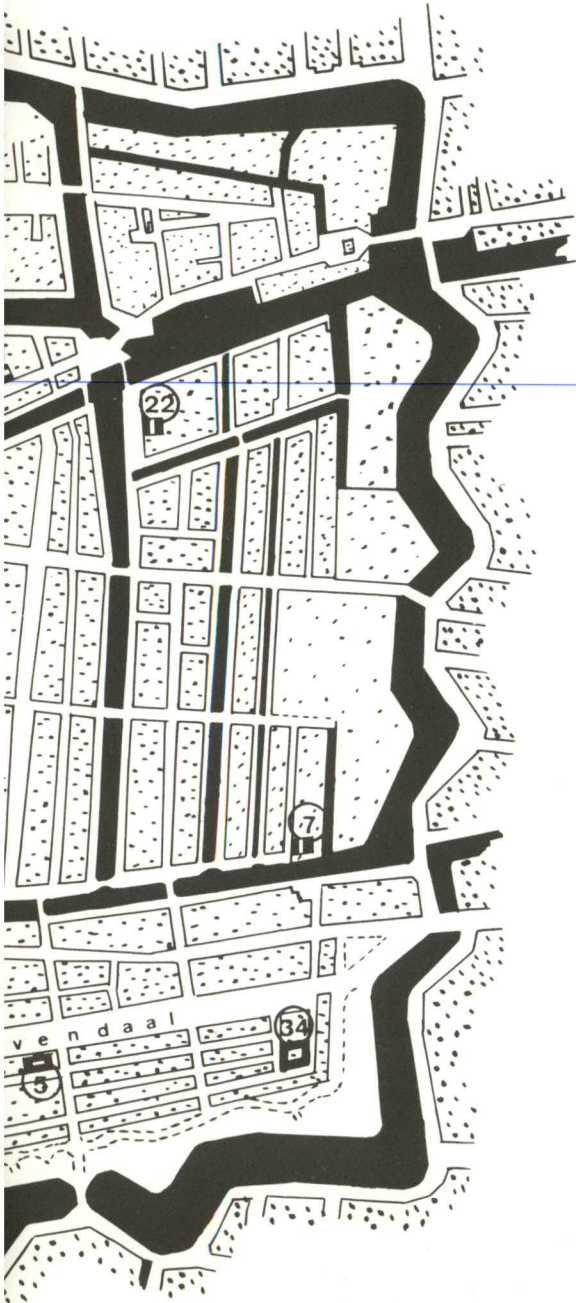
Netherlanders made no progress of any kind during the Nazi occupation. Walter B. Maass's **Netherlands at War: 1940–1945** (Abelard-Schuman, 1970) recounts the invasion. Allard Martens's **Silent War** (Allard Martens, 1961) and Werner Warmbrunn's **Dutch under German Occupation, 1940–1945** (Stanford, 1963) chronicle the Dutch experience. Among other acts of "symbolic resistance," Dutch patriots wore pins bearing a picture of the queen, and greeted friends with the word *Ozo*—for *Oranje zal Overwinnen* (Orange Shall Conquer).

Several good books describe postwar life. Like Sir William Temple, the authors are intrigued by the Dutch personality. In **The Dutch Plural Society** (Oxford, 1973), Christopher Bagley is struck by "the degree to which social life is the subject of orderliness and regulation." **The Dutch Puzzle** (Boucher, 1966) by the Duke de Baena, a Spaniard, ruminates on how the Dutch can be, at once, both thrifty and generous, both "passionately fond of freedom" and "terrified of personal liberty."

There is no question that Netherlands society still allows ordinary people to live in dignity. "If I were an old man of slender means and no longer of much energy," writes Anthony Bailey in **The Light in Holland** (Knopf, 1970), "Holland I know is the country in which I would be treated with respect while I sat on a canal bank and fished and dreamed and watched the boats go by."

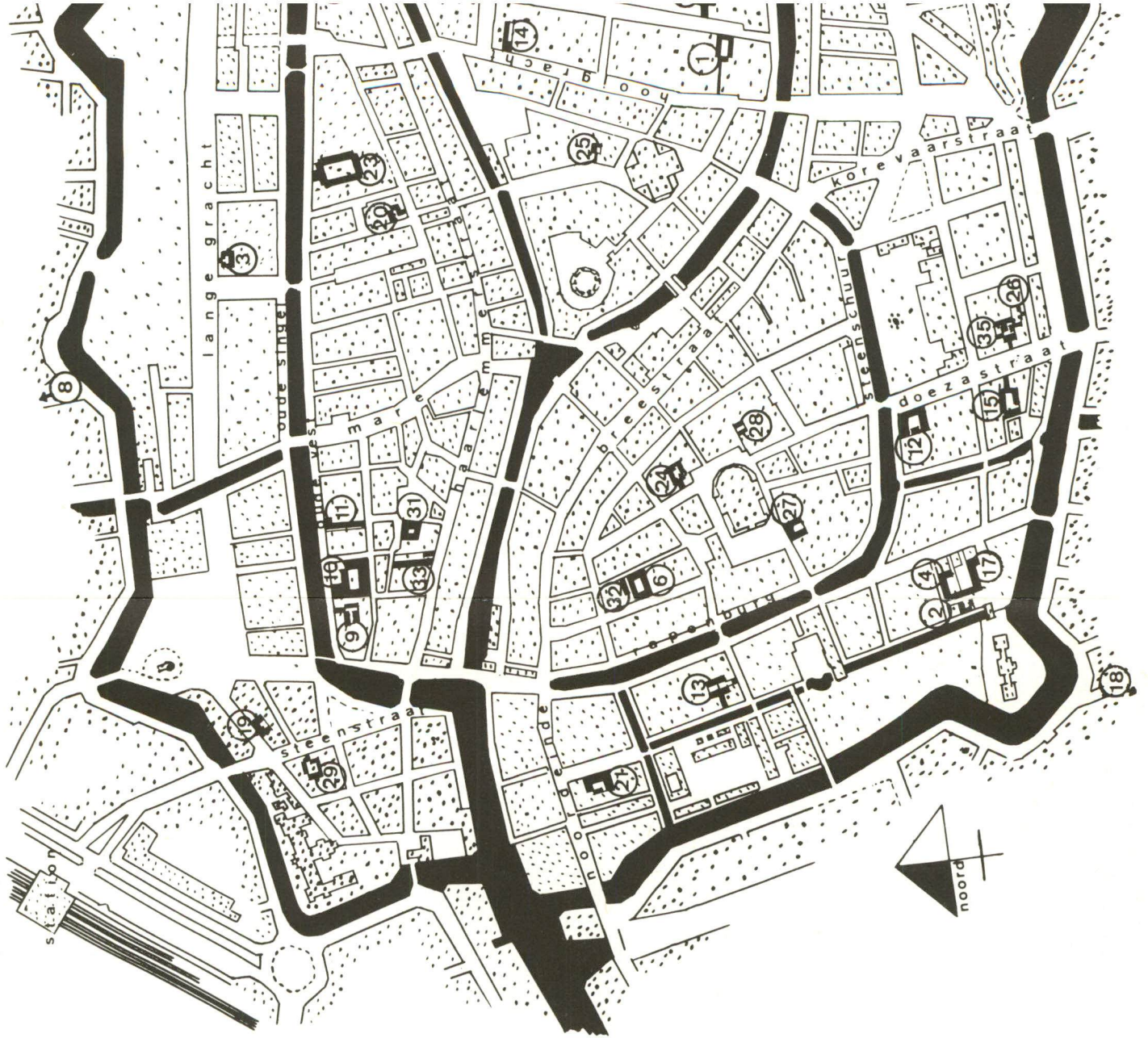
Robinson

DE LEIDSE HOFJES



pentek. door J. Belt

Secretariaat
STICHTING LEIDSE HOFJES
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THE LEYDEN "HOFJES" (formerly almshouses)

The word "hofje" was derived from court or garden because the hofje consists of identical little houses grouped round a garden. In some cases there is/was also a chapel.

Hofjes were founded by rich, often childless married couples to serve as accommodation for their staff or the elderly poor, who apart from free lodging enjoyed "preuves", i.e. gifts in the form of food, drink and/or fuel. Some of them were supervised by the church. Distinguished hofjes have a gate-house in which the trustee-room is often situated. Here the trustees met; in some of them founder-family heirlooms can still be admired.

The name of the founder was often immortalized in a stone in the facade. As to occupation there were regulations which were often very severe. Some of them are still in force. Some of the hofjes, for instance, may only be inhabited by women, others only by married couples. After a fixed hour no visitors were allowed. In some hofjes the residents were not allowed to let their guests stay over-night.

When visiting the Leyden Hofjes please do not forget that they are inhabited. That is why you are kindly requested not to disturb the rest and privacy of the residents.

A number of hofjes may be temporarily closed owing to restoration activities.

The Leyden "hofjes" in alphabetical order. The most interesting are indicated by an asterisk *.

1.* **Sint Annahof or Aalmoeshuis (almshouse)**

9, Hooigracht, entrance Middelstegracht. This splendidly restored hofje of the late 15th century, has a unique chapel, the original inventory of which is still there.

2. **Sint Annahofje or Joostenpoort**

14, Zegerstraat. This old hofje entirely lost its original character due to rebuilding in 1876 and 1907.

3. **Van Assendelfthofje**

49, Langegracht. A 17th century hofje renovated in order to create accommodation for students.

4. **Bethaniën- or Emmaushofje**

43, Kaiserstraat. Founded in the 16th century this hofje, when renovated in 1907, lost its former aspect.

5. **Bethlehemshofje**

109-111, Levendaal. The exterior of this hofje was renovated in 1897, but its courtyard has, for the greater part, retained its former character.

6.* **Brouchovenhofje**

16, Papengracht. Monumental 17th century hofje. The Vereniging Oud-Leiden (the Association Oud-Leiden) uses the trustee-room for their committee meetings.

7. **Cathrijn Jacobsdochterhofje**

1, Kaarsenmakersstraat. This hofje, founded in 1598, was pulled down and moved to the present site in 1939.

8. **Cathrijn Maartensdochterhofje**

2a, Pasteurstraat. Founded in 1608 and moved to the present site in 1910.

9. **Coninckshofje**

15, Oude Vest. An 18th century hofje with simple little houses. The original architecture is virtually intact.

10.* **Sint Elisabethsgasthuis**

Main entrance Ceciliastraat; tourist entrance Lijsbethsteeg. This home for the aged and infirm, founded in 1428, has undergone a splendid restoration. The chapel and former almshouses still house elderly people suffering from chronic diseases.

11. **Groeneveldstichting**

41, Oude Vest. A row of houses, founded at the end of the 19th century for ministers' widows and daughters.

12. **Heilige Geest- or Cornelis Sprongshofje**

1a, Doezastraat. This hofje, at first situated in Bree-straat, was moved to Doezastraat in 1851 when building space was needed for the college clubhouse "Minerva". It was completely renovated in 1920 and 1926.

13.* **Eva van Hoogeveenshofje**

7, Doelensteeg. A 17th century hofje with lively facades, nicely patterned pavements and a beautiful pump.

14. **François Houttijnhofje**

81, Hooigracht. An 18th century hofje. Renovated in 1969/70 by the "Stichting Leidse Studentenhuisvesting" (Foundation for the housing of students).

15. **Sint Jacobs- or Crayenboschhofje**

25, Doezastraat. This 17th century hofje has preserved its intimate atmosphere in spite of alterna-

tions made in the 19th century. In 1976/1977 it was wholly renovated.

16. **Sint Jans- or Van der Laanshofje**
264, Haarlemmerstraat. This 16th century hofje was entirely renovated at the beginning of this century.
17. **Jeruzalemshofje**
49, Kaiserstraat. Oldest hofje in Leyden, founded in 1467. It was renovated at the beginning of this century. The chapel was pulled down in 1887.
18. **Justus Carelhuis**
51a, Witte Rozenstraat. Built in 1936.
19. **Jan de Laterehofje**
13, Tweede Binnenvestgracht. This 17th century hofje was renovated in 1888. It was restored in order to provide housing for students.
20. **Joost Frans van der Lindenhofje.**
16, Grevenstraat. Early 18th century hofje which lost its intimate atmosphere when Grevenstraat was constructed.
- 21.* **Loridanshofje**
1, Oude Varkenmarkt. Splendid 17th century hofje with a picturesque gallery. Completely renovated to accommodate students.
22. **Juffrouw Maashofje**
6, Kalvermarkt. Early 20th century hofje.
- 23.* **Meermansburg**
159, Oude Vest. Very large 17th century hofje. Rich architecture. Fine trustee-room with a considerable collection of portraits. By far the largest hofje in Leyden and recently restored.
24. **Jean Michelshofje**
10, Pieterskerkstraat. Early 17th century complex. Rebuilt in the 17th and 18th century. Renovated in 1964. Inhabited by students.
25. **Mierennesthofje**
38, Hooglandsekerkgracht. Very small 18th century hofje, founded in the remnants of the old Sint Pancras Begijnhof (beguinage).
26. **Barend van Namenshofje**
12, Oude Hoefstraat. This 18th century hofje was completely renovated in 1915 by order of C. Pape, a wealthy trustee.
- 27.* **Jean Pesijnshofje**
21, Kloksteeg. A 17th century hofje, situated near Pieterskerk. It was built on the site where John Robinson lived and died (1623) in his house "The Green Gate".
28. **Sint Pieters- or Van der Spekhofje**
42, Pieterskerkhof. Simple 17th century hofje. Acces through a long passage.
29. **Sint Salvatorshofje**
17, Steenstraat. This 17th century hofje is being renovated to create housing for students.
- 30.* **Schachtenhofje**
27, Middelstegracht. A 17th century hofje with a gate-house. The houses have been completely renovated.
- 31.* **Groot Sionshofje**
4, Sionsteeg. This hofje, founded in 1480, was moved from Papengracht to Sionsteeg in 1668.
32. **Emerantia Banningh- or Klein Sionshofje**
3, Lange Schoolsteeg. Very small privately inhabited 17th century hofje.
33. **Sint Stevenshofje or Convent van Tetterode**
50, Haarlemmerstraat. This hofje, founded in 1487, was renovated in 1777.
- 34.* **Tevelings- or Karel Tevelshofje**
7, Vierde Binnenvestgracht. Picturesque late 17th century hofje with trustee-room. The builder adapted this hofje to a diamond-shaped ground-plan.
35. **Samuel de Zee's hofje**
16, Doezastraat. Nice 18th century hofje with two courtyards. Access through a long passage.

