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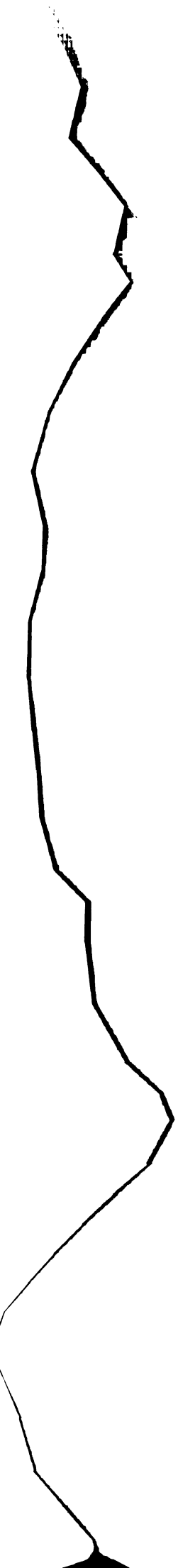

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Ex dono pranobilis Domini Thoma Gower
de Stitenham Com: Ebor. militis et
Baronetti. 8. Januarij. 1651.

J. L.

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A GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE NETHERLANDS:

With the genealogie and memorable acts of the Earls of Holland, Zeeland, and west-Friseland, from *Thierry* of Aquitaine the first Earle, successiuely vnto *Philip* the third King of Spaine: -

Continued vnto this present yeare of our Lord 1608, out of the best authors that haue written of that subiect:

By Ed. Grimeston.

LONDON,
Printed by *A. Islip*, and *G. Eld.*
Anno Dom. 1608.

100.
49
160.

The Muses. Neptune. Mars. and Mercury Haue sett their rests vp in low Germany.



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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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TO THE RIGHT NOBLE, AND MOST WORTHY OF ALL HONOVRS, AND ALL TITLES,

ROBERT Earle of Saliſburie, Lord High Treaſurer of *England, &c.*

THOMAS Earle of Suffolke, Lord Chamberlaine to his *Maieſtie.*

MY moſt Honoured Lords, The ſame *forme* of *Inſcription* wherewith once, and firſt, I haue ſacred your *Altars*, I make it a Religion now to alter, ſince there is nothing required in an Act of Pietie, aboue Conſtancie; and with that ſtudie I come now, to offer my ſecond deuotions. Your Honours indulgent acceptance of my trauels, in the *French Storie*, hath lent proſperous windes to this my courſe in that of the *Netherlands*; wherein I haue chiefely followed *Iohn Francis Petit*, an Authour yet liuing, and reſiding in our *London*. What I haue added out of others (who reſpect the ſame Center) for the more perfection, let it be your LL. prerogatiue, and theirs, that are experienced to pronounce: I, that know, too much boaſting a mans owne paynes, may ſpend prodigally, both of his merit and modeſtie, am willingly ſilent. The reaſon of my vndertaking this worke, is the ſame with the former, for that of *Fraunce*, want of being imployed in more fruitfull ſeruices: In which I would

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rather it ſhould bee vnderſtood my Fortunes fault, than mine, where the world muſt ſee, how contented I am to labour in the hard and rough quarries. But your Honours, when you pleaſe, may redeeme mee, not to a courſe of more eaſe (I affect it not) but of more vſe. To which, ſince I haue vowed my ſelfe your LL. already, I will not now iterate the vow, as if I thought not my ſelfe then beleeued; but with honeſt perſeuerance of my dutie, expect your fauour. And for your Honours, ſince nothing can be added to things perfect, and at their height, my next wiſh is, That Heauen will ratifie them, and make what he hath giuen to you, moſt particular and laſting.

Your LL. deuoted in all
duetie and ſeruice,

EDVVARD GRIMESTON.

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Iohn Francis Petit to the courteous Reader.

Polibius a Greeke writer (courteous reader) ſaith, that ſuch as thinke a priuat hiſtorie ſufficient for the knowledge of the generall, doe no leſſe (in his opinion) erre from the truth, than he which ſeeing the members of a goodly creature diuided, doth thereby iudge of his perfection: but if you take theſe diſtinct and diuided parts, and make it a perfect creature, giuing it life and forme, and then ſhew it him againe, without doubt he will confeſſe his own errour, and ſay he was like vnto them that dream. True it is, we may haue an apprehenſion of the whole by the parts, but it is impoſſible to haue any certein knowledge. For my part, I do herein concurre with *Polibius*: and ſay moreouer, that he which thinkes to vnderſtand perfectly the moderne ſtorie of any countrie or ſtate; without knowledge of the auncient, drawne from the ſpring, manners, and geſtes of their aunceſtors, whoſe actions he pretends to write, is like vnto him, that ſaies hee knowes a man, for that he hath ſeene him, or heard him ſpeake, and yet cannot ſay of whence he is, what his parents were, nor from whence he is deſcended: euen ſo, whoſoeuer reads the hiſtorie of any nation, without knowledge of their beginning, can neuer be fully ſatisfied, ſeeing he hath not laid a true foundation vpon antiquitie; for by the compariſon and reſemblance of auncient deeds with the moderne, and conferring one with another, it is impoſſible but they ſhould find out the truth, and reap a ſingular content and profit by the hiſtorie. So it fals out with me, who, for my owne delight, and to auoid idleneſſe, hauing (in the heat of our warres, and other domeſticke imployments) vndertaken to write the hiſtorie of theſe prouinces, I did thinke I could not be well ſatisfied with the knowledge of late accidents which haue happened ſince my time, for theſe ſixtie years (whereof I haue learned ſomething from my deceaſed parents, and haue beene my ſelfe an eie witneſſe, for theſe fourtie yeares; and as the Poet ſaith, *Quaque ipſa miſerrima vidi, & quorum pars magna fui:*

Which miſeries I wretch did ſee,
And bore a ſhare in each degree)

if I had not endeauoured to recouer what I could of the antiquitie of the ſaid prouinces, both out of their owne ancient chronicles, and from their neighbours. If I haue herein vſed a harſh ſtyle, it is no wonder, hauing not therein laboured to pleaſe the French, whoſe eares are ſomething delicate; but remembring the manlineſſe of the nation to whom I write, I haue left this womaniſh niceneſſe, ſeeking only thoſe things which are proper and profitable for the ſtorie. And in theſe latter times, I haue beene forced in many things to follow the rough ſtyle of them of Arthois, Henaut, and of the court at Bruſſels, in many declarations which I haue beene forced to inſert, although they differ much from the manner of French writers. Who ſo writes a hiſtorie ſhould not (labouring to adorne his ſtyle) alwaies ſtriue to mooue mens affections: neither is it fit to purſue with a continued ſtyle the miſeries of the time, by inuectiues or otherwiſe, the which is more proper for tragicall Poets; but he muſt make a true relation of mens words and actions: for a hiſtorie and a tragedie haue contrarie ends. In a tragedie (if the truth be not apparant) wee muſt ſtriue to mooue the auditors, to hope, feare, care, anger, ioy, and ſuch like paſſions, by coniectures: but in hiſtorie, wee muſt endeauour by all meanes to relate ſincerely whatſoeuer we will write of men, and of their actions; for coniectures may ſerue the one, to entertaine and abuſe the audience; and truth the other, for the readers inſtruction and profit. I muſt confeſſe it is a commendable thing in an honeſt man, to affect

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affect his friends and his countrey, and to hate their enemies; but he that vndertakes to write a hiſtorie, muſt moderate thoſe paſſions with diſcretion, ſometimes commending his enemies when their deeds deſerue it, and blaming his friends and neighbours when their faults doe merit it, leaſt he be reproached with *Paulus Iouius*, of whom it is written:

Dum patriam laudat, damnat dum Iouius hoſtes,
Nec malus eſt Ciuis, nec bonus Hiſtoricus.
Iouius in praiſing Italie, and baiting of her foes,
Againſt the lawes of hiſtorie (though not of dutie) goes.

Beleeue me, as the bodie of any creature (when the eies are out) is vnprofitable, euen ſo, if truth wants in a hiſtorie, the diſcourſe is fruitleſſe: and therefore, when occaſion is offered, they muſt not forbeare to blame their friends, nor to commend their enemies, neither yet thinke it light or diſhoneſt to praiſe them (vpon good occaſion) whom in ſome places they haue iuſtly blamed; for it is not credible, that they of whom we write haue alwaies done well, nor continually erred; wee muſt therefore in our cenſures iudge gravely and vprightly of mens actions, ſeeing that truth is the life and ſoule of a hiſtorie, without the which (how goodly a gloſſe ſoeuer it carries) it is but a fable. To comprehend then the moderne with the auncient, they ſhall find here (not that I will put antiquitie out of queſtion, beeing impoſſible) for the better vnderſtanding of the hiſtorie of theſe prouinces, a particular deduction, wherein we intreat of all things (as farre as we could recouer) that haue paſt in the ſaid prouinces, whereby they ſhall receiue a great contentment, comparing the auncient with the moderne times. I haue begunne with the firſt inſtitution of the earles of Holland, by king *Charles* the bald, where wee will ſet downe orderly the genealogie and acts of the ſaid earles, ſince *Thierry* or *Theodoric* of Aquitaine, the firſt earle, inſtituted in the yeare 863, vnto *Iohn* of Henaut; the race of which *Thierry* hauing ſucceſſiuely continued from father to ſonne, for the ſpace of 563 yeares, ending with *Iohn* of Holland, the twentieth earle, ſonne to that *Floris*, who was ſlaine by *Gerard van Velſen*: to which *Iohn* of Holland, dying without iſſue, ſucceeded the ſaid *Iohn* earle of Henaut his couſin, ſonne to *Alix*, ſiſter to *William* king of Romans, great aunt to the ſaid *Iohn* of Holland, who died in the yeare, 1300.

And from the ſaid *Iohn* of Henaut vnto cont *William* of Bauaria, the fift of that name, ſurnamed the franticke, ſonne to the emperour *Lewis* of Bauaria, and to *Marguerite* of Henaut, ſiſter to *William* the fourth, who died without children; which houſe of Henaut ending in the ſaid *Marguerite*, it fell to that of Bauaria, and had but foure heads; all which together, ruled the ſaid countries of Holland, Zeeland, and Henant, but fiftie and one yeares. In which familie of Bauaria (comprehending the ſaid *William* the franticke, and the counteſſe *Iacoba* or *Iaquelyne*, who died alſo without children) there were fiue heads, which gouerned in all 82 yeares, vnto *Philip* (called the good) duke of Burgoignie, couſin to the ſaid *Iaquelyne*; whoſe gouernment, with duke *Charles* the warlike his ſonne, and that of *Marie* daughter to *Charles*, wife to *Maximilian* archduke of Auſtria, continued but fortie fiue yeares. After which, that of the ſaid *Maximilian* then emperour (as father and guardian to *Philip* of Auſtria his ſonne) of the ſaid *Philip*, hauing maried *Iane* Queene of Caſtile, of *Charles* the fift emperour, and of *Philip* king of Spaine laſt deceaſed, vnto the yeare 1582, when as *Philip* (for the cauſes ſpecified in this hiſtorie) was declared by the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, to be fallen from the ſoueraigntie and gouernment of the ſaid earledomes and countries of the vnion, are ninetie three yeares: and ſince the ſaid yeare 1582, vnto this yeare 1608 (Arthois, Henaut, and other prouinces, beeing voluntarily fallen from the generall vnion) the ſaid prouinces of Holland, Zeeland, and others, haue gouerned vnder the authoritie of the ſaid generall Eſtates, and the priuat gouernments (hauing vnited vnto them Gueldres, Zutphen, Vtrecht, &c.) of *William* of Naſſau prince of Orange, &c. and of prince *Maurice* his ſonne. All which worke, we haue proportionably diuided into ſixteene bookes, and continued it vnto theſe times, as you may ſee by the courſe of the hiſtorie; from out of which (beſides the contentment thereof) the reader may gather good inſtructions, as well for matter of religion and gouernment, as for exploits of warre, and moſt neceſſarie for all ſorts of men to know at this preſent time, eſpecially for ſuch men as are imployed in the managing

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of any of theſe three eſtates: For ſeeing that men do iudge of al things, either by rules and precepts which are taught in ſchooles, or by examples and preſidents, which hyſtories do furniſh, precepts without examples making no deepe impreſſion, nor mouing the affections, it ſhall be alwayes good, yea and verie neceſſarie, to confer (in the managing of affaires) the examples of things paſt with the preſent time, that we may learne by others, what wee are to do, or not to do, to imbrace or auoid in the whole courſe of our liues. For as the poet ſaith,

Happie is he that learnes to gather wit
By others harme, yet neuer feeleth it.

For this conſideration a hyſtorie was called by the antients, The teſtimonie of time, the light of truth, and the miſtreſſe and myrrour of mans life; for that in the perſon of another, ſhee giues inſtructions to all thoſe that will vnderſtand how to gouerne themſelues well. They are well worthy of commendation, which haue endeuoured to regiſter the memorable acts of time, and to impart them to poſteritie. And although that this age hath much reſtrained the libertie of writing, which did ſhine in the antient Chroniclers, *Froiſart*, *Monſtrelet*, *Comines*, &c. yet will I neuer abandon my ſelfe to flatterie, nor feare (two plagues in a hyſtorie, and torments to the mind) but will make my diſcourſe free and true. I muſt confeſſe, that in ſome actions which are to be blamed, I giue my cenſure, as in like maner I ſpare not to commend thoſe actions, whereas vertue, religion, and valour, do ſhine: but in matters which are indifferent, I ſuſpend my iudgement, rather than to ingage my ſelfe among ſo many difficulties, for there muſt needs be a confuſion; whereas paſſion rules. Truth is my North ſtar (and yet it may be, that ſome now liuing, and poſteritie hereafter, will not giue credit to ſome things which we write, the which in another age (better I hope than ours) will be held too cruell, barbarous and inhumane; the which notwithſtanding were moſt true, yea more execrable and abhominable than we haue deſcribed them: deſiring rather to moderat with modeſtie, than to aggrauat any thing. In the progreſſe of this hyſtorie, I do not follow the Dutch Chronicle, the difference of the ſtile, and the maner of writing French in matter of hyſtorie (diſagreeing much from the Dutch) will not allow it: beſides, there are ſo many idle and ridiculous things in it, more like the *Romant of the Roſe*, or the *Legend of Lyes*, than a true hyſtorie, as I haue purpoſely omitted them, and as I heare they are raſed out of the laſt impreſſion of the antient Dutch Chronicle. And whereas they ſhall find the deeds of ſo many braue old warriours, earls of Holland, with other noblemen, and knights, ſo barely related, in regard of thoſe at this day, and as the modern French writers deſcribe them; they muſt not accuſe our diligence, who haue ſearcht for them as curiouſly as we could; but the negligence & ignorance of antient writers, who haue ſhewed themſelues idle, and too too careleſſe: or elſe the iniurie of the time which hath ſuppreſt them; or it may be the wars, which haue waſted and conſumed them. And for that in theſe later times, ſince the emperor *Charles* the 5, there haue beene ſo many writers of diuers religions, euerie one writing according to his paſſion, or according to the affection which hee bare to them of his religion, I haue endeuored to hold a meane. I will not ſay, but ſuch as are moſt paſſionat, may ſometimes diſcouer what religion I hold moſt pure (for I neither can nor ought to denie it before men, no more than before God) yet hath it not (in matter of truth) made me to incline more to one part than to another, to publiſh or ſuppreſſe the vertues and vices, the honour and diſgrace of one or other. And for that the ground of our ciuill wars is written too partially (or rather inuectiuely) by ſome; as by *Surius* the Chartrous monke, by *Erſingerus*, *vander Haee*, *Ianſonius Documenſus*, & others, built vpon a meer accuſation of rebellion and diſobedience to the king of Spaine, and his edicts, touching matters of religion, and the Inquiſition; as thoſe words of rebellion and diſobedience comprehend much in them, and haue a large interpretation. But the better to informe poſteritie, who (it may be) will not be ſo partiall, as to interpret all things paſt, to rebellion and diſobedience, as theſe partiall men haue done. I haue bin very large in the deſcription of the originall and firſt ſpring, together with the cauſes and motiues of our troubles, and of the wars which haue followed againſt the Spaniards, and their adherents, by the inſertion of many declarations, which I haue thought very neceſſarie for this ſubiect, for the explaining thereof. I haue alſo of purpoſe extended my ſelfe (to ſerue for an inſtruction and direction to poſteritie) in the deſcription of the moſt remarkable ſieges of towns of either part, as of Harlem, Leyden, Alcmar, Hulſt, and Bomel, by the Spaniards; of Middlebourg, Gheertruydenbergh, Steenwic, Groningue, and others, by the Eſtates: in which ſieges

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haue beene ſeene the dexteritie, diligence, induſtrie, directions, errours, and omiſſions of the commanders of either armie. I would alſo intreat the courteous Reader, not to ſtumble, nor take exception at the tearmes of *Roman Catholikes* and *Proteſtants*, which I vſe, ſpeaking of the one or the other: Perſuading my ſelfe, that the Catholikes wil not except againſt this epithete *Roman*: as alſo they of the Religion (who pretend it to be reformed) will not reiect the name of *Proteſtants*, ſeeing they not onely pretend it to be reformed, but proteſt and maintaine with all vehemencie, that it is ſo, be they of the confeſſion of Ausbourg, or others, howſoeuer they will call them, be they Lutherans, Caluiniſts, or Zuinglians, as well of Germanie, France, England, the Netherlands, as of other places, diſagreeing from the Romiſh Religion: all which indifferently, for the aboue named reaſon, we call *Proteſtants*. As for that which concernes the war, armies, exploits, enterpriſes, ſurpriſes, ſtratagems, incounters, embaſies, ſieges of towns, battailes, victories, and routs (although I haue ſeene and learned ſomething, as well in France as in theſe parts) I leaue the cenſure of the ſtile and phraſe (which I haue vſed to deſcribe them) to commanders, colonels, captaines, and other ſouldiers, who haply know them better, and haue a better militarie methode to write them, than my ſelfe, who I hope will courteouſly ſupply my defects.

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THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

COurteous Reader, it is now almost two yeares since I published to your view the Inuentorie of the French Historie: I must confesse, it had beene more safe to haue made that worke the period of my labours, and not to haue vndergone a new taske of greater difficulty. But by the intreaty of some (whom I much respect) and mine owne desire to giue my countrie-men some more contentment, and to acquaint them (that haue not read it in the French) with the whole historie of the Netherland warres, as wel as with the estate of France, I haue thus venturously once againe put forth from a safe port, into an ocean of dangers, and vndertaken the translation of this historie of the Netherlands. Whereunto I was the more incouraged, by the gratious reception of my noble patrons, and the kind testimonies of approbation of many courteous and well minded gentlemen, who haue bin content to wincke at my weakenesse and defects in that worke, and to allowe of mine indeauours: yet will I not arrogate any thing that was praise worthie in that storie vnto my selfe, nor attribute the worthinesse of those authors to mine owne merit, who could both grace themselues in writing French, and me in teaching them to speake English. I doubt not but some will thinke it a great indiscretion to meddle with this subiect, whereas the soueraignie and prerogatiue of a mightie monarch in those vnited prouinces is called in question. I confesse it were so, if it were originally done by me; but beeing written in the French, Italian, Latine, and Dutch, I thought I might without any imputation impart it to our owne nation, which hath had so great a share in those warres. I assure my selfe it will be diuersly censured, as men stand affected to the cause; some (I doubt not) will read it, to be satisfied of the true causes and proceedings of this long and bloodie warre; some I presume, will curiously search out but for matter of exception, and not instruction; and I feare some will be so transported with passion, and out of charitie, as whereas before they would haue exchanged a friendly good morrow with me, they will now shunne my company, and take me for a capitall enemie to their cause. But good God, how are they abused in their conceptions? I would intreat those men to remember, that I neither take vpon me to be an aduocate to plead the cause, nor a champion, to defend it by armes; but am onely a bare translator, who am tied to my teacher, and cannot exceed the limits prescribed me by mine author. There is nothing of mine owne in this worke; neither haue I added nor kept backe any thing that was materiall for the subiect: and I may lawfully protest, that I haue beene free from passion, without aggrauation or detraction, hauing vsed all the moderation I could in the relating of any thing, where there might appeare either spleene or affection. As for the truth of the historie, and the integritie of mine author, I must referre you to Iohn Francis Petit, who must plead for himselfe: and therefore I haue planted his owne preface or apologie in the front of this booke; where you may both see his reasons for the course of the historie, beginning with the earles of Holland and Zeeland, and read his protestations for his sinceritie, in the faithfull relating of all things that haue passed during the warres. If this may not suffice for his iustification, he himselfe is yet liuing here in London, and ready to satisfie any doubt that may arise. I must aduertise the reader, that to make this historie more perfect, and to continue it vnto these times, I haue beene forced to vse some other helpes, and especially of Emanuel Demetrius, who hath beene very carefull and industrious to congest all things which concerne this subiect; for the effecting whereof, hee hath had very good and great intelligence. I haue also beene beholding to monsieur Hottoman, a french gentleman, who at my late beeing in France,

France, did furnish me with sundrie excellent discourses, concerning this hystorie: And I haue had some obseruations in written hand, by the meanes of that worthy knight, sir Peter Manwood, *the which were gathered by sir* Roger Williams, *when he first bore armes vnder* Iulian Romero, *a Spaniard, in the great Commanders time: all which I haue presumed to insert, knowing they will be a grace and beautie to the storie, and a benefit to the reader: And therefore I hope I shall bee excused, if I haue borrowed a little of the laws of translation, seeing it belongs vnto the subiect, and is but a supply of that which my author wanted. My designe was, to make it a particular Hystorie of the Netherlands, wherein I haue not willingly inserted any thing, which doth not directly concerne the prince or the prouinces. If you shall find any thing related here, which you haue formerly read in the French Inuentorie, as the donation of the Netherlands to the Infanta, the death of the king of Spaine, the combat of* Briaute, *&c. I pray you consider, that they do chiefly belong vnto this subiect, and were drawne out of this originall.*

But leauing the subiect and the author, I must be a sutor vnto you for my selfe and the Printers: my first suit shall be, That in reading of this historie, you will not expect the succinct stile of Iohn de Seres, *nor the fluent discourses of* Peter Mathew, *but (being written by a soldier, and, as he himself confesseth, in harsh vnpolished Wallon French) you will accept thereof in this course English habit, beeing bare, and without ornaments of Rhetorick; my chiefest care and studie hauing alwayes beene, to inrich it with good matter, for their better instruction which are desirous to learne. I must confesse my stile is harsh and plaine, for so is my authors: Besides, I haue beene forced to vse the helpe of a harsh translator, for some things, out of the Dutch tongue, the which (being surprised with the shortnesse of time) I haue been constrained to insert, being not so exactly reformed as I could haue wished. Which defects of mine, with all others committed at the presse (the which must needs be many in so great a volume) I must intreat you to supply with your iudicious reading, & to censure fauorably. I must also craue your patience for a mispriſion in the Titles: for being my selfe at court, and absent from the presse, the Printer hath continued the earl of Leicesters name in the Title, long after his death; and hath forgotten to set prince* Maurice *his picture in his due place: the which is but an offence to the eye, but no alteration in the subiect. My last suit vnto you is, in respect of the verses vnder euerie picture, I must confesse, they were out of my element, neither was I willing to trouble my selfe therewith, being oppresst with the shortnesse of time, and the greatnesse of this worke: I referred them to the Printers care, who (being no good poets themselues) haue employed one, which hath scarce made good rime of many of them. Our ioynt suit is, That if the rime please you not, you would be satisfied with the reason: or at the least (being not pertinent to the matter) passe them ouer as blanks. And so, wishing you as much content in the reading, as I haue had care to giue you contentment in the writing, I rest,*

Yours euer,
E. G.

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A



B

A CHRONOLOGIE OF THE Earles of Holland and Zeeland, their number, descent, and genealogie; together with their gouernours, regents, and rulers of their common weales.

First, of the beginning of the inhabitants, the situations, greatnesse, and auntient manners of those prouinces.

C THE Batauiens or Hollanders had their first beginning from the Hermodures, a people which dwelt in auncient time beyond the great forrest Hercinie, threescore daies iourney beyond Hongarie, neere vnto the Scithyans, and in that countrie from whence are first issued the Catthes, Cerusiens, and Ligiens; against whom the Hermodures (afterwards Batauiens) had great quarrels, by reason whereof, they were chased out of their auntient habitation: so as in the end leauing the Catthes, they cast themselues vpon the confines of the Gaules countrey, which they found vnhabited, occupying this island of the Rhine, with the riuers, woods, and marishes; the which hath before it the riuer of Meuse, behind it the Ocean sea, and on all other sides the riuer of Rhine. The first beginning of the Batauiens.

D The chiefe cause why these Hermodures Batauiens were chased from their first countrey and habitation, was, that in the countrey where they did first vse to inhabit, there was a riuer which is at this day called Sala (not that Sala which is in Saxonie) with the water whereof they did make salt, as they doe at this day in the Bay, and in the pits of Lunebourg: and for that there was not any one of all the neighbours but would willingly haue appropriated vnto himselfe the vse and sole possession of these salt pits, the Batauiens and Catthes had great warres against them, with whom they could neuer agree; by reason whereof, and to liue more in quiet (seeing they could not be in peace) they retired themselues from thence, and came to inhabit in the countrey of the Catthes, the which hath since changed his name, and is now called Hessen, whereof a part at this day retaines the name of Catsenellebogen; which is an
E earledome in Germanie, the which the house of Nassau doth challenge, but the Landtgraue of Hessen doth enioy it. Afterwards *Batus* or *Baton*, and his brother *Zelandus* (according vnto some, others calling him *Mation*, whereupon the Zeelanders are called Mattiaques) sonnes to the king of Catthes, beeing fallen into the hatred of their mother in law, who (by their fathers sufferance) did them all the disgraces she could, yea sought to poison or murther them; to auoid these ambushes, they left their fathers countrie, and came downe vnto this island within the Rhine, the which prince *Batus* called Battauia, of his owne name, the which is Holland. His brother *Zelandus* or *Mation*, past on with his traine, and retired himselfe into the extremities of the islands of the Rhine, the which in like manner he called Zeeland, of his owne name, or else of his other name, the Mattique land, the which is the county of Zeeland!
F in which quarter he continued his traffique to seeth and make salt, as they doe yet vse at this day in all the islands of Zeeland. In one of the which islands, since called Walchren, he caused a castle to be built (then called Bourg) in remembrance of king *Metellus* his father, the which he called Metelliburgum, which is the famous towne of Middlebourg in Zeeland, and the chiefe of the countie. The foundation of Middlebourg.

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Wee find that there were two other *Battons*, one a Germane, & the other of Dalmatia. The A
firſt was duke of the Bruſſes, now Pruſians in the lower Hongarie: and the other was called *Batton Deſidiate*, who mooued the people of Dalmatia to rebell againſt the Romans, ſeeing them too much oppreſt with tributes and exactions; making ſuch ſharp warre againſt them, as *Tiberius* the emperour asked him on a time, why he had cauſed the people to take armes? to whom he anſwered boldly, that the Romanes were the cauſe thereof, for that in ſtead of ſending them ſhepheards with good dogs to preſerue them, they had ſent thē wolues which deuoured them.

As for *Batton* the Hollander, although he did inhabite the countrie which lies betwixt the riuers of Rhine, Wahal, Lecke, and Iſſel, yet (as it commonly fals out in all barbarous nations) we cannot rightly deſcribe his ſucceſſors, no more than of *Matton* or *Zelandus* his brother. B
Being probable that whatſoeuer was left in writing, hath bin defaced, burnt, or otherwiſe loſt by the inuaſions of the Danes or Normans, and for that the inhabitants of thoſe countries haue beene often chaſed from their dwellings.

The foundatiō of Wyckterduyrſtede.

Prince *Batus* hauing ſettled his abode in Batauia, he began to build a towne, the which in ſucceſſion of time is growne great and mightie; the which by his name he called Batauoduru̇m, at this preſent Wyckterduyrſtede, three leagues from Vtrecht, and of that dioces. Since in the time of *Hungerus* the 11 biſhop of Vtrecht, it was quite deſtroyed by the Danes and Normans. It is at this day but a ſmall towne, whereas in auncient times it was wont to bee 3 miles in circuit, and to haue fixe and thirtie pariſh churches: there is a goodly caſtle, where-

The Rhine.

as the biſhops of Vtrecht were wont to keepe their court. The riuer of Rhine was wont to C
paſſe through the towne of Wycke, and from thence tooke her courſe by the townes of Vtrecht, Woerden, Bodegraue, and Leyden, vnto Rhinbourg and Catwycke, whereas it enters into the Britiſh ocean: but eight hundred yeares ſince (as it ſometimes happens) a ſtrong north-weſt wind, draue the riuer backward; ſo as the countries of Holland, Vtrecht, and a good part of Gueldres (eſpecially the Betuve) were ſubiect to inundation. The inhabitants of theſe countries did agree together to giue it a more oblique or crooked courſe, turning it from Wycke, and cauſing it to enter into the Lecke (beeing then but a ſmall riuer) but by the flowing in of the Rhine, it is now growne great and ſpatious, as it is at this day, bounding it in on euery ſide with great bankes or rampars, which they call dikes, vnto the towne of Schoonhouen in Holland, entring a little farther off, at Crempen, into the old riuer of Meuſe, two D
leagues beneath Dordrecht, falling (beyond the iſland of Bryel) into the ſame Britiſh ſea: ſo as the gulph of the Rhine, which was wont to be at Catwyck, remaining drie at euery lowe water, is in tract of time ſtopt vp, by the ſands and downes caſt vp by the violent ſea winds; ſo as thereby they of Leyden, to their great loſſe and preiudice, haue no more any paſſage to the ſea.

The Wahal.

The riuer of Wahal, the firſt point of the Rhine (which ſeperates it ſelfe at the fort of Gruenſweerd) hath from that place, the townes of Nymeghen, Tyel, Bomel, and many goodly caſtles, vnto Louveſteyn, whereas it ioynes with the Meuſe, paſſing by the townes of Gorrichom and Vandrichom, one oppoſite vnto another; which two riuers fortifie themſelues at Gorrichom, with the riuer of Linghen, which comes out of the Betuve, waſhing, as it paſſeth, E
the ſmall townes of Aſpren, Henkelom, and Leederdam, and a little lower ſwallowing vp the riuer of Meruve, extending it ſelfe, and making in a manner a ſea of freſh water, which enuiro-

The Meruve.

neth the towne of Dordrecht, and makes it an iſland: before the which, on the north ſide, growing ſtraighter, it takes the onely name of the Meuſe, paſſing before Rotterdam, Delfſhauen, Schiedam, Vlaerdinghen, and Bryel, all good townes, hauing goodly and rich hauens, entring that way into the great ocean. All which quarter, vnto the townes of Gonde & Delf, with the Sturmers & Maeſlanders, is called ſouth Holland. There begins another part of Holland, which generally are called Catthes, whereas the Rhine (as wee haue ſaid) was wont to haue his right courſe, and to enter into the ſea at Catwyck; in the which are ſeated the townes of Woerden, and Oudwater, the Rhinelanders, and their chiefe towne Leyden, of the which F
the lords of Waſſenare and Catwyck were wont to be viconts, and at this preſent, the earle of Ligny, who carries the title at this day.

In this iſland of the Rhine, after the Hollanders, Batauiens, and Catwyckers, are the Kennemers, Cananifates, taking their beginning from the torrent of Kennemer (which they call Kenne-

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A Kennemers-beek) neere vnto Grauen-Mey, and extends along to Harlem, which is the chiefe towne, being faire, great, and ſpacious, Beuerwick & Alcmar, towards the iſlands of Texel and Wyringhen, and ſo forward into the Fly Maers-diep, Heerſ-diep, Schelling, and Amelandt, the which is alſo a pretie iſland.

After the Kennemers are the North-Hollanders, or Weſt-Friſons, beginning on the North ſide, at Amſterdam, whereas in old time was the great towne of Veronna, the ruines whereof are yet to be ſeene, and neere vnto it is Alcmar, a faire and pleaſant towne, then the Merchant Tomes of Horne, Enchuyſen, Medenblick, Eedam, Monikendam, and Purmerende; all lying vpon the ſea, with a great number of good boroughs and villages. In which quarter the men are great, mightie, ſtrong, and hardy; as the Spaniards haue ſufficiently tried, in the wars of the
B firſt troubles of the Netherlands, where they haue bin often beaten, and could neuer get any footing, as they haue often done in other places.

All that we haue ſpoken in generall of Batauia, or Holland being well examined, wee ſhall find fiue nations; that is, the Batauiens, lying beneath and aboue Gorrichom: the Wilthes, vnder Dordrecht, with South-Holland: the Catwyckers, and Rhinelanders, vnder Leyden: the Kennemers, or Cananifates, vnder Harlem: and the Weſt-Friſons, with the Waterlanders, which they call North-Hollanders: The which notwithſtanding are all of one name, and are generally called Hollanders: and all theſe peeces and portions ioyned together in one bodie of an eſtate, make the countrey of Holland. How Holland is diuided.

Seeing we haue diſcourſed ſomewhat of Holland, it ſhall not be impertinent to ſpeake ſome-
C what of the Rhine alſo, which doth imbrace Holland, as it were betwixt her two armes. Wee find that the riuer of Rhine hath beene ſo called by the German word *Rein*, which ſignifies pure and nete; not for the purenesse and cleerenesse of her water, but as ſome will ſay, for the puritie of the nuptiall bed, whereof the Heathens haue made her iudge: For ſuch was their ſuperſtition, as if they doubted a child was not lawfully borne, they did vſe to lay it vpon a targuet, and ſuffered it to driue downe the ſtreame; if it were adulterous, it ſunk, if lawfull, it did floate. The which *Iulian* writing to *Maximus* the philoſopher, deſcribeth thus. *Rhenus Germanus iniurius non eſt, qui nothos infantes ſubſidere mergiq; aquis patitur, veluti illiciti thori iuſtus arbiter: quos verò legitimo conceptos ſemine cognouerit, fluctuantes vndis offert, pauidaq; matri reſtituit, reddens illi ſoſpitem prolem, ceu indubitatum caſti atque integri connubij teſtimonium:* the which
D *Galen*, *Nazianſene*, *Nonius*, and the poet *Claudian* do witneſſe. Definition & properties of the riuer of Rhine. The Rhine in old time the iudge of Baſtards.

And although that the antients before *Iulius Cæſars* time, haue knowne but one gulph of the Rhine, which is that which was wont to be at Catwyck; yet after that, *Germanicus* (going to fight againſt the Friſons) cauſed the chanell to bee digged as farre as Doesbourg in Gueldres, the which did fal into the riuer of Iſſel: there is yet another, which runnes neer vnto Campen, into the Zuyderſee, beginning his courſe at Iſſel-cort, betwixt the which and the gulph, are the the townes of Doesbourg, Zutphen, Deuenter, Hattem, Campen, and many goodly caſtles: for before they had cut off her courſe at Wickter duyrſted, ſhe had two gulphs, the one which ran directly to Catwick, the other by one of her branches, called the riuer of Wahal, the which ioynes with the Meuſe at Louеſtein, & ſo mingled together fals into the Meruve before Dor-
E drecht, as we haue ſaid, and runs into the Britiſh ſea, neere vnto Bryele. And the third of this ſecond branch, named Iſſel, fals into the Zuyderſee at Campen.

Some learned men make a queſtion, whether Holland (for that it is enuironed by the three gulphes of the Rhine, a German riuer) be a member of Germanie, or of Gaule Belgike. A-mongothers, *Raymond Marlian* puts the Hollanders in the number of the Belgike nations, yea hee will haue Batauodurum, which is Wyckter-duyrſted, to be of Gaule Belgike. Do-ctor *Adrian le Ieune*, of Horne, vſing the teſtimonie of the antients, of the limits of Rhine, doth apptopriat it vnto Germanie, according vnto the authoritie of *Pliny*, who doth ex-preſly number the Batauiens among the Vbiens, Gurgemiens, and other iſlands of the Rhine, all people of Germanie. *Plutarch* in *Otho's* life, ſayth, That the Batauiens, among
F all the Germanes, are the moſt excellent in horſemanſhip, and doth attribute the iſland which they inhabit vnto Germanie, beeing compaſſed in by the riuer of Rhine, com-prehending that which is betwixt the riuers of Wahal and Leck, and then betwixt Leck and the riuer of Iſſel: the other banke whereof, is neither Holland nor Gueldre, but Oueriſſel, A queſtion, whether Holland be of Germany or of the Gaules.

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beginning at the towne of Deuenter. *Cornelius Tacitus*, in the twentieth booke of his hystory, A
Cornelius Tacitus his opinion. saith, *Batani dum trans Rhenum agebant, pars Catthorum, seditione pulsi, extrema Gallicæ ora vacua cultoribus, simulq; insulam Rheni inter vada suam, occupauere.* Wherby he frees that doubt, when he sayes, That the Batauiens did occupie the frontiers of Gaule Belgike, being watered by the Rhine, and vnpeopled: He meanes the frontiers of Germanie towards Belgia; for he addes, the Rhine (which is a riuer of Germanie) comprehending this island in her circuit. He saith moreouer, That the Catthes which came out of Germanie, haue enioyed this island, not by the right of armes, but by a long and quiet possession. If *Tacitus* then, in his booke of the manners of the Germans, puts the Mattiaques, which be the Zeelanders in the number of the Germans, how much more then should the Hollanders bee reputed of the appurtenances of the Rhine, and by consequence of Germanie: Of which controuersie, that cloud must needs bee B
iudge, according to the words of *Vibius Sequester*, in his booke of clouds and riuers, where he saith, *Rhenus Belgas à Germanis seperat. Tacitus* doth auerre the same, placing the Wahal, which is the other branch of the Rhine, towards the South, vpon the limits of the Belgike coast: whereby we may see, that the frontiers of Belgia doe not extend any further than the Rhine: The which the author *Panegerike* to *Maximien Augustus* doth also teach, in these words, *Rhenum videtur ipsa sic natura duxisse, vt eo limite Romana prouincia ab immanitate Barbarorum vindicarentur.* Saint *Ambrose* saith also in one place, *Rhenus memorandi Romani Imperij murus aduersum feras gentes. Plinie* saith also, That the soundest part of Batauia hath beene cut off
S. Ambrose his opinion. from Germanie, by *Drusus* armie (called, according vnto *Tacitus*, Cysrhenane, that is to say, beyond the Rhine) namely the Veluve, and all the dioceese of Vtrecht. Hereupon there may C
be some scruple made of the words of *Claudius Ciuilis*, a great captaine of the Batauiens, issued from the bloud royall, speaking to *Alpinus Montanus*, being come to persuade him to forbeare to make warre against the Romans, when he said vnto him in these words; *Ego præfectus vnius cohortis, & Cananifates Batauiq; exigua Gallorum portio, vana illa castrorum spacia excidimus.* Whereby, at the first sight, some one would say, that the Batauiens and Cananifates, were a small portion of the Gaules: But you must vnderstand, that *Montanus* being knowne to *Ciuilis* to bee a man apt to all innouations, being a Gaule, who might assist him much in his designes, to draw him to his partie, knowing him to bee a man of great authoritie among the Gaules, hee vsed this kind of speech; as if hee would say, If I, who am chiefe of a colonie with the Batauiens and Cananifates (who in respect of the Gaules are but a handfull of men) D
haue defeated the Romans campe, what would become of them, if the Gaules, hauing shook off their yoke, would ioyne themselues and their forces with ours, and that wee ioyntly fall vpon them? Besides, wee may say, that hee cals the Batauiens a part of the Gaules, that hee might the more easily persuade the Gaules to reuolt; and, as being all of one nation, to moue them the sooner to take armes with them against the Romans, than if they were strangers: neither doth it auayle to say (to make the Hollanders meerely Gaules) that the emperour *Charles* the bald, king of France, had erected that countrey into a countie, and giuen it to *Thierry*, sonne to the duke of Acquitaine, seeing that the sayd *Charles* was also emperor of Germany: And it is also most certaine, that the emperour *Lewis* his sonne, gaue vnto the sayd
cont *Thierry* the earledome of Zeeland: neither can it bee read, that the earles of Holland E
and Zeeland, did euer homage for their countries, vnto the French king. Wherefore we will rather hold the opinion of doctor *Arian le Ieune* of Horne.

Two principal meanes to win honour. As there are two chiefe and principall meanes to lead a man to honour, and to make him famous; that is to say, eloquence, and proweesse, or experience in warres: reaping by the first the ornaments of peace, and by the second, auoyding the daungers which grow by warre. By the first point the Hollanders haue neuer gotten any glorie, being heauie and dull among men of spirit: wherefore they must attaine vnto this degree of honour (the gift of the tongue fayling them) and purchase it by the force of their armes, ioyned to their wisedome and loyaltie: for which cause they were admitted into the fraternitie of the Roman empire: and by the same meanes hauing made themselues to bee redoubted and R
The vertue of the old Hollanders. feared, they purchased vnto themselues the renowne of inuincible vertue, by the which they haue sought the way to honor. For proof wherof the Romans in old time did so much honor the Batauiens, as they not only receiued them for cõpanions (as they haue done other nations)

but

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A but for their brethren and friends: the which they did witneſſe by marble tables ſet vp in their honour. *Tacitus* in his book of the maners of the Germans, ſaith, *Omnium harũ gentium præcipui Batani, inſulam Rheni amnis colunt, Catthorum quondam populus & ſeditione domeſtica in eas ſedes tranſgreſſus, in quibus pars Romani imperij fierent. Manet honos & antiquæ ſocietatis inſigne: nam nec tributis contunduntur, nec publicanus aſſerit; exempti oneribus & collationibus, tantumq; in vſu præliorum ſepoſiti, velut tela ac arma bellis reſeruantur.* Tacitus teſtimonie of the Batauiens.

Iulius Cæſar was the firſt that did employ the Batauien horſemen, whom for their valour and great force, he thought to be fit for the warres, whereof he raiſed ſome bands, as he ſayth in the 7 booke of his French warres. *Laborantibus iam ſuis Germanorum circiter quadringentos ſubmiſit, quos ab initio ſecum habere inſtituerat, horũ impetum Galli ſuſtinere non potuerunt, atq; in fugam*
B *coniecti, multis amiſsis ſe ad agmen receperunt.* Behold how *Cæſar* cals the Batauiens Germans. But to the end there be no abuſe in this word *Germanos* (ſeeing the Saxons haue ben alwaies enemies to the Romane emperour, vntil that *Charlemaine* did ſubdue them) this ſhould not be referred to the Batauiens only, but to the Friſons, Eſterlings, and other people lying vpon the ſea coaſt, as far as the riuer of Elbe, whom to auoid the confuſion of the diuerſity of names, *Cæſar* did generally name Almanes; for wee muſt not doubt but in theſe Germane horſemen of the Romanes, there were ſome of Cleues and Gueldres alſo (the which were called Sicambres) confining alſo vpon the Rhin. As for the Friſons there is no difficulty, but they were ſo, being ordinarily taken for Batauiens, as well as the Batauiens for Friſons, by reaſon of their proximitie and neighbourhood; and that all of them in that time did not acknowledge any
C one but the empire: for *Strabo* ſaith, That the Northerne people, and thoſe which inhabit the coaſts of that ſea, are more warlike and ſtronger in horſe, than any other that did ſerue the Romanes: the which is confirmed by *Dion Niceus*, when hee ſaith, That *Auguſtus Cæſar* had a choiſe band of horſmen, (which were called Batauiens) the which he employed againſt *Marc Anthony*, wherof he made ſquadrons apart, whom he did allow in ſigne of honor, and for their merits, to carie riding rods in their hands, after the maner of captaines. *Oroſus* in his ſixt booke doth witnes that with the help of theſe Batauien horſmẽ (which by a general term he cals Germans) he ſubdued the Gauls, which were cõſpired againſt the Romans. *Plutarch* in *Othoes* life, ſaith, That *Varus Alphenus* captain of the Batauiens (the which were theſe excellent Germane horſemen) brought them to ſerue this emperour. And by the lawes and military orders of the
D emperor Adrian, the old and new Batauien horſmen were put in the rank of the enſigns Palatins, appointed for the guard of *Cæſars* perſon, as alſo the Mattique Zeelanders, both old and new, were reputed among the Palatin ayds. *Tacitus* reports, that *Domitius Corbulo* led the light horſemen of Batauia into Capadocia againſt the Perſians. *Suetonius* in the life of *Sergius Galba* ſaith, that the Germans (by which word he wold generally cal the Batauiens, Cananifates, Friſabones, Mattiaques, and others of their confines) were appointed as archers to guard the firſt emperours; whereof there is an old epitaph found. *Hilarius Neronis Cæſaris corporis cuſtos, natione Friſo, vixit annos triginta tres.* Strabo; Dion Niceus; Plutarch; Suetonius;

Tranquillus deſcribes how well the emperor *Galba* intreated the Batauien armie which was ſent into Alexandria by *Nero*, to pacify ſome trobles, ſhewing therby how much he did eſteem
E them, and how curious he was of their health. *Germanicus Cæſar* committed the rereward of his army vnto the Batauiens in that troubleſome warre which he had againſt the Cheruſques; in the which *Carioualde* a Batauien captaine made his valour apparent aboue all the reſt, dying after his horſe had been killed vnder him, hauing his body couered with arrowes.

Tacitus in his 17 booke writes, That *Vitellius*, hauing cauſed *Claudius Ciuilis* to be put in priſon (being one of the Batauien captaines) for ſome mutinie, ſuffered him to depart free, fearing, that if he ſhould haue puniſhed him, this nation wold haue riſen againſt him, being then eight cohorts or bands. He ſaith alſo that the Batauiens with their ſquadrons, had alwaies the point in thoſe battailes which the Romanes had againſt the Engliſh men and Tongres, to the end that by their example the reſt of the army might be encouraged to fight well: and that
F the Batauiens drew their enemies to fight by skirmiſhes: yea, neere vnto Plaiſance, when as at the winning of a litle Iſland, the ſword-players (who were held to be deſperat men) being in a galley, aduanced with rowing, the Batauiens caſting themſelues into the water, ſwimming through, got thither before them, fighting both againſt the violence of the ſtreame and the enemies altogether, whom they put to rout, before the ſword-players could arriue. The braue exploits of the Batauiens.

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The Batauiens good swimmers.

The Batauiens were excellent ſwimmers, making no difficultie, either armed or vnarmed, A to ſwim thorough the ſwifteſt ſtreames: whereupon *Tacitus* ſaith, *Batauorum auxiliariorum ope, Iulius Agricola, tentatam antea (ſed infœliciter) Monam Britanniæ inſulam in deditione accepit: quando non claſſe aut nauibus inſulam ingreſſi, ſed patrio nandi vſu, quo ſe pariter & equos & arma regunt, difficultatem omnem ſuperauere, depoſitis in littore ſarcinis, quum obſtupefacti hoſtes mentem oculoſq; in claſſem nanesq; intenderent.*

Dion Niceus ſaith, in another place, That the Batauiens horſemen, which ſerued the emperor *Adrian* againſt the Hongarians, were armed with all peeces, and that hauing paſt the riuer of Iſtra, they did ſo terrifie them, as they were forced to ſubmit themſelues, & to acknowledge the emperour. *Tacitus* ſaith moreouer, That the Romans being put once to rout, *Claudius Ciuilis* being knowne (for that he was blind of one eye) being aſſailed of all ſides with their ar- B rowes, leauing his horſe, he caſt himſelfe into the Rhine, and ſo ſwam ouer from his enemies. And the Batauiens did ſo relie vpon their art of ſwimming, as they were ſometimes deceiued. For whereas *Druſus* making war againſt the Cheruſques, had at a low water paſt the ſtrait of the riuer of Ems (at this preſent called the Dullard) the Batauiens making the rereward, ſwimming ouer during the ebbe, could not retire in time, but that many of them were carried away with the violence of the ſtreame, and drowned. Some will ſay, That the Batauiens made themſelues fearefull, by reaſon of the brightneſſe of their armes (as in truth it is a commendable thing in a ſouldier) whereas contrariwiſe, by reaſon of the waters which they did vſually paſſe armed, they were more ruſtie than any others, not caring to keepe them cleane, deſiring rather to be valiant indeed, than to make a ſhew with the brightneſſe of their armes. C

The Roman writers, as *Tacitus*, *Oroſius*, *Suetonius*, and others, write, That among all the nations of Germanie, the Batauiens (by the which was meant the Hollanders and Friſons) haue alwayes beene the moſt ſtrong and able men, the moſt valiant, couragious, and apt to armes; more vigilant, actiue, laborious, and moderat in all their actions, than any other of their ſouldiers: whereof the emperors, *Otho*, *Galba*, and *Vitellius*, had made triall, and had well obſerued, when as they had them in their armies. They ſay alſo, That the emperour *Caligula*, and *Claudius* (who built the caſtle of Britten, neere vnto Catwick vpon the ſea (for there are two Catwicks) to ſerue as a lanterne for ſuch as did ſaile from the riuer of Rhine into England) had moſt commonly the Batauiens neere vnto his perſon, as the archers of his guard: Which em- D perors would not aſſaile England, without the Batauiens, for that *Iulius Cæſar* had bin infortunat in that enterpriſe, hauing loſt in a maner all his horſemen, many of his footmen, and a great number of his ſhips. And whenſoeuer there grew any mutinies or factions againſt the Roman emperors or princes, they were aſſured that he was victor, and preuailed, which had the Batauiens & Friſons on his ſide: as *Vitellius* did, when he made war againſt *Otho*, for when *Varus Alphenus*, cõmander of the Batauiens (of that place which at this day they cal *Alphen* in Holland) went to ſuccour him with his Hollanders he defeated *Otho*, and put his armie to rout. And in ſucceſſion of time, the Batauiens were ſo practiſed in armes, ſo famous, and in ſuch credit, as they perſuaded themſelues, that they had power to create a Roman emperour, or to diſplace him. Once the Batauien horſemen did vaunt, That they had done more at the laſt battail, than any other nation, that did ſerue the Romans, hauing ouerthrowne foureteene legions, and ta- E ken the chiefeſt part of Italy from *Nero*, vaunting, That all the fortune of the battail had bin in their hands, and conſiſted in their forces: as if they would ſay, That hereafter whoſoeuer were on their ſide, ſhould be ſure to preuaile. Theſe proud preſumptuous ſpeeches were troubleſome to heare, and hard to diſgeſt for the captaines and ſouldiers of other nations, which were in the campe. Whereupon *Flaccus Valens*, generall of all the Roman armie, reſolued to ſeperat the Batauiens (beeing ſuch bold ſpeakers) from the reſt, to auoyd all iealouſie and tumult: The which they of the armie hearing, the legions began to mutine, and to bee diſcontented; for that they would take from them, the ayd and ſupport of their valiant men (meaning the Batauiens) whom they could in no ſort want, ſeeing that whenſoeuer there were any matter of danger to bee put in execution, they were ſtill the firſt F that preſented themſelues (whereof there were three hundred of them on horſebacke, verie heauily armed, whereof fortie or fiftie with their horſes barded, and all their armes did ſwim thorough any riuers) who hauing won ſo many goodly victories, by their induſtrie, dexteritie, and valour, now (ſayd the other Roman ſouldiers) being ſo neere the enemies, there were

no

A no reaſon to diſioine them, and to withdraw them from their companie: wherfore, if their generall did loue the ſafetie of the Roman empire, he ſhould not ſeperat that generous and valiant nation from the bodie of their armie. By which ſpeeches we may well conceiue, that the Batauiens haue alwayes beene great defenders of the Roman empire: For which conſideration, and for their fidelities, they haue alwayes beene free and exempt from all tributes and taxations of the Romans, being onely receiued to ſerue them in the warres with their perſons, armes, and horſes, at the charge of the emperours, or the Roman commonweale. So as this prouince of Batauia, and the reſt adioyning, did ſerue the Romans as a ſtorehouſe for men of warre, in all occurrents, when they had need; finding them both readie and reſolute (as wee may ſee at this day of the Switſers.) When as there was any cauſe to leuie men, & that the Ro-

The Batauiens exempt from tributes.

B mans demanded ſuccours from all places vnder their obedience; writing to the Gaules, Germans, Engliſh, and others, they did ſignifie what pay they ſhould receiue monethly: but writing vnto the Batauiens and Friſons, they made no mention of pay, for that, comming to the armie, they gaue them what they demanded.

That the Batauiens, by reaſon of their fierce countenance, ſtrange maner of habits, and armes, were terrible, not onely vnto ſtrange nations, but alſo vnto the Romans themſelues, it appears by theſe verſes of *Martial*, in the time of the emperor *Domitian*.

MARTIAL. *Sum figuli luſus ruffi perſona Batani,*
Quam tu derides, hanc timet ora pater.

C This potters clay preſents the Dutch; and know,
Your fathers fear'd them, though you ſcorne them now.

This was ſpoken by the image of a Hollander, made of potters earth, the which a citizen of Rome had cauſed to be ſet before his houſe, whereat the children in the ſtreet did make a ieſt, and yet their fathers were afraid to looke on them. He did paint him red, for that the Batauiens as well as the Germans, were delighted in that colour; the poets (among others, *Silius Italicus*) giuing them the epithete of *Auricomes*, that is to ſay, golden locks. And if by nature they had not their haire ſomewhat red or flaxen (the which *Plinie*, in his 2 booke and 78 chapter, ſaith, doth happen by reaſon of the temperature of the ayre, and that their children, both ſonnes and

D daughters, do vſually goe, euen vnto this day, bare headed) they made them red, or yellow, of purpoſe, with lye; which the Mattiaque Zeelanders were accuſtomed alſo to vſe, with certaine little pills, which they diſſolued in vineger; the which the Romans called *pilas Mattiacas*, and the lye, *ſpumam Batauam*, as the ſaid *Martial* ſayes in his Epigrams.

MARTIAL. *Et mutat Latias ſpuma Batana comas.*
The Dutchmans oyntments dye the Italian locks.

And by reaſon of the fierie force which is in the aſhes, whereof the lye is made, they gaue it an epithete of *Cauſtique*, that is to ſay, burning, by theſe verſes.

E

MARTIAL. *Cauſtica Teutonicos accendit ſpuma capillos.*
With Cauſtique drugs the Dutchmen ſcald their haires.

The which the Romans did ſo imitat, after the example of the Batauiens, as the emperor *Antonius* was not aſhamed to put on a periwig of red haire, to imitat the colour of the Germans, according to the ſaying of *Herodian*, as in like maner *Domitian* did, as *Martial* writes. *Tacitus* writes, That the Germans and Batauiens had blew eies, and ſhining or flaming haire, as *Iuuenal* doth witneſſe.

IVVENAL. *Cerula quis ſtupuit Germani lumina, flauam*
F *Caſariem, & madido torquentem cornua cirro.*
Who wonders at the Germans when hee ſees
Their danke flame-coloured curles, and blew dide eyes.

And withall, they did bind vp their haire in truſſes like hornes. *Vitellius* being generall of the

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armie to the emperor *Nero* in Germanie, the Batauiens and Cananifates being in Gaul, being A
ſent for to go to Rome, their great captaine *Ciuilis* writ vnto them, and countermanded them.
And as in marching they came neere vnto the troups of *Flaccus Ordeonius* (one of the com-
manders of the Roman armie) they gaue them to vnderſtand, That for certaine reaſons they
were reſolued not to ſerue the Romans any more, or elſe they would haue double pay, deman-
ding a ſupply of horſemen, the which they ſaid were much diminiſhed in ſubduing the Bour-
guignons and Auuergnacs; and aboue that, the honourable reward which *Vitellius* had pro-
miſed them, elſe they would neuer go any more to Rome, nor ſerue the Romans: the which
they ſpake at the inſtigation of their captaine *Ciuilis*, that they might haue ſome occaſion to
returne home, hauing ſerued aboue twentie yeares continually, without ſeeing of their houſes
and families. *Ordeonius* refuſing to giue them leaue, would haue them to ſerue ſtill. But the B
Batauiens not reſpecting his command, retired themſelues to their captaine *Ciuilis*, to do as he
ſhould command them: the which *Ordeonius* ſeeing, he writ vnto *Herenius Gallus*, gouernour
of Bonne, lying vpon the Rhine, in the countrey of the Vbiens (which now is the dioceſſe of
Cologne, being within four leagues of it) that he ſhould cut off the Batauiens paſſage, and that
he would charge them behind, ſo as not any one of them ſhould returne into his country. The
Batauiens, Catthes, Cananifates, & their aſſociats, had alredie ſent an embaſſage vnto Bonne,
with letters of this ſubſtance.

The Batauiens letter to the gouernor of Bonne.

To captaine *Herenius Gallus* health: We Batauiens, and our companions, require you to
giue vs free paſſage to returne into our countrey: we haue no war nor hatred againſt the Ro-
mans, for whoſe ſeruice we haue ſo often ſhed our bloud, and expoſed our liues: wherefore C
„ now that we are wearie of the wars, and of carrying of armes, we deſire to go and ſee our deere
„ countrey, and hereafter to liue in reſt, if no man hinder vs; in which caſe wee muſt make our
„ way by force.

The Batauiens get a great victory.

Thoſe of Bonne hauing a deſire to charge them, and to ſtop their paſſage, *Herenius* their go-
uernor, ſent forth a legion of three thouſand men, with a great number of peaſants of the coun-
trey of Treues, trained vp in armes. Thoſe like men greedie of ſpoile, ſallied out by all the ports
of the towne, to affront the Batauiens, being verie few in number, in regard of them that came
to aſſaile them (the Batauiens ſhewing their antient courage and valour, ioyning ſo cloſely to-
gether, as they could not force them in any part) but the Batauiens, without feare, and with a
wonderfull reſolution, charged this great multitude of Bonne, with their ſmall troupe, whom D
they defeated and put to rout, chaſing this legion euen into their ports, the Batauiens purſu-
ing them ſtill; of whom they ſlew ſo great a number, as the towne ditches neere vnto the port,
were filled, one falling vpon another, the preaſe was ſo great in flying to get into the town. Ha-
uing gotten this victorie, they paſt on their way, without doing harme to any one, leauing Co-
logne on the one ſide; hauing excuſed this defeat before Bonne, for that they ſeeking peace &
friendſhip with all men, had demanded paſſage, the which being denied them, they were for-
ced to help themſelues as wel as they could, and to make their paſſage by the ſword. This hap-
pened about 70 yeres after the birth of Chriſt: wherof we haue made mention, to make known
the vertue, valour, and chiualry, which the Batauiens, Hollanders, and Friſons, haue heretofore
ſhewed in the Romans ſeruice, aboue all the nations of the world: which antient Hollanders, E
in reſpect of their valor & vertue, ſeeme to be reuiued in thoſe of our time, whereof they haue
made good proofe in the furious wars which they haue maintained for the ſpace of 40 yeares,
both by ſea & by land, againſt all the power of the king of Spain, their anceſtors not knowing
what it was to fight by ſea: wherin at this day they exceed al others. According to the teſtimo-

The Batauiens habits.

nie of ſome antient writers, the Batauien men and women were attired almoſt alike: they did
vſe to weare a caſſock, and a cloke vpon it, made faſt with a great button of gold or ſiluer, the
caſſock being cloſe to the bodie, & a thin paire of breeches, being plaine downe vnto the knee,
ſo as vnder the cloke you might ſee the proportion of all the members of their bodies. Thoſe
which did inhabit along the ſea coaſt, were couered with the skins of wild beaſts, wherewith

The womens habits.

the country at that time (being full of woods) did abound: but the women wore linnen ker- F
chiefs, partie coloured checker wiſe, white and purple: they had no hanging ſleeues like the
men: their habits were cut away behind to the ſhoulders, & before to the breaſt ſhewing their

The Virgins eſtate.

bare breſts, & yet they were exceeding modeſt, & very chaſt in mariage, euerie one contenting
himſelfe with his wife. The maydens (the which is wonderfull aboue all other nations)
did

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A did not marie if they were not pure virgins; and if any one were corrupted, how rich, faire, or yong soeuer shee were, no man would marie with her: when as they did marie, they tooke their husbands to be one bodie, one soule, one life, and did not thinke him otherwise, in their meere simplicitie. They were not accustomed to say, where is my husband? but where is my loyall. The day of their mariage, the husband was wont to offer a yoke of oxen to plowe withall, a horse bridled and sadled, a target and a sword for the warres; with which gifts the mariage was confirmed in presence of the father, mother, kinsfolkes, and friends. The bride did learne thereby, that shee must beare and endure with her husband whatsoeuer happened, and that shee came vnto him to be an aid and companion in all trauels, voyages, and dangers, and to liue and die with him, if need were in warre, yea in battell. The mothers did B nurse their babes with their owne breasts, beeing a great reproach vnto them to put them forth to nurse, if necessitie did not constraine them. They did not marie their children vntill they came to ripe age, to the end their children might be strong and lustie. The yong men might not poule their heads, nor shaue their beards, vntill they had slaine some one of their enemies, or taken his armes forcibly from him, to the end that they might know that their naturall reward consisted in the defence of their countrie, and in the honour of their ancestours. Their feeding was simple and plaine, without any spice, sauces, or other delicacie: their ordinarie diet was fruit, cheese, butter, egges, milke, creame, and some pulses, wherewith they did onely satisfie their hunger, and quench their thirst. Their drinke was made of barlie or oates boyled in faire water, like beere or ale; the peasants were content (as they are at this C day) with whey: but those that did liue neere vnto the sea were wont to haue wine. It was no disgrace among them to drinke a whole day and a night together: when as they went vnto the tauerne, they carried their armes with them, as if it were to doe some exploit of warre.

The manner of their marying.

The Batauiens great drinkers.

They were accustomed to assemble once a moneth to hold a councell touching the affairs of the countrie, where euery one might speake his mind freely; whereof the prince or gouernour, with the nobilitie and wise men gaue resolution, not by authoritie or soueraigne command, but onely by perswading the people with good and liuely reasons: if the action or resolution did please, they would presently lift their swords aboue their heads, flourishing and slashing one against another: if it did not please them, their exclamations and murmurings did witnesse their disauow. In this assembly euery one might make his complaint, and call D his aduerse partie, to haue it concluded there, were it to life or death, or otherwise ciuilly or criminally. They were very warie and discreet in matter of punishments and fines: but such as were traitors and renigados were hanged vpon trees, without any sentence or mercie. In their battels for their countrey and libertie, they would haue their neerest kinsmen, wiues, and children spectators, to bee witnesses of their valours, for that they held them to bee their best witnesses, from whom they receiued most honour. After the battell they did runne vnto their mothers and wiues, to shew their wounds, & to suck out the blood with their mouthes, reioycing that their children and husbands had fought so valiantly. The wiues would stand by their husbands during the battell, exhorting and incouraging them to fight well for their libertie and countrey: so as many times they did winne goodly battels, which otherwise it E may be they had lost, if the women had not animated them with words. And for this cause the women were in old time so much esteemed in Holland (and at this day they retaine some markes of respect, drawne from the old custome) for as much as by the treaties and accords which they made with any neighbour townes or common weales, they were wont to comprehend them in their bonds of assurance; namely, the noble women, and the virgins ready to marie: neither did they reiect nor contemne the councels, aduice, and resolutions of women, especially of notable widowes.

Their manner of fighting for their libertie and countrie.

The estimation of the women in Holland.

The sumptuousnes & wealth of the countries of Hollād, Zeelād, Frisēlād, Vtrecht, Ouerissel, & Groningue, all which in old time were reputed Batauiens or Mattiaques, witnes sufficiently their pleasant situation, and the great commodities which doe daily arise by their com- F merce and traffique, which makes them so to prosper. First, there are in them many little hilles and valleis, full of pasture, many forrests and vnder woods, full of deere and other game: they are not much giuen to rob nor steale, wheras the passenger or marchant may at al times trauel safely without any danger, and with smal charge, be it by the riuers or channels which are very ordinarie, in shippes, barks, or boats, either sayling, or drawne by horses or men: else they may

The commodities and traffique of these countries.

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may trauell in ſummer by wagon, and in winter in ſleds on the yce, from one towne vnto a- A
nother. There are alſo many flowing ſtreames, according vnto the tides, many ſpatious ri-
The riuers and fiſhing. uers, ſtanding lakes, and little ſeas, (as they call them) all which haue ſtore of fiſh in them, as ſalmons, trouts, eeles, and other ſorts; the which they powder vp in barrels, and ſend into forraine countreys. Theſe prouinces haue goodly, great, ſtrong, and well peopled townes, well walled, flanckt and fortified to endure great ſieges, many borough townes (whereof the Hage, where the court of Holland is reſident, excels) villages, caſtles and forts. The people are very neat and cleanely in their apparell, bee it woollen cloth, linnen, or ſilke, the which is now more frequent there than euer: there is not any petty clarke of a band, but he weares veluet, ſatten, taffata, and ſilke ſtockings (but all at the poore ſouldiers charge.) The houſes within are decked and trimmed with all ſorts of moueables, ſo as you ſhall not ſee them more B
neatly dreſt vp, nor better accommodated in any countrey of the world. They are alſo very curious to haue their meat and drinke very neat and cleanly, and all implements belonging thereunto. There may you recouer all things that mans heart can deſire, at a reaſonable rate brought thither from ſundry countreyes, both neere and farre off in great abundance; for that there wants neither gold nor ſiluer, which cauſeth all things to come from all parts. True it is, that ſome countreys haue mynes of gold, ſiluer, tinne, copper, yron, and other mettals, but
The prouinces haue there mynes richer than any other. the charge of refining is ſo great, as they yeeld ſmall profit. The prouinces haue three mynes of another ſort, and of greater reuenue, the which exceeds all other traffique and commerce: out of the which there riſeth ſuch a great gaine, as it is not to be valued. The firſt is the exceeding gaine they make of herrings, and of all ſorts of fiſh drie and ſalt, which they ſend into C
Herrings and other fiſh. all parts of the world. Secondly, they make a wonderfull reuenue of their paſtures, their horſe
Horſes and other cattell. raſes, their oxen, kine, and ſheepe, the which are ſold twice a yeare at certaine faires with great
Butter and cheeſe. profite. Thirdly, they make an infinit quantitie of butter, cheeſe and other white meats, the which is tranſported vnto the eaſt and weſt Indies, and to the new diſcouered Ilands. They haue alſo great traffique of wood, (although they themſelues haue none growing) of deale boards, firre trees, and oake for ſhipping, and to make piles and foundations for houſes, and for other vſes. I omit to ſpeake of ſilkes, ſerges, linnen cloth, pitch, tarre, roſen, and all other ſorts of marchandize; and will remember but the leaſt commoditie, which are conie-skinnes, which they take in their downes and warrens, and are eaten there, amounting yerely to aboue 12000 gulderns, and yet the skins doe not coſt aboue a farthing a peece: what then ſhould D
the bodies which are eaten there come vnto? There is little fire wood in all the countrey, but
Their firing. they make their fires of turffes which are of three ſorts. The firſt which are hardeſt and beſt, making a good ſolide cole is drawn from the bottome of ditches, in certain parts of the countrey, the which is nothing but mudde; they caſt them vpon the land, and hauing cut them in equall proportions, they let them drie, treading vpon them with boords, vntill they bee very firme; then cutting them foure ſquare, they lay them vpon hie heaps like a pyramides, packt in ſuch ſort as the ſunne may pierce from the top to the bottom, and the wind through them on all ſides, which makes them to drie, and then they lay them in garrets, and barnes which lie open to the winde and ſunne; after which they are caried by boats through all Holland, Zeeland, and into Brabant. They haue another kind of turffe, which they digge out of the earth E
in ſome places, ſeuen or eight foot deepe, in ſome leſſe, the which being cut ſquare or long, they dry vpon heapes as the reſt, with little labour. A third kind of turffe is drawne from the ſuperficies of the earth in the heat of ſummer, out of quagmiers and mooriſh places, and dried with the heat of the ſunne, the which they cut long, thicke, and large: the two laſt ſorts are in a manner alike in goodneſſe, but not like vnto the firſt. They make another kind of turffe of their cattels dung, mixt with ſtraw, or reeds, which they drie and cut like the firſt.

Nuptiall chaſtity of the ancient Hollanders and Friſons. The nuptiall chaſtity was in old time ſo ſtrictly obſerued there, as if a woman were found in adultery, they did not put her to death (as at this day, how great ſoeuer the crime bee, they put not any woman to death in ſome parts of Friſeland, but keepe them in perpetuall priſon) but (in ſigne of ignominie and reproch) they did cut off the treſſes of their haire, which the F
women carie at this day vnder their kerchiefes on their foreheads, and the virgins bare in great rowles. To entertaine this nuptiall chaſtitie in olde time the prieſts were forced to marie, leaſt they ſhould defile anothers bed, they thinking it impoſsible that any one could liue chaſtly without a wife.

Hauing

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A Hauing deſcribed Batauia, according to *Petri*, and ſet dowee the maners and cuſtomes of the antient Batauiens, let vs ſpeake ſomething of the ſcituation of Holland, and of the preſent eſtate thereof, as *Emanuel Demetrius* hath ſet it downe in his Hyſtorie.

Holland is little, for that in length from Marſdiepe to the Meuſe, it is but eighteene Dutch miles, but if you ſhould reckon from Heuſden to the lands end, called Texel, there is not any prouince in the Netherlands ſo long; and it is ſo narrow, as whereſoeuer you be, you may go to the confines in halfe a day. A third part of it is water, for that within the land it hath fiue great waters, or ſeas, as Harlem ſea, Scheermeer, Bemſter, the Waert, and Purmeer, being all ful of fiſh. This little countrey (being moſt part medow ground) is preſerued by many great ditches, dammes, ſluces, and water mils, beſides the downes and ſands on the ſhore, which haue
B beene caſt vp by the waues of the ſea. The coſt and charges to make and entertaine theſe ditches, ſluces, aud mills, is thought to be more than the ground it ſelfe is worth: for in ſome places the land lyeth much lower than the ſea: yet notwithſtanding, although it be well defenced from the ſea, yet would the countrey be ouerflowne with the raine water which falleth, for that (as we haue ſayd) in many places it lyeth lower than the ſea, and therefore it can haue no paſſage away, if it were not by chargeable water-mills, the which by motion of the wind carrieth the water forcibly vp, and caſteth it through diuers ſluces into the ſea. Theſe ſluces are made in the ditches, and haue double doores, which, when the ſea ebs, do open of themſelues, and when it begins to flow, then they ſhut againe, either by the ſea water, or of themſelues: the charge whereof is ſo great, as being ſet downe, no man would beleeue, that ſuch a countrey
C could be able to maintaine ſo great wars.

The deſcription of Holland, as now it is. *Emanuel Demetrius.*

Coſtly water mils.

This prouince of Holland hath aboue 30 walled townes, and 400 villages in it, full of people, all liuing by ſea faring, fiſhing, trade of merchandiſe, ſeething of ſalt, making of ſhips, ditches, nets, and all neceſſaries for ſea faring and fiſhing; beſides building, which is great and coſtly, & cutting of turffes, whereby many thouſand get their liuing. They haue the ſweeteſt medowes, and fruitfulleſt cattell in the world, all kinds of wildfoule, and great ſtore of conies, hares, and deere. They haue not corne ynough growing to ſuffice the fourth part of the inhabitants. The ſuperfluitie of their ſtore they ſend into all other countries. The butter and
D cheeſe onely which they ſend abroad, beſides their owne ſtore, amounteth yerely to aboue an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The women (being many in regard of the men, who are much conſumed by the wars, and at ſea) are ſo induſtrious, as by their ſpinning and weauing of Holland cloth, and making of nets, they are ſpoken of throughout all the world: and beſides, the women are ſo politike, diligent, and carefull, as they can buy and ſell, keepe accounts, traffique and trauell from place to place, as well as their husbands, in their abſence, without any touch of lightneſſe or diſhoneſtie. The like of them are not to be found in any countrey, being for the moſt part big, tall, faire, and well proportioned, and ſo actiue, as they are more reſpected than women in other countries, whereas iealouſie, lightneſſe, and pride, raigneth, more than ſimple honeſtie.

Their maner of liuing.

The reuenews of butter and cheeſe.

The commendation of the women of Holland.

The Rhine runneth through Holland and Zeeland, the which diuideth it ſelfe into two great armes, the Wahal and Leck, which run into the ſea, and the riuers of Meuſe and Scheld,
E which come out of France: all which riuers theſe prouinces can ſhut vp and open when they pleaſe, with their great number of ſhips, which brings them great profit, by the tranſportation vp and downe of all ſorts of wares and merchandiſe, by the ſaid riuers.

The riuers of Holland and Zeeland.

In time of warre they bring in great reuenewes for conuoy and licence money, ſo as thoſe prouinces haue almoſt as many ſhips and barkes, great and ſmall, as there are houſes; by the traffique whereof they make their townes as it were ſellers, packhouſes, warehouſes, ſpice chambers, and ſtaples for al kinds of wares, which they tranſport in Summer towards the Eaſt, and in Winter to the Weſt.

Their abundance of ſhippings

The great number of their ſhips, and ſea faring men, may partly be geſt by this, that in the yeare 1587 there were aboue 600 Holland and Zeeland ſhips arreſted in the Sont, by the king
F of Denmarke, beſides others which went on the Vly for Norway, and others that ſayled into England, Scotland, France, Portugall, Spaine, Italy, Turkie, the Indies, and other countries and iſlands. And in the yeare 1588, when as the Spaniſh fleet came, it appeared true by information, that within fourteene dayes they were able to ſet out an hundred good ſhips of warre, to lie in the Engliſh chanell: and that in Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, there were found to be

27 hundred

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An incredible number of ſhips in Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland.