This folder was issued by the Stichting (Foundation) Leidse Hofjes together with VVV-Leiden (Tourist Information Office of Leyden).
Drawing and map: J. Belt
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"The Pilgrim Fathers at Leyden"
by Dr. J.W. Verburgt

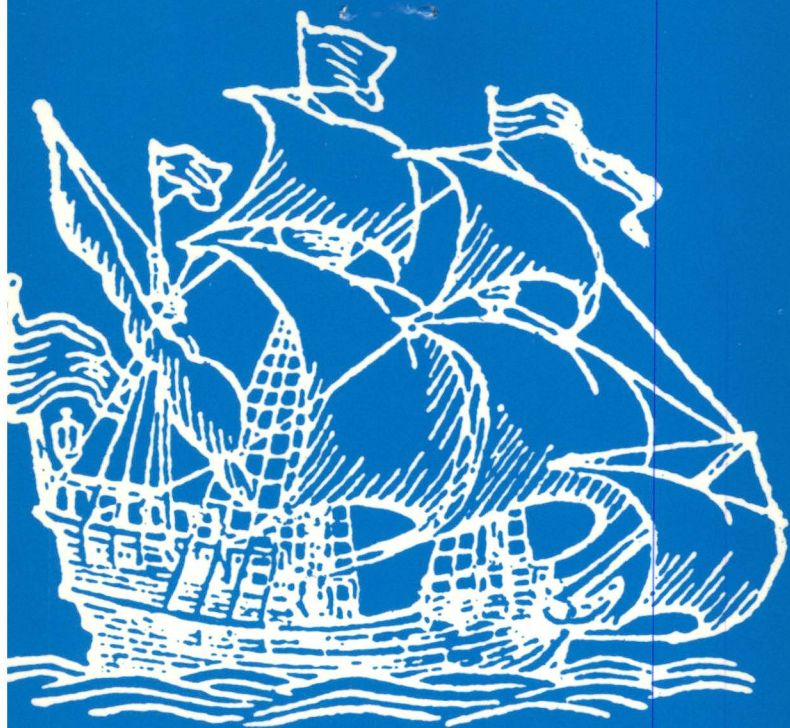
INTRODUCTION

In speaking of the Pilgrims, Prof. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON once said: "These simple folk were exalted to the stature of statesmen and prophets in their narrow sphere, because they ardently believed, and so greatly dared, and firmly endured. They set forth in acts as in words the stouthearted idealism in action that Americans admire; that is why Plymouth Rock has become a symbol." Interesting enough, there exists here in the Netherlands another symbol of these founders of a nation: Leyden — that "fair and bewtiful citie of a sweete situation," as Bradford described it. The heroism which the Pilgrims displayed from 1620 to 1630 had its schooling here during the decade they shared with Netherlanders that freedom of religion denied them in their own country.

Nearly three centuries later, Leyden still retains many of the attractions and much of the charm which so appealed to that resolute band of Pilgrims. The great churches, the University, little homes clinging to the banks of meandering canals, the courtyards and "hofjes" — all remain, waiting to be discovered by the modern pilgrim to Leyden. Still more fascinating is the special exhibit now arranged at the Pilgrim Fathers' Room in the Lakenhal Museum

with its antique furniture, paintings, and historic documents. A visit to the Pilgrims' Leyden and a reading of the following brochure serve as moving reminders of our debt to those whose light, here kindled, "hath shone to many, yea, in some sorte, to our whole nation."

MARSHALL W. S. SWAN.



The
Pilgrim
Fathers
in Leiden

H O L L A N D

THE PILGRIM FATHERS IN LEIDEN

THE PILGRIM FATHERS
IN LEIDEN

HOLLAND

by

DR. J. W. VERBURGT

Former-Archivist of Leiden

Leiden, 1970

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Leiden in co-operation with the Tourist-Traffic Association
(V.V.V.) of Leiden and surroundings

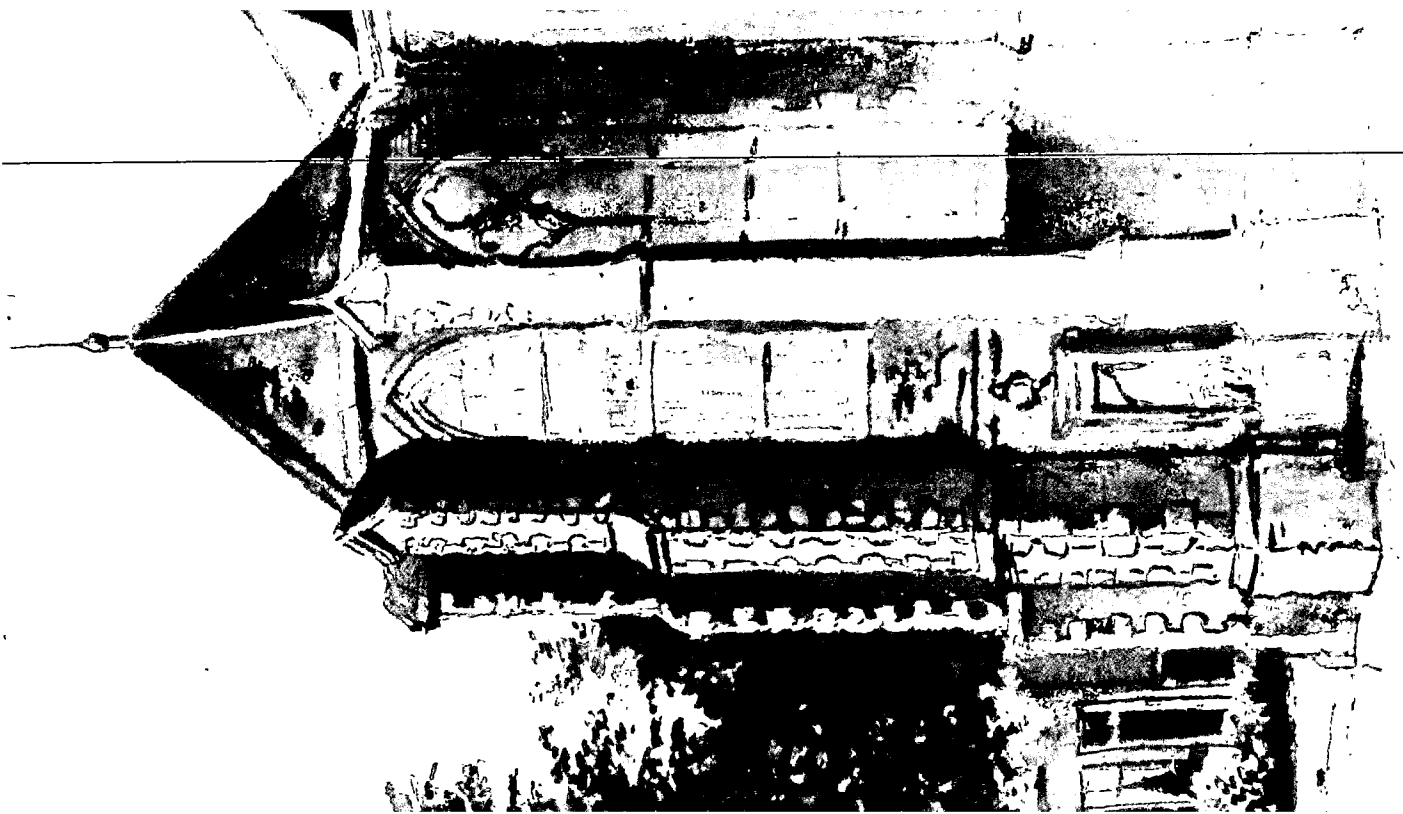
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ILLUSTRATIONS

- St. Peter's Church in Leiden: baptistery.
Map of Nottinghamshire, northern quarter,
around 1630 (from the Blaeu-atlas).
Request of the Pilgrim Fathers for permission
to settle in Leiden.
St. Peter's Church and surroundings, detail of a
map by Pieter Bast, anno 1600.
Cornbridge in Leiden, drawn by an unknown
artist, around 1640.
Entry of John Robinson's family in the Poll-Tax
Register, 1622.
Recognition of a debt dated Jan. 2, 1621, signed
by Robinson and others.
Memorial tablet on the wall of St. Peter's
Church.
Behind this gateway Brewster had his printing
office.
A publication of the Pilgrimpress in Leiden.
Map of New-England, first half 17th century
(from the Blaeu-atlas).
Interior of the Pilgrim Fathers Documents
Centre (behind the Municipal Record Office).



THE COMMEMORATION OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

The Pilgrim Fathers formed a bond between England, Holland and America in a special way. After departing from England, their native land, they resided in Holland twelve years before setting sail for the "New World". Nowadays they are honoured as the founders of the United States of America.

These simple people took their principles on religious and civil liberty to the new continent as a matter of course. The American government is still based in this firm foundation and special respect is bestowed upon descendants of the Pilgrims.

Many Americans come to Holland to see Leiden (spelled "Leyden" in olden days), where the Pilgrim Fathers lived, worked and worshipped as they wished for more than a decade. They direct their steps to Jean Pesijns-hof, formerly the site of John Robinson's house, and to Pieterskerk where he is buried. In the Municipal Archives they find many important documents concerning the Pilgrim Fathers' residence in Leiden.

In 1920, the 300th anniversary of the Pilgrims' sailing from Southampton, England, on the *Mayflower* was commemorated in Holland, England and America. The various celebrations in the three countries had different characteristics, for their appreciation of the event did not spring from the same considerations.

"Friendly relations" between the peoples of the U.S.A. and the British Empire figured largely in the celebrations in Plymouth and Nottingham, England. At the same time religious and civil freedom were emphasized by Independent Churches.

During congresses and meetings held in Leiden, Delfshaven and Rotterdam, Holland, religious principles of the Pilgrims were considered. In Leiden a special exhibition of documents concerning the Pilgrim Fathers was arranged by Dr. A. EEKHOF, Dr. D. PLOOY, and Dr. J. C. OVERVOORDE, keeper of the Municipal Museum in Leiden. (In 1888, a similar exhibit had been arranged by Dr. CHARLES M. DOZY, the Leiden Archivist.)

In America the Pilgrim Fathers were especially commemorated because they laid the basis for the Constitution of the U.S.A. A large-scale celebration of the 300th anniversary was held in the state of Massachusetts in 1921.

During 1970, Holland, England and America will observe the 350th anniversary of the Pilgrim Fathers' courageous journey.

In Leiden artifacts and original documents pertaining to the Pilgrims and their life in Holland will be displayed in the Municipal Museum "De Lakenhal", which dates from 1640. A permanent, year-round exhibition can be seen in the Pilgrim Fathers' Documents Centre, adjacent to the Municipal Archives.

Why the Pilgrims left England

Originally "Puritans" was a nickname in England for those who had opposed the Anglican Church since 1564 and zealously advocated a pure church and a pure life based on the Holy Bible. They wanted to purge the church from the Roman Catholic external elements and to take action against all corruption of morals in social life.

Puritans was also used collectively and included Protestants, belonging to different denominations, who opposed the Anglican Church.

Up to now in this booklet, we have spoken of the Pilgrim Fathers, a name preferred by the Americans.

The peculiar attitude of England towards Rome began in the Middle Ages. It came to a

break under HENRY VIII, when he established the Church of England, which did not recognize the supremacy of the Pope, and dissolved the monasteries. The King now became Head of the Church, which took on a national character, but the old church regulations remained. The Book of Common Prayer, introduced by King EDWARD VI, contains the liturgy of the Anglican Church.

The reformation of the church did not come from the people, as was the case in Holland, but was political. The people, however, influenced by the Calvinism of the Continent, had strong reformatory principles and were more and more strongly opposed to the ambiguous character of the Anglican Church. It is not surprising that the Puritans, or Pilgrim Fathers, followed their conscience, abandoned their church and left for Holland, where freedom of religion and worship was guaranteed.

At the time of the Pilgrim Fathers many Dutch exiles were looking for work in the English industrial districts such as Norwich. Perhaps they influenced the Puritans, who originally endeavoured to reform the church from within, by purging it of all Roman Catholic influences and by introducing the presbyterian church form as opposed to the episcopal system.

The first leader to expound the principles of the Puritans was ROBERT BROWNE.

He attended Cambridge, under the patronage of the bishop, and took holy orders in the Church of England. But this induction led to Browne's breach with the church. According to his conceptions the invitation for "a living" should not have come from the bishop, but from the congregation itself, not from the episcopal authorities, but from the best members of the congregation. And if abuse and evil practices (such as celebration of the Sunday and popular amusements) should be prevalent in the congregation and suffered, or even favoured, by the bishops, it was every Christian's duty to resign the membership of such a church and to establish another community. This is the origin of the Brownists, who held their meetings in England and Holland.

There used to be a street called "Bruinistengang" (Brownists' Alley) in Amsterdam which led to the meeting-place of Browne's English adherents, who had taken refuge in Holland. The Pilgrim Fathers belonged to this group at one time. Later, the founder returned to the Church of England and the name of Brownists was rejected by his followers. But it still recalls their religious beliefs: in the complete independence of every meeting of true believers, the rejection of a State Church, and of any

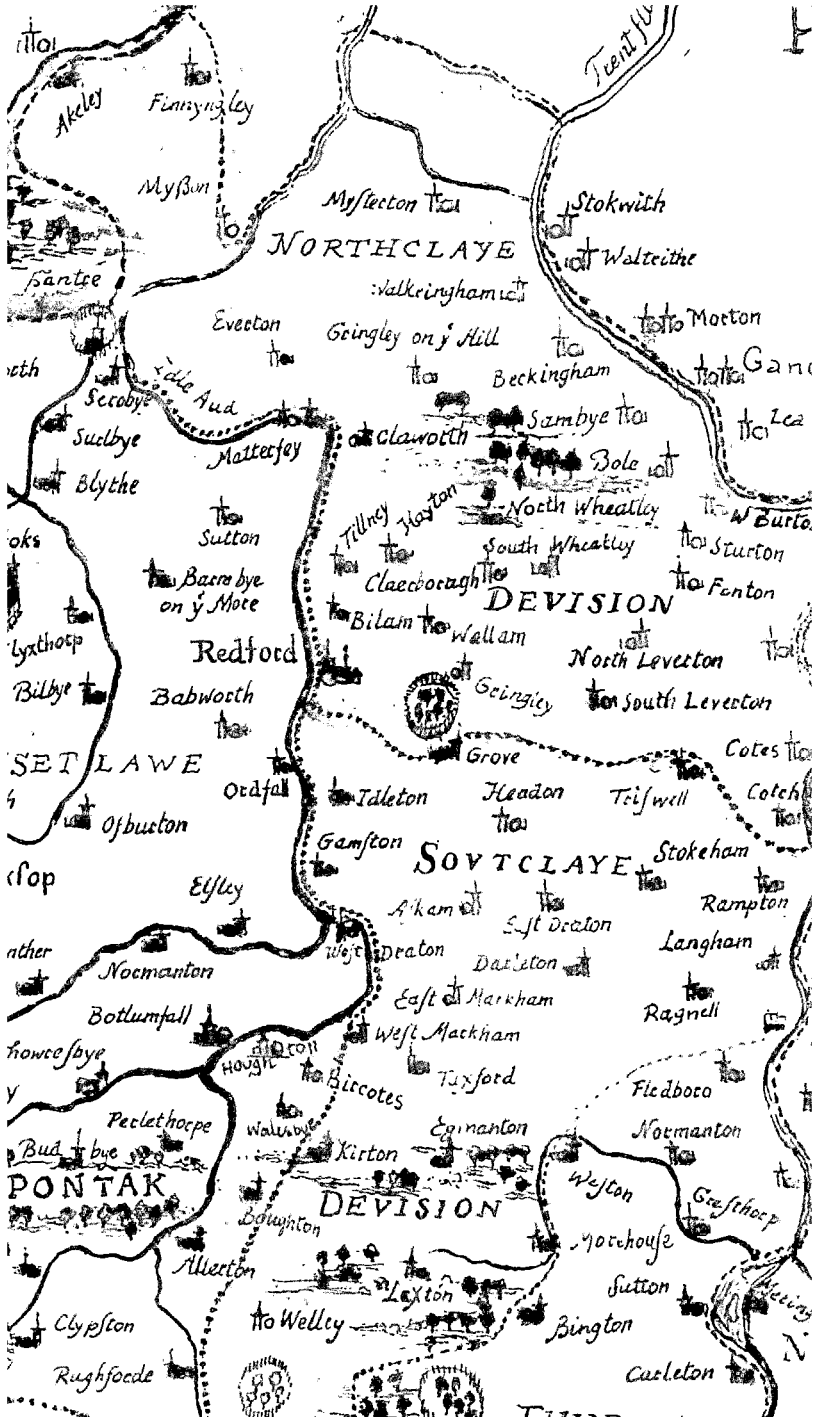
authority which puts itself before the authority of the congregation. They felt every Christian should freely express his views, guided by the Holy Ghost and the Bible.

The Church is the bearer of the deeper feelings of the people and religion embodies the greatest happiness for every human being, so that throughout the ages church and religion have proved to be pioneers. However, they also move in the field of the State, and the State has always followed the lead of the Church. In the relatively small circle of the Pilgrim Fathers we clearly see this development.

In the Eastern counties of England the Brownist Movement spread continually and the relations between Church and State became more strained.

JAMES I, King of England since 1603, was not only hostile to the Roman Catholic Church, but also showed his aversion to the Puritans, whom he persecuted cruelly. All the separatists were excommunicated and thus lost all civil rights.

It is easy to understand that many of them fled to Holland under the stress of persecution. Congregations of English refugees arose in Middelburg and Amsterdam. But the most important exodus of Puritans was from Scrooby under the leadership of JOHN ROBINSON, WILLIAM BREWSTER and WILLIAM BRADFORD,



NORTHCLAYE

DEVISION

SOUTHCLAYE

DEVISION

SET LAWE

PONTAK

TUNE

well-known names in the history of the Pilgrim Fathers. A brief history of BREWSTER and BRADFORD follows. Then the name of Gainsborough will become more significant for us. Scrooby, Gainsborough and Austerfield are situated in the region between Nottingham and Hull and have become the object of "pilgrimages", especially for the Americans.

WILLIAM BREWSTER was born in Scrooby. In 1590 he succeeded his father as postmaster and was the benefactor of the Pilgrim Fathers, whom he received in his home, the "Manorhouse", a former archiepiscopal palace. As a young man he was secretary to the puritan DAVISON, Secretary of State to QUEEN ELIZABETH. As a trusted servant BREWSTER accompanied his employer to Holland, where DAVISON stayed as special agent to the crown for some time. After this time BREWSTER returned to the old palace at Scrooby in 1587.

The meetings at the Manorhouse could not remain a secret forever and BREWSTER was eventually compelled to resign his government-office of postmaster. Then he was accused of "disobedience in the matter of religion" and condemned to imprisonment, but he managed to escape the punishing hand.

WILLIAM BRADFORD came from Austerfield situated at an hour's distance from Scrooby, and

was 17 years old when he joined the Scrooby congregation.

In 1607 the Pilgrim Fathers turned their eyes to Holland. BRADFORD'S "History of Plimoth Plantation", (page 7) describes the difficulties that had to be overcome to reach this attractive object:

"Being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands & livings and all their friends & famillier acquaintance, it was much and thought marvelous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), wher they must learne a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place & subjecte to ye miseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable & a miserie worse then death. Espetially seeing they were not acquainted with trads nor traffique, (by which yet countrie doth subsiste) but had only been used to a plaine countrie-life & ye inocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on ye ways of God & to enjoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence & knew whom they had beleevd".

It was not easy, however, to cross over to Amsterdam. BRADFORD tells us how they had to look for secret means of transport, bribe

masters and pay high fares. In 1607 they were betrayed by one ship's master and taken prisoner while attempting to sail from Boston, England. BRADFORD also tells us of a similar voyage which was to start at Hull; but the transport of women, children and luggage was to take place in a different way. They were attacked by an armed troop; the men escaped, but the women and children were taken prisoners and exposed to all kinds of misery.

The crossing took more than a fortnight and in August 1608 the ship entered the port of Amsterdam via the Zuiderzee. (now known as the IJsselmeer). The women and children, who had stayed behind, followed a little later.

The residence in Amsterdam was not of long duration. It only lasted some seven months. There the new arrivals found part of the congregation of Puritans from Gainsborough who had settled in Holland under the leadership of JOHN SMYTH. He was at variance with another congregation of English independents, who had left England as early as 1597 under FRANCIS JOHNSON and HENRY AINSWORTH. It proved to be impossible to keep peace and concord between them, the harmony was soon disturbed by religious quarrels. That is why JOHN ROBINSOŃ, the man of peace, decided to go to Leiden.

SETTLEMENT OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS IN LEIDEN

The Leiden Municipal Archives contain two very important sources for the history of the Pilgrim Fathers. One is a record of a request in the Court Journal, G. fol. 33 verso. A translation follows:

“Request by 100 persons, born in England, to be allowed to take up residence in this town.
To the Honourable Burgomasters and Court of the City of Leiden.

With due respect and submissiveness, JAN RABARTHSEN, Minister of God's Holy Word, together with some of the congregation of the Christian Reformed religion, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, and numbering about hundred people, men as well as women, present this petition for permission to come and settle in this town, by the first day of next May, and to have the freedom of the town to earn their living with their various trades, without being a burden to any one. Therefore the petitioners apply to your Honours earnestly praying that your Honours would grant them free and liberal consent to betake themselves

as afore-said. And your petitioners will ever pray”.

In the margin was the resolution (translated).

“The COURT making a disposition of this present request, declare that they do not refuse honest persons free and liberal entrance to come into this town and to settle there, provided they will behave themselves honourably and submit to all laws and regulations of this town and that therefore the coming of the petitioners will be welcome to them.

Thus done in their session at the townhall this twelfth of February 1609.

In my presence and signed J. VAN HOUT”

“JAN RABARTHSEN” means JOHN ROBINSON, the English name being written out in the Dutch form according to the sound.

This document speaks for itself. The municipal authorities of Leiden made it known in golden words that they would not refuse honest people free entrance to their town.

A contrary opinion was expressed by the British Ambassador, WINWOOD, in a letter to the Counsel of Delegates of Holland. He acted entirely in accordance with the views of his King, JAMES I, and disapproved of this genuine Dutch proceeding. The Court's resolution, however, still makes our hearts rejoice.

The other source is kept in the official Letter-

book, part C, folio 126, and is the following letter, concerning this English charge:

“Honourable, judicious, provident, discreet
JAN JANS. BAERSDORP, Councillor in the Col-
lege of the Delegate States of Holland.
Honourable, judicious, provident, discreet
Colleague.

We have received your Honour's letter of the XXIIIrd. inst. from The Hague and have noted contents of same. In reply to it we hold that the Honourable WYNWOD, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, is wrongly informed that we should have entered into a composition with some of the Brownists. It is true that in February last we got a request from JAN RABARTS,* Minister of the Divine Word, together with some members of the Christian Reformed religion, born in England, in which they asked for permission to take up their abode in the town of Leiden. Thereupon we have resolved and declared that we did not refuse honest people free and liberal entrance, provided they should behave honourably and submit to the laws and regulations of this town and that the petitioner would be welcome. This may be seen from the request and accompanying resolution, of which your Honour will find a copy enclosed. We have made no other com-

* meaning JOHN ROBINSON

mitments. We have never known, and do not known now, that the petitioners should have been exiled from England or that they belong to the Brownist sect. Therefore we request your Honour to communicate this, and the accompanying copy, to the Lord Advocate so that we will not incur the displeasure of the Ambassadors or of His Majesty and that we may be excused by their Excellencies and consequently by His Majesty.

Herewith etc.”

This document is not dated, but it is clear from its place that it dates back from between the 23th and the 30th of April 1609. The Gentlemen of the COURT at Leiden fearlessly maintained their right against England.

We have included both documents in this booklet because they form one of the most beautiful pages in Leiden's history. Both may be found in the splendid work: "Leiden Documents Relating to The Pilgrim Fathers" which on the first day of the tercentenary, August 30, 1920, was presented as a memorial volume to WILLIAM PHILIPS, the American Ambassador to The Hague at that time.

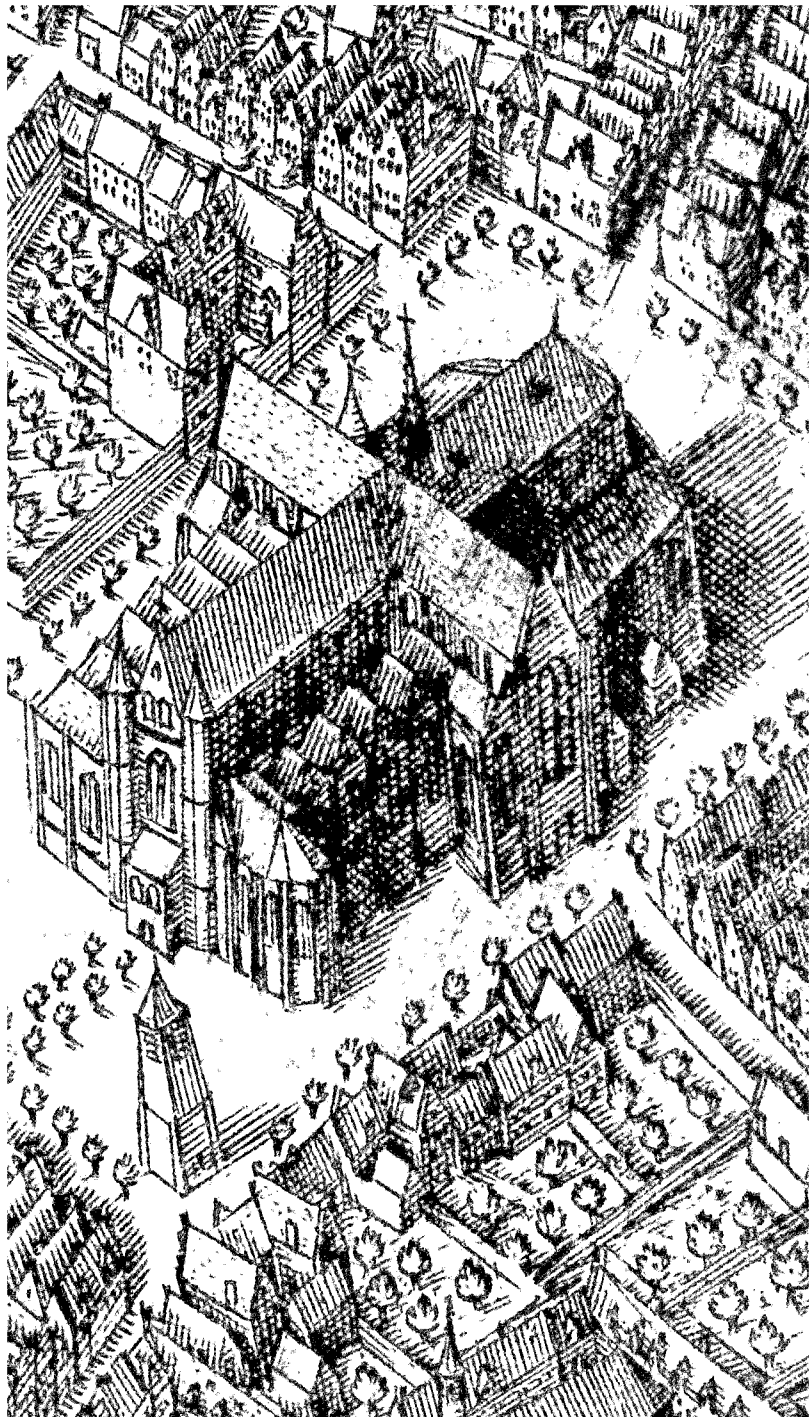
RESIDENCE IN LEIDEN

From 1609 till 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers lived in Leiden, for the greater part on the site of the present "Jean Pesijnshofje". The names of many of them are registered in the Betrothal books A and B, kept in the Municipal Archives. These records have been copied photographically in the memorial book: "Leiden Documents Relating to The Pilgrim Fathers".

To give an impression of their daily work and social position, we refer to the records of marriages in the registers mentioned here. Some of the trades they followed were: blacksmith, fustian-worker, hatter, say-worker, woolcomber, twiner, tailor, printer, mason, weaver, baize-worker and glover.

From this it is apparent that they belonged to the "small people" who had to master various trades, especially in the textile industry of Leiden, whereas in their native country the majority of them were farmers.