27 hundred great ſhips, from two hundred to eight hundred tuns burthen a peece, which A
without doubt may ſeeme an incredible number; beſide the great number of Buiſſes, dog-
boats and crabbers, ſo called in their countrie, the which goe out to the common fiſhing into
the ocean, vnder Norwaie, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and neuer put into any hauen vn-
till they returne from whence they went; and afterwards the fiſh and herrings are tranſported
in other ſhippes into diuers places, yea into thoſe countries vnder which they fiſhed it. And
although the ſhips which trade in marchandiſe, and the number of fiſhermen which ſet forth
together, bee exceeding great, yet the countrey remaineth ſtill full of ſhips and ſailers, which
ſaile within the land in ſmall meers or ſeas, ſtreames and riuers, with ſmacks, caruels, hoyes,
waterſhips, cromſters, plats, and ſuch like boates, the which are many thouſands, all getting
their liuings by the water; and yet the towns are continually built and beautified with goodly B
houſes, and warre maintained againſt the mightieſt enemie in Chriſtendome, and moſt of
their townes kept and defended by their own inhabitants, without any great ſtore of forraine
garriſons.

The great number of ſhips that are yearly made.

It is well knowne, that euery yeare (although there be no timber growing in the countrey)
there are aboue a thouſand ſhips great and ſmall built, fit to ſaile into the ocean; the which
one with another, ſome more, ſome leſſe, coſt betwixt a hundred and two hundred pounds a
peece: all which valued, with thoſe that are alreadie made, would breed wonder and admira-
tion in any man, and perſuade him, that this little countrey may well be able to withſtand
ſo potent an enemie; and that Spaine may well aſſure himſelfe, neuer to bring this countrey
vnder his ſubiection againe, beeing able to aid themſelues againſt any power entring by land, C
by letting in the water, as they did about Leyden: and in the greateſt extremitie they haue
ſuch multitudes of ſhips, as they may ſhippe away the greateſt part of their people, cattle, and
goods, and defend themſelues in certaine iſlands againſt their enemies forces, burning their
houſes and townes, or letting them ſtand emptie, and ſo vnprofitable to the enemie, in that
they ſhould not be able to defend the ſame againſt the ſea.

You haue now vnderſtood, the beginning, deſcription, and ſituation of the countrey of
Holland, and of the inhabitants; Batauiens, Wilthes, Cathwyckers, Kennemers, Friſons, and
Waterlanders; of their valour, vertues, and manners, commodities, and traffique, which they
vſed in old time, and of the eſtate of the prouince at this day: let vs now diſcourſe of Zee-
land, which is alſo a countie apart, and yet it hath beene euer vnder the earles of Hol- D
land.

Deſcription of Zeeland.

As for the definition or etymologie of this word, it is very manifeſt, ſeeing that this earle-
dome conſiſts of many iſlands, whereof thoſe of Walchren, Schouen, and Suytbeuelandt, are
the chiefe among the reſt, and the richeſt; wherefore they are rightly called Zeelands, that is
to ſay, countries of the ſea: to giue it the name of *Zeeland*, who they ſay was brother to *Batton*,
in my opinion is not allowable, beeing doubtfull whether there were any ſuch *Zeeland*, if it
were not he which gaue name to that quarter of Oueryſſel, which is called Saland, from
whence are iſſued the old Saliens, and the towne of Oldenzeel; and from the which ſome
(but without any ground) ſay that the Salique law of the French was deriued; which opini-
on is ridiculous. Beſides, theſe three principall iſlands aboue named, there are foure more, as E
Tolen, Northbeuelandt, Woolfaertſdyke, and Philipſland, which lie betwixt Holland, Flan-
ders, and Brabant.

Speaking in generall of the countie of Zeeland, wee ſay, that it lies vpon that part of the o-
cean, which is to the weſt and ſouth-weſt, and behind, it lies open to the north-weſt. This
countrie hath certaine gulphes of the ſea, as if they were channels; and namely that of Flackee,
which diuides Zeeland from Holland: to the ſouth is the left arme of the riuer of Eſcaut, cal-
led the Hondt, which parts this countrie from Flanders: and eaſtward is the right arme of
the ſame riuer of Eſcaut, the which retaines her name ſtill, and parts Zeeland from Brabant:
towards the weſt is the Britiſh ocean, which lookes towards England.

Some writers haue held opinion, that theſe iſlands are part of thoſe which *Caeſar* ſaith were F
made by the Rhine, when it fell into the ocean; others ſay, that when as this countrie was
firme land, the riuer of Eſcaut (which doth diuide it from Flanders and Brabant) went beſides
the ſaid iſlands, and caſt it ſelfe (as *Caeſar* doth teſtifie) into the Meuſe, where at this day that
part of the Eſcaut enters into the Meruye: *Cornelius Batten* ſaith, that hee hath ſeene manu-

ſcripts

A ſcripts of great antiquitie, which affirme, that about the firſt yeare of our ſaluation, and ſometime after, Zeeland was nothing but a number of ſmall Iſlands, one ſeparated from another by little chanels, in the which there were no dwellers. *Iohn Reygersberg*, who hath written a little chronicle of Zeeland, & other authors, ſhew that ſome of theſe Iſlands, at the leaſt thoſe that are nereſt together, were in old time vnited, & made a firm body of a prouince (as it is likely) with Flanders, but they were ſeperated by the furie and violence of the ſea, which made a new way or paſſage, in the yeere of Chriſt 938. Some haue ſayd that there was but a little bridge of wood, yea, a planke to paſſe from *Walchren* into Flanders.

Zeeland ſome times ioyned to Flanders.

That the Zeelanders be thoſe which were called Mattiaques, *Tacitus* doth witneſſe by theſe words, in his booke of the maners of the Germanes: *Eſt in eodem obſequio Mattiacorum gens*
B *Batauis ſimilis, niſi quod terræ ſuæ ſolo ac cœlo acriùs animantur:* (and in truth the ayre is much ſharper in Zeeland, than in Holland) although that *Lewis Guichardin* in his Belgicke deſcription, ſeemes to maintaine, that the Mattiaques are not Zeelanders, but that they were a certain people in the countrey of Heſſen made noble, for that they had hot fountaines which they vſed for bathes. Wee haue already confeſt, that the Batauiens and Mattiaques are deſcended from the Catthes in Heſſen; but *Guichardin* deceiues himſelfe, interpreting theſe words, *Mattiacas pilas*, to agree with hot bathes; for (as we haue ſayd before) theſe Mattiaque pilles or balls, were vſed to make the Zeelanders haire red, as *Spuma Batana*, which was a lye made of aſhes by the Hollanders. It were an abſurd thing to ſay, that the Mattiaques, neighbours vnto the Batauiens, ſhould dwell ſo farre off, as in Heſſen; vnleſſe that *Guichardin* did ſuppoſe
C that the Mattiaques did remaine ſtill among the Catthes, when as *Batus* and his brother *Mattion*, left the countrey to come and dwell in Holland and Zeeland. But we haue ſpoken ſufficiently both of the one, and the other, at the comming downe of the Batauiens.

For the better vnderſtanding of the continent of the countrey of Zeeland, it ſhall be need- Many iſlands in Zeeland.
full to deſcribe all theſe iſlands particularly one after another, for that moſt of them haue bin tranſported by the tempeſt and inundation of the ſea, from one place vnto another, and haue changed their beds, ſometimes one increaſing, and another diminiſhing; one was ſwallowed vp, and another layed bare by the water; as it happened in the yere 1598, that they haue recouered all the iſland of Noortbeuelandt (in the which there were two townes, Cats and Cortgeen, and ſeuen or eight villages) the which was drowned in the yeare 1515, and hath
D remayned vnder water, vntill the ſayd yere 1598, but now they haue made vp the banks, and it is fertile ground: but within theſe three yeeres it ſuffered much in Aprill, by a great tempeſt hauing their bankes broken, and much cattell drowned.

Wee will therefore diſcourſe of thoſe which hold firme, and are for the moſt part diſcouered, wherof we find, that there are ſeuen diuided by an arme of the riuer of Eſcaut, nere vn- Seuen chiefe iſlands in Zeeland, and their townes.
to her gulfe, where it enters into the ſea, and are diuided into 2 branches, that is, the 3 which are Schouen, Duyuelandt, and Tolen, the which looking towards the Eaſt, are called the Eaſt iſlands; and the other foure, with another arme which in old time was firme land, and ioyned vnto the others and the iſland of Walchren, for that they looke towards the weſt, are called the Weſterne iſlands, the which are Walchren, Suytbeuelandt, Noortbeuelandt, and
E Volferſdyke. In all theſe iſlands there are eight good townes, whereof ſixe haue their deputies at the Eſtates for the countie of Zeeland. Middlebourg, Fleſſingue, and Campuere in Walchren, with Armuyden (which was wont to bee of the iuriſdiction of Middlebourg) when it was walled; but it hath no voice in the aſſembly of the Eſtates. Then in the iſland of Schouen, Ziricxee, and Brouwerſhauen, the which hath no voice. In Zuytbeuelandt, which is the greateſt and moſt fertile of all the iſlands, the towne of Tergoes. The townes of Tolen and Saint Martins-dyke (the which hath no voice) in the iſland of Tertolen. There are ſmall iſlands belonging meerely to Zeeland, as Duyuelandt ioyning to Schouen, Staueniſſe, Meggerſchil, and Phillips-land ioyning to Tertolen, & Byerulyet, which were wont to be of the iuriſdiction of Flanders. Sinee theſe laſt troubles in the Netherlands, a good part of the
F iſland of Zuytbeuelandt hath bin drowned, in the which there was a part of the towne of Romerſwael, which was ſometimes of good traffique, being ſituated vpon the riuer of Eſcaut: of 17 villages which were drowned, they haue recouered ſome part, and there is hope, that if there were peace in thoſe countreys, within ſhort time they would recouer all; as they might do in Flanders, where there is ſo much land drowned and loſt about Huliſt, Axel, and Sluce.

All

All theſe iſlands aboue named towards the ſea, are defended and preſerued by the downs, A
which are hilles of ſand which the wind and tydes caſt vp, the which doe increaſe and growe greater daily; ſo as if they did not preuent it, in planting certaine little reeds ſharpe at the end, which ſtaies the flying of the ſand, all the countrie ſhould bee couered therewith. Towards the ſouth, and other places, where there are no downes, they are defended with good dykes and bankes, which they of the countrey by their induſtrie and diligence make ſo high and thicke, as the ſea cannot hurt them, nor paſſe ouer them, at any tempeſt, or ſpring tyde.

How they make their dikes or banks

Theſe bankes (which we may rightly call rampars againſt the aſſaults of the ſea) are made of fat earth, or flagges, mingled with timber and great ſtones; on the outſide they are couered with great wiſpes of ſtrawe made faſt in the fat earth; ſo as a man would ſay, thoſe dikes or B
banks are matted (like vnto the chambers and ſtudies in Paris) which makes them exceeding ſtrong: beſides, the ſea doth not beat directly vpon them, but as it were ſliding along by them.

The charge to make theſe dikes is very great, for that euery rod of twelue foot, doth commonly coſt ſixe pounds ſtarling, which for euery mile is eight thouſand and foure hundred pounds; ſo as the outward dikes of Zeeland, beeing fourtie miles in compaſſe, amount to fiftie ſixe thouſand pounds ſtarling, beſides the yearely charges for the maintaining thereof: for the which they take ſo good order, and with ſuch proportion, as the proprietaries which owe the land or paſture adioyning to thoſe bankes, are charged and taxed for the entertaining thereof, C
which money muſt be ſpeedily leuied. For the preſeruation of which bankes, there are officers appointed, which haue their iuriſdictions ſeperated from others; whereof, the chiefe, or bailiſe, is called Dikegraue, who hath his aſſiſtants, a regiſter, and ſergeants, to determine of cõtrouerſies which fall out betwixt partie and partie; or to force them to pay the money wherewith they are charged for the reparations, after they haue viſited them, the which they doe twiſe or thrice a yeare. The ſame Dikegraue and his iurats, haue like iuriſdiction ouer all the ditches and ſtreets, where they receiue the amerciaments, if there be any fault committed, and ſee them repaired and amended.

Zeeland fitter for tillage thã for paſture.

The countrie of Zeeland is very fat and fertile for all kind of tillage, more than for paſture, the which is nothing ſo ordinarie there, as in Holland and Friſeland: aboue all, it yeelds good corne, eſpecially the iſland of Zuytbeueland, where there is very faire white wheat. They D
haue alſo in the iſland of Schouen, and in ſome others, great ſtore of garences, a kind of grain fit for dyers, the which they ſend into all parts of Europe. They goe much to ſea for to fiſh for herring and cod, eſpecially the townes of Heſſingue, Campvere, Ziricxee, and Brouwerſhauen, who doe euery yeare ſend forth a great number of Buiſſes. They haue alſo great ſtore of fruit trees of all ſorts which beare very good fruit, as apples, peares, cherries, and others in great aboundance. They haue a certain kind of turffe there, which they digge two or three ſpade deepe out of the ground, they call it darie or darinck; the which the poore people only vſe, and may not be burnt in townes, for that it hath a more ſtinking piercing ſmoake, than thoſe which are made of cowe dongue, which the countrey people in Holland doe commonly vſe. E

It is prohibited to cut out this darinck within a certaine diſtance of the dikes or banks, leſt that the countrie ſhould in the end turne into ditches and quagmires, but in certaine places, whereas the ground is higher than in others, where it is neceſſarie to be taken; for that thorough the acrimonie and ſharpnes of the mould, it kils any good thing that growes vpon the ſuperficies of the earth, and the trees which are planted there, when as the root comes to that ſoyle, proſper not; but being taken away, and by that meanes the ground made lower, the ſoyle prooues good for paſture, tillage, or planting.

At the conuocation of the Eſtates of this earledome, in times paſt there was but one which did repreſent the whole nobilitie of the countrie, which is at this preſent the marqueſſe of la Vere and Fleſſingue, the inheritance of prince *Maurice* of Naſſau, gouernor of the ſaid countrie, with Holland, Gueldres, Vtrecht, & Queryſſel, lieutenant general, & admiral of the vnited prouinces. There was alſo but one onely prelate, which did appeare in the ſaid Eſtates, for the colledges, chapters, abbeys, cloiſters, and generally for all the clergie of the earledome, which was the abbot of S. Martins in the towne of Middlebourg, a goodly rich abbey; in the which, F
at this

A at this preſent is the court of Zeeland, and prince *Maurice* his lodging when he comes there. The third member of the ſaid Eſtates (which at this day is the chiefeſt of all) is comprehended in the commonalties of the townes of Middlebourg, Fleſſingue, la Vere, Ziricxee, Tergoes, and Tertolen, which are the principall, the reſt hauing no voice.

For the gouernment of iuſtice, and the reuenues of this countie, there are two ſoueraigne officers, who are as it were lieutenants to the earle, called rent-maſters; that is to ſay, receiuers, who haue proportionably great authoritie and preheminence: one of the which is to reſide (as hee doth) in the towne of Middlebourg, and is rent-maſter of the chiefe part of the weſt quarter, which they call Bewerſterſcheldt. The other hath his abode in Ziricxee, and hath charge of the eaſt part, which is called Beoosterſcheldt. Theſe two in their ſeuerall iuriſ- The chiefe for iuſtice in all Zeeland.

B dictions, receiue the rights, fees, and reuenues of all the earldome: they are honoured with the title of the princes counſellers; and all orders, ſentences, and decrees are directed to them, to ſee them publiſhed and obſerued.

They haue alſo authoritie in all the villages and places of their iuriſdictions, to apprehend or cauſe to be apprehended (for the execution whereof, they haue their lieutenants and ſergeants) all delinquents and malefactors, whom they are to repreſent in the two chiefe towns of the iſlands of Walchren and Schouen, that is Middlebourg and Ziricxee, and there to demaund iuſtice; bee they to be puniſhed or abſolued.

The chiefe trade of the inhabitants of this countrie, bordring vpon the ſea, is nauigation and fiſhing both farre and neere, ſayling and traffiquing at this day to the iſlands, to the eaſt Their courſe of liuing.

C and weſt Indies, and to all parts of the world. Thoſe which dwell within the land, giue themſelues to tillage, and to feed cattell. Moreouer, they boile and refine ſalt, the which they doe wonderfully augment, boyling it with ſea water. The ſalt which comes from Spaine they doe increaſe fiue and fourtie in a hundred, that of Portugal about thirtie fiue, and that of Brouage or other parts of France, fiue and twentie for a hundred.

In all the towns of the iſland of Walchren, eſpecially at Middlebourg and Fleſſingue, they doe daily build goodly great ſhips, which goe to the Indies and to all parts of the world, for that they are very commodiouſly ſeated for nauigation: and theſe townes of Walchren (eſpecially Middlebourg) ſince the warres began, haue much increaſed, both in people, wealth, and trade of marchandiſe, for that their traffique is farre greater ſince that Antuerpe fell into

D the Spaniards hands; ſo as they haue beene forced to make their towne greater, and to beutifie and fortifie it with new hauens, bulwarkes, and ports, with other great and extraordinarie buildings. Fleſſingue likewiſe is much bettered both in wealth and buildings, being alſo amplified, fortified, and beutified with a faire towne houſe, and a new church. Camphere and Arnemuyden doe alſo proſper well; and the reſt of the townes in the other iſland, as Ziricxee, Tergoes, and Tertolen, haue likewiſe recouered a great part of their forepaſſed loſſes.

Hauing deſcribed the earledomes of Holland and Zeeland, their beginning, ſituation, and Henaut ioyned to Holland & Zeeland.

manners, we will hereafter ſet downe the number of their princes, who had but the titles of earles; whereunto in continuance of time, by right of ſucceſſion, according to the alliances of mariage was added the earldome of Henant, or at the leaſt the counties of Holland and Zee-

E land were vnited to the earldome of Henaut, the race of *Thierry* of Aquitaine the firſt earle of Henaut, failing in *Iohn* ſonne to cont *Floris* the ninth, to whom *Iohn d'Aueſnes* earle of Henaut his couſin ſucceeded; which three ſeigniories of Henaut, Holland, & Zeeland, although they haue no other title but of earle, are richer, better peopled, and more mightie, either of them apart, than many dukedomes principalities, or marquefates, in Germanie, France, and Italie: for there is no common weale, how mightie ſoeuer (no not Venice it ſelfe) that can put ſo many ſhips to ſea, and entertaine them continually, either for warre or trade of marchandiſe, aduenturing themſelues in long voyages, as the Hollanders and Zeelanders doe at this daie; which makes them ſo mightie, as all the forces of the king of Spaine, nor of all the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, could not for theſe fourtie yeares greatly hurt them, nor reſtraine their

F command at ſea.

To enter therefore into this ſubiect, we will firſt ſhew how that Holland and Zeeland, in ancient time being much and often tormented by the daily incurſions of the Gothes, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Sicambres (which were they of Gueldres and Cleues) and other their neighbours, (beeing freed ſome thouſand yeares ſince from the ſubiection of the Romane empire)

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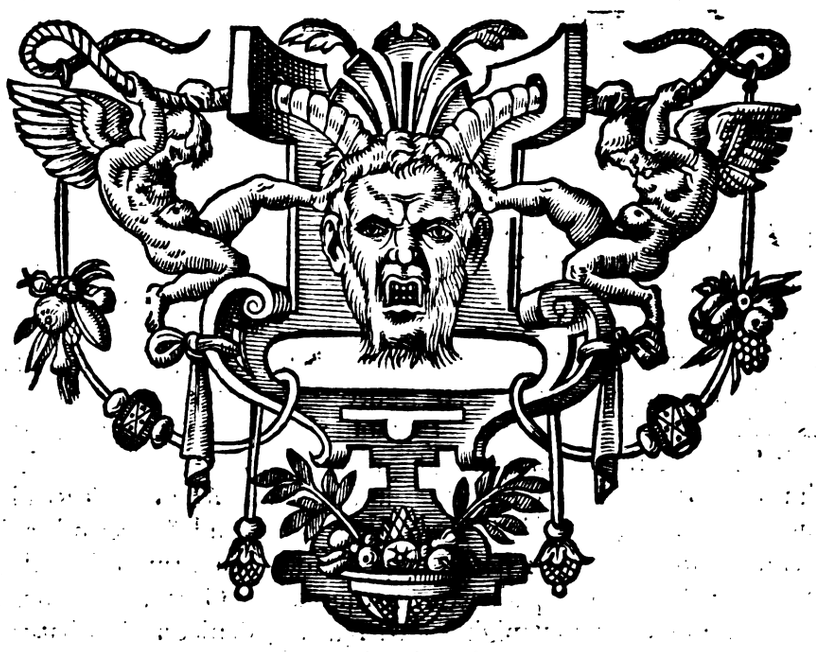
empire) did gouerne themſelues in forme of an Ariſtocraticall common weale, by the no- A
bilitie, and the moſt apparent men among the people (among the which, the viconts of Leyden, and the lords of Waſſenare were the moſt eminent in credit and authoritie in Holland, and the lords of Borſelle in Zeeland; which two families are at this preſent extinct) vntill that the emperours *Charles* the bald, king of France, and *Lewis* king of Germanie (deſirous to prouide for the ſpoile and ruine of theſe two prouinces) gaue them a prince and lord, which was *Thierry* of Aquitaine.

A Hiſtorie



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A HISTORIE OF THE NETHERLANDS, OR SEVENTEENE PROVINCES.

Containing the Discents, Genealogies, and memorable acts of the Earles and Princes of the said Prouinces, from THIERRY of Aquitaine, the first Earle of Holland and Zeeland, successiuely to PHILIP the third of that name, king of Spaine, and last Earle of Holland, Zeeland, Friseland, &c.

¶ The Argument of the first Booke.

HOlland erected into an Earledome, and who was the first Earle. The Vicount of Leiden and the L. of Wassenare oppose themselues against Thierry *of Aquitaine the first earle of Holland. The earledome of Zeeland giuen also to* Thierry. *The Normans and Danes make great spoiles in Holland.* ¶Thierry 2, *earle of Holland and Zeeland, succeeds his father: he makes warre and vanquisheth the Frisons.* ¶Arnulph or Arnould *sonne to* Thierry the second, *the third earle of Holland & Zeeland, this earle was vanquished and slaine by the Frisons.* ¶Thierry the third, *the fourth earle of Holland, and sonne to* Arnulph. *The Bishop of Vtrecht riseth against him, he defeats the Bishop and takes him prisoner. The death and Epitaph of the three* Thierries. ¶ Thierry the fourth, *the fift earle of Holland: he slew the bishop of Collogne brother at a tourney. The Germans to reuenge it come into Holland, take Dordrecht, the which he recouers, and being victor is slaine from a window with an arrow.* ¶ Floris the first, *the sixt Earle, brother to* Thierry the 4. *The bishops of Collogne and Liege inuades Holland: he defeats them twise, and being conqueror hee is slaine by the earle of Cuycke, who was also slaine there.* ¶Gertrude of Saxonie *his Widow, Gourneesse to young cont* Thierry the fift, *his sonne, being yet a child. Shee marries againe with* Robert the Frison, *sonne to the earle of Flanders. They are chased out of Holland by* Godfrey the Crookebacke, *duke of Lorraine, called in by* William *bishop of Vtrecht.* ¶ Godfrey *is the ninth Earle of Holland, accounting* Gertrude *and* Robert *for two heads: he vanquished the Frisons, built the towne of Delf, and was slaine in Antuerpe, easing of himselfe.* ¶Robert the Frison *being earle of Flanders, restores cont* Thierry *to Holland and Zeeland, who vanquished the bishop of Vtrecht and tooke him prisoner. Hee made war against the Frisons who would be free vnder the Empire, and defeats them: his death.* ¶Floris the Fat, *the sonne of* Thierry the fift, *the eleuenth earle of Holland, &c. he makes war against the Frisons, subdues them and dies, hauing reigned 30 yeares.* ¶Thierry the first, *of that name, the twelfth Earle, he makes war against the Frisons, with whome* Floris the Blacke *his brother ioins: these brethren being afterwards reconciled, the earle of Cuycke kils* Floris: Thierry *reuengeth his death and besiegeth Vtrecht. The Frisons defeated by him in Holland, and then he dies, hauing raigned fortie yeares.* ¶Floris the third, *the 13 earle, sonne to* Thierry the first. *Warre against the Frisons. War betwixt the earles of Holland and Flanders for the island of Walchren. The prowesse of the Hollanders at the siege of Damiette, in which voiage the Earle died.* ¶Thierry the seuenth, *the 14 earle, succeeded his father: he was in quarell with* William *of Holland his brother, who ioined with the Frisons, but they were afterwards reconciled. Dying, he left one only daughter.* ¶Ada, *daughter to* Thierry the seuenth, *the 15 commaunding in Holland: she gouerned but one yeare, and died without children. During hir life she was still in war against the earle of East Friseland hir vncle, who succeeded hir, and was* ¶ William the first *of that name, the sixteenth earle of Holland: the crown of Scotland fell vnto him by his mother, but he neglected it. Dying he had ruled 19 years in Holland, and 26 in Friseland.* ¶Floris the fourth *succeeded* William *his father, the seuenteenth Earle. Strange war with the bishop of Vtrecht. He is slaine at a tourney at Clermont.* ¶William the second *succeeded* Floris *his father, being yet a child vnder the guard of his vncle the Bishop of Vtrecht. He was crowned king of Romans. He went against the Frisons where he was slaine.* ¶Floris the fift, *the nineteenth Earle, hee had great war against the Frisons, whome he vanquished, and brought backe his fathers bones: hee was slaine by* Gerard van Velsen *knight.* ¶John the first *of that name succeeded his father* Floris, *the 20 Earle of Holland. Being returned out of England where hee had married the kings daughter, he reuenged his fathers death. He died without children, and in him failed the race of Earles descended from* Thierry *of Aquitaine.*

How Holland was erected to an Earledome, and who was the first Earle.

THE yeare of our Redemption 863, *Charles the Bald*, king of France, being in Brabant in the Prouince of Campeigne, at a towne called Bladell, he called a generall assemblie of his Princes and Barons, to consult of the best means to repell the Normans and Danes, who made daylie incursions into Germanie, Friseland, Holland, Zeland, and into the realme of France. Thither came many Princes and great Noblemen, both Spirituall and Temporall, from all parts: whether in like sort the Pope (being then at Mentz vpon the Rhin) sent his Legats. Among other Princes and Noblemen there present, came Cont *Haghen* of little Troy (which at this present is the towne of Zanthen vpon the Rhin, betwixt the towns of Nuys and Cleefe) bringing with him his sister *Mathild*, wife

Zanthen in Cleueland called little Troy.

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wife of *Sigebert* duke of Aquitaine, with hir two ſonnes; the eldeſt was called *Walger*, whom A
king *Charles* did then make Earle of Teyſterbaudt, the which did at that inſtant and long after
containe and comprehend the townes of Tyel, Bommell, Arkell, Heuſden, Altem, Vianen,
Culembourg, Buren, Leederdam, Aſpren, and Henckelom, with a great circuit of countrey,
vnto the riuer of Meuſe. The youngeſt was *Thierry*, who as yet had no ſiegneorie nor com-
maund, but was a valiant and hardie knight, who with his father *Sigibert* had done many
valiant exploits both in Prouence and Aquitaine, againſt the Saraſins, who made many in-
curſions into thoſe countries: ſo as for his valour and proweſſe hee was much eſteemed in
Court, and well fauoured of king *Charles*.

THIERRY of Aquitaine, the firſt Earle of Holland. B



King Charles ſurnamed the Bald, firſt made me Earle by name
Of Holland, and his brother Lewis of Zeeland did the ſame:
But troubles manifold ſoone had my honour ſent
Downe to the graue, if the Emperour had me no ſuccour lent.

Twiſe twenty yeares I held the Danes ſtill in alarmes,
And did abate their pride of boaſt by valor and by armes.
Of Aquitaine I was ſurnamed, borne, and bred,
Gune my wife, and in Egmond my corps lies buried.

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A At this assemblie of Bladell, the earle *Hagben* (his vncle) besought the king to remember *Thierry* his nephew, and to aduaunce and inuest him in some part of the countrie which the Normans and Danes had lately spoiled and destroied, knowing him (as that was well known to all men) to be valiant, strong, able to endure trauell, wise, temperat, and discreet to keepe that which should be giuen him in charge: besides, hee was honourably descended, issued from the bloud of France, by the antient Troians. King *Charles* hearing so many good testimonies of this young knight, at the request of the Popes Legats, and the instance of the Earle *Hagben* his vncle, gaue vnto *Thierry* of Aquitaine all the countrie of Holland, with a part of East-Frizeland, from Dockum to the riuer of Lanuers (as the Chronicles of Holland doe maintaine, which the Frizelanders seemed to dislike and impugne, saying that *Charles*, B who was then but king of France, and not Emperor, could not dispose nor giue away Frizeland, the which maintained it selfe vnder the Romane Empire) to defend and protect them by his valour from the inuasions and spoiles of the Danes and Normans: who euen at that time held and enioied the towne of Vtrecht, the Bishop and all his Prebends (to auoid their furie) being fled to the town of Deuenter in the countrie of Oueryssel, the which was subiect both to the Temporall and Spirituall jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Vtrecht.

Holland and Frisela̅d giuen to Thierry of Aquitaine.

This assemblie at Bladell being ended, king *Charles* went with this knight *Thierry* into Holland, to put him in possession of the countrie by force of armes: the vicount of Leyden, and the lord of Wassenare his cousin (these two houses being since vnited in that of the vicounts) gathered together what forces they could, to make head against king *Charles*, and to hinder C *Thierry* in the possession of that which was giuen him, refusing absolutely to receiue *Thierry* for their lord and earle, desiring rather to ioine with them of Friseland, and to remain subiects to the empire. The king and Cont *Thierry* marched against them and gaue them battaile, wherin there was great effusion of blood of either side, and those two noblemen of Leyden and Wassenare were both slaine. After this defeate all the people of the countrie submitted themselues to the kings obedience, & (as he commanded them) did acknowledge *Thierry* for their liege lord and earle of Holland. The king and cont *Thierry* marching on, forced them of Friseland to the like obedience, and to acknowledge *Thierry* for their lord, taking an oath of fealtie to remaine for euer vnder the obedience of the earles of Holland. This done, *Charles* returned into France, leauing the new earle *Thierry* in full possession of these prouinces of D Holland and Friseland, where he liued for a time in peace.

Opponents to Thierry.

Hollanders & Friselanders defeated and subdued.

Some yeares after, the Friselanders impatient of a new lord commanding ouer their magistrats and rulers, seeing earle *Thierry* remaining alone in Holland liuing in peace and rest, they tooke counsell with the Hollanders, how they might with their common forces expell him out of their countries. The earle hauing discouered this conspiracie, and fully informed of all their practise, he went speedily into Fraunce to king *Charles*, complaining of the rebellion of his subiects of Holland and Friseland. The king did write vnto the Pope, asking his aduise in this action (for at that time the Hollanders and Friselanders were good Christians, yet free:) the Pope hauing read the kings demaund, he tooke the same letters, the which he did cut into long labels, and then hee cut off the tops of them. At night walking in his garden with the E kings embassadors, with his knife he cut off the tops of the highest plants, & of some smaller. The next day the embassadors requiring an answer of the kings letters; the Pope sayd vnto them, Report only vnto the king what you haue seene me doe vnto his letters and vnto the plants. Whereof the embassadors hauing made relation vnto the king, he presently conceiued what the Pope meant,

The Hollanders and Friselanders rebell.

The pope doth couertly aduise the king to subdue the Hollanders.

Hauing therfore leuied a goodly armie, he returned into Holland with *Thierry*, to see who durst presume to oppose himselfe: where being arriued, euery man shrunke; but the king hauing intelligence who had bene the authors of this conspiracie, tending to a generall reuolt without making any great bruit in the beginning, seeing there was no rising nor taking armes, he sent to seise vpon some of the chiefest & greatest personages among them, as also of some of F the common sort of Holland & Friseland, whom he knew to be guiltie of this practise, whose heads he caused to be cut off the next day in the presence of the people: the rest terrified with this example, and seeing the king & earle had respected the greater no more than the lesse, nor spared the lesse more than the greater, they cast themselues at the kings feet, & at the earls their prince & lord, crieng for pardon & mercie: who receiued thē into grace, vpon a new promise

Those of Holland and Friseland punished.

The rest reconciled.

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and oth taken to continue for euer faithfull and obedient to cont *Thierry*. Thus was *Thierry* A
inuested the second time and put in possession of the countie of Holland and Friseland, the
which was confirmed vnto him by the kings letters pattents, as followeth.

Letters of donation of the countie of Holland.

In the name of the holy Trinitie. Charles by the grace of God king of France, As it is well befitting our roiall greatnesse, to honour and aduance our welbeloued and faithfull seruants, we giue all men to vnderstand both present & to come, that our welbeloued and faithfull the earle Haghen *of Zanthen, hath presented himselfe before vs, and humbly intreated vs to aduaunce our welbeloued and faithfull knight* Thierry, *to the siegneurie of Egmont, and the appurtenances depending thereon, with all the countrie which is from Suydherders-haye vnto the Fortrappe and Kumen. Whereunto being fauourably enclined, we haue giuen, and do giue by these presents vnto our said faithful knight* Thierry *all the countrie aboue mentioned, with the vassals and homages therein contained, or that may be hereafter, with all the woods, marishes, waters, riuers, pastures, and all that depends of them. Inioining all men to obey him, and not to giue him any let or hinderance, but to suffer him and his successors for euer freely to enioy, vse, and possesse the same, by this title of donation which we haue made vnto him, as of all his other goods, lands, and siegneories of inheritance. And for that our pleasure is that these present Letters pattents shall remaine firme and stable for euer, We haue sealed them with our roiall accustomed seale. Giuen at Bladell in the yeare of our Lord 863, the 17 of the Kalends of Iune, on S.* Vits *day. The Archbishop* Rutger *high Chancellor hath seene and allowed it.* B

By the tenour of these letters it is manifest that the earledome of Holland was not giuen to *Thierry* by king *Charles* the Bald at the Popes request, as some write, to maintaine the Christian faith, which S. *Willeuord* bishop of Vtrecht had planted there; but at the especiall instance C
and suit of *Haghen* earle of Zanthen vncle to cont *Thierry*, to defend and preserue it from the inuasions of the Danes, Normans, & other enemies. We must vnderstand that Suydherders-haye is now Hillegums Meerbeeck; the Fortrappe was neere vnto Casant in Flanders; and the Kumen is a streame of water betwixt Alcmar and the old cloister of the Carmes, where West-Friseland begins, the which they call North-Holland. Cont *Thierry* being by vertue of these letters of Donation, inuested and confirmed as well by force as by loue, in the quiet possession of the countie of Holland, his aunt ladie *Emme* wife to *Lewis* king of Germanie,

Waelsdael, or the countie of Zeeland giuen to Thierry.

brother to king *Charles* the Bald, caused the forrest of Waelsdael to be giuen him by hir husband, the which at this present is the countie of Zeeland, and at that time consisted of many
islands, diuided by riuers. Of which donation mention is made in these letters following. D

868

Letters of donation of Zeeland.

In the name of the holy Trinitie Amen. Lewis *by the grace of God king of Germanie, to all those to whome these present letters shall come, greeting, We giue them to vnderstand, that our deere and welbeloued spouse and companion, hath intreated vs to giue vnto our deere and faithfull nephew Cont* Thierry *of Holland, sonne to hir sister, the forrest of Waelsdael, ioining vnto his earledome, with all the fields and land that was vsually laboured and fed, together with the waters & riuers as well within as without, woods, heath, and forrest, and all that depends thereon. Being fauourably enclined to the suit and request of our said Spouse, and being desirous to gratifie hir therein, We haue giuen and doe giue by these presents, vnto the said earle* Thierry *our nephew, the said forrest of Waelsdael, with all the appurtenances depending thereon: to possesse, hold, and quietly enioy, for him and his heires, or for any other to whome he would sell or ingage them; for euer, without any contradiction. And for that* E
our will and pleasure is, that this donation shall remaine firme and stable for euer, Wee haue sealed it with our roiall seale. Giuen in the yeare of our Lord at Engelshem, 868, the 13 of Aprill. Gezo *vicechancellor in the absence of the archbishop* Othelric, *high chancellor, hath seene, allowed, and subsigned it.*

Hereby we may vnderstand that from Tournay, and higher, vnto Vtrecht, all that did lie betwixt the two branches of the riuer of Rhine, which *Ptolomie* calles Naualia, for that the ships must of necessitie passe there and pay tribute: the which since hath bene called Traiectum (that is to say, a Trauers, of *traijciendo*) was nothing but a thicke and fearefull forrest,

The forrest without mercie.

which they called *The forrest without mercie.* By these Letters we may also see, that Holland and Zeeland were the furthest limits and frontiers of Germanie (the which did extend vn- F
to the British sea) towards Brabant and Flanders: the one beeing held of the Empire, and the other of the crowne of Fraunce; and that of forrests, woods, and desarts, they are by succession of time become good and fertile countries, and both erected into Earledomes by the donators themselues.

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A *Thierry* of Aquitaine being then by the bountie of the kings of France and Germanie become earle of Holland and Zeeland, and lord of Friſeland (although the Friſelanders will not abſolutly confeſſe it, by reaſon whereof they had great wars againſt the earles of Holland, of whom they ſlue three or foure in battaile) was iſſued from a moſt noble and antient race, that is, from the old kings of France, deſcended from the Troians, that is to ſay, from the firſt race of the kings of Franconia, iſſued from *Marcomir*, *Pharamond*, and others their ſucceſſors, kings of France, whoſe diſcent may thus bee reckoned: for this *Priam* come from Troy (being ſo called by the name of his great grandfather, king of Phrygia and of Troy) was the firſt king of Franconia, who had to ſonne *Marcomir*, that firſt came into France: he had *Pharamond*, *Pharamond* had *Clodion*, *Clodion* had *Merouë*, *Merouë* had *Childeric*, *Childeric* had *Clouis* the firſt B Criſtian king, *Clouis* had *Childebert*, *Childebert* had *Clotaire* the firſt, *Clotaire* had *Cherebert*, *Cherebert* had *Chilperic*, *Chilperic* had *Clotaire* the ſecond, *Clotaire* had *Dagobert* the firſt, *Dagobert* had *Clouis* the ſecond, *Clouis* had *Clotaire* the third, *Clotaire* had *Childeric* the third, *Childeric* had *Theodoric* or *Thierry*, *Theodoric* had beſides *Clouis* the third king of France, another ſonne called *Chilperic* or *Childebert*, this *Childebert* had *Diedericke* duke of Aquitaine, *Diedericke* had *Lothaire*, *Lothaire* had *Didier*, *Didier* had *Engelrim* who died a martyr, *Engelrim* had *Sigisbert*, *Sigisbert* had of his wife *Mathild* ſiſter to Cont *Haghen* of Zanthen and lady *Emme* queene of Germanie, two ſonnes, that is to ſay *Walger* earle of Teiſterbaudt, and *Thierry* of Aquitaine earle of Holland and Zeeland lord of Friſeland. The Genealogie of Thierry.

This Cont *Thierry* carried the armes of his anceſtors: and for that king *Pepin* would not C haue any but himſelfe and thoſe of his blood carrie the armes of France, hee therefore gaue vnto *Diederic* or *Thierry* duke of Aquitaine, other different armes, which ſome ſay were thoſe of *Hector* of Troy, that is *A Lion rampant Gueules in a field Or, armed and lampaſſed Azure*. And for that the ſayd Cont *Thierry* drew his originall in the right maſculine line from the ſaid *Diederic* duke of Aquitaine, he might by right carrie the ſame armes. Hee was alſo honourably married to *Genna* or *Ienna* daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of Italie, ſonne to the emperour *Charlemagne*, who died before his father, to whom king *Charles* the Bald was vncle by the fathers ſide, and ſhe his neece, daughter to his brother, a very wiſe and vertuous princeſſe. The blaſon or armes of Cont Thierry. His wife.

This *Thierry* did valiantly ſuppreſſe and vanquiſh the Danes, who at that time did poſſeſſe the towne of Vtrecht, the Wiltes and the Slaues; who ſeeing they could no more ſet footing D in Holland, through the valiant reſiſtance which they found in Cont *Thierry*, they made an incurſion into Zeeland vpon the coaſt of Arnmuyden. *Lewis* king of Germanie hauing intelligence of the great ſpoile which the Danes made in Zeeland, ſent *Lupold* thither (a braue Franconian knight, the ſonne of *Vrancke* duke of Suawbe, & grandchild to that *Lupold* which was driuen out of his countrie by *Nicephorus* emperour of Greece) to ſuccour Cont *Thierry* his nephew, who iointly together made good proofe of their valour and forces againſt the Danes, in many a gallant incounter. Of this firſt *Lupold* are deſcended thoſe of the laſt houſe of *Borſſele* in Zeland: for he had to wife *Elizabeth* daughter to the great *Maroth* king of Hungarie, by whome he had three ſonnes, that is to ſay, *Lupold* who was earle of high Hungarie, and *Frederike* duke of Auſtria, from whome are deſcended thoſe of *Walchi*, which is the noE bleſt houſe in Auſtria: the third was *Vrancke*, father to the ſecond *Lupold*, whome king *Lewis* made Lieutenant generall of his armie in Zeeland; from whence hauing expelled the Danes, he married an heire of the firſt houſe of *Borſſele*, and was the founder of the town of Borſſele, at this time drowned. The beginning of the houſe of Borſſele.

After this victorie Cont *Thierry* liued in peace and reſt, ſtudieng to beautifie his countries, and to furniſh them with good lawes: ſo as hauing reigned fortie yeares, he died very old, to whome his ſonne ſucceeded.

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THIERRY THE SECOND OF THAT name, peaceable Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friſeland.



Theodoricus Secundus.

THIERRY *the ſecond Earle of Holland, by degree*
I was, and twice in two yeares ſpace obtained victorie
Gainſt Friſons, that my fathers bones did take out of his graue,
And all the ſillie virgine Nuns out of their cloiſters draue:
The which my father firſt for maids did make and frame,
Of Wood, and I of Lime and Stone for men new built the ſame.
King Loys *daughter,* Hille *nam'd, I had to wife,*
And at full foureſkore yeares and eight, did end my mortall life.

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A 

Hierry the second of that name, by the decease of Cont *Thierry* of Aquitaine his father, was Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and lord of Friseland. But the Friselanders at the first would not acknowledge him for their lord, but rebelled against him and would liue free, vnder the liberties which the Emperour *Charlemagne* had graunted them. This Cont *Thierry* had to wife *Hildegard* daughter to *Lewis* the stuttering king of France, and sister to king *Charles* the Simple: by whome hee had *Egbert* his eldest sonne, a deuout man, who was Archbishop of Treues, and *Arnulph* or *Arnoult*, who succeeded him in the said Counties, and one daughter called *Alix* or *Erlinde*.

B Cont *Thierry* seeing the wilfulnesse and obstinacie of his subiects of Friseland, leuyed a strong and mightie armie of the best souldiors he could recouer, as well in his own territories as of his friends and allies; with the which he entered into the countrie of Friseland and began to forrage, spoile, burne, and destroy it. The Frisons knowing themselues vnable at this time to resist so mightie an armie, making of necessitie vertue, and yeelding to the time and force, they submitted themselues to the Earles mercie, who receiued them into grace. And then without any losse of his men, being laden with spoile, he returned into Holland. But the yeare following they reuolted againe, and came with great troups into West-Friseland (the which obeied the Earle, and therefore it was called North-Holland) besieging the towne of Alcmar; the which they did with such speed, as the Earle could not haue his armie readie in C time to hinder them, before they had forced the towne, and slaine all that they found within it, burning it, and rasing it to the ground, carrieng away with them the best of their wealth, many prisoners, and all their cattell. Then marching on, they came into the countrie of Kennemers, spoyling burning and killing all that made any resistance. From thence they marched as farre as Egmont, where they burnt the Abbie: and descending lower, committing dayly a thousand insolencies, they came to besiege the towne and castle of Leiden, thinking to carrie it at their first approch, as they had done Alcmar; but the vicount of Leiden, a valiant knight, with the helpe of the inhabitants made head against them, sending to Cont *Thierry* that hee should come speedily to succour them, else they should not possibly hold out long. The Earle who had no need of any persuasions to hasten his resolution, hearing in what danger those of D Leiden were, flies thither with his armie, being assisted by the lord of Borssell and other great personages, appointing the Frisons a day and place for battaile, to attend him in open field. But the Frisons refusing a limitted day, desired to fight presently, assuring themselues of the victorie, relying vpon their multitudes of men. The Earle hauing vnited all his forces together, although the Frisons had double his number yet hee issued out of Leiden, and went to charge them. At the first incounter the battaile was very furious and doubtfull, the Hollanders fighting for their liues, wiues, children, houses and goods; and the Frisons for honor and victorie. In the end, the Frisons not able any longer to endure the furious charges of the Hollanders, seeing so many of their men slain, and their brethren, kinsfolks and friends lieng dead before them, they began to faint and to flie away for their owne safeties, in the which flight E there was so great a slaughter made of the Frisons, as very few returned to their owne houses: for they were slaine euery where as they fled, and there was no pittie had of them, by reason of the great spoiles which they had committed in all the countrey where they had past. This battaile was fought vpon the same place where as since the abbie of Rhinsburg neere vnto Leiden was built. Thus the Earle subdued the Frisons, with great effusion of blood, forcing them to yeeld vnto the yoke, and to submit themselues vnder his obedience: in such sort as he constrained them to make their doores and the entries into their houses so low, as they must bend their backs and stoupe very much, in signe of humilitie, before they could enter. Then they tooke a new oath of fealtie, as to their liege lord and Soueraigne, with all such honor and respect as the case required. The yeare following the Earle caused a Temple to be built in the F place where the defeat had bene giuen, the which he dedicated vnto S. *Laurence*, where since the ladie *Petronelle* Countesse of Holland did erect a conuent of religious virgins, of the order of S. *Benet*.

The Frisons subdued.

They rebell againe.

Ruine Alcmar and burne the Abbie of Egmont.

A great defeat of the Frisons.

Their punishment.

Cont *Thierry* hauing bene thus reuenged of the Frisons, he caused the Abbie of Egmont to be reedified at leisure: his father did at the first build it of wood, but hee caused it all to bee

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made of masons worke: and in steed of Religious women, he placed monks of the same Order, translating the nuns vnto a place called Bennenbroeck, in the village of Hemsteed, neere vnto the towne of Harlem, commaunding they should not receiue any new into their societie, to the end that when they were all dead, the goods, possessions and renenues of their foundation should returne vnto the monkes of the abbie of Egmont, whereof *Monebaldus* was the first abbot. This earle *Thierry* the second hauing raigned a long time peaceably after his subduing of the Frisons, left the counties of Holland and Zeeland more flourishing than euer, so as being fourskore and eight yeres old, after that he had raigned about fiftie years, he gaue vp his soule to God, leauing two sonnes, *Egbert* the eldest, and *Arnold* who succeeded his father, for some reasons that I will presently specifie. A

B



I was as you me see, when I espoused my wife,
The Grecian Emperour Thophans *child, the solace of my life:*
The lands of Brederode to hir I did assure,
And to one of my youngest sonnes far euer to indure.

The Frisons false reuolt, procured warre to me,
And though by valour I had put them to extremitie,
Yet midst of foes it was my cruell chaunce to die,
And in the Abbie of Egmont my corps entombed doth lie.

ARNVLPH

A

ARNVLPH OR ARNOLD, THIRD Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland.

B

ARNOLD after the death of Cont *Thierry* his father, the second of that name, succeeded in the countries of Holland and Zeeland, as also in the siegneorie of Friseland: He had to wife the ladie *Lutgard*, daughter to *Theophanes* emperour of Greece, of whom he had one sonne, called as his grandfather, *Thierry* the third of that name, who succeeded him. This Cont *Arnold* had an elder brother, called *Egbert*, who hauing ben sent in ambassage by his father to the archbishop of Treues, toucht with zeale to religion and mooued with deuotion, hee professed himselfe a monke of the order of S. *Benet*: and sending backe vnto his father the dispatches of his embassage, by the noblemen that did accompanie him, he remained in the cloister. Afterwards by the decease of the said archbishop of Treues, he was chosen archbishop, where he gouerned some yeares: and hauing repaired the churches which the Danes had ruined and prophaned, he died, and was interred in the church which he had built and dedicated to S. *Andrew*.

Egbert eldest sonne to Cont Thierry the second, becomes a monke.

C

Cont *Arnold* obtained of the emperour *Otho* the third, to hold the earledomes of Holland and Zeeland with the siegneorie of Friseland in fee of the Empire, and no more of the crown of France. In his time there appeared a very fearefull comet, & there were great eclipses both of sunne and moone red as blood, with horrible earthquakes: there fell a fire from heauen as big as a great tower, the which burnt long; then followed so great and violent a plague, as the liuing died in burying of the dead. This earle had all the time of his reigne continuall warre with the Frisons, refusing to submit themselues vnder his obedience: the fift yere of his reign he leuied a great armie of his subiects in Holland, to subdue the Frisons and force them to obedience, as he had done the first yeare of his reigne. The two armies approching one vnto the other in open field, neere vnto Winckell, a furious battaile was fought, wherein the Hollanders hauing the worst, cont *Arnold* with a great number of the chiefe of his nobilitie were slaine, in the yeare 993, the day after S. *Lambert*, which was the eighteenth of October; hauing gouerned Holland and Zeeland fiue yeares after the decease of his father: he is interred in the abbie of Egmont by his father and grandfather, leauing his eldest sonne *Thierry* the third for his successor in the said earledomes. Hee had also another sonne called *Ziffrid* (the Frisons call him *Sicco*) who being fallen in disgrace with his father, to auoid his displeasure, went voluntarily into exile into the countrie of Friseland, where he was courteously receiued by *Gosso Ludingama* then Potestat or gouernour of the Frisons, with whose daughter he fell in loue, and married hir without the priuitie of the earle his brother: of whome hee had two sonnes, the eldest he called *Thierry* by his grandfathers name, and *Simon*. Afterward *Ziffrid* being reconciled to his father, was made his lieutenant in the quarter of Kennemerland, and had for his part a portion of land measured with the great yard (the word of *Breede-roede* signifieng a Great Yard) so as euer since the siegneorie of the said *Ziffrid* hath retained the name of *Brederode* vnto this day.

Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland made subiect to the Empire.

Horrible Prodigies.

D

The Hollanders defeated by the Frisons, and their earle slaine.

993

E

The beginning of the house of Breederoed.

His father did also giue him the castell of Theylingen, the which *Ziffrid* did giue and bequeath vnto *Simon* his yoongest sonne: from whome discended the familie of *Theylingen*, at this present quite extinct by the death of two brethren which remained, the which were both slaine in battaile by the Frisons, with Cont *William* of Hainalt the fourth of that name, their prince, as wee shall hereafter see, and how that also by the like accident of war we haue seene die (without leauing any issue) foure braue knights of the house of *Brederode*, being yet in the flower

F

And of the familie of Theylingen.

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flower of their youth, not any one remaining of that houſe at this day, but three bretheren; A the eldeſt *Walraven* lord of BREDERODE, baron of Vianen and of Ameyden: *Florent* the ſecond brother lately deceaſed, left one ſonne, lord of Cloetinghen, heire apparent of the whole houſe; and *Maximilian* the youngeſt, who liues in Brabant. There are many of the ſame houſe bearing the ſame ſurname, and armes, (but broken) gentlemen come of baſtards. The Epitaph of this earle *Arnold* preſerued with many others in the ruines of the ſaid abbie of Egmont (whereas moſt of the earles of Holland haue bene interred) hauing bene recouered by me, although it be but groſſely compoſed (as alſo the reſt that follow) yet could I not omit them, for that they ſhewed their antiquitie, the which is not wholy to be reiected. Such was the Epitaph of the ſaid earle and the ladie *Lutgard* his wife.

B

Gloria carnalis pernicibus euolat alis,
Et quaſi non fuerit, cum moriente perit.
Hic Comes Arnulphus patriæ tutela ſepultus,
Expectat requiem, Iudicijque diem.
Iſte venuſtauit hac ſancta locumq́ beauit,
Terris, mancipijs, ædibus, Eccleſijs.
Qui bis ſeptenas Octobre rotante Calendas, C
Hoſtili gladio tranſijt é medio.
Laudibus & meritò, ſimilis Lutgarda marito,
Complexu fedei, conſepelitur ei.
Per tauri ſydus ternas Maius regit Idus,
Dum Comitiſſa pijs fungitur exequijs.

D This Counteſſe *Lutgarda* wife to Cont *Arnold*, and daughter to *Theophanes* Emperour of Conſtantinople and of Greece, died in the month of May, but I find not in what yeare. She lies by hir husband in the abbie that was of Egmont.

E

F

Thierry

THIERRY THE THIRD OF THAT name, sonne to Cont ARNOLD, was fourth Earle of Holland, Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland.



Theodoricus Tertius.

This THIERRY *to reuenge his fathers death, in hast*
With forces great to Freeseland marcht, and laid the countrie wast,
Sacked the townes, and slue the towns-men cruelly,
And made the bishop of Vtrecht his prisoner valiantly.
On pilgrimage he went vnto the Holy land,
And there the Turkes in Palestine did mightily withstand,
And being home return'd vnto his spouse most true,
At six and fortie yeares of age did yeeld to death his due.

Thierry

THierry the third of that name, after the death of Cont *Arnold* his father, A
was in number the fourth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and lord of Friſeland. Being come vnto the Principalitie, he demaunded homage of the Friſons; the which being denied him, diſſembling the diſcontent and the deſire of reuenge he had for his fathers death, he then ſurceaſed to make any further queſtion, attending ſome fitter opportunitie. He tooke to wife in his
His wife and children. fathers life time *Withild*, daughter to the emperour *Otho* the ſecond, duke of Saxe, whome he had of his ſecond wife, daughter to the Marquis of Auſtria. Of which *Withild*, Cont *Thierry* had two ſonnes, the eldeſt was called as his father, and the fourth of that name, earle of Holland: the ſecond was *Floris*, earle of Eaſt-Friſeland, who after the death of his brother without children, ſucceeded in the ſaid counties of Holland, Zeeland, and ſiegneorie of Friſeland. B
After the death of *Anfrid* the 18 biſhop of Vtrecht, iſſued from the race of *Charlemagne*, *Adelbold* deſcended from *Manſon* a nobleman of the countrie of Friſeland, was choſen Biſhop, for his great knowledge as well in Diuinitie as in other liberall arts: hee had bene Councellor to
The firſt warlike biſhop of Vtrecht. the emperour *Henry* the ſecond, he was the firſt biſhop that began to aduance himſelfe, and to make war againſt the Hollanders. For when as *Thierry* the third, earle of Holland, had liued ſome time in reſt and peace; and that *Walbold* deane of the Cathedrall church of Vtrecht was made biſhop of Liege, who before had bene chiefe chancellor to *Adelbold*, diſſuading him ſtil from all attempts of warre: this *Walbold* being thus retired to his biſhoprike, *Adelbold* deſirous of alterations, would needs without any colour make warre againſt the Earle and the Hollanders. The cauſes and motiues of this war were, That *Adelbold* had animated the Friſons and C
fortified them to riſe & rebell againſt Cont *Thierry* their naturall lord: moreouer, this biſhop
The Earle of Bodegrauen. had aduaunced a gentleman called *Didier Bruno* to bee earle of Bodegrauen and of Suvamerdam, who did greatly wrong and oppreſſe the Hollanders his neighbours: wherupon Cont *Thierry* went with his troups to aſſaile him, and hauing defeated him in battaile, hee expelled him by force out of his ſiegneorie.

The biſhop bearing it impatiently to ſee his vaſſall thus expelled, leuied an armie, with an intent to reſtore him by force; ſo the 9 of Iune in the yeare 1018 the biſhop hauing brought his men to field, betwixt Bodegraue & Suvamerdam, the earle *Thierry* went to charge them, being accompanied by his brother *Ziffrid* lieutenant of Kennemerland, by *Iohn* lord of Arkel, the ſiegneor *Iohn* of Perſin, the vicount of Leyden, and many other braue knights and gentle- D
The biſhop of Vtrecht defeated in battaile by the Hollanders. men. But this incounter proued vnfortunat for the biſhop, wherin he was defeated and put to rout. There died on his ſide among the moſt remarkable, *Wyger*, *Aduoe*, that is to ſay, Aduocat generall of the dioceſſe of Vtrecht, *Wickin* and *Gadezo* earles, *Lazo*, *Alger*, and *Zuveer* (that is to ſay *Aſuerus*) knights, with a great number of ſquires and gentlemen, beſides the men at armes and common ſouldiors, which were very many.

The biſhop *Adelbold* was much perplexed for this defeat, yet he fainted not, but gathering together his diſperſed troupes, would make a ſecond proofe and hazard another battaile, the
Defeated the ſecond time and himſelfe taken priſoner. which was more preiudiciall and fatall vnto him than the firſt: for not only his armie was defeated, but himſelfe was taken priſoner, hauing loſt among the men of marke, *Volckert* a prieſt and chanon, *Bertold* a deacon, *Iohn* and *Godfrey* earles, *Hiddo*, *Halmeric*, *Wabtelin*, *Hubert*, and E
Hildebold knights, *Zidfrid* and *Heyman* barons, with a great number of braue ſouldiors. Cont *Thierry* after theſe two victories, his men being laden with ſpoile and good priſoners, returned into Holland, leading his biſhop with him, whome he entreated very courteouſly, ſeeking to comfort him and to moderat his paſſions in this his aduerſitie, being much troubled for his ouerthrow and impriſonment.

Familiar talke betwixt the earle & biſhop One day among the reſt, Cont *Thierry* asked of him by way of familiar diſcourſe, What had mooued him ſo to malice the Hollanders, and to make war againſt them, ſeeing that neyther they nor he himſelfe had euer wronged him or don him iniurie? The biſhop anſwered, Sir, I confeſſe that I neuer receiued any wrong from your ſelfe nor your ſubiects, neither yet from any of your predeceſſors; but that which moued me to attempt war againſt you, and to F
oppreſſe and moleſt your ſubiects, was only for that I was giuen to vnderſtand that the countrie of Holland did antiently hold of my biſhoprike of Vtrecht: for proofe whereof, we read in Hyſtories, that Vtrecht was in old time the chiefe and capitall towne of Holland, and that at this day it is ſo held; and therefore in my opinion Holland in former times did belong to

my

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A my predeceſſors: for this cauſe I did moue and incite the Friſons to rebell, that by the help of their forces and ſuccours, I might expell you out of your countrey, and ioyne it vnto my ſeigniorie. But ſeeing I haue taken a wrong courſe, and am taken in the ſnare which I prepared for you, I will foretell you by way of prophefie, That there ſhall neuer bee any perfect loue and friendſhip, betwixt them of Vtrecht and the Hollanders: and that in future ages they ſhall much vexe one another, by warre, robberies, oppreſſion, and ſpoiles; ſometimes one being victor, ſometimes the other. Whereunto Cont *Thierry* anſwered: Gods wil be done in al things, both in my countries and elſwhere, according to his good pleaſure: yet I would haue my lord biſhop vnderſtand, that the princes of Holland do little eſteeme the towne of Vtrecht: but I grieue for the poore commons, who endure much through the ſpoyles and inſolencies

B of men of warre: Yet if you will promiſe me vnder your hand and ſeale, neuer to ſtirre vp nor incourage my Friſons to rebell, I will ſuffer you to depart free, and will giue you leaue to doe what you can; for that I do not much apprehend what you and yours can doe vnto me. To whom the biſhop ſaid: Although I do it vnwillingly, yet neceſſitie will force mee vnto it. Whereupon the Earle replied, If my lord biſhop will not accept nor effect that which I haue propounded, he may remaine here with me, and I will take order for his charges, and for all other things neceſſarie: yet my lord muſt vnderſtand, that neither he nor any of his predeceſſors had euer any right of proprietie or temporal iuriſdiction vpon Holland, nor on the dependances thereof, in any ſort whatſoeuer. Neither ſhall it bee found in any writings and euidences, That the biſhops of Vtrecht were euer intitled Earles of Holland: ſeeing that *Charles* the

C Bald, king of France, and afterwards Emperour, hauing ſucceeded by the death of his father *Lewis* the Gentle (ſonne to *Charlemaigne*) in the countries of Holland and Zeeland, as well as in the realme of France, and other countries of his inheritance, after that hee had defeated the Normanes, gaue them to my great grandfather, Cont *Thierry* the firſt, ſonne to *Sigebert* Duke of Aquitaine. And for the better aſſurance and confirmation of the ſaid grant, at the inſtance of Pope *Iohn* the 9. he himſelfe in perſon, put the ſaid Count *Thierry* in full poſſeſſion of the ſaid Earledomes, and ſubiected them vnto him by force of armes; inſtituting him, as his royall letters patents make mention, the firſt Earle, to protect and defend them againſt the incurſions of the Danes, and by good and mild courſes, to draw this rough and vnciuile people to his deuotion; as he hath done. The like I may affirme and proue by good teſtimonies, that

D Friſeland is of the iuriſdiction of Holland, for that *Lewis* king of Germanie, brother to *Charles* the Bald, gaue all that countrie to the ſaid Cont *Thierry*, vnto the riuer of Lanuvers, and beyond it, bending towards the Eaſt. *Charles* the Great, king of France and Emperour, gaue it vnto *Godefroy* king of Denmarke, in dowery with his wife, vpon condition, That he ſhould be baptiſed, who afterwards was ſlaine. And therefore if *Godefroy* hath made any ceſſion or gift vnto the biſhop of Vtrecht, I am well pleaſed therewith, and will not pretend any intereſt to that which lyes beyond the ſaid riuer of Lanuvers. My lord muſt alſo vnderſtand the great ingratitude of them of Vtrecht, for the benefits which they receiued of my great grandfather: for he and his brother *Walger* Earle of Teyſterbandt, remaining at Antwarp, neere vnto Tyl, made ſo long warre againſt the Danes, which did then poſſeſſe the towne of Vtrecht, as they

E. forced them to abandon the place, and reſtored the biſhop *Radbod* (who as an exiled prelat kept at Deuenter) to his epiſcopall ſeat. Theſe be the thanks we receiue now from them of Vtrecht, who requite me euill for good. I therefore conclude with the truth, That neither my lord biſhop, nor any of his predeceſſors, had euer any right, intereſt, nor title of temporall iuriſdiction in the countries of Holland, nor of Friceland, for as much as is contained within the riuer of Lanuvers: vnleſſe your lordſhip can ſhew & produce ſome ſale, tranſport, or donation, which my predeceſſors haue made vnto the biſhop of Vtrecht, as they had the power and meanes to do, the which doth appeare by the letters granted by Emperors & kings their benefactors. Biſhop *Adelbold* hauing well & duly conſidered of all Cont *Thierrie* reaſons, confeſſed his error, and that being ill aduiſed, he had firſt attempted warre againſt him: and that in all the lands

The biſhop yeelds to the Earles reaſons

F and ſeignories of the ſaid Earle, he had no other iuriſdiction but ſpirituall, in that which concernes the adminiſtration and gouernment of the church onely: as it had beene giuen from Emperours and kings, to *Willebrord* the firſt biſhop, as farre as it may extend vnto this day. It is true, ſaid the Earle, and we acknowledge you for our ſpirituall father, commander in diuine things, and which concerne the ſaluation of our ſoules. And we do alſo confeſſe, that by reaſon

The Earles kind offer to the biſhop.

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ſon of your biſhopricke, you haue much land, and many rents, tithes, poſſeſſions, and other re- G
uenues, which haue beene giuen by my anncestors, vnto the church of Vtrecht, for the honor of God, and the entertainment of diuine ſeruice, the which I would be verie loath any way to impeach or hinder: As I alſo would intreat your lordſhip, & your ſubiects, to vſe the like moderation towards me and my vaſſals: and ſo he ended his diſcourſe.

After theſe two goodly victories, which Cont *Thierry* had gotten againſt *Adelbold* biſhop of Vtrecht, he reſolued to reuenge the death of his father in Friſeland; for the effecting wher-
The Emperour ſends ſuccours to the Earle to ſubdue them of Friſeland. of, he was aſſiſted by the Emperour *Henry* the 2, who ſent *Godefroy* with the great beard, duke of Lorraine, vnto him, with goodly ſuccors of ſouldiers. The Earle hauing alſo leuied a good-ly armie of his owne ſubiects, leading the biſhop priſoner with him, entred into the countrey of Friſeland; where going to affront the Friſons armie, a ſodaine terrour and feare ſeized vp- H
on the Hollanders, without any apparant cauſe, which made them ſodainly to disband & flie, as if they had been chaſed and followed at the heeles by their enemies, ſo as it was not poſſi-ble to ſtay them to fight, euery one ſeeking his owne ſafetie. The Friſons ſeeing this vnexpe-
The Duke of Lorraine priſoner to the Friſons, and the biſhop eſcaped ected rout, purſued them at their eaſe; in which purſute the Duke of Lorraine was taken, and the biſhop eſcaped from the Hollanders, retyring himſelfe vnto the Friſons, incenſing them more and more againſt Cont *Thierry*: who hauing made his retreat to Harlem, he ſpeedily ga-thered together his ſcattered armie, with the which he marched directly to *Heyligerlee*, where he met the Friſons, with the biſhop, who came boldly and reſolutely to charge him, hauing
The Friſons defeated, the duke of Lorraine eſcapes. forced the Duke of Lorraine to accompanie them to the battaile, the which was fierce and ve-ry bloudie, whereas the Earle had the victorie, with great ſlaughter of the Friſons: the Duke I
being freed from their hands, and ioyned with the Earle (after that the biſhop being woun-ded, had ſaued himſelfe with great danger of his life) they both together with their vnited
The biſhop being wounded, ſaues himſelfe. troups, fell vpon the country of Friſeland, putting all to fire & ſword, & deſtroying the whole countrey, vnpeopling it of men and cattell, taking and carrying away all they could find. And thus the Earle reduced all the countrey of Friſeland vnder his obedience, the which he gaue to his yonger ſonne *Floris*, and forced the inhabitants which remained, to acknowledge him for their lord and to take an othe of fealtie, holding the ſaid ſeigniorie notwithſtanding in fee.
Friſeland given to Cont *Floris*. of the Earle his father, who returned victorious into Holland. *Floris* remained in Friſeland, the which he gouerned with power and authoritie all his life time.

The Earl goes in pilgrimage to Ieruſalem. Cont *Thierry* finding himſelfe at reſt from all his wars, & hauing ſubdued all his enemies, K
he went accompanied with the lord of Arckel, his faithfull ſubiect, and a great traine of gen-tlemen, to Ieruſalem, where the ſaid lord of Arckel died of ſickneſſe, and was honorably inter-red there by Cont *Thierry*: who being returned into Holland, after that hee had finiſhed his pilgrimage, liued ſome yeares in reſt and quietneſſe, with his wife and children: then ha-uing ended the courſe of his life, he died in the yere 1039. hauing raigned 46 yeares, and was
The Earles death, Anno 1039. buried in the church of the Abbey of Egmont, by his fathers. The lady *Witbilde* his widow, returned into her countrey of Saxony, where ſhe died foure yeares after.

In the ſaid Abbey of Egmont, there was found preſerued from ruine, the Epitaph of theſe three Earles, *Thierry* the 1. 2 and 3. Earles of Holland and Zeeland, Lords of Friſeland; of the lady *Gerui*, wife to the firſt, and of the lady *Hildegarde*, wife to the ſecond, as we haue extracted L
and inſerted them here, for the reuerence of antiquitie.

Theodorici hic tres corpora magnifica rerum,
Hic ſita ſunt, ſtudia quæq; vouta ſuis:
Hi fundauerunt loca noſtra, Patresq; fuerunt,
Iſtius ornatus, ordinis, atq; ſtatus.
Hic Comitiſſarum ſociantur membra duarum,
Virtus eſt quarum non celebranda parum.

Gerui prior dicta, cum præcipue bene dilta,
Hildegarde ſua digna legititude:
Amborum ſolet am nobilium que ſtauit ad aram,
Multitudo dotis iure ſequenda bonis:
Progenies horum, iuuenes imitare tuorum,
Quos cœlo regio ſumpſit ab exilio.

In the ſaid Abbey is alſo found, the Epitaph of *Sicco*, or *Zuffrid* of Holland, firſt lord of Bre-derode, ſonne to *Arnould*, & brother to *Thierry* the 3. Earles of Holland, as followeth. M

Stirps, ſepe horum ſtatus immutatur bonorum,
Quod Comes exegit, quem lapis iſte tegit.
Sicco g. hic Comitum, Comitatum primus habitum,
Dum quod amat ſequitur, ſic minor efficitur.
Sed fundus, ſeruus, criſq; mutabat acernus,
Inferior ſolo Principe fratre ſuo.

Qui dum perpendit, quo mundi gloria tendit,
Fortis inuitat ſua tradit hunc domui.
Stirps de Sicconе præceſſit in hac regione,
Florens diuitijs, ſanguine, ingenijs.
Iulius in Nonis tulit hunc, vt credimus, annis,
Cui vera ſit quies, perpetuuſq; dies.

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THIERRY THE FOVRTH OF THAT name, and fift Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland.



Lichem fecit.

5 Theodoricus Quartus.

Nine yeares I liued Earle of Holland fortunate,
Not knowing, nor yet caring what belong'd to mariage ſtate.
The Germans I compeld the towne of Dort to leaue,
That ſought by all the meanes they could my life for to bereaue;
Who being ouercome, and put vnto the flight,
Turn'd backe, and ſhot a ſhaft at me, which in my thigh did light.
The names of three of my forefathers I did beare,
And with them in their ſepulcher my bones interred were.

THIERRY the 4. of that name, after the decease of *Thierry* the 3. his father, G was the fift Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland. Hee was neuer married, and therefore he left not any children to succeed him. On a time a torney being appointed in the citie of Liege, whither came many Princes and Noble men; Cont *Thierry* went thither in like sort, accompanied with many Noble men and Barons, his vassals. As the Princes & Noble men were at the torney, it happened by an vnfortunat blow, that the Earle slew the brother of the bishops of Cologne and Liege: so as the noble men of Germanie sought to reuenge the death of this yong knight. *Thierry* vnable to make his partie good, retired secretly with all his traine out of the citie. The Germains aduertised of his retreat, pursued him, and hauing ouertaken the last of his traine, they slew some, among the which were two knights. H Cont *Thierry* hauing recouered Holland without danger, went to Dordrecht, and caused all the ships of Cologne and Liege to be burnt; tooke all the Germaine marchants prisoners, and put them to great ransoms, to reuenge the death of his two knights, and of his other seruants.

The bishops of Liege and Cologne, assail the Earle, and take Dordrecht.

The bishops of Liege and Cologne bearing this indignitie impatiently, sent an armie vnder the command of the Marques of Brandebourg their cosin; who comming downe the Rhine, entred into Holland, and by treason, (some say by a popular tumult) surprised the towne of Dordrecht.

Cont *Thierry* being somewhat amazed at this losse, was aduised by the seignior *Gerard* of Putten, to make an aduenture to enter the towne by night with his men; the which succeeded happily. Sounding his trumpets, and with a fearefull crie, at mid-night, he began to spoile I all the Germaines he could incounter: so as after some resistance, the Germaines were forced to leaue the towne, and to flie, or to saue themselues in holes, vntill the furie of the fight were past: in the which there died aboue 400. Germaine gentlemen.

The Earle recouers the towne, and expels the Germaines.

The next day in the morning, the Earle being wearie of the nights fight, beeing disarmed, and desirous to refresh himselfe, walked vp and downe, and passing by a narrow streete, was shot in the thigh with a poysoned dart, by one of the enemies which lay hidden in a garret; so as euer since vnto this day that street is called *Graue street*, that is to say, the Earles streete: of which wound he died two dayes after, which was the 15. of May 1048, hauing gouerned his Countries nine yeares. He was interred with his father in the Abbey of Egmont. During the life of this Earle, was built the first Fort in the Island of Schauven at Zirickxee: and the Island K of Walchren in Zeeland was conquered by *Baldwin* of *I'Isle de Buc*, Earle of Flanders, assisted by *Robert* his youngest sonne. Then began the shippes of the East Countries to frequent the seas of the Netherlanders, and not before.

The Earle slaine.

Floris

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FLORIS THE FIRST OF THAT name, the sixt Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



Florentius Primus.

My brothers heire I was, and sixt Earle by degree,
And married with a Saxen dame of great nobilitie:
The Liegios I subdu'd, and valiantly did take
The Earle of Loven in the field, and him my pris'ner make.
Twice did the Prince of Collen feele my force and might,
Betweene the riuers Wale and Mase: but to my great despight,
(As all things subiect are to change) my selfe being tane,
When I had ruled 14. yeares, in cruell wise was slaine.

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FLORIS the firſt of that name, was before Earle of Weſt Friſeland, who after the death of Cont *Thierry* the fourth his brother, was the ſixt Earle of Holland and Zeeland. He had to wife the lady *Gertrude*, daughter to *Heyman* Duke of Saxonie, ſonne to the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond; of whom he had foure ſonnes: *Thierry* his ſucceſſor in the ſaid Earledoms, *Albert*, *Floris*, and *Peter*, which were Chanons at Liege; and one daughter, called *Mathilde*, or *Mahault*, who was married to *Philip* the firſt of that name, king of France.

Cont *Floris* his wife & childrē

The biſhops of Cologne and Liege, who had not yet forgotten the death of their brother, ſlaine at a turney, by Cont *Thierry* the fourth, the burning of their ſhips, the ranſoming of their marchants, and the defeat of their men, at the enterpriſe of Dordrecht; to bee reuenged of Cont *Floris*, brother to *Thierry*, made a league with the Marques of Brandebourg, the Cont *Albert* of Loos, or of Louvaine, *Wichard* Aduocat generall of Gueldres, and *Herman* Earle of Cuicke, who gathering what forces they could together, reſolued to ſet vpon Cont *Floris* & the Hollanders. The Earle hauing intelligence of their deſigne, ſent for all his knights, gentlemen, and vaſſals, commanding them to bring what troups they could, either of his ſubiects, or ſtrangers: the which they did, making a goodly armie to oppoſe againſt his enemies, and went to lodge in the towne of Dordrecht: cauſing (during his abode there) many ditches to be made in South-Holland, and pit-falls couered with ſtraw and graſſe, which could not be diſcouered. He had alſo ſent for ſuccors out of Friſeland, from whence there were ſent him a troupe of the moſt valiant ſouldiers, that were in all the countrey.