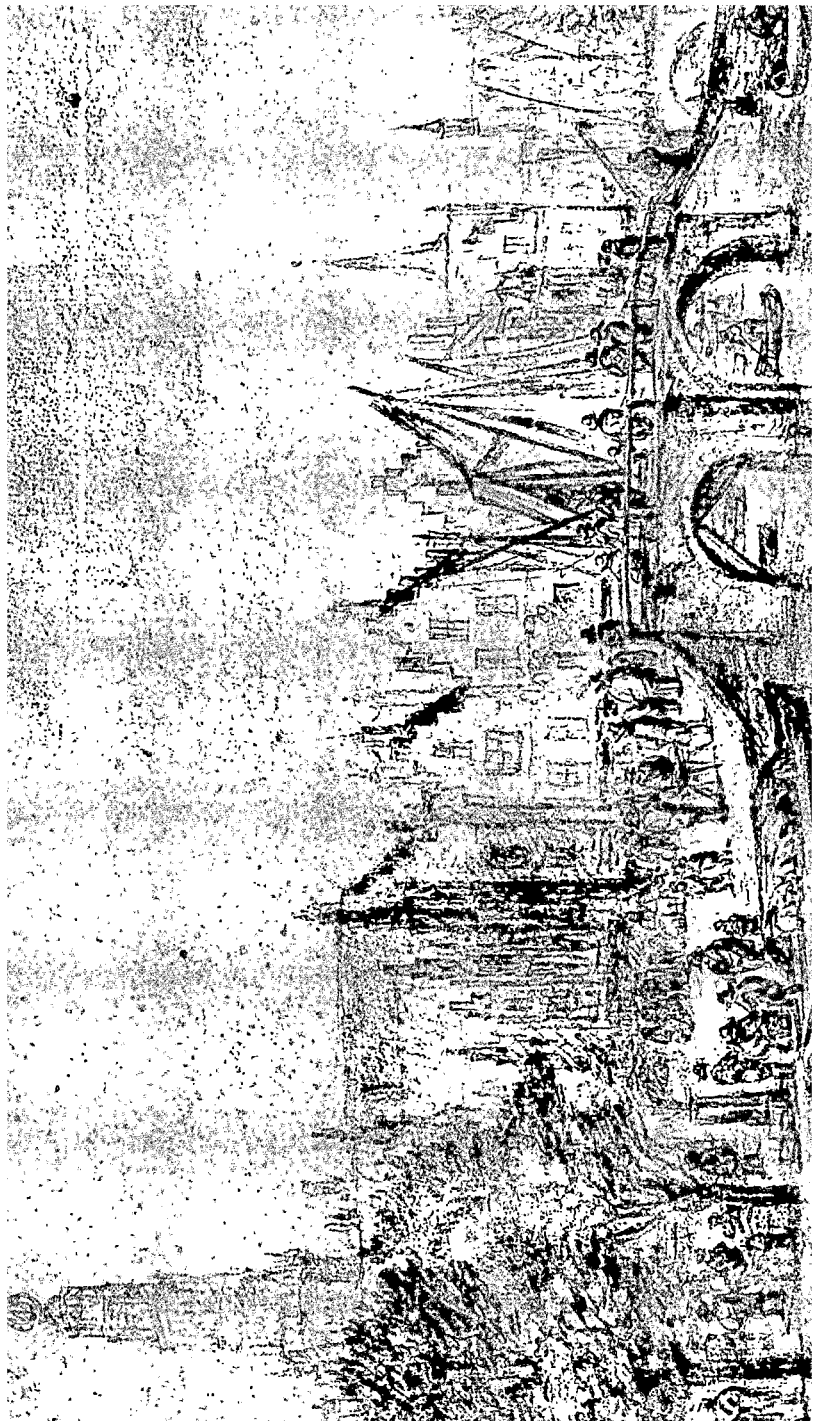
The Pilgrims remained a separate group at Leiden; they attended divine service in the house of their pastor, JOHN ROBINSON, and were



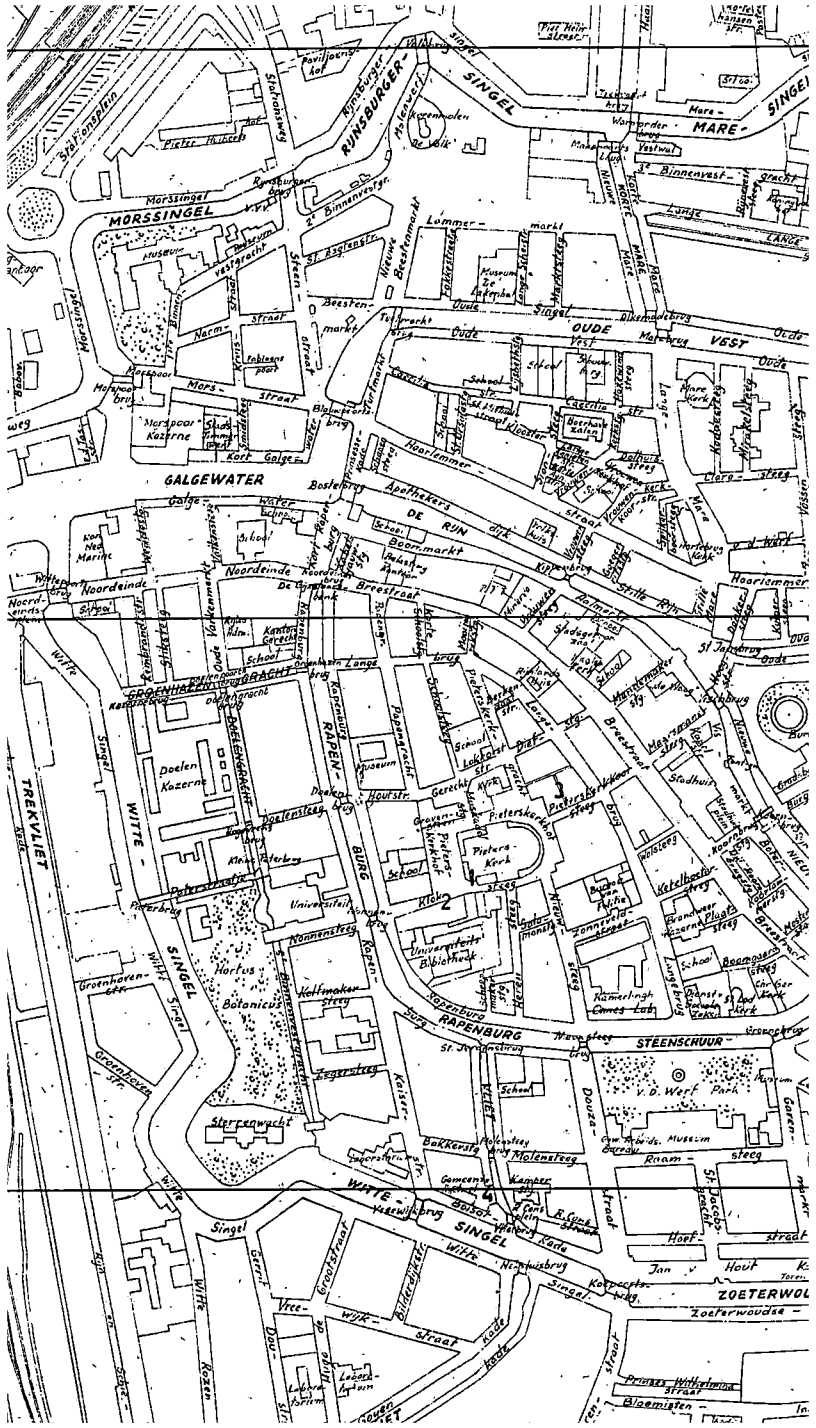
very careful to retain their British identity. They did not want to become too closely associated with their surroundings, which were foreign to them.

To judge the character of this particular circle we refer to the testimony given in BRADFORD'S "History of Plimoth Plantation", p. 12.

"Being thus settled (after many difficulties) they continued many years in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweete & delightfull societie & spirituall comforte togeather in ye wayes of God, under ye able ministrie and prudente governmente of Mr JOHN ROBINSON & Mr WILLIAM BREWSTER, who was an assistante unto him in ye place of an Elder, unto which he was now called & chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge & other gifts & graces of ye spirite of God & lived togeather in peace & love & holines; and many came unto them from diverse parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences arose, or offences broak out (as it cannot be, but some time there will, even amongst ye best of men) they were ever so mete with and nipt in ye head betims, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace and communion was continued; or else ye church purged of those that were incurable & incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass."



Also favourable is the testimonial given by the Leiden Magistrate of the Pilgrim Fathers: These English people have now lived amongst us these twelve years and never any complaint or accusation has been brought against any of them.



SINGEL
Morsingel
Rapsburger
SINGEL

MORSSINGEL
Museum
Vestbract

GALGEWATER
Narm
Lablans park
Kort Galge

St. Agnatie
Beestenmarkt
Lommermarkt
Oude Markt

OUDE VEST
Oude Markt
Oude Vest
Oude

NOORDEINDE
Noordvinder
Noordeinde
Noordeinde

Boele
Apothekers
DE RIJN
Boornmarkt
De Ruijter
Breestraat

HAARLEMME
Haarlemmer
Haarlemmer
Haarlemmer

WITTE SINGEL
Witte Singel
Witte Singel
Witte Singel

RAPENBURG
Rapenburg
Rapenburg
Rapenburg

ST. JACOB
St. Jacob
St. Jacob
St. Jacob

DOELEN KAZERNEN
Doelen Kazerne
Doelen Kazerne
Doelen Kazerne

UNIVERSITEITS BIBLIOTHEEK
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Universiteits Bibliotheek
Universiteits Bibliotheek

PIETERSKERK
Pieterskerk
Pieterskerk
Pieterskerk

HORTUS BOTANICUS
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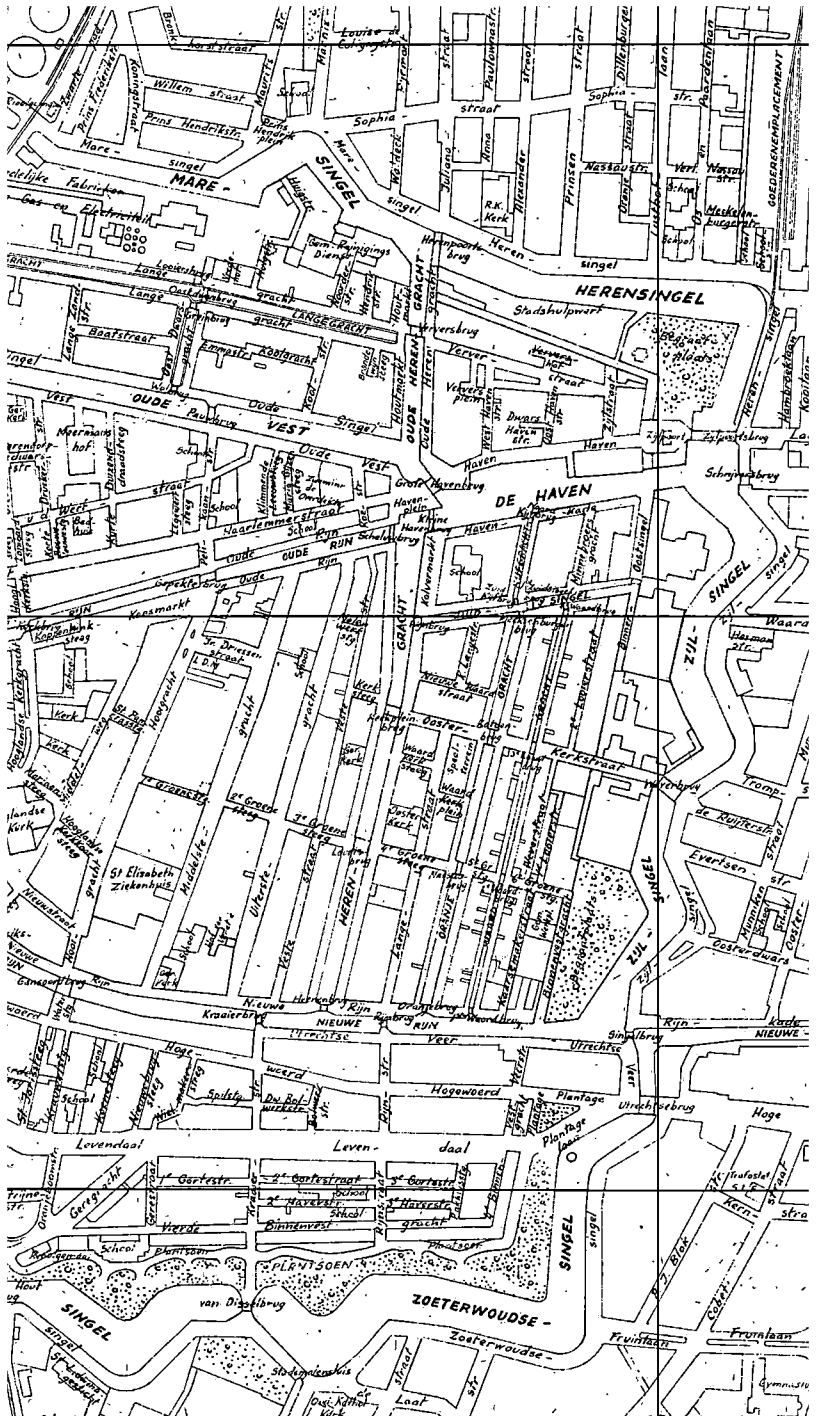
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JOHN ROBINSON

JOHN ROBINSON, minister of the Pilgrim Fathers in Leiden, was born at Sturton in Nottinghamshire about 1576. He studied theology at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and took holy orders before February 1602. During his study he joined those who had a leaning to Puritanism, under the influence of LAURENCE CHADDERTON and WILLIAM PERKINS. (W. H. BURGESS, author of "John Robinson pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers.")

In 1604 ROBINSON left the university because of his marriage with BRIDGET WHITE on February 15 of that year. Shortly after he was attached to St. Andrew's church at Norwich.

In the same year already he came in conflict with his bishop (the one of Norwich) because of his refusal to recognize the scriptural authority of the bishops and his regarding of the ceremonies as matters of indifference. He was suspended and since he could not get a new office he returned to his birth-region. After a three years contact with other puritan-minded vicars there he broke in 1607 with the Church of England and became the leader of a separatist

group at Scrooby, congregating at Brewster's house. In 1608 they escaped persecution by JAMES I by their flight to Holland. Because of the continual debates between the religious groups there, he and his followers asked for and received permission to settle in Leiden.

In 1611 he bought a house here from JOHAN DE LALAING. It occupied part of the site where in 1683 an almshouse was built for the benefit of members of the "Eglise Wallonne" (Walloon Church), according to a request in the last will of JEAN PESIJN, merchant, and his wife MARIA DE LANNOY, dated 25th October, 1655. On the facade of this almshouse — known as Jean Pesijnshof — is this inscription on a memorial tablet:

"On this spot lived, taught and died
John Robinson 1611—1625."

ROBINSON is thought of as a man excelling in piety and learning, peace-loving and honoured not only by his religious associates, but also by non-Puritans. R. BAYLIE, one of the most violent opponents of the Brownists and Independents, described ROBINSON in "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, especially of the Independents" (in 1645) as a man of excellent qualities and the most learned, refined and level-headed mind that ever seceded from the Church of England.

On the 5th of September 1615 JOHN ROBINSON was enrolled as a student of theology in Leiden University and thus obtained some privileges. The University was really a state in itself and this released its members from the legal authority of civil administration. Then 39 years old, he attended the lectures of the moderate Calvinist JOHANNES POLYANDER and also those of the Arminian SIMON EPISCOPIUS. Some five booklets were published by him, which have now become very rare.

JOHN ROBINSON may be seen as the real founder of the group that later became known as "Independents". They adhered to the system of independence in which every separate congregation governed itself without the authority of bishops, church-councils or confessions. They sought complete christian freedom with the greatest possible christian order and discipline, together with piety of life. Their aim was a reformation in accordance with the ancient apostolic church. In America they were known as "congregationalists."

In letters to the colonists in America he urged them to unity and brotherly love.

He died in Leiden on the first of March 1625 after an illness of eight days and was buried in the Pieterskerk on the fourth of March. Professors and preachers escorted him on his last journey. The spot where he rests is not known exactly.

1 Alexsander prins & Crispinwecker
 Janne prins sijn wijf
 Gas
 Joseph
 Flach
 Crispin kinder

2 Gisanna wedic was Clement gattis
 Janne
 Fabrij
 Clement kinder

3 Gas doobensos predcant
 Crispitta doobensos sijn wijf
 Janne
 Crispitta
 Flach
 Alereij
 fere
 Jacobus
 doobensos kinder
 Maria gadij dienstmeij

uorunge

3 Goyck wilhis Camer
 Margriet wilhis sijn wijf
 Sara wilhis gaer kint
 Op de lamet
 Marqytus de Leuwerdeker
 Gisanna Cortijl gaer wijf
 Jaqueminijus picher is

4 Gortgellis wedic
 Sara
 Gortgella
 Gortgellis kinder

4 Gas de Crupper milibij
 Christina de Crupper sijn wijf
 Crupper
 Heremias
 Anna
 Crupper kinder

His signature is found in the records of the notary J. VAN TETHRODE of Leiden as the co-signer of an acknowledgement of debt dated 2nd January 1621. A second signature was found in England and published in the book of W. H. BURGESS.

Robinson's widow stayed on in the old house where she was living in 1643 when she made her will before the notary J. VAN MERWEN on October 28. It appears from the Poll-Tax Register anno 1622 that Robinson's family had six children at that time: JOHN, BRIDGET, ISAAC, MERCY, FEAR and JAMES. A younger child, ANNA, was born after 1622.

After Robinson's death the family became partially members of the Netherlands Reformed Church to which their friends belonged.

On the 24th of July 1891 a bronze tablet honouring ROBINSON was unveiled on the outer wall of the baptistery of the Pieterskerk, opposite the Pesijnshof. Under a picture of the Mayflower, with the date 1620, is the following inscription:

In memory of
Rev. John Robinson, M. A.
Pastor of the English Church, worshiping over
against this spot A. D. 1609—1625, whence at
his prompting went forth

In huy den d'n ien Januarij des jaers 1621.
 Sijn heer sij Jarob van totproed & starris publyc
 gheschreyt vanden gheschiednisse van den d'n 23
 yanuarij des jaers 1621.

In huy den d'n
 van den d'n
 van den d'n

In huy den d'n ien Januarij des jaers 1621.
 Sijn heer sij Jarob van totproed & starris publyc
 gheschreyt vanden gheschiednisse van den d'n 23
 yanuarij des jaers 1621.

In huy den d'n
 van den d'n

In huy den d'n ien Januarij des jaers 1621.
 Sijn heer sij Jarob van totproed & starris publyc
 gheschreyt vanden gheschiednisse van den d'n 23
 yanuarij des jaers 1621.

In huy den d'n
 van den d'n

In huy den d'n ien Januarij des jaers 1621.
 Sijn heer sij Jarob van totproed & starris publyc
 gheschreyt vanden gheschiednisse van den d'n 23
 yanuarij des jaers 1621.

In huy den d'n
 van den d'n

In huy den d'n ien Januarij des jaers 1621.
 Sijn heer sij Jarob van totproed & starris publyc
 gheschreyt vanden gheschiednisse van den d'n 23
 yanuarij des jaers 1621.

In huy den d'n
 van den d'n

In huy den d'n ien Januarij des jaers 1621.
 Sijn heer sij Jarob van totproed & starris publyc
 gheschreyt vanden gheschiednisse van den d'n 23
 yanuarij des jaers 1621.

The Pilgrim Fathers
to settle New England
in 1620.

Buried under this house of worship 4 Mar. 1625
aet XLIX years

In memoria aeterna erit justus.

Erected by the national council of the Con-
gregational Churches of the United States of
America.

A. D. 1891.



THE MAYFLOWER, 1620.

IN MEMORY OF

REV. JOHN ROBINSON, M. A.

PASTOR OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH WORSHIPING OVER AGAINST
THIS SPOT: A. D. 1609-1625. WHENCE AT HIS PROMPTING
WENT FORTH.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

TO SETTLE NEW ENGLAND
IN 1620.

BURIED UNDER THIS HOUSE OF WORSHIP, 4 MAR. 1625
A. E. XLIX YEARS.

IN MEMORIA AETERNA ERIT JUSTUS.

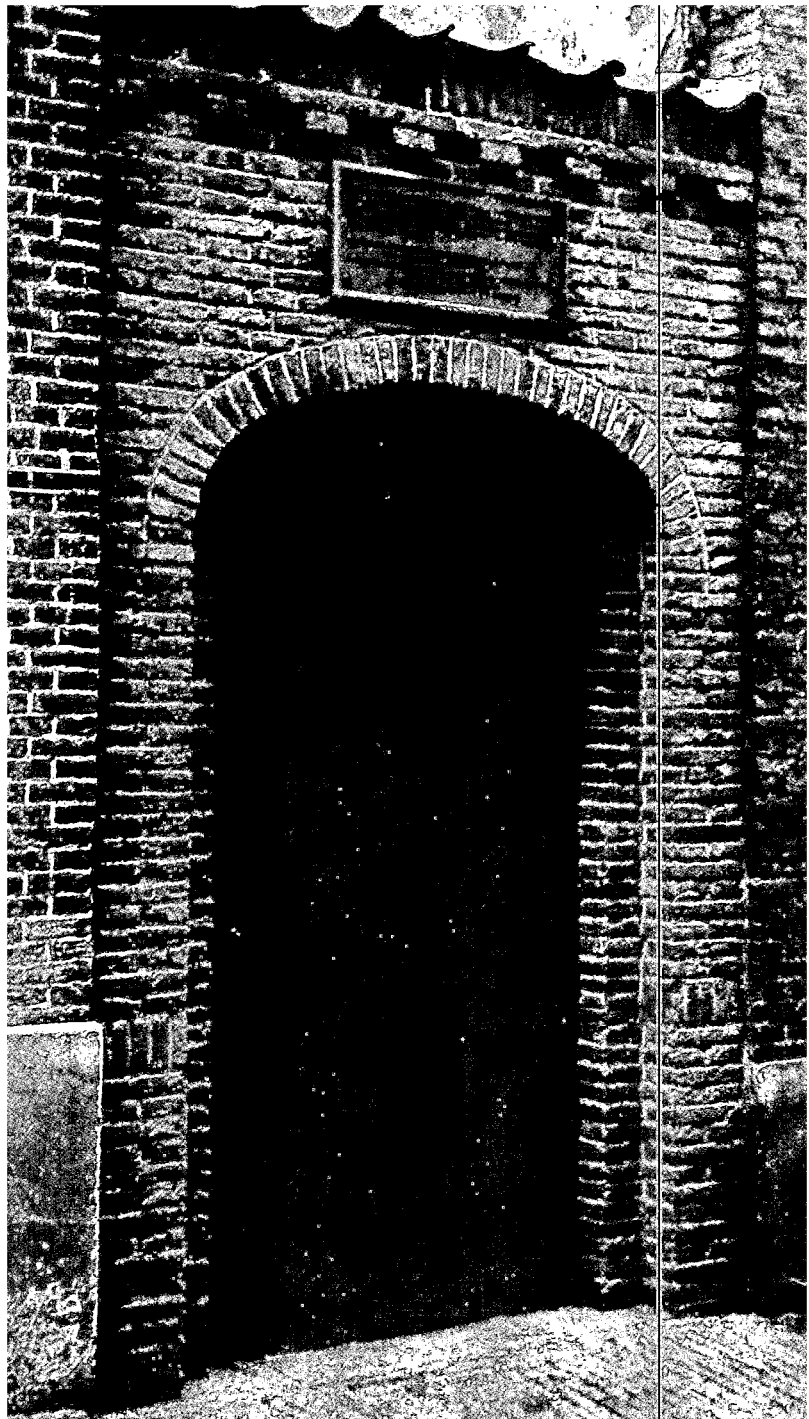
ERECTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A. D. 1891.

THE PILGRIM PRINTING PRESS IN LEIDEN

The Leiden printing office of the Pilgrim Fathers contributed to the distribution and strengthening of their principles. Closely connected with this press is the name of BREWSTER, who — as an Elder of the Congregation — faithfully collaborated with JOHN ROBINSON in Leiden. THOMAS BREWER must be mentioned too; BREWSTER was the soul of the printing office, BREWER, his partner, was the man who financed it.

Their printing and publishing was subject to the constant suspicion of the English government. Unremittingly threatened with imprisonment, BREWSTER continued to import the books to England and Scotland secretly although they were forbidden in those countries. In order to escape persecution he generally omitted his name and the place where the book had been printed. Only three books from the score that came from the press between 1617 and 1619 bear the name of Brewster and his residence, according to "The Pilgrim Press", by



RENDEL HARRIS and STEPHEN K. JONES. These were:

1. Guil. Amesii ad Responsum NIC. GRÉVINCHOVII Rescriptio Contracta Accedunt ejusdem assertiones Theologicae de Lumine Naturae et Gratiae. (Brief Repartee to W. AMESIUS in reply to NIC. GRÉVINCHOVEN.) In this work we find theological explanations of the light of nature and of grace.

2. Commentarii Succincti et Dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis.

AUTHORE THOMA CARTWRIGHTO SS. Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi quondam Professore.

Quibus adhibita est Praefatio clarissimi viri JOHANNIS POLYANDRI S. Theologiae Professoris Leidensis.

A concise and clear explanation of the Proverbs of Solomon by THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, former Professor of Theology at Canterbury University. With an introduction by the famous JOHANNES POLYANDER, Professor of Theology at Leiden.

Both titles ended with the words:

Lugduni Batavorum apud Guiljelmum Brewsterum, in Vico Choralis, 1617.

By WILLIAM BREWSTER in the (Pieterskerk) koorsteeg (name of a street), Leiden.

GVIL. AMESII

ad Responsum

NIC. GREVINCHOVII

RESCRIPTIO

CONTRACTA.

*Accedunt ejusdem assertiones
Theologicae de Lumine
Naturae & Gra-
tie.*



Prostant

LYGDVNI BATAVORVM,

Apud Guiljelmum Brewsterum

In Vico Choralis.

1617.

3. Een klare ende Duydelijcke uytlegginghe over de Thien Gheboden des Heeren. Mitsgaders een corte Catechismus, sommierlijck vervatende alle de principale gronden der Christelijcker Religie. Uitghegeven inde Enghelsche tale, door de Godsalighe ende Wel-gheleerde Mr. JOHAN DOD ende ROBERT CLEAVER. Uyt de Enghelsche in onse Nederduytsche Tale Ghetrouwelijck overgheset door VINCENTIUM MEUSEVOET, Bedienaer des Heylighen Evangelij tot Schaghen.

Tot Leyden, voor GUILIAEM BREWSTER, Boeckdrukker. Anno 1617.

A clear and concise explanation of the Ten Commandments, together with a short Catechism, containing all the principal foundations of the Christian Religion. Published in the English language, by the godly and learned Mr. JOHN DOD and Mr. ROBERT CLEAVER. Faithfully translated from the English into our Dutch language by VINCENT MEUSEVOET, Divine Minister at Schagen.

At Leyden, for GUILIAEME (French, for William) BREWSTER, Bookprinter, A.D. 1617.

These titles give us an impression of the style of books supplied by the Pilgrim Press. They also prove that the printing press was established in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg (St. Peter's Church choir street). The printing office was

more of a missionary than a commercial endeavour.

When the printing-materials were confiscated in 1619 they were in the attic of a house of THOMAS BREWER's, which adjoined ROBINSON's house in the Kloksteeg (Bell Street).

In the previously mentioned volume: "The Pilgrim Press" a Dr. PLOOY wrote a chapter about the location of the Pilgrims' printing office in Leiden. He reached the conclusion that WILLIAM BREWSTER's domicile must have been in the Stinksteeg (later on called Jodenkerksteeg) which ran from the Steenschuur, to the Levendaal, and his printing office was in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg (now Nr. 15), a historical spot worth including in the programme of visitors who wish to visit the places associated with the Pilgrim Fathers.

The learned printer and publisher WILLIAM BREWSTER also taught English to the students of the University of Leiden.

Emigration to North America

However peacefully the Pilgrim Fathers could live in Leiden, enjoying freedom and protection, in the course of years they were not able to feel at home in Holland. From a social standpoint their circumstances were far from easy and at last the struggle to make a living became too much for them; especially when

they were forced to have their children go to work at too early an age. They directed their eyes towards America for the same reasons our contemporaries do. Good fortune is expected abroad. Besides, it was a continual grief to the Puritans that they could not enforce their demands concerning modesty and the observance of the Sunday in this foreign country. They were also worried about losing their British identity, where as in America they were sure to find other English colonies. In addition to these reasons, BRADFORD and WINSLOW, members of Robinson's congregation, give as a main motive their wish to lay a foundation for the expansion of the true Kingdom of Christ in distant lands.

As early as 1617 a plan had been conceived to establish a colony of their own, preferably in the New World and under English authority, to seek the favour of King JAMES and the Virginia of Plymouth Company in London and to obtain at the same time financial support. These preparations were completed in 1620.

The Speedwell, a 60-tonner, was bought and equipped. In this ship the Pilgrims intended to cross to Southampton, where they would join a second, larger craft, the Mayflower, in which a number of emigrants from England were to make the voyage to America.