The biſhops of Cologne & Liege, aſſaile the Earle of Holland.

The Earle attends them at Dordrecht.

1058. The Earle attending his enemies in his towne of Dordrecht, the Germans marching in the countrey, thinking to beſiege him there, being entred into South-Holland, there loſt a great number of their men, which were ſmothered and drowned in theſe ditches, thus couered and hidden, the which they could not diſcerne in the night, neither knew they which way to march, for thinking to auoid one danger, they fell into another by heaps, ſo as verie many were ſlaine. And withall, the Earle (who knew all the paſſages of the countrey) purſuing them, made them to fall into theſe ditches; which they could not auoid, vnleſſe they would bee ſubiect to the enemies ſword, who attended them on euerie ſide. There was a furious battaile, where the Earle was victor, in the which there were fortie thouſand men ſlain, and twentie ſix thouſand drowned and ſmothered in thoſe ditches, and all this great armie of Germanes was put to rout, euery one ſauing himſelfe as he could by the medowes. In which defeat was ſlaine the biſhop of Liege; the Earle of Henault, the Earle of Loos, and the Aduocat generall of Gueldres, were priſoners, euerie one paying two thouſand markes of fine ſiluer, for his ranſome, beſides a great number of other knights and gentlemen, that were priſoners. Cont *Floris* got this victorie on S. *Adolphs* day, in the yeare 1058.

A bloudie battaile won by the Earle.

The biſhop of Liege ſlaine.

1062. Foure yeares after, in the yeare 1062, the biſhop of Cologne, the Marques of Brandebourg Cont *Herman* of Cuicke, and other noble men, their allies, leuied a new army, of the which the Marques was General. Theſe noblemen being entred into Holland, their men began to ſpoile and burne the countrey. Cont *Floris*, who was neuer daunted for a ſmall loſſe, like a valiant and hardie knight, went to incounter them with his armie, and charged them furiouſly: the fight was fierce, euerie one ſhewing his valour: the Germanes fought for honour and ſpoyle, and the Hollanders for their liues and goods. In the end, the Hollanders hauing broken the Germans ranks, & diſordred them, they put them to flight, and the Earle remained victor. The Hollanders laden with ſpoyle, and a great number of priſoners, returned to their houſes. This battaile was on S. *Martins* day in Summer.

The biſhop of Cologne leuies another armie.

The Germans defeated again.

After this victorie, Cont *Floris* marching with his armie, & making his retreat, reſting himſelfe vnder an elme, in the village of Hemert, betwixt the riuers of Meuſe and Waſal, Cont *Herman* of Cuick (who before had fled) rallying his men together, came and charged the Earle and his troups, whom he ſurpriſed vnawares and in diſorder, being diſarmed to refreſh themſelues, ſo as hauing no leaſure to arme themſelues againe, they were defeated, and Cont *Floris* with two thouſand ſix hundred of his men. Thoſe of Dordrecht, which had the rere, made haſt to ſuccour them, but it was too late for the Earle: yet they did quite defeat the Earle of Cuicke & his troups, wheras the Earle was alſo ſlaine. Cont *Floris* had after his brothers death raigned 14 yeres in Holland, & in Friſeland 21 yeares. He was interred at Egmont.

The

A The Epitaphs of these two Earles, brethren, *Thierry* the fourth, and *Floris* the first, are found in the Church of the Abbey of Egmont, as followeth:

Ecce iacent fratres, Regni ſpes, gloria, Patres,
Regum ſtirpe ſati, vermibus eſca dati.
Bello magnificus prior horum Theodoricus,
Hoſtibus in Patriam iure negando viam.
B *Per Capræ ſydus dum Ianus volueret Fdus,*
Cæſar erat fomes, quo cadit iſte Comes.
Florens flos florum, Florentius alter eorum,
Splendidus eloquio, viribus, ingenio.
Cui Troiæ rector bellanti cederet Hector,
Dum nimis emicuit, hoſte latente ruit.
Morte viri, flendas, quarto decimoq; Calendas,
C *Iunius axe gerit, cum Comes iſte perit.*
Deſtructor mortis, vitæ reparatio fortis,
Raptos valle ſoli, collocet arce Poli.

Gertrude,

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GERTRVDE, WIDOW TO CONT FLORIS, Mother and Guardian to young Cont Thierry, sonne to Floris.



7 Gertrudis Saxonię.

I was by blood and line of Prince HEMMES *house,*
And to the first Earle FLORIS *was his first and onely spouse:*
In widow-hood I rul'd the Country full a yeare,
With care for my young infants weale, as plainely did appeare:
The Frison sought of me a second mariage state,
Which I accepted: but such was my hard and cruell fate,
That death restored me vnto my former loue,
To lie with him in earthly tombe, my soule in Heauen aboue.

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ROBERT CALLED THE FRISON,

Aduocat Generall to young Cont THIERRY,

second husband to the Counteſſe *Gertrude*.



Like Hector valiantly, my Countries defence
I ſought; reſiſting th'emperour, and draue the Germane thence.
Becomming amorous, I married FLORIS *wife,*
And did defend her ſonne and her, in bloodie warre and ſtrife:
Protecting them eight yeares by my victorious hand.
Cypres, Salamine, Amathont, I wan in Heathen Land:
But ſhunning of my foe within my native ſoyle,
At Caſſel death encountred me, and put me to the foyle.

After

AFter the death of Cont *Floris* the firſt of that name, and the ſixt Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friſeland ſucceſſiuely, being ſlaine in battaile neere vnto Heuſden (as we haue formerly related) the lady *Gertrude* his widow, daughter to *Heyman* duke of Saxonie, gouerned theſe foure Countries in the name of *Thierry* her eldeſt ſonne, being in his nonage. Afterwards, in the yeare 1063. (with the conſent of all the Nobilitie and the Eſtates of the Countrey) ſhee married againe with *Robert* the Friſon, a wiſe and valiant knight, ſonne to *Baldwin* of *Liſle de Bucke*, earle of Flanders: who by the valour of this *Robert* his ſonne, ouerthrew the Emperour *Henry* the fourth in battaile: and for his vertues, was by the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland made guardian of yong Cont *Thierry*, ſonne of the Earle *Floris*, and of the ſaid Lady *Gertrude*; who in this ſecond marriage had three ſons by *Robert*, that is, *Robert* the yong (who went with *Godefroy* of Bouillon to the conqueſt of the holy Land, and after the deceaſe of his father was Earle of Flanders: then *Philip*, who was father to *William* of Ixre: and the third was *Baldwin*, biſhop of Teroanne. She had alſo three daughters by him: the eldeſt was called *Alix* or *Alice*, married to *Canutus*, king of Denmarke and of Norwey, by whom ſhe had *Charles*, which was Earle of Flanders: the ſecond *Gertrude*, who was Counteſſe of Louaine, and afterwards married to a Landtgraue of Elſatia, mother to *Thierry* of Elſatia, who was alſo in his time Earle of Flanders.

1063

The lady Gertrude marries again with the Earle of Flanders.

The children of Robert and the Lady Gertrude.

Why Cont Robert was ſurnamed the Friſon.

This *Robert* the Friſon was not ſo called, as if he had beene borne in Friſeland: but (as the Chronicle of Holland ſayes) for that he was ſtrong, big, and couragious, as a Friſon borne (in ſuch eſteeme and reputation of valour thoſe of Friſeland haue alwaies beene, as when they would ſpeake of a ſtrong man, or commend him for his force, they ſaid, Strong as a Friſon) the Chronicles of Flanders ſay, that hee was ſo called, for that hee ſubdued the Friſons: imitating the ancient Romanes, who called *Scipio* the Africane, and others by the names of the Prouinces which they had conquered and ſubdued. This *Robert* was a valiant and a vertuous Prince, and who had liberalitie in ſingular recommendation, the which mooued the Nobles of Holland & Zeeland to chuſe him for their gouernor, during the minoritie of their prince *Thierry*; wherein he carried himſelfe both wiſely and valiantly for the ſpace of eight yeares.

Hauing at his cõming to the gouernment ſubdued them of Friſeland, hearing of the death of *Baldwin de Mons* his brother, Earle of Flanders, he demanded to be admitted to the Earledome, grounding his pretencions vpon a certaine diuiſion, the which he ſaid, *Baldwin de Liſle* his father had made among his children, at Audenarde: by the which he had decreed, that the ſaid *Robert* the Friſon ſhould ſucceed in the ſaid County to *Robert de Mons*, notwithſtanding any lawful heires that he ſhould leaue. But he found ſo great oppoſition, made by the Counteſſe *Richild*, widow to *Baldwin de Mons*, and by her two ſonnes, being fauored by the Nobles and Commons of the Countrey, as for a time hee did forbeare to attempt any thing. Afterwards the ſaid *Richild* behaued her ſelfe ſo inſupportably in her gouernment, as ſhee became odious to all the Flemings, ſo as they ſent ſecretly to call in *Robert* the Friſon, who came and ouerthrew the king of France in a great battaile: ſo as there was an accord made betwixt the ſaid *Robert*, and the Counteſſe *Richild*, and her ſonne *Baldwin*, who remained ſatisfied with the Countie of Henault; ſo as *Robert* remained peaceable Earle of Holland: where hauing ſetled a good order for his affaires, he was deſirous to go in pilgrimage to the holy Sepulchre, and to Mount Synai, from whence being returned into Flanders, he died in the yeare 1077. at Wyendael, and was interred in the Cannons Church of Caſſell, the which he had founded.

Robert ouercomes the French, and remaines Earle of Flanders.

Robert goes in pilgrimage to Ieruſalem. His death.

1077

Godfrey

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GODFREY THE CROOKED, DVKE of Lorraine, the ninth in number of the Earles of Holland, the which he vsurped for a time.



9 Gothiphredus Lotharige Gibbus.

I am (if you will know) that crooke backt GODFREY,
That by the fauour of Vtrecht wan Holland valiantly:
Whereas, in foure yeares space, to shew my great renowne,
I built the goodly Towne of Delft in the Septentrion:
The Frisons I subdu'd, that could me not withstand,
And manfully maintained warre, both on the sea and land:
Till I in Antwerpe traitrously my death did get,
And left no issue; but now serue to crawling wormes for meat.

The

THe quarell of them of Vtrecht againſt Holland (as Biſhop *Adelbold*, priſoner to Cont *Thierry* the third, had prophecied vnto him) not able to be reconciled; *William* ſonne to *Widikind*, prince of Gelderland, the 21. biſhop of Vtrecht, mindfull of the taking of his father, in a battaile which the biſhops of Cologne and Leege, together with other Germane princes, had againſt Cont *Floris*, father to the Infant *Thierry* Earle of Holland, thruſt on by ambition, and an inſatiable deſire to augment his eſtate (although it were but too great for the maintenance of a Church-man, and one that made profeſſion of ſanctitie) went to the Emperor *Henry* the fourth, to whom he made great complaints, and ſuggeſted falſely, that *Thierry* of Aquitaine, the firſt Earle of Holland, and his ſucceſſors, had violently taken away from *Odibaldus*, the twelfth biſhop of Vtrecht, and his ſucceſſors afterwards from *Adelbold*, and forcibly uſurped the Earledome of Holland; which the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond, *Conrade* the ſecond, and *Henry* the third, had confirmed to the biſhops of Vtrecht: And by theſe abuſiue and ſlanderous ſuggeſtions, he did ſecretly obtayne letters of a reiterated donation from the ſaid *Henry* the fourth, vnder his ſeale. G

The biſhop of Vtrechts falſe ſuggeſtions to the Emperour againſt the Earl of Holland

This reuerent biſhop ſeeing that he ſhould neuer finde a better oportunitie to ſeize vpon Holland, than during the minoritie of Cont *Thierry* the fifth, hauing called all his friends to his ſuccour, and among other, *Godfrey* the Crooked, Duke of Lorrain (the which at that time was called *Lothier*) of Brabant and of Ardennes, made a mightie Armie vnder the command of the ſaid *Godfrey*, with the which he went to inuade Holland in the yeare 1071. in the countrey of Rhynland, neere vnto the Towne of Leyden. The Earle *Robert* the Friſon gouernour of Holland, and father in law to young Cont *Thierry*, hauing gathered together what men hee could, went to encounter theſe two inuading princes, where there was a battaile fought, and the charge was furious on both ſides: but in the end, *Robert* thus ſuddenly ſurpriſed, being otherwiſe employed about his affaires of Flanders, and not able to leuie ſufficient forces to encounter his enemies, who were twice as ſtrong, the loſſe fell vpon the Hollanders, and the biſhop remained victor. *Robert* taking his wife and children ſpeedily with him, ſaues himſelfe in Flanders in the Towne of Gand, as the Chronicles of Holland ſay, but thoſe of Flanders write, that he fled into Saxonie to his wiues father, from whence hee was called backe by the Flemings againſt the Counteſſe *Richild*, as wee haue before noted, ſpeaking of the ſaid *Robert*. H

Godfrey duke of Lorraine, inuades Holland in the biſhops name.

The biſhop a conquerour, & Robert retires himſelfe. I

After this victorie, biſhop *William* cauſed *Godfrey* the Crooke-backe to take poſſeſſion of all the Townes of Holland, and to hold the whole Earledome in fee and homage of his Biſhopricke of Vtrecht; the which he poſſeſſed and gouerned fiue whole yeares after that donation, during the abſence of *Robert*, who was buſied in Flanders. This Prelate of Vtrecht cauſed all the frontier Townes to be manned with good garriſons: among the reſt he built a ſtrong Caſtle at Iſſelmonde, vpon the riuer of Mæuſe, betwixt Dordrecht and Rotterdam, the which he fortified with a good garriſon. Duke *Godfrey* for a perpetuall memorie to poſteritie, cauſed a new Towne to be built, betwixt the villages of Auverſchyer and Riſuvicke, the which is at this preſent the goodly Towne of Delft, and without it a Caſtle, where he made his reſidence during his gouernment. K

Duke Godfrey poſſeſſeth Holland.

Foundation of the Towne of Delft. L

This Duke ſeeing all things ſucceed ſo happily, and that nothing did croſſe his deſſeignes, he reſolued to make warre againſt the Friſons, making a roade into the countrey, and bringing a great bootie, with many priſoners into the Towne of Alcmar. The East-Friſons, neighbours to them that were thus ſpoyled, came downe like men halfe madde with a mightie Armie, and beſieged *Godfrey* in the ſaid Towne of Alcmar, for the ſpace of nine weekes. Seeing himſelfe thus beſieged, hee called the biſhop of Vtrecht to his ſuccour, who poſted thither with all his forces, and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege. He gaue battaile to the Friſons, whom he defeated, and put to rout, where there were ſlaine about eight thouſand vpon the place, beſides priſoners: the reſt were all ſcattered and put to flight. So Duke *Godfrey*, with the helpe of the ſaid biſhop, got poſſeſſion of both Frieſlands, Eaſt and Weſt, the which he alſo enioyed foure yeares together, vpon condition, that he ſhould hold them likewiſe in fee of the ſaid biſhop, and of his Biſhopricke of Vtrecht.

Godfry makes warre in Friſeland.

The Friſons defeated with the help of the biſhop of Vtrecht. M

Afterwards, in the yeare 1075. Duke *Godfrey* being in Andwerpe (ſome Authors ſay in Friſeland) eaſing his bodie in a low chamber which was ouer the ditch of his lodging, hee was

A was discouered by one called *Ghisbrecht*, seruant to young Cont *Thierry*, who thrust him in at the fundament with a jaueline. *Godfrey* being thus wounded, desirous to returne into his Countrey of Lorraine, he caused himselfe to bee transported into the Towne of Maestrecht, whereas he died in the moneth of March, leauing no children of his body, nor any other heire, but one onely sister, wife to *Eustace*, Earle of Blois, by whom she had three sons; *Godfrey* of Bouillon, *Baldwin* and *Eustace*. After which *Godfrey* the Crooke-backe, his nephew *Godfrey* of Bouillon, succeeded in the Dutchies of Lorraine and Brabant, although at that time the Dukes of Lorraine did not write themselues Dukes of Brabant. But since in the yere 1251. *Henry* the third of that name, Duke of Lorrain, began to intitle himselfe Duke of Lothier and of Brabant: the which the Dukes of Brabant (although they haue no pretension vnto Lor-
B raine) haue continued vnto this day. This Duke *Godfrey* of Bouillon, with many great Princes of Christendome, among others, *Hugh* the great, brother to the King of France: *Robert*, brother to the Duke of Normandie: *Robert* the young, sonne to our *Robert* the Frison, before mentioned, Earle of Flanders: *Raymond*, Earle of S. Gilles: *Steuen*, Earle of Blois: *Brunamond* or *Baymond*, Prince of Appulia: *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, brothers to Duke *Godfrey* of Bouillon: *Anselme* of Ribemont, and some Noblemen of the house of *Borsele* in Zeeland. Among the Gentlemen of Friseland, were *Tiepko Fortman*, *Iarich Ludingama*, *Epo Hardtman*, *Igo Galama*, *Fredericke Botnia*, *Eelcko* and *Sicco Liaucama*, cousins, and *Obbo Hermana*, with 300000. which were marked with the signe of the Crosse, and therefore this voyage was called, the Croisadoe: in which expedition they recouered the holy Land, and the said *Godfrey* of Bouillon was crowned King of Ierusalem, to whom succeeded his brother *Baldwin*.

The death of Godfrey the Crooke-back, without heirs.

Godfrey of Bouillon succeeds Godfrey the Crooke-backe.

Godfrey of Bouillon Generall to the Holy land.

He is crowned King of Ierusalem.

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THIERRY THE FIFTH OF THAT name, Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland.



Theodoricus Quintus,

THIERRY *attain'd to yeares, his valour for to ſhew,*
Found meanes to croſſe the Prieſt, that ſought his vter ouerthrow:
Man oftentimes doth win great honour, wealth, and fame,
But by induſtry and by force he muſt preſerue the ſame.
The Friſons he ſubdu'd by valour and by might,
That ſecretly conſpired had, to worke him ſome deſpight:
His wife WITHILD *was, and at full ſeuenteene yeares*
His Earledome he aſſign'd to death, as by record appeares.

THIERRY

A THierry the fifth of that name, sonne to Cont *Floris*, the first of that name, Earle of Holland, Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland. After the death of *Godfrey* the Crooke-backe, Duke of Lorraine, who (as wee haue said) by the instigation, support, and fauour of *William* of Geldre, bishop of Vtrecht, had dispossessed him, being yet in his minoritie, of all his countrey of Holland and Friseland; he leuied a mighty Armie, with the helpe of *Robert* the Frison, his father in law, and his other kinsfolkes and friends, to recouer his Countrey and auncient Inheritance. 1077

Cont Thierry prepares to recouer Holland

At the same time (which was in the yeare 1077.) died the said *William*, bishop of Vtrecht, hauing gouerned his bishopricke in bloudie warres (in the which he was often victor) for the
B space of two and twentie yeares, carrying himselfe more like a Captaine than a Pastor: to whom succeeded *Conrard*, issued from the Dukes of Suaube, who was installed in the sayd bishopricke, the better to defend the Conquest of Holland and Zeeland, which his predecessour *William* had made. This *Conrard* tooke great delight in the Castle of Isselmond, whether the Earles *Thierry* and *Robert* the Frison marched with their Armie, knowing his vsuall residence to be there. The bishop *Conrard* hearing that they came to besiege him, and seeing his said Castle inuested, sent to his subiects of his bishoprick of Vtrecht to come to succour him, and to free him from this siege. Whereupon great numbers of souldiers came to him from all parts: so as there was a furious battaile fought, betwixt the bishops *Traiectins*, and the Hollanders and Flemings of Cont *Thierry* and Cont *Robert*, the which was long in suspence, to
C whether part the victorie would encline: but in the end the bishops men were broken and put to flight, of whom there was a great slaughter made, beeing pursued vnto their shippes, where many were drowned in the preasse, striuing to get in. There died many Nobles of the bishops side, among others, *Gerlar* Earle of Zutphen, *Lambert* Prouost Cathedrall of Deuenter, *Volckmar* Priest of S. *Boniface*, *Chisbrecht* and *Warembault*, knights. And of Cont *Thierries* side, *Iohn* of Arckel, *Euerard* of Bockhorst, with many other Gentlemen and braue souldiers.

Conrard besieged in his castle at Isselmond.

The bishops men defeated by Cont Thierry.

The bishop hauing lost this battaile, and seeing his men quite defeated, and without any meanes to rallie them againe together, sought to fortifie himselfe in the dungeon of the Castle of Isselmond, rampiering vp the base Court: But Cont *Thierry* by the aduice of his
D Hollanders, hauing woon the said base Court, forced the bishop to yeeld both himselfe and the place to his mercie, and in the end for his liberty to restore vnto him all his country of Holland: which done, the Earle sent him home honourably to Vtrecht.

The bishop forced to yeild himselfe prisoner, and to restore Holland.

After this triumphant victorie, and before that hee dismissed his Armie, Cont *Thierry* hauing recouered his inheritance, entred into Holland, from the which he had beene long expelled, and was there receiued with great ioy and pompe, and acknowledged for their Prince, Earle, and naturall Lord: But the Frisons, who had so often rebelled, were restie, and refused the homage which they ought him, seeking to remaine free Imperialists; although that *Egbert*, competitor to the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, hauing subdued them from the Flie to the riuer of Lanuvers, had made them his vassales, and giuen them to the
E bishop of Vtrecht; and the said *Egbert* being vanquished and slaine in a mill by the said Emperours men, all the Countrey of Friseland was giuen to bishop *William* of Geldre, and annexed vnto his bishopricke by the said Emperour *Henry*. The Frisons therefore seeing the sayd *Conrard* vanquished, would not acknowledge the one nor the other, but onely the Emperour and the Empire, relying vpon their auncient priuiledges. *Thierry* seeing their obstinacie, attended the oportunitie of a sharpe and violent Winter, with some hard frostes, which made the foule wayes, waters, marishes, and quagge mires firme and hard as stone. Then he marched with all his forces to assayle them; the Frisons attended him vpon the yce, where a furious battaile was fought: But in the end, the Frisons (not able any longer to endure the force of the Hollanders and Flemings) were put to rout, and aboue fortie
F thousand slaine vpon the place. Yet the Frisons fainted not for this defeat: but hauing gathered together their dispersed troupes, and beeing succoured with fresh and great supplies, they present themselues to a second battaile. The Earle being well accompanied, after that hee had encouraged his men, went to charge them: The encounter was great and fierce, eyther partie contending for the victorie; the Hollanders fighting for

The Frisons will neyther acknowledge the bishop, nor the Earle of Holland.

The Frisons defeated by Cont Thierry.

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honour and ſpoile, and the Friſons for their liberties, liues, and goods; yet they were charged G
A ſecond battail, and the Friſons defeated. ſo furiouſly by the Hollanders, as, not able any longer to endure the ſhocke, they began by little and little to recoyle and giue backe, and in the end fled, ſo as the ſlaughter was very great: for the Earle was much incenſed againſt them, commaunding all to be ſlaine, ſo as there died aboue ſix thouſand in this ſecond battaile: And marching into the Countrey, he tooke men, women, and children priſoners, that were vnder the age of twelue yeares; putting all that could be taken in the furie, to the ſword, that exceeded this age, beeing reſolued to ruine and
Staueren beſieged, & yeelded to the earl vnpeople the whole Countrey. Then he went to beſiege the Towne of Staueren, and the inhabitants were forced to compound, to haue their liues and goods ſaued, paying thirteene hundred Crownes of gold for a ranſome, and leading with him fortie of the inhabitants of the Towne for hoſtages, cauſing all ſtrange ſouldiers that were found in it, to be ſtripped and H
ſpoyled.

Cont Thierries wife. Thus Cont *Thierry* recouered all the Countrey of Friſeland, and returned a Conquerour into his Countrey of Zeeland: where, ſoone after he maried *Withild*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of Saxonie, by whom he had one ſonne called *Floris*, who was Earle after his death, and one daughter named *Mathild*, the which was maried to the Duke of Orleans. The ſaid Cont *Thierry* confirmed by letters of State, the donations made by the Earles his predeceſſours, to the Abbey of Egmont.

Conrard biſhop of Vtrecht, being (as we haue ſaid) freed from priſon, hauing yeelded vp vnto Cont *Thierry* his Earledome of Holland, was not well ſatisfied, that the ſaid *Thierry* had
The biſhop of Vtrecht obtaines a graunt of Friſeland from the Emperour by a falſe title. conquered Friſeland, the which hee maintained did belong vnto him; but with ſuch informations as biſhop *William* of Geldre his predeceſſor, had made vnto the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, he obtained by letters patents, bearing date the Ides of Februarie in the yeare 1088. a graunt of the ſaid Countrey of Friſeland: in the which are ſpecially named the quarters of Ooſtergoe and Weſtergoe, vnto the riuer of Lanuvers, the which the ſaid biſhop *Conrard* did afterwards giue in the yere 1092. to *Adolph* of Fornenburch, to hold them in fee of his biſhopricke of Vtrecht. This knight *Adolph* had to wife *Anne*, daughter to the Lord of Ameland, by the which he had no children. I

The death of Cont Thierry. In the ſame yere Cont *Thierry* being fallen ſicke, died the fifteenth of the Calends of Iuly, after that, the Lady *Gertrude* of Saxonie his mother, from the deceaſe of Cont *Floris* her husband, father to *Thierry*, had gouerned the Countries of Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, two K
yeares, *Robert* the Friſon, his father in law, eight yeares, *Godfrey* the Crooked, duke of Lorrain, foure, *William* biſhop of Vtrecht one yeare, and he himſelfe fifteene, making in all thirty yeres, from the death of the ſaid Cont *Floris* his father. He was interred in the Abbey of Egmont, by whom alſo doth lye the Counteſſe *Withild* his wife.

The chiefe nobilitie of Holland in thoſe times. In his time there were many braue knights in Holland, beſides his brethren, and among others, *William* Lord of Brederode, *Gerard* Lord of Theilinghen, *Baldwin* Lord of Heuſden, *Fox* Lord of Arckell, *Dodo* Lord of Leederdam, the Seigneurs of Lerke, of Putten, of Poleuanen, of Streuen, of Altena, *Vernard* of Buchorſt, *Iohn* of Perſin, *Aleruin* of Waſſenare, the Vicont of Leyden, *Scharaloth* and *Truſing* his brethren, *Dodo* of Riſwicke, the Seignior *Yſbrant Gruytwater*, with many other Gentlemen of marke. L

The Epitaph of this Cont *Thierry* the fifth, was found in the Abbey of Egmont, after this manner:

Viribus haud modicus ſitus eſt hic Theodericus,
Qui pulſus Patria, vi redit in propria:
Nam Dux gibboſus, puero fuit inſidioſus,
Sed Ducis imeritus, fit Iuueni reditus.
Vrbs Traiectenſis, fulmen tremit ipſius enſis,
Mortes multorum dum gemit omne forum.
Capto Pontifice, Comes inclitus egit amicè,
Non quod vi poterat, ſed quod honoris erat. M
Hoſtibus iſte grauis, patriæ ratiſſima clauis,
Quem decuere benè, verba ſtatura, genè.
Iuli, quindenas reproducente Calendas,
Qua Comitem rapuit, mors lachrimoſa fuit.

Floris

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FLORIS, SVRNAMED THE FAT, THE second of that name, and eleuenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



Florentius 2. Cognom. Pinguis.

In bountie and in pietie 'twas I that did surpasse,
As likewise in great store of wealth, the Princes of my race:
My wife was daughter to the Emperour LOTHARIE,
And in Rhynsburg a cloyster new for Nunnes did edifie.
Full thirty six yeares time my Earledomes I possest,
And forc'd the Frisons vnto peace, that seem'd vn to detest:
At last, as God ordained hath, that man shall die,
To death I yeelded, And my bones in Egmont Church doe lie.

FLoris the ſecond of that name, and eleuenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland, ſonne to Cont *Thierry* the fifth, was commonly called the Fat, or the Groſſe, an actiue man, well membred, and of a tall ſtature, a politicke Prince, enclining to peace, and liberall in giuing, readie to pleaſure euery man, and to hurt no man: He had to wife *Petronelle* or *Parnel*, daughter to *Didier* Duke of Saxonie, ſiſter to the Emperour *Lothaire*, of whom he had three ſonnes, *Thierry* the ſixt, his ſucceſſour, the twelfth Earle of Holland, *Floris* the Blacke Prince of Kenemerlandt, and *Symon*; with one daughter named *Hadewicke*, which was Counteſſe of Geldre, a very beautifull Lady. Hee was much giuen to fauour Church-men, by reaſon whereof, he gaue great reuenues to the Abbey of Egmont. G H

Cont Floris wife.

1119 In the yeare 1119. Cont *Floris* had a quarrell with a knight of Friſeland, called *Galonges* of Galama, by reaſon of hunting in the foreſt of Creyl, whether the Earle lying at Tenckelhuyſen (now called Tuchuyſen) or at Medernblyck, went vſually for his recreation. On a certaine time among the reſt, hee tooke from *Galamas* ſeruants three of his Grey-hounds, and two Hares, which they had taken; whereof the ſaid *Galama* (according to the threats of the countrey) ſware to take a bloudie reuenge. The Earle making no account of his threats comming after his accuſtomed manner to hunt in this Wood, *Galama* met him, beeing accompanied with a good troupe of his friends and partiſans: At their firſt encounter hee audaciouſly demaunded of the Earle reparation of the wrong hee had done him, in taking away his dogges and veniſon, or els he would take it with his owne hands, vſing withall many proud and hautie ſpeeches. The Earle meaning to blame him for his preſumptuous raſhneſſe: *Galama* paſſing from wordes to blowes, thruſt at the Earle with his rapier, thinking to haue paſſed it through his bodie: but he ſlipping a little on the one ſide, the Earle was hurt in the arme, and was reſcued by his Gentlemen, of whom, *Galama* ouerthrew two, before they parted. The Earle thirſted after reuenge, but to auoid effuſion of bloud, and the ruine of their ſubiects, this quarrell was compromitted to *Godfrey* Duke of Brabant, who dying ſoone after, it was left in ſuſpence vntill the yeare 1165. that the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarouſſe* reconciled theſe two houſes of Holland and *Galama*: by the which accord it was ſaid, that *Ioub Galama* and his heires ſhould hunt freely in the Forreſt of Creyl, and enioy a moytie therof for them and their heires for euer. I K

A quarrell betwixt the earle and a knight of Friſeland.

The Emperor compounds this quarell.

At the ſame time, Staueren, the chiefe towne of all Friſeland, rich and abounding in all wealth, the which had beene the onely Staple for all Marchandiſe, whether ſhips came from all parts, whoſe inhabitants through eaſe knew not what to doe, nor deſire; ſhewing themſelues in all things exceſſiue and licentious, not onely in their apparell, but alſo in the furniture of their houſes, gilding the ſeats before their lodgings: ſo as they were commonly called, *The debauched children of Staueren*. As it is in the common courſe of this world, when as things are at the higheſt, or that men are at the height of their proſperitie, to decline and fall againe: euen ſo it happened to this towne of Staueren, by a wonderfull or rather miraculous accident, proceeding from the prouidence of God, enemie to all pride and contempt; which was in this manner: There was in the ſaid towne a widow, who knew no end of her wealth, the which made her proud and inſolent: Shee did fraight out a ſhippe for Danſwicke, giuing the Maſter charge to returne her in exchange of her marchandiſe, the rareſt ſtuffe hee could find. The Maſter of the ſhippe finding no better commoditie than good Wheat, fraighted his ſhippe therewith, with the which he returned to Staueren: the which did ſo diſcontent this fooliſh and glorious widow as ſhee ſaid vnto the Maſter, That if he had laden the ſaid Corne on the ſtarre-boord ſide, he ſhould caſt it into the Sea on the lar boord, the which was done, and all the Wheat powred into the Sea. But note the wonders of Gods iuſt iudgement, the whole towne, yea all the Prouince did ſmart for one womans errour: for preſently, in the ſame place where as the mariners had caſt the Corne into the Sea, there grew a great barre of ſand, wherewith the Hauen was ſo ſtopped, as no great ſhippe could enter: and at this day the ſmalleſt veſſels that will anker there, muſt bee very carefull, leaſt they ſtrike againſt this flat or ſand: the which ſince hath beene called Vrawe-landt, that is to ſay, the Womans Sand: Whereby the Towne looſing their Staple and traffique of marchandiſe by little and little) came to decline: and by the inteſtine warres which haue ſince happened L M

The declining of the towne of Staueren in Friſeland.

The pride of a widow of Friſeland.

in

A in Friſeland, the inhabitants, by reaſon of their wealth and pride, being growne intollerable to the Nobilitie, who in ſumptuouſneſſe could not endure to be braued by them, the ſaid town is now become one of the pooreſt of the Prouince, although it be at this day, one that hath the greateſt priuiledges among all the Hans townes.

Cont *Floris* hauing liued long in peace (as he was a man of a quiet ſpirit) the Friſons began to rebell againe, and being iealous of their libertie, would no longer obey his lieutenants, and officers of iuſtice, nor receiue any commandements from them. The Earle being much moued at this contempt, went with an armie to reduce them vnto reaſon. Beeing entred into the countrey, ſome yong gentlemen of his armie, being lodged in a village, called Schoerle, went with ſome few ſouldiers, to diſcouer their enemies. The Friſons lying in ambuſh, brake forth, B and hauing compaſſed them in on euerie ſide, they ſlew many: the moſt apparant of them were *Simon* of Anuers, *William* of Voorhout, *Baldwin* of Harlem, *Floris Roeſſchen*, *Gerard Droſſart*, *Allard* of Egmont, *Bruyn* of Caſtrichom, *Euert* of Noortwick, *Gerard* of Monſtre, all knights; the which were drawne from among the dead, and buried in the Abbey of Egmont.

The Friſons rebell.

Gentlemen of Holland defeated in Friſeland.

After this vnfortunate skirmiſh, Cont *Floris* hauing fortified his armie, hee went himſelfe in perſon againſt the Friſons, whom hee did wonderfully deſtroy, to reuenge the death of his knights, his ſouldiers killing all they could incounter, both men and women. The Friſons ſeeing their owne miſerie, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie, and promiſed vnder their hands and ſeales, neuer to rebell againſt him, nor his ſucceſſors, the which they held not long. Being thus reduced vnto reaſon, the Earle returned into Holland, where hee liued the remainder of C his dayes in peace.

The Friſons ſubdued.

In the yeare 1131, the regular Monks of Middelbourg in Zeeland, were for their diſordred life, expelled their Couent, by *Gombault* biſhop of Vtrecht, who placed other Monks there, that came from Antuerpe (which was to change a pour-blind man, for one that had no ſight) the ſaid town of Middelbourg being then but a village, with a caſtle, which they cald Burcht: but by little and little they began to wall it in, by reaſon of the ordinarie incurſions which the Flemings made into the iſle of Walchren. And the other iſlands began to erect ſeigniories, among the which, that of the family of *Borſſele*, as the moſt antient of all, was the moſt aduanced, and rich in lands. 1131

In the yeare 1133, Prince *Floris*, Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland, hauing D gouerned his countries in peace (except the troubles of Friſeland) for the ſpace of 31 yeares, died the ſixt of the Nones of March, leauing three ſons and one daughter, as we haue ſaid. This Prince exceeded all his predeceſſors in wealth, ſtate, and liberalitie: aboue all, hee was a great giuer of almes, of a quiet diſpoſition, and very conſiderat before he entred into any warre. For (ſaid he) that Prince which loueth his ſubiects, will not raſhly vndertake a warre, if hee bee not forced. He is buried in the Abbey of Egmont, by his fathers, whoſe Epitaph was found, as followeth.

The death of Cont *Floris*.

O Florens ſpecies, lege, cerne quid citò ſies,
Quod teres tumuli, forma decet tituli.
E *Floruit vt palma ſerie Florentius alma,*
Cultor Iuſtitiæ, iura tuendo piæ.
Duxerat vxorem claram, Regiſq; ſororem,
Ambo præclari, parbenè iuncta pari.
Larga manus dantis, altar ſacrum venerantis,
Donis non minimis, præcipuè decimis.
F *Tempus ei pacis: labor eſt victoria Patris,*
Attulit, optato ſuppede Marte dato.
Quum ſenas nonas Sol, martis tempore donas,
Contigit hanc lucem morte mutare ducem.

THIERRY

THIERRY THE SIXT OF THAT name, and twelfth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Frieland.



THIERRY espoused the daughter of the Earle PALATINE,
SOPHIA cald, that trauailed with him to Palestine.
Where wearied with long toyle, it was her chance to die.
Twice in one day the Frisons he subdued valiantly.
Vtrecht he did besiege, and ruled forte yeare:
And in the Abbey of Egmont his bones interred were:
Intombed with a diademe of thornes, the which the King
Of Idumea ensigne was, which he from thence did bring.

THIERRY

A THierry the sixt of that name, son to *Floris* the second, was twelfth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland, who tooke to wife the ladie *Sophia*, daughter to *Otho Palatin* of Rhin, of whom he had foure sons; *Floris* the 3. that succeeded him, *Otto* Earl of Benthem, *Baldwin* bishop of Vtrecht, and *Peregrin* Vicont of Montfort: with three daughters, *Sophia*, that was abbesse of Fontenelle, *Hedewic*, that was a religious woman there, and *Petronelle*, who was a faire and louely lady, but I know not to whom she was maried. He had also one bastard, called *Robert of Holland*. The wife and children of Cont *Thierry* 6

We haue formerly said, That in the yeare 1086, the Emperour *Henry* the 4. vpon sleight suggestions, had giuen the counties of Oostergoe and Westergoe, in Friseland, to *Conrard* bishop
B of Vtrecht, which Marques *Egbert* had giuen to the bishopricke of Vtrecht, to hold them of the empire, during the time that he was competitor with the Emperour *Henry*: but *Lothaire*, vncle by the mothers side to this cont *Thierry* the 6, reuoked this donation, as soon as he came to the empire after *Henry*, as purchased vnlawfully & by stealth, restoring those two quarters of Oostergoe & Westergoe, with the seuen Forests (in the which three parts consists al Friseland) vnto Cont *Thierry* his nephew, annexing them to the estate of the Earles of Holland. Who so desires to know the limits of these three iurisdictions, of Oostergoe, Westergoe, and the seuen Forests, let him read our particular description of Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, Friseland, Oueryssell, and Gronningue, which are sixe Prouinces of the vnited Estates of the Netherlands, gouerned by Prince *Maurice* of Nassau, and Cont *William* of Nassau his cosin. Friseland giuen by the emperor *Lothaire*, to the Earle of Holland.

C In the yeare 1132, the Frisons rebelled againe against Cont *Thierry*; whom hee suffered in the beginning, but the Winter following, during the sharpest frosts, when as the ice did serue as a bridge, to passe ouer all riuers and marishes, wherewith that countrey doth abound, the Earle went with an armie to reduce them vnto reason. The Frisons beeing nothing amazed, went to incounter him with all their forces, & had in one day two battailes against the Hollanders, in both which they were defeated, with such losse of their men, as the number of the dead could not be knowne. After this victorie the Earle returned triumphing into his country of Holland, and his men laden with spoile and prisoners. The Frisons rebell against the Earle of Holland. Two battails in one day, in the which the Frisons were defeated.

The said Cont *Thierry* (as we haue said) had one brother, called *Floris* the black, a bold man and proud, who, whether that he enuied the estate and prosperitie of his brother, or for some
D other priuat and domesticke quarrell, the which is easily kindled among great men, through iealousie, or otherwise, falling into difference one with another, he retired himself out of Holland, to the Frisons, who complained of the excessiue impositions and charges, that they were forced to beare: to whom *Floris* was verie welcome, hearing of the hatred that was betwixt his brother and him, making him their General; with whom he entred into Holland, ruining all the Castles, and places of strength, in the earledome, euen vnto Harlem: hee spoiled the towne of Alcmar, and all the villages round about; the which they did daily, and at night they returned laden with spoile into Friseland, being not aboue fiue or six leagues distance. And the said *Floris* had yet done worse vnto his brother and the Hollanders, if the Emperour *Lothaire*, their vncle (hauing intelligence of the quarrell of these two brethren, his fifteen sonnes) had not
E reconciled them together, as they were soone after. Hatred betwixt Cont *Thierry* and *Floris* his brother. *Floris* retires to the Frisons, & makes warre against his brother. The Emperor reconciles the two brethren.

The emperor had a great desire to be reuenged of the Frisons, who had rebelled against cont *Thierry*, by reason of the donation, which hee had made vnto him of the countries of Oostergoe, Westergoe, & the seuen Forests: but hauing great wars in Germany & Italy, he could not pursue his intent, & therfore this grant did not greatly aduance him nor his successors. Besides *Andrew* bishop of Vtrecht, brother to the Earle of Guick, found himselfe grieued: saying, That those iurisdictions belonged vnto him, by the gift of former Emperors: whereupon hee went to *Conrard*, competitor to *Lothaire* in the empire, who disanulled that which *Lothaire* had giuen to *Thierry*; and confirmed that which the Emperors their predecessors had granted to former bishops. And withall, bishop *Herbert*, successor to *Andrew*, after the death of the
F Emperor *Lothaire* (to whom *Conrard* was forced to giue place) obtained of the said *Conrard* (being confirmed in the empire, after the death of *Lothaire*) a new ratification of the said grant. But as all those which had been made, were but in paper, or parchment, either partie wanting force to take possession therof; the Frisons maintaining themselues in their auntient freedoms and liberties, by force of armes: which liberties had been giuen them by auntient Emperours, A new quarrel against the bishop of Vtrecht, for Friseland.

and

and namely by *Charlemaigne*, and which they had purchaſed with the deere price of their liues G
and bloud: Neither had the Earles of Holland, nor biſhop of Vtrecht, any great authoritie nor
commaund, in the ſaid iuriſdictions of Friſeland; except the biſhop of Vtrecht, who for a time
did quietly enioy the towne and countrie of Gronninghen, by the like grant from Emperors.

A great quarrel betwixt *Floris* of Holland, & two Earles, brethren.

The quarrell of the two brethren, Cont *Thierry*, and *Floris* the Blacke, beeing pacified, and
they reconciled, the ſaid *Floris* had another with the Earles *Gouard* of Arlisberg, & *Herman* of
Cuick, brethren. Theſe two Earls had one niece, the daughter of *Arnoult van Rochem*, a knight,
and of *Alice* their ſiſter: who after the deceaſe of her father and mother, liued with Cont *Her-*
man of Cuick, her vncle. Some of the friends & ſeruants of this yong gentlewoman, to whom
the valour and merits of *Floris* were well knowne, did greatly wiſh and deſire a marriage be-
twixt them two: but theſe two Earles would by no meanes yeeld therevnto, deuiſing all the H
trauerſes and croſſes they could. Thoſe of Vtrecht, as well for feare of the Emperor *Lothaire*,
his vncle, as for the loue of the Earle of Holland, his brother, receiued the lord *Floris* into their
towne, giuing him free egreſſe and regreſſe, when he pleaſed, with all his traine. Hee beeing
much moued and diſcontented, that the Earles of Arlisberg and Cuick, with *Andrew* biſhop
of Vtrecht, all three brethren, had refuſed him this gentlewoman their niece, reſolued to be re-
uenged of the ſaid biſhop, and to do him all the iniurie he could, for that hee hated him moſt:
whereupon entring with an armie into his dioceſſe of Vtrecht, hee burnt the towne of Ler-
melude. Cont *Herman* knowing well, that by open force he could not auoid him, by reaſon
of the great aid and ſupport that he had from the Emperour, his vncle, and from the Earle his
brother; he laid an ambuſh to ſurpriſe and take him priſoner. One morning, attending *Floris* I
comming out of the towne, with ten or twelue gentlemen to hunt, iſſuing out of his ambuſh
hee went to charge him: *Floris* meaning to ſaue himſelfe, turned his horſe head, and fled to-
wards the towne, with ſuch haſt, as both he and his horſe were ouerthrowne. Cont *Herman*
purſuing him, and ouertaking him, ſlew him, before he could recouer himſelfe. The Emperor
hearing of his nephews death, called Cont *Herman* by proclamation of the empire, and for his
contumacie, and not appearing, depriued him of his ſeigniorie, and degraded him of all armes
and honour, for ſo foule a murther. On the other ſide, the Earle of Holland entred with a great
armie into the Earle of Cuicks countrey, burning al the caſtles, and chaſing Cont *Herman* and
Andrew biſhop of Vtrecht, his brother, out of their territories. Notwithſtanding after the
death of the Emperour *Lothaire*, by the interceſſion of ſome noblemen, *Herman* was reconci- K
led to the Earle, doing him homage, and taking an othe of fealtie: and the biſhop was likewiſe
reſtored to his biſhopricke. Among thoſe which had purſued *Floris*, when he was ſlaine, there
was a knight, called *Heröls* of Barne: he being on a time chaſed by Cont *Thierryes* men, lea-
ped with his horſe into the Meuſe, and ſo eſcaped, ſwimming ouer to the other banke. At that
time Cont *Otto* of Benthem, ſonne to *Otto Palatin* of Rhin, brother to *Sophia* Conteſſe of Hol-
land, brother in law to Cont *Thierry*, vpon an old quarrell entred into the country of Tuvent,
and vpon the biſhop of Vtrechts territories, who preſently leuied ſome ſmall troups of horſe
and foot, vnder the command of *Hugh Butterman*, lord of Butterſloot, Botſlandt, and Spicke,
who went to incounter the Earle of Benthem in the open field, defeated him, and tooke him
priſoner: in which incounter, the Earle *Otto* of Biel was ſlaine, with many gentlemen. Cont L
Thierry hearing of this defeat, & of the taking of his brother in law, went to beſiege the towne
of Vtrecht. Biſhop *Herebert*, ſucceſſor to *Andrew*, finding himſelfe vnable to reſiſt, and to pre-
ſerue the towne from ruine, ſought to releeue himſelfe by ſpirituall armes: and going out of
the towne with all his Clergie, croſſes, and banners, as if it had beene to a generall Proceſſion,
carrying a booke in his hand, went to excommunicat him. Cont *Thierry* and his Hollanders
ſeeing them come a farre off, thinking it had been a ſally made by the beſieged, fell to armes.
Approching neere vnto them, the Earle ſeeing the biſhop and his clergie thus attired in their
Eccleſiaſticall ornaments, goes from his horſe, and bare headed goes to craue for mercie of the
biſhop, that he might not excommunicat him, as he had determined. The biſhop taking him
vp with a kiſſe of peace, they were reconciled together, and Cont *Otto Palatin* of Rhin for all M
bertie; who in regard thereof, promiſed to hold his Earledome of Benthem, of the biſhop of
Vtrecht, and his ſucceſſors, in fee to do him homage. A while after, the ſaid Cont *Otto* was
ſlaine by Cont *Herman van Stadelwyck*, to whom there ſucceeded in the earldome of Benthem,
Otto of Holland, his nephew, ſonne to Cont *Thierry* the 6, and to the lady *Sophia*; for that

Floris

Floris of Holland, treacherouſly ſlaine by the Earle of Cuick.

A reuenge for this murther.

Herman & the biſhop his brother, reconcileth to the Earl of Holland.

The Earle of Benthem defeated, & priſoner.

The biſhops policie, to auoid the ruine of the towne.

The Earle of Benthem ſlain.

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A *Floris* their eldest sonne, who was to inherit and succeed in the countie of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, &c.

In the yeare 1155 the Frisons vpon Drent made a road into Holland, with an armie, where they did spoile and sack the towne of Zande. The nobilitie and inhabitants of the towne of Harlem, with the countrey-men of Exdorp, fell vpon them, and slew 900 vpon the place, recouering their booties, and taking many prisoners, with the which they returned victors to the towne of Harlem. The Frisons inuade Holland.

Cont *Thierry*, after that he had gouerned his countries of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland 40 yeares, died in the yeare 1163. He had much warre against the Frisons, the Vltraiectins, or them of Vtrecht, and his other neighbours. The principall and most memorable noblemen of his time, being his vassals, were *Floris* the Blacke (who was slaine, as we haue said) and *Simon*, his two brethren, sonnes to Cont *Floris* the Fat: then his eldest sonne *Floris* 3, who succeeded him: after him *Otto* Earle of Benthem, *Baldwin* bishop of Vtrecht, *Thierry*, and *Peregrin* lieutenant of Holland; all foure his sonnes, and *Robert* his bastard: then *William* lord of Brederode, and *Floris* his son: *Gerard* lord of Telnigen, *Hugh* lord of Leck, *William* seignior of Heusden, *John* lord of Arckell, *Folpert* seignior of Lederdam, *Didier* lord of Altena, of Putten, and of Strenen, *Hugh* seignior of Bottersloot, brother to the lord of Arckel, *Gerard* seignior of Aspren, sonne to the lord of Lederdam, *Floris* seignior of Voerne, *Thierry* his sonne, *Adelwyn* Vicont of Leyden, *Didier* of Persin, *Baldwin* of Harlem: these were held in the ranke of barons. Then *Ieams Vanden*, *Vuode Gerard* of Poelgeest, *Albert Bauiard*, *Ghisbrecht Porckyn*, *John* of Croonenburch, *Floris* of Woert, *Ogier* of Reyswick, all Knights. After those *Berthoul Spysdrager*, *Berthould* aduocat of Egmont (who was the first of the house of *Egmont*, the which was since erected to an earledome) with *Dodo*, *Allard*, *Didier*, *Berthoult*, and *Wermbold*, his sonnes; *Godefrey* of Harnesbergh, *Herbert* of Liethen, *Thierry* of Schoten, *Ludolph* of Adrichone, *Vastardt* of Reynigem by Leyden, *Ysbrandt* the Frison, and *Berthould* his brother: *Hugh* of Arckersloot, *Bruyn* of Castrichom, *Hugh* of Monster, *Didier* of Ween, *John Heereman*, *Hellnick van Doornick*, *Philip* of Bloot, *William* of Voorhout, *Henry* of Heylygerlee, *Gerebrandt* of Alcmar; al squiers: and many other braue gentlemen. The death of Cont *Thierry* 6. The nobilitie of Holland, and his other vassals.

And this was the Epitaph of the said Cont *Thierry*, as wee found it in the Abbey of Egmont.

D *Collige, vide Ciuis, quam sit caro plena ruinis,*
Quid sit, & ad quid eat, quam cito dispereat.
Pandit honorifici Comitis caro Theodorici,
Quis tibi sit finis, incinerande Ciuis.
Hic Comitum nonus, Patriæ Pater, atq; Patronus,
Ingenio viguit, victor vbiq; fuit.
Augusti nonis, signo currente Leonis,
Deposuit quod erat, esse quod est viderat.

There was also the Epitaph of his sonne *Peregrin*, who was his Lieutenant in the gouernement of Holland, written in this manner.

E *Pompas mundanas animaduertens homo vanas,*
Quære quod est & erit, nam status iste perit.
En caro glorifici duodenis Theodorici,
Instar abit fumi, & tabida putet humi.
Hunc Comitum nonus nostrorum Theodoricus,
Spem patriæ genuit, spes simulisq; ruit.
Iste Calendarum Iani nono lachrimarum,
Extractus puteo, viuat in æthre Deo.

FLORIS

FLORIS THE THIRD OF THAT name, the thirteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



In youthfull yeares I set my loue vpon a dame
Of Scotland (and did her espouse) that A D A *had to name.*
The proud rebellious Frisons, that did scorne to yeeld
Subiection vnto me, by force I conquered in the field.
And valiantly won townes and forts in Syria,
And in the land of Palestine, did passe my dayes away.
For ere I could returne out of that country
I died, and in S. Peters church in Antioche do lie.

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A FLORIS the 3 of that name, eldest sonne to Cont *Thierry* the 6, after the death of his father, was the 12 Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland. He had to wife the lady *Ada*, daughter to the king of Scotland, by whom he had many children: first, *Thierry*, who succeeded him in the said Earledomes; *William* Earle of Friseland, *Floris* Cathedral Prouost of Vtrecht, *Robert* President of Kenemerlandt: & foure daughters, *Marguerite* Contesse of Cleues, *Beatrix*, *Elizabeth*, and *Alix*. This *Floris* had great troubles in his time, whereof we wil discourse succinctly. Cont *Floris* wife and children.

In the yeare 1163, Cont *Floris* hauing succoured *Godefrey* of Rhemen, bishop of Vtrecht, against the Earle of Cleues, and the Baron of Batenbourgh, being besieged in the towne of 1163
B Gronninghen (whereunto he pretended an interest) the which the Emperor *Frederic* did pacifie: for a requitall of all his courtesie, the said bishop reuiued the question for the Earledoms of Oostergoe and Westergoe in Friseland, whereof we haue formerly made mention, grown betwixt the bishops of Vtrecht, and the Earls of Holland; this *Godefrey* (like vnto the rest of his predecessors) building vpon the graunts vnduly purchased and obtained from Emperors. But as the Earles of Holland had the more antient grants, and had beene longest seised therof, Cont *Floris* was then fully resolued to dispossesse the bishop thereof, once for all; seeing that hauing so lately, and so willingly succoured him, and freed him from his enemies, he now prouoked him to armes, by his vnkind vsage. The bishop intreated the Emperour *Frederic*, to succour him, and to maintaine him in the rights which his predecessors had graunted to the
C bishops of Vtrecht: the emperour went himselfe in person, and reconciled them; so as they should iointly by a common consent, appoint one Lieutenant, or Iudge of the countrey, who should take an othe, to maintaine the rights of these two lords equally, either of them for his moitie: for the receiuing of which portions, they should go once a yeare, either of them, beeing accompanied with thirtie knights or gentlemen, and no more: and that the said Earle should vse his best meanes, to recouer the castle of Benthem: the which done, he should hold in fee of the said bishop, who should haue a chamber, a kitchin, and a chappel, reserued for him therein, with free egresse and regresse, when it pleased him. Which accord was put in writing by the Emperours command. But these treaties and accords, were of small continuance, the Frisons standing alwayes vpon their freedoms and imperiall liberties.

D In the yeare 1166, the West Frisons knowing that Cont *Floris* had other lets, came with 1166
great numbers of men, and past the riuer of Ockeuoort, neere vnto Alcmar, meaning to spoyle that quarter of Kennemerlandt; they tooke Alcmar by force, where they slew foure Bourgesses, and burnt the whole towne, except the church, which they laboured to preserue from fire. Cont *Floris* forbare to take reuenge, vntill the yeare 1168, in the dead of Winter; at what time he led his armie into Scoerle, where being camped, some of his knights and gentlemen (notwithstanding the defence of their Prince) would go to the warre: and being come as farre as Schagen, they spoiled and burnt it, carrying away a great spoile. The Frisons lying in ambush, and expecting their returne, charge them, and spoile them in a manner all, rescuing the bootie. Among the which there was slaine *Simon* of Antuerpe, *William* of Voorhout, *Baldwin* of Hol- Hollanders slaine by the Frisons.
E lem, *Gerard Spisshaeger*, *Floris Ruysch*, *Allard* of Egmont, *Bruyn* of Castrichom, *Gerard* of Monstre, the yonger, and *Everard* of Nortwick, all knights, who were buried at Egmont.

The yeare following 1169, the Frisons returned againe to Alcmar; but the Earls garrisons, with the countrey-men of Kennemerlandt, pursued them by water and by land, and slew The West Frisons halfe vanquished.
some thirtie of them, & the rest retired, for that the Earle sent his Flemish forces against them. Soone after the Earle marched himselfe in person with an armie: hee burned Winckell and Nieuvoort, and subiected vnder his obedience, the Islands of Texel, Wyernighe, and Flie, the inhabitants whereof he did ransome at foure thousand markes of siluer: and then he returned a conqueror into his countrey of Holland.

About the same time that the Frisons were reduced vnto reason, Cont *Floris* demaunded A controuersie betwixt the Earls of Holland and Flanders, for the Isle of Walcheren.
F the isle of Walcheren in Zeeland, of *Philip* Earle of Flanders, the which his predecessors had detained some yeares vniustly, and without any lawfull title; *Philip* answered, That hee would defend and keepe that by force, which his fathers had left him, and whatsoeuer he held comming from them. Cont *Floris* called to his succour, the Earles of Cleues, Geldre, and Bergh, who came to assist him in his quarrell, with ten thousand men, the which being ioyned vnto

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his armie, they entred the countrey of Aloſt in Flanders, which they ſpoiled: and from thence G
went to beſiege the towne of Armentiers, the which they did aſſault with ſuch furie, as the beſieged were at the laſt gaſpe, ſending vnto their prince, That if he came not preſently to ſuccour them, they ſhould be forced to yeeld vp the place. Cont *Philip* being aſſiſted by *Mathew* earle of Bologne, his brother, leuied an armie of Piccards, Arteſiens, Hannuiers, & Flemings, with the which he went to charge the Earle of Hollands campe, where there was a verie ſharp and hard incounter: but in the end theſe three earles were defeated, & their armie put to rout. Cont *Floris* much grieued at this defeat, fought ſtill, and would not yeeld, vntill that he found himſelfe wounded almoſt to the death. The earle of Flanders hauing taken him priſoner, receiued him with all courteſie and humanitie, as his coſin germaine and neereſt kinſman: and cauſing his wounds to be dreſt, he led him with him into Flanders. The newes of this defeat H
being diuulged in all places, the archbiſhop of Cologne, and the biſhop of Liege, came into
An accord betwixt theſe two princes. Flanders, to reconcile theſe two great princes: ſo as remaining good friends for euer, it was concluded, That Cont *Philip* ſhould enioy to him and to his heires, for euer, the land of Waes (which is one of the beſt quarters of Flanders, the which the Earles of Holland had formerly held) and that Cont *Floris*, beſides his libertie, ſhould be reſtored to his iſland of Walchren: and moreouer, he ſhould ſend vnto Cont *Philip*, a thouſand men expert in making of ditches, to ſtop the hole which had beene made neere vnto Dam or the Sluce, whereby the countrey was drowned round about at euerie high ſea, the which the Flemings could by no meanes fil vp, neither with wood, nor any other matter, for that all ſunke as in a gulfe without any bottome: whereby in ſucceſſion of time, Bruges and all that iuriſdiction, had been in daunger to I
haue bin loſt by inundation, and to become all ſea, if it were not ſpeedily repaired. Cont *Floris* hauing taken poſſeſſion of the iſle of Walchren, returned into Holland, from whence hee ſent the beſt workmen he could find in all his countries, into Flanders, to make dikes and cauſeies, and to ſtop the hole neere vnto this Dam, or Sluce, and to recouer the drowned land. Theſe diggers being come to the place, they found at the entrie of this bottomleſſe hole a Sea-dog, the which for ſix dayes together, did nothing but crie out and howle very fearefully. They not knowing what it might ſignifie, hauing conſulted of this accident, they reſolued to caſt this dogge into the hole. There was a mad-headed Hollander among the reſt, who going into the bottome of the dike, tooke the dogge by the taile, and caſt him into the middeſt of the gulfe; then ſpeedily they caſt earth and torfe into it, ſo as they found a bottome, and by little K
and little filled it vp. And for that many workemen came to the repairing of this dike, who for that they would not be far from their worke, coucht in Cabines, which ſeemed to be a pretie towne, Cont *Philip* gaue vnto all theſe Hollanders, Zeelanders, and others, that would inhabit there, as much land as they could recouer from Dam to Ardenbourg, for them and their ſucceſſors, for euer, with many other immunities and freedoms: By reaſon whereof many planted themſelues there, and in ſucceſſion of time, made a good towne there; the which by reaſon of this dog, which they had caſt into the hole, they named *Hondtſdam*, that is to ſay, a Dogs Sluce; *Dam* in Flemiſh ſignifying a Sluce, and *Honds* a dog: and therefore at this day, the ſaid towne (the which is ſimply called Dam) carrieth a dog in their armes and blaſon.

The Chriſtians beſiege Damiette. About the ſame time, the emperour *Frederic*, *Philip* king of Fraunce, *Richard* king of Eng- L
land, with many dukes, earles, and Chriſtian princes, went to beſiege Damiette in Soria, that they might haue a port at ſea, and a ſafe harbor for the Chriſtians ſhips; but at the entrie of the hauen there were two great towers, the which hauing great chaines of yron drawne aproſſe, ſtopt the entrie, ſo as no ſhip might enter. *William* ſonne to Cont *Floris* of Holland concluded with his Hollanders of the towne of Harlem, to arme the forepart of his ſhip with a long and ſtrong ſaw of ſteele, made of purpoſe, expecting the firſt ſtrong gale of wind that ſhould blow into the hauen: the which they effected vpon the firſt occaſion, ſo as through the violence of
The prowes of the earle of Hollands ſon. the wind, the force of the ſhip, and the cutting of this ſaw, they brake the chains in peeces, and gaue entrie to all the whole fleet of the Chriſtians into the hauen of the citie of Damiete; by which only meanes it was taken. The emperor *Frederic* knowing that through the valour and M
wiſdome of yong Cont *William* and his Hollanders, he had conquered this citie, which was almoſt inuincible, he made *William* knight, honoured him with his royall bountie, and receiued him with the other princes, vnder the imperiall ſtandard. And for a teſtimonie of the vertue of thoſe burgeſſes of Harlem, betwixt the foure ſtars which they carried in their enſigne,

being

A being the armes of the towne, he added a ſword, and the Patriarke of Ieruſalem, a croſſe aboue it, for that they had fought ſo valiantly for the faith, in Paleſtina, at the taking of this citie: Which armes the towne of Harlem carries vnto this day; the which before was a withered tree of a ruſſettiſh colour, in a field argent, as is to be ſeene in a portrait lately cut in copper, of their enterpriſe and ſucceſſe.

In the time of this Cont *Floris*, they began to fiſh for herrings at the mouth of the riuer of Meuſe, and in the Brittiſh ſea, along the coaſt of Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland: the firſt fiſhing, was about the iſland of Bryele, where as they did fiſh with ſmall barkes, called Sabards. Thoſe of Zirixee were the firſt that did fiſh, and packt them vp in barrels. Thoſe of Bierulyet, a ſmall iſland vpon the coaſt of Flanders, the better to preſerue them being ſalted, inuented the
B meanes to gill them, and to pull out the garbage, or els they would ſoone corrupt.

The firſt fiſhing for Herring.

In the yere 1190, the emperor *Frederic* being in Nicea, a citie of Bythynia, hauing extreame heat, he went into a riuer to bath him, but the violence of the ſtreame carried him away, & he was drowned in the preſence of all his people, who could not helpe him. About which time *Floris* the third, Earle of Holland, fell ſicke in the armie, died in this voyage, and was interred by the emperor *Frederic*, hauing gouerned his prouinces ſeuen and twentie yeares. *Ada* his wife did ſuruiue him eighteene yeares, and died in the yeare 1208, being interred in the abbey of Middlebourg in Zeeland. *William* their ſonne hauing accompanied his father (as wee haue ſaid) at his returne, paſſing through Germanie, he maried the daughter of *Frederic* duke of Suabe, whom he enioyed not long.

1190

Death of the Emperor Frederic, and of the Earle of Holland.

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THIERRY THE SEVENTH OF THAT name, foureteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



In peace I was most mild, in warre both stout and bold,
And did my brother ouerthrow, and Frisons pride controld.
In Flanders, Gelder, and Brabant victoriously
I ouercame my enemies, and Boisleduke valiantly
Did enter: but by chance there prisoner I was made,
My wife that was a lady faire, to name ALIDE *had.*
I rul'd full thirteene yeares, and di'd much fear'd of many,
For that for courage in my time, like me there was not any.

THIERRY

A THIERRY the seuenth of that name, and fourteenth Earle of Holland, after the decease of Cont *Floris* his father, in Palestina, succeeded in all his earledomes. He had to wife *Aleyda*, *Alix* or *Adella*, daughter to *Didier* earle of Cleue, by whom he had not any sonnes, but two daughters, exceeding faire: whereof the first, called *Adella*, was maried to *Henry* of Gueldre, and died without children; then *Ada*, whom the mother, after the decease of her father, against the liking and consent of all the noblemen of Holland, maried to Cont *Lewis* of Loos, who was but of meane calling, shee being Contesse of Holland. The wife and children of Cont *Thierry*.

This Cont *Thierry*, hauing after the decease of his father gouerned his countries quietly, for
B the space of fiue yeares, the lord *William* of Holland being returned from Palestina (where hee had buried Cont *Floris* their father) vpon some false reports entred into contention with him. By reason whereof, *William* retired himselfe into Friseland, to the Dreuthers: with whom being entred into league, he made many roads into Holland. On the other side, *Baldwin* earle of Flanders, entred with an armie into the isle of Walchren, which lay neere vnto him. Cont *Thierry* seeing himselfe assaulted on two sides, leuied all the men he could, and diuided them into two armies: the one he took with himself, and the other he left to the Contesse *Adella*, his wife, to lead against *William* his brother, and to suppresse the Frisons. Cont *Thierry* imbarked with his armie, and landed in Zeeland, from whence, after a great battaile, he chased the Flemings. His wife with her troups went from Egmont towards Alcmar, to fight with the Fri-
C sons. The lord *William* of Holland came to incounter her with his men, and presented himself in battaile: but as they of Winckel and Nieudorp, hauing retired themselues on the one side, refusing to fight against their princesse, being corrupted with mony, the Kennemers did chase the Frisons vnto a certain strait, which was a marish ground, ful of reeds: *William* seeing his Frisons wauer, and readie to Breake, incouraged them so with words, and behaued himselfe so valiantly in his owne person, as hauing long defended themselues, in the end hee carried them backe into their owne countrey, with small losse. The Frisons seeing his indeuors, and how faithfully *William* of Holland had assisted them, they trusted him more than before, making him their head, their podestate, and their captaine generall. Cont *Thierry* hauing successfully ended the wars in Zeeland, returned with his armie into Holland, into the quarter of Kenne-
D merlandt, to make more violent war against the Frisons, and his brother *William*. But to the end these two brethren should not pollute themselues any more, with the bloud of their subiects by their ciuile wars, *Baldwin* bishop of Vtrecht, *Didier* cathedrall prouost of the said bishopricke, and *Otto* earle of Benthem, vncles to these two brethren, laboured all they could to reconcile them: by whom it was concluded, That *Thierry*, as the elder brother, should remain Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and that *William* should hold of his brother in fee, the countrey of East and West Friseland, on either side the riuer of Flie, vnto that of Lanuvers: and moreouer, should receiue for an annuall pension out of the custome of Ghoervlyet, the summe of eighteen hundred liures. The Frisons vnderstand not how, nor by what title, this diuision of Friseland was made, wherof there is not any mention made in their Annals: yet some writers
E confesse, that they yeelded hereunto in fauour of *William* of Holland: but they deny, that it was vpon condition to hold it in fee of Cont *Thierry*, and to do him homage, or to any other prince: seeing there was neuer any thing more odious vnto them, than to bee subiect to any other superioritie, than the empire: according to their antient liberties & freedoms, by priuiledges giuen them by antient emperors, whereof they haue alwayes been very iealous, and strict obseruers, euen vnto the death. This peace made betwixt the two brethren, *William* returned into Friseland, where he was honourably receiued, and from that time during his life, acknowledged for their prince, where he built a castle, called Osterzee, in the which hee made his ordinarie aboad and residence. Cont *Thierry* chaseth the Flemings. The Frisons will acknowledge no other soueraigne, but the empire.

After the death of *Baldwin* of Holland, bishop of Vtrecht, vncle to Cont *Thierry*, being rea-
F die to proceed to the election of a new bishop, *Thierry* Earle of Holland, & *Otto* earle of Gueldre, came both armed into the citie of Vtrecht, which was the cause of great iealousie and discord, betwixt the chanoims and chapter, for that some did chuse *Didier* cathedrall prouost of Vtrecht, brother vnto *Baldwin* the last bishop, and vncle to the Earle of Holland: others had chosen *Arnould* of Isenbourgh, prouost collegiall of Deuenter, who was supported by the

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earle of Gueldre, and by all thoſe of the countrey of Oueriſſel. The emperor placed *Didier* of G
Holland there, by prouiſion (vntill it were iudicially determined by the Roman ſea) to admi-
niſter the goods of the ſaid biſhoprick, as he did, but that the earle of Gueldre hindred him
from the receit of any thing in the prouince of Oueriſſell. By reaſon whereof Cont *Thierry*
Warres betwixt the Earles of Holland and Geldres. entred the Veluve with an armie, deſtroying and burning whereſoeuer hee came, ſo as he car-
ried away a great ſpoile. Cont *Otto* did alſo leuie what men he could, following Cont *Thierry*
as far as Heymensbergh, to reſcue the prey; where there was a ſharp incounter: but the Guel-
drois ſeeing his men ſlip away, he ſaued himſelfe through the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe. Cont
Thierry purſuing them that fled, tooke many priſoners, among the which were ſome gentle-
men. *William* earl of Eaſt-Friſeland, hearing of the victory which his brother had gotten, came
to him to the caſtle of Horſt, to congratulate with him, for this his happy ſucceſſe. Cont *Thier-* H
A new quarrell betwixt the two Bretheren of Holland. *ry* remembring the quarrels paſt, and the loue his brother had borne vnto the earle of Guel-
dre, imagining that he came now to attempt ſomething againſt him, he commanded an offi-
cer of his, called *Henry Craen*, to ſeiſe vpon his brother, and commit him to priſon, the which
was done. But ſoone after, *William* hauing broken priſon, he retired himſelf ſecretly to the earle
of Gueldre, to be ſupported by him againſt the earle of Holland, his brother, where he remai-
ned ſome time. *Otto* earle of Gueldre knowing him to be verie valiant, hauing ſeen good proof
thereof in Paleſtina, againſt the Sarracens, conſidering alſo the goodly portion which he had
in Friſeland, gaue him his daughter *Alix* in mariage; by whom he had one ſonne, named *Flo-*
ris (who was afterwards Earle of Holland) *Otto*, *William*, and two daughters, *Ada* who was ab-
beſſe of Rhinsburgh (the which was an abbey of noble women) and *Ryckwyf*, who was a reli- I
gious woman in the ſame cloiſter. After the mariage of *William* and *Alix*, celebrated in the
towne of Staueren, *Otto* of Gueldre returned into his countrey, and *William* was honourably
receiued with his wife, and acknowledged throughout all the countrey of Friſeland for their
The Earles of Holland and Geldre reconciled. lord. Soone after, and the ſame yeare, the Earles of Holland and Gueldre were reconciled to-
gether, vpon condition, That *Adella*, eldeſt daughter to Cont *Thierry*, ſhould marie with *Hen-*
ry, ſonne to Cont *Otto*; but he liued not long, and died without children.

1198 In the yere 1198, *Didier* of Holland, & *Arnould* of Iſenburgh, both elect biſhops of Vtrecht,
pleading their cauſe at Rome, the pope adiudged the ſaid biſhoprick, through the fauour of
ſome courtiers in Rome, and the aduantage of his election, to *Arnould*, where he was conſecra-
ted the 30 biſhop of Vtrecht. But as he died ſoone after, and was buried at Rome, pope *Inno-* K
cent the 3, gaue the ſaid biſhoprick to *Didier* of Holland, who had been his competitor, & was
in like ſort conſecrated at Rome. At his returne to take poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick, he fell ſick
at Padoua in Italy, where he died, and was there buried: To whom ſucceeded *Didier vander*
Are, collegiall prouoſt of Nydrecht vpon Meuſe, being in commiſſion in the realme of Sicile;
who after the death of theſe two biſhops, was ſent for to come and take poſſeſſion of the ſaid
biſhoprick, the which at his firſt entrance, he found very much charged with debts: ſo as by
the aduice of his barons, nobles, townes, and chapters, he went into Friſeland, to demand ſome
Trouble in Frizeland. aid or gratuitie, to free himſelfe of debt. *William* earle of Eaſt-Friſeland, would not ſuffer his
ſubiects to be charged with any impoſition, or extraordinarie ſubſidie: for the preuenting
whereof, he went to Staueren, whither the biſhop was come vnto the abbey, of whom he laid L
hold at the end of maſſe, thinking to carrie him away to his caſtle of Oſterzee: but the monks,
with the help of ſome Friſons, fearing if they ſhould ſuffer it, the biſhop would excommunicat
The Earles of Holland and Geldre fall vpon the biſhop. them, tooke him away from him by force. Afterwards *Thierry* Earle of Holland, and *Otto* earle
of Gueldre, father in law to Cont *William* of Eaſt Friſeland (beeing reconciled to his brother,
and freed him from any bad conceit of him) banded themſelues iointly againſt the biſhop.
The earle of Gueldre, ſeiſed vpon all the countrey of Oueriſſel for his part, chaſed away all the
biſhops officers, and put a garriſon of Gueldres into the towne of Deuenter. The Earle of Hol-
land ſpoiled the whole countrey, on this ſide the riuer of Yſſel, and beſieged the biſhop in his
city of Vtrecht: during the which time, the earl of Gueldre, going with a ſafeconduct towards
the emperor *Otto* the 4. (competitor to the emperor *Philip*) hee was ſtaied by the way, by the M
duke of Brabants people. The Earle of Holland hearing of theſe newes, raiſed his ſiege from
before Vtrecht, marching with his troups towards Boiſleduke, where he entred by force, and
there tooke priſoners, the lords *William* of Paruis, and *Henry* of Cuyck, brethren to the duke of
Brabant. The Earle thinking to retire with his priſoners into Holland, the duke being aſſiſted
by

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A by the Archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege, the Duke of Lembourg, and the Earle of Flanders, pursued him with all speed to rescue his two brethren. Cont *Thierry* finding himselfe ouercharged at a passage, after that he had long defended himselfe, being vnable to resist so great forces, was in the end taken: and so the Duke of Brabant had the two Earls, of Geldre and Holland his prisoners. The bishop of Vtrecht seeing these two prouinces without Lords to defend them, entred the countrey of Holland with all the forces he could gather together, as well of his owne, as from his allies, from whence hee carried a great spoyle: the Nobilitie and Commons of Holland pursued after to rescue it, and defeated some knights and souldiers of Vtrecht in the rereward, burning in their returne some villages of his iurisdiction. The next day the bishop entred into the Veluve, the which he spoyled, tooke the towne of Zutphen, &

B went to Deuenter, which yeelded vnto him, so as he recouered great store of treasure. Soone after a peace was made betwixt the Earle of Holland and the Duke of Brabant, whereby the Earle paid vnto the Duke two thousand markes of siluer for his ransome: and so did the Earle of Geldre, both which were afterwards reconciled with the bishop of Vtrecht, whereby all quarrels were ended.

The bishop reuengeth himselfe of the Earle of Holland.

An accord betwixt the two Earls, the duke of Brabant, & the bishop.

In the yeare 1203, *Thierry* Earle of Holland fell sick at Dordrecht, lamenting much the absence of his brother *William*, Earle of East-Friseland (although there had still remained some small seeds of hatred) to recommend his daughter *Ada* vnto him (being yet to marry) and her countries of Holland and Zeeland. *Alix* wife to the said Cont *Thierry*, euen before the death of her husband, and during his sicknes, without the councell or aduice of any one, of her own

C proper motion, desirous to marry her daughter, had contracted her secretly to *Lewis* Earle of Loos, to the end, the Countrey during her widow-hood, might be gouerned at her pleasure: so desirous was this woman of rule, thinking, that *Lewis* being farre inferiour in quality to her daughter, would not dare to oppose himselfe against her, not caring in the meane time if her daughter were well or ill maried. In the meane time Cont *Thierry* died, hauing gouerned his countries thirteene whole yeares in continuall warres. In his time there flourished in Holland *Didier* bishop of Vtrecht, *Otto* Earle of Benthem, and *Peregrin*, Lieutenant of the Countie of Holland, al three his vncles, brethren to Cont *Floris*, who was father to Cont *Thierry*, and *Robert* also his bastard vncle; then *William* Earle of East-Friseland, *Floris* Prouost of Vtrecht, and *Robert* Earle of Kennemerlandt his brethren, *Henry* of Geldre, husband to *Adella*, the eldest

D daughter to Cont *Thierry*, *William* Lord of Brederode, *Hugues* Lord of Teylingen, and *William* his sonne Seignior of Leck, *Robert* of Heusden and Altena, issued from the Earles of Holland, with a great number of knights & squires. This Epitaph of the said Cont *Thierry*, the seuenth of that name, was found in the Abbey of Egmont.

1203 Cont Thierry sicke.

The death of Cont Thierry.

The Nobilitie of his time.

Terricus iacet hic, peperit quem filia Regis
Ada: Comes Comitem genuit Florentius istum.
Qui clausus tumulo virtutum pondere micans,
Siccatur, meritoq; doles Hollandia tantum
Amisisse virum, per quem suffulta, labores,
E *Insidias, rabidos sopisti tuta tumultus.*
Quem pietas, quem vera fides probitate magistra,
Virtutumq; cohors tutum seruauit inermem.
Soluitur in cineres corpus, solitq; tributum
Carnis, & antiquae redit ad primordia matris.
Hic binae nonas voluente Nouembre, relinquens
Exilium mundi, sanctis conregnat in astris.

And vpon his Tombe were grauen these foure verses:

F *Hic Terrice iaces Comes & care regia, mestus*
Morte tua populus, largus, discretus, honestus,
Et fortis bellator eras; victorq; modestus,
Milite pro tanto fundantur cum prece quaestus.

Ada

ADA, CONTESSE OF HOLLAND and Zeeland, the fifteenth in the gouernment of the ſaid Earledomes.



This ADA *did poſſeſſe her predeceſſors wealth,*
But 'gainſt her fathers will did match in mariage by ſtealth,
With one vnworthie her (though mother was content)
But as it after did appeare God ſeemed diſcontent,
And did within one yeare bereaue her of her life:
Who dead, her husband ſought to claime th'inheritance of his wife:
But the Cont WILLIAM *with great power did him withſtand,*
(As heire vnto his neece deceaſt) and drane him out the land.

ADA

A ADA, daughter to Cont *Thierry* the seuenth, succeeded her father, and was the fifteenth, commaunding in Holland and Zeeland as Contesse, but she gouerned these Countries but one yere, and died without children. During the sickneſſe of Cont *Thierry* the father, *Lewis* Earle of Loos (to whom *Ada* had beene promiſed in mariage by the mother) was in the castle of Altena, where hee attended newes of the fathers death. The Contesse *Adella* presently after the deceaſe of her husband, sent to *Lewis* to come to Dordrecht with al speed, the which he did, and there she gaue him her daughter in mariage, and in steed of a funerall pompe, there were feasts and nuptiall banquets, deferring the obſequies till after the mariage: which being consummated, and all the feasts ended, the B body of Cont *Thierry* was with small pompe and ceremonie caried and interred in the abbey of Egmont.

The Conteſſe of Holland maried.

William Earle of East-Friseland hauing intelligence of the death of his brother, came vnto Zipe with an intent to assist and mourn at the funerall, yet would he not passe on before he had demaunded a safe-conduct from the Conteſſe, and those of her Councell: the which was denied him, yet he stayed in that place vntill the funerals were ended: which done, he returned into Friseland. His kinsfolkes and good friends in Holland, as *Floris* Prouoſt Cathedrall of Vtrecht his brother, *Otto* Earle of Benthem, and his sonne *Ieams*, *Chaſtelain* of Leyden, *Philip* of Waſſenare, *William* of Theylinghen, *John* of Ryſwicke, *Gualter* of Egmont, and *Albert Bauiart*, knights, and other gentlemen well affected vnto him, shewed themselues discontented, that they should be gouerned by a woman and a poore Earle, to whom they held themselues nothing inferior: they therefore made a league among themselues, not to endure the gouernment of her not her husband. This done, they secretly sent a man of marke on their behalfes into Friseland to Cont *William*, giuing him to vnderstand of their resolution and alliance; and that without all feare he should come and ioyne with them at the abbey of Egmont, where they would attend him. Cont *William* departed out of Friseland as couertly as he could, but for want of a good wind to carry him into Holland (or it may be, the better to informe and assure himselfe of their intentions) he put to land in Zeeland at Zirixee in the Island of Schouven: where he was receiued and imbraced by them of the countrey, and by the Lords of Borsele, of Croningen, and others, who acknowledged him for their prince and D Earle of Zeeland. In the meane time, *Gualter* of Egmont, and *Albert Bauiart*, accompanied with the Kennemers, entred the towne of Harlem, and tooke armes against the Earle of Loos & the lady *Adella* widow dowager to Cont *Thierry*, whom they forced, with M. *Ghysbrecht* of Amstell, to flie by night, and to retire themselues to Vtrecht. The young Conteſſe *Ada* remained there a while; but in the end she retired also, beeing accompanied by *Roger Vander Meer*, *Otto van venzen*, and many other knights and gentlemen of the Earle of Loos his traine: comming all amazed to the towne of Leyden, there to maintain themselues against their enemies, as in a place of refuge and safetie, the Kennemers being in armes, with *Gualter* of Egmont their Commaunder, pursued the young Conteſſe and those of her traine euen into the said towne; where also was *Philip* of Waſſenare, who with his Rhynlanders (ouer whom hee E was captaine) besieged the Bourg so straitly, as the besieged were constrained to yeeld for want of victuals. Cont *William*, who was then in Zeeland, hearing that the Earle of Loos and the Conteſſe *Dowager* had saued themselues in Vtrecht, and that the yong Conteſſe *Ada* was staied in Leyden, he came speedily into Holland, the which by the assistance of his friends he tooke wholly vnto himselfe, disposing of their goods that had beene opposite unto his will: then he caused the young Conteſſe his niece to be conducted with an honourable traine and good intreatie into the Isle of Texel, vnder his iurisdiction of Friseland. The Earle of Loos being thus chased away, meditating of the meanes to be reuenged, hee inuited to his succour the bishop of Liege his brother, *Iohn* duke of Lembourg, and the Earle of Flanders his kinsmen, relying much vpon the bishop of Vtrecht, whom hee woon with 2000. marks of siluer, F and a promise, that (if he remained victor and in quiet possession) hee would hold the Earledome of Holland in fee of the bishopricke of Vtrecht; the bishop of Liege being his caution for the performance thereof.

Cont *William* hauing notice of the forces which the Earle of Loos prepared to recouer Holland, he appointed *Gualter* of Egmont and *Albert Bauiart* to be chiefe of the Kennemers, and al-

Cont William sent for to vndertake the gouernment of Holland

Cont William comes into Holland.

He puts the yong Conteſſe in guard, and becomes maſter of the countrey.

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and *Philip* of Waſſenare, and the Seignior of Theylinghen to commaund the Rhynlanders, G
Cont William conquereth Zeeland. and he himſelf went into Zeeland, all which he reduced to his deuotion. The Lords of Waſſenare and Theylinghen prouided carefully for all things, cauſing two block-houſes or forts to be made, the one within the towne of Leyden (the defence whereof was committed to *Floris* of Holland, Prouoſt Cathedrall of Vtrecht) and the other at Zuvamerdam, which Cont *Otto* of Benthem had in charge. The Lords of Egmont and Bauiart came with their ſhips to Amſtel, where they cut through the ditch, and drowned all the country of Amſterlandt: the Kennemers boording the Amſterlanders barks, drew out all the ſpoyle, and then fired them.

The biſhop of Vtrecht on the other ſide to bee reuenged, went himſelfe into Holland, and paſſing by Mydrecht, he chaſed the earle of Benthem out of his fort of Zuvamerdam, & burnt many villages in Holland: the which hauing ſucceeded happily, marching on, he commanded H
his ſouldiers to take out of euery village the beſt hoſtages, & ſo went to beſiege Leyden, whereas the Prouoſt *Floris* was, whom he forced with ſmall loſſe, for that they within proteſted, that they would not defend it againſt the ſaid biſhop: the Prouoſt was taken priſoner, & led to the caſtle of Horſt. The next day the biſhop entred into Leyden, whether the earle of Loos came alſo, with ſuch men as hee had brought out of South-Holland (which is the countrey about Dordrecht) they of Leyden did him homage, and did acknowledge him for earle of Holland in the right of the conteſſe *Ada* his wife. Among the chiefe of the nobility of North-Holland there ioined with him the Lord *Iohn* of Perſin, *Iohn* and *Isbrand* of Harlem, *Arnold* and *Henry* of Ryſwick, and *Vuouter van Rymen*. Theſe ſent vnto the Earle of Loos to come boldly vpon their faith to Harlem, whether he went, & reduced all the villages therabouts vnder his obedi- I
ence. The Kennemers fearing this ſtorme would fall vpon them, went to armes to defend themſelues, and to ſtop the Earle of Loos his paſſage, notwithſtanding any faith giuen them by the ſaid Noblemen, who holding the Earls party, knowing the forces of theſe Kennemers, deſired
The Kennemers pacified. rather to win them by mild and gentle meanes, than by arms: wherein they wrought ſo effectually, as in the end they were reconciled to the earle of Loos, paying vnto him and to the biſhop 500 pounds great, for the damages which they had done in cutting the ditch, & burning in Amſterlandt: and ſo euery one returned to his owne home. This done, the biſhop & earle feared not any other enemies, but taking their way towards Egmont, in paſſing, they burnt the village of S. Agathe, the which at this preſent is the town of Beuerſwike & the caſtle of Brederode. And thus they reduced all Holland, before diuided into South and North; South-Hol- K
land holding for the earle of Loos, and North-Holland or Weſt-Friſeland for Cont *Williams*: but this ſudden change continued not long.

Soone after the earle of Namur entred the Iſle of Walchren in Zeeland, pretending to ſubiect it vnder the earle of Flanders, but ſeeing his attempts to proue vnfortunat, he returned as he came. *Hugh* of Voorn was then in Zeeland, who reduced all thoſe Iſlands vnder the earle of Loos, and chaſed away Cont *William*, who with great difficultie retired himſelfe, for hauing lien long hidden, in the end he ſaued himſelfe in a ſmall boat, cauſing himſelfe to be couered with fiſhers nets. The earle of Loos had made the ſaid *Hugh Van Voorn* gouernor with great authoritie and power: who caried himſelfe ſo inſupportably in all his actions, that in the end the Zeelanders would no more endure, nor obey him, but againſt the will of the earle of Loos L
The Zeelanders call back Cont William put him from his place, ſending to Cont *William* of Holland, and entreating him to returne vnto them, who willingly imbraced this occaſion, giuing notice thereof firſt to *Gualter* of Egmont, *Albert Bauiart*, *William van Theylinghen*, and *Philip* of Waſſenare, intreating them to come vnto him with all the forces they could leuie, in the towne of Leyden, and that they ſhould do no act of hoſtility againſt the earle of Loos, vntill that he himſelfe were preſent: and then he went into Zeeland. The earle of Loos hearing of the Zeelanders reuolt, and that the Kennemers were in armes to fight with him, hee entred with all his forces into the towne of Leyden, to make head againſt them, for that they made all the haſt they could to ſeize thereon, marching without order, or any warlike diſcipline. Hauing preuented them in the ſayd towne, he attended them, and then went to charge them, ſo as they were much diſordered: M
Some being in their ſhippes (thinking to ioyne with the formoſt) found the waies cut off by the Earles men: & as they would haue paſt at Catwick by a bridge ouer the Rhyn, marching cloſe together, the bridge brake, & a great number were drowned, *Philip* of Waſſenare, *Gualter* of Egmont and *Albert Bauiart* eſcaped, but *William* of Theylinghen was taken priſoner.

The

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A The Earle of Loos hauing had this good ſucceſſe, went & camped with all his army at Voorſchoten, to keepe his men together, for that he doubted much the comming of Cont *William*, leſt hee ſhould ſurpriſe him. In the meane time Cont *William* arriued with his forces of Zeeland: being come into Holland, he planted his campe in the ditch of Ryſwicke: from thence he went to lodge neere the Wood of la Haye, meaning to giue the Earle of Loos battaile the next day: who knowing him to be ſo neere, and that he had a deſire to fight, he ſent *Iohn* duke of Lembourg ſpeedily vnto him, to intreat him to enter into ſome accord with him; but cont *William* would giue no eare vnto it, finding himſelfe (by the death of the Conteſſe *Ada*) the true and onely heire of Holland and Zeeland. The ſaid duke hauing made his report, tooke vp his tents and pauilions, being loath to attend the danger of a doubtfull battaile. The Earle of
B Loos much amazed, ſeeing himſelfe abandoned by the duke, who was his chiefe ſupport, forſaking his camp and all his cariages, he fled with all ſpeed to Vtrecht; yeelding vnto the biſhop for his entertainment in that he had aſſiſted him, all the Hollanders that he had take priſoners. The diſorder and confuſion was ſo great in the flight of the Earle of Loos his men, as the women chaſed them with their diſtaues, and in flying, did maſſacre them with ſtaues: Many caſt away their armes for lightneſſe, that they might ſaue themſelues by the ditches that were full of water, whereas many were drowned, and a great number taken priſoners: All the Earle of Loos pauilions, tents, moueables, plate, iewels, and munition, was taken & diuided among the Hollanders. And thus the Earle of Loos was chaſed out of Holland, and neuer returned more. The South-Hollanders of Dordrecht hauing no more cauſe of reuolt, through the
C death of the Conteſſe *Ada*, Cont *William* remained abſolute Prince of Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland.

William

WILLIAM THE FIRST OF THAT name, the ſixteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland.



Sichem fecit.

16 Guilielmus Primus

This WILLIAM *by great policie did breake the chaine,*
Which croſſe the Hauen of Damiet, the Saraſins had layne:
Whereby the Harlemers great honour did obtaine,
Record whereof within their Towne as yet doth ſtill remaine.
Two wiues he had, whereof one out of Geldre came,
The ſecond MARY *called was, a princely Engliſh dame:*
Full nineteene yeares he rul'd, and peaceably poſſeſt
His countries, and in Rhynsburgh died, whereas his bones do reſt.

WILLIAM

A WILLIAM the sixteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland hauing(as we haue said)in the time of the Contesse *Ada* expelled the earle of Loos,remained in quiet possession of the said prouinces.He had by his wife *Alix*, daughter to the earle of Gueldre,*Floris* who succeeded him in the said Earledomes,*Otto* bishop of Vtrecht,and *William* who was lieutenant of Holland(the which was father to the lady *Alix*,married to *Didier* lord of Brederode)and two daughters, whereof the one was Abbesse at Rhynsbourg,and the other at Delft. This Cont *William* did homage to the Emperor *Frederic* the second,for his Counties of Holland,Zeeland,and Friseland. Afterwards, vpon a priuate quarell he went and besieged the castle of Aspren,& hauing taken it,he rased it to the ground. Cõt Williams children. The castle of Aspren rased.

B Cont *Gerard vander Are*,brother to *Didier* bishop of Vtrecht,in reuenge therof went and besieged the town of Dordrecht,into the which he cast wild fire,which burnt almost halfe of it. Soone after Cont *William* and the bishop were reconciled together,and they made an accord, by the which Cont *William* should pay vnto the bishop a thousand pounds, and restore vnto *Henry* of Craen all that he had taken from him,for that (as wee haue said before) he had once put him in prison by the cõmandement of Cont *Thierry* his master, brother to the said Cont *William*. *Item*,that all the Earles subiects being in the bishoprick of Vtrecht, should from that time forth be vassales to the bishop as well as all his vassales, remaining in Holland. *Item*,that Cont *William* with a hundred knights, attired onely in linnen cloth,and bare-footed, should present themselues before the Cathedrall church of Vtrecht,and being there,the Earle should

C aske him forgiuenesse,for that he had before laid hands vpon him, and taken him prisoner(although he were rescued)in the Abbey of Staueren. All which articles the Earle did accomplish, fearing his excommunication, and from that time the Earle and the bishop continued good friends. Behold the simplicitie of Princes,and the pride of prelats in those daies,braving all the world with their thundering threats. At that time died *Henry* king of Scotland,vncle by the mothers side to cont *William* of Holland,leauing no children. There was a great nobleman in Scotland,who with the helpe of the king of England got possession of the realm. The Earle of Holland pretending a title to the Crowne,as the neerest kinsman,son to the deceased kings sister,imployed all his friends for the obtaining thereof:and to bring it to effect, being imbarked with a goodly armie,he landed in Scotland, where at the first he tooke many townes and

D castles. In the meane time *Lewis* earle of Loos knowing Cont *William* to be absent,and that he could not easily come out of Scotland,although he had wholly conquered it,leuied men secretly,to make a new conquest of the Earldome of Holland: but Cont *William* being aduertised thereof,desiring rather safely to enioy his owne inheritance, which he had gotten with much paine,than to striue to make a doubtfull conquest in a strange countrey,and farre off,he returned speedily into Holland. The earle of Loos hearing of his returne, proceeded no further, for he feared him much, hauing made so good triall of him, who afterwards gouerned his countries peaceably,during the remainder of his dayes.

In the yeare 1218,the lady *Alix*,wife to Cont *William*,died,hauing left the children aboue 1218
named,and was buried in the church of the Abbey of Rhynsbourg. Afterwards the said earle The Contesse of Holland dies.

E maried with *Mary*,daughter to *Edmond* of Lancaster,son to *Henry* the third king of England, by whom he had no children. About that time the inhabitants of Ziricxee in the Island of Shouven in Zeeland,began to build great shippes for marchandise,to traffique throughout al seas,as well North as South,and to make their towne famous (as it was for a time) by reason of their nauigation,hauing fit and conuenient hauens and rodes, the which haue since beene much stopped with barres of sand,so as of late the inhabitants of that towne haue made a new hauen,going directly to the sea before Noortbeuelandt. The Earles of Zeeland(who were also Earles of Holland)had a palace in the towne of Ziricxee,the ruines whereof are to be seene at this day. It is the second towne of Zeeland.

We haue in the life of Cont *Thierry* the seuenth,and of his daughter *Ada*, related briefely

F the deeds of this Cont *William*,the first of that name.

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FLORIS THE FOVRTH OF THAT name, the ſeuenteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland.



Florentius Quartus.

My daughter in one day as many children bare,
As daies within a yeare complete, by vs accounted are:
Twelue yeares I liued Earle, Mars durſt me not defie,
But iealous loue was cauſe that I was murthered cruelly.
My wife grieu'd at my death, and her ſo hard fortune,
At her owne charge for women built, the cloyſter of Loſdune:
Without the towne of Delft my ſiſter edified
Another, which le champ royal ſhe nam'd, wherein ſhe died.

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A FLORIS the fourth of that name, by the death of Cont *William*, was the seuenteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, his brother *Otto* was made Earle of Friseland in his fathers life, and *William* the youngest was hereditarie gouernour of Kennemerlandt: this *William* had one daughter called *Alix*, the which was married to *Didier* lord of Brederode, who had by her *Alfart*, father to *William* of Brederode, who was General of the Horse to the king of the Romans, the eighteenth Earle of Holland. Cont *Floris* had to wife *Mahilda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of Lothier and Brabant, by whom he had the said king *William* his successor, and *Floris*, who was gouernour of Holland, then *Alix* which was Contesse of Henault, and *Marguerite* wife to *Herman* earle of Henneberg, who had that great number of children, whereof we shall speake by and by. His wife and children.

B In the time of this Earle *Floris*, there was neere vnto the towne of Arckel a little castle, vpon the place of Wolfard, belonging to *John* lord of Arckel, about the which there liued some poore fishermen, at which place the riuer of Meruve began to ebbe and flow, for that the riuers of Meuse and Wahal (the which, before the towne of Tyel in Gelderland, was very narrow, and could not enter into that of Linge) fell into it. These poore fishermen called themselues Gorreckens, whereof the towne of Gorrekom (now Gorrichom) tooke the name. The lord of Arckel caused all the houses of the place of Wolfard to be pulled downe, and to bee built againe neere vnto this little castle, in the forme of a small towne: then with stone and other materials of the church of Wolfard, he caused the parish church of Gorrichom to bee The beginning of the towne of Gorrichom in Holland.

C built. The said lord of Arckel did afterwards cause this new towne to bee enuironed with rampiers, wals, and some towers, and there he built a strong castle, which he called the Burcht (that is to say, Castle, or Palace) of Arckel, for that the lords of Arckel, who were rich and mightie, and allied to the Earles of Holland, did vsually make their residence, and kept their court there.

Cont *Floris* was a Prince which tooke great delight in iousts and tourneys, as well within as without his owne countries, from whence hee vsually returned with honour and praise, through the knightly prowesse he shewed in his person. The Contesse of Clermont had a great desire to see this Earle of Holland, of whom she had heard so much good spoken: once, among the rest, she intreated her husband to keepe open court, and to appoint a tourney for Cont Floris a louer of iousts and tourneys.

D all commers, Princes, Barons, Lords and Knights, causing it to be proclaymed in the courts of all the Princes of France, Germanie, and other places. Cont *Floris* hauing notice thereof would not faile to make one; and taking with him the earle of Cleues for his companion in armes, they went well accompanied with a rich and goodly equipage. Cont *Floris* was in this tourney made captaine of the Germane Knights, and the earle of Neele captaine of the French Knights. The kings at armes hauing caused all the Knights on either part to enter within the lists, and placed them in their ranks, they fell to the tourny, euery one doing his best deuoyr, where there was many a launce broken, and many a braue blow giuen. Cont *Floris* carrying himselfe most valiantly of all others, the Contesse of Clermont being at a window neere vnto her husband, hearing them crie often for ioy, *Holland, Holland, Holland*, she intreated

E her husband to shew her which of all those knights was that Earle of Holland. The earle of Clermont taking hold of his wiues words, said vnto her: I see well, that from the abundance of the heart the mouth speakes, and that the Earle of Holland makes loue vnto thee: Behold thy friend; it is he which caries that Scutchion of gold, with a Lyon gules, whom with a burning loue thou hast aspired to see, but (by the liuing God) thou shalt see him dead before night. The Contesse knowing her husbands trecherous mind, thought to aduertise him secretly thereof; but the earle of Clermont preuented her: for although he were old, yet he armed himselfe, and went suddenly to horse, thrusting himselfe into the middest of the tourney; where hauing called the earle of Neele and his French knights vnto him, they compassed in Cont *Floris* of all sides, charging him in good earnest. Cont *Floris* (who at the first doubted

F not this treason) defended himselfe as couragiously as he could, and repulsed them that had forced him out of the tourney, yet notwithstanding any resistance that he could make, hee was there slaine. The earle of Cleues hearing that his cousin had bin thus trecherously murthered, rushed furiously with all his Germane knights into the middest of the French troupe, whereas he ouerthrew the earle of Clermont, and slew him, and made the earle of Neele to flie, Cont Floris slaine. The earle of Clermót slain.

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flie, forcing the reſt to leaue the tourney. Thus this feaſt of pleaſure was turned into a mortall combate, and their ioy into teares. The Conteſſe ſeeing this vnfortunate euent, like a deſperat woman, would haue caſt her ſelfe headlong out of a tower, but being reſtrained, ſhe fell into a grieuous ſickneſſe, whereof ſhee died ſoone after. The earle of Cleues, and other Noblemen which had accompanied them, caried back the dead body of Cont *Floris* into Holland, where he was interred in the abbey of Rhynsbourg, after that he had gouerned his countries honorably and vertuouſly twelue yeares. He was eſteemed in his time the moſt valiant and worthy prince of all Germanie: he left one ſonne but ſix yeres old, called *VVilliam*, whom *Otto* biſhop of Vtrecht his vncle tooke into his guard and protection, gouerning the countries of Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland wiſely and faithfully, during the minoritie of his nephew, reducing them of Drent and Couoerden vnto reaſon. The Lady *Mathilde*, widow to Cont *Floris*, continued a widow all her life long, and was founder of an Abbey at Loſdunen, of religious women, of the order of Ciſteaux, whereas ſhe died, being threeſcore and ſeuen yeares old, and is there buried.

The biſhop of Vtrecht guardian to the yong Earle of Holland.

We haue formerly ſaid, that this Cont *Floris* had among his other children, one daughter called *Mathilde* (ſome ſay *Marguerite*) married to Conte *Herman* of Henneberg; *VVilliam* king of the Romanes and Earle of Holland was her brother, *Otto* biſhop of Vtrecht her vncle by the father, & *Henry* duke of Brabant her vncle by the mothers ſide, *Alix* Conteſſe of Henault her aunt, *Otto* earle of Geldres, and *Henry* biſhop of Liege, her couſins. To deſcribe the monſtrous child-birth or deliuerie of this Lady, you muſt vnderſtand, that on a time this Conteſſe of Henneberg did ſee a poore widow woman begging her bread for Gods ſake, hauing in eyther arme a child, both which ſhe had had at one birth: This poore woman crauing her almes, the Conteſſe reiected her with reprochfull words: whereupon this poore woman, hauing her heart full of diſcontent, for her bitter ſpeeches, lifted vp her eyes to heauen, and ſaid: O great and mightie God, I beſeech thee for a teſtimonie of mine innocencie, that it will pleaſe thee to ſend vnto this Lady as many children as there be daies in the yeare. A while after this Conteſſe was big with child by her husband; and for her lying in, ſhe went into Holland to ſee the Earle of Holland her nephew, lodging in the Abbey of religious women of Loſdunen: whereas ſhe grew ſo exceeding great, as the like was neuer ſeene. Her time being come, the friday before Palme-ſunday, in the yeare 1276. ſhe was deliuered of three hundred ſixtie and fiue children, halfe ſonnes and halfe daughters, the odde one being found a Hermaphrodite, all complete and well faſhioned with their little members: the which were layed in two baſins, and baptized by *Guidon*, Suffragan to the biſhop of Vtrecht, who named the ſonnes *Iohn*, and the daughters *Elizabeth*. As ſoone as they had been baptized, they died all, and their mother with them. The two baſins are yet to be ſeene in the ſaid church of Loſdunen, with their Epitaph both in Latine and Dutch: the Latine was as followeth:

A wonderfull deliuerie of 365 children.

An Epitaph of the Conteſſe of Henneberg, mother to ſo many children

Margareta Comitis Henneberga vxor & Florentij Comitis Hollandia & Zeelandiæ filia; cuius materfuit Mathilda filia Henrici Ducis Brabantiæ, fratrem quoq; habuit Allemaniæ regem. Hac præfata domina Margareta, Anno ſalutis 1276. ipſo die Paraſceue. hora nona ante meridiem, peperit infames viuos promiſcui ſexus numero trecentos ſexaginta quinque: qui poſtquam per venerabilem Dom. Guidonem, Suffragan. Epiſcopi Traiectenſis, præſentibus nonnullis proceribus & magnatibus in peluibus duabus ex are, baptiſmum percepiſſent, & maſculis Iohannes, fœmellis vero Elizabeth nomina impoſita fuiſſent, ſimul omnes cum matre vno eodemq; die fatis conceſſerunt, in hoc Loduneſi templo iacent. Quod quidem accidit ob pauperculam quandam fœminam, qua ex vno partu gemellos in vnis geſtabat pueros: quam rem admirans ipſa Comitiſſa dicebas, id per vnicum virum fieri non poſſe, ipſamq; contumelioſe reiecit: vnde hac pauperula animo turbata & perculſa, prolum tantum numerum ac multitudinem ex vno partu ei imprecabatur, quod vel totius anni dies numerentur. Quod quidem præter naturæ curſum, obſtupenda quadam ratione ita factum eſt, ſicus in hac tabula in perpetuam rei memoriam, ex veteſtis, tum manuſcriptis, quam typis excuſis Chronicis, breuiter poſitũ & narratum eſt. Deus ille ter maximus hac de re ſuſpiciendus, honorandus, & laudibus extollendus in ſempiterna ſecula. Amen.

And vnderneath it were theſe two verſes:

En tibi monſtroſum & memorabile factum,
Quale nec a mundi conditione datum.

At

A At that time there were in Holland and Zeeland fiue hundred knights, whereof those that follow, were the chiefe: *Otto* brother to Cont *Floris*, *William* Lieutenant of Holland, their brother, *Didier* Lord of Brederode, Baylife of Holland, *Albert* his sonne, who was afterwards Lord of Brederode, *William* Lord of Theylingen and of Leck (These two houses are descended from the auncient Earles of Holland) then *Iohn* Lord of Heusden, *Iohn de Veen* his son, *Iohn* Lord of Arckel, *Herbert* Lord of Botersloot, *Hugh* his son, the Lord of Altena, the Lord of Lederdam, the Lord of Aspren, the Lord of Putten and of Streymen, *Henry* Lord of Vorn, *Ieams* Vicont of Leyden, *Didier* Lord of Wassenare, *Ghysbrechs* Lord of Amstel, *Henry* Lord of Woerden, *William* & *Didier* of Theylingen, brethren, *Symon* of Harlem, *Isbrand* of Harlem, *Nicholas Persin*, *Gualter* of Egmond, *Gerard* of Egmond his sonne, *Wouter* of Egmond, *Gual-*
B *ter* of Egmond, *Arnould* of Egmond, and *Nicholas* of Egmond, all brethren *William* of Heeckhuysen, *Kerstant* of Raphorst, *Ieams van Vuond*, *Hugh* of Craelingen, *Didier* of Gode, *Roger Beckel*, *Hugh* of Ackersloot, all renowned knights, *Goeselin* of Ryswicke, *Albert Vuisten Haghe*, *Didier van Velsen*, *Paule* of Brigdam, *Bouwen* or *Baudwin van Ziburch*, *Floris van Woert*, and many other Squires.

The chiefe Nobilitie of Holland.

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WILLIAM, THE SECOND OF THAT name, eighteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland, and afterwards king of Romans.



18. Guilielmus Secundus.

Leyden first brought thee forth, thy race did make thee great,
Within the Countrey Holland, thou didst hold thy soueraigne seat:
Thy wife ELIZA *was, Rome did thee king elect:*
The Hage thou mad'st chiefe place for lawes, thy people to protect:
In Harlem at thy charge, a Cloyster thou did'st make:
In Friseland fighting in thine armes, death life from thee did take.
Twice ten yeares thou wast Earle, and seuen yeares a King:
Death neither spareth Potentate, nor any liuing thing.

WILLIAM

A WILLIAM the second of that name, after the decease of Count *Thirri* his father, was the 18 Earle of Holland, Zeeland, &c. being but six yeers old when his father died; he was therefore vnder the guard and keeping of his vncle *Otto*, bishop of Vtrecht. He was borne in the Chamber of Holland, for at that time the towne of Leyden was so called. Being come to mans age, hee maried *Eliza*, or *Elizabeth*, daughter to the duke of Brunswike, by whom he had one sonne, named *Floris* the 5, who was the 19 Earle of Holland, &c. He loued armes and vertue more, than to gather riches.

The wife and children of Count William

The popes, who had beene alwayes ingratefull to emperours and kings, their benefactors, hauing degraded *Fredric* the 2, and *Conrard* his sonne, from the empire, and made *Henry* Lantgraue of Turinge to be chosen, who died soone after: the princes election seeing the popes hatred against *Frederic* the emperor increased daily, and that there would neuer be an end, they gaue the gouernment of the empire, in the yeare 1247, to *William* Earle of Holland; who at the instance of *Henry* 2, duke of Brabant, by the recommendation of his father in law, *Otto* duke of Brunswike, and by the promotion of pope *Innocent*, was chosen king of Romans, for that there was no prince in Germanie, that, for feare of the emperor *Frederic*, and *Conrard* his son, durst accept of the empire. Being chosen, he was solemnly receiued, and crowned at Aix-la-chapelle, the 1. day of November hauing first forced the said towne (the which vntil that day, had alwayes held *Frederics* part) to yeeld vnto him; and to administer vnto him the first imperiall crowne: and after the death of the emperour *Frederic*, he was by the same pope *Innocent* proclaimed emperour in the citie of Lion, foure yeers after his election. The said Count *William*, king of Romans, after that hee had beene crowned at Aix, by *Conrard* bishop of Colloigne, being then but 20 yeares old, he went to Liege, where as he graunted vnto *Otto* earle of Gueldres, brother to the said bishop of Liege, the imperiall towne and castle of Nymeguen, with all the rights, reuenues, and iurisdictions belonging and depending thereon, to hold it in fee for euer of the empire, paying therefore one and twentie thousand markes of pure siluer: vpon condition, That it should be alwayes lawfull for the emperor, or king of Romans, to redeeme it again, paying the said sum of 21000 marks of siluer: and that if afterwards they would ingage it againe, the earles of Gueldres should bee alwaies preferred, and haue the choice to take or leaue it: The which was afterwards confirmed by the successours of the said king *William*.

How Count William was chosen king of Romans.

From Liege king *William* would go to visit all his chasteleines, or castles, along the riuer of Rhin, the which were all open vnto him) with offer of seruice, except Keyser Woert, where the captaine denied him the entrie: the king besieged it, and held his campe before it about a yeare; in the end, victuals and other prouision failing, he sued for mercie. The king hauing receiued the captaine into grace, seeing his generositie and valour, after hee had taken an oth of fealtie, he gaue him in mariage *Catherine* his cosin, daughter to *Alfard* of *Bredende*, and for her dowrie the chasteleine of Keyser Woert, with the towne and castle, for him and his for euer, to hold of the empire. This done, he marched towards Holland, passing by the towne of Vtrecht, where, at the request of the bishop *Otto* his vncle, he ratified the priuiledges, giuen by former emperors to the said town and bishopricke of Vtrecht, yea he augmented them much, and gaue them letters patents. Being returned into his country of Holland, and making some stay there, he built the palace of the Earles of Holland, in the village of *la Haye*, commonly called the Hague, whereas it is at this day, the great hall whereof is built of Irish wood, which is of such a propertie, as there are neuer any copwebs, or spiders, to be seene. There hee also built the chappell of the court. Then he did transport the prouinciall counsell, which was woont to be at Grauesande, to the said palace of *la Haye*, where it yet remaines; and there are held the generall estates of the vnited prouinces, whereas prince *Maurice* their gouernor, generall, and admirall, makes his ordinarie residence, when hee is not in the armie, or otherwise imployed. He also caused the castle of Heemskerke to bee built, whereas he made one *Gerard* of Heemskerke chastelaine, giuing him charge to keepe the Frisons in awe and subiection, and neuer to suffer them in rest, vntill they had acknowledged him their prince, in the qualitie of Earle of Holland simply: and for the effecting thereof, hee put a good number of souldiers in garrison in the said castle, for the paiment whereof hee assigned three hundred pounds by the yeare. He made him also baillife of Kennemerlands, to make vse at need of the inhabi-

The king comes to Vtrecht, and ratifies their priuiledges.

inhabitants of that quarter, whom he ſhould haue alwayes at commaundement, if they were G
rebellious. *Otto* biſhop of Vtrecht, made his complaint to king *William*, of the wrong which the Earle of Ghoer did him, keeping from him ſome part of his iuriſdiction. The king being in the citie of Vtrecht, cauſed the earle to be adiorned to appear perſonally before him, to purge himſelfe, or maintaine his right. But this earle contemning this adiournement, went another way at his pleaſure. The king diſpleaſed at his contempt, went to aſſaile him, toke him priſoner, and ſpoyled all his countrey, and taking from him the title of an earle, he deliuered him into the biſhops hands, and reduced him to the eſtate of a meane and ſimple gentleman.

1253 In the yeare 1253, *Marguerite* counteſſe of Flanders, pretending a quarrell to the countrey
The counteſſe of Flanders pretends to conquer the iſle of Walchren by arms of Walchren (as many earles had done before in vaine) as depending of the countie of Flan- H
ders, ſent the earles of Guiſe and Beaumont, with her two ſonnes, *Iohn*, and *Guy* of Dampierre, into Fraunce, Bourgoigne, Picardie, and Brabant, to leuie men for pay, with the which ſhe might conquer the iſle of Walchren. And asking the aduice of her chiefe noble men and barons, vpon this buſineſſe, ſhe was firſt aduiſed to write to *William* king of Romans, and Earle of Holland, ſommoning him to doe that, whereunto ſhe ſaid he was bound; which was, to yeeld vnto her, or at the leaſt to hold the fees of Zeeland of her by homage. The king anſwered her modeſtly, That it was not fit the lord ſhould bee ſubiect to his vaſſall: meaning, that this counteſſe held her ſeigniories and counties of Henault, Aloſt, and the land of Waas, of the empire. She who was a proud woman, and of a turbulent ſpirit, tooke this anſwere verie diſdainfully, ſending for all her commanders and captaines to come vnto I
her to Wateruuynen vpon the ſea, there to make an armie. King *William*, who knew nothing of this practiſe, was in Antuerpe, at an aſſembly with the counteſſes counſell, touching their controuerſies, from the which aſſembly hee could not free himſelfe ſo ſoone as hee deſired; yet in the meane time hee did write vnto *Floris* his brother, That hee was well aduertiſed of the counteſſes intentions, & that ſhe intended to inuade the iſle of Walchren: and therefore hee ſhould with all ſpeed gather together what men hee could, and goe preſently into Walchren, whither he would come with all his troups, that they two ioyntly together, might make head, and abate her pride. The duke of Brabant being ſorie for this quarrell, laboured to reconcile them, ſo as hee ſtayed the counteſſes departure, for the ſpace of three dayes. To whom thoſe of her counſell, that were at the aſſembly in Antuerpe, did write, That ſhee K
ſhould haſt to effect what ſhe deſigned, thinking to ſtay the king with deuiſes and delayes, vntill the enterpriſe were finiſhed. She therefore ſent *Guy* her ſonne preſently, into the iſle of Walchren, with a hundred and fiftie thouſand men: charging him expreſly, not to returne into Flanders, vntill hee had reduced the whole iſland vnder his obedience; the which hee promiſed his mother to doe, or to die in the attempt: with which reſolution he departed with his armie, the which hee led as well by land as by water (for the iſle of Walchren was at that time ſo neere vnto Flanders, as they had but a ſmall paſſage to make by water) and came to Weſtcapell, where hee expected no reſiſtance. But *Floris* the kings brother, being arriued there with his troups of Holland and Zeeland before him, had put himſelfe into ambuſh, vntill that *Guy* was landed with part of his armie: who taking his oportunitie, L
ſhewed himſelfe in good order of battaile, and after that hee had receiued the order of knighthood, went couragiouſly to charge the Flemings. The combate was fierce, and continued long: for as faſt as they landed, they were ſlaine; and the more haſt they made to ſuccor them
A great defeat of the Flemings. that were firſt on land, the greater was the ſlaughter. There was ſo much Flemiſh blood ſpilt, as the Hollanders marched vp to the ancles. This battaile happened on Saint *Martins* day in Summer.

The king of Romanes being in Antuerpe, aduertiſed by poſt, that the counteſſes armie was at ſea, to paſſe into the iſle of Walchren, departed preſently, cauſed his horſe to be imbanked, and landing in the iſland, came euen as the Flemings fled, and were put to rout, whereof ſome recouered their ſhips before they were diſcouered. Cont *Guy*, and other noble men M
Flemings, made long reſiſtance againſt the Hollanders, but in the end they were defeated and taken priſoners. *Guy* was wounded, of the which he could neuer be cured. There were ſlaine aboue fiftie thouſand men vpon the place, and few leſſe drowned, beſides a great number of priſoners, whom they chaſed before them like a troupe of ſheepe, who ſeeing the king, cryed vnto

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A vnto him for mercie. The king thinking of the mercie which God had shewed him by this goodly victorie, gaue them their liues, and suffered them to returne free without ransome, after that the souldiers and peasants of Zeeland had stript them naked: and in this maner they sent them into Flanders, except the commanders, and chiefe of the armie. The king led Cont *Guy*, and *Iohn* his brother, with him into Holland, with the castles of Guise and Beaumont, and a great number of knights and gentlemen, whom hee caused to be safely kept in the castle of Watermighe. The common souldiers which were sent backe all naked, being in the territories of Flanders, gathered greene grasse, pease leaues, and other greene things, to couer their priuie parts, vntill they came in place where they might find better, and that some tooke pitie of them.

B The contesse being much troubled for the imprisonment of her two sonnes, of so many barons and knights, of the chiefe of her nobilitie, and of so many braue souldiers, studied of nothing but of the meanes of reuenge: she went vnto the ladie *Blanche*, mother to S. *Lewis* king of France, and to *Charles* duke of Aniou, his brother, whome she solicited to come to succour her with an armie, and to write vnto king *William*, That his intent was to reuenge the outrage she had receiued of him: and that he had a desire to fight with him, if hee would attend him onely three dayes vpon the plaines of Asshen: in regard whereof, shee promised the countie of Henault vnto the said duke of Aniou, whereof she would disinherit *Iohn d'Auesnes*, her eldest sonne, and all the children which he had had of the ladie *Alix* sister to king *William*; to the end this countie of Henault might neuer fall (as it did soone after) into the house of Holland, or Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, into that of Henault: vpon those goodly promises, the

C duke of Aniou entred Henault with a goodly armie, whereas the contesse *Marguerite* made him to take possession of the towne of Valenciennes, and of other townes and castles, as earle of the countrey, meaning to haue the pay of his hire, before he had done his seruice, or had merited any reward; vaunting with great vanitie and ouerweening, that if he could incounter that king of the water (for so he called the Earle of Holland, being king of Romans) vpon the land in an open field, he would handle him in such sort, and so free Flanders from him, as the memorie thereof should remaine for euer. Afterwards the duke went to visit the king S. *Lewis* his brother, being returned from prison, out of Siria; giuing him to vnderstand of all that he had treated with the contesse *Marguerite* of Flanders, and that by prouision he was in possessi-

D on of the countie of Henault, requiring his ayd and fauour therein. I haue not yet vnderstood (answered the king) that *William* king of Romanes hath attempted any thing against vs, and therefore we will not attempt any thing against him, so long as hee shall containe himselfe within those teames and limits, and that he shall do nothing that may bee preiudiciall to our subiects: neither will I vndertake a quarrell for the pleasure of a proud passionate woman, transported with the desire of reuenge against him. The duke hauing receiued this answere, from the king his brother, returned to the contesse *Marguerite*, and acquainted her therewith, perswading her with pertinent and forcible reasons, not to make a new attempt against king *William*, but to content herselfe with her first losses. Shee persisting in the haughtinesse of her courage, with a resolution and eloquent words, would needs perswade him, That if hee lay

E camped seuen yeares vpon the playnes of Asshen, king *William* would neuer shew himselfe: For (said shee) I protest before God, that *Iohn d'Auesnes* my sonne, nor any of his children, or of the bloud of Holland (from whence this irrepairable losse hath come vnto mee) shall euer inherit the earledome of Henault: whereupon shee disinherited the said *Iohn d'Auesnes* her sonne, to the end, that those which were issued from the house of Holland, should neuer inherit any thing that was hers.

The lady *Alix*, sister to king *William*, and wife to *Iohn d'Auesnes*, being discontented with her mother in lawes courses, went to Aix, to the king her brother, to impart vnto him her griefes, and to let him vnderstand, that the contesse pretended to depriue her husband, and all his children, of their inheritance, to aduance the duke of Aniou, being a stranger, to whom

F shee had alreadie transported his inheritance of Henault, to frustrate the house of Holland thereof in time to come. King *William* hearing the complaints and reasons of his sister, was soone resolued to succour and assist her; writing vnto the said duke of Aniou, that hee should leaue the countie of Henault, whereunto he had no right, the which hee would take in good part: Whereunto the duke answered proudly, That neither for loue, nor any feare

The contesse goes for succours into France.

The duke of Aniou comes to succour the contesse.

The wise answer of the king S. Lewis to the duke his brother.

of

of him, he would forsake it: and if he had so much courage, as to attend him on the plaines of Asshen, there hee would fight with him, and reuenge the wrong hee had done vnto the Flemings. The said duke laboured in the meane time, to seize vpon all the townes of Henault, and to haue them at his deuotion. The towne of Aath onely made resistance; the which he besieged, for that it held the partie of *Iohn d'Auesnes*. King *William* writ againe vnto the duke, That if he were so valiant as he vaunted himselfe to bee, he would goe and attend him three whole dayes vpon the playnes of Asshen, as hee desired. The duke returned him an answere, That hee would not faile him: whereof he aduertised the contesse *Margarite*, who assured him confidently, that the king would neuer come to fight with him at land, and therefore hee should not feare any thing, but goe and campe boldly two or three dayes there. The duke smiling, answered her, That hee would doe so, sending word vnto the king, That if he came to Asshen, he should find him there. The king seeing him thus braue, hasting draue his armie together, promising vnto his nobles an honourable reward, and to his souldiers good pay, he marched through the countrey of Brabant, and neuer rested day nor night, vntill he came to the playnes of Asshen, where he camped, attending there three daies more, for the duke of Aniou, than had beene limited.

The duke of Aniou retires.

The duke was all this time in campe before the towne of Aath, who hearing that the king was come thither, raysed his siege sodainly, and retires himselfe into Valenciennes, to auoyd the furie of the Hollanders, whom he had so much braued and threatened before. The king followed him, and went to besiege him in the said towne: but the duke slipping secretly out at a posterne gate, passed ouer the riuer of Escault, and retired into Fraunce. The inhabitants of Valenciennes (seeing the duke thus retired, had abandoned them at need) could take no better course, than to yeeld to the kings mercie, vpon good conditions, who receiued them, causing them to sweare vnto *Iohn d'Auesnes* their lord. During the treatie of their accord, newes came vnto the king, That the Queene his wife was brought in bed of a sonne,

The birth of Cont Floris 5.

whereof (it was wonderfully ioyfull, the which was Earle of Holland after him, called *Floris* the fifth.

The chronicles of Flanders report this great defeat of the Flemings, in the isle of Walchren otherwise, as also the calling in of duke *Charles* of Aniou, by the contesse *Marguerite*, where it is said, That king *William* had giuen the islands of Zeeland, to Cont *Iohn* of *Auesnes*, his brother in law, to the which the said contesse pretended a right, sending an army to conquer it: which the said Flemish chronicles confesse, was defeated; and that in reuenge thereof, she had called in the duke of Aniou, and depriued her said sonne of Auesnes of the countie of Henault. But vnder correction of the chronicles of Flanders, there is no apparance, that king *William*, Earle of Holland and Zeeland (the which are two goodly earledomes, neighbours, and necessarie one vnto the other, as well for nauigation, as commerce) would so dismember his estate, to gratifie his sister, wife to the said *Auesnes*. And if he had had any disposition to dismember it from Holland, it had beene more reasonable to giue it to his brother *Floris*, to hold it in fee of his countie of Holland, as his portion, than to giue it in dowrie to his sister. And therefore we will hold the opinion of the chronicle of Holland, more true in that point, than that of Flanders.

The contesse labours to be reconciled.

The contesse *Marguerite* seeing that the duke of Aniou fled before king *William*, and that all her men were defeated and disbanded, shee was much perplext, and knew not how to resolue: in the end she found no better course, than to imploy many princes, and great noble men, yea S. *Lewis* king of France, to reconcile her to the king of Romanes fauour, vpon such conditions as she could with reason beare. Although the said king *William* had beene too much wronged and incensed by her, as well by contempt and iniuries, as otherwise, yet presuming that his courage would neuer oppose it selfe against a silly weake woman, nor seeke reuenge of her; vsing his clemencie, he receiued her into grace, vpon certaine conditions specified: namely, That she should absolutely quit her countie of Henault, the countrey of Alost, and the foure chasteleines of the countrey of Waes, whereof she should giue full possession to Cont *Iohn d'Auesnes*, her eldest sonne, and passe it by authentike letters vnder her great seale: the which was done. And so the said *Iohn d'Auesnes*, and *Baldwin* his brother, were reconciled to the contesse *Marguerite* of Flanders, their mother: the which being well finished and ended, king *William* returned into Holland.

Pope

A Pope *Innocent* hearing of the death of *Conrard*, king of Germanie, ſonne to the emperour *Frederic*, and that *William* Earle of Holland had beene long before choſen king of Romans; he ſent for him by letters to come to Rome, to receiue the Crowne, the ornaments, and all the markes of the Empire. King *William* hauing no truſt in many princes of Germany and Italy, through whoſe territories he muſt paſſe, went diſguiſed in a pilgrims weed, being accompanied with twelue of his moſt truſtie and confident ſeruants, and ſo paſt into Italy, finding the Pope at Genoa or Genes, by whom he was honorably receiued. And as he came in a ſtrange and diſguiſed habit, onely to conferre with the Pope, he returned in the ſame maner through Lombardie and Germanie: where hauing beene well receiued in ſome places whereas hee made himſelfe knowne, and there treated of the affaires of the empire; he was aduertiſed, That

The pope ſends for the king of Romans, to come to Rome.

B the Weſt-Friſons were reuolted, and according to their antient maner inuaded the frontiers of Holland, from whence they daily carried away great ſpoyles, hauing no man to make head againſt them, he being ſo far off at that inſtant. The ſaid king being readie to returne into Italy, with forces, and a royall traine, to be crowned at Rome, hee thought it more expedient to preſerue his owne inheritance, and to ſettle peace and quietneſſe in his countries, and among his ſubiects, than to goe farre off to purchaſe a title of honour, without profit: he therefore left off this voyage of Italy, and led his armie to Vtrecht; where being with the prelats and noble men at a banquet, there was ſome traitor, which hit him on the head with a ſtone, wherewith he was ſore wounded, and yet no man could perceiue whence the blow came: the which did much perplexe and trouble the prelats, for that they had inuited him to this feaſt. The

The king being in Vtrecht is traitorouſly wounded with a ſtone.

C king hauing the ſtone in his hand, ſaid: See what an affront and deſpight, thoſe of Vtrecht do me, ſeeking to beat me downe with ſtones, hauing neuer deſerued ill at their hands; but haue euer aſſiſted them, and ſubdued their enemies at mine owne charge; but by the liuing God, this affront ſhall not paſſe vnpuniſhed, if I liue but one yeare in health: and with thoſe words he departed from thence, and went to horſe, not without great reaſon, being much mooued, and threatening the whole citie, which he reſolued to ruine quite. The magiſtrats and beſt bourgeſſes of Vtrecht, were verie ſad for this wicked and vnfortunat accident: and hauing obtained a paſſeport to ſend vnto him, they diſpatcht their bourgmaſters to the court at *la Haye*, to ſee if they could any way pacifie his choller and diſpleaſure againſt them. The king anſwered them in few words, That he had ſworne, the which he would neuer call backe again,

D but would vtterly deſtroy the towne, if they deliuered not into his hands, him that had caſt the ſtone. With this anſwre they returned, and hauing aſſembled their counſell, they made diligent ſearch for him that had giuen the blow. This remained thus in ſuſpence, for the king made haſt to go into Friſeland, whereof the citie of Vtrecht had great cauſe to thanke God: for at his returne (if he had liued any time) it was to bee feared, he would haue made a pitifull ſpoyle, and the Traiectins, or thoſe of Vtrecht, ſhould haue endured much, if he had returned victor out of Friſeland.

The king being gone with his armie into Weſt-Friſeland, at his entrance he ſubdued ſome of the firſt, that would haue oppoſed themſelues, and ſtopt his paſſage: cauſing a caſtle to bee built neere Alcmar, the which he called Tornenburg, which is to ſay, the caſtle of Wrath. And

E marching on in the moneth of Februarie, he went to Alcmar, from whence paſſing vpon the ice at Vrouen, he made all the haſt he could, to ſurpriſe his rebels ſodainely: But it ſucceeded not ſo happily for him, as for his armie: for as the lord of Brederode, who led one of the battalions, had incountred and vanquiſhed the Drechters, the king mounted vpon a mightie courſer, leading the other battalion, ſeeking the ſhorteſt way to Hoochtwonde, which he meant to burne, marched before all alone, vpon the ice, far from his troups, as if hee had beene vpon the firme land: it happened that the ice brake, and his horſe ſunke in, and was almoſt drowned, hauing no man neere him, to helpe him in time. The Friſons, who lay in ambuſh in the reeds and oziers, ſeeing a horſman thus mired, ran thither, and beat him downe with clubs & ſtaues, not knowing that it was the king: but when they had ſeene his target, they imagined it ſhould

The king miſerably ſlaine, being ſunke into the ice.

F be ſome great noble man. There were in that quarter ſome Hollanders, that were fugitiues, and baniſhed for crimes, who came alſo running thither, and knew the armes and blaſon of their king, which was an Eagle ſables, and a Lion rampant gules, in a field partie par pale or: ſaying vnto the Friſons that were there preſent, That they had done very ill, to haue thus murthered the king, their lord and naturall prince. When as they vnderſtood that it was king *William*,

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am, Earle of Holland, there was not any one, man nor woman, yong nor old, that was not verie G
heauie and ſorrowfull: then hauing conſulted together vpon this accident, they reſolued to
They burie him ſecretly in a countrey houſe. burie him ſecretly in a houſe in the ſaid village of Hoochtwonde, to the end, that in time the memorie and the reuenge thereof might be forgotten. It was a ſtrange thing, that neuer a man, neither on foot nor horſebacke, of the whole armie, came thither to ſuccour him, and that the Hollanders did not purſue their firſt victorie, although they knew their king to bee dead: For without doubt, they had that day conquered all that quarter, by the defeat of theſe Weſt-Friſons, if they had proceeded: but they were ſo ſtroken and amazed, for the death of the king their prince, as they loſt al iudgement and courage, ſo as the commanders retired with their armie into Holland. Behold how king *William* died miſerably, after that he had gouerned his inheritance of Holland and Zeeland one and twentie yeres, and the empire ſeuen. His bodie be- H
The kings body found, and interred at Middlebourg in Zeeland. ing found in this village of Hoochtwonde, was carried and interred in the abbey of Middlebourg, in the iſle of Walchren, in the yere 1255: then was accompliſhed the propheſie, which ſaid, *That one William king of Romans ſhould be ſlaine by the Friſons.* The ſame day there died in a battaile, which they fought in their retreat, all the inhabitants of Dordrecht, except three hundred, and their ſtandard was taken; and moſt part of thoſe of Delft, after they had ſlaine many of theſe Friſons. The lady *Elizabeth* his wife died in the yeare 1265, and lyes buried by her husband. This king of Romanes, Earle of Holland and Zeeland, gaue vnto the ſaid towne of Middlebourg, their principall priuiledges: and among others, hee graunted that in all the *Beweterſchelds*, none ſhould haue high iuſtice, and iudge of life and death, but the ſaid towne; and that all the criminall cauſes of the countrey, ſhould bee decided there, and that offenders I
ſhould be kept in the Earles priſons there, cauſing this towne to be repaired and fortified.

Floris

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FLORIS THE FIFTH OF THAT name, the nineteenth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



19 Florentius Quintus,

Iniust reuenge of fathers death thou spild'st the blood
Of Frisons, that had him destroi'd, and thee withstood:
And hauing taken his bodie from the place where's lay,
Intombed'st it in Middleburgh, from whence thou took'st thy way
To Flanders, to abate their pride, that quietly
Gaue thee their princesse for thy spouse, and for her dower
Whole Flanders: but when thou to hunt in woods wast gone,
Thy foes thee slue, when thou hadst rul'd full fortie yeares and one.

AFter the lamentable death of *William* king of Romans, Earle of Holland G
and Zeeland, his ſon *Floris* being but ſix monethes old, ſucceeded him,
and was the 19 Earle. *Floris* his vncle, brother to the king, gouernour of
Holland, was his tutor, who diſcharged it faithfully for the ſpace of four
yeares. It was he which made lawes and cuſtoms in Zeeland, the which
they obſerue at this day. *Floris* being one day at a tourney in the citie
of Antuerpe, was very ſore hurt, wherof he died, and was buried by the
king his brother, in the abbey of Middlebourg, in the yeare 1258. Then *Henry* duke of Bra-
bant, ſonne to this infants great vncle, tooke vpon him the guardianſhip, the which he did ad-
miniſter for a time; till in the end, through the diſſolutions, exactions, and concuſſions of his
officers, he was chaſed out of Holland. He being diſplaced, the barons, lords, nobles, with the H
eſtates of this countie, did with one conſent chuſe *Otto* earle of Gueldre, to vndertake the go-
Factions for the gouernement of the Earles perſon and of the countrey. uernment: againſt whom thoſe of Holland did chuſe the lady *Alix* conteſſe of Henault, aunt
to yong Cont *Floris*, to be his gouerneſſe, and viceregent: Which partialitie was afterwards
the cauſe of a great battaile at Voerwoetzee, whereas many were ſlaine on either part: but
the Hollandser won the battaile, and the earl of Gueldres remained ſole gouernour and guar-
dian to the yong Earle.

In the yeare 1268 there were ſtrange apparitions ſeene in the aire; as armed men fighting,
and other ſtrange and prodigious things, after which there followed great calamities: for the
Great trouble in Holland. commons of Holland did riſe againſt the nobles; and Cont *Floris* being yet very yong, thoſe
of Kennemerlandt did riſe and bandie themſelues againſt the nobles of the countrey, deſtroy- I
ing and pulling downe their caſtles, houſes in the country, and places of pleaſure: the knights
and gentlemen were forced for their better ſafetie, to retire themſelues into the towne of Har-
lem, to be freed from this rable of raſcals, who had reſolued to expell all the nobilitie of the
countrey of Vtrecht, to raſe their caſtles and houſes, and to make all the countrey common.
The Friſons and Waterlanders did ioyne with them, ſo as all together made a huge bodie of
an army, with the which they fel vpon the quarter of Amſterlandt. *Ghysbrecht* ſeignior of Am-
ſtel, ſeeing that he could not make head againſt ſo great a multitude of mad-men, reſolued to
ioyne with them, promiſing them all fidelitie and aſſiſtance. Hauing therefore made choyce of
him for their leader, he with his people ioyned with this mutinous troupe. Beeing made their
captaine generall, he thought to reuenge himſelfe of all his enemies about Vtrecht, and to ru- K
ine them, beating downe their caſtles and houſes. For his firſt exploit, he went to beſiege the
caſtle of Vredelandt, the which had been expreſly built by the biſhop of Vtrecht, againſt him
and the ſeignior of Woerden, his coſin: but he found it ſo well fortified with a good garriſon,
and of all other things neceſſarie for defence, as he was glad to leaue it. And finding that this
troupe did eat and waſt all his territorie of Amſterlandt, he perſuaded them in a faire night, to
make an enterpriſe vpon the town of Vtrecht, the which they reſolued: and meaning to make
a preſent proofe thereof, before that it was day, they had inueſted the ſaid citie round about.
The bourgeſſes, and thoſe of the guard of Vtrecht, knew not what it might be, thinking they
had beene Scythians, or Tartarians, or ſome other ſtrange nation, that came to aſſaile them:
being in armes vpon their walles, and in their towers, they demaunded what they were, and L
what they required: Whereupon one of theſe Kennemers, a man well ſpoken, ſaid vnto them:
You bourgeſſes and inhabitants of Vtrecht, our good friends, know that the franke Kenne-
mers ſalute you, and ſend you word, that you chaſe away all the noblemen and gentlemen,
which oppreſſe and ouercharge the people; and that you diuide their goods and riches a-
mong the poore in common. He had no ſooner ended this ſpeech, but preſently there grew a
tumult among the people of the towne, incouraging one another with the perſuaſions of this
Kennemer: and ſo taking armes, they chaſed away all the nobles, and men of knowledge and
authoritie in the citie, or that were of the counſell, and did adminiſter iuſtice, with fortie gen-
tlemen of name. Then they created a new magiſtrat, aldermen, and ancients, one out of eue-
rie companie or trade, to gouerne the commonweale. Hauing chaſed away the mightieſt, they M
made a league with the Kennemers, to whom in like ſort ioyned thoſe of Amersfort and Em-
melandt.

Iohn of Naſſau, biſhop of Vtrecht, did on the other ſide allie himſelfe with *Otto* earle of
Gueldres, and they two together hauing made a good armie, came to Zyeſt, to reſtore the no-
bles

A bles,and the magiſtrats that were chaſed away. The Kennemers hauing notice of their comming,put their men in battaile,meaning to fight with them. The earle of Gueldres, an old knight,and well experienced in armes,would not with ſo few men expoſe himſelfe to the hazard of a doubtfull battaile,againſt ſo great a multitude of deſperat men,that were halfe mad; retiring a little backe towards the Veluve,to gather together more forces, and then to charge them. *Ghysbrecht* lord of Amſtel,ſeeing himſelfe a great commander,and captain of this great confuſed troupe,did beat downe the caſtles of *Ghysbrecht* of Abconde, of *William* of Riſenburch,and of *Hebert* of Vyanen,his enemies: which done, hee ſpake vnto the Kennemers in this manner; Companions and valiant ſouldiers,you haue ſeene, how that this yeare we haue reduced all the countrey of Vtrecht vnder our obedience,chaſed away the nobles,and burnt
B their caſtles,ruined their forts,and ſpoiled them of their goods & poſſeſſions: the next yere we muſt go and aſſaile the earl of Gueldres,who is banded againſt vs,we muſt ſpoile his country, and chaſe him away in like ſort: but as Autumne drawes neere,it ſhall be neceſſary for euerie one to retire himſelfe to his own home,to gather in his harueſt, and to prouide for that which ſhall be needfull for euery mans family in particular. Vpon this perſuaſion the Kennemers being aſſembled all together,retired into Kennemerlandt: and paſſing neere vnto Harlem,they beſieged it,and did haſten al they could to batter and ſhake it with their rammes,and other engins. The inhabitants and gentlemen thereabouts(which were retired into the ſame town) defended themſelues valiantly with arrows,ſlings,& ſtones. *Iohn* of Perſin, a braue knight, made a ſally by night,and fell vpon a number of carts, laden with victuals and munition, then paſ-
C ſing into Kennemerlandt,he burnt ſome of their chiefe villages. The Kennemers ſeeing fire in their country,raiſed their ſiege from before Harlem,and made haſt to returne to their houſes. Thoſe of the towne ſeeing them march away, iſſued forth, and charging them in the rere, defeated a great number,and brought backe a good bootie,the which theſe mutines had ſpoiled here and there. The biſhop of Vtrecht,and the earle of Gueldres hearing of the retreat of the Kennemers,went to beſiege the towne of Vtrecht: but foure daies after,ſeeing they could not take it without loſſe,and that they daily loſt many of their beſt men, they did riſe from thence,and went to beſiege Amersfort,for that they had ioyned themſelues vnto the Kennemers: in the end they yeelded by compoſition vnto the earle of Gueldres, who (for certaine iniurious ſpeeches they had vſed againſt him;during the ſiege) ruined a part of it: then he re-
D tired into his countrey,and the biſhop to his towne of Deuenter, in the countrey of Oueriſſel. About two yeares after *Aſuerus* of Boſichom, a knight, came with all the baniſhed men before the towne of Vtrecht,and hauing ſecretly made a ſcaladoe, entred it. At the firſt hee was hotly incountred; but in the end *Aſuerus* became maſter, chaſed away the magiſtrat, and many of the bourgeſſes of the towne, and reſtored the bourgmaſters and aldermen, which had beene diſplaced. Soone after all the baniſhed men returned; and there was great fighting betwixt the inhabitants one againſt another, and much bloud ſpilt. During theſe hurly burlies, *Nicholas de Cats*, a knight of Zeeland (hauing the yong Cont *Floris* then in his guard and keeping) brake the gates of the ſaid towne with axes and hammers, and entred it with fiue hundred horſe: then ſitting in the ſeat of iuſtice in the middeſt of the towne,hee ba-
E niſhed a thouſand and fortie of the bourgeſſes, and reſtored all things to a good eſtate, and made the towne in quiet.

Floris Earle of Holland,being ſeuenteen yeares old,leuied a good armie, to make war vpon the Weſt-Friſons, & to reduce them vnder his obedience,& to bring away his fathers bones, who had been ſlain there,to bury them in Zeeland. The Friſons hearing of his approach, went to armes,and came to incounter him at Verone,vpon the Gheeſt,neere vnto Alcmar, where there was a battail,in the which there died 500 Hollanders,among the which were ſome men of marke. The Hollanders hauing receiued this firſt diſgrace, retired themſelues to Heyligerlee,where they camped in the open field,& receiued a new ſupply of men. The Friſons grown proud with their firſt victorie,went to charge them: but the Hollanders, who attended them,
F had now their reuenge,for they put the Friſons to flight,and ſlew aboue 800 vpon the place. Afterwards Cont *Floris* hauing cauſed the ſtrong caſtle of Wideneſſe to bee built againſt the Friſons he marched with his armie into Friſeland,to fight with them, and to ſubiect them to their duties and obedience: a battaile was fought, and he defeated them in a village, called Schellinckhout: then paſſing to Hoochtwonde,there was another battaile, in the which hee

Cont Floris takes armes againſt the Friſons.

The Friſons defeated.

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was alſo victorious; there were 600 Friſons ſlaine, and many other taken priſoners, among the G
which there was an old man, which ſhewed Cont *Floris* the place where king *William* his fa-
ther was buried, the which he cauſed to be opened, and his bones to be taken vp, cauſing them
to be put in a hearſe, and to be tranſported to Middlebourg in Zeeland, whereas he built a roi-
all tombe, worthy of his greatneſſe.

In the yeare 1285, there was ſuch a tempeſt of wind and ſtorms, as many dikes and cauſeies
in Friſeland, Holland and Zeeland, were broken and carried away, ſo as much of the countrey
was ouerflowne, and many men, and much cattell drowned. *Didier* lord of Brederode, called
the Gentle, had charge from Cont *Floris*, to go with an armie both by ſea and land, to make
warre againſt the Friſons; the which he did: and for that (by reaſon of theſe inundations)
thoſe of the champian countrey of Friſeland, could not ſuccour one another, hee entred in- H
to diuers parts of the country, the which he diſpeopled, leading them all away priſoners, with-
out ſtriking ſtroke; and by this meanes reduced Friſeland vnder the Earles obedience. The
Foure caſtles built by the Earle, to ſubdue the Friſons. waters of this inundation being fallen away, and the cauſeyes repaired, the Earle cauſed foure
ſtrong caſtles to bee built in Friſeland; that of Medemblyck, of Enigemburch, Middelburch,
and Nieuburch, to reſtraine the Friſons, and keepe them in their obedience. The Friſons
ſeeing themſelues thus ſubdued, and that of neceſſitie they muſt yeeld vnto the yoke, came
vnto him, thoſe of the bailywike of Hoochtwonde, of Nieudorp, Winckel, Berſingenhorn,
Coſtinauroe, Vrolen, Kuytdorp, Brock, Zuydſterwoude, Noortſterwoude, Oudherſpel,
Waermenhuyſen, Nyeulandt, Duringherſorn, Emgebroerk, Oeterleeck, Veenhuyſin, and
Medemblyck: All which aboue named hauing made their peace with Cont *Floris*, tooke I
their othe of fealtie, and did him homage, as well for himſelfe, as his ſucceſſors for euer, yeel-
ding, that in their countrey hee might diuide the wayes at his owne good pleaſure: for the
performance whereof, they graunted him the tenth of all kind of graine. In recompence
whereof the Earle granted them many priuiledges, ſuch as thoſe of Vrolen and Oudtorp had
obtained from king *William* his father. This reconciliation and accord, was made vpon Saint
Agnes eue, in the yeare 1288. The Earle being ſtill iealous of the loyaltie of the Weſt-Friſons,
notwithſtanding all their othes and homages, not truſting them but vpon good aſſurance,
cauſed the caſtle of Medemblyck to bee finiſhed, and to that end camped with his armie at
Meloorde, vntill it was ended. He cauſed alſo the fort neere to Verena, vpon the Gheeſt, on
the frontiers of Friſeland, to bee new built againe, to the end they might paſſe freely from K
Alcmar whither they would. And he built the fort of Middlebourg, along the dike, to keepe
them from breaking it in that place: the caſtle of Tornenburch (which the king his father
had built there) was neere vnto it: The which he did, to the end they ſhould not eaſily be-
ſiege neither the one nor the other, for that they were within two or three bowes ſhoot
one of another. He alſo built the caſtle of Nyendoern, which ſince the Friſons ruined. Cont
Floris hauing bridled the Weſt-Friſons, went to Staueren: thoſe of that quarter, knowing
Friſeland who- lly ſubdued. how he had ſubdued them of Weſt-Friſeland, by the meanes of ſo many caſtles, being loath
to make triall of the like rigour, ſubmitted themſelues willingly vnto him, with an othe of
obedience, as to their lord and prince, as well to himſelfe, as to his ſucceſſors hereafter, Earles
of Holland; who ſeeing their readineſſe and willingneſſe, gaue them many thankes, and gran- L
ted them freedomes and immunities, which were too long to repeat. Hauing thus pacified
all, and ſettled a good order in Friſeland, hee parted from Staueren, beeing followed by the
beſt and chiefe noble men of that countrey, vnto Albrechts-bergh, ſoliciting the confirmati-
on of their priuiledges, the which were diſpatched in due forme vnder his ſeale, in the yeare
of our Lord God 1292.

Cont *Floris* hauing made al Friſeland quiet, *Guy* of Dompierre, earl of Flanders, entred again
with an armie into Zeeland, pretending to conquer the iſle of Walchren: Cont *Floris* po-
ſted preſently thither with all his forces, to chaſe him away, or to giue him battaile. *Iohn* duke
The Earles of Flanders and Holland reconciled. of Brabant, deſirous to preuent this miſchiefe, came into Zeeland, by whoſe good meanes a
peace was concluded betwixt theſe two princes of Flanders and Holland, vpon condition, M
That Cont *Floris* ſhould take to wife the lady *Beatrix*, daughter to Cont *Guy*, by meanes of
which mariage they continued good friends, and euery one retired to his owne home. Cont
Floris had by this lady his wife many children; *Iohn*, *Thierry*, *Floris*, *William*, *Otto*, *William* and
Floris, *Beatrix*, *Mathilda*, *Elizabeth*, and *Marguerite*, the which died all young, except *Iohn* the
eldeſt,

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A eldeſt, who ſucceeded his father in the counties of Holland and Zeeland, &c. Hee had alſo two baſtard ſonnes, *Witten* the chiefe lord of Hamſtede in Zeeland, and *William*, both of them braue knights. He cauſed many goodly buildings to be made, as the caſtle of Vogelſanck in the wood of Harlem, where hee often held his court, by reaſon of hunting and hawking, and other pleaſures of iuſts and tourneyes: hee did alſo greatly inlarge his court at *la Haye*.

The biſhop of the clergie of Vtrecht, complained to Cont *Floris*, of the wrongs the lords of Amſtel and Woerden (being coſin germains) did vnto them, demanding his helpe againſt them: The Earle went and beſieged the caſtle of Vredelandt, planting his rammes and other engines of batterie, whither he ſent the ſeignior *Coſtin* of Reneſſe knight, with a ſupply of ſol- The Earle makes war againſt the lord of Amſtel and Woerden.