A large number of Puritans stayed on in

Leiden. Only the youngest and strongest members of the congregation were to sail first; and no one was to go, except of his own free will. The emigrants were to be accompanied by the Elder WILLIAM BREWSTER in case they formed the smaller part of the congregation, but JOHN ROBINSON was to be their leader if they formed the greater part. As a result of this arrangement ROBINSON stayed in Leiden and never entered America.

It was probably Friday, July 31st, 1620 that the emigrants departed via the Vliet to Delfshaven, now part of Rotterdam, where the Speedwell lay ready. It was touching to behold the leave-taking by the members of the Leiden congregation, who were joined by friends from Amsterdam. The moment the ship left the quay ROBINSON and his party fell upon their knees on the bank to beseech the blessing of God for those departing.

It must have been a difficult time for ROBINSON — the man who for many years had led his fellow-believers and had taken care of them — when he saw many of his parishioners depart to a new world and an uncertain future! But, Deo juvante.

From Delfshaven they sailed without trouble to Southampton. On the 15th of August both ships started for North America, but after a week's sailing it became clear that the Speed-

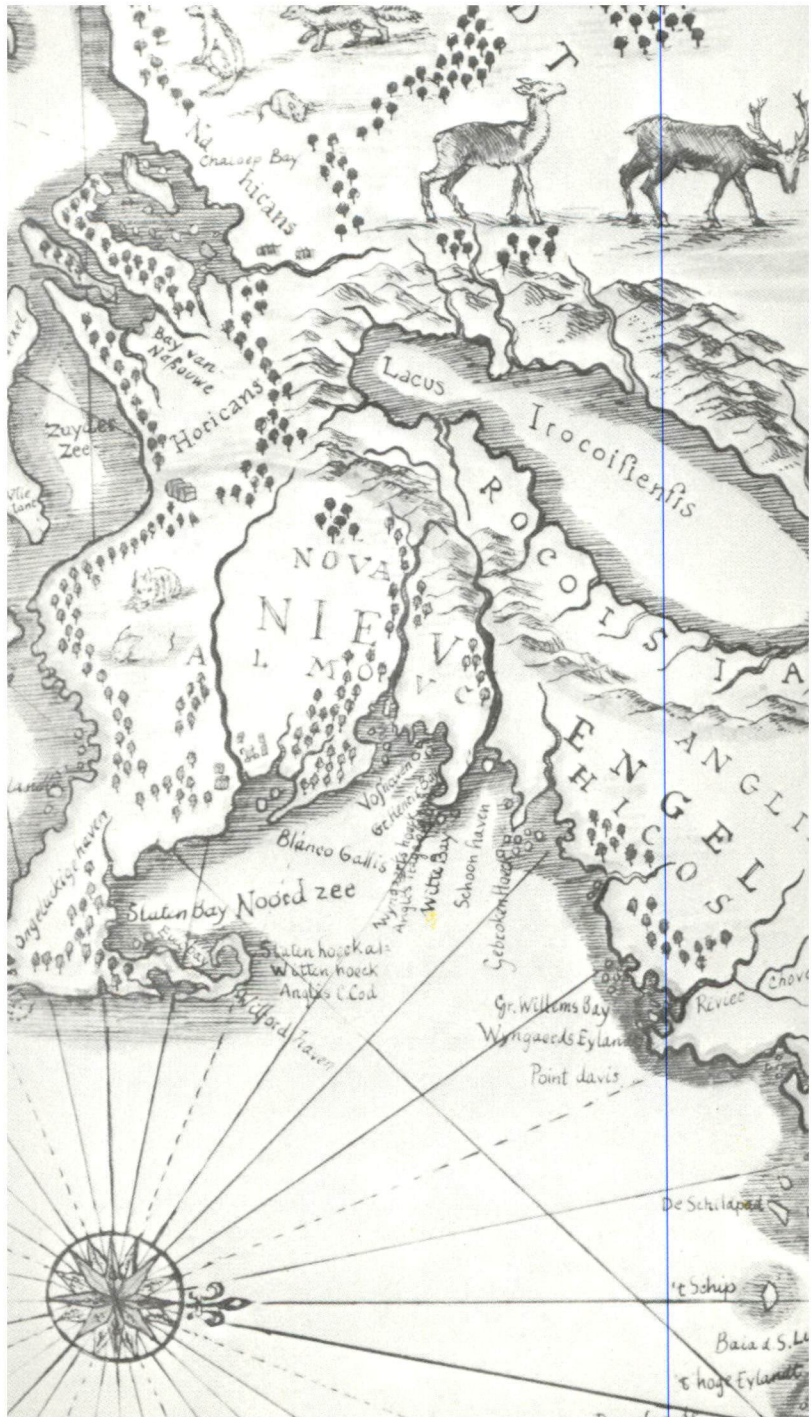
well was not seaworthy enough. It was decided that the Mayflower would sail alone. Passengers and goods were transferred from the Speedwell to the Mayflower at Plymouth, England. Then the voyage to the New World was begun by 102 passengers aboard the Mayflower on September 16th, 1620 (as E. ARBER tells us in "The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers 1606—1623").

The voyage was very uncomfortable owing to the limited space and the ship's insufficient ventilation.

After an arduous voyage, Cape Cod was reached on the 19th of November. It was intended at first to sail more southward, in the direction of the Dutch colony Nieuw-Amsterdam (now New York), but the ship's crew refused. The travellers therefore disembarked and settled at the place now known as New Plymouth in the state of Massachusetts.

Before disembarking, a solemn contract was made among the passengers. It is called the "Mayflower Compact" and is important enough to be copied here in full. It describes their principles, the kernel that developed into the American oak, planted by Puritan immigrants.

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King JAMES; by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King; Defender of the Faith; etc.



Chassep Bay
Irocois

Bay van
Nefuwe
Irocois

Lacus

Irocois

NOVA
ANGLIA

IROCOISIA

ENGLIA

Staten Bay
Nood zee

Blanco Gallis
Witten hoek
Analis C Cod

Witte Bay
Schoon slaven

Gr. Willems Bay
Wyngeaeds Eylant
Point davis

Chov
Revee

De Schilapad

e Schip

Baia d S. L.

e hoge Eylant

Having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern parts of Virginia*; do by these present, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation; and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which, we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names.

Cape Cod, 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland 18; and of Scotland 54. Anno Domini 1620.

The contract is signed by 41 Pilgrim Fathers, among them were: JOHN CARVER, WILLIAM BRADFORD, EDWARD WINSLOW, WILLIAM BREWSTER, ISAAC ALLERTON and MILES STANDISH.

* "Northern Virginia" at that time extended along the Eastern coast of America from Pennsylvania to Newfoundland.

In the first year of their settlement the Pilgrim Fathers were severely tried by cold and privation.

In subsequent years they were followed by new colonists from Holland. After the Mayflower, the Fortune arrived in 1621 with four passengers, in 1623 the Anna and the Little JAMES with another twenty-four. Afterwards, at different periods, eighteen more joined the group.

Thus was the beginning of New England, now part of the United States of America, the country where the same spirit of the first colonists is still vigorously alive, the spirit of freedom and democracy.



The Pilgrim Fathers' Documents Centre in Leiden is an annex of the Municipal Record Office, at Boïsothkade 2A.

The Leiden records contain quantities of information about the Pilgrim Fathers; facts about them personally as well as a group. The registers of marriages mention their names and occupations. A taxregister shows us where many of them, who remained here in 1620, were living. Resolutions of the magistrates tell us how the Pilgrims received permission to settle here and the clever way in which king JAMES was double-crossed by the Dutch on behalf of the Pilgrims.

The most important documents have been photographed and displayed in the Pilgrim Fathers' Documents Centre, because of their interest to American and English visitors, as well as others who wish to know about the Pilgrims and their 11-year stay in Leiden.

It is not a museum containing furniture and clothes. Nor is it a house where one of the Pilgrim families lived. Those addresses can only be traced when they owned their house.

Naturally, there is more record material than can be shown in this room. So for a thorough historical or genealogical study of the Pilgrims, visitors are advised to go to the Municipal Record Office. There, in the study-department, they can see more records and literature.

On the wall of the baptistery of St. Peter's church is the memorial tablet for JOHN ROBINSON and the Pilgrim Fathers (1). The house in which ROBINSON lived stood opposite this chapel on the spot where the Jan Pesijnshof stands today.

Brewer's house was the second house west of Robinson's (2).

BREWSTER had his printing office in a side-street of the Lange Pieterskerkkoorsteeg, which side-street is closed nowadays by a gateway. Above it is a memorial tablet (3).

The Pilgrim Fathers' Documents Centre: Boisotkade 2A (via Municipal Record Office) (4).

The above-mentioned numbers refer to the map in the middle of this book.



THE PILGRIMS IN
LEIDEN, 1609-1620

The Pilgrims in Leiden, 1609-1620

B. N. Leverland and J. D. Bangs

Leiden Pilgrim Documents Center of the Municipal Archives,

Boisotkade 2A, 2311 PZ Leiden

The 'Pilgrims' were a group of English Calvinist religious dissenters who fled persecution under Queen Elizabeth I and her successor King James I, taking up residence in Leiden in 1609. Many of the group emigrated to America on the *Mayflower* (1620), the *Fortune* (1621), the *Anne* and the *Little James* (1623), and the second *Mayflower* (1629). They provided the leadership in the establishment of the colony 'New Plymouth' as well as about half the colony's population. These dissenters are now known as 'Pilgrims', a term used in 1596 in the *Confession of faith* they adopted and in later references to their own idea of life on earth as a pilgrimage towards heavenly bliss.

Elizabeth I intended all her subjects to conform with the Church of England, the Anglican Church. She pursued not only Roman Catholics, gradually organizing themselves, but also 'Puritans' who were agitating for a further reformation within the Anglican Church to 'purify' it of Roman-seeming ceremonies and practices. Since 1593, people who urged separation from the Anglican Church, the Separatists, were banished if they refused to conform.

Congregational separation, existant since ca. 1550, had been publicized in the 1580's by the Rev. Robert Browne, an English minister who had fled to Middelburg in The Netherlands, where he was influenced by contact with the congregationally organized Dutch Mennonites who existed outside the Dutch Reformed Church. Also impor-



ABOVE: King James I of England (and VI of Scotland). His opposition to nonconformity forced the Pilgrims to flee to Holland. COVER: The sixteenth-century façade of Leiden's City Hall.

tant to Separatists like the Pilgrims was the quasi-independent position in England of congregations of foreign Protestants. Many Dutch refugee churches existed in East Anglia and Kent, where half the Leiden Pilgrim congregation originated.

James I, crowned in 1603, turned out to be an even greater opponent of Puritan and Separatist ideas than Elizabeth had been. William Bradford, later governor of New Plymouth, described the situation as one in which separatists 'were hunted & persecuted on every side, so their former afflictions were



Scrooby Manor, home of William Brewster, where the Pilgrim congregation met in secret.

but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them.'

The Separatists living in the Scrooby area in northern Nottinghamshire decided to leave England for The Netherlands, where, as they had heard, religious toleration prevailed, and where many other English people had already settled for that reason. The Scrooby group's first attempt in the autumn of 1607 failed when the English ship captain who had agreed to take them betrayed them. The second attempt, in the spring of 1608, succeeded, although with difficulties. A Dutch captain was willing to pick them up offshore along the coast between Grimsby and Hull. When most of the men were on board, however, he saw troops approaching. He hoisted sail immediately and departed, abandoning the women and children waiting in a stranded boat with a few of the men. Despite terrible storms that drove him far off course,

the captain brought his ship into Amsterdam's harbor. The abandoned group captured in England was sent from one jail to the next but eventually was allowed to leave for Holland, where the Scrooby Separatists were reunited in Amsterdam.

Among the last to arrive were John Robinson and William Brewster. With Bradford, they were to play the leading roles in the history of the Pilgrims.

John Robinson was born ca. 1576 in Sturton-le-Steeple (Nottinghamshire), and died in 1625 in Leiden. He studied theology at Cambridge, famous as a center of Puritanism. He was ordained in the Anglican Church in 1602. Robinson left the university, where he had been a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, shortly before his marriage on February 15, 1604, to Bridget White, of Gainsborough (near Scrooby). Soon after, he became 'teacher' (assistant minister) of St. Andrew's Church in

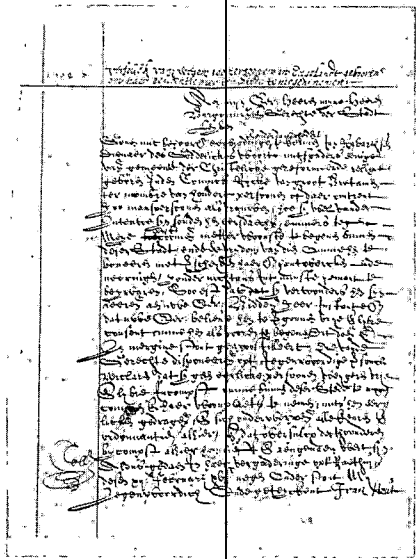


ABOVE: Site of Robinson's house, De Groene Poort ('The Green Close'), since 1683 the Jean Pesijn Almshouse (Pesijnshof). LEFT: Leiden's medieval Burcht (castle) was thought in Pilgrim times to be Roman. It is one of many buildings still to be seen in Leiden which were present before and during the Pilgrim period.

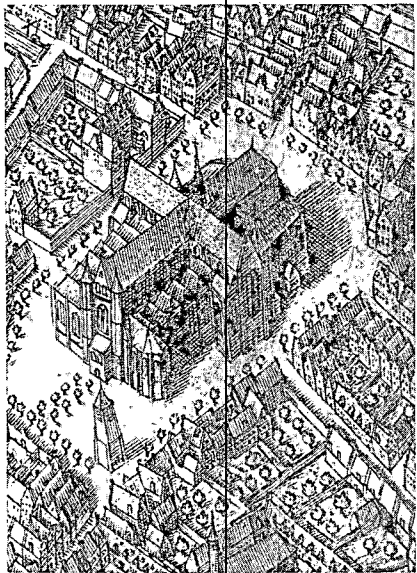
Norwich. The Bishop of Norwich deposed Robinson that same year after Robinson denied the New Testament origins of the authority of bishops, denied the efficacy of the Anglican sacraments, and refused to sign the Book of Canons as demanded of all clergy. The Robinsons left Norwich for Nottinghamshire, where John Robinson came into contact with Puritan ministers John Smyth of Gainsborough and Richard Clifton of Babworth, and with the postmaster of Scrooby, William Brewster.