B diers out of Zeeland. The lord of Amſtel hauing knowledge of his comming, ſallied foorth, and went to incounter them neere vnto Loen: but hee was repulſt and defeated by the ſaid ſeignior of Reneſſe, whereas the lord of Amſtel was taken priſoner, with a great number of his ſubiects. *Arnould* of Amſtel, who remained in the caſtle, hearing of his brothers impriſonment, fearing the Earles power, yeelded himſelfe and the place vnto his mercie, who hauing receiued it, cauſed it to be manned with a ſtrong garriſon. And for that *Herman* of Woerden had aſſiſted the lord of Amſtel, againſt the biſhop, the Earle went likewiſe againſt him, to ſpoile all his lands. *Herman* knowing well that he was vnable to reſiſt ſo powerfull a prince, hauing fortified his caſtle of Montfort, and manned it with a good garriſon, and all things elſe requiſit for a long ſiege, leauing a good captaine therein, whom he truſted, abſented himſelfe out of

C the countrey. The Earle vnwilling to deſiſt, notwithſtanding his abſence, beſieged the caſtle a whole yeare together, giuing many aſſaults, ſo as in the end he forced it, cauſing all their heads that he found within it, to be cut off, two onely reſerued: then hauing manned the place with ſouldiers, and made hot warre for a time againſt the ſaid *Herman*, in the end there was a peace concluded betwixt them, by the which theſe two noble men of Amſtel and Woerden, did ſweare fealtie and obedience vnto the Earle of Holland, and the biſhop of Vtrecht, vpon paine of confiſcation of all their goods, and neuer to riſe nor rebell againſt him, reſtoring to the biſhop of Vtrecht his caſtles: by meanes whereof all quarrels were ended. The Earle hauing pardoned what was paſt, held them for his moſt familiar counſellors, which proued hurtfull vnto him, as we ſhall preſently ſhew.

D In the yeare 1290, Cont *Floris*, and *Thierry* of Cleues met at *la Haye* in Holland, there to recreate themſelues together, Cont *Floris* keeping open court: during which time the earle of Cleues did reſigne and abſolutely yeeld vp vnto the Earle of Holland, his coſin, the ſoueraignties and homages of the townes and caſtles of Heuſden, Vandrichom, and Altena, quitting and diſcharging all his vaſſals; and freed men of their othe of fealtie, which they ought vnto him mediatly, or immediatly: and that afterwards they ſhould hold and depend of the countie of Holland, in the like manner as they were woont to hold of the earledome of Cleues. So *Iohn* of Heuſden receiued of *Floris* Earle of Holland, by right of reliefe, his fees and ſeigniories of Heuſden, Altena, and Vandrichom, which from that time were of the iuriſdiction of the countie of Holland, and ſo continue vnto this day. Cont *Floris* ſeeing himſelf at reſt, 1290

E hauing thus augmented his ſeigniories and reuenues, he prepared a goodly fleet of ſhips, and accompanied with a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen, went into England, to king *Edward* the firſt of that name, to demand aduice and ſuccours to get the poſſeſſion of the realme of Scotland, which was fallen vnto him by the deceaſe of his great great grandmother *Ada*, daughter to the king of Scotland (who died without heires male) wife to *Floris* the third of that name, and thirteenth Earle of Holland, which Cont *William* the firſt, by the death of *Henry* king of Scotland, his vncle by the mothers ſide, did not proſecute, by reaſon of the rebellion of ſome noblemen of his countrey, which hindred him, beſides the Friſons were reuolted, and the earle of Loos (during his abſence) thought to reconquer Holland, as wee haue ſaid before. Cont *Floris* being then with king *Edward* (who diſſuaded him from this war of Cont Floris his voiage into England, and why.

F Scotland, for the great difficulties he ſhould find there) they concluded an alliance together, which was, That *Iohn* ſonne to Cont *Floris* (being then but young) ſhall marie *Elizabeth* the kings daughter: by which mariage they ſhould remaine for euer good friends and allies, as ſince England hath alwayes beene, and is at this preſent well affected to Holland and Zeeland, and to the other vnited prouinces of the Netherlands. A mariage betwixt Cont Floris eldeſt ſon, and the king of Englands daughter

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Guy of Dompierre, earle of Flanders, repining at this friendſhip and alliance betwixt the king of England, and Earle of Holland, leuied an armie in the countrey of Catſand, to inuade the iſle of Walchren, during the abſence of Cont *Floris*: but *Didier* lord of Brederode, and *Iohn* of Reneſſe knights, the one in Holland, the other in Zeeland, made haſt to leuie men, to oppoſe againſt him. Cont *Floris* hauing newes therof, imbarked without any delay, and came to land at Fleſſingue. Cont *Guy* ſtaying too long vpon his paſſage, the ſeignior of Reneſſe by commandement from Cont *Floris*, paſt into Flanders, burnt the towne of Scluce, and ſpoiled the whole countrey about. This done, the lords of Brederode and Reneſſe, enter ioyntly with their troups into the iſle of Catſand, which they deſtroyed alſo. The Flemings (who were not farre from them) being about 4000 men, thought to compaſſe in the Hollanders: but the ſeignior of Reneſſe, who had but 300 Zeelanders, choyce men, and he a braue and hardie knight, went firſt to charge them, and put them to rout, ſo as there were a great number ſlaine and drowned beſides priſoners, and the bootie which he carried into Holland, returning a victor to the Earle his Prince. This happened on *Simon* and *Iudes* day, in the yeare 1296. The Flemings being retired after this defeat, Cont *Floris* fortified his countrey of Zeeland with good garriſons, againſt their inuaſions and ſpoyles, then hee returned into Holland to his court at *la Haye*. One day among the reſt he bethought himſelfe, that in the great warr which hee had had againſt the Friſons, Flemings, and others, he had loſt a good number of his knights, and of his beſt noblemen; beſides many were dead of the plague, the which had beene very violent in his countries, ſo as (to his great griefe) he was then very deſtitute: whereupon he reſolued to ſend for, one day in Chriſtmas, to his court at *la Haye*, fortie of the chiefeſt and moſt ſubſtantiall of all his ſubiects, that were not noble, the which had good meanes, and great reuenues, to entertaine the traine and eſtate of a knight. With theſe fortie good men, ſpecially choſen, he held open court, made them knights, and gaue them armes and blaſons. In this ſort did he honour his good and vertuous ſubiects, who by their wealth might well maintaine their eſtate in the ſeruice of their prince. Withall he did repeople his countrey with nobles, and did beautifie his traine and court: for the more noblemen a prince hath, the more is hee honoured and feared. True it is, that in the beginning the antient nobilitie did ſcorne and hate theſe new knights (it may be for that they had not ſo great meanes) but in ſucceſſion of time, their ſonnes, grand-children, and great grand-children, were taken for good gentlemen.

The chiefe nobilitie.

The chief knights and gentlemen iſſued from antient nobilitie and knighthood, in the time of this Earle *Floris*, were theſe that follow: *Iohn* of Holland his ſonne, *Herman* earle of Heneberg, husband to *Marguerite* his aunt, who had ſo many children; *Didier* the Gentle, lord of Brederode, *William* lord of Theylinghen, *Iohn* lord of Heuſden, *Iohn* lord of Heesben, *Arnoult* lord of Eſcluſe, brother to the lord of Heuſden, *Iohn* lord of Arckel, *Hugh Butterman* lord of Butterſloot, *Iohn* lord of Heucklom, *Otto* ſeignior of Aſpren and of Alkoy, *Peregrin* ſeignior of Lederdam his brother, *Ieams* lord of Waſſenare, *Didier* of Theylinghen, *Nicholas Perſin* ſeignior of Waterlandt, *Simon* of Harlem, *Ghysbrechs* lord of Amſtel, *Arnould* of Amſtel, his brother, *Herman* of Woerden, *Iohn* of Leck, lord of Polnen, *Hugh* of Vianen, *Ghysbrechs* of Yſelſteyn, *Wolfard* lord of Vere, *Iohn* of Reneſſe, *Witten*, baſtard to Cont *Floris*, the firſt lord of Hamſtede, and *Williams* his brother, *Nicholas* lord of Putten and of Stryen, *William* of Egmond, *Gerard* of Egmond, his ſonne, *Baldwin* of Nueldwick, *Ieams Vander Vuoude*, *Arnould* of Heemskerke, *Henry* of Heemskerke, his brother, *Didier vander Goude*, *Gerard van Velſon*, *Gerard* of Heemskerke, *Didier* of Raephorſt, *Gerard* of Raephorſt, his brother, *Hugh* of Craelinghen, *Werembault Witten Hage*, *Albert* his ſonne, *Gerard* of Harlem, *Iohn Dortoghe* and *Floris* of Duynen, all knights. And in Zeeland the chiefe noblemen, were the lords of Borſſele, of Brigdam, of Zandtwick, of la Vere, of Cats, of Cortgoen, of Mourmont, of Reneſſe, and of Ornyninghe, all which carried the Earles order, which was a coller of gold, interlaced with cockle ſhels, and the image of S. *Iames* hanging at it.

A hiſtorie of the death of Cont Floris the 5.

There was in the Earls court a valiant knight (put in the rank of theſe nobles) named *Gerard van Velſon*, whom the Earle held a whole yeare in priſon, after that he had cauſed his brothers head to be cut off, through the falſe reports, and pernitious counſell of ſome that hated them. The Earle being afterwards better informed of the truth, and of their innocencie, hauing ſet *Gerard* at libertie, he ſought by all meanes to repaire the wrongs that had beene done him, and to honour and aduance him among all the reſt: and to make him the more affectionat to his ſeruice

A seruice (the Earle thinking therein to doe him honour and fauour) would haue giuen him his minion in mariage, the which was a faire gentlewoman. But *Gerard* disdaining her like a generous man, would none of her. The Earle insisting still to haue him marie her, in the end *Gerard*, angrie at his importunities, answered him plainly, That he was not so abiect nor base minded (using a common Dutch phrase) as to put his feet in his old shooes, which is as much to say, as to marie his leauings, or strumpet. The Earle displeased at this answer, said vnto him; And truly thou shalt haue my leauings. *Gerard*, who regarded not the Earls words, goes from court, and a while after maries the daughter of *Herman*, seignior of Woerden, neece to *Ghysbrecht* of Amstel. Cont *Floris* hearing afterwards that *Gerard* was maried, and that hee came no more to court, by the persuasion of his minion he sent for him: being come, he sent him in
B commission out of the countrey, for some businesse of importance, wherin *Gerard* held himselfe much honoured: during his absence the Earle went with a small traine to the castle of Croonenbruch (where as *Gerard* made his ordinarie residence) as if he would refresh himself there. The ladie, *Gerards* wife, receiued him honorably, and courteously, as her lord & prince. The Earle making shew, that he had some priuat matter to treat with her in secret, hee willed her to lead him into some priuat chamber, where there might not bee any present, but they two, that he might the more freely deliuer what he had to say vnto her. The good lady doubting no harme led him into her owne bed chamber. The Earle hauing made the doore fast, forced her to his will, and then presently departed. She being exceeding sorrowfull for this violence, which had beene offered vnto her by her owne prince, who aboue all things should
C haue maintained the honour of ladies, especially of his vassals of her qualitie, shee cast off her rich attire, and pretious ornaments, and put on the plainest and simplest mourning weed shee could. *Gerard* being returned from his commission, and hauing made his report vnto the Earle, tooke his leaue, and returned to his house; where comming, he found his wife all desolate, and hauing vnderstood the occasion, he did comfort her, seeming to the world, as if hee knew nothing, and commaunded his wife to go vnto the house of the seignior of Woerden, her father, and to let him vnderstand the whole fact: the which she did, craving pardon for that which had happened forcibly vnto her, vnder a colour of hospitalitie. *Gerard* of Velson demanded of the seignior of Woerden, his father in law, how he should best gouerne himselfe in this fowle fact, and withall sware by his knighthood, neuer to suffer it to passe vnreuenged: af-
D ter which time he neuer came to court, but did meditate day and night vpon reuenge. On the other side *Herman* of Woerden could not forget the wrong and dishonour which had beene done vnto his daughter, for the which he became a mortall enemie vnto the Earle. These two knights being thus discontented with the Earle, drew vnto their partie *Ghysbrecht* of Amstel, their kinsman, to conspire against the Earle: And by the counsell of the said seignior of Amstel and Woerden, *Gerard* did secretly call vnto the towne of Cambraye, the bishop of Duras for the king of England, the earle of Cuyck, in the name of the duke of Brabant, & two counsellors for the earl of Flanders: before all which being assembled, *Gerard* made his complaints of the base treacherie of Cont *Floris*, with an aggrauation of the fowlenesse of the fact, proceeding from a heart full of bitternesse, despight, and choller, desirous of reuenge: where it was
E concluded among them, to attempt all meanes to seise vpon the Earls person, and to send him into England, to the king, who should retaine him, and make him end his dayes in prison; and in the meane time should send *Iohn* of Holland, sonne to Cont *Floris*, his sonne in law, husband to his daughter *Elizabeth* (who kept then in England) to take possession of the earldoms of Holland and Zeeland, by the ciuile death of his father, the which he had worthily deserued, for an expiation of so fowle and villainous a fact.

In the same yeare 1296. Cont *Floris* being ignorant of this conspiracy and resolution, taken against him at Cambraie, by the deputies of the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the earl of Flanders, and the lords of Amstel & Woerden, at the instance and suit of *Gerard van Velson*, went to Vtrecht, to end a certain difference, growne betwixt the lord of Zuylen, and some of
F his counsellors, wherof the said seignior of Amstel and Woerden were. The Earl going to the church with his knights and houshold seruants, there came a woman, which deliuered him a little note, the which he caused his secretarie to read, containing these 4 verses of the Psalme.

My deerest friend whom I did trust,
With me did vse deceit:

Who

Who at my Table eate my bread,
The ſame for me layed wait.

My lord (ſaid ſhe) remember it well, and marke this prophecie of *Dauid*. The earle contemning this aduertiſement, went to make good cheare with the noblemen & prelats of Vtrecht: after dinner being laid downe to reſt a little, thinking to ſpend the remainder of the day in ſport and pleaſure, the lord of Amſtel went to wake him, inuiting him to ride abroad with his hawkes, ſaying, that they had found a goodly flight of Herons and other wild-fowle (but they were ſuch fowle as no hawke could take, and were lodged there to take the Earle himſelf) who louing hawking exceedingly, went to horſe with a Merlyn on his fiſt, being very ſlenderly accompanied of his followers: riding about halfe a mile out of Vtrecht, he was led into the middeſt of the ambuſh of theſe conſpirators, when as ſuddenly the Seigniors of Woerden, of Amſtel, of Velſen, of Beuſcop, of Crayenhorſt, of Theylingen and Van Zanthen, with many horſmen, who knew nothing of this enterpriſe, iſſuing forth of their ambuſh, enuironed the Earle on all ſides. *Gerard van Velſen* (who held himſelfe much wronged) was the firſt that offered to lay hold vpon him: but like a couragious Prince (caſting away his Merlyn which he caried) he laid hold on his ſword, to defend himſelfe, deſiring rather to die than to yeeld: but not able to make reſiſtance, he was taken, meaning to carry him ſecretly that night to the caſtle of Muyden, and from thence ſend him into England by the riuer of Flye. H

The bruit of this prize was ſuddenly diſperſed ouer all, the which moued the harts of many: The Kennemers and Waterlanders, with the Weſt-Friſons, tooke armes preſently in their barkes and ſhaloupes to deliuer their lord: but the conſpirators being aduertiſed of their comming, departed ſuddenly, leading the Earle through mariſhes and vnknowne places. Thoſe of Naerden, who firſt went in ſearch of him, encountred them full in the teeth: they being much perplexed, knowing that the Kennemers purſued them, were doubtful what way to take. The Earles horſe, whereon he was mounted and bound, was little and weake, ſo as not being able to leape like vnto the reſt, he fell into a ditch; where they laboured to get him forth, but could not, hauing no leiſure, by reaſon of the purſute of them that followed. *Gerard van Velſen* full of furie and rage, ſeeking nothing but reuenge, ſeeing that they muſt of neceſſitie abandon their prey, not able to carry him any further (his other companions being already fled) & not knowing how to vanquiſh his courage; rather than to leaue him without reuenge of the wrong which he had done him, he played the part of a deſperate man, giuing him one and twentie wounds with his ſword, moſt of the which were mortall: then mounting vpon a good horſe, he ſaued himſelfe in his caſtle of Croonenbruch. In the meane time the Kennemers arriue, who find their Earle halfe dead in this ditch, ſpeechleſſe, drawing only his breath. There were ſome of theſe conſpirators ſeruants taken, whom in the Earles preſence they cut in pieces, and hauing drawne him forth of the ditch, they carried him vpon the Mount of Muyden, whereas he breathed out his laſt gaſpe, after that hee had gouerned Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, as well by himſelfe as by his tutors, two and fortie yeres. He was a generous prince, of a goodly ſtature and louely countenance, gracious and eloquent in his ſpeech, a good muſitian, ſtately and liberall: To conclude, he had all that might be deſired in a prince, except this vice of incontinencie, and the villanous adulterie, which he committed with violence, which was the cauſe of this ſudden death. His body was carried by boat to Alcmar, where his bowels were buried in the church, and his body being imbalmed, was layed in the Quier, vntill that Cont *Iohn* his ſonne were returned out of England. Cont *Floris* had two grey-hounds, the which had alwaies followed him, going in and comming out of the caſtle of Muyden, and which were found lying by him in the ditch where he was ſlaine: carrying him into the boat, they followed, and leaped into it, and would neuer eat nor drinke, although it were offered them; yea, they would haue ſtarued themſelues, if they had not beene drawne away from the Earles dead bodie. Amongſt thoſe that had aſſiſted at this murther, many fled out of the Countrey, and among the reſt, the Seignior of Woerden went vp and downe like a vagabond, and died poorely and miſerably in a ſtrange countrey. The lord of Amſtell, who was a good old man, and had ſuffered himſelfe to be ſuborned by the Seignior of Woerden and Velſen, after that all his goods had bin confiſcated, was entertained by his friends in a far countrey. All Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland, and the neighbour countries were troubled for this fact, the which was taken ſo grieuouſly, as the Hollanders, to begin the reuenge

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The violent death of Cont Floris the fifth

The wonderfull loue of 2. greyhounds

The end of the conſpirators

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A reuenge by him that had bin the author of this conſpiracie, and actor of the murther, went to beſiege the caſtle of Croonenbruch: they within were quiet, as if the Seignior of Velſon had not bin there, and yet he was. The news of this murther was written to all Cont *Floris* friends and allies, but eſpecially to *Iohn d'Aueſnes*, earle of Henault, and to Cont *Iohn* his ſonne, who came before the caſtle of Croonenbruch, whereas they planted their engins of batterie. The earle of Cuycke hearing that the Seignior of Velſon was ſtraitly beſieged in his caſtle (as the ſaid earle had bin preſent at the reſolution of the taking of Cont *Floris*, in the name of the duke of Brabant) did write vnto the earle of Cleues, being at that ſiege, intreating him to be a meanes that the beſieged might depart at the leaſt with their liues ſaued, the which he promiſed him to do: whereupon he ſent for his men about him, that he might at need preſerue them, as he

The reuenge of Cont Floris death.

B might well haue done. But the Hollanders hauing ſome notice therof, were much diſcontented, and aduertiſed the lord of Loef, brother to the earle of Cleues, hereof, who came himſelfe to tell him, that if he meant to ſaue the life of the beſieged, it was certain the Hollanders would fall vpon them, beſides the ſcandale and reproch wherewith they ſhould be taxed for euer, and therefore he aduiſed him to let the Hollanders and Zeelanders alone, and if he were otherwiſe reſolued, he with his men would retire, being loth to incurre diſhonour and the danger of his life. The earle ſeeing how ill it was taken, and that he ſhould auaile little, cauſed the caſtle to be attempted both by ſcalado, and otherwiſe, the which he did force and take by aſſault, and all the priſoners that remained aliue, were taken, and put into ſafe keeping. In the meane time it was bruited abroad, that the earle of Cleues meant to ſaue the Seignior of Velſon & his com-

C panions that were priſoners. Whereupon the Kennemers running to armes, cried out, That if there were any one that would carry away the murtherers of their prince, or ſaue their liues, that they themſelues ſhould firſt die by their hands: wherupon the earle was forced to deliuer them the priſoners. Thoſe of Dordrecht had *Hugh* of Baerlandt, the Kennemers had *William* of Theylingen, and two others: thoſe of Harlem had *William van Zaenden*: thoſe of Delft had *Arnold van Bienſchop*: the earle of Cleues had *Gerard* of Craenhorſt, & foure others: al which were beheaded and laid vpon wheeles: thoſe of Leyden had *Gerard van Velſon*, the author of this conſpiracie, and the murtherer of Cont *Floris*, whom they tormented more than any o-

Too cruell a reuenge

ther: for they put him ſtarke naked into a pipe full of ſharpe nailes, and ſo was rolled vp and downe throughout all the ſtreets of Leyden; then after all theſe torments, they cut off his head

D and laid him vpon a wheele: all his kinred vnto the ninth degree that could be taken, were put to death, and ſet vpon wheeles: many being only ſuſpected that they were ready to ſerue their lords and maſters, and not knowing the cauſe, were baniſhed for euer out of Holland; wherof ſome meaning to retire themſelues into Denmarke, miſtaking their courſe, were driuen beyond the ſtraight of Weygat, and not knowing whether they went, coaſting along Tartary, they entred into the riuer of Oby, from whence they came into Perſia, and by the kings conſent did inhabit a mariſh part of the countrey, after the maner of Holland, where they haue continued in their auncient language, manner of life and labour, vnto this day. As in like ſort we may ſay that within theſe 70 yeres, the Hollanders that fled for religion, haue throgh the grace of *Chriſtierne* the third, king of Denmarke, planted themſelues in a little Iſland right againſt Coppen-

E haghen, called Amack, the which they do labour & dreſſe after the manner of Holland: ſo as this little Iſland (which is not aboue two French leagues in circuit) is called the garden of Coppenhaghen, in the which the chiefe market of the towne is called Amacker-markt. And thus much for them. The Hollanders did raſe the caſtle of Croonenbruch to the ground: from thence they went to doe as much to that of Muyden: but finding the place abandoned, and no man in it, all being fled, they gaue it in guard to *Didier* of Harlem, who took it into his charge on the countries behalfe, and is at this day a good Chaſteleine. After which time, the Nobilitie, Townes, and Commons of Holland, made an agreement iointly together, confirming it by a ſolemne oath, whereof publike letters were drawne, neuer to receiue into grace thoſe of the houſes of Amſtel, Woerden, and Welſen, nor any of their kinred nor allies, whom

F they ſought to root out by all meanes, or to chaſe them out of the country, by which meanes there were many perſons baniſhed and vagabonds: ſo as there remained not any one of theſe families in Holland: and if any were left, they durſt not ſhew themſelues, but kept in holes, or led a ruſticke countrey life: neither after that day durſt any man carry the armes of any of thoſe three houſes.

The

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The Emperour *Rodulphus*, the first of that name, had in the yeare 1290 giuen East-Friseland vnto the riuer of Lanuvers, vnto the earle of Gueldres, to hold it in fee of the Empire: but by reason of the ferocitie of the Frisons, and their heat and resolution to maintain their auncient liberties, graunted them by the Emperor *Charlemaigne* and other precedent Emperors, knowing also, that the Earle of Holland pretended an interest thereunto, hee durst not aduenture to take possession thereof by force. Besides, Cont *Floris* hauing (as we haue said before) subdued West-Friseland, and taken the town of Staueren, did much annoy the East-Frisons (and withall the bishops of Vtrecht would neuer quit their part) who to free themselues from so many lords, sent their embassadors to the king of Denmarke, desiring him, that hee would take them and their countrey into his protection. The king being loth to let slip this goodly occasion, receiued them, and sent one of his noblemen to gouerne the countrey in his name, and to be his lieutenant: and to the end he should be the more respected, and haue the greater authority, he gaue him his sister in mariage. A while after he came himselfe into Friseland, making many lawes and ordinances, and imposing a certaine tribute which was reasonably tollerable. This done, he returned into Denmarke: but before six moneths were expired, this lieutenant began to oppresse them, and to vse them tyrannously, contrary to their accord: the which did so incense the Frisons against him, as they slue him, sending his wife backe, being with child to the king her brother in the yeare 1295, who was soone after brought in bed of a sonne, who reuenged his fathers death, as we shall see hereafter.

The Frisons send to the king of Denmarke to be their protector

John

IOHN THE FIRST OF THAT name, the twentieth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



This IOHN *the King of Englands daughter had to wife,*
In whose short time, the towne of Delft hap'ning to fall in strife
With him, attempted for to kill two of his counsellors:
Accompanied with WOLPHAR, *he did enter into warres*
Against the Frisons, and subdu'd them in short space:
But death when he had rul'd foure yeares, his conquest did deface,
And without heires it was his chance to die,
Whose bones intomb'd with his valiant ancestors do lie.

Cont

COnt *Floris* the fifth being thus murthered as we haue ſaid by *Gerard van Velſen*, *Iohn* of Holland his only ſonne ſucceeded him, and was the twenty eight Earle. He being abſent in England with the king his father in law, *Didier* earle of Cleues tooke vpon him the gouernment of the quarter of North-Holland. On the other ſide, *Guy* brother to the earle of Henault, Treaſurer Cathedrall of the biſhopricke of Liege, came and tooke vpon him the gouernment of South-Holland, & made his reſidence at Gheertruyden-bergh. By the diuiſions and factions of theſe two noblemen, there happened great troubles in Holland, the ſubiects being diuided, during the abſence of their prince. Cont *Iohn* of Henault and *Guy* his brother were ſonnes to the deceaſed cont *Iohn d'Aueſnes*, and the lady *Alix* ſiſter to *William* king of Romanes, and Earle of Holland, who was father vnto the laſt Cont *Floris*, and ſo were couſin germanes to Cont *Iohn* of Holland, his neereſt kinſmen, and more apparent heires than the earle of Cleues: and therfore *Guy* maintained, that the gouernment was due to him, rather than to the earle of Cleues; but Cont *Iohns* return from England ended all theſe quarrels.

The gouernment of Holland diuided during the abſence of Cont Iohn.

William Bertold, ſubrogated in the place of *Iohn Zirich* (choſen biſhop of Toul in Lorraine) to the biſhopricke of Vtrecht, hauing an actiue and ſtirring ſpirit, reuiued the ancient quarrels of them of Vtrecht againſt the Hollanders, & went to beſiege the caſtle of Muyden, the which he maintained to be part of his reuenues; the which in the end he forced, and conſtrained *Didier* of Harlem to yeeld it vp to haue their liues ſaued, he remaining his priſoner. The biſhop puffed vp with this happie ſucceſſe, went into Weſt-Friſeland, after that hee had cauſed his pardons to be preached, for all ſuch as would carry armes againſt the Hollanders. The Friſons according to their auncient manner of doing, being ſtill readie to reiect the yoke of the Earles of Holland, by the perſuaſion and encouragement of this biſhop beſieged the caſtle of Wideneſſe, which they battered, and gaue many aſſaults: ſo as in the end, *Baldwin* of Naeldwyke, for want of victuals and munition of warre was forced to yeeld it vp by compoſition, to depart with bag and baggage, and to returne freely into Holland; which done, they raſed it: the like they did alſo to the caſtle of Euigenburch: then paſſing on, they beſieged the caſtle of Medemblycke, hauing burnt the baſe towne. *Floris* of Egmont, and other gentlemen that were within it, defended themſelues valiantly, making many braue ſallies and skirmiſhes vpon their enemies: they were ſo long beſieged in this manner, as for want of victuals they were forced to eat their horſes. Cont *Iohn* of Henault hauing newes thereof, and that the Friſons, with the ſaid biſhop of Vtrecht, did what they pleaſed, without any or very ſmall reſiſtance, tooke vpon him (during the abſence of his couſin) the gouernment of Holland, and with an Armie of Hannuyers, Hollanders and Zeelanders, went into Friſeland, where he defeated the Friſons, raiſed the ſiege from before Medemblycke, and relieued it with all things neceſſarie. The Seignior *Iohn* of Arckel, and *Nicholas* of Putten knights of Holland, tooke the towne of Enchuyſen, whence they caried away a great ſpoile, and in their retreat burnt it.

During the diuiſions and partialities betwixt the earle of Cleues and *Guy* of Henault, the which increaſed more and more in Holland, the lords *Didier* of Brederode, *Floris Regal* Abbot of Egmond, *Henry* Vicont of Leyden, and *William* of Egmond, accompanied with ſome gentlemen of marke, imbarked to goe and fetch their prince Cont *Iohn* out of England, and for a ſtrange and new thing they led with them *Claes van Keyten*; where they were graciouſly receiued by king *Edward*, who hauing rigged forth a goodly Fleet of ſhippes, ſent away the Earle his ſon in law with his daughter *Elizabeth*, recommending vnto the lord of Brederode the gouernment of the ſaid Earle his prince, being then very young. Being at ſea, the wind turned contrary, ſo as they were forced to land in Zeeland, whereas *Wolfart* of Borſſele, lord of la Vere, reiecting and contemning the Noblemen of Holland, did cunningly ſeize vpon the guard and gouernment of the young Earle, chaſing from him all the Nobilitie of Holland, to whom the king of England had ſo much recommended him. The Earle being one day at Romerſwael, by the perſuaſion of the ſaid lord of Vere, ſent the lord of Brederode (who was a plaine dealing man, and nothing malicious) to Zirickee, to treat of ſome affaires; and in the meane time the ſaid lord of Vere cauſed the Earle to imbarke, and ſo led him to his caſtle of Zandenburch, neere to his towne of la Vere; where being, he put all the Noblemen and gentlemen of Holland from the Earles perſon.

Iohn

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A *Iohn* Earle of Henault hearing, that Cont *Iohn* of Holland his cousin was returned out of England, departed from Harlem, and came to la Haye, where hee resigned the gouernment of Holland into his hands, causing him to be receiued and acknowledged the twentieth Earl of Holland and Zeeland, and then he returned into Henault.

In the yeare 1297 Cont *Iohn* of Holland leuied a mightie armie, with the which he went into Friseland, to reduce them to their obedience by force, and first he came to Alcmar. The Frisons were also in armes, and ready to encounter him. The two armies being well ordered, eyther of them in two battailons, they charged one another resolutely: the fight was sharpe and furious, but in the end the Frisons were put to rout, and there were slaine about foure thousand vpon the place, the rest sauing themselues here and there through the marishes and ditches. Among the Hollanders there died *Iohn* lord of Arckel, a braue knight, *Iohn* of Orteghe, and two other gentlemen. This battaile was fought the sixt of the Calends of Aprill in the plaine of Verona, neere vnto Alcmar. Cont *Iohn* for the first fruits of this happy successe, returning into Holland after this goodly victorie, he tooke vp the body of Cont *Floris* his father, the which did lye in the Quier of the church at Alcmar, the which with a stately funerall pompe he caused to be interred in the abbey of Rhynsbourg by the lady *Beatrix* of Flanders his wife, mother to the said Cont *Iohn*.

The Frisons defeated.

B

The bishop of Vtrecht hearing of this great defeat, went into East-Friseland, whereas hee caused pardons to be preached againe against the Hollanders. The Frisons promised all possible assistance vnto the bishop, and with a great number of shippes came to the towne of Monickendam in Waterlandt. The inhabitants of Harlem and the Waterlanders being gathered together in armes, went against the Frisons at their landing, whom they charged with such furie, as they presently put them to rout, flying towards their shippes in great disorder, whom the Hollanders pursued, and slew in great numbers: many were drowned and smothered in the marishes. The bishop abandoning his great and stately shippe, saued himselfe in a small boat, and with shame and losse landed in the countrey of Ouerysel. The Earle of Holland considering that this bishop of Vtrecht had taken armes twice against him, and that he was in the vpper part of his diocesse (which is the countrey of Ouerysel) to leuie a third Armie, he sent to *Ghisbrecht* of Iselstein, to haue him open his castle of Iselstein freely and of his owne accord, into the which he would put a garrison, to bridle the bishop on that side. But *Ghisbrecht* being liege man and vassale to the bishop, and made his lieutenant on that part of his iurisdiction, knowing well, that in so doing he should make warre against his lord, he refused the Earle of his demaund. The Earle seeing himselfe contemned, laied ambushes, and took him prisoner, and then he went to beseige his castle. The lady *Beatrice*, wife to *Ghisbrecht*, defended it valiantly with her men almost a whole yeare, but in the end for want of victuals and munitions, shee was forced to yeeld it, vpon condition, that halfe her men should haue their liues saued, and that the Earle should dispose of the other moitie at his pleasure, the which (vpon whom the chance fell) were all beheaded. Cont *Iohn* hauing taken this place of Heelstein, gaue it with all the iurisdiction and dependances vnto *Wolphard* Seignior of la Vere, to hold of him as Earle of Holland in fee, and doing him homage, that by this meanes he might alwayes keepe the bishop in awe on that part.

The Frisons ioyned to the bishop of Vtrecht, are defeated.

C

D

E

In the yeare 1299, the West-Frisons noting the prosperide and happie successe of this yong Earle against the bishop of Vtrecht (who was their firebrand) and that he knew well how to defend himselfe, and to maintaine his subiects, they began to thinke of their affaires, and made suite that he would receiue them into grace, offering to make reparation for their faults. The Earle desiring rather to winne them by mildnesse and loue, than by armes, went to Alcmar, whither he sent for the chiefe of the countrey, who sware fealtie and obedience vnto him, whereof an instrument was drawne vnder their hands and seales.

We the Consuls, Bourgmaisters, Sheriffes, and Commons of West-Friseland, make knowne to whom it shall appertaine, That for the offences committed by vs against the high and mightie prince *Iohn* Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland, our liege Lord and Soueraigne, as well in the battaile giuen at Vrouen, as for that wee haue ruined his castles, and committed other offences vnto this day: For reparation whereof, wee promise to submit our liues to the iudgement and ordinance of the high and mightie prince *Iohn* Earle of Henault, both for corporall and pecuniarie punishments, seruitude, duties, and obe-

The tenor of the letters of reparation & submission made by the Frisons.

F

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dience in all ſorts: The which we Friſons doe promiſe for our ſelues and our ſucceſſours to G.
effect and accompliſh in euery point, without any contradiction whatſoeuer. In witneſſe whereof, thoſe of Hoochtwouder-ambacht, Nienwerdorper-ambacht, Drechtigher-ambacht, and Gheeſtman-ambacht haue ſealed theſe preſent letters with their publicke Seales in the yeare 1299, with the hands of ſome of the Bayliffes, Bourgmaſters and Officers ſet thereunto.

A while after the Earle of Holland hauing ſome affaires to treat of with the duke of Brabant, went to Romerſwael in Zeeland, and the duke to Berghen vpon Soom, being diſtant about two leagues one from another. *Iohn de Reneſſe* a wiſe and diſcreet knight, was ſent from the Earle vnto the duke. At his returne, as hee was going to make report of his embaſſage vnto the Earle, and to giue an account of his actions; the Earle was maliciouſly aduiſed by H.
ſome that were enemies to the ſaid *Reneſſe*, to looke vnto himſelfe, for that (as they made him beleeue) it had beene reſolued betwixt the duke and the ſaid *Reneſſe*, That if he went into Brabant, they would retaine him priſoner, and that *Reneſſe* had conſpired to deliuer him vnto the Brabancons. The Earle being retired from thence to the caſtle of Lodycke, ſent for his garriſons of Holland to ſet vpon *Reneſſe*, who ſeeing himſelfe thus wrongfully ſlandered, and that the courſe of iuſtice was denied him, vnleſſe he would yeeld himſelfe priſoner, being loth to be at the mercie of his enemies, he retired himſelfe to his caſtle of Mourmont, the which he did man with a good garriſon, and victuall. The Earle ſent for him to come to la Vere, to iuſtifie himſelfe: but being denied a ſafe-conduct, he durſt not appeare, and therefore he was baniſhed for contumacie out of the Countries of Holland and Zeeland, I.

Mourmont taken and raſed. and the caſtle of Mourmont was beſieged, battered, and in the end taken and raſed to the ground.

Troubles at Dordrecht. There happened afterwards another garboile in South-Holland, which was, that *Allart* bayliffe of Dordrecht, meaning to make ſome ſecret informations of ſome crimes committed in the towne, he required the Sheriſes to aſſiſt, and to ſit with him in iudgement. Whereunto it was anſwered him, That it was againſt the lawes and priuiledges of the towne, if in any thing great or ſmall, they ſhould appeare in iuſtice without their Eſcouette, yet without preiudice to their authoritie and rights, that in fauour of iuſtice they would aſſiſt, not as Iudges, but as Commiſſaries and Informers. The information being begun, Cont *Iohn* arriued with *Wolphard* of la Vere, who demaunded the names of the offendors, to doe iuſtice as hee K.
ſhould thinke good. The bourgeſſes anſwered, that by their priuiledges, all offences committed in the towne, ſhould be alſo puniſhed there. The Earle diſcontented at this anſwere, departed ſuddenly to la Haye. The magiſtrats of Dordrecht hearing of his diſcontent, ſent ſome of the chiefe of the towne vnto him, with offer to yeeld him a reaſon of the anſwer they had made him: whereupon the Earle appointed them a day in the towne of Delft: where being aſſembled, the lord of la Vere ſpeaking for the Earle, made a diſcourſe of what was paſt: The Sheriſes of Dordrecht anſwered, That it had bin decreed with the bayliſe, that any thing which happened within the towne, ſhould be ended by the Sheriſes and the Eſcouette, & by no other Iudges. Whereupon the bayliſe ſaid, That they had lyed, and that if there were any

A fooliſh anſwere of the magiſtrat of Dordrecht. one that would maintaine it, he would fight with him. At theſe words one of the magiſtrats of L.
Delft ſtept vp and ſaid, That it was not fit to expoſe the rights and priuiledges of any town to the hazard of a ſingle combat, thereby to make them fruitleſſe, and of no force. Whereunto the lord of la Vere replied: You my maſters of Delft, trouble not your ſelues with my lord the Earles affaires, he knowes beſt what he is to do: and without any other concluſion euery one retired diſcontented. Soone after the Earle proſcribed the towne of Dordrecht (which is as much as to declare them guiltie of high treaſon) & as *Witten* of Hamſtede, baſtard of Holland, was in the caſtle of Putten, and *Nicholas de Cas* at Ablaſſerdam, *Allart* bayliſe of Dordrecht went to Slydrecht with many men, and built a fort vpon the ditch, that nothing might paſſe. They of Dordrecht made choice of foure men among them, that were valiant, wiſe, and temperat, whom they made their captaines, to whom they committed all the charge and conduct M.
of this apparent warre: writing to all the townes of Holland and Zeeland, & intreating them not to make too much haſt to oppreſſe them, ſeeing that the like might one day happen vnto them, through the great libertie of ſome, who (abuſing the youth and bountie of their prince) did attribute vnto themſelues the whole gouernment.

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A Whilest that *Wolphard* of la Vere, a violent and seuere man, would haue surcharged the Hollanders with some new imposition and extraordinarie customes, disposing moreouer of all things at his pleasure, he became odious to many. Once among the rest, the Earle being at la Haye, whereas also the lord of la Vere was, there happened a tumult betwixt the said lord of la Vere, and some noblemen and gentlemen of Holland, running vp and down the streets and crying, Where is our enemie? How long shall we suffer our selues to be braued and ill intreated by him? Let vs goe and spoyle him, and let vs see what all those practises which he hath made to oppresse vs, will auaile him. La Vere hearing this rumour, kept himselfe close, and the next morning by the breake of day departed from la Haye with Cont *Iohn*, & went to Schiedam, there to imbarke, and to passe by the riuer of Meuse into Zeeland: but the Hollan-
B ders perceiuing it, pursued him, and forced him to returne, the respect of the Princes protection restraining them from offering him any further violence: then they led their Earle and the said *Wolphard* to Delft, where fearing that they would murther him, he fled into a high house, built of free stone, at the corner of a street called Choorstreet: before the which, there presently gathered together a multitude of people, crying confusedly, that they should deliuer *Wolphard*, els they would burne the house, and all that were within it. They that were within the house with him, fearing their liues, tooke *Wolphard* (who was not armed) and cast him out from the highest windowes into the street, where he was presently murthered and cut in pieces, the which afterwards bred great quarrels betwixt the Nobilitie of Holland and Zeeland.

C At the same time the bayliffe *Allart* hauing feare of them of Dordrecht, had fled into the castle of Crayensteyn, and hauing lost the lord of la Vere (who was his chiefe support) the commons of the towne went to besiege them, seeing no meanes to escape them, he went willingly to yeeld himselfe into his enemies hands, who after they had reuiled him, they put him into a barke, and caried him to Dordrecht: but he had no sooner set foot on land, but hee was murthered by the people, and his brother with him.

In the yeare 1300 Cont *Iohn* of Holland being at Harlem, fell sicke, whereof hee died the fourth of the Calends of Nouember, after that he had gouerned his Countries of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friseland about foure yeares. He was the first of all the Earles of Holland that died without children, and had not receiued the order of Knighthood: in whom failed
D the line of Earles, issued from the masculine line of the dukes of Acquitaine, the which from *Thierry* the first Earle had continued 437 yeares. He was interred in the abbey of Rhinsburg, and by his death those Countries fell to the Earles of Henault, issued by the mothers side from the Earles of Holland. The Lady *Elizabeth* his widow was caried backe into England, and afterwards married to the Earle of Oxford. After the death of Cont *Iohn*, *Ghisbrecht* of Amstel returned into Holland, and did againe possesse the village of Amsterdam, which he began to fortifie, and to build many bridges and towers about the wals: those of Harlem and the Waterlanders went thither with an army, chased away *Ghisbrecht*, set fire on the town, burnt all the bridges and towers of wood, and then ruined the rest.

The death of the Earle of Holland.

We haue said before, that when as the lord of Brederode and the noblemen of Holland
E went to fetch Cont *Iohn* out of England, they led with them the gyant *Klaes van Knyten*, as a strange and monstrous thing. You must vnderstand, that this gyant was borne in a village called Sparenwonde, neere to Harlem: his father and mother were of an ordinarie stature, yet no man might bee compared vnto him, for the tallest men of all Holland might stand vnder his arme, and not touch him (and yet there are commonly seene euen at this day very tal men in that countrey) he would couer foure ordinary soles of shooes with his foot. He terrified little children to behold him, and yet there was not any roughnes nor malice in him, but was gentle and mild as a lambe: for if he had beene fierce and cruell, answerable to his greatnesse and proportion, he might haue chased a whole armie before him.

Who the gyant Claes van Knyten was.

In those daies there sprung vp in the country of Friseland the factions of Schyerlingers and
F Vetcoopers, the which frō a small beginning, vnworthy to be written (the which notwithstanding we haue related in our description of the vnited prouinces of the low countries) was the cause of great effusion of bloud, destruction of the country, ruine of good families & murthers among all sorts in generall. As in like sort the partialities of Hooks and Cabillaux in Holland,

The beginning of two wicked factions in Friseland.

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and thoſe of Guelphes and Gibilins in Italie: the diuerſitie of coloured hoods in Flanders, G
and other like factions in France, were the cauſes of great miſeries in thoſe times: alſo according vnto ſome opinions it ſeemes, that all theſe factions began almoſt at one inſtant: that of the Schyerlingers and Vetcoopers hauing continued in Friſeland, vntill that the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt ſent *Albert* duke of Saxonie thither to ſuppreſſe them (for that the Commiſſioners which he had formerly ſent to pacifie and reconcile them, had prenailed nothing) making him his lieutenant and gouernour hereditarie, yet with ſmall profit, for he was ſlaine there; and his two ſonnes the dukes, *Henry* and *George* (as we ſhall ſhew hereafter) did not auaile much, ſo as they left all: ſo great louers haue the Friſons alwayes beene of their franchiſes and liberties. But vnder the gouernment of the ſaid princes of Saxonie, theſe factions ceaſed, to oppoſe themſelues with their ioint forces againſt the rule of ſtrangers, as they had done H
often before, when any ſtranger came to aſſaile them: and hauing chaſed them away, they returned to their firſt ſpleene and hatred: but the Saxons brought them to ſo great pouerty, and their quarrell continued ſo long, as they forgat their factions.

C

Iohn

D

E

F

IOHN EARLE OF HENAVLT, THE second of that name, one and twentieth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of West-Friseland.



Fiue yeares I liued Earle of Holland, by deſcent
Of blood, and for my comfort God three noble ſonnes me ſent:
Whoſe valours did enfranchiſe me from all my feare,
Whil'ſt Brabant and the Emperor 'gainſt me great malice bare:
By them I ouercame Gvido Dompierre *in fight,*
And freed the towne of Zirickzee from all their enemies might:
The Flemings I ſubdu'd, that were my enemies,
And in Valencia deepe inſomb'd my bones and aſhes lyes.

G

THE SECOND BOOKE.

H

¶ The Argument of the ſecond Booke.

IOhn *Earle of Henault, ſonne to* Iohn *of Aueſnes, and the Ladie* Alix *ſiſter to king* William *Earle of Holland, was the ſecond of that name, and one and twentieth Earle of Holland. Warre betwixt them of Vtrecht and their Biſhop.* Iohn de Reneſſe *prouokes the Earle of Flanders againſt the Earle of Holland, which was the cauſe of great warres.* ¶ William *called the Good, the third of that name, the two and twentieth Earle of Holland.* Guy *of Holland his brother, biſhop of Vtrecht, had great warres againſt the Friſons. Cont* William *ſubdued the Eaſt-Friſons. Iuſtice done vpon a baylife of South-Holland, for a cow, whom the Earle cauſed to be executed, lying on his death bed.* ¶ William the fourth, *ſonne to the good Earle* William, *the three and twentieth Earle of Holland: He makes warre againſt the Ruſſians, them of Vtrecht, and the Friſons, by whom he was ſlain in battaile, leauing no children.* ¶ Marguerite *wife to the Emperour* Lewis *of Bauiere, daughter to the good Earle* William, *the foure and twentieth Commander in Holland and Zeeland, where ſhe appointed duke* William *of Bauiere, her eldeſt ſonne, Gouernor in her abſence. He had warre againſt them of Vtrecht. The faction of the Cabillaux riſe in Vtrecht, which bandie duke* William *againſt his mother, after the death of the Emperor* Lewis, *whereof followed two cruell battailes: in the firſt the Empreſſe was victor, in the ſecond duke* William, *& after much bloud ſpilt, they agreed,* ¶ William *remaining the fiue and twentieth Earle of Holland. Vtrecht had warre againſt their biſhop, and the biſhop againſt the Earle of Holland, who was diſtract of his wits, and the gouernment put into the hands of duke* Albert *of Bauiere, his brother, notwithſtanding the factions which grew betwixt the Hoocks and the Cabillaux.* William, *called the Franticke, being dead,* ¶ Albert *of Bauiere was the ſix and twentith Earle of Holland. Delft rebelled againſt the Earle: he beſieged it, and forceth them to obedience. The biſhop of Vtrecht in warre againſt the Earle of Holland.* Anne *of Poelgeeſt, minion to Cont* Albert, *murthered in the night, which bred a great quarell betwixt the Earle of Oſtreuant and Cont* Albert *his father. An affront done to the Earle of Oſtreuant at the French kings table, which cauſed warre againſt the Friſons, who were often ſubdued, and rebelled as often. Warre betwixt the Earle of Holland and the Lord of Arckel. The hiſtorie of a ſea-woman taken in Holland.* ¶ William the ſixt *of that name, the ſeuen and twentieth Earle of Holland, ſucceeded his father* Albert, *he had great warres againſt the biſhop of Vtrecht and the Lord of Arckel. The Liegeois make warre againſt their biſhop, brother to the Earle of Holland: the Earle goes to ſuccor him, and defeats the Liegeois. Warre betwixt the Earle of Holland and the duke of Gueldres. Cont* William *leauing one only heire,* ¶ Iacoba *or* Iaquelina, *the eight and twentieth commanding in Holland &c. ſhe maried firſt with the Daulphin of France, ſonne to* Charles *the ſixt, who died at one and twentie yeares of age, without children: then ſhe maried with* Iohn *duke of Brabant.* Iohn *of Bauiere, biſhop of Vtrecht, troubles her eſtate, to make himſelfe Earle. The Lady* Iaqueline *ſeperated from the duke her husband, by reaſon of neereneſſe of bloud: ſhe eſpouſeth the duke of Gloceſter, who after leaues her. She had great warres and troubles againſt the duke of Brabant, againſt her vncle, and againſt the duke of Bourgoigne: ſhee marries* Franc *of Borſele ſecretly: the duke* Philip *of Bourgoigne puts him in priſon, and for his libertie, ſhe reſignes all other Countries vnto the duke.*

I K L

IOHN Earle of Holland, ſonne to Cont *Floris* the fifth, being dead without heires, the Earledomes of Holland and Zeeland, with the Seigniorie of Friſeland, came by ſucceſſion to *Iohn* Earle of Henault, ſonne to Cont *Iohn* of Aueſnes, and the Lady *Alix*, ſiſter to *William* king of Romans, and Earle of Holland, and ſo ſonne to Cont *Iohns* great aunt. *Iohn* of Henault was the one and twentieth Earle of Holland, for which he quartered his Armes, the Lyon ſables of Henault, and the Lyon gules of Holland in fields or. This Earle had foure brethren, *Bertrand* biſhop of Metz, *Iohn* biſhop of Cambray, *Guy* chanon of Cambray, and *Floris*, who was prince of Morienne. At his comming to this ſucceſſion of Holland and Zeeland, he gaue vnto his brother *Guy* the Seigniories of Amſterdam

M

The Earle of Henaults brethren.

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A ſterdam and Woerden, to hold them in fee of the countie of Holland, with all their rights and dependances, the homage and right of heronie only excepted, the which he reſerued for himſelfe: which ſeigniories he ſhould inioy but during his life, or vntill he were aduanced to a biſhoprick, or to ſome eccleſiaſticall dignitie equiuolent to a biſhoprick; & that then they ſhould returne to the reuenues of the Earle of Holland, whereof *Guy* paſt a couenant in writing, to the Earle his brother. This *Guy* gaue vnto Amſterdam, many freedoms, rights, liberties, ſtatutes & ordinances, for the gouernment of the town, and adminiſtration of iuſtice. Afterwards he was biſhop of Vtrecht, and after his death theſe two ſeigniories returned to the Earle of Holland, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. This Earle *Iohn* of Henault, had to wife *Philip*, daughter to the earle of Luxenbourg, by whom he had his eldeſt ſon, called *Iohn without mercy*, earle of Oſtreuant, Iohns wife and children.

B who was ſlaine at the battaile of Groeninghen, neere vnto Courtray, *William*, who was Earle after him, called the Good, *Iohn* of Beaumont, earle of Blois, *Henry*, chanoine of Cambray, *Marguerite* conteſſe of Arthois, *Adella* conteſſe of Clermont, *Marie* conteſſe of Bourbonois, and *Mathilda* lady of Neele.

In the yeare 1301 Cont *Iohn* of Henault, leuied great forces, with the which hee came into 1301
Zeeland, with an intent to reduce the ſeignior *Iohn de* Reneſſe vnto reaſon, by armes, who be- The Earle ſeekes to ruine Iohn de Reneſſe.
ing baniſhed his countrey, went to the emperour *Albert* for ſuccour; ſhewing that the earle-
domes of Holland and Zeeland, by the deceaſe of the laſt Earle *Iohn* of Holland without heirs,
ſhould returne vnto the empire: whereupon the ſaid emperor did write to all the countries
of Holland, Zeeland, and Weſt-Friſeland, what right he pretended vnto them, and that his in-
C tention was, to annexe them vnto the empire, as *Charles* the Bald, emperour of Romanes, had
giuen them in fee and homage vnto *Thierry* of Acquitaine, the firſt Earle of Holland. So the
emperour came downe the ſame yeare as far as Nymegen, to receiue poſſeſſion thereof, being
accompanied by the archbiſhops, and princes electors, of Mentz, Treues, and Cologne, and
with many other princes and barons of Germany. Cont *Iohn* of Henault prepared a goodly
armie for to incounter him, and to ſtop his paſſage and entrie into his countries, planting his
campe at Bonſwaerd, vpon the mouth of the riuer of Wahal, ſearching a foord to paſſe vnto
the other ſide, to charge the emperours armie: who hauing cauſed the Earles forces to be view-
ed, and hearing that he was reſolued to charge him, hee then thought that *Iohn de* Reneſſe had
abuſed him, he therefore retired his armie vnto Cranenbourg, with an intent to depart the
D next day, and to returne into Auſtria. But the biſhop of Cologne (iealous of the emperors ho-
nour) laboured to treat a peace with Cont *Iohn*, the which was concluded, vpon condition,
That the Earle ſhall take an othe, and do homage vnto the emperour, and ſhould hold his earl-
domes of Holland, Zeeland, and Weſt-Friſeland, of the empire, he and his ſucceſſors for euer.
This done, they returned good friends euery one to his home. Some Zeelanders being come
downe with *Iohn de* Reneſſe to the emperours ſeruice, came too late, and leauing their ſhips at
Heuſden, went into Brabant: Cont *Iohn* followed them at the heeles, and burnt all their ſhips:
which done, he baniſhed the ſeignior of Reneſſe, and confiſked all his goods, the which hee
gaue vnto ſome gentlemen, that had ſerued him faithfully in that voyage: yet would not the
ſaid Reneſſe with his ſmall troupe, forbeare to make war againſt the Hollanders, entring vpon
E the lands of Berghen vpon Soom, whereas the lord of Berghen went to fight with him, and
defeated 500 of his men at one incounter, who being eſcaped with the reſt, fled into the caſtle
of Puydroyen. Cont *Iohn* was then in the towne of Dordrecht, ſending his eldeſt ſonne, *Iohn*
without mercy, earle of Oſtreuant, to beſiege him in this caſtle: *Reneſſe* hauing intelligence of
his comming, and being well acquainted with his crueltie, fearing leaſt he ſhould be intreated
like vnto them of the caſtle of Berendorp, where he put al that he found within it to the ſword,
without any reſpect or mercie (for the which he was ſince called *Iohn without mercy*) hee reſol-
ued with his men to retire himſelfe into Flanders, and to abandon the place. Being come into
Flanders, he made a league with the Flemings, againſt the Hollanders & Zeelanders, and with
a ſmal armie of their ſouldiers, entred into the iſland of Zuytbeuelandt, preſuming to ſurpriſe
F the towne and caſtle Ter-Goes. Thoſe of Romerſwael tooke armes againſt him, and hauing
charged them with all their forces, ſlew about 800 of thoſe Flemings vpon the place, and the
reſt were put to flight, among the which the ſeignior of Reneſſe eſcaped, with great difficultie.
The biſhop of Vtrecht taken priſoner by his owne people.

The ſame yeare *William Bertold*, biſhop of Vtrecht, a buſie man, ſeeking to bring in many
innouations vpon his ſubiects, was taken priſoner by *M. Aſuerus* of Montfort, *Hubert* of Via-
nen,

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nen, *Iohn* of Linſchoten, and *Iohn* of Lichtenbourg, Bourgmaſters of the towne, and was de- G
tained about a yeare in the houſe of the ſaid Lichtenbourg within Vtrecht: in the end, by the helpe of ſome of his partiſans he eſcaped out of priſon: yet could he neuer reenter into the towne, but remained baniſhed, retiring himſelfe vnto his friends in Oueryſſel, where hee was honourably receiued, as their ghoſtly father and temporall prince. A while after he went to Rome to reſigne his biſhopricke into the Popes hands, that he might ſpend the remainder of his dayes in peace and reſt: But the Pope refuſing to accept thereof, commanded the biſhop of Munſter to aſſiſt his brother and companion, to reſtore him to his biſhopricke and town of Vtrecht by force, and to ſubdue his rebellious ſubiects.

The biſhop goes to armes.

Hereupon at his returne from Rome he leuied men in the countrey of Oueryſſel (being the vpper part of the dioces of Vtrecht) to ſeeke to recouer his towne. Some noblemen and H
gentlemen of Holland, among other, *Henry* Vicont of Leyden, *Didier* of Waſſenare, *Philip* of Montfort, *Symon* of Benthem, *Floris* of Dunen, and *Ieams vanden Vonden*, all knights, enemies to the biſhop, and friends to *Ieams* of Lichtenbourg, with a good number of ſouldiers, being called by the citizens of Vtrecht, and with the conſent of the Earle of Holland their prince, went to ſuccor the ſaid Lichtenbourg, & to chaſe away the biſhop. Being come into a goodly champion countrey, neere vnto Hooch-woord, the biſhop was twice as ſtrong in men as they, and went to charge them firſt, he defeated ſome countreymen that were out of their campe, and fought valiantly againſt the Hollanders. During the fight, *Aſuerus* of Montfort arriued with ſome troupes, to ſuccour theſe noblemen of Holland, and then the skirmiſh was more violent then before. The biſhop being well mounted, paſſed and repaſſed through I
the Hollanders army three times, without any harme: for that no man durſt touch him, knowing him to be their ſpirituall father: but thinking to charge through againe, hee was beaten from his horſe, and ſlaine by ſome ſouldiers that knew him not. This happened in the yeare 1301, on S. *Martins* day in Summer. In this defeat there were a great number ſlain, eſpecially of the biſhops men, whoſe body was taken vp by the knights of the Hoſpitall of Saint *Iohn*, and buried afterwards in the Cathedrall church of Vtrecht, after he had gouerned his biſhopricke in continuall troubles, fiue yeares onely: and this was his Epitaph:

The biſhop ſlaine in battaile, being ouer-bold.

1301

The Epitaph of this biſhop.

Huic dedit agnomen celebris Meeklinia victo:
Occiduam fœlix perdomuit Friſiam. K
Omnia mors mutat, caſus cum certat iniquo
Marte, ſuis ſubitus turribus occubuit.

Biſhop *William* hauing bin thus ſlaine, *Iohn* of Henault Earle of Holland, came to Vtrecht, and required the Chapter to chuſe *Guy* of Henault his brother, being treaſurer of the church at Liege, and chanon at Cambray, who was choſen by one part of the ſaid Chapter, and *Rodolphus* or *Ralfe* their Cathedrall prouoſt by the other: notwithſtanding, *Guy* of Henault with the aſſiſtance of his brother, the Earle got poſſeſſion of the towne, and of the lower dioceſſe of Vtrecht, and *Rodulphus* retired into the countrey of Oueriſſel, and ſo *Guy* remained peaceable biſhop. This done, Cont *Iohn* returned into his countrey of Henault, leauing his ſonne *Iohn* L
without mercie, earle of Oſtreuant, gouernor of Zeeland, by reaſon of the wars againſt the Flemings, and *William* his ſecond ſon, lieutenant in Holland, and Weſt-Friſeland, hauing reſolued to lay aſide all cares, and to ſpend the remainder of his dayes in reſt, in his naturall countrey of Henault. Afterward the ſaid *Iohn without mercy*, being in the ſeruice of *Philip* the faire, king of France, was with many princes and noblemen, ſlaine at the great battaile which the Flemings won againſt the French, in the yeare 1302, at Groeninghen, neere vnto Courtray in Flanders: ſo his brother *William* was earle of Oſtreuant, with the conſont of Cont *Iohn* of Henault, his father.

Iohn without mercy ſlaine.

1302

In the yere 1303, *Iohn* earle of Namur, and his brother, being come to ſuccor the Flemings,

1303

hauing ioyned with ſome troups, with the forces of *Iohn* of Reneſſe, did run ouer all the fron- M
tiers of Flanders, ſpoyling and burning all that had held the French partie in the late warres: from thence they entred into Holland and Zeeland, where they did much miſchiefe: but the Hollanders and Zeelanders hauing taken armes, chaſed them away, and went into Flanders, to reuenge the death of the earle of Oſtreuant, eldeſt ſonne to their prince.

In

A In the yeare 1304, *Guy* sonne to the earle of Flanders, growne insolent by reason of his former victories, and through the persuasion of *Iohn de* Renesse, leuied a new armie, which he led into the countrey of Catsandt, attending a prosperous wind there, to saile into the isle of Walchren. *William* earle of Ostreuant, son to the Earle of Holland and Henault, by the commandement of his father, leuied also a goodly armie of Hannuyers, Hollanders, Zeelanders, & Frisons, with the which he landed sodainly in Catsandt, and defeated the Flemings. *Guy* hauing leuied new forces entred into Zeeland: Cont *William* of Ostreuant went to incounter him, but through treason and secret intelligences, which the seignior of Renesse had there, hee was twice put to rout, once before Arnemuyden, and the other neere vnto la Vere, sauing himself at Ziricxee, in the isle of Schowen, there to gather together new forces, *Guy* pursued him, and B in passing tooke the towne of Middlebourg; from thence he went to besiege Ziricxee. Cont *William* being within it, went forth secretly in the night, by one of the gates, and made a braue sallie vpon the Flemings, so as there were 1500 slain, drowned, and prisoners. Afterwards they made a truce for a moneth, vpon condition, That they should not fortifie the said town otherwise than it was; during the which, Cont *William* went into Holland, to leuie new supplies. The truce being ended, those of Ziricxee recouered the towne of Middlebourg by force, and chased away the Flemings, returning with honour and triumph vnto their towne, although it were besieged. Hauing aduertised Cont *William* thereof, he returned vnto them, and in passing, defeated the troups which *Iohn* of Renesse had in those parts, and chased them quite out of Zeeland. During this warre, and siege of Ziricxee, Cont *William* was made knight, and eight C and fortie gentlemen with him. Wee may well say, that in those times they made not knights so lightly as they do at this day, for that they must haue first deserued it, seeing that the sons of earles themselues (as the last Earle *Iohn* of Holland) were neuer knighted.

1304 The Earle of Flanders pretends to land in Walchren.

After that the said Cont *William* returned into Holland, where with the help of *Guy* bishop of Vtrecht his vncle, he raised a goodly armie of Hannuyers, Hollanders, Zeelanders, & of other countries vnder their obedience, to incounter the Flemings, that were entred into the isle of Duyuelandt: where being landed, some yong gentlemen, being disimbarked first, went to skirmish with the banished men of Zeeland, that were there. The Hollanders and Traiectins, seeing that it was late, pitched their tents and pauilions vpon the causey, but the Frisons began to spoile the inhabitants of Duyuelandt, from whence they brought good bootie into their D quarter. The Flemings and Duyuelanders pursued them, and at one instant assailed the Hollanders and Traiectins in their tents, whom they surprised sodainly, awaking them with lowd and fearefull cries, and great blowes. The alarum being giuen, they armed as fast as they could, to repulse the Flemings, and to chase them out of their campe: but the night being exceeding darke, and not able to distinguish one from another, they slew their friends as wel as their enemies: and so in this confusion, there died many braue men, who in the day time would haue giuen good testimonies of their valour and prowesse. So as the Hollanders armie was during the obscuritie and darkenesse of the night, so disordered, as the greatest part thereof was defeated, and many of their best men died there: among the rest *William* of Horne, prouost cathedrall of Vtrecht, *Nicholas* of Persin, *Didier* of Harlem, *Didier* of Zuylen, *Asuerus* of Benewaert, E all braue knights, with many citisens and vassals of the countrie of Vtrecht: but the greatest losse was, that *Guy* of Henault their bishop, was taken prisoner, with many braue knights, all which were sent into Flanders, vnder good guard. Cont *William* of Ostreuant fled into a ship, and with great difficultie came to Ziricxee. This vnfortunat defeat happened about mid-lent, in the yeare 1304.

The Hollanders armie defeated.

After this victorie, *Guy* of Flanders fortified his armie, and returned to besiege Ziricxee, on Palme Sunday vntill the Wednesday after Easter: but freing he preuailed nothing, he raised his campe, passed the riuer of Mense with *Iohn de Renesse*, and conquers all North-Holland, vnto Harlem: he tooke some burgesses of Delft and Leyden prisoners, the which hee carried to the towne of Goude, and made Mr *Nicholas de Cats* Chasteleine or Gouernour of Shoon- F houen. On the other side, *Iohn* duke of Brabant (who was imbarked in this quarrell with the Flemings) wonn the towne of Gertruydenberg, with all South-Holland, except the town of Dordrecht, which he besieged tenne daies, gaue many assaults vnto it, and cast in fire; the inhabitants behaued themselues valiantly, both in repulsing his attempts, and in queuching the fire; making a braue sally with *Nicholas* of Putten, their leader, vpon the Brabancons, whom they

The earle of Flanders wins a good part of Holland.

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they chaſed with their duke out of their quarters, purſuing them at the heeles, and ſpoyling many good villages, euen to Boiſleduc, into the which in deſpight of the duke, they caſt fire, and burnt a good part of the towne, and ſo returned laden with ſpoiles vnto Gertruydenberg, hauing firſt chaſed away the Brabancons, then they came backe to their owne towne of Dordrecht. This done, they got a new ſupply of men, and vnder the commaund of the ſaid Seignior of Putten, did fight with *Guy* of Flanders neere vnto Iſſelmond, whereas there were ſlain aboue two thouſand Flemings, ſo as *Guy* ſaued himſelfe with great difficultie. G

During the time that *Guy* of Henault, biſhop of Vtrecht, was priſoner in Flanders, there were two contrarie factions in the town, the which had beene enemies one to another a long time: but hearing that their prince and biſhop was taken priſoner, they reconciled themſelues each to other, both parties ſwearing faithfully to preſerue and maintain the citie in good eſtate, ſo long as their lord ſhould remaine priſoner: but one of the parties did not long keepe their othe, for ſoone after *Gerard* of Brucken a knight was ſlain, ſtanding before his doore, the murtherers going on, ſeiſed vpon the perſons of *Ieams* of Lichtenbourg, & of the ſeignior of Weruher, whom they ſhut vp in the caſtle of Vreeſeburch, and ſoone after brought them to S. *Katherins* place, at mid-night, and there put them to death; which was the cauſe afterwards of great murthers, calamities, and miſeries, in the ſaid towne of Vtrecht. *Guy* of Flanders hearing of theſe alterations in Vtrecht, entred with his forces, diſplaceth the magiſtrats by his own authoritie, and chuſeth others in their places; perſuading the chapter to depoſe their biſhop *Guy*, who was in priſon, and to receiue in his place *William* of Iuilliers: the which haply hee had obtained, if *Witten*, baſtard of Holland, lord of Hamſtede, had not come ſpeedily from Zirickzee to Stanfort, neere Harlem. This lord of Hamſtede being entred into Harlem, with a ſmall troupe of ſouldiers, diſplayed his banner with the armes of Holland, whereat the Kennemers, Waterlanders, and Friſons, both Eaſt and Weſt, reioyced much, praiſing God, that they had yet one captaine deſcended from the right line and ſtocke of Holland. Hee then ſeeing all this people well reſolued to follow him, goes out of the towne in arms, to fight with the Flemings. Comming to the village of Hillegom, they had before them the gouernor of Flanders, with his armie, the which they quite defeated. The Friſons ſtript them that were ſlain, and laid them on a heape one vpon another, and ſo left them like vnto a mount of ioy, for a marke or remembrance vnto the Flemings, when they ſhould haue any deſire to returne, how they had beene intreated there; which place is at this day remarkable, by the name of Ouude-mantie-pat. The newes of this deſeat were preſently ſpred ouer all Holland. There was in the towne of Delft a valiant gentleman, named *Ockenburch*, who hearing of this victorie, tooke a banner with the armes of Holland in his hand, and went crying through the ſtreets, Holland, Holland, &c. At which cry all the commons did riſe in armes, chaſing the Flemings out of their towne, and ſpoyled a good number of them: this done, the Delfois went to Leyden, where they did the like, and with them of Leyden went to la Goude, which they ſurpriſed, chaſed away the Flemings, and reſcued their bourgeſſes that were priſoners there. In the meane time the lord of Hamſtede arriued with his troups, who chaſed away the reſt of the Flemings that were about Leyden, who thinking to ſaue themſelues in Delft, were pitifully ſlaughtered, and miſerably cut in peeces; ſo as in one ſtreet there were 500 Flemings found dead vpon the pauement, which ſtreet is at this day called Flemings ſtreet: ſome to ſaue their liues, caſt themſelues from the top of the wall into the towne ditches, where they were drowned. And thus the lord of Hamſtede recouered all Holland in a ſhort time, to his great honor, and an irrecouerable loſſe to the Flemings, from whom both he and his ſouldiers tooke a great and rich ſpoile. At the ſame time *Nicholas de Cats*, who as we haue ſaid, had beene appointed by *Guy* of Flanders, gouernor of Schoonhouen, came from the caſtle to ſee and heare what was done in the towne: but the inhabitants laid preſently hold vpon him, & ſent him to the lord of Hamſtede, intreating him to come vnto them, the which he did preſently, with ſome troups, and beſieged the caſtle, the which in the end he forced to yeeld, and the Flemings were in like ſort chaſed from thence. H

Great alteration in Vtrecht.

The lord of Hamſtede defeats the Flemings.

The lord of Hamſtede chaſeth the Flemings out of Holland.

Guy of Flanders being aduertiſed of the good ſucceſſe of the lord of Hamſtede, (and of the loſſe of his men in ſo many places) raiſed a great & mightie armie, with the which he marched towards Vtrecht, and from thence came the third time to beſiege the towne of Zirickzee, the which he ſtraitly begirt with many trenches, blockhouſes, & mounts, and battered it with his rammes, I K L M

A rammes, crosse bowes, and other engines, the which did cast stones of an exceeding greatnesse. It happened that during this siege, the Flemings cast one great stone into the towne, in the which place there was a mechanike man, the which was verie expert in casting of stones, who said, Giue me this stonie messenger, I will send it from whence it came: and hauing banded his engin, deliuered it so cunningly, as it fell vpon the engin that had first sent it, brake it all in peeces, and crusht the hand of the enginer that gouerned it. *Guy* of Flanders resolued to carry the towne by assault, commanding his souldiers to bring as much straw, reeds, and bauins, as they could carrie on their backs, to fill vp the ditch: which being done, hee caused his men to approach neere the walls; but the besieged presented themselues couragiously, repulsing them as well with handie blowes, as with stones. The yongest and most able defended the assault at
B the breach; the elder were in the towers, casting stones incessantly, and shooting arrowes as thicke as haile; the women and maids brought them stones by heaps, that they might not faile in their defence, for want of offenciue armes. If the enemie did cast fire vpon any house, they ran speedily to quench it. To conclude, this furious assault was so manfully defended, and the enemies so valiantly repulst, as *Guy* was forced to leaue the assault, with losse of his men, very many being hurt, who of a long time were not able to fight: and finding that by this assault he had preuailed nothing, he caused an high caualier or mount, to be made on the North side, from the which they might discouer and see any thing that was done in the towne, & whereby the Flemings did much annoy the besieged: through the fauour whereof *Guy* gaue another assault, which continued from morning vntill night, where the Flemings were so valiant-
C ly repulst, as hauing lost almost 2000 men, they were forced to retire. The inhabitants finding that they were retired, went downe into their ditches, and carried away the straw, reeds, and wood they found there, with the which straw they fed their cattell, as long as the siege continued. There was a smith within the towne, who found the means to set fire on this high caualier, that was made of wood: the Flemings running to quench this fire, were charged so thicke by the besieged, with stones and arrowes, as there was no meanes to saue it; and the flame thereof mounted vp so high, as it was seen at Schiedam in Holland, wherby some did coniecture, that the towne of Ziricxee had been taken and fired. During this siege *William* earle of Ostreuant prepared an armie of Hollanders and Frisons, to raise the Flemings from thence. He had before written to *Philip* the Faire king of France, and craued succours from him against the
D Flemings, the which he granted, sending him 350 ships rigged at Calais, with men and all other equipage for war; the which being conducted by the admirall of France, arriued on S. *Lawrence* day, and ioyned with Count *Williams* ships, beeing resolued to goe and fight with the Flemings, and to dislodge them from Ziricxee.

The Flemings (to trouble these two armies at sea, being ioined together) filled a great hulke full of fagots, mixt with pitch, rozine, salt-peter, brimstone, and oyle, the which hauing set on fire, they let it float with the tide, that it might fall among the French and Hollanders, that by the meanes of this vnquenchable fire, it might burne them, or at the least disorder & disperse them: but the wind turning contrarie, it was carried by the tide into the middest of the Flemish ships. The French and Hollanders seeing this, went to charge them, and this furious
E combat continued both at sea and at land, a whole day and a night, with such obstinacie & fierceness, as they heard the fearefull cries of men fighting, wounded, drowning, and dying, three leagues off. In the end the Flemings were so wearied and tyred, as of themselues they fled, and the Hollanders pursued them with all violence, killing and casting ouer boord as many as they could incounter. *Guy* of Flanders was taken there, and sent by the admirall into France, to keep *Guy* of Dompierre, earle of Flanders, and his other brethren, that were prisoners, companie. There died in this battaile, of them that were slaine and drowned, a hundred thousand Flemings, besides the prisoners. The earle of Ostreuant sent eleuen hundred of their ships, and nineteene rich tents and pauilions into Holland. Then, after an absolute and assured victory he entred into Ziricxee, where hauing intelligence, that there were yet six thousand Flemings
F remaining in the townes, he sent the inhabitants of the town, which had not been at the great battaile, to intreate them: but the Flemings seeing them approach, lifting vp their hands, made a signe that they would yeeld, and not fight, neither had they had ships to carrie them out of this ile, and so they were all taken prisoners, and carried to Ziricxee, with the which they decored all the Hollanders, which the Flemings had taken in Holland during the wars, and

by

A great defeat of the Flemings.

by this exchange they were ſent backe into Flanders. They were wont to make an annuall G
commemoration in the towne of Ziricxee, of this notable and famous victorie againſt the Flemings. Thoſe of Ziricxee, for that they had carried themſelues ſo valiantly during the ſiege, obtained goodly priuiledges from their prince. The verie day of this victorie, there appeared in heauen a great croſſe of a purple color, which they held as a preſage of the ſaid victorie. The Hollanders hauing thus freed Ziricxee, and woon this goodly and famous victorie againſt the Flemings, by the which they did free all Holland & Zeeland; being returned into their countrey, they made haſt to go and beſiege *Iohn de* Reneſſe, within the towne of Vtrecht, whom they prouoked all they could, burning certaine mills in the ſuburbs, thinking that Reneſſe would make ſome ſally forth vpon them: but hee fearing in the end to bee betrayed, went ſecretly out of the towne, to paſſe the riuer of Lecke; and fearing to bee purſued, hauing for his H
ſhorter way put himſelfe and his traine into a little boat, the weight of their armes, and the great number of them that were in it, made it to ſinke, and ſo they were all drowned. This ſeignior of Reneſſe being valiant of his perſon, wiſe & iudicious, did much harme vnto his prince, for that he had refuſed him a paſſeport, with the which he might haue gone and iuſtified himſelfe of the accuſations that were falſly ſuggeſted againſt him, the which Cont *Iohn* of Holland, by the inſtigation of his enemies refuſed him: wherein hee was verie ill adviſed, for the which both himſelfe, his ſucceſſors, and all their countries haue ſmarted. It is a queſtion which hath euen at this day beene debated, Whether an abſolute prince, without diminution of his greatneſſe and honour, may giue a ſafe-conduct to his vaſſal, to come vnto him, to iuſtifie himſelfe, which otherwiſe he durſt not do, by reaſon of the malice of his enemies. In my opinion I
he may, how meane of qualitie ſoeuer the vaſſall be: for by that ſafe-conduct, and ſecret conference of the vaſſall with his prince, great affaires may ſometimes be diſcouered, which may be the cauſe of great good, or the preuention of great miſchiefe: for thoſe that poſſeſſe the eares of princes, and that make the greateſt ſhew of their faith and loyaltie, are not alwayes the moſt faithfull. And therein the prince ought not by the perſuaſion of ſome priuat perſons, enuying (it may be) and malicing him that demands the ſafe-conduct, againſt whom it may bee they themſelues haue ſuggeſted ſomething, vſe ſeueritie and rigour: for hereby he ſhall aſſure himſelfe of the partie accuſed, by mildneſſe and gentleneſſe; and not as king *Lewis* the 11 of France, and *Charles* duke of Bourgoigne, did vnto the earle of S. *Pol*, nor the emperour *Sigiſmond* to *Iohn Hus*, and *Ieroſme* of Prague, whoſe ſafe-conducts were but to intrap them: nei- K
ther can they be held other than fraudulent and deceitful, impugding and blemiſhing the honour and greatneſſe of a prince: yea a prince ought not to make difficultie to heare any ſubiect, were he a poore handicrafts man, in priuat, or any one that were guiltie of any crime, although it were to ſue for grace: for by that meanes oftentimes great ſecrets are diſcouered. As for example (I will omit the ſafe-conduct which ought to be of greater conſideration) if the duke *Charles* of Bourgoigne, would haue heard *Caffron* a gentleman of Prouence, who was condemned to be hanged, being priuy to the earle *Campobachios* treacherous practiſes, and not cauſed him to be ſodainly executed, at the inſtance of this traitor, hee might haue procured his owne death, and the ruine of his eſtate, which the ſaid *Campobachio* had plotted with the duke of Lorraine, to the great content of *Lewis* the 11. And it is friuolous to ſay, that in L
ſuch caſes, priſoners condemned make ſuch ſuits to prolong their liues: for no aduertiſements in matter of war, how ſmall ſoeuer (from whence they may draw great coniectures, and from coniectures come vnto the proofe) are to be reiected. And therefore wee may not wonder, if things ſucceed not well with that prince, that relies too much on the paſſions of his counſellors, whom he ſhould alwayes ſuſpect to be enimies, or to malice and hate him, to whom they diſſuade him to giue audience: and the prince ought herein (being well aſſured of his perſon) vſe his owne wiſedome. But let vs returne to our hyſtorie.

To paciſie theſe great diſcords betwixt *Philip* the Faire, king of France, *Iohn* of Hainault, earle of Holland, *Guy* biſhop of Vtrecht, and *Guy* of Dompierre, earle of Flanders, and his three ſonnes; the duke of Bourgoigne, and ſome other princes, were aduerſaries and mediators on M
either ſide, ſo as in the end an accord was made betwixt them: by the which it was concluded, That *Guy* biſhop of Vtrecht ſhould be ſet at libertie, & ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick, the which was done. That the earle of Flanders, with his three ſons, ſome princes and noblemen, with forty Flemiſh gentlemen, ſhould be ſet at libertie, by the king, the which

returned

A returned ioyfully into Flanders, euerie one to his owne home. But the earle after his inlargement grew ſo ſicke, as he died, the 26 of March 1305, and was buried at Scluce, neere vnto the conteſſe Margaret his mother. Some chronicles of Flanders ſay, that he died at Campeigne in France, being yet a priſoner. 1305 Death of the earle of Flanders.

Iohn of Henault, Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Weſt-Friſeland, hauing aduertiſement of the victorie which God had giuen vnto *William* earle of Oſtreuant, his ſonne, was verie ioyfull, and ſoone after, the ſecond day of the ides of September 1305, departed this world in peace and reſt, after that he had gouerned Henault 30 yeares, and Holland and Zeeland &c. 5 yeares, and was interred at Valenciennes. The lady *Philip* of Luxembourg, his wife, died ſoone after, and was buried by her husband. The death of the Earle of Holland.

B At the time of the death of the ſaid Cont *Iohn* there were many noblemen, barons, knights, and ſquiers, that were renowned in the countries of Holland and Zeeland: amongſt the which, the moſt famous were *Guy* of Henault, lord of Amſtel and of Woerden, afterwards biſhop of Vtrecht, brother to the ſaid Cont *Iohn*, *Iohn without mercie*, earle of Oſtreuant, who was ſlaine before the death of his father, at the battaile of Courtray, *William* who ſucceeded him in the ſaid earldome of Oſtreuant, his ſecond ſon, afterwards Earle of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, &c. *Iohn* of Beaumont, earle of Blois and of Soiſſons, all three brethren, ſonnes to the ſaid Cont *Iohn* of Henault, *Didier* the Gentle, lord of Brederode, *William* and *Thierry* his brethren, *Didier* lord of Theylinghen, *Iohn* of Heuſden, *Iohn* lord of Arckel, *Hugh Butterman* lord of Butterſloot, *Albert* lord of Voorne, *Nicholas* lord of Putten and of Stryen, *Iohn* lord of Leck and Polanen, *Iohn* lord of Hencklom, *Otto* lord of C of Aſpren and Abkoy, *Ghysbrecht* of Yſelſteyn, *Henry* vicont of Leyden, *Didier* lord of Waſſenare, *Henry* lord of Vianen, *Nicholas* of Perſin, *Didier* of Harlem, *Witten* baſtard of Holland, lord of Hamſtede in Zeeland, *Nicholas* of Cats, *Peregrin* lord of Lederdam and of Haeſtrecht, *William* of Egmond, *Iohn* lord of Elſhaut, *Iohn* ſeignior of Drongelon, *Didier* ſeignior of Lyenburch, *Ieams vander Wuoude*, *Gerard* of Hoemskerke, *Gerard* of Polgeeſt, ſeignior of Almade, *Simon* of Benthem, *Wolwin* of Saſſe, *Adam d'Eſcoſſe*, *Baldwin* of Naeldwick, *Floris van* Duynen, *Floris van* Tol, all knights: Among the ſquiers *William* of Harlem, *William* of Aſſendelf, *Iohn van Zil*, *Nicholas* of Adrichom, *Wouter* of Wyck, were the moſt markable, with an infinit number of gentlemen of name and armes. The chiefe nobilitie.

The yeare before the death of Cont *Iohn* of Henault, there were ſo great tempeſts, and ſuch D tides on a S. *Katherines* day, as many banks and dikes were broken, and carried away, in Zeeland; and the iſle of Walchren was ſo ouerflowne, as the countrey men were out of all hope to recouer their banks: and if *William* Earle of Oſtreuant (who made his vſuall reſidence in Zeeland) and the lord of Borſſele, had not preuented it at their owne charge, this iſland had beene loſt.

K William

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WILLIAM THE THIRD OF THAT name, the two and twentieth Earle of Holland, Zeeland, and Henault, Lord of Friſeland.



IOANE *daughter to king* CHARLES *de Valois was thy ſpouſe,*
That brought thee children worthy thy degree and noble houſe;
Whereof one did his valour great and vertue ſhow,
By mounting thee againe, when as thy foes did ouerthrow
Thee from thy horſe, whereby at laſt God did thee ſend
The victorie, to honour of the French as then thy friend.
Thou puniſhedſt a bailife, that a poore mans Cow did take,
And ruling thirtie yeares and one, this life thou didſt forſake.

WILLIAM

A WILLIAM the third of that name, before Earle of Ostreuant, after the decease of Cont *Iohn* of Henault, his father, succeeded, and was the 22 Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland, vnited to his county of Henault, for his mildnesse, gentlenesse, equitie, and good life, hee was called *The good Earle William.* Hee was generally beloued of all knights, princes, & noblemen, and greatly honoured of all men: for his valour he was surnamed, *The Master of Knights, & Lord of Princes.* He had to wife *Ioane* the daughter of *Charls* of Valois, brother to *Philip* the Faire, king of France, by whom he had *Iohn* his eldest son, who died yong, *William* earle of Ostreuant, who was his successor, and *Lewis*, who died also yong; *Marguerite* wife to *Lewis* duke of Bauiere, & emperour, who after B the decease of her brother *William*, was contesse of Henault, Holland & Zeeland, and ladie of Friseland; *Ioane* who was maried to the earle of Iuilliers, & another *Ioane*, who was queene of England, and the fourth *Elizabeth.* At his comming to these earldoms and seigniories, he kept open court, whither came 20 earles, 100 barons, 1000 knights, and an infinit number of gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, comming from all parts. This feast continued eight daies in all kind of sports and pastimes: afterwards the princes of Germany did chuse him vicar of the empire. He was much renowned throughout al Germanie, in respect of two strong castles which he did win neer vnto Cologne, that is Bruile & Wolmestein. He was founder of the chanonry of Middlebourg in Zeeland, & walled in the town, & fortified it. This Cont *William* had one brother, as we haue said, called *Iohn* of Beaumont, who maried the daughter of the earl of Blois C and of Soissons, and who by the death of his father in law, was in the right of his wife earle of Blois and of Soissons; by which lady he had *Iohn* which succeeded him, father to the earls *Iohn* and *Guy* of Blois. This earle *Iohn* of Beaumont, obtained of the Earle of Holland, his brother, the towne of la Goude & Schoonhouen, with all rights, duties, and appurtenances, the which he repaired, and fortified the castles, to make them his residence.

The wife and children of Cont William

In the yeare 1311, *Guy* of Henault, bishop of Vtrecht, vncle to Cont *William* the Good, in- 1311
tending to make a fort at Schellinkwerff, to bridle the Frisons; for the effecting whereof hee sought some firme foundation, but being sent for to assist the counsell of Vienna, he was interrupted in this worke. Being at this counsell, pope *Clement* the fift, at the request of *Philip* the Faire, king of France, would haue made him cardinall, but he refused it, desiring rather to liue D quietly in his bishopricke of Vtrecht, than to be a courtier at Rome. After this counsell the king led him with him into France, where he assigned him fiue hundred liuers of rent, to entertaine him in his friendship and good alliance. Being with the king at Pontoise, he did mediat an accord, and reconciliation, betwixt the Earles of Flanders and Holland, the which succeeded well, and these two princes were by the kings authoritie made good friends. Whilest that bishop *Guy* was in France, it was bruted abroad, that he was dead: and therefore the Frisons of Schellinkwerff, hauing taken armes, for that the said bishop had pretended to build a fort vpon their limits, they went to besiege his castle of Vollenhouen, in the country of Oueryssel, and did presse it all they could, with diuers kinds of batteries. The besieged (who wanted neither men not munition) defended themselues valiantly with arrowes and slings, so as E they chased the Frisons out of their suburbs; who made a high tower of wood, of three stages, the which they manned with their best souldiers, that from the top of it they might cast and shoot more easily into the fort, approaching it within fiue foot of the wal. This great tower was couered on the outside with raw hides, and by that meanes armed against the fire: and below couered with an inclosure, against their rammes, crossebowes, and other engins of batterie: with this they laboured to beat downe the chiefe tower of the castle, and to keepe the besieged from the walls, thinking by that meanes to come easily to the scalado. *Herman* prouost collegiall of Deuenter, hearing in what danger his brother the chastelaine of Vollenhouen was, went speedily into France, to aduertise the bishop, into what necessitie the besieged were brought by the Frisons.

F The bishop hauing taken his leaue of the king, made no delay; vntill hee were returned into Holland, where hauing gathered together some troups, hee barked to passe into Friseland. The besieged of Vollenhouen, seeing from their highest tower, this fleet of ships at sea, knew well that they were succours, which came to free them from this siege, so as growing more couragious, they filled a barrell full of flaxe, mixt with lard, pitch, oyle,

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roſin,brimſton,& ſaltpeter,al together,the which being kindled,they caſt into the tower,vpon G
that part that was neereſt vnto the wall, which was the middle ſtage; the wind driuing it inward,did kindle it more and more,and diſperſed the flames in ſuch ſort, as the fire did firſt burne the higher ſtage,then going downeward,it conſumed all this great building, with fiftie Friſons in it,the fire preuenting them : and ſuch as thought to ſaue themſelues in leaping out of it,brake their armes and legs. The captaine of the caſtle, who ſlept not in the meane time, ſallied forth,and fell vpon the Friſons camp,the which he put to rout,euery man ſauing himſelfe as he could: in the purſute he ſlew fiue hundred,and then returned to his fort. This done the Hollanders armie began to approach,ioyning to that of the biſhops. *Floris* prouoſt cathedrall of Vtrecht,*Iohn* of Arckel,firſt counſellor to the biſhop,*Didier* lord of Brederode,and *Nicholas Putten*,barons,and of the chiefe of the Earl of Hollands counſell,hauing prepared their H
tents and pauilions,they reſolued to land the next day in Friſeland,and to giue battaile vnto the Friſons : but the night following there happened ſo violent a tempeſt,and ſuch ſtormes of wind and raine,as their pauilions were carried away,and their ſouldiers wonderfully tormented and tired with the fowle weather. The next day, the tempeſt beeing ceaſed,and the skie growne cleere,about noone theſe noblemen,ſeeing that the wayes being full of water, were not paſſable,and that Winter approaching,they could not march far into the countrey, and much leſſe do any worthy exploit,they raiſed their campe,imbarkt againe, and returned euery man to his home. But they had no ſooner weighed anker,but the people of Friſeland ſent vnto them,to demaund peace,offering to repaire the faults that had beene committed by them in this warre,and preſenting hoſtages for aſſurance of their reparation. The biſhop ſeeing that I
they ſubmitted themſelues vnto his mercie,ſent backe the ſaid hoſtages free, after that he had made an accord with them,the which was ſet downe in writing.

1316 In the yeare 1316 there was ſo great a famine in Holland,that the poore people died for hunger,as they went in the ſtreets; and going to ſeeke hearbs and roots in the woods & fields, they remained ſtarke dead in the wayes : they were growne ſo weake and feeble, as they were not able to ſtand vpon their legges : little children were found dead ſucking of their mothers breaſts; neither could there be a greater pitie,if the mothers had not deuoured their children. During this famine,there was a woman in the towne of Leyden,who being greatly preſt with hunger,deſired her owne ſiſter,to lend her ſome bread, who anſwered her,That ſhe had none in her houſe;the other inſiſting that ſhe had,and intreating her to lend her ſome: If I haue any K
(ſaid ſhe) I am content,that God ſhall turne it to a ſtone. She hauing made this execration, lying vnto God and to her ſiſter,going ſoone after to her cupboord, to reach ſome bread, ſhe found that by a iuſt iudgement of God,all was turned into ſtone. It is not long ſince that one of theſe ſtones was to be ſeene in S. *Peters* church,in the ſaid town of Leyden. After the death of *Guy* biſhop of Vtrecht,who died ſodainly,not without ſuſpition of poiſon, Cont *William* the Good vnited the ſeigniories of Amſtel and Woerden,to the reuenues of Holland, where he placed bailifes,and other officers,for the gouernement of Iuſtice : Saying, That what the biſhop had inioyed,was onely by tolleration for his life, in recompence of his patrimoniall portion : and that the ſaid ſeigniories were fallen before to the earledome of Holland, for the fellonies and contempt of *Ghysbrecht* of Amſtel,and *Herman* of Woerden, hauing not ſatisfied and performed the reparation agreed vpon,for the murther of Cont *Floris*. L

An extreame famine in Holland.

Amſtel & Woerden vnited to Holland.

1323 In the yeare 1323,*Charles* the Faire,king of France,maried the daughter of the emperor *Henry* the ſeuenth,inuiting many princes,both in France,and other neighbour countries, to the ſolemnitie of his mariage : whither alſo Cont *William* of Holland went,with the lady *Ioane* of Valois,his wife,and many barons,knights,gentlemen, ladies and gentlewomen, of Henault, Holland,Zeeland,and Weſt-Friſeland. The feaſt was ſtately,and honoured with many plaies, tilts,tourneyes,and all kind of ſports: but in all that,there was nothing found more admirable, nor more pleaſing to the ſight than a gianteſſe, which the conteſſe of Holland had brought with her,borne in Zeeland,the which was ſo great and mightie,as the talleſt men ſeemed but children in reſpect of her : and ſo ſtrong of her bodie and members,as ſhee did lift vp in either M
hand a barrell full of Hamboro beere,as lightly as if they had beene emptie casks. She her ſelf would carrie a burthen whither you would haue her,which eight men could not carrie: and that which was moſt admirable in her,was that her father and mother were of a ſmall ſtature, and but ſlender,in reſpect of her exceeding greatneſſe.

In

A In the yeare 1327 the emperour *Lewis* of Bauiere, being at Rome to be crowned, he sent for the good Cont *William* of Holland, as vicar of the empire, to bee there, and to assist at his coronation: whereupon the Earle presented himselfe, with the earls of Gueldres, Cleues, Iuilliers, and Monts, and eight hundred choice knights, making hast to passe the alpes into Lombardy, to aid the emperour against the Guelphes, who opposed themselues against him. These noble men being vpon the way, the good Earle resolued to go himselfe in person to pope *Iohn*, who lay then at Auignon, and to labour (if it were possible) to reconcile the emperour vnto him: but the pope hearing of his comming, caused all the bridges vpon the riuer of Rhosne to bee broken, to hinder his passage, commanding him vpon paine of an eternall curse, to returne into his countrey, and not to go with *Lewis* to Rome, nor into Italie. So the Earle diuerted of his B way, and of the good will he bare vnto the emperour, returned through France, where he staied some time with the king, and made a strict league with him, against the Flemings, who stirred vp new troubles against the king. 1327

In the yeare 1328 *Charles* the Faire, king of France, entred into Flanders with an armie: the good Cont *William* was there also with his troups, and did lodge, ioyning vnto the king, neere vnto the mount of Cassell; the said Earle hoping well (as it was his vsuall custome) to mediate a good peace, betwixt the king and the earle of Flanders. But the Flemings being within the towne, and vpon the said mount, came downe, thinking to surprise the king sodainly. The Earle *William* perceiuing it, went to incounter them, charging them with such furie, that falling from a skirmish to a battaile, both armies ioyning, the Earle was ouerthrowne from his horse, and C in danger of his life, or to be taken prisoner, had he not beene succoured by the earle of Ostreuant, his sonne, by *Didier* of Brederode, *Iohn* of Arckel, the vicont of Leyden, the lord of Wassenare, *Iohn* of Beaumont, *Walter* his sonne, *Arnould* of Cruyninghen, *Iohn* of Polanen, *Iohn* of Hamstede, and *Iohn* of Duyuenworde, all braue knights, by whose valour and prowesse Cont *William* was remounted againe, and the Flemings quite defeated. There died in this battaile about eight thousand men, the which happened the 14 of August 1328. Before this battaile the earle of Ostreuant receiued the order of knighthood, whereof he afterwards made a good and glorious proofe. Cont *William* his father, knowing him to be a wise and valiant knight (the better to make triall of his armes) sent him with an honourable companie of knights of Holland, Henault, Zeeland, and Friseland, into the countrey of Prussia, to make warres against the D Russians, and other Infidels, with the Teuton knights, where hee carried himselfe so valiantly, that he was feared as the lightning. 1328

The Earle ouerthrowne from his horse

In the yeare 1332, *Henry* chastelaine, or gouernor of Hagensteyn, did often passe the riuer of Lecke, taking all he could find, and robbing and spoiling the countrey of Vtrecht. *Iohn* of Diest, bishop of Vtrecht, intreated the good Cont *William*, to assist him to take reuenge of him, for that of himselfe he had not forces sufficient to constrain him to make reparation of the wrongs which his men had done in his countries. The Earle sent *Kusen*, bailife of Rhinlandt thither, who with a troupe of Waterlanders, and of Amsterdam, ioyned with the bishops men, and hauing past the riuer of Leck together, they fell vpon the lands of the said *Hagensteyn*, spoyling and burning the houses of his subiects, and of his other companions of his thefts and robbe- E ries, of whom being reuenged, they returned home laden with spoile. 1332

In the yeare 1336, there was a countrey man in South-Holland, who had an exceeding faire and good cow, with the which he maintained his wife and children (as there are some found in that countrey, which giue twentie pottles of milke and more, in one day) the bailife of that quarter desiring this cow, would gladly haue bought it of the good man: but as it was all his substance and meanes to liue by, he would neuer be drawne to sell it. The bailife seeing himselfe refused, caused the cow to be taken out of the pasture, and another to be put in the place, the which was nothing comparable vnto it. Wherewith the countrey man being discontented, and seeing that hee could not haue his owne, by the aduice of his friends, hee went to complaine to the good Cont *William*, of this violence, being then at Valenciennes, grieuously F sicke. The Earle hauing heard him, tooke pity of him, and presently caused letters to bee written to the escoutette of Dordrecht, That all other affaires set aside, hee should come presently vnto him, and bring with him his cosin, the bailife of South-Holland. This escoutette hauing viewed the letters, demanded of the bailife, if he had offended the Earle in any thing; the other answered no, and that he knew not any thing, if it were not for a cow which hee had ex- 1336

A historie of a bailife of South Holland, for a cow

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changed with a countrey man. But making no account thereof, they went together to Va- G
lenciennes. The eſcoutette preſented himſelfe firſt before the Earle, to know the cauſe of his ſending for him. The Earle hauing receiued him courteouſly, asked where the bailife his coſin was; who anſwered, That he was alſo come: whereupon the Earle commaunded him to enter: being entred, the Earle asked him, If he were bailife of South-Holland. Hee anſwered with great humilitie, So long as it ſhal pleaſe you my lord. The Earle asked him how al things did in Holland, and if iuſtice were duly adminiſtred: Very well (ſaid the bailife) and all things are in quiet. If all things go well, and are in quiet (ſaid the Earl) how comes it, that thou bailife, and judge of thy quarter, haſt vſed force and violence againſt a poore countrey man, that is my ſubiect, taking away his cow out of his paſture in deſpight of him: then calling for the poore man, he asked him, if he knew him, and what he could ſay for his cow. The bailife an- H
ſwered, That he had giuen him another. Yea, ſaid the Earle, but if it were not ſo good as his, doeſt thou thinke to haue ſatisfied him therewith? no, no, not ſo, I will take the cauſe in hand, and be the judge. The bailife and the countrey man, referred themſelues willingly, to what it ſhould pleaſe the Earle to decree. Wherupon the Earl appointed the eſcoutette of Dordrecht, that aſſoone as he ſhould returne to his houſe, hee ſhould preſently without delay, pay vnto the countrey man a hundred crownes of good gold, to be leuied vpon the bailifes goods, and that he ſhould neuer after moleſt the countrey man, neither in word nor deed. This ſentence thus pronounced, both parties were ſatisfied; which done, the Earl ſaid vnto the bailife, Thou haſt now agreed with the poore man, but not yet with me: then he commanded the eſcoutette to retire himſelfe, and to fulfill what he had inioyned him, but the bailife ſhould remain by I
him, to make reparation of his fault: and hauing ſent for a ghoſtly father, and the executioner, he condemned the bailife to looſe his head, to ſerue for an example to others: then being confeſt, the Earle cauſed him to come before his bed, and he himſelfe drawing out the ſword, gaue it to the executioner, who cut off the bailifes head in the Earles preſence, beeing thus ſicke in bed; who hauing called the eſcoutette, ſaid vnto him, Take your coſin with you, and beware of ſuch facts, leaſt the like happen vnto you. The eſcoutette returning to Dordrecht, carried backe the bailife in two parts, and paid the countrey man his hundred crownes.

A memorable example of iuſtice.

Soone after this good Earle *William*, worne with yeres, and with ſickneſſe, called for the earl of Oſtreuant, his eldeſt ſonne, to whom he gaue many godly and fatherly admonitions; firſt of the loue and feare of God, then of the adminiſtring iuſtice equally to all men, to entertaine K
his ſubiects in peace and reſt, not to ſurcharge his people with extraordinarie impoſitions and taxes, to reuerence church men, and not to be offencitue vnto them; with many other goodly exhortations to liue well. Hauing ended his ſpeech, he gaue vp the ghoſt, the 9 of Iune 1337, after that he had gouerned the prouinces of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, 32 yeares. He was a very vertuous prince, victorious in war, a good man at armes, well ſpoken, iudicious, a great louer of peace, gratious to all men, and well beloued in all courts of princes. He was interred with great pompe, in his towne of Valenciennes. After his death, the conteſſe his widow went and liued among the religious women at Fontenelles, where ſhe died fiue yeares after her husband.

The death of good Cont William.

We haue before made mention, how that the Friſons ſlew the gouernor whom the king of L
Denmarke had giuen them, whoſe wife was deliuered ſix monethes after of a ſonne, the which was bred vp in the court of the king his vncle. This ſonne being growne great, and deſirous to be reuenged of the Friſons, hauing no meanes nor power of himſelfe, he intreated the king to giue him only one ſhip well appointed, to ſee if by policie he could exploit any thing againſt the Friſons: with this ſhip he entred into the riuer of Ems, where he vnderſtood, that the iudges and officers of the countrey of Friſeland, were aſſembled about Groningue, he reſolued therefore to caſt anker there, thinking that if hee ſtayed any time, they would come and demaund what hee was, and what hee did, the which fell out accordingly: for the officers ſeeing this goodly ſhip in the road, went to ſee it, and to heare ſome newes: comming neere, they demanded (according to their cuſtom) of whence the ſhip was, what commodities he carried, & M
whither he was bound. This yong man ſhewing himſelfe vpon the hatches, ſalured them honourably, and anſwered them modeſtly, That hee had no great marchandiſe in his ſhip, that hee was a rich marchants ſonne, and that hee was deſirous to ſee hauens and port townes, and eſpecially the countrey of Friſeland, requeſting them to come aboord, and taſt his wine,

and

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A and he would do the like on land with them. They doubting nothing, went aboord: the yong man receiued them courteouſly, preſenting them a banquet, whereas they dranke ſo well, as moſt of them were drunke, and fell aſleepe. He finding ſo fit an oportunitie, weighed anker, & ſayled directly towards Denmarke with theſe drunkards, who hauing diſgeſted their wine, found that they were couſened. This young gentleman comming into Denmarke, preſented them vnto the king, who blamed their diſloyaltie much, hauing murthered his lieutenant: they excuſing themſelues, that it was not done by them, nor in their time, beſought the king to ſaue their liues. The king anſwered, although I haue good reaſon to put you all to death, yet I will giue you all your liues, if you can ſettle me in Friſeland as I was before: The which they promiſed. In the end, the Friſons by the perſuaſion of one of theſe Iudges that was ſent
B vnto them, were content to acknowledge the king of Denmarke for their lord, and to receiue a lieutenant in his name, with whom the Iudges and Officers were ſent home. The gouernor hauing receiued the homages of fealtie of the Friſons, caried himſelfe modeſtly ynough for a good time, but in the end ſeeking to bring in the Daniſh lawes, and to entreat them extraordinarily beyond their priuiledges, they reuolted againe, as the Dutch Chronicle ſayth, *Vel odio ſeruitutis, vel amore libertatis*, and expelled their gouernor out of their countrey.

In the life of good Cont *William*, the chief noblemen in Holland and Zeeland were *William* earle of Oſtreuant, eldeſt ſonne to good Cont *William*, *Iohn* of Beaumont earle of Blois his brother, *Henry* and *Didier* of Brederode, brethren, *Symon* and *Didier* of Theylingen, brethren alſo, *Iohn* lord of Heuſden, *Iohn* lord of Drongelen his vncle, *Iohn* lord of Arckel, *Didier* Seignior of
C Valkenburch, *Monioye* brother to the wife of the lord of Brederode, lady of Voorne, *Nicholas* lord of Putten and Streyen, *Philip* vicont of Leyden, lord of Waſſenare, *Iohn* Seignior of Leck and Polanen, *Iohn* Seignior of Henckelom, *Otto* Seignior of Aſpren, *Iohn* Seigniorof Egmont, *Walter* his ſon, *Ghisbrecht* Seignior of Iſelſtein, *Henry* Seignior of Vianen, *Iohn* of Perſin, Seignior of Waterlandt, *Guy* of Holland Seignior of Hamſtede, *Arnold* Seignior of Cruyningen, *William* Seignior of Naeldwick, *Floris* of Spyck, *Ieams vanden Voude*, *Floris Merwen*, *Didier* and *Herman Zwieten*, brethren, *Gerard* of Hemskerke, *Gerard* of Raphorſt, *Gerard* of Polgeeſt, *Floris vanden Tol*, *Ogier van Spanghen*, *VVilliam Kuſer* baylife of Rhinlandt, *Didier* of Saſſenhem, *Daniel* of Mateneſſe, and *Didier* his brother, *Mathieu vanderburcht*, *VVilliam Oſthorne*, *Adam van Schotlandt*, *Didier* of Aſſendelf, *Nicholas Oems*, and *Floris* of Adrichom, all knights: *Frederic* of
D Seuenter, *VVilliam* of Aſſendelf, *Gerard Schoten*, *Ieams* of Bakeneſſe, and *Floris* of Bockhorſt, all ſquires, and many other gentlemen.

The chiefe nobilitie in Holland and Zeeland.

Among the chiefe families of Friſeland were theſe of *Laminga*, *Helbada*, *Roopta*, *Ockinga*, *Eyſinga*, *Decama*, *Tyebinga*, *Martena*, *Beyma*, *Offinga-huyſen*, *Aylewa*, *Hiddama*, *Hittinga*, *Botnia*, *Roerda*, *Hottinga*, *Mamga*, *Herema*, *Hannia*, *Wiarda*, *Hanniama*, *Ouſtema*, *Ripperda*, *Ioppama*, *Simada*, *Gerbranda*, *Grattinga*, *Reynalda*, *Wybalda*, *Gronſtins*, *Douwa*, *Harweyſma*, *Calama*, *Hiddama*, *Ieppama*. Their Podeſtat or Gouernour at that time, which made head againſt the Normanes and Danes, was *Regnerus Hayo à Camminga*.

The chiefe families of Friſeland in thoſe daies.

William

WILLIAM THE FOVRTH OF THAT name, the three and twentieth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland, and Earle of Henault.



I am the ſelfeſame man that with a courage bold
Within Numidia ventured my enſignes to vnfold,
And did beſiege and take the ſtrong and mightie towne
Of Vtrecht, by the which I wan great honour and renowme:
For which good fortune I ordained once in euery yeare
Proceſſion to be made, the ſame in memorie to beare:
In Friſeland I was ſlaine in face of th'enemie,
And by Bolſweert in Fleurchamp my corps intomb'd doth lie.

WILLIAM

A

WILLIAM Earle of Ostreuant and of Hellault, after the death of the good Cont *William* his father, was the three and twentieth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friseland. Hee had to wife in his fathers life, the lady *Ioane*, eldest daughter to the duke of Lothier, Brabant, and Lembourg, by whom he had not any children. He was a hardie and warlike man, much giuen to armes, making his high chiualrie famous at his first comming to these Earledomes and Seigniories. This Earle hearing that the Spaniards had great warres against the Saracens and Moores in the Realme of Grenado, caused a great number of shippes to bee rigged in the yeare 1338. and 1338
B went into Spaine, where hauing made an alliance with the king, they went with their vnited forces to assayle the Moores, and to besiege the towne of Grenado, the which they battered, and in the end tooke by assault, putting all to the sword that would not be baptised, and embrace the faith of Iesus Christ: then passing farther into the countrey, they spoiled and burnt all they encountred. From thence Cont *William* hauing taken leaue of the king of Spaine (of whom he receiued by way of courtesie many rich presents) bent his course towards Ierusalem; where, hauing visited the holy Sepulchre of our Lord, hee returned into his countrey.

The wife of this Cont William.

Afterwards, he went with the Emperour *Lewis* of Bauiere, his brother in law, beeing accompanied with the Earles of Gueldres, of Zutphen, of Cleues, of Iuilliers, of Blois his
C brother, of Monts, of Marcke, and of many other Princes and Barons, with a goodly Armie, to succour *Edward* the third, king of England, his other brother in law, and to make warre against the king of Fraunce, the which the said *Edward* pretended to belong vnto him: but both Armies being readie, and prepared to fight, an agreement was made betwixt the two kings, by the mediation of some, and euery one retired to his owne home.

In the yeare 1342 Cont *William* held open Court at la Haye in Holland, whither he in- 1342
uited all Princes, Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Ladies and Gentlewomen that would come. The feast being spent in many goodly exercises of Chiualrie, in Iousts, Tourneys, and other sports: which done and ended, the Earle went with a goodly traine of his Nobilitie, to a
D Tourney that was proclaymed in the towne of Beauuois, in Beauuoisin, whereas hee purchased great honour aboue all other knights. Returning from thence into his countries, he prepared to go into Prussia, to make warre with the Teuton knights against the Infidels Russians: where he behaued himselfe so valiantly, as there was no speech but of his prowesse and valour: And after that he had runne ouer all Lithuania, Liuonia, and the frontiers of the Russians, hee returned into Holland, his men beeing laden with the wealth and spoyles of these Barbarians. Passing by Cologne, being followed by foure hundred horse, hee kept open Court there for all the princes of Germanie, by whome hee was also very honourably entertained; yea, they would haue chosen him Emperour, notwithstanding, that *Lewis* duke of Bauiere, his brother in law, was possessed thereof (but it was by reason of the
E thundering excommunications of Pope *Clement*) the which hee flatly refused, saying, That hee was not capable of such a charge, neyther would hee doe that wrong vnto *Lewis*.

In the yeare 1345 Cont *William* prepared a mightie Armie to subdue the East-Frisons. 1345
Whilest that they made this preparation for warre, there past some bitter speeches betwixt them of Holland and Vtrecht, for the which the Earle defied them. They seeing themselues thus defied, armed and went to field, daring to attend the Earle in battaile, where he defeated them twice: the last was at Marendyck, betwixt Vtrecht and Montfort, where there died many of the Traiectins, the rest fled confusedly into their towne of Vtrecht. The Earle being victor and maister of the field, went presently with a hundred and fiftie thousand men
F to besiege the towne of Vtrecht, with an intent to ruine and destroy it. There were in his armie the duke of Lembourg, thirteene Earles, two and fiftie Barons, two thousand eight hundred knights, and much Nobilitie of the countrey of Vtrecht it selfe, who beeing discontented with the bishop and temporall prince, had taken armes against him: among others,

Asse-

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Aſuerus of Aibconde, and *Ghisbrecht* his ſonne, *Arnold* Seignior of Iſelſtein, *Iohn* Vicont of Montfort, *Henry* Seignior of Vianen, *Ghisbrecht* Seignior of Starkenburch, *Arnold* Seignior of Woluen, and *Frederic* of Hamme. The Earle began to inueſt the towne on S. *Odolphes* day, and did batter it continually with great furie ſix weekes together: but ſeeing that ſuch a towne with ſuch ſtrong and high wals, was not eaſily woon by aſſault, meaning one night to ſound the depth of the towne ditch, hee was ſhot with an arrow in the muſcle of the thombe, and was carried backe into his Tent, whereof notwithſtanding hee was ſoone cured.

Vtrecht beſieged by the Hollanders.

Robert of Arckel, Gouernour of the Towne, Countrey, and Dioceſſe of Vtrecht, in the abſence of the biſhop his brother, beeing out of the countrey for the cauſes before mentioned, writ vnto the ſaid biſhop, in what ſort hee was beſieged by the Earle of Holland in the towne of Vtrecht, and the neceſſitie hee was in, praying him to make haſt to ſuccour him. Hereupon the biſhop poſteth thither, and by the aſſiſtance and perſuaſion of *Iohn* of Beaumont, earle of Blois, vncle to Cont *William*, he obtained a peace, by the which it was ſaid: That fiue hundred of the chiefe bourgeſſes of Vtrecht ſhould come bare headed and bare footed before the Earle of Hollands Tent, and crie him mercie for the iniuries and infamous ſpeeches which they had vſed againſt him and againſt his honour: and when it ſhould pleaſe him to call them of Vtrecht to his ſeruice, they ſhould bee bound to ſend him fiue hundred ſouldiers at their owne charge: That there ſhould bee a breach made in the wall of twentie foot, by the which he ſhould enter into the towne as a Conquerour; and that he ſhould haue one ſtreet in the ſaid towne at his commaundement; the which is at this day called the Hollanders ſtreet: firſt, a truce was concluded vntill Saint *Martins*: during which time, the aboue recited conditions of peace were ſet downe: but they were not effected; for that Cont *William*, during the ſaid truce, went to make warre in Eaſt-Friſeland; where, being entred without order, and not knowing the paſſages of the countrey, *Iohn* of Henault ſonne to the Earle of Blois, came to the Cloyſter of Saint *Odolphe*, where hee planted his campe in a faire plaine, called Zuytbeuer, on the ſea ſide: a part of his Hollanders not ſtaying vntill the reſt of the armie were landed, went to skirmiſh with the Friſons, chaſing part of them into Staueren, and the reſt into Saint *Odolphes*; where, going to ſet vpon them in their trenches, the Friſons defended themſelues ſo couragiouſly, that many of the Hollanders loſt their liues there. Cont *William* knowing nothing of this skirmiſh, landed on the North ſide of the Cloyſter, and aduaunced with fiue hundred men, burnt the firſt village he found, and at the firſt charge he gaue againſt the Friſons, with his owne hand hee ſlew a gentleman that was a captaine, who had valiantly defended himſelfe vnto the death, and would neuer yeeld to bee a priſoner. The other bands of Friſons ſeeing this captaine dead, and the villages burne, fell like mad men with great furie vpon this ſmall troupe of Hollanders, whom they defeated: and there Cont *William* was ſlaine vnknowne, before the reſt of the armie could aduaunce, who marching in diſorder, were likewiſe charged. The Friſons encouraged the more by the defeat of the firſt fiue hundred Hollanders, and of the Earle their Generall, did fight with ſuch great furie and courage, as they did put the Armie to rout, with ſuch confuſion, that many were ſlaine before they could recouer their ſhippes, and there were as many drowned through haſt as that ſaued themſelues.

Thoſe of Vtrecht reconciled to the Earle.

Cont William ſlaine, and leaues no lawfull heires.

1346 This vnfortunate encounter happened in the yeare 1346, vpon the foure and twentieth of September, in the ſame place whereas the Earles of Holland were vſually accuſtomed to hold their ſeat of Iuſtice, when they came into Eaſt-Friſeland. It was the eight yeare of the raigne of the ſaid Earle. *Renaald* the blacke, earle of Gueldres, had foretold his death, as hee held him at the Font to bee chriſtened, by vttering theſe words: *This child ſhall bee one day ſlaine by the Friſons*. There were ſlaine in this defeat of the Hollanders aboue eighteene thouſand men, and almoſt as many drowned, with ſome fiue hundred knights, the moſt apparent whereof were theſe: The Lords of Horne, Lygny, Walcourt, Manin, *Antoin* the Seignior of la Vere, *Floris* of Borſſele, the Seigniors of Cruningen, Ronerſwael, Hamſtede, Merwede, all Barons: *Gerard* with the great beard, *William* of Naeldwyck, *Symon* and *Didier* of Meylingen, *Gaide* of Aſpren, *Iohn Regnier*, *William* of Montfort, *Didier* of Sandifort, *Herman* of Zwieten, *Floris* of Merwe, *Oger* of Spangen, *Gerard Euer*, *Alfert* of Bergethorſt, *Nicha-*

A *Nicholas Gons*, *William* of Drongen, *Didier* of Valewort, and *Gerard Florinville*, all choice knights, with a great number of other Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen. Tenne daies after this defeat; *Martin* Commaunder of the knights of Saint *Iohn* in Harlem, went into Friseland, and sought for the Earles bodie: the which beeing knowne by some markes, hee caused it with eight other dead bodies of Noblemen, to be brought to the cloyster of Fleurchamp, neere vnto Boswaert. The Contesse *Ioan* of Brabant his widow went to her father, and was maried to *Wenselin* duke of Luxembourg, second sonne to *Iohn* king of Bohemia, of whom we haue formerly spoken.

Cont *William* the fourth left one bastard called *Daniel vanden Poel*, the which hee had of a Gentlewoman called *Alix vander Merwe* of Ghertruydenbergh, leauing no other lawfull
B child that might succeed him, the Empresse his sister remaining his sole heire.

Mar-

MARGVERITE EMPRESSE, THE 24. commaunding in Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, Contesse of Henault.



Earle WILLIAMS *sister*, MARGVERITE, *the Emperors wife,*
In Holland caus'd contencion, and much debate and strife:
For though vnto her sonne her right she had assign'd,
With him she still contended for't, nothing could please her mind.
Her state was great, her honour much, no need her draue,
With him in Holland such continuall strife to haue:
Which in fine yeares she was constrained for to leaue
To him, for that death (end of all) did her of life bereaue.

LEWIS

MARGVERITE EMPRESSE, THE 24. commanding in Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, Counteſſe of Henault.



EVVIS of Bauaria Emperor of Romains, hearing of the death of Cont *William* of Holland, ſlaine in warre by the *Friſons*, whoſe eldeſt ſiſter he had marryed, and had left no children, cauſed the Princes of the Empire to aſſemble, to whom he declared, that the Earledomes of Holland and Zeeland, and the ſiegneorie of Friſeland, for want of heires lawfully begotten of the ſaid *William*, were ſalne vnto the Empire. Wherevpon the Emperor interpoſing his authoritie, (for that the Empreſſe his wife pretended an intereſt, as ſole heire to her Brother, ſaying, that thoſe fees were as well Feminine as Maſculine, as it did appeare by the ſucceſſion which *Iohn* Earle of Henault had after the death of *Iohn* Earle of Holland, ſonne to Cont *Floris* the 5.) adiudged the ſaid Earledomes and ſiegneories to the Lady *Marguerite* his wife. This being done, the ſame yeare 1346. the ſaid Empreſſe being well accompanied with Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, went downe by the Rhine into Holland, where ſhe was honourably receiued in all places with great pompe; and acknowledged Lady and Princeſſe of the ſaid Countries of Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland. Hauing receiued their homages and fealties, ſhe did greatlie increaſe their liberties and freedomes, and made a truce for two yeares with the Biſhop of Vtrecht. She did make forfeit all the goods which the Friſons might haue in her Countries of Holland, Zeeland, and Weſt-Friſeland (whereof the Earles had beene long in quiet poſſeſſion) aſwell Eccleſiaſtieall as Temporall; the which ſhe ſould to diuers perſons, without any future hope of recouerie or reſtitution, by reaſon of the death of Cont *William* her Brother. Among other Cleargie goods, there was ſolde the Village and ſiegneorie of Marcke, belonging to the Abbay of Marien-garde, of the order of Premonſtrez, ſcituated in Friſeland, which the Abbot and Couent had bought of *Nicholas* of Perſin Lord of Waterlandt.

The Earledomes of Holland, and Zeeland, adiudged to the Empreſſe, ſiſter to cont William.

She takes poſſeſſiō of thoſe countries.

Confiſcation of eccleſiaſtiecall goods.

This Empreſſe *Marguerite* had by the Emperor *Lewis* of Bauraia her husband, one ſonne called *William* which was the eldeſt; *Albert* the ſecond, and *Lewis* the yongeſt, called the Romaine, for that he was borne at Rome, during the time of her husbands coronation: which three ſonnes were all intituled Dukes of Bauaria; not that they were proprietaries in poſſeſſion, but for that they were iſſued from the right ſtocke of a Duke of Bauaria: for the Emperor *Lewis* was but ſecond ſonne to *Lewis* Duke of Bauaria, Palatin of Rhine. The Duchie of Bauaria hath alwaies had that priuiledge, that all thoſe which were deſcended of the bloud of Dukes, might alſo intitle themſelues Dukes, although they had not a foote of land. The which is at this day vſed in all the families of the Princes of Germanie, yea among Earles and Barons. This *William* the Emperors eldeſt ſonne, was at the beginning made Earle of *Oeſteruant*; and *Albert* was ſiegneor of *Nubingen*. The ſaid Lady Empreſſe hauing taken poſſeſſion of all theſe Countries, before her returne into Germanie to the Emperor her husband; ſhe appointed the ſaid Cont *William* her Sonne and ſucceſſor in the ſaid Countries, Regent of Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland, vpon condition that he ſhould pay vnto her yeerely ten thouſand French Crownes, or for want of payment, that ſhe might reſume and take vnto her againe all the profit of the ſaid ſiegneories as before, of which reſignation letters Pattents were drawne, and promiſes made in the preſence of many Princes and Prelates. Yet a while after through ill councell the Earle would not hold nor performe any thing, touching the penſion, carrying himſelfe like an abſolute Prince, as we will preſently ſhew.

The emperors children by the empreſſe Marguerite.

William of Bauaria the empreſſe ſon gouernor of Holland.

The Biſhop of Vtrecht, after the death of *Robert* of Arckel, his Brother and Lieutenant temporall being ſlaine in Battaile neere vnto Liege, finding himſelfe greatly indebted, to ſpare and to pay his debts, he retired himſelfe to Tours in France, meaning to liue there

The biſhop of Vtrecht goes to liue priuately in France.

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there as a man vnknowne with a ſmall traine, during the truce which hee had with the Empreſſe, Counteſſe of Holland, leauing in this dioceſſe ſixe Noblemen or Knights to gouerne, during his abſence. In the yeare 1348. the Biſhoppe finding the truce to bee well neere ended, returned into his countries, and found his debts rather increaſed then diminiſhed through the ill husbandrie of the ſayd ſixe Gouernors. Eight dayes after the expiration of the truce, on Saint *Marguerites* day, the Biſhop went out of Vtrecht with a great number of his Bourgeſſes in armes, and camped in the open plaine neere vnto the great Village of Emeneſſe. The Hollanders being not farre of, went to fight with them, ſo as this skirmiſh turned into a battaile, in the which thoſe of Vtrecht had the better, the Hollanders were put to route, and many of the inhabitants of Emeneſſe ſlaine vpon the place. *Melis* of Muyden commander of the Hollanders troupe, was taken priſoner and put to a great ranſome. Thoſe of the ſaid Village of Emeneſſe (which hath not leſſe then a good French league in length) were forced to leaue their new title which they had giuen themſelues, calling themſelues Eaſt-Hollanders, to reſume their ancient name of Emeneſſe, and to ſubiect themſelues vnder the obedience of the Biſhop, and of the Dioceſſe of Vtrecht, as they be yet at this day.

The biſhop of Vtrecht goes to field.

He defeates the Hollanders.

The Empreſſe reſumes againe the gouernment of Holland.

After the death of the Emperor *Lewis* of Bauaria, the Empreſſe *Marguerite* his widdow came into Holland, to Dordrecht, whither ſhee ſent for Duke *William* her ſonne: who being come, reſigned vnto the ſaid Lady his Mother, the gouernment and poſſeſſion of her Counties of Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland, the which before ſhe had deliuered into his hands for an annuall penſion of ten thouſand Crownes, of the which he had not to that day paid any thing. This reintegration made, *William* retired into Henault, his mother remaining ſole Lady & regent of her countries, the which ſhe gouerned but looſely.

The Earle her ſonne retires into Holland.

1349.

In the yeare 1349. the Biſhop of Vtrecht gathered together a great number of ſoldiers, with the which he entred into Holland, and beſieged the towne of Oude-water, the which he tooke by force, burnt a part of it, and carried away many priſoners, beſides other ſpoile: at which ſiege there dyed of the Biſhops men, *Iohn* of Ryſenburch, two brothers of Lichtenburch, *Iames*, *Ihon* and *Euerard* of Dryel, three brethren all Knights, with many Gentlemen and good Bourgeſſes of Vtrecht. The Hollanders mooued with the loſſe of this towne, leuied an Armie to enter into the Biſhops countrie. Hee on the other ſide gathered together all the ſoldiers and Bourgeſſes hee could, with the which hee went and camped before Schoonhouen, where there was a furious charge and a hard incounter: but in the end the Hollanders were put to route; the Biſhops men remaining maiſters of the field. There were priſoners among others *Ghysbrecht* of Langerack. *Herpert* of Lyeſuelt and *Conrade* of Ooſterwyke knights, with many ſquiers & ſoldiers, who were put to ranſome, the which yeelded a good ſum of money vnto the Biſhop. Soone after by the meanes of ſome Noblemen, a truce was made vnto Saint *Martin* in the yeare 1350.

The biſhop of Vtrecht makes warre in Holland.

The Hollanders defeated

A truce betwixt the Hollanders and Vtrecht.

1350.

In that yeare there ſprong vp two moſt dangerous factions in the countrie of Holland, whereby they were long afflicted with great miſeries and calamities, almoſt to their totall ruine. Thoſe of the one party were called *Cabillaux* or *Merlus*, the which is a deuouring fiſh in the Sea: by which terme they meant, that thoſe of this partie ſhould ſwallow vp their aduerſaries. Thoſe of the other faction termed themſelues *Hoecks*, with the which they catch fiſh; as if they would ſay. If you thinke to ſwallow vs vp we will firſt take you with a hooke. The chiefe of the *Cabillautin* faction were *Iohn* Lord of Arckel, father to the Biſhop of Vtrecht; *Iohn* Lord of Egmond, *Gerard* Seigneor of Hemskerke, with many other Noblemen and Knights of the *Hoecketins* partie. *Didier* Lord of *Brederode*, *Philip* Vicont of Leyden Lord of Waſſenarie, *Iohn* Lord of Leck and of Polarien, *Iames* Lord of Binckhorſt, and many other both Knights and Gentlemen. It was a curſed plague which Sathan had powred into the hearts of the Hollanders: the which brought forth nothing but hatred, quarels, rancor, hoſtillities, rapines, violence, detraction, falſe reports, deadly foods, ruine, and deſolation ouer all the country. In which two factions, the chiefe Noblemen and Barons were ingaged, ſeeking nothing but to ruine and deſtroy one an other. For as our Lord IESVS CHRIST ſaith. *Euery Realme diuided in it ſelfe ſhall be deſolate.* And *Saluſt* in his Hiſtorie of the *Iugurthin* warre: *Small things increaſe by concord, but by diſcord great things come to ruine.* *Cicero* in his Booke of Friendſhip ſaith; *What*

Factions in Holland of Cabillaux and Hoecks.

A *house is so strongly builded, what Citie so surely seated, the which by hatred and discord may not perish.* As we may see by the destruction of Rome at diuers times: of Bologne, of Genoa, and of many others, the which haue beene ruined by diuision, from the which God by his grace preserue all estates and common-weales that flourish at this day.

The factions increasing more and more in Holland, and the consuming fire of this intestine discord kindling more dayly, not onely in the hearts of Noblemen, but also in the commons, was the cause of great murthers, spoiles, robberies & burnings of either side. These heart-burnings increasing, the Cabillautins sent their deputies to duke *William* of Bauaria Earle of Osteruant, the Empresse eldest sonne, being then resident in Henault; intreating him to come into Holland, to vnder-take the gouernment of the
B country, hauing decreed among them, no longer to indure the Mothers rule. At the first he refused it, but they did so importune him, as in the end he came secretly to the towne of Gorrichom. Those of Delf hearing of his comming, went vnto him, and carried him by force into their towne, making him their head and Captaine generall, with whom, or by his commandement they issued often forth, spoiling the Villages and country houses belonging to the Hoeketins. In the end the Townes of North-Holland, the Kennemers, and the West-Frisons, receiued him for their Lord and Prince, doing the homage and taking the othe due vnto the Earles of Holland, in despight of the Empresse their naturall Princesse his Mother. The Hoeketins seeing themselues thus
C ill intreated by the Cabillautins, had their recourse & refuge vnto the Empresse, whose party they held, and began to furnish their townes, Castels, and Forts, with men, victualls & munition of warre. On the other side the Cabillautins went to besiege their places, and to batter and beat downe their Castels, whereof they did ruine seuenteene in lesse then a yeare. The Empresse writte vnto her Sonne, that she wondred at his presumption, that he would intermedle with her authoritie and command, seeming to bee very much incensed against the townes of Holland. The Earle answered, that the country did belong vnto him by right of donation, which she had made vnto him. And refusing to giue ouer his course begun, the Empresse with the succours which the Queene of England her sister had sent her, made a goodly armie, with the which she imbarked, and went and landed at La Vere in Zeeland. Earle *William* landed with his troupes in
D the same Iland, whereas both armies of the Mother and the Sonne being entred into fight one against an other, the combate was furious and bloudie, great numbers being slaine and drowned on either side. In the end God gaue the victory to the Mother, so as the Sonne escaped with great difficulty, and fled into Holland. This battaile was in the yeare 1351.

The faults of factions, to stir the sonne against the mother.

Cont. William receiued in Holland.

A battaile betwixt the mother and the sonne.

1351.

William of Bauaria being safely returned into Holland, made hast to leuie new forces, and to raise a greater armie then the first: the which consisted of Hollanders, Kennemers and Frisons, with the succours of many Lords and Knights; of *Iohn* Lord of Arckel, *Iohn* Lord of Calenbourg, *Iohn* Lord of Egmont, the Lady *Mathilda van Voorne*, widow to the Lord of Walckenbourg; *Gerard* of Heemskerke, *Gerard* of Harler, and
E many other Knights, Gentlemen, and good soldiers, which came vnto him out of the countries of Cleues, Geldres and Germanie, with the which armie hee gaue a day, and appointed a place vnto his mother, to haue his reuenge in open battaile betwixt Bryele and Grauesand. The Empresse had her armie composed of good soldiers, English, Henniuers, Zelanders & Walcharins, & accompanied with a great number of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen. She like a couragious and noble minded Princesse, making no doubt of a second victory, marched against her sonne, and caused her men to begin the charge. The two armies at the first incounter, charged one another with such animositie and furie, as there was nothing to be seene but glaiues, broken lances, a thicke shower of Arrowes in the ayre, breaking of harnesse, cutting in sunder of targets, and
F bucklers, and heads, armes and legges falling to the ground; there was nothing to bee heard but the cryes, with the lamentable and fearefull groanes of men wounded and dying, the bloud ranne ouer the field like a violent streame: to conclude, there was such murther and spoile on either part, with such obstinacie and continuall furie, as they could hardly iudge of the issue of the battaile, vntill that the Empresse troopes oppresst

The sonne raiseth a new armie.

The sonne defies his mother to battaile.

A second battaile.

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The mother defeated.

and tired with the great numbers of the Hollanders armie, to saue themselues ranne into ditches and riuers, where they were drowned, so as all the Empresse armie was put to route, and shee fled in a small Barke into England. The Generall of the English troupes was slaine, and lyes buried in the Church of Losdanen, where as his tombe lyeth to be seene in blacke Marble. *Coffin* of Renesse, *Flaris* of Hamstede, and many other Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen were also slaine there, with an infinite number of good soldiers. There was in this battaile (which was in the same yeare 1351) so much 1351. bloud spilt, as for three dayes after, the old riuer of Meuse at a full sea was all reddie in that place. Finally after that so many valiant men had lost their liues there, and whereas the Lord *Didier* of *Brederode*, and many Knights on the Empresse part were taken prisoners, there was an accord made betwixt the mother and the sonne. By the which it was agreed that the Empresse should hold the Countie of Henault during her life, and Duke *William* should haue the quiet possession of Holland, Zeeland and Friseland. After this battaile the Empresse liued yet fiue yeares, and dyed at Valenciennes in her countrie of Henault, where she was interred.

An accord betwixt the mother and the sonne.

Notwithstanding this accord made betwixt the Mother and the Sonne (yea after her death, when as Duke *William* was sole and absolute Lord of the Counties of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland) the factions of the *Cabillaux* and the *Hoeks* were not mortified, but did continue their hatred aboue a hundred and fiftie yeares after, vnto still that time of *Maximilian* the first, as we shall shew in its place.

The factions ceasse not.

William

WILLIAM OF BAVARIA, THE 5. OF that name, the 25. Earle of Holland, and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland, and Earle of Henault, called the madde.



25 Guilielmus Quintus.

This William *did obtaine in nuptiall state,*
Mathilda *of the house of Lancaster.*
A husband Childlesse, and unfortunate,
Attempted Vtrecht, and did factions starre,
Vnder the names of Hamecons *and* Merlus,
Distracted in his flowre of youth he grew,
Since in his age he was vndutious
To his graue Mother, whom he did persue
With many troubles; though she had defects,
Yet children to their parents, still must owe
Remission of their faults; and fit respects;
But death doth on his life, his rest bestow.

A



Fter this cruell and bloudie battaile fought vpon the bankes of the old riuer of Meuſe, as we haue ſaid, *William* Duke of Bauaria Palatin of Rhine, Earle of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friſeland (according to the accord whereof we haue made mention) was abſolute Prince of the ſaid Prouinces: Then after the deceaſe of the Empreſſe his Mother, did alſo inherite the county of Henault. Hee had to wife the Lady *Mathilda* daughter to *Henry* Duke of Lancaſter in England, by whom hee had not any children.

Cont Williams wife had no children.

1355. In the yeare 1355. this Earle by the bad aduiſe of ſome of his councell, thruſt on by B
The Earle defies the biſhop of Vtrecht. their priuate paſſions, ſent about S. *Martins* time in winter, to defie the Biſhop of Vtrecht, being ſeconded by many Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen of the country of Vtrecht it ſelfe, who ioyning with the Earle for ſome diſcontent, did alſo defie him: among the which were *Arnold* of Yſelſtein, *Iohn* of Culenbourg, *Ghysbrecht* of Vianen, *Iohn* of Culenbourg, ſonne to *Iohn* lord of Woudenbourg, *Iohn* of Haerlaer: *Iohn* ſeigneor of Langerack, *Ghysbrecht* of Nyeuwenrood Knights, then the ſiegneors *Iohn* of Blomſtein, *Zouthin Vanden* Rhin, *Hubert van* Schoonhouē, *Zuveer vā* Neſſe, *Gerard van* Vlyet & the ſiegniors of Sleydon, and of Dyckelen ſtrangers, came to ſuccor the Earle, which 2. ſtrangers being entred into the territories of Vtrecht, thinking to go to Oudwater, being vnskilfull in the paſſages and wayes, they approched too neere the towne C
of Montfort, which was of the Biſhops party and well affected vnto him, as their ſoueraigne Lord, and depending on him. The Bourgeſſes of Montfort hauing diſcouered
Two ſtrange knights taken priſoners. them (although that *Aſſuerus* Vicont of the ſaid towne was not there, being then at Vtrecht) went out in Armes, and fell vpon theſe two Knights and their traine, whom they defeated and tooke priſoners. Cont *William* hauing a goodly armie readie, accompanied with a good number of Princes, great Noblemen, Barons and Knights of Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland and Henault, entred with enſignes diſplaied into the terri-
The Earle enters the country of Vtrecht with an armie. tories of Vtrecht to forrage and deſtroy it. Approching neere vnto the Towne of Wiickter-duyrſtede, he went and lodged ioyning to the village of Motten, where hee camped eight dayes, to ſee if the Biſhop (who was a ſouldier) would come forth to D
giue him battaile, during which time his men ſpoiled all the villages about. The Biſhop would willingly haue hazarded a battaile, if the inhabitants would haue gone forth and followed him to the field. But the Lords of Yſelſtein, Culenbourg and Vianen, were ſo well beloued, and had ſuch good correſpondencie with the chiefe of the towne, as they would not take armes againſt Cont *William*. And withall, thoſe of the great Bourg of
Emeneſſe reuolts from the biſhop. Emeneſſe, were againe reuolted from the Biſhop, and ioyned to the Hollanders, cauſing themſelues to be written among the members of Holland. During the Earles ſtay in this village of Motten, *Iohn* of Egmond marched with a troupe of Hollanders towards Bunſchoten, thoſe of the towne ſallyed forth vpon them, comming to skirmiſh with them, but they were ſo well entertained, as they had no better leiſure then to E
ſeeke for their towne gates, leauing ſome ſeuentie men behind them. This done the Earle returned with his armie laden with good booty. The Biſhop much greeued and
The biſhop takes Weſep by aſſault, and then Muyden. diſcontented to ſee his country ruined euen vnder his noſe, ſought all the meanes hee could to be reuenged of the Hollanders: And the yeare following 1356. hauing leuied a ſmall armie, went and campt before the Towne of Weſep, the which hee battered in ſuch ſort, as hauing made a great breach, the fourth day of the ſiege hee tooke it by aſſault, the inhabitants leaping ouer the walles into the ditches to ſaue themſelues: then he tooke the towne and caſtell of Muyden, a quarter of a league from Weſep, and then returned to Vtrecht halfe reuenged, carrying with him great ſpoiles and many good
The vicont of Montfort reuolts from the biſhop. priſoners. The ſame yeare *Aſſuerus* Vicont of Montfort (then Marſhall of the campe F
to the Biſhop) by the meanes of *Arnold* of Yſelſtein, treated an accord with the Earle of Holland: and reuolting from the Biſhop gratifie the ſaid Earle, hee freed out of priſon the ſiegneors of Sleyden and of Dyckelen, with their ſquires and all their traine, ſending them free vnto the earle, the which the biſhop tooke very impatiently, for that

he

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A he maintained the ſaid priſoners to be his, the ſaid Vicont being his marſhall, whereof vntill that time he had neuer giuen him any accompt.

A while after *Ghysbrecht* of Nyenroode, a Knight and a braue Captaine, by the commandement of the Earle of Holland, gathered together a good troope of men, both of foote and horſe-back, of the countrie it ſelfe, (to take reuenge for Weſep and Muyden) hauing drawn them to Naerden, he marched directly to the towne of Zoeſt, the which he ſpoiled and burnt: *Otto* of Lare then Marſhall to the Biſhop, went forth with all his forces to Emelandt, meaning to fight with *Ghysbrecht* and his Hollanders. Theſe two Captaines hauing ioyned in fight together, the ſiegneor of Nyenroode, was wounded almoſt to the death, and carried ſpeedily out of the preſſe. Thoſe of the towne of A- A combate betwixt two commanders.
B merſſort, who were with the Marſhall *Otto*, were ſo roughly charged by the Hollanders, as they began to wauer, and there the ſaid Marſhall was ſlaine with 36. Amerſſordins, in the end the Hollanders remained Maiſters of the field: then hauing put the ſiegneor of Nyenroode (being wounded) in a ſafe place, they retired by the marſhes & Fens, and entred ſafe into Naerden. The biſhop marching to ſuccour his Marſhall with freſh men, arriued too late.

In the yeare 1357. Cont *William* reioycing at the victory which his men had gotten againſt them of Amersfort, entred himſelfe in perſon with his armie into the country of Vtrecht, he camped at Hooghewoert, deſtroying all that was there-abouts, ſending *Iohn* of Egmond with ſome troupes, to beſiege the Caſtell of *Stephen* of Nyeuelt, the 1357. Cont William himſelfe enters into the country of Vtrecht.
C which he battered for the ſpace of ſixe weekes with great and mighty Engins, wherewith he brake downe the walles: and although the ſaid ſiegneor of Nyeuelt were well prouided and furniſhed of all things, yet he yeelded vp the place by compoſition to the Earles mercy. The Hollanders hauing it in their power, ſet fire of it, and ruined it to the ground, hauing receiued no ſuch command from the Earle their Prince.

After all theſe petty warres and ſpoiling one of another, in the end by the mediation of ſome good Noblemen, there was a peace concluded betwixt the Earle and the bi- A finall accord betwixt the Earle and biſhop.
ſhop of Vtrecht, by the which it was ordered, that either of them ſhould returne to his owne home, laying aſide armes. That thoſe of the Bourg of Emeneſſe ſhould returne
D (as they had been accuſtomed) vnder the Biſhops obedience. That the Lord of Vianen with the aſſiſtance of the towne of Vtrecht, ſhould build againe his Caſtell of Ghoreel. That all priſoners on eyther part ſhould bee ſet free without ranſome: and eſpecially that the ſeuen *Gunterlins* baniſhed out of the towne of Vtrecht, ſhould re-enter freely, that was *Henry Vanden-Rhine* Prouoſt of the collegiate church of Saint *Ihon* in Vtrecht: *Pelerin* his brother, *Iohn* of Woerden: *Ghysbrecht Gunter* Hoogue-land; *Gerard* and *Didier* Bolle brethren: *Iohn Witten* ſonne to *Rodolphe*, and *Peter* Kanmaker, all which had beene to ſuccor the Lord of Vianen at the ſiege of Ghoreel, with many others. After this *Iohn* of Arckel biſhop of Vtrecht liued two yeares in reſt, without any warres, the which he had not done during all the time that he had gouerned his biſhoprick.

In the yeare 1358. on Saint *Georges* day, *Edward* the third King of England kept a 1358.
E ſollemne feaſt and open Court for all commers, Princes, Barons, Knights, Ladies and Gentlewomen, whether *William* of Bauaria Earle of Holland was alſo inuited, both by the King and the Queene his Ante, of whom he was honourably receiued with great ſhewes of loue. At his returne from this voyage into Holland, this poore Prince (I know not by what vnknowne accident) was diſtempered of his ſences and vnderſtanding, ſo as (being very big and ſtrong of all his members) he ſlue *Gerard* of Watering- The Earle of Holland becomes mad.
hen a Knight with one blow with his fiſt, ſo as they were forced to ſhut him vp, and to ſet good garde vpon him, where he was kept for the ſpace of nineteene yeares, vntill he dyed. Hauing before his diſtemperature gouerned his countries of Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland ſeauen yeares, and Henault two. Foure yeares after him dyed alſo the
F Lady *Mathilda* his wife, who lyes interred in the Abbay of Rhynsbourg by Leyden.

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ALBERT OF BAVARIA 26 EARLE of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland, and Palatin of Henault.



26. *Adelbertus Bauariæ.*

I had two wiues, both which one name did beare,
The one a Polonois, the other was
Marguerite *of Cleues; the Frisons stood in feare*
Of my strong hand, that did their strength surpasse,
And oft subdu'd their proud rebellions;
Delfe taken by me, I dem ntled it,
At t'Hage in Holland I appointed Chanons,
Good men I choosd, and for their places fit.
Hage Castle in the Chappell now containes
My body freed from all his earthly paines.

Duke

A DVke *William* of Bauaria, Earle of Holland, Zeeland and Henault, Lord of Friseland, being as we haue said distracted of his sences, & put into safe keeping: the faction of the Hoecks & Cabillaux reuiued: for the Cabillautins would haue the lady *Mathilda* wife to the said Cont *William* to be gouerneſſe of the said Countries; but for that the said lady had no children, the Hocketins did choose *Albert* of Bauaria, Palatin of Rhine, siegneor of Nubingen, brother to the said Cont *William*. The Nobles of the Contie of Henault, consented for their parts to this election, and sent a notable Ambassage vnto him into Bauaria, beseeching him that hee would take vpon him in his brothers place (who was distempered in his braine) the gouernment of the said countries. *Albert* vnderstanding the iust requeſt of the Estates by their Ambassador, went well accompanied with many Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, going downe by the riuer of Rhine into Holland, where he was honorably receiued of both parties, as well Cabellaux as Hoekes, and acknowledged as Tutor to the Earle his brother, and gouernor of his countries and siegneories. Then it was agreed that he should pay yeerely vnto the Counteſſe *Mathilda* his sister in lawe, the summe of twelue thousand French crownes, and no more: by meanes of which accord both parties were content, and continued good friends, but not long.

Diuision betwixt the two factions for the gouernement.

Albert duke of Bauaria called by the Hocketins.

He is receiued for gouernor.

Hee agrees with his sister in lawe.

This Prince *Albert* of Bauaria, had receiued the order of Knight-hood before, making warre in the country of Granado against the Moores and Sarazens. At the first hee was married vnto *Marguerit* daughter to the Duke of Briga in Polonia, by whom hee had three sonnes and foure daughters: the eldest was called *William* Earle of Osteruant, who was borne in the yeare 1365. the second named *Albert* siegnior of Nubingen who dyed yong: the third was *Iohn* chosen bishop of Liege, borne in the yeare 1374. The eldest daughter *Katherine* was first married to *Edward* Duke of Gelders, and Earle of Zutphen: after whose deceaſe being yet a virgin, she married with Duke *William* of Iuilliers and of Geldres, but she had not any children. The other daughter named *Ioane*, had to husband *Venceslaus* King of Romaines, and of Bohemia, sonne to the Emperor *Charles* the 4. who also had not any children; *Marguerite* the 3. daughter, married with *Iohn* Duke of Bourgongne, Earle of Flanders and Arthois, sonne to Duke *Phillip* the hardie, by whom shee had *Phillip* Duke of Bourgongne, called the good (and afterwards Duke of Brabant, Lembourg and Luxembourg, Earle of Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Bourgongne, Holland, Zeeland and Namur, Lord of Friseland) and foure daughters; the first *Iolente* Counteſſe of Poitiers: the second *Anne* Counteſſe of Bedford: the third *Agnes* Ducheſſe of Bourbon, and the fourth *Ioane*, wife to Duke *Albert* of Austria, by whom shee had one sonne called *Albert*, who married the daughter of *Sigismond* King of Hongarie, who afterwards was Emperor of the Romaines: after whose deceaſe this Duke *Albert* did inherit all these realmes in the right of his wife, and was afterwards chosen Emperor, but he raigned not long, for hee died in the flower of his age: his wife was brought in bed soone after his death of a sonne named *Lancelot*, who dyed at two and twenty yeares of age, leauing no children. This *Albert* had one cousin germaine, sonne to his fathers brother, named *Frederick*, who afterwards was also Emperor, the third of that name; and had to wife the daughter of the King of Portugall, by whom hee had *Maximilian* Archduke of Austria, who was also Emperor, the first of that name, who had to wife *Mary*, the daughter and sole heire of *Charles* the Warlick, Duke of Bourgongne, who was slaine before Nancie, by whom he had one sonne named *Philip*, and a daughter named *Marguerite*. *Philip* married with *Ioane* daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, and to *Elizabeth* Queene of Castille. *Marguerite* was married to *Iohn* Prince of Castille and of Arragon, who dyed yong, and after married againe to the Duke of Sauoy. *Philip* had by the said Lady *Ioane* his wife two sonnes, *Charles* the fift, and *Ferdinand*, both Emperors; and foure daughters, *Elenor*, *Ioane*, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. The Emperor *Charles* the fift had one onely sonne, *Philip* king of Spaine, Lord of the Low-countries, father to King *Phillip* the third, now raigning. Behold in briefe the genealogie of the Kings of Spaine, and of foure or fiue Emperors issued from the houses of Holland, Bourgongne and Austria. As for the second wife of Duke *Albert* of Bauaria Earle of Holland, of whom wee now intreate, wee will

Alberts wiues and children.

By this Marguerite, the earldome of Holland, Zeeland and Henault, came to the house of Bourgongne.

speake

ſpeake of her hereafter. The ſaid Cont *Albert* diſplaced *Iohn* of Blauweſtein from the Baylewike of Kermerlandt, inueſting *Renald* the eldeſt ſonne to the Lord of Brederode in his place: the which thoſe of the faction of the Cabillautins tooke in very ill part, and laide ambuſhes neere vnto the village of Caſtrichom to kill him when hee ſhould paſſe that way. One day this yong Nobleman doubting no harme, riding towards Caſtrichom, he incountred them that lay in ambuſh for him, but hauing diſcouered them a good way of, he ſaued himſelfe by flight; they purſued him, and ſlew three of his ſeruants. Thoſe of the village of Caſtrichom ſeeing it, went to armes to defend their new Bayliffe, ſo as they were forced to retire. Some of them ſaued themſelues in the Caſtell of *Walter* of Hemſkerke, the reſt fled to Delf, where they were receiued, for that the ſaid towne was of the Cabillautins faction.

The Cabillautins ſeeke to kill the yong lord of Brederode.

Cont *Albert* hearing of theſe newes, did preſently leuie ſome troupes, and marched towards Kermerlandt, where he beſieged the Caſtell of Hemskerke, for that *Walter* who was Lord thereof, had receiued thoſe way-layers; at which ſiege he left for chiefe commander the Lord of Polauen, who was afterwards alſo Lord of Aſprene, and from thence he went into Zeeland, for ſome affaires of importance. The ſiegneor of Hemskerke a valiant and reſolute Knight, hauing furniſhed his caſtell with all things neceſſary to maintaine a ſiege, was reſolued to defend himſelfe, wherein he carried himſelfe valiantly for a long time: but the Lord of Polauen, beſieged it ſo ſtraightly, and battered it ſo furiouſly for the ſpace of eleuen weekes, that he was forced to yeeld his Caſtell, himſelfe, and all his men priſoners vnto the Earle, to attend how he would diſpoſe of him, for reparation of his fault; yet ſome yeares after he was receiued againe into fauour, and his caſtell reſtored vnto him. But when he died, for that he left no children, this caſtell of Hemskerke was vnited to the reuenues of the Earledome of Holland, yet ſome of his kinſmen haue ſince inioyed it in proprietie, with the downes, warrens, and other rights.

The caſtell of Hemskerke beſieged for Cont Albert.