William Brewster, born ca. 1566, welcomed Separatist meetings in his home, Scrooby Manor. The Scrooby Separatists formed their own covenant in 1606, with Clifton and Robinson as their ministers. As a young government employee Brewster had been in Leiden in 1586 accompanying Sir William Davison in the retinue of the Earl of Leicester, who was at that time Governor of The Netherlands. Later, again in Leiden, Brewster was an Elder (leading layman) of the Pilgrim congregation; and he was the major figure in the publishing activities of the Pilgrims during their Leiden stay. Forced into hiding at the suppression of the Pilgrim Press in 1619, Brewster turns up again as a *Mayflower* passenger. In America he was a religious leader for the colony for many years, and died on April 20, 1644, in Duxbury near Plymouth.

William Bradford was born ca. 1588-1590 at Austerfield (Yorkshire) near Scrooby. Orphaned, he was taken into Brewster's household in 1602, and he joined the Scrooby Separatists. One of the leading laymen in the Leiden period, he emigrated on the *Mayflower*. He was governor of the colony for many years. His manuscript book *Of Plimoth Plantation* is the major source of information about the Pilgrims. Bradford died in Plymouth on May 9, 1657.



ABOVE: The 1609 document granting permission to reside in Leiden. BELOW: *De Groene Poort* seen on a map from 1600.





ABOVE: *The Latin School, one street north of the Pieterskerk, where Rembrandt was a student in Pilgrim times.* ABOVE LEFT: *The Lodewijkskerk, a Roman Catholic church on the Steenshuur. In the early seventeenth century it was Leiden's cloth hall. William Bradford was a member of the guild that met here.* BELOW LEFT: *Nearby on the Steenshuur are two large houses whose façades have changed little since the Pilgrims saw them. An early detail is the cross-frame window design seen in the house on the right, formerly the most common window type in Leiden. Stepped gables like these dominated the streets in Pilgrim times.*

I Jan Robbenlos predicant
 Brigitta Robbenlos sijne wijf
 Jannes
 Brigitta
 Isaac
 Mercy
 Ferer
 Jacobus
 Maria gadij dienstmeit
 Robbenlos kinders

ABOVE: Robinson's family as listed in a tax record of 1622: John Robinson, his wife Bridget, their children Jannes (John), Brigitta, Isaac, Mercy, Ferer (Fear), and Jacobus (James) and their servant maid Marya Hardy. BELOW LEFT: Signatures of John Robinson, William Jepson and Thomas Brewer. BELOW RIGHT: View in the garden of the Pesijnshof, showing the Pieterskerk, as it could be seen from De Groene Poort in Pilgrim times.

J. Robinson
 William Jepson
 Thomas Brewer





ABOVE: Numerous examples of typical weavers' houses from the seventeenth century can be seen in Leiden. LEFT: The painting by Jan Steen (in *The Hermitage*, Leningrad) seems to show an even smaller house, like the houses most of the Pilgrims had, having a single room and a loft.

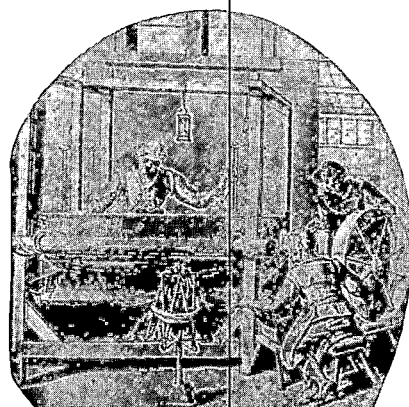
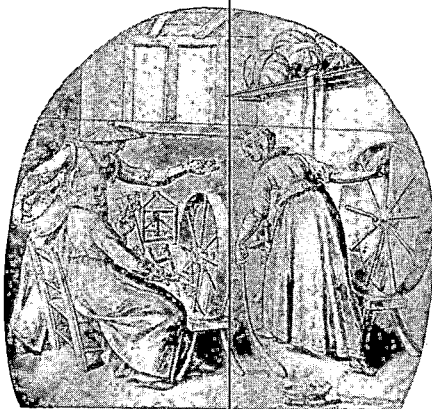
To avoid involvement in a scandal brewing among the leaders of the various other English Separatist groups in Amsterdam, most of the Scrooby group left Amsterdam in 1609 for Leiden, the second largest city in Holland and seat of the famous University of Leiden. This scandal, about improper behavior by an Elder during Sunday School, strengthened the Pilgrims' conviction that matters of belief and ethics should be discussed before the entire congregation and not left to be hushed up by an élite of ministers and elders. Because Clifton remained in Amsterdam, Robinson became the minister of the Pilgrims in Leiden.

John Robinson and about 100 other Pilgrims submitted a written request for permission to reside in Leiden, dated February 12, 1609. The city's permission states that Leiden 'refuses no honest people free entry to come live in the city, as long as they behave honestly and obey all the laws and ordinances, and under those conditions the applicants' arrival here would be pleasing and welcome.' Putting inaction to fine words, the city refused the British ambassador's request that the Pilgrims be extradited as banished Brownists, informing him that the city had heard nothing of their being either banished or Brownists, but rather that they were honest people of the Reformed religion – and would His Excellency please excuse them to the King in this matter.

It was not necessary to request permission to come live in Leiden. By obtaining official permission, the Pilgrims ensured that, if necessary, their children would fall under the care of Leiden's orphanage and not be sent back to their parents' place of origin, as was customary for immigrants' orphans. It may be concluded that in 1609 the Pilgrims were planning to stay in Leiden. The Pilgrims lived peacefully and unobtrusively in Leiden, where

they formed about one quarter of the English community in a city where nearly a third of the population (total ca. 40,000) were refugees, most from Belgium.

In 1611 Robinson, William Jepson, Henry Wood and Jane White (represented by her husband Raynolph Thickens) bought the property 'De Groene Poort' ('The Green Close' of-

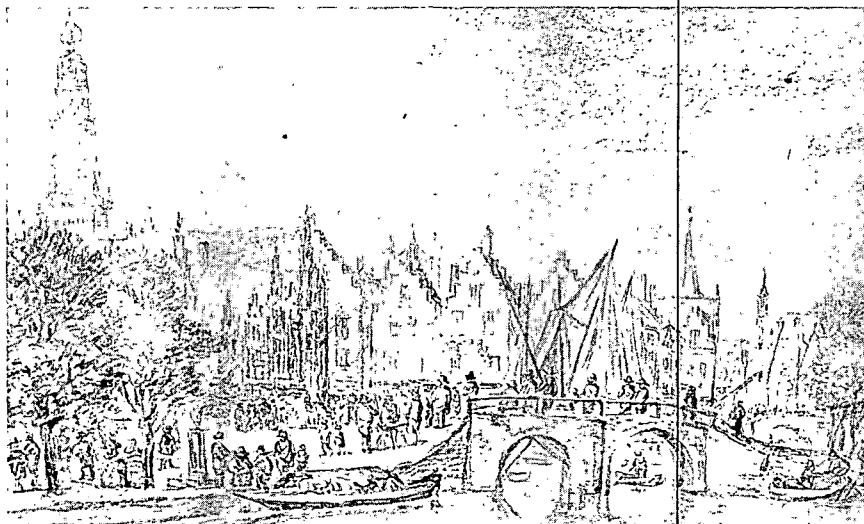


'Weaving' and 'Spinning' from a series of Leiden drawings, ca. 1600-1610, based on paintings by Leiden burgomaster Isaac van Swanenburgh (print collection, Leiden Municipal Archives).



LEFT: The house, now demolished, on the Uiterstegracht that belonged to Richard Masterson and Sarah Wood, as it was ca. 1890. It is left of the lamp post, with flat gable and dormer window. Nearby was one of the inns frequented by the English, called 'In the Sign of Sandwich' ('In Sandwitz'). Several Pilgrims came from Sandwich in England. BELOW: Leiden in Pilgrim times had open space behind many houses, with gardens, orchards, haystacks, barns, stables and pigpens. The effect is seen by the Clusius Garden of the University.

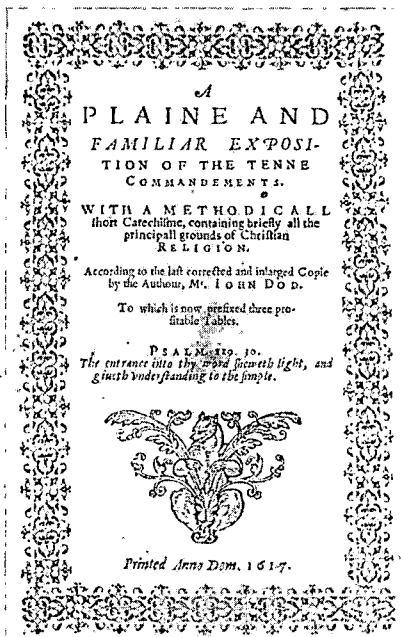




ABOVE: *The Coornbrug and Vismarkt (Corn Bridge and Fish Market) behind the City Hall, in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the distance is the city crane, where goods brought to market were weighed, and the spire of St. Mary's Church (the O.L. Vrouwekerk), demolished in 1819.*

RIGHT: *Seventeenth-century houses on the Langebrug, around the corner from Brewsters's house. The ornate doorway (1607) was to the Penshal (Tripe Market), where cheaper meat, rabbits and chickens were sold.*





LEFT: Title page of one of Brewster's publications. ABOVE RIGHT: *The Academiegebouw, main building of the University of Leiden. Robinson attended theology debates in this building, where Arminius, Gomarus, Episcopius and Polyander lectured.* BELOW RIGHT: *Brewster's house in William Brewster Steeg, off the Pieterskerk Choosteeg.*

ten imprecisely translated as 'The Green Gate'), which became Robinson's house. In this house, across the street from the ancient Pieterskerk, the congregation held its services, twice on Sunday and on Thursday evening. Twenty-one small houses were built around the garden for other Pilgrim families. Other Pilgrims lived nearby, in the Nonnensteeg, in the Nieuwsteeg, on the Groenhazengracht, on the Langebrug. Still others lived across town, like the Mastersons on the Uiterstegracht or Bradford on the Achtergracht. A few eventually bought houses in the 'Nieuwe Stad' or New Town, built on the north side of the city in 1611. The alley where William Brewster operated: the Pilgrim Press is now named William Brewster Steeg ('Steeg' = alley).

The occupations of many pilgrims are given in the city's betrothal records. It is clear that few were well off. About half worked in the city's booming textile industry, as weavers, woolcombers, carders, cloth-fullers, etc. Other occupations known are: tailor, hatmaker,

glover, hosier, shoemaker, carpenter, block and tackle maker, twinemaker, leather worker, cooper, cabinetmaker, brewer's employee, mason, printer, watchmaker, mirror-maker, tobacco-pipe maker, tobacco-seller, and merchant, besides Robinson, the theologian and minister. The first Leiden tobacco-pipe makers were Pilgrims. (King James was an anti-smoker.)

Robinson became a member of the university in 1615. His neighbor and friend Thomas Brewer, who financed the Pilgrim Press, also was inscribed as a 'student' that year. Although not enrolled as a 'student' Brewster, formerly a Cambridge student, had university contacts, too, teaching English to Leiden university students. Robinson attended theology lectures, siding with the Contra-Remonstrants against the Arminians in the heated controversies of the period, and becoming friends with Johannes Polyander, the Leiden professor who supervised translation of the Old Testament for the *Staten Vertaling* ('States' Translation') of the Bible.



Members of the following religious groups lived in Leiden with more or less toleration in the period 1450-1700: Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Jews, Gypsies, Lutherans, Dutch Mennonites, Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, Walloon Reformed, English and Scottish Reformed, English Separatists (the Pilgrims), 'Libertines', Remonstrants, Rijnsburger Collegiants, Moslems, Moravians, Quakers, Huguenots. Among university students were also: Scandinavian Lutherans, German Lutherans, Polish-Russian Mennonites, Polish Reformed, Czech Reformed, Hungarian Reformed, Polish Socinians (Unitarians), Anglicans, American Puritans.



The Pilgrim Press published theological tracts from ca. 1617 until it was suppressed in 1619. One was a report on King James' plans to reintroduce the episcopal form of church government in Scotland. The book aroused the king's wrath when it was smuggled into Britain. The British Ambassador in The Hague discovered that the anonymous piece had been printed in Leiden, but Leiden's city officials frustrated his attempts to have the Pilgrims punished. They jailed Brewster in the city hall briefly but released him and detained Brewer, instead. Brewer, being a student, was not subject to ordinary city courts. (He was released under terms he himself set, which allowed him to lecture King James at the expense of the English government.) Then Leiden's officials sent Polyander, who had written the preface to one of the books published by Brewster, to examine the Pilgrim Press publications for orthodoxy. Polyander reported favorably. While not delivering up the Pilgrims, the city officials did confiscate the printing material, apparently because the Pilgrims had failed to obtain a local permit. Within a few months Robinson was having pieces printed in Amsterdam.