Thoſe of Delfe, friends to *Walter* of Hemskerke and the beſieged, ſeeing into what extremitie they were reduced, did riſe againſt Cont *Albert* (to whom they had ſworne fealtie) and leuied men vnder the command of *Iohn Nyenroode*. *Iohn* ſiegneor of Keruene baſtard of Arckil knights, with *Henry* of Woerden and *Gerard Wys* Squiers, and a number of bourgeſſes, went out of the towne to beſiege the caſtell of Polauen and Binkhorſt, the which they tooke and fiered. This done, they went to the Hage and brake open the priſons, and drew out all the priſoners of the caſtell of Hemskerke, whom they led with them into their towne; all this was done whileſt that the Earle was buſied in Zeeland: who hauing newes of this rebellion, made haſt to returne into Holland, with an intent to puniſh them: he came to the Hage, whether he ſent for all his Nobilitie and men at armes, with all the inhabitants of Townes that he could gather together; beſides the ſuccors he had from ſome neighbour Princes, who offered him men for pay: with all thoſe forces hee went to beſiege Delfe; he held his ſiege before it ten weekes and two daies, cauſing it to bee battered and aſſaulted in diuers places. The ſiegneors of Nyenroede, of Keruene, Van Woerden and Wys, maintained themſelues valiantly a long time. But this reſiſtance did auaile them little, for the Earle cauſed foure great Engins of batterie to bee approached, with the which he did continually beat the walles of the towne, the which did ſo amaze and perplex the inhabitants, as on Whitſon eue they began to ſpeake of an accord in time, rather then being forced to make a compoſition which might be diſhoneſt and preiudiciall. The Captaines hearing that the inhabitants began to ſpeake of a treatie, being aſſembled in the old church, they let them vnderſtand, that they held it the beſt courſe to trie their fortunes, and the next night to attempt ſom-thing vpon the enemies campe, whereby happily they might put them in diſorder, the which ſucceeding well they ſhould be freed; if otherwiſe, they ſhould haue meanes to make a faire retreat, and then parle of a compoſition. The inhabitants being loth to hazard any thing, anſwered; that they had no aſſurance of victory, and if they were vanquiſhed, they were in danger to bee at the mercy of a victorious Prince, who was much incenſed againſt them; the which they would not attend. Wherevpon the Captaines ſaid vnto them; God councell you better: but read firſt this writing which you haue giuen vs, which ſhewes, that when you would treate without our liking or conſents, that eight dayes before, it ſhould be lawfull for vs

The Delfois reuolt.

Cont Albert beſiegeth Delf.

The inhabitants ſpeake of a compoſition.

The captaines oppoſe.

to

A to depart with our men, to prouide for our safeties. The inhabitants not able to contradict them, the said siegneors of Nyenroede and of Keruene, with their men, went out of the towne secretly in the night: then by the interceſſion of *Walrauen* of Born knight, those of Delfe yeelded, to haue their liues and goods saued, vpon certaine conditions. First that they should aske mercy of the Earle for their offence, and for a time should pay him 40000. French crownes; and for an honourable reparation should demantell the greatest part of the towne walls. In this accord the souldiers and strangers which remained were not comprehended. Herevpon Cont *Albert* entred into Delfe, whereas he presently caused the gates to be taken off, and the walles to be beaten downe. *Henry* of Woerden one of the Captaines, had saued himselfe vpon the tower of the church,

The captaines retire in the night.

The towne of Delf yeelded.

B but he was drawne from thence, and had his head cut off. As for the Siegneors of Nyenroede and Keruene, who were gone forth with their soldiers before the treatie, they retired themselues into the Castell of Heusden, where they were besieged a whole yeare, but by the mediation of *Otto* Lord of Arckel, they were taken to mercy, and reconciled to the Earle, vpon condition that they should yeeld him the place, and that within two yeares they should go to Ierusalem to visit the holy Sepulcher. Vpon these conditions these two braue Knights were receiued into fauour by Cont *Albert*, and so the warres ceased. A while after they not onely went to Ierusalem, but euen vnto Saint *Katherins* Mount, which they call Synay.

Edward Duke of Geldres, hauing put his brother *Renould* in prison, chased away

C those that had held and followed his brothers party: ruining their Castels and countrie houses. The Gentlemen Geldrois of that partie, seeing themselues chased away and so ill intreated, had their recourse vnto *Albert* of Bauaria Earle of Holland, who tooke them into his protection, and entertained them in his traine. Duke *Edward* being discontented that he supported them, sent to defie him; appointing a day and the place of battaile vpon Heymansberch. *Albert* seeing himselfe defied without any iust occasion, sent for all his Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines and Soldiers, and with Enseignes displaied, went and planted his campe vpon the mount of Heymansberch, there to attend the Duke of Geldres, as he had sent him word. The Hollanders seeing that he came not, went and made a road into his country, burning many villages, from whence

The duke of Gelders defies the Earle of Holland.

D they brought all the cattell and other bootie, and so returned to their Princes armie, who went back with them into Holland. A while after a peace was made betwixt them, by which treatie Duke *Edward* should marry *Katherine* Cont *Alberts* eldest daughter, being come to a competent age, the which happened in the yeare 1362.

The warre ended by marriage.

In the yeare 1365. Cont *Albert* went with a noble and stately traine into France, to King *Charles the Wise*, where he had an honorable reception made him in *Paris*, and hauing finished the businesse for the which hee went, hee returned to Valenciennes in his countrie of Henault. In the yeare 1367. the said Earle vpon some false reports and bad perswasions, had caused the Baron of Enghien in Henault to bee put in prison, (which baronie doth at this day belong vnto the Dukes of Vendosme) and his head to

1365.

1367.

The Baron of Enghien beheaded in Henault, which caused great troubles.

E be cut off: for that he had beene informed that this baron had many engins in his Castell, and other instruments, as ladders of ropes, & other prouision to surprise places, the which he would haue vsed against certaine castels in the country of Henault. There happened great troubles in that countrie through the death of this Noble man: for he had six brethren, all valiant Gentlemen, who to reuenge this ignominious death of their innocent brother, did ouer-runne and spoile the champian countrie. Cont *Albert* leuied men, and went to besiege the said towne of Enghien. During which siege hee created many knights: among the which were *Didier* of Lecke, and *Bartholomew* of Raphorst, Hollanders. In the end this warre was pacified by the meanes of *Lewis de Male* Earle of Flanders. These sixe brethren were reconciled vnto the Earle, and they did

F pardon him their brothers death: for expiation whereof he founded the Chanoinry of the Chappell, at the Court at the Hage, in the yeare 1368.

In the yeare 1373. the towne of Vtrecht caused a riuer or channell to be cut or dig'd, from their gate vnto the riuer of Lecke, which is a long French league, and at the end thereof two great Sluses to hold the water, at a village which is called at this day Nyeuvaert,

1373.

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Nyeuvaert,(that is to ſay,new riuer) and vpon the bankes of Lecke they cauſed a great A
tower of free-ſtone to be built, with defences and barricadoes in forme of a caſtell, to
defend and preſerue the ſaid ſluſes,againſt any that ſhould come and attempt to breake
The caſtell of Ghildenburch built to defend the ſluſe. them,which tower or caſtell they called Ghildenburch,(that is to ſay,the caſtell of the
Brother-hood,) for that the ſworne companies of the ſaid towne of Vtrecht, had
built it at their owne charge, and had the garde thereof by turnes. *Ghysbrecht* lord of
Vianen was nothing well contented therewith, fearing that in ſucceſſion of time, by
meanes of this fort and the ſluſes, they would attempt ſome-thing againſt his towne
and iuriſdiction of Vianen,which is oppoſite vnto Nyeuvaert, and therefore he went
vnto Duke *Albert* Earle of Holland,and gaue him to vnderſtand,that this fort of Ghil-
The lord of Vianen and thoſe of Dordrecht diſcontented for the ſluſes. denburch had beene built to the preiudice of the Hollanders, and the rather, for that it B
was ſeated and built vpon the territorie and bayliwicke of Vreeſwick, in the iuriſdicti-
on of Holland,and not of Vtrecht. On the other ſide, they of Dordrecht, iudging
that theſe ſluſes and fort were made to their diſaduantage, to hinder their nauigation
(which had great priuiledges) they ioyned with the lord of Vianen, and concluded to
Cont Albert ſpoiles the Friſons. breake theſe ſluſes, and to ruine the fort, as we will preſently ſhew. The ſame yeare
William of Naeldwicke marſhall of Holland, by the commandement of Cont *Albert*,
went into Friſeland with a great number of ſhips, and landed on Saint *Lawrence* day in
the Iland of Snellinck, the which hee ſpoiled and burnt, carrying away a great bootie
and many priſoners,by reaſon of their rebellion,and then returned into Holland.

1374. In the yeare 1374. the deputies of Vtrecht came to Cont *Albert* to the Hage,for the C
paiment of a certaine ſumme of money,and the redemption of the caſtell of Vredelant,
but the Earle found great difficultie in their coines of gold and ſiluer: wherevpon theſe
deputies returned much diſcontented,and made their report vnto the three eſtates of
They of Vtrecht beſiege Woerden in vaine. the country of Vtrecht; who reſolued to haue their reuenge, and going to armes; they
marched forth of their towne, and went to beſiege Woerden, thinking to carry it at
the firſt, but finding great reſiſtance, and not able to take it; they burnt the ſuburbes,
and ſome barricadoes there-abouts, carrying away ſome poore priſoners, and from
thence they went to beſiege the caſtell of Croonenburch. The beſieged deſpairing of
all meanes to defend it,gaue it ouer by compoſition,the which they preſently razed to
the ground. This done, they went to Weſep, Muyden, Wtermeer and Looſdrecht, D
where they tooke ſome bourgeſſes,whom they ranſomed. Approching neere vnto the
caſtell of Vredelandt, *Aſuerus* of Gaesbeke with the Hollanders of his garriſon, went
to skirmiſh with them as they paſt that way, to ſpoile Bodegraue, Ameyden, Lex-
monde and Iaerſuelt,which they ranſomed.

Cont Albert beſiegeth the fort of Ghyldenburch. Cont *Albert* hearing theſe newes, leuied men with all ſpeed, to make warre againſt
them,and being accompanied by *Iohn* Earle of Blois his couſin,*Adolph* Earle of Cleues
and a great number of barons and knights,Hollanders,Henyuers,Zelanders,Geldrois
and Cleuois,he went vp the riuer of Leck, and beſieged the caſtell of Ghyldenburch,
where he planted two great and mighty engins of battery, the one vpon the Eaſt, and
the other vpon the South. The beſieged were furniſhed of all things neceſſary for de- E
fence,and with great ſtones made the engin of the South-ſide vnprofitable.Eight daies
after that the armie was lodged before it, *Ghysbrecht* of Vianen, *Henry* of Ameyden,
and *Ghysbrecht* of Nieuenroode knights, with certaine troopes, preſented themſelues
before the caſtell,to ſee if they could draw out the beſieged to skirmiſh. The captaines
of the caſtell, namely *Peter Doel* and *Arnold Preaux*, ſeeing a good occaſion offred, ope-
ned their gates, and lodged themſelues in certaine houſes neere adioyning, from
whence they did aſſaile the Hollanders: the skirmiſh continued a good ſpace, but in
the end the lord of Nyenroede,the lord of Naeldwycke marſhall of Holland; *William*
of Cheervlyet,a certaine knight of Henault,and eight and twenty ſoldiers were taken
priſoners,and lead into the Caſtell. Cont *Albert* to haſten the ſiege, cauſed two engins F
more to be made; one of the ſide of Vianen vpon the banke of Leck, and the other at
the foote of the dike, ſo as by that meanes hee wone the baſe court of the caſtell: the
which the beſieged ſeeing, and by the perſwaſion of the ſaid ſiegneor of Nyenroede,
fearing to be forced,they yeelded by compoſition to haue their liues and goods ſaued;

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A the first day of Iune 1374. with a safe conduit to retire into the towne of Vtrecht, carrying with them nine dead bodies, whom they would haue buried in the church-yarde within the towne. The Earle hauing this castell in his power, gaue it to the lord of Vianen to keepe, and then returned into Holland. The Traiectins troubled for the yeelding vp of this place, came on Saint *Timothies* eue in the night, with a great number of men, to attempt it by scalado, and with their shotte, spending a whole day and a night, whereof in the end they set fire, which they within being not able to quench, (being but three and twenty soldiers, and most of them wounded, and two dead,) they were forced to yeeld it.

Childtburch yeelded by composition.

The fort taken againe by them of Vtrecht.

Fifteene daies after, Cont *Albert* aduancing vp the riuer of Leck, went againe to be-
B siege it, with an intent to raze it. Those of Vtrecht fore-seeing his comming, did furnish and victuall it for a long time, manning it with good captaines and soldiars: that is, the siegnior of Schoonhawen, *William Leets*, and *Goswin* of Wandric. The Earle seeing that through the good order that was in it, hee should profit little, retired from thence, and went to besiege the castell of Wlenhorst, the which hee forced: then hee marched before Hollenstein, the which yeelded by composition, to haue their goods and liues saued: from thence he drew towards Heermalen, the which he burnt. In the end after all these petty warres, a peace was concluded betwixt the Hollanders and Traiectins, by the which they of Vtrecht should pay vnto the Earle 4000. crownes
C for his charges in the warre. And as for the siegneurie of Vreeswike, it was said, That if the bishop and seauen of the chiefe of the towne of Vtrecht did affirme by oth, that it did rightly belong vnto the church of Saint *Martins* in Vtrecht, that then the Earle nor any of his successors should for euer pretend any interest therevnto. As the bishop and the seauen personages did lift vp their hands to take the said othe, Cont *Albert* not suffring them to sweare, but contenting himselfe with their bare affirmation, deliuered them vp the siegneurie of Vreeswik, and made them letters vnder his seale, and so all quarrels were ended.

Cont Albert makes sharpe warres against the Traiectins.

An accord betwixt the Hollanders and Vtrecht.

In the yeare 1377. Duke *William* of Bauaria the madde Earle of Holland, dyed at Quesnoy in Henault; his body was carried and interred at Valenciennes: he left not any children. His funerals being finished, the lords, barons, knights, and all the nobili-
D tie, with the townes of Holland, Zeeland, Henault, and Frisland, receiued Duke *Albert* of Bauaria absolutely, who before had been but Tutor vnto the said *William* his brother, and did acknowledge him for their Lord and Soueraigne Prince, and so was the 26. Earle of Holland, &c.

1377. The death of Cont Willia the madde.

Cont Albert receiued for Earle of Holland.

In the yeare 1386. about Shrouetide dyed the lady *Marguerite* of Briga, wife to Cont *Albert* of Bauaria, and was buried in the chappell of the court at the Hage, at the great altar towards the North. After her death the Earle continued fiue yeares vnmarried, entertaining a Gentlewoman called *Anne* of Poelgheest, for his mignion, of whom shall bee hereafter spoken, who being dead, the Earle married with *Marguerite* the daughter of *Adolph* Earle of Cleues, by whom he had no children.

1386.

E In the yeare 1389. died *Arnold* of Horne bishop of Liege, his body was transported to Horne, and buried with his fathers. After whose death the Chapter did choose *Thierry* of the Marke, who refused it; and therefore *Iohn* of Bauaria, sonne to Cont *Albert* of Holland, being but sixteene yeares old, and at that time Chanoine of Cambray, was chosen in his place, and in the yeare 1390. he was conducted to Liege by his father, and *William* Earle of Osteruant his elder brother, with many Princes and Noblemen, accompanied with about 1200. horse, where he was honourably receiued by the Deane and Chapter.

1389. Iohn of Bauaria, sonne to Cont Albert made bishop of Liege.

In the yeare 1392. on Saint *Maurice* eue, *Anne* of Poelgeest, daughter to the siegnior *Iohn* of Poelgeest a squire, mignion to Cont *Albert*, was slaine at the Hage. *William*
F *Kuyser* Steward to the Earle (seeking to defend and preserue her,) was also slaine with her by the same murtherers, who fled presently after out of the countrie. Of which murther there did rise great scandall and trouble in Holland, for the siegneor *Conrard Kuyser* father to the said *William*, made great instance and pursuite vnto the Earle, demanding iustice of the that had murthered his sonne, or caused him to be murthered or

1392. The murther of Cont Alberts concubine and of his Steward.

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slaine trecherously, in the night, with an intended purpose, without striking stroake, in A
Noblemen blamed for this murther. the open Court, and doing his Prince seruice: Of which murther he did blame (as the chiefe) the lord *Philip* Vicont of Leyden, *Didier* lord of Aspren & his sonne. Two yong gentlemē brethren of Leck. *Henry* Vicont of Montfort, *Iohn* sieignior of Heemsted, *Iohn* of Vlyet, *Philip* of Polauen, the siegneor of Duyuenwoord, the siegnior of Warmount and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, to the number of 54. The Earle sitting in iustice with them of his priuie councell, granted a personall adiournment against all the said lords; and for not appearing they should bee banished out of the county of Holland. And for their contumacie, not daring appeare, they were condemned to haue
The banished Noblemen retire to the earle of Osteruant, forfeited body and goods: and for this occasion they retired to Cont *William* of Osteruant, eldest sonne to Cont *Albert*, who loued them, and held them in great esteeme, B which made him to seeke all the meanes to purge them of these murthers, and to reconcile them to his father, who would by no meanes giue eare vnto it. The sonne (discontented at this repulse, hearing also that his father would seaze vpon him (departed from the Hage, being accompanied by all the said noblemen, and came to the castell of *Altena* in South-Holland, which castell Cont *Albert* had before of the lord of Horne, and had giuen it vnto the Earle of Osteruant his sonne. The other noblemen which remained at the Hage with the Earle, insteed of moderating things, and pacifying his wrath, did incense him more and more, by bad reports and false sugiestions, animating the father all they could against the sonne, among the which, one of the principall was, *Iohn* of Arckell lieutenant and treasurer generall of Holland. The Earle being resolute C to chase his sonne, with these other noblemen (that were already banished) out of his countries, leuied a great number of men in Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, of all qualities, and of his ordinary garrisons: with the which he sent the siegnior *Conrad Kuyser*, to ruine all the castels and country-houses of the banished noblemen, *Conrad* thrust
The murther reuenged. on with a reuenging spirit, did willingly vndertake this charge, and first of all hee destroyed Heemstede, Warmont and Paddenpoel by Leyden; all belonging to the sayd vicont of Leyden, (who afterwards was called Nonnenpoel.) The Earle marched with the rest of his forces vp the riuer of Merwede, and arriued on Saint *Peters* day the
1393. same yeare 1393 at Gorrichom, where he was honourably receiued by the lord *Otto* of Arckel: the next day he passed by Wandichom, and so went to Altena, the which he D
Cont Albert besiegeth Altena. did inuest round about, and besieged it very straightly. The Earle of Osternant his sonne, vnderstanding of his comming, was retired, but before his departure, hee had well furnished the place of all things necessary for a siege, as well for defence, as to offend; with the which he hoped the said lords with their people might well defend the place. The Earle did all he could to batter it, breake downe, and ouer-throw the towers
The Earle his sonne retires. and walls, doing great harme, and annoying the besieged very much. During this siege *Iohn* of Bauaria, chosen bishop of Liege, sonne to the Earle, with those of his councell,
The bishop of Liege reconciles the father and the sonne. and some noblemen, and councellors of the country of Henault, came to the campe before Altena, where the said bishop did mediate an accord betwixt his father and his brother, comprehending the noblemen that were besieged; by the which it was said, E that the said besieged should yeeld vp the place, and haue their liues and goods saued, with liberty to go freely to the towne of Boisleduc to the Earle, who attended them there. Cont *Albert* hauing this castell, caused it to bee ruined all, but the two great
The Earle of Osteruant retires into France. towers: and Cont *William* giuing place to his fathers indignation, retired himselfe into France to king *Charles* the sixt: where being in the yeare 1395. set at the kings table with many Princes and Barons, there came a Herald or King at Armes, who cutte the cloath before him, saying, that it did not belong to any one, (how great a prince soeuer) to sit at the Kings table, if he had not armes and a scutchion. The Earle answe-
An affront done to the Earle of Osteruant at the Kings table. red that he had them, as well as any other. Then there was an old Herauld by which said; pardon me sir, for Cont *William* your great vncle, was not onely vanquished by F the Frisons, but lyes yet (without any reuenge taken) buried among his enemies. The Earle being ashamed thereat, from that time forward did nothing but dreame by what meanes he might repaire this disgrace, and so retiring out of France much troubled, he came into Henault. And for that he durst not shew himselfe boldly before his father,

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A he writ ſecretly vnto him of the affront that had beene done him in France, beſeeching him moſt humbly that he would be pleaſed to aduiſe, how he might reuenge himſelfe and all his race of ſuch a diſgrace. Cont *Albert* hearing theſe newes, ſaid; This diſhonor ſhall neuer be more reproched to me, nor to my children: for I will (if it pleaſe God) go my ſelfe in perſon the next yeare into Friſeland, and demand the body of Cont *William* mine vncle, bring back his armes, and reuenge his death. Soone after the ſonne was reconciled to the father, and all the Noblemen that were with him, who went all together to the court of Holland at the Hage.

The ſonne & all the noblemen reconciled to Cont Albert.

The yeare following 1396. Cont *Albert* hauing reſolued to make warre againſt the Friſons, leuied a mighty army, as well out of his owne prouinces, as out of France, Eng-
B land, and Germanie, in the which there were many Princes, Earles, and Barons, and a goodly troope of choiſe men at armes. The cheife of his hereditary prouinces were *William* Earle of Oſteruant, his eldeſt ſonne, *John* biſhop of Liege his yongeſt ſonne, and *Albert* lord of Nubingen his middle ſonne: the chiefe of the French troupes were the Earle of Saint Pol, the Earle of Namur, and the Admirall of France: of the Engliſh, the lord Scales, and of the Germaines the Earle of Solms. The Noblemen of Holland, Zeeland, and Weſt-friſeland, were *Guy* Earle of Blois, *John* Lord of Arckell, lieutenant of Holland, *John* of Brederode, *Philip* vicont of Leyden, Lord of Waſſenare, the ſiegniors of Aſpren, Seuenberghe, Drongelon, Henckelom, Leydenburch and Waerdenburch, with many other Knights and Gentlemen. Their Rendez-vous was at the Hage, where all theſe nobles
C attending the preparation of the army, ſpent the time in iouſts, torneys, and other goodly exerciſes of warre, to adreſſe themſelues in armes, and to harden themſelues to labour.

1396.

The chiefe of the Earles armie.

On Sonday after the feaſt of the Aſcention, Cont *Albert* arriued with all his forces at Enchuyſen, where 3000. ſhips, and 4000. barkes did attend him to paſſe into Friſeland, where there is but foure or fiue leagues to croſſe. In this voyage the Earle made many knights, among others *Floris* of Alcmada, and *Gerard* of Voort, Hollanders. Hee had 180000. men well armed, with the which he entred by Cuindert into Friſeland. The Friſons of Stellingwerf hearing him to approche, gathered together all the men they could out of their owne villages, and from their neighbours, and with a valiant reſolution went to incounter him, the day that Saint *John Baptiſt* was beheaded. The Earle charged them,
D the incounter was furious, and the combate cruell and bloudy, when they came to ioyne: There was many a man ouerthrowne, many heads, armes, eares, and legges cut off, targets head-peeces broken, with the waight of battle-axes; with hideous and fearefull cryes of men wounded and dying. In the end the Friſons not able to withſtand ſo great a multitude, were broken and put to flight, ſome heere, ſome there, ſo many men, ſo many waies, who thinking to ſaue themſelues by the mariſhes and quagmiers, many were ſmothered and drowned there. Others flying by the ordinary high-wayes, were purſued and taken, whereof there were foureteene hundred priſoners.

Cont Albert enters into Friſeland with a mightie armie.

A cruell battaile.

The Friſons defeated.

After this firſt victory Cont *Albert* ſent *Peter Beets* ſonne to *Didier Beets* a Knight with them of Amſterdam, of Weſt-friſland, of Kennemer and Waterlandt, vp the riuer of
E Lanwere, to aſſaile the Friſons on that ſide, and giue them another battaile: The which being diſcouered by them, they planted themſelues in ſuch great numbers vpon the ſea ſhore, to hinder the Hollanders landing, as no man durſt offer to go to land: but they lay ſtill at anchor to keepe the Friſons from putting to ſea. In the meane time the Earle marched with the body of his armie towards Staueren, and from thence through Gheeſterlandt, to Saint *Odolphus* cloiſter, to aduiſe which way he might beſt aſſaile and ſubdue the Friſons; who (notwithſtanding that they lamented their firſt loſſes) gathered together new troopes, being reſolued to hazard a ſecond battaile againſt the Hollanders. The Earle
F ſeeing his enimy ready to fight, hauing put his armie in good order, went firſt to the charge, and there was a ſecond battaile giuen which the Friſons loſt. The Earle remaining maiſter of the field, cauſed his tents and Pauilions to be pitcht, and ſtaied there ten daies, to ſee if the enemy would come to ſeeke him. During which time not any one preſented himſelfe, euery man redoubting his power. During this abode, there were certaine Engliſhmen (notwithſtanding the Earles expreſſe defence) which would goe and diſcouer and skirmiſh with the enemy. Being two leagues from the campe, they ſet fire on certaine

A ſecond battaile, and the Friſons defeated.

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villages, and laded themſelues with booty, thinking to returne to their quarter: the Friſons lying cloſe in their ambuſhes, ſeeing them approach, diſcouered themſelues of all ſides. The Engliſh men being not much amazed, put themſelues in good order, retiring gently, fighting with their arrowes and ſlings: but the multitude of Friſons was ſo great (for that their numbers increaſed continually) as the Engliſh began to defend themſelues, caſting themſelues into a neere fort, which they made good againſt the Friſons, who held them there beſieged all the reſt of the day and the night following. The Earle vnderſtanding the danger in which the Engliſhmen were, intreated the townes of Holland to goe thether, and to vngage them: ſome of them anſwered, *That if their Prince went with them, and marched before, they would follow him.* The Earle hearing this anſwer, ſaid to them of *Delfe*. *Goe you and vngage them*. At this commandement the *Delphois* made him a modeſt anſwer. *My Lord although you haue heretofore deſtroyed vs, yet for the loue of you we will willingly goe and ſuccour them, or dye all in the enterpriſe: beſeeching you to remember this ſeruice, when any good occaſion is offered.* Herevpon they marched directly towards the Friſons. The Engliſh ſeeing that ſuccors came vnto them, iſſued out of their fort, and came to charge them on the one ſide, and thoſe of Delfe on the other with ſuch furie, as in a ſhort time there were 400. Friſons ſlaine vpon the place, the reſt flying away, fearing leaſt the whole armie ſhould come vpon them. After this route, the Delfois and Engliſh entered farther into the countrie, ſpoiling and burning all they incountred, and killing all that came againſt them. The Earle ſeeing theſe fiers, was aſſured of the victory, for the which he greatly commended them of Delfe. Then he cauſed a mightie Block-houſe in forme of a citadell to be built in the towne of Staueren, the which he did furniſh with all kinde of munition and inſtruments for warre, and hauing manned it with a good garriſon and prouiſion of victuals, he diuided his armie into diuers parts, to ſet vpon the remainder of the Friſons in diuers places, and by that meanes to ſubdue them, as he did ſoone after, forcing them to ſue for mercy, to ſubmit themſelues vnder his obedience, and to acknowledge him for their ſoueraigne Lord.

A braue skirmiſh betwixt the Engliſh & the Friſons.

The Engliſh beſieged by the Friſons.

A braue anſwer of the Delphois to Cont Albert.

The Engliſh degaged by the Delphois.

The Friſons ſubdued.

After that the Friſons had promiſed and ſworne to entertaine the articles and conditions that the Earle ſhould impoſe vpon them, and that they had made him authenticall letters thereof. The Earle ſent one of his chiefe Knights, with many Nobles and Gentlemen to the abbay of Fleurchamps (ſince called Oudecloſter) to bring away the body of Cont *William*, ſome-times Earle of Holland, Zeeland and Henault, Lord of Friſeland, the which they brought with his armes and blaſon. This done hee retired into Holland, from whence hee ſent the ſaid body to Valenciennes in Henault, where it lyes with his anceſtors.

The body of cont William fetcht out of Friſeland, and buried at Valenciennes.

1398. Soone after in the yeare 1398. the Friſons hauing broken the peace and accord made betwixt them and the Earle of Holland; hauing rebelled againe, and chaſed the garriſon of Hollanders out of Staueren, and out of all places thereabouts: Cont *Albert* leuied an armie, with the which he went to Horne and to Enchuyſen, being reſolued to returne into Friſeland, and there to ſtay vntill he had wholy ſubdued them. But hee was aduiſed not to goe himſelfe in perſon, but rather to giue the charge of his armie to Cont *William* of Oſteruant his ſonne, making him his Lieutenant and General, with *Iohn* of Arckel, *Iohn* of Brederode, *Arnold* of Egmond. with many other Barons for his Captaines, followed by many Knights and Gentlemen of Holland. Cont *William* being entered into Friſeland paſt by Geeſterland with his troopes, and as they approched to Hindeloopen, the Friſons aduanced to charge them, and the Hollanders receiued them ſo valiantly, as at the firſt incounter they ſlue 300. vpon the place, the reſt ſeeing their companions ſo ill intreated, turned their backes and fled. After this happy incounter, the Hollanders ouer-running the country, ſpoiled and burnt many villages and gentlemens houſes: then they went and camped before Staueren, the which they beſieged ſo by land and by water, as nothing could goe in nor paſſe out, and they did batter it in ſuch ſort, as in the end they were forced to yeeld to the Earles mercie, deliuering vnto him the chiefe men of the towne for Hoſtages and aſſurance of their treatie. This towne being thus yeelded, all the Friſons both in townes and country, fearing their ruine, came to Staueren to the Earle to ſue for mercy, offring to make reparations for what was paſt. The Earle asking the opinion of his

The Friſons rebell againe.

The Earle ſends his ſonne againſt the Friſons.

Staueren beſieged and yeelded to the Earle of Oſteruant.

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A his Noblemen, made a peace with them, vpon condition to acknowledge the Earle of Holland for their Prince and naturall Lord: and that euery houſe of the country of Friſeland ſhould pay yeerely vnto the Earle of Holland for euer, ſix ſolz Tournois, nor to bee redeemed for euer for reparation of their rebellion. The which was ſworne and confirmed by letters. This done, he appointed Bayliffes and other officers in his fathers name, and his ſucceſſors Earles of Holland, to adminiſter iuſtice vnto them for euer. Then hee returned a conqueror into Holland. But it was meere folly to thinke that this treatie could continue long: ſo impatient are the Friſons of all ſeruitude, or to be commanded by any other then their owne nation; it was therefore ſoone broken: for the yeare following 1399. they returned to their accuſtomed rebellion, refuſing to entertaine the ſaid B accord, (for they ſtill found ſome pretended cauſe of exception) chaſing away the officers which had beene eſtabliſhed by the Earle of Oſteruant: fortified the village of Molckenhuyſe (now called Molckweer) where they made ſome barricadoes and block-houſes againſt them of Staueren, who for their parts would entertaine their accord. Some other Friſons beſieged the towne of Dockum, to chaſe away the Hollanders.

The Friſons ſubdued.

Seuenpence farthing or thereabouts Engliſh money.

A new reuolt of the Friſons.

Cont *Albert* of Holland hearing of this reiterated rebellion, leuied men from all parts, both out of his owne countries, and from his neighbours and ſtrangers to make an army; of the which he made the Earle of Oſteruant his ſonne, generall, being accompanied with theſe lords, *Iohn* of Bauaria biſhop of Liege his ſecond ſonne: *Iohn* lord of Arckel: *Arnold* of Egmond, lord of Yſelſtein. *Philip* vicont of Leyden: *Walrauen* lord of Brederode, C and many other Noblemen, Barons and Knights, with the which and his whole armie hee arriued at Amſterdam the firſt day of May the ſame yeare, where they did imbarke and went to land at the towne of Staueren, in the which towne and there-abouts he lay camped ſixe weekes together. The Friſons (knowing that this mighty armie was ſo neere them) were much troubled, and ſent to the Earle of Oſteruant to ſue for mercy, promiſing vnto him in his fathers name, all obedience, fealtie and homage. The Earle with his Noblemen paſt a water which they called Opt-wat, and from thence with the ſhippes and barkes which they had at Staueren, they came the ſame night to Sesbyrum, and to Bolſwaert, where they lodged that night and refreſht themſelues. There fell out a quarrell betwixt *Floris* of Alcmade, and *Gerard Boel* of Heemskerke, both Knights. *Floris* hurt D *Gerard* in the fore-head with his dagger, in the preſence of all the Princes and Noblemen: yet to auoyde a greater inconuenience, by the commandement of the two Princes brethren, they were forced to agree, and to drinke one vnto another the ſame night: for that at the ſame inſtant there came a knight of Friſeland called *Gerard* of Cammega, who did ſecretly aduertiſe the Earle of Oſteruant, that the Friſons were reſolued to come the ſame night and charge the Hollanders ſodenly in their quarter, as it happened about an houre before the breake of day. The Friſons comming with fearefull and terrible cryes to charge them; Cont *William* and *Iohn* of Bauaria had before put their men in good order of battaile, and marched brauely to incounter them. Day being come, both armies charge, and in the beginning the combate was very fierce, but in the end the Friſons E were quite defeated, with great loſſe of their men, the reſt ſaued themſelues as well as they could.

The Friſons ſubmit themſelues againe.

A priuate quarrell betwixt two Knights of Holland.

A battaile wherein the Friſons were defeated.

After this victory, the Earle raiſed his campe, and came the ſame day with all his armie to Dockingen, the which hee did furniſh with victuals, munition for warre, and a good garriſon, againſt the Friſons there-abouts. Two dayes after hee went with his troupes to Lanen, where he lodged fiue weekes, to ſee what the Friſons would doe. During which aboad, many of them came vnto him and ſued for mercy: who after they had taken the othe of fealty and obedience, he receiued them into grace; cauſing all the villages that would not doe the like, to bee ſpoiled and burnt, whereby his ſoldiers got great ſpoile. Then came they of Groninghen, who did promiſe to him and ſweare in the name of the F Earle of Holland his father, fealtie and homage, acknowledging him for their ſoueraigne Lord. But they kept not long their faith nor promiſe: for ſoone after with the other Friſons they ſet vpon the Hollanders, euen whileſt that Cont *William* was yet in Friſeland, and laide ambuſhes to ſurpriſe him, vſing all the meanes they could to breake and ruine his armie. About that time a great number of Friſons being in field, in a certaine

The Earle of Eſteruant proceeds againſt the Friſons, many ſue for mercy.

The Groeningeois acknowledge him for prince

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place, where there was but a little water to crosse betwixt their campe and the Earles, A
The Frisons thinke to surprise the earle but in vaine. they laboured to fill it vp in the night with fagots, bauins, hay, straw and turfe, that they might passe through it, and so assaile the Hollanders campe: but this worke being discouered, the English with some Frisons of the Earles part, went and charged them in another place, which disapointed their worke, so as they could not passe. There was among the English a Captaine called *Panthere*, which did wonders, putting the enemies to flight, with the losse of ten of his men onely. This done, Cont *William* of Osteruant, made *Floris* of Alcmada (one of his chiefe Captaines) his lieutenant in Friseland, and *Gerard* of Egmond siegnior of Wateringhe, brother to the Lord of Egmond, Gouernor of Staueren, and then he returned a conqueror into Holland.

1400. In the yeare 1400. the Frisons seeing the Earle of Osteruant retired with all his B
The Frisons rebell againe. armie out of their countrie, and that by his fathers commandement hee was gone into Henault; notwithstanding all their accords and othes, they rebelled the third time. And as part of their countrie and the towne of Staueren were maintained vnder the garde of the said siegneors of Alcmada and Egmond, hauing at that time a garrison of Hollanders in the said towne: The Frisons being armed and in field, went to besiege
They besiege the towne of Staueren. them. *Albert* Earle of Holland, father to Cont *William*, wondring at this ordinarie rebellion of the Frisons (enemies to all soueraigne command) leuied a new armie of choise men, giuing the charge and command thereof to *Arnold* of Egmond Lord of Yselstein, and to *Walrauen* Lord of Brederode, whom he sent into Friseland, to free the towne of Staueren from siege, assoone as these Noblemen had past the seas with their C
They flie at the comming of the Earles armie. troupes, the Frisons fled, and vanished away like smoake; euery one sauing himselfe as he could. The siege being thus raised, the Hollanders returned into their country, except the Lord of Brederode who staied in Friseland with his horsemen. Soone after the garrison of Hollanders that was in Staueren, would make an enterprise in the night vpon the fort which the Frisons held at Molckweer neere vnto their towne, but
The Lord of Brederode hurt and prisoner. they could not effect it, for that the Lord of Brederode was sore hurt there and taken prisoner, whereof being halfe cured, and hauing no great garde about him, hee found meanes to escape without danger.

1401. In the yeare 1401. Cont *Albert* would haue *Iohn* of Arckel (who had beene his lieu- D
tenant and treasurer generall of Holland) to giue an account as well of the gouernement which he had delt in, as of the treasure which he had managed. The Lord of Arckel (a proud man, and relying vpon his forces) refused to do it. Whereat Cont *Albert*
A great contention betwixt Cont Albert & the lord of Arckel being much displeased, referred the matter to the Earle of Osteruant his sonne: who presently caused all the lands and siegneuries of the said Lord of Arckel to be forfeited, as Haestrecht, Vlyest, Stolwyk, and many other villages, causing him to be adiourned to appeare in person, and for contumacie to banish him the countrie of Holland.
He defies Cont Albert. The which did so much transport the Lord of Arckell, as hee durst presume to send a Cartell of defiance vnto Cont *Albert*, the which hee receiued at the castell of Nyenbourg neere vnto Alcmar. And soone after the said lord of Arckel entred sodenly with an armie into Holland, thinking to surprise the towne of Oude-water, but his enter- E
prise was discouered in time by the Bourgesses. Hauing failed of this, he went to besiege the castell of Ghissenburch, the which he forced and spoiled. Then hee came to Werckendam into the which he shot fire, and burnt it, passing on he went to Ablasserdam, where he burnt some poore mens houses. Hauing done all this, hee sent another
He defies the Earle of Osteruant. Cartel of defiance to the Earle of Osteruant, the which was presented vnto him in the presence of *Philip* the Hardy Duke of Bourgongne. The Earle receiued this Cartell with a cheerefull countenance, made the messenger or Herald good cheere, and gaue him some crownes, commanding him expresly to say vnto his maister; *That it was in his power to defie him, but it would be one day in his power to pardon him, or not.* Soone after the Earle went to his father at the Hage. The yeare following the Lord of Arckel past F
the riuer of Leck with his troupes, and entred into Krimpen-waert, the which he spoiled and burnt, carrying away a great booty. But thinking to enter with all this pillage into his towne of Gorrichom: those of Dordrecht and Schoonhouen being aduertised, went to armes, as also all the villages of that quarter, came to Nyeuport to rescue

the

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A the prey. Thoſe of Arckel hauing no other paſſage, were charged by the Hollanders, who making a ſtand there were 24. peaſants ouerthrowne at the firſt, and *Gerard* of Lyeſuelt Knight, *Water Simons*, *Adrian Wittens*, *Gerard Mobbout*, *Hugh l'* Imager, Bourgeſes of Dordrecht, *Bourchard* and *Iohn Robrechts*, Bourgeſſes of Schoonhouen, ſeauen riche countrimen of Leckerkercke, and fiue of Scheruelandt, were taken priſoners, who notwithſtanding any reſiſtance were carried into Gorrichom. The Lord of Arckel braues the Hollanders.

Seuen or eight daies after, thoſe of Rotterdam and Schyedam tooke armes, and went into the Lord of Arckels country, ſpoiling and burning all where they paſt, and ſo returned home laden with ſpoile. Afterwards the Earle of Oſteruant put in armes the cittizens of Harlem with the Kennemers, thoſe of Leyden and the Rhynlanders; thoſe
B of Amſterdam with the Waterlanders and Goylanders, the which hee ſent vnder the command of *Henry* of Waſſenare Vicont of Leyden, into the territory of Arckel, commanding him to ſpoile and burne it. Theſe troopes ſpoilng the countrie thus, came before the towne of Hagenſtein, the which they did batter and aſſaile, but they could no other thing, but ruine the ſuburbes, and a Mill ioyning vnto the towne, and then returned with their prey through the iuriſdiction of the Lord of Vianen. The Lord of Arckel madde with rage to ſee his country ſo deſtroyed, to haue his reuenge, went to beſiege the towne of Nyeuport on the oppoſite banke to Schoonhouen, the which he tooke by force, and burnt to the ground. The Hollanders take their reuenge. The Lord of Arckel burns Nyeuport in Holland.

After that the Earle of Oſteruant had in many places ſpoiled the lands and ſeignio-
C ries of the Lord of Arckel, the Earle of Holland to make a finall end, reſolued to goe and beſiege the towne of Gorrichom, the ordinarie reſidence of the Lord of Arckel, and from whence he ſo much braued the Hollanders. And in the yeare 1403. he leuied an armie out of his countries of Holland, Henault, Zeeland, Friſeland, England, and many other nations, from whence he drew a great number of ſoldiers. *Adolph* Duke of Cleues; the Biſhop and thoſe of Vtrecht, did alſo defie the lord of Arckel; who ſeeing ſo many enemies ready to aſſaile him, hee called to his ſuccors the Earle of Vernenburch, and the Earle of Dalhem, the ſiegniors of Steenwoerde, of Rheyda and of Hoemoel, brethren to the Earle of Catzenellebogen, the ſeigniors of Vrericke, of Berghen, and of Dyckelen, the ſeigniors of Cryekenbeeck, of Boetſelaer, of Ranſt, and his bre-
D thren of Yſendoorn, of Zeelen, and his brethren, of Schonhauwen, of Lyenden, of Vayrick, of Nyenſtein, Baſtard of the houſe of Arckel, of Soelen, of Aueſart, of Myllinck, and of Vueren, all Knights, and many other Gentlemen of the countries of Iuilliers and Geldres. The Earle of Oſteruent beſiegeth Gorrichom.

Cont *Albert* purſuing his firſt reſolution, cauſed his armie to marche into the country of Arckel, and to beſiege the towne of Gorrichom, where he tooke his quarter vpon the north dike, betwixt the village of Arckel and the towne. *Adolph* Duke of Cleues, with *Walrauen* of Brederode, and thoſe of the townes of Holland, and ſome Engliſh, camped on the Eaſt ſide of the towne and Caſtell. Thoſe of Vtrecht planted themſelues towards the North, in a place called Tuiſtſchild: The Hannyuers and South-
E Hollanders lay lodged vpon the South: the Zelanders and Friſons had their quarter vpon the Weſt, diſperſed here and there. The campe being thus diuided, the Engins of battery were planted againſt the Caſtell, the which was battered in ſuch ſort, as the greateſt tower was beaten downe, and the beſieged were much annoyed with arrowes, which came as thicke as haile into the towne: many houſes were beaten downe with the violence of their engins of battery, ſhooting confuſedly to breed a terror among the inhabitants. The Noblemen, Gentlemen, and ſoldiers, defended themſelues valiantly at all aſſaults, repulſing their enemies, and doing their beſt indeauours to repaire their walles, and fortifie themſelues within. One night among the reſt the ſiegniors of Reyda and Hoemet, with ſome Gentlemen and choiſe ſoldiers, made a ſallie vpon the
F Zelanders and Friſons, whom they charged ſo ſodenly and ſo furiouſly, as they diſordred them, and troubled all their quarter, at which charge there was taken of the Zelanders and Hannyuers, *Floris* of Borſſele, *Floris* of Aubeau, *Nicholas Reytwyinck* of Romerſwael, the ſiegniors of Lodyke, of Bauduin, and *Floris* of Borſſele brethren, *William* of Reynts, *Philp* of Eueringhen, and *Iohn* baſtard of Borſſele, with ninety ſoldiers, and *William*. Cont Albert comes in perſon to the ſiege of Gorrichom. A braue ſally of the beſieged vpon the Zelanders & Friſons.

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William of Romerſwael was ſore wounded, whereof he dyed ſoone after, and was buried in the church of Gorrichom. Soone after, ſome Captaines, Gentlemen and ſoldiers, made another ſally vpon the Duke of Cleues quarter, where there was a furious fight, and many died on either ſide: yet they of the towne carried away with them *Walrauen* of Brederod, and *Gilles Schenck* Knights: *Steuen* of Berenbrooke, *Iacob Schicker*, *Peter Potter*, *Hugh Poſt*, and many other Gentlemen and ſoldiers. A

An other time there iſſued forth *William* of Yſendorne, and *Arnold* of Schoonhauven Knights: *Ihon Hopper*, *Thomas Weſterdale*, *Iohn Croextough*, *Dauid Carmerdin*, and *Thomas Herfort* Captaines, with many Gentlemen & ſoldiers, who on Saints *Iohns* day, fell vpon the Hannyuers quarter; but they were brauely receiued and with-ſtood, ſo as they were forced to retire, and were purſued into their Ports. During this ſiege the Earle of Oſter- B uant ſent ſome troopes into the iuriſdiction of Schoonreuoert, the which the more to vexe the Lord of Arckel, he cauſed to be burnt, & carried away many peaſants priſoners.

An accorde made betwixt the Earle of Holland and the Lord of Arckel.

This ſiege hauing continued three moneths, *Iohn* of Bauaria biſhop of Liege, ſonne to the Earle of Holland, *Arnold* of Leydenburch, and *Haeke* of Outheuſden Knights, came to the Earles campe, the which did mediate an accorde betwixt him and the Lord of Arckell; by the which it was ſaid, that *Albert* Earle of Holland, and Cont *William* of Oſteruant his ſonne, ſhould enter into the towne, and the Lord of Arckel ſhould kneele downe before them and aske them forgiueneſſe: beſides that the Banner of Holland ſhould be planted a whole day vpon the caſtell of Gorrichom, which conditions being fulfilled, the campe did riſe, and euery man went to his owne home. C

A ſea woman found in Holland.

At that time there was a great tempeſt at Sea, with exceeding high tides, the which did drowne many villages in Friſeland and Holland; by which tempeſt there came a Sea-woman ſwimming in the Zuyderzee betwixt the townes of Campen and Edam, the which paſſing by the Putmerie entred into the ſtraight of a broken Dike in the Purmermer, where ſhe remained a long time, and could not finde the hoale by which ſhe entred, for that the breach had beene ſtopt after that the tempeſt had ſeaſed. Some country-women and their ſeruants, who with Barkes of Edam, did dayly paſſe the Pourmery to milke their Kine in the next paſtures, did often ſee this woman ſwimming vpon the water, whereof at the firſt they were much afraid: but in the end being accuſtomed to ſee it often, they viewed it neerer: and at laſt they reſolued to take it if they could. Hauing diſ- D couered it; they rowed towards it, and drew it out of the water by force, carrying it in one of their Barkes vnto the towne of Edam. When ſhe had been well waſhed and cleanſed from the ſea Moſſe which was growne about her, ſhe was like vnto another woman, ſhe was apparrelled, and began to accuſtome her ſelfe to ordinary meates like vnto any other, yet ſhe ſought ſtill meanes to eſcape & to get into the water, but ſhe was ſtraightly garded. They came from farre to ſee her. Thoſe of Harlem made great ſute to them of Edam to haue this woman, by reaſon of the ſtrangeneſſe therof. In the end they obteined her, where ſhe did learne to ſpin, and liued many yeares (ſome ſay fifteene) and for the reuerence which ſhe bare vnto the ſigne of the Croſſe, wherevnto ſhe had beene accuſtomed, ſhe was buried in the church-yarde. Many perſons worthy of credit haue iuſtified in E their writings, that they had ſeene her in the ſaid towne of Harlem. For the rareneſſe whereof, & for that the Chronicle of Holland doth alſo make mention thereof, we would not here omit it. About this time through theſe tempeſts & ſwellings of the ſea, the entries of the riuers of Teſſel & the Flie were inlarged, the which before were but ſmall chanels, ſo as ſince the nauigation hath growne eaſie betwixt the Iland of Teſſel and Wyernighe, and the townes of Medenblike and Euchuyſen, and ſo by the Zuyderzee to ſaile into the North ſea, as they do at this day.

1404. Duke Albert of Bauaria Earle of Holland dyes.

In the yeare 1404. on *S. Paules* day in winter, the moſt famous Prince *Albert* duke of Bauaria Earle of Holland, Henault & Zeland, and Lord of Friſeland died, after that hee had gouerned the ſaid countries 46. yeares, that is 19. as Tutor to his brother Cont *William* F that was mad, and 27. yeares as his heire, Prince & Lord of the ſaid conntries. He was interred at the Hage in Holland, by the lady *Marguerit* his firſt wife, on the ſide of the great Altar, vnder one tombe. Beſides his lawfull children he had two baſtards, *Andrew* which was borne at Papendrecht, and *William* ſiegneor of Schagen a Knight. From whom are iſſued the late Lords of Schagen.

William

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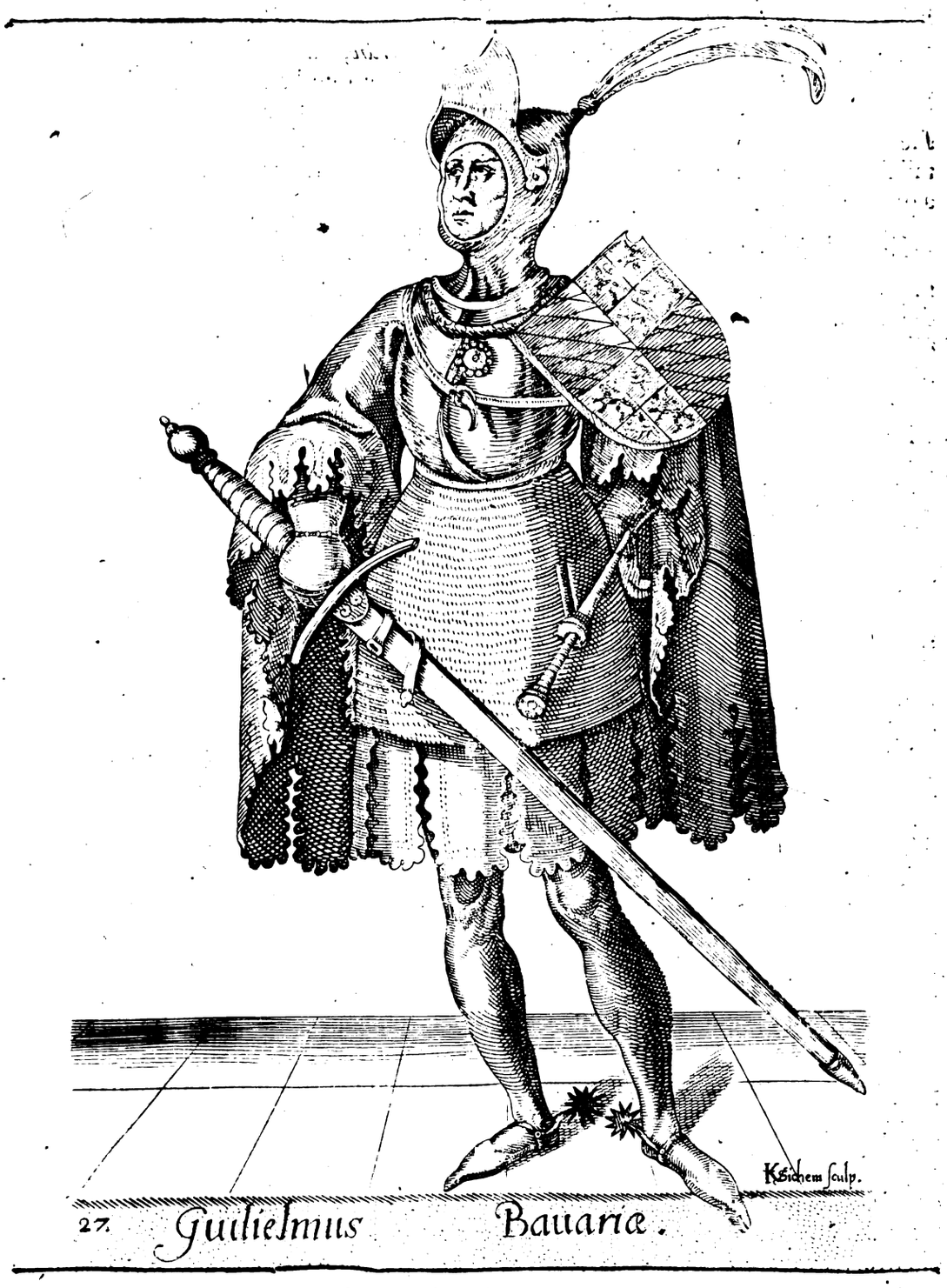
WILLIAM THE 6. OF THAT NAME, the 27. Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland, and Earle of Henault.



27. Guilielmus Bauaria.

I waſted Friſeland, and deſpoiled Liege,
I trobled Gelders, both with campe and ſiege,
Helpt of the Delphois, my great vnckles bones,
I reſcued out of forreigne Regions,
My firſt wife was the Daughter of a King,
My ſecond from the Burgund Throne did ſpring;
At Valenciennes I dyed, thirteene yeares raigning,
My predeceſſors Toombe, my bones containing.

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A



ILLIAM of Bauaria, Earle of Osteruant, after the decease of Duke *Albert* of Bauaria his father, was the 27. Earle of Holland, &c. Being but yong, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Charles* the fift King of France, who made him Knight before Dam in Flanders, this wife dyed young. Afterwards he married the daughter of *Iohn*, sonne to *Philip the hardie*, Duke of Bourgongne, Earle of Flanders and Arthois, by whom he had one onely daughter named *Iaqueline*, (whom the Dutch call *Iacoba*,) who was borne in the yeare 1401. on Saint *Iames* his day. This Prince was warlicke and much feared, of a tall stature, a goodly personage, wise, discreete in warre, victorious, a great iusticer, and a giuer of almes.

Cont Williams wiues & children.

B

1404. In the yeare 1404. *Iohn* of Bauaria bishop of Liege, brother to *William* Earle of Holland, &c. being chased out of the towne of Liege, for that he would not be a Priest: imployed the succours of *Iohn* Duke of Bourgongne, who had married his sister, against the Liegeois, which Duke came in person, and burnt the Cittie of Liege, with the Churches and Monasteries, and slew Priests, men, women and children, to the number of 36000. soules, according to the Chronicles of Germanie.

The towne of Liege ruined for their Bishops pleasure

1405. In the yeare 1405. *William* of Yssendorn leuied men in the Lord of Arckels name, with a part whereof (being disguised in the habit of marchants,) he went on a Shroue-tuesday to the towne of Wandrichom, where making a shewto aske leaue of the Toll-gatherer to passe with their ship and goods, they seazed vpon a gate, and slew the maister of the Toll. This done, they spoiled the towne, burnt it, and returned into Gorrichom (being distant but a quarter of a league) with a good number of prisoners of the best of the towne. The Earle of Holland being displeased that the Lord of Arckel had thus broken the peace, which had beene concluded a little before at the instance of the Bishop of Liege his brother, thought to be reuenged. He first renewed his league with the bishop of Vtrecht; then he leuied an armie of Hollanders, Zeelanders, Hannyuers, Frisons and Traiectins, with the which hee went and besieged the townes and Castels of Gaspren, Hagenstein, and Euerstein, being one distant from another about a quarter of a league, whereof that of Euerstein is now falne into the riuer of Leck. On the other side the Lord of Arckel manned the towne of Gaspren and the Castell of Hagenstein with good garrisons, putting into them *Iohn vander Hoenne*, *Allard Pusslyet*, *Lucas* of Botselaer, *William* of Lyenden, *Iohn* of Arckel siegnior of Soelen, and *Iohn* bastard of Arckel. In the Castell of Euerstein were the siegneors of Bronkhuysten and Hoochstraeten, *William Banst*, and *Henry* of Nyenstein bastard brother to the said Lord of Arckel, with a good garrison of soldiers. Cont *William* made three Bulwarkes or Blockhouses, the one aboue the Castell of Euerstein, towards the riuer of Leck, the which he caused to bee compassed in with a Palissadoe, so as no victuals could passe that way: and the other two were built on either side of the towne of Gaspren and Hagenstein, causing a deepe and large trenche to be made from the one vnto the other, to keepe them off the towne from succoring of the Castell, and to hinder them of the Castle from salleying forth. These two Bulwarkes or fortes, being finished and furnished with good Commanders and soldiers, and with all sorts of munition of warre, and prouision of victuals, the Earle returned into Holland. A while after, the Earle and bishop of Vtrecht concluded together, to force this towne and castle: for the effecting whereof, the Earle went and camped there in person, and hauing planted three great engins of battery, he did strangely teare and ruine the towne and castell of Hagenstein. The bishop with his men besieged the castell of Euerstein, the which hee annoyed with wonderfull great stones, that were shot continually from his huge Crosbowes. The Earle had enuironed the towne with Bauins and Reeds mingled close together, so as no man could passe ouer nor vnder it. And as the winter was very sharpe, and the ditches frozen and very thick with Ice; the Earle knowing that there was no great store of victuals in the towne, prepared to passe ouer the Ice, and to attempt it by scaladoe, the which was done, and the assault well defended. But *Iohn* of Arckel, siegneor of Soelen, nephew

His mē spoile Wandrichom.

C

The Earle makes warre against the lord of Arckel

D

The Earle besiegeth Hagenstein.

E

The Bishop ioynes with the Earle and besiegeth Euerstein.

F

An assault giuen to Hagenstein.

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A to the Lord of Arckel, being slaine with an arrow, they of the towne fearing some greater inconuenience, yeelded it vp by composition to the Earle of Holland, who fired both towne and Castell, and would not depart vntill the last house was consumed to ashes, which they of Euerstein seeing, who in like sort were straightly besieged (their victuals beginning to faile them, so as they were forced to eate their horses) they did yeeld the same day to the Bishops mercy, who in like sort caused it to be ruined to the ground: the which (as they say) are now in the riuer of Leck.

The towne yeelded and burnt to ashes.

Euerstein ruinated.

The Earle hauing done these exploits against the Lord of Arckel, returned to the Hage, his men being laden with the spoiles of these Townes & Castels. Then there was a truce concluded betwixt the Earle and the bishop of the one part, and *William* of
B Arckel of the other, by the which *Iohn* Lord of Arckel his father, was excluded. As this warre betwixt the Earle of Holland and the Lord of Arckel could not be appeased, the richest and most apparent persons of the country of Arckel, who were dayly impouerished, could not forbeare to murmure against their Lord; and the rather for that it was commonly reported among them, that the Earle had sworne neuer to pardon their Lord. *William* of Arckel his sonne was much troubled, to see his father oppose himselfe so obstinately against so mighty a Prince, perswading him often with liuely reasons to reconcile himselfe with such great and mighty enemies, such as the Earle, the bishop of Vtrecht, and the Lord of Vianen were. This yong Nobleman, seeing that he preuailed nothing, and that he could not mollifie his fathers hart, had pitty
C of his subiects, who were so pittifully ruined without cause, through the obstinate wilfulnesse of their Lord; he parted discontented from his Father, and came to Gorrichom, where he laboured to draw the chiefe and richest of the towne to be at his deuotion, and to sweare faith and loyaltie vnto him: among other *Iohn Gerrits* Prouost of the towne, *Conrard*, *Iohn*, *Arnold* and *Gerard* of Haerlaer, foure brethren, *Ambrose Wouters* and *Iohn van Ponck*, issued from a bastard of Arckel, being ioyned and vnited to their yong lord, they concluded together, to treate a peace with the Earle, and to exclude the lord of Arckel his father, seeing hee would so obstinately seeke his owne and his subiects ruine, without cause.

A truce betwixt the lord of Arckels sonne and the Earle of Holland.

The yong lord of Arckel will make his peace with the Earle.

At the same time the lord of Arckel was gone to *Renald* Duke of Iuilliers & Geldres
D his wiues brother: during his absence, the yong lord of Arckel his sonne, by the aduice of the aboue named Gentlemen, deposed all the Magistrates, Councellors, and Officers of the towne of Gorrichom, which his father had made, establishing a new Bayliffe and Iudge, in the place of the old: the like he did at Lederdam, and in the castell. The Lord of Arckel (who knew nothing of all these practises) returning out of the country of Iuilliers, thinking to enter into Gorrichom, found the gates shutt against him, refusing to giue him entrance, the like was done vnto him at the castell. From thence he went to Lederdam, where he had the same entertainement. Being in
E this perplexitie, the Lord of Arckel returned presently the same way he came into the country of Gelders, without eating or drinking. But soone after he did write secretly vnto his sonne by men of good iudgement, of his councell, who could handle this yong Nobleman in such sort, as without taking any aduice and councell of the aboue named, and of the chiefe of the towne, he went to Boisleduc, to reconcile himselfe vnto his father. Wherevpon those chiefe men being discontented that he had made an accorde without their priuity or aduice, and that he would leaue them ingaged: at his returne from Boisleduc, thinking to re-enter into Gorrichom, the gates were shut against him. This yong Nobleman, finding himselfe debarred from entring into the towne, turned head, and went to the Duke of Iuilliers his Vncle. Being gone, those seauen men sent certaine deputies of qualitie vnto the Earle of Holland, to require his ayde and protection against the Lord of Arckel, in regarde whereof they offred him all duty of ho-
F mage and fealty. The Earle being glad to winne such a towne and country without striking stroake, and therewithall subdue his enemie with little labour, hee came about Whitsontide to Wandrichom, where hee was receiued and feasted in the Castell, and acknowledged for lord of Arckel, confirming and ratifying their priuiledges as well olde as newe. From thence hee went to Gorrichom, and into the Castell, and into Lederdam,

The yong lord of Arckel makes himselfe master of Gorrichom.

The Lord of Arckel shut out of the towne and castell of Gorrichom and Lederdam.

The sonne reconciled to the father.

The yong Lord of Arckel excluded out of Gorrichom.

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Leederdam, where he was likewiſe receiued for Lord of Arckel, and generally inueſted in all the countrie. A

The Lord of Aſpren acknowledgeth the Earle of Holland.

The Lord of Aſpren hearing that the Earle was at Gorrichom, came to meete him neere vnto Leederdam, doing him all honor and reuerence: and ſeeing *Conrard, Iohn, Arnold*, and *Gerard van Haerlaer* bretheren, *Ambroſe Woutſerſen* & *Iohn Van Donck*, whom the Earle had newly made Knights, with their collers of gold, wondring much, he ſaid: *My Lord, beware of theſe new Knights, for what they haue done this day vnto their Lord, they may doe to morrow vnto you.* The Earle ſmiling made much of him, rayſing him vp vnder the arme, he lead him to his lodging, where hauing feaſted him, he returned into Holland. The Lord of Arckel and his ſonne, deuiſed by what meanes they might recouer their inheritance. The Earle to preſerue it, ſent *Philip van Dorp* a Knight, with 500. men to garde Gorrichom. B

The yong Lord of Arckel takes Gorrichom by ſcaladoe.

The yong Nobleman paſſing on, brake open the gate on the Eaſt ſide, and drew in his men with their colours flying, making great and fearfull cries. The Burgeſſes that were affected vnto him, turned preſently on his ſide, and in this enterpriſe there was not any man hurt, but *Henry Vander-ſtreat*, that was ſlaine at the firſt entrance. The next day *Didier le Cocq*, neere kinſman to *Ambroſe Wouteriſen*, had his head cut off. The reſt that were oppoſite to the Lord of Arckel, leaping ouer the walles, eſcaped. C

He beſiegeth the Caſtell of Arckell.

This yong Nobleman went preſently to beſiege the Caſtell of Arckel, where the beſieged expecting ſuccors from the Earle of Holland, defended themſelues valiantly.

The Earle of Holland beſiegeth Gorrichom.

The Earle hearing of theſe ſurpriſes, leuied men in all haſt, and went to beſiege Gorrichom; chaſing the young Lord firſt from his ſiege, and forcing him to retire into Gorrichom. The Earle being fully reſolued to force this towne, called all the Gentlemen of his Prouinces and Seigneuries, and required them of Vtrecht to aſſiſt him. On the other ſide *Renold* Duke of Iuilliers and Geldres, a man of a turbulent ſpirit, demanded nothing more then ſome occaſion to quarrell with the Earle, whom he ſent to defie by a Herald with open letters, as he had preſumed before to defie the French King: D where the biſhop of Liege brother to the Earle of Holland, imployed his credit happily to make his peace with the ſaid King, who elſe had ruined him. This Duke then came with an armie, and camped not farre from the towne of Gorrichom. The inhabitants went forth in the night, & drew the victuals and munition which he had brought them into the towne. The Earle hearing of the Dukes comming, raiſed his ſiege, and went and planted himſelfe before the Chappell of Dalem vpon the dike, right againſt the Geldrois, to offer them battaile, the which was deferred for that night, in the which the Geldrois did riſe, and retired himſelfe into his country. The Earle ſeeing him gone, went to continue his ſiege before Gorrichom, and after that hee had well furniſhed the caſtell of Arckel and the places there-abouts, he returned into his country. E

The duke of Gelders defies the Earle.

The duke retires into his country.

The father and ſonne of Arckel tranſport their ſeignorie to the duke of Gelders.

A while after the Lord of Arckel and his ſonne did tranſport vnto Duke *Renold* of Gelders, all the right and intereſt which they had to the towne of Gorrichom, vpon condition that it ſhould neuer be diſmembred from the Dutchie of Geldres: for that the yong Lord of Arckel was by his mother the onely and ſole heire apparent of the Dukedomes of Iuilliers and Geldres, and of the county of Zutphen: for that Duke *Renold* brother to his Mother, had not any children: and ſo the ſeigniorie of Gorrichom was vnited to the Duchie of Geldres, which was the cauſe of great and continuall wars betwixt the Hollanders and the Geldrois, forraging, ſpoiling, and burning one another. During the which the Hollanders did ore runne at one time as farre as Brakel, Beets, Thieler-waert, Bomunelerwaert, and other places there-abouts. The Geldrois to haue F their reuenge, came vnto Heckhuyſen. *Iohn* of Croenenburch gouernor of Heuſden, knowing them to be there, went with ſuch men as he could get together, to incounter them, and did charge the Geldrois, although they were three for one, and at the firſt with great ſhouting, and fearefull cries, (the fogge and miſt being ſo thick as they could

A ſtrange peace.

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A not possibly discerne them) hee strooke such a feare and amazement into them, as they fled, and with such speed, as they thought all the Hollanders had beene at their heeles. The Gouernor pursued them farre, and brought home more prisoners Geldrois, then himselfe had lead soldiers to the field. This route of the Geldrois, was strange and accidentall, for many that thought to saue themselues through the riuer, were drownd there: Among the rest there was one thing worthy of laughter: which was, that seauen Geldrois, transported with feare, knowing not which way to flie in this thick fogge, came in the end to the same village of Heeckhuysen, which before they had burnt, where they did hide themselues in a Hogstie: at night the Sowe which had beene wandring abroad all day, returning to her lodging, thrust and gronted at the doore to enter: These hardie soldiars, thinking it had beene their enemies that pursued them, began to crie out, wee B yeeld, we yeeld, kill vs not, but take vs prisoners; some countrymen, lamenting their precedent losses, hearing the cries, ranne thether, and tooke them prisoners.

An A& worthy of laughter.

The yeare following in Lent, the Earle of Holland caused a Forte to bee made at Dalhem, beyond Loueستein, on the other bancke of the riuer of Wahal, the which he manned with a good garrison: yet before it was fully finished, the Duke of Geldres came with an Armie, meaning to build one in the same place, but seeing that that of the Hollanders was in defence, he battered it and sought to force it: The Hollanders defended it valiantly, and notwithstanding all his attempts, finished their Fort: during this time *Iohn* of Bauaria Bishop of Liege came into Hollande, and did mediate a Truce betwixt the C Earle of Hollande his brother, and the Duke of Gelders for three yeeres, the which continued vnto the yeere 1411. 1403

Truce betwixt the Earle of Holland and the duke of Gelders.

The Liegeois (as we haue begun to shewe before) hauing chased away *Iohn* of Bauaria their Bishop, did choose *Henry* of Parwis, for Gouernour of their Countrey, and for their Prince and Bishop, *Henry* of Parwis his sonne, expelling al the Chanoins, Curates and Priests, that would not acknowledge this newe Prelate. *Iohn* of Bauaria was then in Maestricht, whereas the Liegeois with their Gouernor and new elected Bishop went to besiege him, meaning to take him if they could. The Earle of Holland hearing of these newes, went speedily to seeke succors of the Duke of Bourgongne, his father in law, against the Liegeois. These two mightie Princes made an Armie D out of their Countreys of Flaunders, Arthois, Henault, Holland, Zeland, Friseland and Vtrecht, with many strangers that came for pay, with the which they marched directly towards the country of Leige, to vngage the said bishop *Iohn* out of Maestricht. The Earle of Holland, the Duke of Bourgongne, the Duke of Brabant his Brother, the Earle of Namur, and some other Noble-men and Barrons, sent to defie the Lord of Parwis, and the elect Bishop his sonne, which done, they entred into the Countrie of Liege. There was a generall Proclamation made, that all men that were able to beare Armes, were they Noble or ignoble, Clergie or Lay-men, Maisters or seruants, should vpon paine of death arme, to giue battaile to these Princes, vppon a Sonday, the 23 of September. With this multitude (not to be numbred) the Lorde E of Parwis went to field, to goe and encounter his enemies. Comming neere vnto the Village of Othey, they discouered the Coulors and Standards of the Princes; who had the night before camped along the riuer Iecoure, to march towardes Maestricht, not thinking that the Liegeois had raysed their Campe. The Princes seeing their enemies in front, disposed all their armie in three Battalions. In the foreward marched the Earle of Holland: The battaile was led by the Duke of Burgongne: and the Earle of Namures commanded the Reereward. The Liegeois made but one body of their whole armie. The two armies being thus in front one of another, ready to ioyne, the lord of Parwis marking the earle of Holland by his armes in the head of the foreward, said vnto his men: *Doe you see the mount of Gold, if we can ouerthrow it, the poorest among ſt* F *vs shall be clad in cloth of gold: but I feare we shall not.* The Liegeois hearing this speech, asked him; *If he who had brought them thether were afraid? No* (answered he) *I will march first, he that louesme, let him follow me. For this day we must either vanquish, or dye.*

Great warre of the Liegeois against their bishop.

A battell betwixt the Liegeois and the princes allyed to the bishop.

When thy approached, the arrowes and stones flue thicker in the ayre, then haile; but it continued not long, before they came to handy blowes and to ioyne with their

pikes, halberts, axes, maſſes, ſwords and courtelaſſes: the battaile was exceeding furious. The Liegeois mayntained it valliantly at the firſt charge, making a great ſlaughter of the Hollanders. The Earle of Namur aduancing with his reerward, charged the enemie in flancke, and opened them, and yet they held together ſo cloſe, as many were ſmothered. The Liegeois being thus opened vpon the flanckes, and charged in front and of euery ſide, were pittifully intreated, and a great butcherie made of them. There *Henry* of Parwis and the new elected Biſhop his ſonne were ſlaine, with aboue 40000. men, and a great number of priſoners. Among the which thoſe lay-men which had beene the motiues to expell their Biſhop, *Iohn* of Bauaria, were executed by the ſword, and the Clergie men were put in ſacks and caſt into the riuer of Meuſe. On the Earle of Hollands ſide, their dyed a very ancient Knight, called *William Vander Poel*, Baſtard to Cont *William*, brother to the Empreſſe *Marguerit* who was ſlain by the Friſons. The Biſhop *Iohn* of Bauaria was then at Maeſtricht, and had the ſame night news of this victorie; whereof being exceeding ioyfull, he came the next day to his brother and the other Princes, and thanked them.

A great defeat of the Liegeois. A reuenge vpon the motiues of this warre.

Thoſe of Tongres were alſo in armes; but they came to too late, and were defeated, and a great number ſlaine: The Biſhop and the Earle of Holland his brother, ſent ſome Captaines into the Citie of Liege, who in reuenge of the iniurie done vnto the Biſhop, put to death many of the Chanoins, Prieſts and other Officers, which the elect Biſhop had placed, the which were caſt from the top of the bridge. Thoſe from whom any Prebends and Benifices had beene taken, for that they had held *Iohn* of Bauarias part, were reſtored to their dignities and offices: many notable Burgeſſes were executed. All their ancient Priuiledges, Rights, Freedomes and Statutes were burnt. Their Banners, Enſeignes aud Standardes were firſt ignominiouſly torne in peeces, and then burnt, and beſide the Liegeois were taxed at 200. thouſand crownes of the ſun for a fine, by means whereof (and acknowledging their old Biſhop) the wars ceaſed in the countrey of Liege.

1409. The Earle of Holland reconciles the Duke of Bourgondie with the Freneh king.

In the yeare 1409. after this great victorie, the Earle of Holland, went to the French kings Court, and did mediate a peace for *Iohn* Duke of Burgongne, his father in law with the King, by reaſon of the homicide committed vpon the perſon of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, the kings brother: and ſo a peace was concluded betwixt them, whereat all France reioyced and commended the Earle of Holland for ſo good a worke.