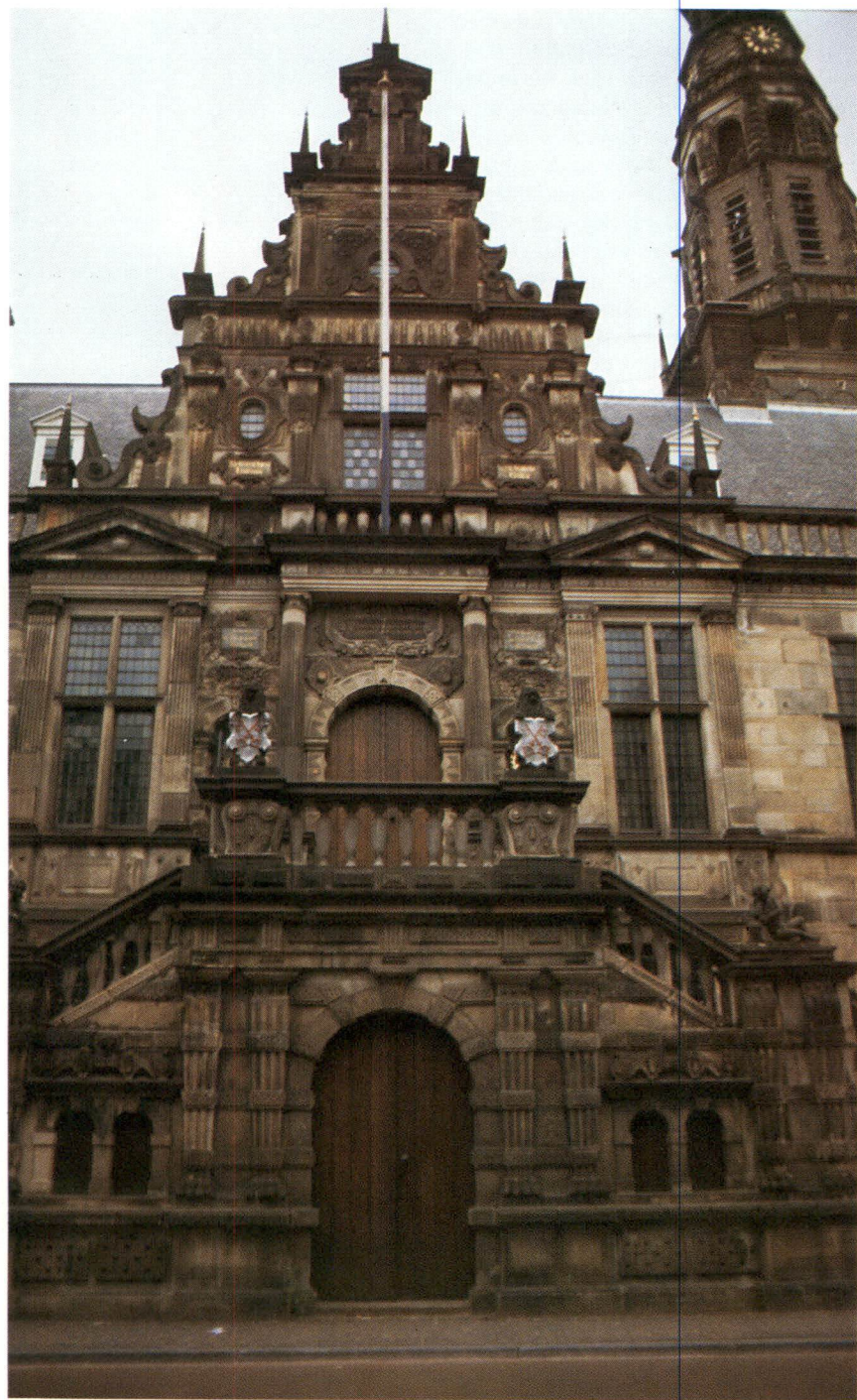
The emigration in 1620 had various motivating reasons: potential converts to the Pilgrims' ideas were put off by the hard work necessary to earn a living in Leiden; old age was approaching,

with increasing poverty predictable; the children were overworked, and when not working were exposed to the licentiousness of Dutch youth – some were even leaving home to become soldiers or sailors; the Dutch did not sufficiently respect the Sabbath; there was a likelihood of assimilation and inevitable dispersion if the group stayed in Holland; and there was the threat of war. Soon the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) would be over and King James was expected to send English soldiers to help the Dutch against Spain. He might find ways to oppress the Pilgrims. Finally, there was the hope of converting the Indians in America, 'for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those parts of the world...'

After much discussion and negotiation the Pilgrims bought one ship, the *Speedwell*, and chartered another, the *Mayflower*. The Pilgrims left Leiden by inland boat and travelled along the Vliet River to Delfshaven, where the emigrants embarked on the *Speedwell*, leaving The Netherlands on July 31, 1620. The group included people who had joined in Leiden, like Captain Miles Standish and Philippe de la Noy, Leiden ancestor of the Delano family, and thus of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

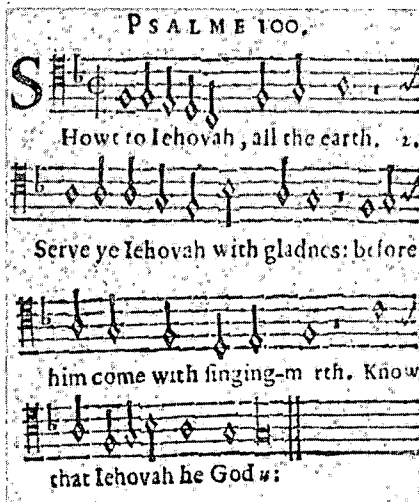
Bringing more English passengers the *Mayflower* from London met the

OPPOSITE: *Leiden's City Hall façade designed by Lieven de Key and Luder van Bentheim (1595). Here the city government granted the Pilgrims permission to reside in Leiden. Here, too, Pilgrims came to register marriages and property transactions and to nominate procurators for their Leiden business affairs when planning to leave for America.*

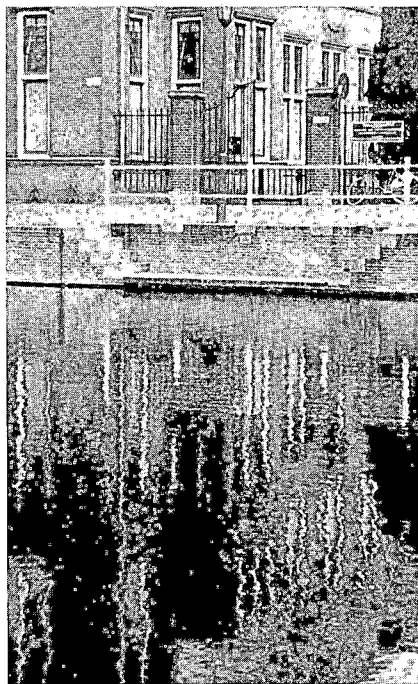
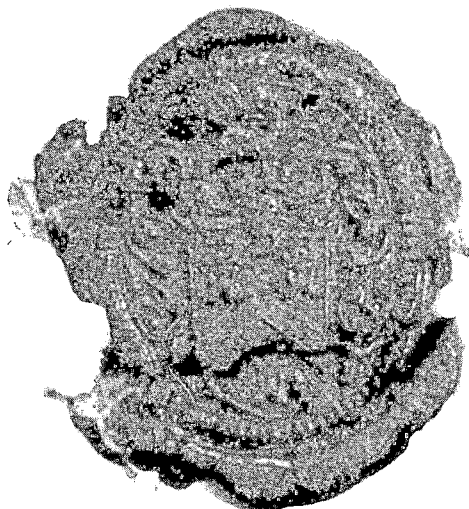


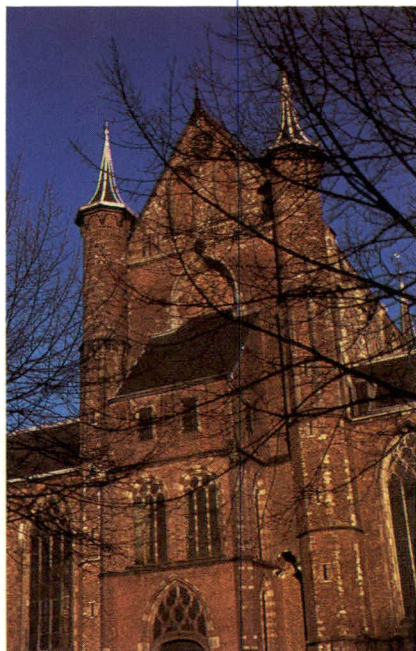
Speedwell and they sailed together from Southampton to Plymouth (Devon), where they both took on provisions for the trip to America and then departed. When the *Speedwell* proved unseaworthy, the two boats turned back and the Pilgrims who were to go to America all went on board the *Mayflower*. The *Speedwell* was sold; several discouraged Pilgrims returned to Leiden and went to America on later boats. The *Mayflower* departed again alone, reaching Cape Cod on November 9, 1620, after sixty-five days at sea.

As the Pilgrims had foreseen, many of those who remained in Leiden (and the majority did remain) became assimilated into Dutch society. John Robinson died in 1625, having stayed with his flock but hoping to go with a later group to America. His son Isaac was one of the last Pilgrims to emigrate, in 1632. Other late emigrants included Richard Masterson and Thomas Willett. Willett, born into a Pilgrim family in Leiden about 1610, became assistant governor of Nieuw Amsterdam under Pieter Stuyvesant. He went on to become the first 'English' mayor of New York in 1664.

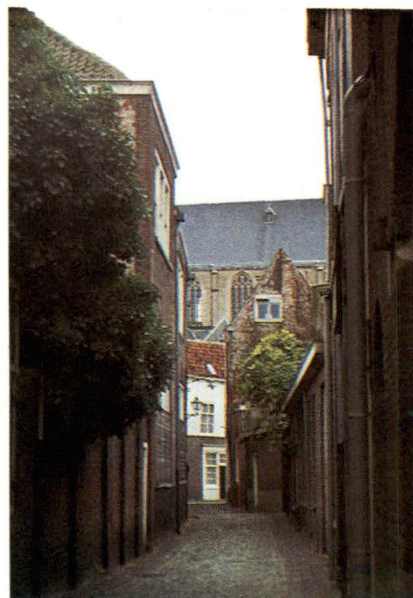


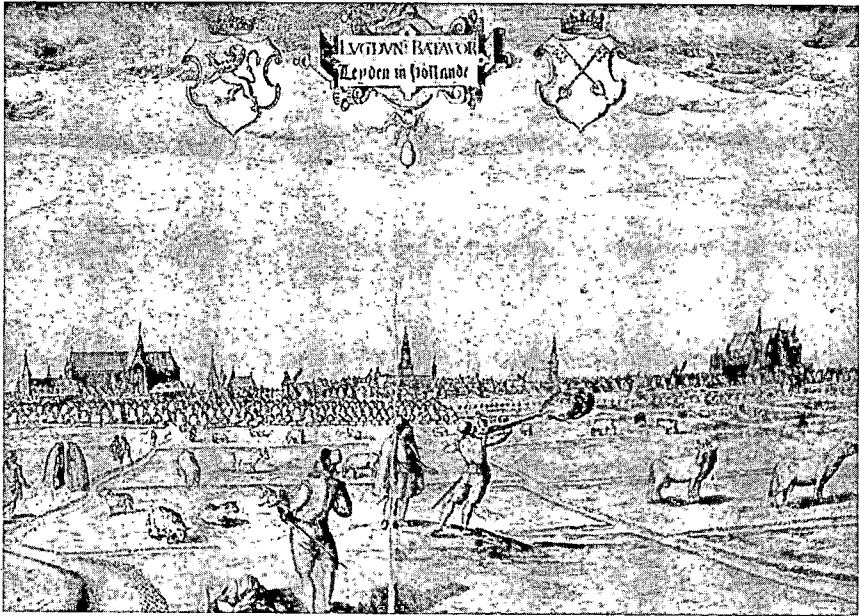
BELOW LEFT: Seal on a letter sent from America to Leiden by Thomas Willett. ABOVE: 'Old Hundredth' in Ainsworth's Psalter, used in Pilgrim services. BELOW: The steps on the Rapenburg whence the Pilgrims embarked on the first stage of their journey to America. They stopped briefly in Delfshaven, Southampton and Plymouth (England).





ABOVE LEFT: *Rijnlandshuis* (1598), seat of the government for Rijnland, the territory and waterways surrounding Leiden. ABOVE RIGHT: *The Pieterskerk* (ca. 1395-1565), where Robinson and other Pilgrims are buried. BELOW LEFT: *The Schoolsteeg* north of the *Pieterskerk*. Pilgrim Christopher Ellis lived in this alley, where a hidden church was opened in 1609 by the Jesuits. BELOW RIGHT: *City wall tower 'Oostenrijk'* on the south side of the medieval town.





Leiden in 1600 from the Vliet River.

After Robinson's death the members of his congregation were helped by Rev. Hugh Goodyear of Leiden's English Reformed Church. Goodyear also helped the American Pilgrims wind up their Leiden affairs through correspondence.

Dutch influence on the Pilgrims is hard to pinpoint. Bradford, married in a Leiden civil ceremony, introduced civil marriage registration to America citing Dutch legal precedent. The election of governing officials by the colonists as stipulated in the *Mayflower Compact* recalls the election of neighborhood governing officials by the residents of each of Leiden's little neighborhoods. The congregational form of church organization owed something to Browne's contact with Dutch Mennonites; and there can be no doubt that the Pilgrims in Leiden knew of the Leiden Mennonites (with whose ideas they disagreed) who gathered in a

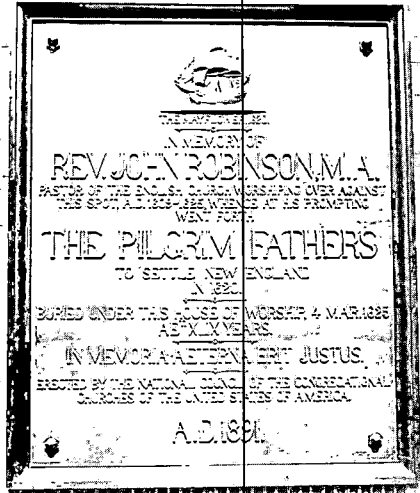
house across the street from the Pieterskerk on the north side, as they themselves met in a house on the south side. Some people would like to see a Leiden influence on the Pilgrims' Thanksgiving Day: it was a long-established custom for Leiden city officials to declare three days of feasting and prayer on October 3, to give thanks for the lifting of the siege of 1574; and the city declared other days of fasting, prayer, thanksgiving, or festivity from time to time.

The Pilgrim influence on Leiden was not extensive. An old map from the mid-seventeenth century shows Robinson's house with the words, '*De Engelsche Poort*' ('The English Close'), but Robinson's house was rebuilt in 1683 as an almshouse, the Jean Pesynshof. Since their departure in 1620, however, the Pilgrims and their descendants have been returning to Leiden. There was Thomas Prince in 1713, John and Abigail Adams, and their son John

Quincy Adams, in 1781, and many after them, some also family members, others with a more general interest in their history.

The Pilgrim influence in America has been more important. Exiles for conscience' sake, they were morally convinced that the equality proclaimed in the Bible requires that each individual act in justice and mercy towards others; and that each individual has the responsibility to censure and resist church and government superiors whenever their actions are evil. The Pilgrims saw themselves as called to 'prophecy' – to speak out – against injustice and ungodliness during their pilgrimage on earth. From the Pilgrim's stay in Leiden, America first gained its separation of church and state, with a church whose members were equally expected to provide vigilant and biblical criticism of the state. And from the Pilgrims' active press campaign against King James I's oppressive politics regarding the suppression of minority opinion, as well as from the Pilgrims' decision to emigrate to the wilds of an unknown land rather than involve themselves in a religious

war (Europe's 'Thirty Years' War' of 1618-1648), Americans and others through the last three centuries have learned to prize individualism, mercy, peace and freedom above national or individual comfort bought at the expense of violence or of subordination to nationalism or religious despotism.



Memorial to Rev. John Robinson, Pieterskerk.





The Leiden Pilgrim Documents Center of the Leiden Municipal Archives. A permanent exhibition about the Pilgrims in Leiden and about Leiden in the time of the Pilgrims.