1410. The duke of Geldres and the Earle of Holland returne to war.

In the yeare 1410. the Truce betweene the Earle of Holland and the Duke of Gelders, being expired, the Earle ſent ſome ſhips of warre into the Zuyderzee, to keepe them of Herderwyk and Elburch from going to ſea. The Earle had alſo drawne into his league the towne of Amerſſort in the countrie of Vtrecht, to which towne hee gaue many good Priuiledges and Immunities, for that it was alwayes open vnto him, and at his command; and did ſerue him as a place of armes, to enter by it into the Veluwe, and the countrie of Gelders: On the other ſide, the Lord *Iohn* of Arckel Captain of the Duke of Gelders horſe, by the Dukes command ſeazed vpon the caſtle of Hoefſlaeken, & neere vnto it cauſed a Fort to be built againſt them of Amerſſort, the which he manned with a good Garriſon to defend the ſaid Caſtell. One day among the reſt, *Hubert* of Culenbourgh, *Iohn* of Vianen, and *Arnold* of Eienburch, knights and captaines of the Hollanders, iſſued forth with their men out of the towne of Amerſſort, to goe and skirmiſh with them of the towne and caſtle of Hoefſlaeken. But the garriſon of the one and the other knowing of their comming, abandoned both places. Theſe Captaines finding them emptie and forſaken razed them: from thence they went to Nyekerke, the which they ſpoyled and fired, and ſo returned with their ſpoile into Amerſſort.

1412. A peace betwixt theſe two Princes.

In the yeare, 1412. there was a peace made betwixt theſe two Princes, *William* of Bauaria Earle of Holland, and *Renold* Duke of Gelders. By the which it was ſaid: *That the Duke ſhould yeeld vnto the Earle the towne of Gorrichom, with all the appurtenances that depended thereon: and that he ſhould cauſe the yong Lord of Arckel, his couſin to doe the like. Moreouer it Was agreed, that the Earle ſhould pay vnto the Duke for the charges hee had beene*

A beene at in the ſaid Towne, 100000 *Crownes, and that the Duke ſhould reſigne vnto the ſaid yong Lord of Arckel, the Seignorie of Bron, the caſtle of Oyen, and ſeuen villages depending thereon, with fiue thouſand Florins of the Rhine of yeerely penſion, aſſigned him vppon the towll or cuſtome of Loebeck*: the which was thus concluded, in the Towne of Wyck-ter-duyr-ſted: which done, *William* of Arckell tranſported vnto the Earle of Holland, for himſelfe and his heires for euer, the towne of Gorrichom, with all the countrie and Seigneorie of Arckell. And by that meanes the ſaid Towne and countrie, hath remained annexed vnto the Conty of Holland vnto this day.

The Articles of peace.

Gorrichom annexed to Holland.

These two Princes beeing by the meanes of this peace become good friendes, the Duke of Gelders accompained with his chiefe Nobilitie, went to viſite the
B Earle of Holland, who receyued him courteouſly and with great ſtate, ſtaying there ſome time and diſporting themſelues together in all ſorts of mirth, feaſts & paſtimes. During this time there came one vnto the Earle, that was a ſecret ſeruaunt vnto the Duke, aduiſing him (in all dutie) to beware of his ſecret enemies, which he had in his countrey, and of his owne Vaſſals, who ſought to attempt not only againſt his State, but alſo againſt his perſon. The which did ſomewhat trouble and perplex the Earle, not knowing who wiſht him ſo much euill.

The duke of Gelders and the Earle of Holland meet.

An aduertiſement giuen vnto the Earle.

The Duke being returned into his countrie, Cont *William* of Holland had a like deſire to goe and viſit him: the whiche he did, being well accompanied. The Duke know-
C ing of his comming, went to meete him as farre as the Velue, and receiued him with ineſtimable courteſies and welcomes, entertaining one another with great ſignes of loue: his enteruiew continued eight dayes. Theſe Princes being once among the reſt, feaſting and drinking together, the Duke of Gelders hauing his head full of wine, he ſaid vnto the Earle. *Deare Couſin, it falls out now happily for you that we are ſo well reconciled and good friends together. Why?* (ſaid the Earle) *For*, ſaid he, *if it were not ſo, you had bin now my priſoner.* The other anſwered: *I cannot beleeue it. Without doubt, Couſin*, ſaid he of Gelders, *it had bin ſo, and wonder not at it, for you haue ſome of your chiefe vaſſalls had bin actors in it.* Theſe ſpeeches being paſt, the Earle caſting vp his head, they ended the banquet merrily. The Earle (being returned into Holland) was ſtill penſiue, and won-
D dred much who thoſe might bee, that would, or durſt attempt any ſuch thing againſt him, being their Prince. And as he called to minde, that in theſe laſt warres, *Iohn* of Egmond had not ſerued him, neither with his perſon, nor with his ſubiects, hauing refuſed to be enemie to the Duke of Gelders, and that in fiue yeares ſpace he had not come to the Court, but vpon good warrants: the which the other Noblemen and knights had neuer demanded, hee beganne to ſuſpect and to haue a bad conceite of him, and of the Lord of Yſelſteyn his brother: yet at that time he made no ſhew thereof, concealing it in his breſt, vntill he had made ſome tryall thereof, without attempting any thing raſhly againſt them, that it might not bee ſaide, hee had done them wrong.

The Dukes ſpeeches confirme the former aduertiſement.

The Earle growes iealous of them of Egmond.

In the yeare 1414. the Friſons reuolted againe from the Earle of Holland, leauied
E ſome men couertly, and came ſecretly by night and ſurpriſed the Towne of Staueren, thoſe that were in gard performing their duties ill, where they tooke many Hollanders, whom they put to ranſome: which Towne had beene 13. yeares vnder the quiet command of the Earle of Holland. This reuolt made the Friſons ſo odious vnto Cont *William* as hee reſolued to ſuppreſſe them in ſuch ſort, as they ſhould neuer haue more meanes to riſe againſt him, nor againſt any others. But as at that time there fell out affaires of greater importance, he deferred the making of warre againſt them vntill a better opportunitie and ſeaſon. 1414.

The Friſons reuolt.

In the yeare 1415. On Saint *Katherines* day, as *Iohn* Lord of Arckel returned from the funerall of *Anthonie* of Burgongne, Duke of Brabant, paſſing by Arpenburgge he
F was ſurpriſed in a certaine Ambuſcado, which *Didier vander Merwen*, Lord of Seuenbergen, and *Philip* of Leck had layd for him, leading him into Holland, couered with a white cloake, of the Order of the Dutch Knights, to diſguiſe him the better. Cont *William* was very glad of this prize, & came to the *Hage*, whether they ſaid Lord was brought vnto him: who ſent him priſoner from thence to the Caſtle of *la Goude*, 1415.

The old lord of Arkel taken priſoner.

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who afterwards was brought to Seuenberghe with a straight gard, where he was ten A
yeares a prisoner. Those of Brussels hearing that the said Lord of Arckell, (who was
their Bourgeois) had beene taken vpon the iurisdiction of Brabant, would with the
help of other townes of the countrie (from whence they drew some men) go and take
him away by force, out of his prison at Seuenberghe: but Duke *Iohn* of Burgongne
their Prince would not suffer it, nor enter into quarrell with the Earle of Holland, his
sonne in law for that Lords sake: during the time that the said Lord of Arckel was a
The Lord of Arckel discouers who they were that practised against the Earle of Holland.
prisoner, he was sometimes carryed before Cont *William* and his Councell, before
whom hee did protest it to bee true; and declared by what meanes and by whom the
Earle should haue beene deliuered prisoner, vnto Duke *William* of Geldres. The B
which the Earle dissembled for some reasons, keeping it secret in his breast, vntill it
was time to discouer it. As it was a common brute who should deliuer him du-
ring the time that the Earle and Duke were in warre, one against another: the kins-
The kinsfolke of the Lord of Egmond offer to iustifie themselues.
folke and friendes of the Lordes of Egmond and Yselstein, hearing that this impu-
tation was laid vpon them, & vpon all their house, would for the preseruation of their
honors, purge them from so foule an infamie, as a thing that toucht them neere, both
in body and goods. *Iohn* Lord of Egmond complained that therein they did him great
wrong, knowing himselfe innocent of that wherewith hee was generally taxed. Yet
he protested to be alwayes readie to iustifie himselfe, before the Earle of Holland, his
Prince, so as he might haue accesse vnto him vnder safe conduit. The Earle being re- C
turned from a voiage which he had made into England with the Emperor *Sigismonde*,
The Lord of Egmond adiourned to appeare in person.
to mediate a peace betwixt the Kings of France and England: the kinsmen of the
said Lord of Egmond, intreat him that he would grante the said safe conduit, that hee
might purge himselfe of those crimes in his presence, and before his Councell. The
which the Earle would haue him do, and therefore commanded that he should be ad-
iourned to appeare in person within fortie fiue dayes, to iustifie himselfe of such mat-
For not appearing he is banished, and his goods forfeited.
ters as should bee layed against him. The Lord of Egmond, being thrice lawfully
adiourned, and appearing not, was vppon the third default for his contumacie,
condemned by the Earles councell, to bee attainted and conuicted of treason, D
for the crimes and attempts obiected against him, and to forfeite body and goods.
According to which sentence all his goodes, landes, and Seigniories were seazed
on, to the vse and profite of the Earle, and of the Countie of Holland, an at-
tachment granted for his person, and in case they could not finde him, to be then ba-
nished for euer, out of the countries and iurisdictions of the Earledomes.

This Lord of Egmond seeing himselfe thus intreated, retyred vnto his brother
William of Egmond into his towne or castle of Yselstein, with some fouldiers which
Iselsteyn summoned, and
he had at his deuotion. Soone after the Earle sent some Deputies of his Councell to
summon the said towne and castle, to yeeld vnto his obedience: the which being refu-
sed, he presently caused a small armie to be leuied, whereof he sent the one halfe be-
fore Yselstein, and with the rest he went ouer towards Schonhouen, from whence E
he went to ioyne with the other part, that hee might besiege the castle on the other
side: but the Lords, *Iames* of Gaesbeck, *Hubert* of Culemburch, and *Iohn* of Vianen,
Yeelded by them of Egmond.
neerely allyed vnto the house of Egmond, fearing that they would be the cause of the
ruine of their house, did labor for their reconciliation with the Earle, the which they
obtained vpon condition, that the said Lordes of Egmond should depart with their
goods out of Yselstein, and out of the Counties of Holland and Zeeland, whether
they might neither goe, nor come without the Earles expresse leaue; which towne
and castle of Yselstein they did yeeld vnto him absolutely with the Seigneorie, appur-
tenances and dependances. In consideration whereof, the Earle should pay yearely vn- F
to the said *William* of Egmond, sixe hundred Crownes of the Sunne, and to the Lady
Yoland their mother 800. crownes more yearly, the palments to remaine to their heirs
for euer, of the which authenticall letters were drawne. And so Cont *William* was dis-
Isselsteyn restored since to them of Egmond.
possest of the said towne, castle and Seigneorie of Yselstein. But since it was restored
to the said house of Egmond, of the which *Maximilian* of Egmond Earle of Buren,
was the last Lorde of that name, whose daughter and sole heire, *William* of Nassau

Prince

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A Prince of Orange tooke to his first wife, by whom he had *Charles Philip* of Nassau, now Prince of Orange, Earle of Buren, Cont of Iselstein, Saint Anneland, Saint Martins Dyck, &c. and the Lady *Anne* of Nassau his sister, Conteſſe dowager of Hohenloo, sister by the fathers side to Prince *Maurice* of Nassau, at this day Gouernour; Generall and Admirall of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands. To whom it doth now belong.

Cont *William* of Holland, considering that being two and fitie yeares old, hauing no heire but one onely daughter, called *Iacoba* or *Iaqueline*, married to the Dolphin, sonne to *Charles* the sixth, King of France: assembled the Estates, Gouernours, Bayliffes and Officers of all his Prouinces, landes and Seigneoris, of whom hee required a promise & othe, that in case he should die without heires male, that they should not ac- B knowledge any other, but the saide Lady *Iaqueline* for their Princesse and soueraigne ladie, whom they should defend & maintaine in this qualitie against all. The which the Barons, Nobles, Knights, and all the Estates in generall of his Countries did promise and sweare, whereof an Instrument was drawne in writing, with the seales of some of the chiefe Noble-men and Townes, in the yeare. 1417. The Earle causeth the Lady Iaqueline, to be acknowledged for his onely heire in his life time. 1417

The Dolphin of France, husband to the lady *Iaqueline* of Bauaria, was sent for by the King his father, to come to Paris; the Earle of Holland his father in law, conuoyed him into Henault, where he should attend the kings men to conduct him to the Court. But before he went he was poisoned, and dyed soone after. Some hold that it was in put- ting on a shirt of Male, which had been giuen him. He was 20. yeares old, and *Iaquiline* C his wife 19. when he dyed the fourth of April. 1417. his bodie was carryed to Paris. The Dolphin of France, husband to the Lady Iaqueline poisoned and dies.

Soone after the last day of May in the said yeare 1417. died *William* of Bauaria, Earle of Holland, Zeland, Henault, and Lord of Friseland, of a sore he had in his leg, which came with the biting of a mad dogge, the which being opened by his chirurgeon, did so impaire, as it was the cause of his death. The said Ladie *Iaquiltne*, widow to the Dolphin of France, succeeded him in al his siegniories. Her father recommending her before his death to his most faithfull seruants; requiring them to marry her againe to *Iohn* Duke of Brabant. He was interred at Valenciennes in Henault, after he had gouerned his countries the space of 13. yeares. The lady *Marguerite* of Bourgongne his wife, daughter to duke *Iohn* of Bourgongne liued long after him, and was interred at Quesnoy in Henault. Death of William the 6. Earle of Holland.

D This Cont *VVilliam* was a seuere man against his rebels and enemies, and very courteous, affable and kinde vnto his friends; a iust and bountifull Prince. He had two bastard brethren, *Albert*, and *VVilliam* of Bauaria, the which was Lorde of Schagen. This *William* was twise at *Ierusalem* to see the holy Sepulcher, and once at Mount Synay, or Saint *Catherines* Mount, in which voiages he was knighted, and at his returne made Chastelain or Gouernor of Medemblyck: Afterwards the good Duke *Philip* of Burgongne, become Earle of Holland, gaue him in West Friseland the seigneories of Schagen, Berssinghorne and Haryncknuysen, which *William* caused a goodly castle to bee built in the said village of Schagen, and made a great circuit of the countrie to be dicked in, and recouered from the sea neere vnto Sype and the village S. *Martin*, calling it Nyelant. The first particular Lord of Schagen.

E he had to wife *Alix* the daughter of *Iohn* of Hodenpil, by whom he had (besides daughters) three sonnes: *Albert* Seignior of Schagen, a knight; *Iohn* Escoutette of Harlem, and *William*. He was a very famous and renowned knight all his life time, for his vertues and valiant deeds, he dyed old in the yeere 1473. His eldest sonne *Albert* of *Schagen*, had to wife *Adrian*, daughter to the Lord of Nyenrode and Velson, by whome hee had one onely daughter named *Iasine*, who was first married to *VValter* of Egmond Lord of Soetermeer, and afterward to *Iosse* of Borssele.

Count *VVilliam*, had also three Bastards, two sonnes and one daughter, *Lewis* and *Euerard* knights, and *Beatrix* van Vlyet. *Euerard* was the first seigneor of Hoochtwoud in West Friseland, where he caused a goodly house in forme of a castle to be built: and F had to wife the daughter of *Flores* van Kyesweck: by whom he had *Anthonie*, seignior of Hoochtwoud. This *Anthonie* had to wife *Sophia*, the daughter of *Iohn* seigneor of Polgeest, who bare him fiue sonnes, *Baldwyn* seignior of Hoochtwoud, a knight, *William*, *Gerard*, *Cornellis*, and *Euerard*, who was a Monke in the Abbie of Egmond, and one daughter named *Iudeth*, who was a Nun in the couent of Poel by Leyden. This *Baldwyn* Cont Williams bastards.

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sold the said seignorie of Hoochtwood (for that hee had no children) to *John* the first Earle of Egmond. *Beatrix* the bastard daughter of count *William*, was first marryed to *Philip van Drope* a knight, by whom she had no children, afterwards she married again to *John* of Woerden, siegnior of Vlyet, by whom shee had *Gerrard* of Vlyet Esquire. A

The chiefe Nobilitie of Holland and Zeeland in his time.

At that time their flouriſhed among the chiefe of the Nobilitie of Holland and Zeeland, *William* lord of Arckell, Wallerand Lord of Brederode, Earle of Genap: *William* of Brederode, *Iames* lord of Gaesbeck, Abcoude, Wyck, Putten and Streuen; *Philip* vicont of Leyden, lord of Waſſenare, *John* and *Henry his ſonnes*. *John* of Egmond, and *William* of Yſelſtein his brother. *Philip* of Leck, *Wolfart* of *la Vere*, *Henry* of Vianen & Ameiden, *Floris* of Borſſele lord of Seuenbergh, Zuylen and S. *Martins dyck*, Father to *Franc* of Borſſele the laſt husband of *Iaqueline* counteſſe of Holland, *Iames* of Borſſele lord of Brigdam and Duyuelandt, *Coſtin* of Hemeſtede and *Raes* of Hemeſtede, *John* of Cruningen, *John* of Reneſſe, *Hubert* of Culenburch, *Didier* of Merwe; *John* of Langeraeck, *Didier* lord of Henckelom, *John* vicont of Montfort, *Arnold* of Lyenburch, *Henry* of Naeldwyck, and his two ſonnes, *William* and *Albert* ſquires: *Didier* of Leck, *John* of Hodenpil, *William* baſtard of Holland, firſt ſiegnior of Schagen and his brother *Adrian*, both ſons to count *Albert* of Bauaria: *Euerard* baſtard to count *William*, the firſt lord of Hoochtwoode, and *Lewis* a knight his brother: *John* of Treſlon, baſtard to *Guy* Earle of Blois, *John* of Vianen, ſiegnior of Noordeloos. *John* of Woude, lord of Warmont and Alcmada, *Iames* of Woude his ſons, *Daniel* of Poele, *Clauxer* gouernor of S. Ghertruydenbergh *Didier* of Poelgeeſt, and his brother *Gerrard*, *Bartholomew* of Raphorſt, *John* of Hemiſted, ſiegnior of Beruhuſen, *John* of Vlyet: *Philip* of Dorp, *John*, *Henry* and *Ghyſbreecht* of Croenenburch brethren. *Flores* of Alcmada, *Gerard* of Woert, *Gerard* of Zyl. *Giles* of Cralingen, *Gerrard* of Lyeſuelt. *Floris* of Abeele: *Gerard*, *Conrad*, *John* and *Arnold* brethren of Haerlaer, *Frederik* of Seuenter; *Berthold* of Aſſendolfe, *Didier* of Beets. all knights. Then *John* of Egmond, ſiegnior of Soetermeer, an other *John* of Egmond, ſiegnior of Wateringh, *Albert* of Egmond of Maremſteyn, *Hugh* of Alcmada, *Herpert* of Foreſt, *Didier* of Aſſendelf, *Symon* of Burcht, *Floris* of Adricom. *Gerard* vuytten Hage. *Gerard* Potter, *Baldwin* of Wierten, *Floris* of Tol. *Herpert* of Boſſche, *William* Egger, firſt lord and founder of the town of Pourmereinde, *John* his ſonne. *Floris* of Kyeſhoeck, *John vander* Myer, *Arnold* Spyerinck, *Nicholas* of Waterlandt, *William* Nagle, with many other ſquiers and gentlemen, which were to long to number: and moſt of all theſe noble Famylies are at this day extinct. B C D

Iaqueline

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IAQVELINE OF BAVARIA, THE 28. Gouernesse of Holland, Zeeland and Friseland, Countesse of Henault.



29. Jacoba Bauariæ.

Foure times in marriage I my fruite did try,
Yet could I not increase my Progenie,
Gorrichom I won, gainst William of Arckel,
In which Exploit three hundred English fell
Beneath my Conduct: while one day did shine,
My husbands ransome, made me to resigne
My Contries to the Duke of Burgondie:
Ten yeares with paine, I sat in soueraigntye,
And now in one Graue with my Grandfather.
Peace did my bodye to his rest conferre.

A



HE Lady *Iaqueline* (or *Iacoba* as the Hollanders terme her) the daughter and onely heire of *VVilliam* of *Bauaria*, Earle of Holland &c. succeded after the death of her father in all his Earldoms and seigniories. She was then widow (as we haue said) to the Dolphin of France, being 17. yeeres old, keeping with her mother, the Lady *Marguerite* daughter to *Iohn* duke of Bourgongne, father to *Philip*. Her fathers obsequies and funerall pompe being ended, she was conducted throughout all the townes of Henault, whereof she tooke possession and receiued the homages of her subiects and vassals. By reason of her widowhood and her youth shee had much trouble in the gouernment of her Contries, especially of Holland: for that the two factions reuiued againe, the Hoeckins holding the Counteſſes partie: and the Cabillautins a contrarie one: by reason whereof, all the time of her gouernment shee was much disquieted.

The factions reuiue againe in Holland.

B

As soone as the Earle her father was dead, all the banished men, and those whom in his life time he had oppressed, reioyced: amongst others, *Iohn* Lord of Egmond, and *William* Lord of Iselstein brethren: who consulted how they might recouer their Landes which the Earle had forfeited. The Lord of Iselstein with some troupes hauing intellegence in his towne, found the meanes to haue a port opened, and entred secretly in the night, without any discouerie or opposition, yet he could not at that time get the Castle. The Lady *Iaqueline* being then with her mother in Henault, during her absence, some Noblemen affectionate to her seruice, preuailed so with the succors of them of Vtrecht and of Amersford, as they came and besieged the saide Towne of Iselstein: At which siege there commanded *Walrauen* of Brederode, and *Iohn* Vicont of Montfort. Before they could be ready for the siege, the two brethren of Egmond found meaens to get the castle, into the which they shut themselues. Those of Vtrecht did much affect this siege, knowing that *Herman* of Lochorst, and *Iohn vanden Spiegel*, were also within it, and therefore they built certen Bastillions, Caualiers, and other places for battery, foure dayes after that the Campe was planted there, almost all the townes of Hollande came with their coullors flying, to conquer it. *Iohn* of Bauaria bishop of Leige, vncle to the Counteſſe *Iaqueline*, came thither also with good troupes; so as the Towne was besieged on all sides. These brethren of Egmond seeing so mightie an armie before them, consulted of their affaires: so as by the meanes and interceſſion of *Iohn* of Heemskerk, there was an agreement made with them, by the which it was said, that the said Lords of Egmond, and the banished of Vtrecht should depart out of the towne and castle of Iselstein with bag and baggage, the which they should deliuer into the handes of the Lieutenant and deputies of the Counteſſe of Holland; and that all the inhabitantes of the towne aboue thirteene yeares old, should take the oath of fealtie, and submit themselues vnder her obedience; which being done the armie entred into the towne. Soone after the lady *Iaqueline* came out of Henault into Holland, who hearing of this victorie obtained vnder her authoritie, and in her name, thanked her friends, who had been carefull of her good. Those of Vtrecht desired that the towne might bee giuen unto them to dispose thereof at their pleasure: which being too lightly granted (not thinking they would vse it in that sort) they demanteled the Ports, towers, and walles, and ruined the castle vnto the ground: the which did much displease the Nobilitie of Holland. And for that those of Vtrecht thought it was two neere a neighbour vnto them, the same yeare they had leaue to burne the whole towne, except the Church and Monasteries. This ruin of Iselstein happened during the Consulate of Wolpert of Amerongen, and Didier of Houdam, Bourgmasters of Vtrecht. Which towne remained thus desolate and ruined without walles, vnto the time of *Charles* the warlike Duke of Burgongne, Earle of Holland &c. Of whom *Frederik* of Iselstein, afterwards Earle of Buren obtained leaue to repaire it, and to build a new castle.

Thoſe of Egmond returne into Holland.

The Lord of Iselstein recouers his towne.

C

And the Castle vnto which the brethren put themselues.

D

The towne and castle of Iselstein yeelded to the Counteſſe.

E

Thoſe of Vtrecht ruine Iselstein.

F

The Counteſſe Iaqueline receiued in Holland, &c.

In the said yeere 1417. the Counteſſe *Iaqueline* was in like sort receiued, and tooke possession of her inheritance of Holland, Zeland, and Friſe-land, as she had been before in Henault. To fulfill the will of Cont *William* her father, hauing desired, before his death,

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A death,that ſhe ſhould mary again with *John* duke of Brabant, although he were her coſin germaine. The ſaid duke hauing intelligence of the death of Cont *William*,went to Gaunt to Duke *John* of Bourgongne his vncle; to whom he vſed ſome ſpeech of this marriage. Wherevpon there was a meeting appointed at Byervlyet, whether came the ſaid Duke *John*,*Philip* Earle of Charolois, ſonne to Duke *John* of Bourgongne, and many other great Noblemen and Barons; The Lady *Iaqueline* came alſo with the Lady *Marguerite* of Bourgongne her mother, Aunt to Duke *John* of Brabant, and *John* of Bauaria biſhop of Liege,vncle by the father s ſide to the ſaid Lady,all accompained with great traines of Noblemen. There it was determined, that the Will of Cont *William* the father,ſhould be fulfilled; whereupon a marriage was concluded be-
B twixt the Duke of Brabant,and the Counteſſe of Holland, and there they were made ſure; if the Court of Rome would conſent thereunto: wherof their were mutuall promiſes,the firſt day of Auguſt the ſame yeere 1417. and there were letters drawn,with a penaltie to be paid by any of the parties that ſhould repent, or oppoſe with other conditions: among the which *John* of Bauaria, biſhop of Liege ſhould inioy all that which Cont *Albert* his father,and Cont *William* his brother, together with the Ladie *Iaqueline* his Neece,had giuen and confirmed vnto him: in conſideration wherof they Biſhop did conſent vnto the marriage: and therevpon the Aſſembly at Byervlyet was diſſolued. Preſently there was a notable Embaſſage,ſent in the name of the Duke of Brabant, and the Counteſſe of Holland his ſpowſe, to the Councell of *Conſtance*, to
C obtaine a diſpenſation for their marriage, notwithſtanding the proximitie of blood, the which was denyed them: for that the Emperour *Sigiſmond*, and this biſhop of Liege croſſed it all they could: for this biſhop had ſuch a conceite, and ſo great a deſire to be Earle of Holland, as the ſame yeere, in September, he went out of Liege (and neuer after returned more) came to Dordrecht in Holland,and ſent his deputies to the ſaid councell, with an ample Procuration to reſigne into the Popes handes his biſhopricke of Liege,the which he had gouerned 27.yeers, and alſo to hinder the diſpenſation of the marriage: whereof the Duke of Brabant was ſecretly aduertiſed by ſome friends which he had in the ſaid councell of *Conſtance*.

Anthonie father to Iohn duke of Brabant was brother to Marguerite,who was mother to Iaqueline.

A marriage concluded betwixt the Conteſſe of Holland and the duke of Brabant,the 1. of Auguſt; 1417.

The biſhop deſirous to ſpoile his Neece.

D This *John* of Bauaria hauing left his biſhopricke of Leige, and being at Dordrecht, writ to all the townes of Holland that they ſhould receiue him, and acknowledge him for Gouernor, and Tutor of the Conteſſe, his Neece, being a widow, who could not be diſpenced withall by the Councell,for her marriage; ſhewing, that hee did onely ſeeke the aduancement and greatneſſe of his Neece,with the preſeruation of her Eſtate. But God knowes that he had a contrarie intent to diſpoſſeſſe her. And to that end, he cauſed an aſſembly to be held at Schonhouen,where he made this propoſition; but it was denied him by the ſaid Ladie his Neece: who notwithſtanding offered to confirme vnto him what had beene concluded at the foreſaid treatie of marriage. *John* of Bauaria ſeeing himſelfe thus refuſed, returned to Dordrecht much diſcontented: where hee made a leagne with the Cabillautin faction,of the which thoſe of Egmond
E were the cheef; and was acknowledged in the ſaid town of Dordrecht,for Tutor and Gouernour of Holland and Zeeland. Vpon which ſupport he ſent to ſomon the ſayde Ladie, to ſubmit her ſelfe vnder his charge: elſe he would denounce warre againſt her. He had drawen vnto his faction *William* of Arckell, *John* of Egmond, *William* of Yſelſtein; by whoſe fauour and aſſiſtance he thought to doe wonders, promiſing them alſo to reſtore them to their lands that were forfeited to Cont *William*,father to the Conteſſe. Afterwards *John* of Egmond found means to ſurprize the Towne of Gorrichom, in the name of *John* of Arckel his couſin. The Lorde of Brederode, and other Barons which held the Conteſſes partie, ſeeing the towne thus ſurprized, retyred themſelues preſently into the caſtle, which Cont *William* had cauſed to be built. *William* of
F Arckell arriued ſoone after, being accompanied with many Knights and Gentlemen, where he was reſtored to his ſeignioris; but the caſtle held good againg him. *John* of Bauaria went ſecretly to Gorrichom, conferred with the ſaid noblemen,& then returned to Dordrecht. The Conteſſe being aduertiſed hereof, drew what forces ſhe could together, out of all her countreys: and with the aſſiſtance of them of Vtrecht and of

Iohn of Bauaria ſeekes to make himſelfe Earle of Holland.

Egmond ſurpriſeth Gorrichom

Amerſ-

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Conteſſe Iaqueline beſiegeth Gorichom.

Amerſſort, accompanied by her mother, ſayled vp the riuer of Merwe, and went before Gorrichom. The chiefe of her armie were *Walrauen* of Brederode, then Lieutenant to the ſaid Ladie in Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland. Where the ſaid Princeſſes being arriued, they were welcommed into the caſtle, and their armie camped round about. The night following their men went to the Sapp, and made a breach betwixt the caſtle and the towne, the which was ſo great as they might enter with their armie in battell. The Lord of Arckel ſeeing this breach, put his men ſuddenly in order, beeing about 4000. The Lord of Brederode hauing diſpoſed of his troupes, aduanced to enter; but the Lord of Arckel had ſuddenly caſt vp a trench betwixt the Towne and the Caſtle, ſo as they could not paſſe, nor eaſily approach. Notwithſtanding they of Vtrecht and Amerſſort hauing lept ouer the ditch, marched brauely in battell into the towne. The Lord of Arckel hauing his troupes very reſolute, went boldly to incounter them: the charge was furious and very bloody, the one ſtriuing to conquer, the other to defende. But in the end, the Lord of Arckels men beginning to faint, hauing no hope of any ſupplies, and ſeeing the Conteſſes forces to increaſe hourely, they turned their backes and fled: there was the lord of Arckel ſlaine, and with him the Earle of Oſburch, the ſiegnior of Petterſen. *Henry*, baſtard of Arckell, *Allard* of Buren, *Splinter* the baſtard of Nyenrood, *Otto* of Gelechom, *Otto* of Ghemmen, *William* of Appeldorn, & about a 1000. other gentlemen, Bourgeſes and ſouldiers. Amongſt the priſoners were *William* Earle of Vernenburch, the Earle of Hulberch, *Henry* of Hoemoet, the baron of Batenburch, *Didier* of Lyenden. *Arnold* of Ordange and Raes his brother, *Didier* of Heumen. The ſiegnior of Orflot, *Arnold* of Egmond ſieignior of Mareſtein, *Otto* of Buren, *Iohn* of Heteren, *Iohn* of Oyen. *Arnold* of Craenhem, and *Arnold* of Haerlaer, all Knights. Thoſe of Vtrecht had the Lord *Iohn* of Egmond, and aboue a 1000. priſoners of all ſorts.

Gorrichom taken againe.

The lord of Arckle with many others ſlaine.

The Lord of Brederode ſlaine.

Of the Conteſſe *Iaquelines* ſide, their died *Walrauen* Lord of Brederode, her lieutenant, through the negligence of his ſeruants, the which was a great loſſe for that Princeſſe, which cauſed her to mourne: This battell was giuen in the towne of Gorrichom, the firſt of December. The lord of Brederode left two ſonnes, *Renold* lord of Brederode, and *Ghyſbrecht* cathedrall Deane, and afterwards elect biſhop of Vtrecht, of whom wee ſhall ſpeake heereafter. Pope *Martin* by his bulles of the 22. of Nouember, of his owne authoritie notwithſtanding the refuſall of the councell of *Conſtance*, diſpenced with the marriage of *Iohn* Duke of Brabant, with the Lady *Iaqueline*, Conteſſe of Holland, without any reſpect to the proximitie of blood: ſending the Bull ſecretly to the Duke by his Ambaſſadors. The which being come to the knowledge of *Iohn* of Bauaria her vncle, he made his complaint to the Emperor *Sigiſmonde*: who taking it ill, ſent to the Pope, letting him vnderſtand what quarrels and Factions might growe thereby among Chriſtian Princes: the which did moue the Pope to reuooke this diſpenſation, of which reuocation *Iohn* of Bauaria, ſent an authenticall Coppie to the Duke of Brabant, thinking to terrifie him therewith, that hee ſhould not proceed any further in this marriage. But the Duke ſeeming not to know any thing, the 13. of Ianuarie, 1418. ſent cont Engelbert of *Naſſau*, Lord of Leck and Breda, with *Henry* lord of Berghe vpon Soome, to the Lady *Iaqueline*, being then at the Hage in Holland, with his Bull.

The Pope diſpenceth with the marriage of the Duke of Brabant, with the lady Iaqueline.

The Pope reuoketh his diſpenſation.

1418.

The 8. of March following, the Duke accompained with many Earles, barons, knights, and Nobles his friends and vaſſals, came to the ſaide lady Counteſſe at the Hage, to aduiſe of their marriage. The biſhop of Tournay, with other Noble men, Ambaſſadors to Duke *Iohn* of Bourgongne were there preſent, with the chiefe of the councell to the Counteſſe, the Duke of Brabant, and the Deputies of the Townes of Holland, Zeeland, Henault and Frezeland: where they did view and examine the Bull of diſpenſation, and the coppy of the reuocation, the which not being found authenticall, all well conſidered, they concluded to proceed in the conſumation of the marriage, according to the ordinances of the church: and ſo were accordingly married, the fourth of Aprill, by the Deane of the chappell at the Hage, in the preſence of the old Lady her mother, of *Philip* vicont of Leyden, lord of Waeſenare, *Henry* of Leck, and many ladies and gentlewomen, among others, the lady of Saint *Martins Dyke*, the lady of Ameyden, the lady of Steenbergen and others. The Duke of Brabant was 16. yeeres old, and the conteſſe

The marriage conſumated betwixt the duke of Brabant, and the Conteſſe of Holland.

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A teſſe *Iaqueline* about 18. when as they were married, by the which their patrimoniall inheritances were greatly fortified one by another.

A while after,Pope *Martin* did write vnto the duke giuing him to vnderſtand,that the reuocation which he had made of the diſpenſation,came through feare of the Emperor, and the importunitie of *Iohn* of Bauaria,and for no other cauſe & that without any ſcruple of conſcience,they might liue freely in that ſtate of mariage. The which the Patriarke of Conſtantinople and the Cardinall of Oſtia, confirmed by their Bulles. And ſo *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant* was receyued and acknowledged in the countries of Holland,Zeeland, Henault,Friſeland &c.for their prince,as husband to the ſaid lady their princeſſe:except in the Towne of Dordretcht,and the Iland of Bryele. As alſo the ſaid Conteſſe *Iaqueline* B was receiued with great honor in the Townes of the Dutchie of Brabant. And for that *Iohn* of Bauaria through the trecherie of them of Dordrecht,would not onely attribute vnto himſelfe the gouernment of Holland,but did alſo take vpon him the title of Earle and procured great troubles to the Conteſſe his Neece, the Hiſtories of Holland, haue put him in the number(but without rancke) of their Earles, the which we follow; and will deſcribe his gouernment as ſuccintly as wee can, and the diſaſters of the ſaid Conteſſe vnto the death.

The Pope confirmes his diſpenſation againe.

Iohn

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IHON OF BAVARIA, CARRYING himselfe as Gouernor, then Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland.



28 Dñs Johannes Bauarię

Thy faith of Dordrecht, force, and thy faiths losse,
Made thee resigne thy Bishopricke and Crosse;
By Merlus ayde, thy greedie chests to fill
With great reuenues of thy Neece, a Pupill:
At Luxenbrough, thou took'st vnto thy spouse
Elisa, carlesse of her blood, or House;
In thy Church Order long thou didst not liue
An Earle, nor marryed; One blacke day did giue
End to all slipperie teares let fall for thee,
And to thy short vnstable memorie.

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A  HON of Bavaria hauing gouerned his Bishopricke of Leige 27. years, for whose sake (as we haue sayd before) so much blood had beene spilt, and so many good men lost their liues; hauing resigned his Bishopricke into the Popes hands, notwithstanding that he was a Deacon, obtained a dispenspation to mary, taking to wife the lady *Elizabeth*, widow to *Anthonie* duke of Brabant, father to duke *Iohn*, and Ducheſſe of Luxembourgh his Gossip, hauing beene God-father to a sonne of hers. He carryed himselfe at the first, as Tutor to the conteſſe *Iaqueline* his neece, and then Gouer-

Iohn of Bauaria gets a dispensation frō the Pope to mary.

B nor of Holland, &c. Then he obtained of the Emperor *Sigismond*, his wiues vncle, the Earldomes of Holland, Zeeland and Henault, & the lordship of Frizeland, in fealtie and homage, as fallen vnto the Emperor by the death of cont *William* his brother, for want of heires male, excluding the conteſſe *Iaqueline* his neece. The which the Emperor being at *Conſtance*, did intimate vnto the Duke of Brabant his vassall, with a prohibition not to challenge any thing to himselfe in the saide countries. According to the which *Iohn* of Bauaria did presse the chiefe townes of the saide Prouinces, to receiue him for their Lord and Prince. The townes of Holland and Zeland, made him answere; that they had acknowledged, and did acknowledge the said Ladie for their princeſſe, as the only daughter & sole heire to cont *William* the 6. their deceased prince: and that the said *Iohn* her vncle had also acknowledged her for such, and taken vp certaine fees and signiories of her, so as they could nor ought not to leaue her: Moreouer they said, that the said Prouinces had fallen twise before to the female kinde, whereof they had imperiall letters; and therefore they intreated him to desist. Those of Henault sent him their answere, and among other pointes, they laied open this more pertinently then the other Prouinces: maintaining absolutely, that the countrey of Henault did no way hold of the Empire, in the which the daughters had often succeeded. Yet *Iohn* of Bauaria, tooke vpon him the title of Earle of Henault, Holland and Zeland, and lord of Frizland: and was so acknowledged at Dordrecht, and at Bryele, notwithstanding the promise they had made vnder their oaths and seales, with the other townes of Holland vnto Cont *William*, father to the conteſſe *Iaqueline*; whereupon *Iohn* of Bauaria was proclaimed enemie to Holland and Zeland. He therfore gathers together all the men he could, of what conditiō soeuer, with the which he made war in Holland. Those of Dordrecht and of Bryele, doing all the harme they could vnto their neighbors that held the Princeſſe part.

He obtaines the Earldome of Holland, &c of the Emperor.

C

The answer of the Prouinces to Iohn of Bauaria.

D

Iohn of Bauaria takes vpon him the title of Earle of Holland, &c.

He makes War in Holland.

The duke of Brabant seeing this reuolt; defied *Iohn* of Bauaria, and came with his wife into Holland, where with his Brabansons he went to besiege the Towne of Dordrecht, lodging his Hollanders vppon the dyke of Papendrecht. But this siege was vnfortunate. *Iohn* of Bauaria being then in Dordrecht, & very glad of their deliuery, seazed soone after on the towne of Roterdam, whether he went & caused himselfe to be acknowledged

The Duke of Brabant defies Iohn of Bauaria.

E Earle of *Holland*; staying there some time, he sought to be master of Delfe and of Goude: Whereof the counteſſe being aduertised, she fortified them, & the towne of Schyedam with good Garrisons. In the meane time *Iohn* of Bauaria, ceased not day and night to molest the Hollanders, and to hinder their Nauigation to the sea, by the Riuer of Meuse. And for that during this warre many places and castles were dayly ruined, the countrey made waste, and the mischiefe increasing dayly, there was an assembly appointed in the towne of Wandrechom, whether came for chiefe mediators betwixt both parties. *Philip* Earle of Charolois, sonne to *Iohn* duke of Burgongne, *Lewis* of Luxembourg, Bishop of Teroagne, and *Peter* of Luxenbourg his brother: during which treatie, a truce was made; there also came *Iohn* duke of Brabant, and the lady *Iaqueline* his wife, with the lady *Marguerite* Douager, her mother. *Iohn* of Bauaria sent his Commissioners, in the company of a Baron of Bauaria, *Gerrard* of Boel lord of Hemskerke, and some others. There was an accord made, by the which it was said, that *Iohn* of Bauaria should remaine lord of Dordrecht with the appurtenances, of the towne of Gorrichom, the country of Arkel, of Lederdam, Schoonwert, of Bryele, of the con-

A treatie betwixt the duke of Brabant, & Iohn of Bauaria.

F

The articles of the treatie.

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trie of Voern, of the towne of Roterdam, and the ſiegniorie of Waerden, and inioy them for him and his heires for euer; the which hee ſhould hold by fee and homage of the duke of Brabant, in the right of the lady *Iaqueline* Conteſſe of Holland, his wife. And moreouer he ſhould pay vnto him within a yeare a hundred thouſand Engliſh Nobles: remaining Lieutenant of Holland, Zeeland and Frizeland, for the ſpace of three yeares, with authoritie to diſpoſe of halfe the officers and magiſtrates, and the Conteſſe his Neece of the other halfe. Theſe conditions were confirmed reciprocally vnder their ſeales, the 19. of Iuly, in the yeare 1419. A

1419. Thoſe of Vtrecht and Amerſfort were alſo reconciled, and all acts of hoſtilitie laied aſide, both in Holland, Zeeland, and the Dioceſſe of Vtrecht: yet in all theſe treaties of peace, *Iohn* of Egmond, nor his brother of Yſelſtein were comprehended nor ſpoken of. B About the end of the ſaid yeare 1419. there ſprung vp newe warres in Holland, and the Dioceſſe of Vtrecht, by reaſon of great robberies and ſpoiles committed by *Iohn* lord of Egmond; who tooke all he could finde vpon the riuer of Leck, comming out of Brabant or Flanders, ſinking their ſhips, and taking their men priſoners. Thoſe of Vtrecht write vnto *Iohn* of Bauaria, intreating him to doe them reaſon & iuſtice of the wrongs which ths ſaid lord of Egmond had done them; but he regarded them not. They conſidering therefore in what eſtate their affaires were, and that they muſt expect no good from *Iohn* of Bauaria, ſent vnto *Iohn* duke of Brabant and the Conteſſe his wife, to acquaint them with the wrongs which had been done, notwithſtanding the league which was betwixt Holland and Vtrecht. The duke made no account of it, and the Conteſſe (being C deſirous to aſſiſt and helpe them) had no meanes: they therefore adreſt themſelues to *Frederic* of Blankenhein, their Prince and Biſhop, and to the Townes of the hye dioceſſe, which is the country of Oueryſſel. They ſeeing there would neuer bee any end of theſe ſpoiles aud thefts, which the Hollanders of the Cabillautin faction (holding the part of *Iohn* of Bauaria) did commit vpon their friends of Vtrecht and Amerſſort; they held it their beſt courſe to make open warre, and to that ende, they allyed themſelues to theſe Lords; *William* of Brederode, *Philip* vicont of Leyden, the vicont of Montfort, *Iohn* of Heemſtede, & with all the reſt of the Hoackins faction that were chaſed out of Holland, againſt the lords of Egmond, and *Gerrard* Boel, lord of Hemſkerke, cheife counſellors to *Iohn* of Bauaria, and againſt all their Allyes. D

New warre betwixt them of Vtrecht and Holland.

The Cabillaus and Hoeckins take armes againe.

1420. The yeare following *Iohn* of Bauaria and his faction, did ruine many of their aduerſaries caſtels, in the quarter of Woerden, Suylen, Houthorſt and Neſſen. On the other ſide, the lorde of Broderode, the vicont and the ſiegnior of Hemſted, ioyned to them of Leyden did alſo burne ſome of the Cabillautins caſtels, as Zuyck, Raphorſt, Rhinburch, & others: running as far as the Hage, but they only ſpoiled it, ſparing the fire in reſpect of the Princes court & palace, & the honor of the earls that had built it. In the ſame yeare, *Iohn* of Bauaria tooke the caſtle of Poelgeeſt, ſituated in the village of Coekerke by aſſault, cauſing all their heads to be cut off that were within it, from thence hee went to the caſtle of Does, the which was yeelded vnto him: then he beſieged the caſtle of Waert in the village of Leyrdorp, the which hee battered and tooke by force, killing E moſt of the beſieged, & then razed it to the ground: he in like ſort wonne that of Zyl by Leyden, whereas there dyed many men, and then hee ruined it. Hauing taken all theſe caſtles, and gathered together greater troupes, hee went and beſieged the towne of Leyden, the ſpace of nine weekes, ſo as in the ende he forced them to yeeld vpon compoſition, by the which it was agreed: that all ſoldiers, ſtrangers (and namely they of Vtretch,) ſhould depart with bagge and baggage; and that *Iohn* of Bauaria ſhould be receyued into the towne, without the oppreſſion of any man. The which being thus concluded, the vicont *Philip* and the inhabitants did onely acknowledge him, as Gouernor of Holland. The ſouldiers of Vtrecht thinking to retire ſafely vnto their towne, the lord of Egmond lay in wait for them at a paſſage, and purſued them vnto their gates. On the other ſide, F *Iohn* of Bauaria (againſt the ſaid Accord) forced the vicont of Leyden to reſigne, and yeeld vp his viconty vnto him, and not to retaine any thing for himſelfe, nor his ſucceſſors, but the caſtle, the Toll and the Gruytte: whereas before a vicont of Leyden had a great command and prerogatiue in the Towne, as the placing of a Bayliffe, foure Bourguemaſters,

Sundry exploits of war.

The taking of diuers caſtels by Iohn of Bauaria.

Leyden beſieged and yeelded vpon compoſition.

The accord broken by the lord of Egmond.

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A Bourghemasters, and seeuen Sherifs. *Henry* the viconts eldest sonne held at this siege the part of *Iohn* of Bauaria against his father, who also made session of the said Viconty. This towne being thus yeelded to *Iohn* of Bauaria, they went with them of Dordrecht, to besiege the Towne and castle of Gheertruydenbergh: whereof *Didier vander Merwen* was Chastelaine or Gouernor, whom in the ende hee forced to yeeld, to haue their liues and goods saued.

The vicont forced to resigne his viconty of Leyden, to ohr of Bauaria.

That yeare 1420. *Iohn* Duke of Brabant came from Antwerp into Zeeland, at the request of *Iohn* of Bauaria, and landed at saint Martensdyk, whereat the pursuite of the siegnior of Aschen, they assembled (without the priuitie of the Contesse *Iaqueline*) in the house of *Floris* of Borssele, where the duke of Brabant did ratifie and confirme, vnto B *Iohn* of Bauaria, the gouernment of Holland, Zeeland and Frizeland, for seuen yeares longer: and moreouer did yeeld vp vnto him the towne of Antwerp, and Marquisat of Herentael. The duke of Brabant being returned to Antwerp, by the aduice of *Euerard* Tserclaes his steward, discharged and put away all the Contesse *Iaquelines* ladyes of honor and maydes, and quite altred and changed her estate and traine; giuing her the contesse of Moeurs, the lady of Weesmael, Asschen, and others to attend on her. The which did wonderfully displease the lady *Marguerite* of Burgongne, Douager of Holland, mother to the Countesse, who departed presently with her daughter towards Brusselles, and comming to the court to the Duke and his councell, shee sought to perswade him to dissolue this new estate or traine. The which not able to obtaine, shee departed C discontented, and went to her Inne, called the Looking glasse. The Contesse her daughter followed her weeping, with one only Page; the which did breed admiration and pittie in all that beheld her. The next day the mother and the daughter retyred themselues into Henault, where they liued at Quesnoy le Conte.

1420. The Duke of Brabant comes into Zeeland without the priuitie of the Contesse Iaqueline.

Contesse Iaqueline goes from the duke of Brabant her husband.

Whilest these things were acting, the barons, nobles and townes of Brabant held an assembly in the towne of Louuaine, where it was decreed to displace *Euerard* of Tserclaes, steward to the Duke, and the siegneor of Asschen; whereunto the Duke opposed firmely, for that they were his two mignons and chiefe councellors. Whereupon the Estates of Brabant sent to Paris to *Philip* Earle of S. Pol, brother to duke *Iohn*, intreating him to come into Brabant to gouerne the countrey, and to rule his fathers inheri- D tance, complayning that Duke *Iohn* suffered himselfe to bee ruled and gouerned by a companie of flatterers and pick-thanks, who sought nothing els but to set diuision betwixt the Nobles and townes of the countries, and their Lorde and Prince. Although the Earle were loth to vndertake this charge: yet at the intreatance of the king himself, he went into Brabant, where hauing saluted the duke his brother at Brusselles, hee went to Louaine: there hee vnderstood the causes of the complaints made by the state, and the reasons of either partie: which being heard, he went to Quesnoy, from whence hee brought the Contesse *Iaqueline*, and her mother to Louvaine. Then hee appointed an other assembly of the States, on the 29. of September, at Vilvoord: whereas the sayde Earle being present, with the two Ladyes Princesses, mother and daughter, and all the E Deputies of the Estates of Brabant, they attended the Duke onely, who counterfeited himselfe to be sicke: hauing expected him there some space, hearing that he went from Towne to towne to auoid this Assembly: the States by the aduice of the Ambassadors of the King of France and duke of Bourgongne, resolued to create the Earle of S. Poll Reuward of Brabant; which election was made the first of October.

The Earle of S. Pol sent for into Brabant.

An assembly of the states of Brabant.

The Earle of S. Pol made Reuward of Brabant.

Duke *Iohn* of Brabant hauing beene perswaded by *William* lord of Bergen vppon Soome, his chiefe councellor, and *Euerard* of Tserclaes to make *Iohn* of Bauaria, gouernor of Holland and Frizeland, hauing also beene the cause of the changing of the Contesse *Iaqueline* his wiues traine. The Bastards of Holland beeing incenced, for this cause slue the lord of Bergen, in the Duke his masters chamber. On the other side, the F Duke hearing that Cont *Philip* his brother, had the title of Reuwart of Brabant, and had displased and changed the magistrates of Brusselles, came before the towne, accompanied with the Earle of Moeurs, and the Earle of Heynsbergh, nad *Iohn* his sonne, the lord of Buren, Pronost of Aiz, and about 300. horse; besides his ordinarie traine. The Duke attended at the Port, the Bourgeoises hearing thereof held a councell; where it

The Lord of Berghen slain in the Dukes chamber.

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was agreed; that the Duke ſhould enter with his ordinarie traine of 120. horſe, and no more. Seuen of the Bourgeſſes went vnto him, who hauing opened the Port, the firſt entred, and the reſt thruſt forward in a preaſe, the Duke entring with the laſt into the towne. The Reuward went with him to the court: the next day the Duke came vnto the Towne-houſe, and let the councell vnderſtand, that his comming thither was to to entreat ſome good accord, with his brother and the Barons. But the Reuward was gone to Louvaine, to the Aſſembly of the Nobles. The Duke fearing that hee ſhould returne with him into Bruſſelles, and ſeaze vppon his perſon; demaunded of the magiſtrates, that if it ſhould ſo happen, whether they would open him the gate or not? They to aſſure him ſaid; that if hee had any doubt thereof, they would deliuer vp the Keyes of the gates into his handes, wherewith he remained ſatiſfied. But the inhabitants were not in quiet, to ſee thoſe ſtrange ſoldiers bragging in Tauernes, with their ſwords in their hands, that they ſhould be all rich before they went out of Brabant: ſo as the night following they aſſembled in Armes vppon the market place; being aduertiſed of ſome diſſein of the Earle of Heynsberg and others, who ſhould ſeaze vpon the Market place, that night, at the ſound of a bell, and then of the whole towne: ſome ſoldiers were alſo found armed vppon their beddes. The inhabitants therefore ſent in all haſte for the Reuward, who came poſting from Louvaine with all the Nobilitie, and Deputies of townes. Entring into Bruſſelles he thanked the Bourgeſſes, for that they had ſo conſtantly preſerued the towne: and day being come, hee went to the Court to the Duke, where hee cauſed moſt of his houſhold ſeruants to be apprehended, diſmiſſing others that were not priſoners: and ſoone after hee ſuffered them to depart that were come into the towne with the gentlemen-ſtrangers: but the maſters, as the Earles of Moeure and Heynsbergh, with other gentlemen, to the number of 150. were deteyned priſoners. The lord Reuward ſeazed vppon all the horſe and armes of the Earle of Heynsberg and others, and diſpoſed of them to whom he pleaſed.

Many of the duke of Brabants ſeruants apprehended.

The Emperor *Sigiſmond* writ for theſe Noblemen that were priſoners, to the ſtates of Brabant, for their liberties, threatning them with a proſcription of the Empire. The like letters were written by the Princes Electors to the Reuward: to whom he made no other anſwer, but that hee had cauſed them to be iuſtly ſtayed, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, as they themſelues had required: and therefore their cauſe remained doubtfull; vntill they had wohne the fauour of *Gerrard vand Zype*, chiefe counſellor and moſt familiar with the Reuward: who by the perſwaſion of the ſaide *Vande Zype*, freed them out of priſon, vpon certaine conditions. All things being thus paſt, and the troubles ended, the Earle of S. Pol, Lord Reuward, reſigned vp his office of Reuward (which is a dignitie, which the States of Brabant haue power, according to their Priuiledges; to giue vnto whom they pleaſe, to reduce their Dukes vnto reaſon, when they ſtray from their duties) into the hands of duke *Iohn* his brother, who was by the ſaid Eſtates; confirmed in the gouernment of his Countrie. Before that the Earle of S. Pol went out of Brabant, there were beheaded *Euerard* of Tſerclaes, knight, Steward to the duke, *Adolph* of Coudenbergh, *William* of Pipenpois, and ſome 14. of the cheife of Bruſſelles, who had beene the cauſe, or at the leaſt had wincked, at the deſſigned treaſon and trouble of Bruſſeles: and there were 600. Crowns promiſed to him, that ſhould bring in the ſignior of Aſſchen aliue or dead, for that hee had beene the motiue of the vnkindneſſe and quarrell betwixt the Duke and his wife. Then the Earle of S. Pol retyred into France: the Conteſſe and her mother remaining ſtill at Queſnoy, diſcontented ſtill with duke *Iohn*: for ſome of the ſaid Ladyes councell, found not the Bull of her marriage lawfull, hauing not been allowed, but held it to bee fraudulent and of no force. By reaſon whereof, in the yeere 1423. ſhe went into England, from whence ſhe ſent to cyte duke *Iohn* to the court of Rome, to heare his marriage declared voyde according to the Canons. Pope *Martin* referred this buſineſſe to two Cardinals, to determine thereof; who aſſigned a day for the Duke to appeare before them, and he appointed certaine Proctors at Rome to defend his cauſe. The Counteſſe *Iaqueline*, hearing that the Proceſſe would be teedious and long, without attending a definitiue ſentence, allyed her ſelfe by a promiſe of mariage to the Duke of Gloceſter, vncle to King *Henry* the ſixth

The Emperor and Prince Elector write into Brabant for the priſoners.

The priſoners ſet at libertie.

What the office of Reuward is.

Many beheaded at Bruſſels.

The Conteſſe Iaqueline cauſeth the Duke of Brabant her husband to be cited to Rome.

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A sixth of England then raigning, vppon condition, that the marriage with the Duke *Iohn* being declared vnlawfull, shee should obtaine a dispensation from the Pope to marry againe.

Soone after the duke of Gloceſter, came with the Conteſſe *Iaqueline*, his betrothed Spouſe, vnto Calais, with a great Army marching toward Henault; and therefore hee diuided his Armie into three battailions. The Lady *Marguerite* of Bourgongne, mother to the Counteſſe requeſted the Nobilitie of Henault to accompany her, and to goe and meet them: and ſo by aſſiſtance and fauour of the lord of Haures, Lieutenant to Duke *Iohn*, they entred into Henault. The duke of Brabant demanded ſuccors from the duke of Bourgongne, and *Iohn* of Bauaria, who promiſed him all aſſiſtance. The
B Duke of Bourgongne ſent him the lords of Croy, Liſle-dam, and Mailly, with good troupes of ſouldiers.

The Conteſſe Iaqueline made ſure to the duke of Gloceſter. He comes with an Army into Henault.

In the yeare 1423. *Iohn* van Vlyet, had his head cut off at the Hage in Holland, being accuſed by ſome of the Cabillautin faction, that he had poiſoned *Iohn* of Bauaria, (whereof he had been ſick and recouered) for the which hee was quartered, and his quarters hung at the entrance of foure of the chiefe townes in Holland. *Iohn* of Bauaria hauing receiued letters from the duke of Brabant demanding ſuccors, ſent him word, that if his health would giue him leaue, hee would come vnto him with good Troupes within three weekes. But hauing his armie readie to march, he fell ſuddenly ſick (it may be the poiſon had not been well purged) and dyed at the Hage on Twelfe
C day, and was buryed there in the *Iacobins* Cloiſter. Hee being dead, all the Noblemen that had been of his faction, called in *Iohn* duke of Brabant, and receiued him for their prince; notwithſtanding that *Iaqueline* their Conteſſe was married againe to the duke of Gloceſter; who hearing how hee had beene receiued, held a counſell with her friends, by what meanes ſhe might ſeaze vpon ſome townes and caſtles in Holland: and to that end, ſhe ſent *Floris* of Kiſhoeck with men, to ſurprize the town of Schoonhouen, the which he effected happily, through the aſſiſtance of ſome towneſ-men, wel affected to the ſaid Lady: but he could not recouer the caſtle, without a ſiege of ſixe weekes, at the end whereof he forced them to yeeld, to haue their goods & liues ſaued; onely *Albert* Beyllinck, one of the captaines was reſerued to be at the Conteſſe diſ-
D cretion: who notwithſtanding had leaue giuen him to goe and viſit his friends, hauing paſt his word and oth to returne to priſon within a month, the which hauing performed according to his promiſe, he was in the night buried aliue, vnder one of the platformes of the caſtle.

1423. Iohn van Vlyet beheaded at the Hage.

Iohn of Bauaria gouernor of Holland dies.

The Duke of Brabant acknowledged Earle of Holland in the right of his wife.

Captaine Albert Beyllinck buried aline.

In the yeare 1425. the ſiegnior of Gaeſbeck, appointed Gouernor in Holland for the duke of Brabant, baniſhed all thoſe which had, or did hold the partie of the Conteſſe *Iaqueline*, and went and beſieged the towne of Schoonhouen, for the ſpace of 24. weekes, battering it furiouſly with his great artillerie (for then Rames and croſſe-bowes were no more in vſe, gonpoulder being newly inuented by a Monke) there were in the towne, fiue Knights and twenty Squires, who defended themſelues valliantly,
E making many ſallies forth, vpon their neighbour townes that were enemie, bringing great ſpoiles into their Towne, although it were beſieged: the which did much grieue the Townes & Noblemen of Holland, ſeeing that in ſo long a time they had aduanced nothing at this ſiege: but by the mediation of the Duke of Cleues, and the Earle of Meurs, a truce was made for ſixe weekes. During this ſiege at Schoonhouen, there was a certaine Bull publiſhed in Vtrecht, Liege, Cambrey, Holland, Zeeland, Friz-land and Henault, by the which Pope *Martin* the fift, did ſeperate from their marriage, *Iohn* duke of Btabant, and *Iaqueline* Conteſſe of Holland, &c. The which notwithſtanding the Pope did afterwards diſauowe, and ſent *Euerard* of Eindouen to the duke; excuſing himſelfe, and promiſing that he ſhould haue a ſpeedie ende of this buſineſſe.
F Heerevppon the duke went to beſiege Mons in Henault, whereas the ſaide Lady was: during this ſiege the duke of Bourgongne (who did wonderfully affect and gape after the countries of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, &c.) preuailed ſo much as the Duke went to Douay; whether the Conteſſe (fearing to bee taken by force) ſent ſome of her counſellors: where it was reſolued; *That the ſaid Lady ſhould continue in one of the*

1425. Schoonhouen beſieged.

A Truce made at Schoonhouen.

The duke of Brabant beſiegeth the Conteſſe his wife in Mons.

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Duke of Bourgongnes townes, vntill the ſute were fully ended, betwixt her and the Duke, or that one of them ſhould die. That Duke Iohn *ſhould be reſtored to the Country of Henault, the gouernment whereof ſhould bee ſequeſtred, vntill a definitiue ſentence. That throughout all the Countrey, there ſhould bee abolution of crymes, committed by reaſon of the troubles: and all confiſcations diſanulled. That for the maintenance of Iuſtice in the Countrey of Henault, there ſhould be foure Iudges appointed; whereof two were to bee choſen by the Duke of Brabant, and two by the Duke of Bourgondie: and that they ſhould aſſigne for the ſaid Ladie Conteſſe, a competent prouiſion for her maintenance, according to her eſtate, vppon the reuenues of Henault, Holland, Zeeland and Freezland. That the ſayd Duke* Philip *ſhould bee Aduoe or Gouernour of Holland, Zeeland and Freezland: as neereſt of the blood, and at that time next heyre to the ſaid Lady.*

A treatie made by the duke of Bourgongne to attcme vnto the Counteſſes countrey.

The Conteſſe Iaqueline is deliuered into the Duke of Bourgongnes hands.

This accord beeing thus concluded at Douay, Duke *Iohn* came to Valenciennes, and three daies after returned to his campe before Mons: the which he preſt ſo long, as the Conteſſe came and yeelded her ſelfe into the hands of the Deputies of the duke of Burgongne, who went thither to receiue her: being in the Brabanſons Campe, ſhee deſired to ſpeake with Cont *Engelbert* of Naſſau, and *Henry* of Leek, whom ſhe intreated (with teares in her eyes) to worke ſo with the duke of Brabant, that ſhe might be committed to ſome town or caſtle in Brabant, where it ſhould pleaſe him, and not to deliuer her into the power of the Burguignon whom ſhe feared more then the duke her huſband: but it was denyed her, & ſhe was conducted vnto Gant, there to remaine according to the Treatie. The duke of Brabant cauſed all the goods, yea the Dourie of the lady *Marguerite* of Bourgongne, mother to the Conteſſe, to bee ſeazed on, for that ſhe maintained her daughters partie. Whileſt that the Lady *Iaqueline* was thus garded in the towne of Gant, with a very ſmall eſtate, there were ſome Noblemen of Holland (her enemies) which aduiſed the duke of Bourgongne to ſend her to the Caſtle of Lille in Flanders, and their to keep her during her life. She hauing ſome intelligence thereof, ſent preſently to aduertiſe her moſt ſecret and truſtie friends in Holland: who were taking counſell together how they might deliuer their Princeſſe, out of the duke of Bourgongnes power: There were two Gentlemen, *Arnold Spyerinck*, and one of the houſe of Aelburch, who offered to hazard their liues to ſet her free. Theſe two came to Gant, and hauing their horſes ready in a certaine place, carrying a mans apparell with them, they came vnto the ſaid Lady, who hauing ſpeedily changed her habit, went away with them thus diſguiſed, not diſcouered by any of her gard, and tooke horſe, trauailing all night, vntill they came to Wandrichom, and from thence to Vianen. The lord of Vianen receiued her ioyfully: apparelled her in his wiues cloathes, and ſo went together to Schoonhoven, where as all the Towne reioyced at her comming.

The Conteſſe of Holland led againſt her will vnto Gant.

The Conteſſe is freed out of the duke of Burgongnes hands.

The next day ſhee went to Goude, then to Vadewater, where ſhee was generally welcomed, much made of, and acknowledged for their Lady and Conteſſe of Holland: being accompanied in all places by the lord of Vianen, and the vicont of Montfort. Thoſe of Vtrecht came to viſit her, and made a League with her. After that time there were great and tedious warres throughout all Holland: for the Nobles, and Townes of the Cabillautin faction, ſeeing the happy ſucceſſe of their Princeſſe, to whom they were profeſſed enemies, gathering together in great troupes, they drew towards La Goude, to ſtop the paſſage of them of that Towne, from entring further into Holland, whereas a little before they had receiued the Duke of Bourgongne, for their Aduoe or Gouernor: as the duke of Brabant had in like ſort beene receiued in Henault: although that their naturall Lady and Princeſſe were within the Contrey, to whom they had ſhewed fealtie, as I haue formerly ſhewed. Theſe partiſans of the Cabillautin faction, marching in field with their Enſignes diſplayed, beeing come as farre as Alphen, thoſe of Goude went foorth with all their forces to encounter them in the village it ſelf, whereas they fought valiantly; but in the end the Partiſans fled towards Leyden, whether they were hotly purſued, and many taken priſoners, and the Banners of Leyden, Harlem, and Amſterdam taken and carryed to Goude, the inhabitants returning like Conquerers, laden with ſpoiles.

The Conteſſe comes into Holland.

The battell of Alphen whereas the Conteſſe was victor.

The Duke of Gloceſter hauing newes that the Counteſſe *Iaqueline*, his betrothed,

was

A was in Holland, and had some Townes there at her deuotion, hee sent the Lord *Fitz-water*, with good English troupes to goe vnto her, who landed at Brouwershauen in Zeeland, with whom there ioyned certaine Noblemen of Zeeland; whom the duke of Bourgongne defeated in bataile.

The English and Zeelanders defeated, by the Duke of Bourgongne, at Brouwershauen. Anno 1424.

The 27. of Ianuary in the yeeare 1426. the Cardinalls of Venice and Vrsine: Iudges delegated in the cause betwixt the Duke of Brabant, and the Lady *Iaqueline*, Contesse of Holland his wife: hauing had the aduice of other Cardinalls therein, pronounced their sentence; by the which they declared, that the said Lady had wrongfully seperated her selfe from the Duke her husband: and although that she ought to bee ioyned againe to the said duke: yet for some speciall reasons mooving them, they did ordayne

B she should be safely kept, vntill the definitiue sentence, and at her owne charge, with *Amedee*, duke of Sauoy, allyed vnto her and the duke her husband in the third degree; and by affinitie in the second. The duke of Gloceſter hearing of this sentence, retyred himselfe; and hauing abandoned the said ladie, he married another in England. Duke *Iohn* of Brabant hauing these newes, was much quieted in conscience, & the said lady much discontented: for that she would not by any meanes come into the hands of the duke of Sauoy, but would rather haue gone to the duke of Brabant, but he would none of her, saying, that he must obey the sentence: & so she remained at Schonhouen & at Goude. And yet notwithstanding the duke of Bourgongne held still the gouernment of Holland, Zeeland & Friseland. This duke of Bourgongne seeing his affaires successefull, to the end he

The Cardinals sentence, touching the duke of Brabants marriage with the Contesse of Holland.

The Duke of Gloceſter abandons the Contesse Iaqueline.

C might one day attain to that whervnto he did aspire (which was to swallow vp the countrey of the said Lady, who was his cousin Germane) resolued to make violent war against her, and to subdue all them that were opposite vnto him. And for that the Lorde of Seuenberghe did then hold with the Contesse, he went soone after the defeate of the English at Brouwershauen, to besiege him in his towne, both by Sea and Land, in the the depth of winter, where he lay fourteen weekes; at the end whereof, the friendes of the said lord did mediate a smale truce, the which being expired, the duke besieged it so straightly, as no thing could enter in, nor get out. The inhabitants of the Towne, considering on the one side, the great charges and oppressions which they were forced to beare during the siege; and on the other side, the goodly offers that were made vnto

The Duke of Bourgongnes ambitious desſigne.

Seuenberghe besieged.

D their Lord: and that through his wilfulnesse, the ende of so many miseries which they endured, would be but their vtter ruine: for the auoyding wherof, they resolued (as they did) to yeeld vp the towne to the duke of Bourgongne, in despight of him, who tooke possession thereof, and in the ende, the Lord of Seuenberghe, was forced to yeeld him also his castle, with all his land and Siegniorie, liuing himselfe in exile, as a Vagabonde, where he dyed for want.

And yeelded vp in despight of the Lord.

The 4. of April in the saide yeare 1426. the Contesse *Iaqueline*, gathered together some troupes out of the countrey of Vtrecht, and from the townes of Goude, Schoonhouen and Oudewater, and went by water to Hemestede neere vnto Harlem; besieging the said Towne. The lord of Brederode came thither to assist her with the Kennemers

1426.

Harlem besieged by the Contesse.

E & them of Alcmar. The magistrates of Harlem had had a little before some intelligence of this siege, and therefore they sent for the Lord of Gaesbeeke, Lieutenant of Holland for the Duke of Bourgongne, and *Rouland* of Vtkerk to come to succour them. The suburbs of the towne were burnt, and all the wood about it cut downe. They did often shoot fire into the towne, but it was still quenched: many assaults were giuen and they were valiently repulst. The duke leauied men in all his territories, to succor the besieged: whereof hee made the siegneors of Litell tenveld and Vtkerke commanders, hauing many braue captaines, the which he sent into Holland. Being come to Leyden, they resolued the next day to assayle the Counteſſe: and first of all they sent a spye, clothed like a Lepar, carrying in his wallet a white loafe, in the which there

F was a letter sealed to carry into the towne, when he should finde his best oppertunity. This Spie being come to Hamstede, begging in the Campe, was suspected, and apprehended, examined, searcht and the letter found. By the which they did write, that they were come neere vnto Alphen, and that the next day they would stop the Sluse of Goude, to cut off the Contesses returne with her Armie into the said town of Goude,

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the which they thought to effect easily, and hauing performed it, they would goe and succour them. A

The Conteſſe hauing heard this letter read, cauſed the bearer to be hanged vpon a Tree: and the night following raiſed her campe, and imbarked her armie, the which came at the breake of day to Alphen, ſhe being there in perſon. The Seignior of Vtkerke finding her to bee ſo neere, had no other leiſure but to incourage his men to fight well, where there was a furious charge, and it continued long. In the end the ſeignior of Vtkerke (ſeeing the deſaſter falling vpon his ſide, and ſo many men ouerthrowne,) retired himſelfe out of the preaſe, the Conteſſe remaining victoreſſe: in which battaile all the Picards were ſlaine, 500. other ſoldiers, and 80. Bourgeſes of Leyden. After the victorie, the Conteſſe created theſe Knights, *Iohn* of Waeſſenare, B ſecond ſonne to *Philip* who was Vicont of Leyden: *Henry* of Croenenburch, *Euerard* of Hoochtwoude, baſtard to Cont *William* of Bauaria, father to the Counteſſe. *Iohn* of Langerack, ſeignior of Aſpren. *Didier vander-Merwen*, *Gerard* of Poelgeeſt, ſeignior of Homade, and *Arnold* of Gant a Geldrois.

A ſecond battaile at Alphē where the Conteſſe is victorious.

The Conteſſe makes knights.

After this defeat, the Kennemers vnder the Conteſſe *Iaquelins* authoritie, made *William Nagel* their Captaine, and went to deſtroy the caſtell of Hemskerke, to be reuenged, for that they of Harlem had before ruined the caſtels of Brederode, Heemſtede and Aſſendolph. At the ſame time they alſo deſtroyed the caſtels of Heiligerſberge, Cralingen and Spangen in Schieland. This done, the Kennemers went into Waterlandt, where they tooke the townes of Monikendam, Pumerende, and Edam: C from thence they drew towards Medemblyk and Enchuyſen, then to Horne, out of the which the inhabitants iſſued forth in armes to skirmiſh with them: but at the firſt incounter their Bayliffe was ſlaine with many riche Bourgeſſes, and the reſt were beaten backe euen into their ports: ſo as there were many priſoners, and among them foure of the chiefe of the towne. Captaine *William Nagel* cauſing his men to approache, and to aduiſe how to force them: thoſe of the towne put all their women and maides in order of battaile, with their white kerchers, and white ſmockes vpon their garments, to make them ſeeme a troope of men all in white armor: the which ſucceeded happily for them: for the Kennemers ſeeing them a farre off, thought no otherwiſe, but that they had beene the Bourgeſſes armed, which attended to fight D with them, wherevpon they returned. In the meane time the Hornois ſent to craue ſuccours from the Duke of Bourgongne; Captaine *Nagell* knowing afterwards that they had beene deceiued by theſe womaniſh ſoldiers, approched with his troopes neerer vnto the walles, carrying thoſe foure principall priſoners with him, and telling them of the towne, that if they would not open their gates, hee would cut off their heads before their faces: yet they refuſed to do any thing, hoping and expecting ſuccours which the Duke had promiſed them: who ſoone after ſent *Liſle-dam* vnto them with forces; who being entred into the towne, cauſed the North-gate to bee ſet open, by the which hee made a ſallie vpon Captaine *Nagell* and his men, who endured very much: for the troopes of Amſterdam were arriued at the ſame inſtant. The skirmiſh E continued long, and was very furious: Captaine *Nagel* was ſlaine with a great number of Kennemers: thoſe that were ſwift in flying, were purſued to the village of Wongom, where as there were many ſlaine. The Seignior of *Liſle-dam* had two wounds in this skirmiſh, the which were very dangerous, ſo as hee remained a long time in the Surgions hands at Horne, whether the Duke came ſoone after in perſon, and was honorable receiued, aſwell there, as in all the other townes of Waterland.

William Nagel Captaine of the Kennemers.

Captaine Nagel by the Kennemers defeated.

1427. In the yeare 1427. on Eaſter Tewſday dyed *Iohn* Duke of Brabant, ſonne to *Anthonie* of Bourgongne, Couſin Germanie to Duke *Philip*, and husband to the Lady *Iaqueline* Counteſſe of Holland. He was interred by his father. And for that he died without iſſue, all his lands and Seigneuries went to *Philip* Earle of *S. Pol*, his brother. This Duke F *Iohn*, being married ſo yong (as we haue ſaid) by the lewd Councell and priuate ambition of ſome of his Councellors) was entertained in perpetuall iealouſie of his wife, and in trouble without reſt: beſides they of Bourgongne which did gape after Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, were the chiefe motiues thereof. After the death of the Duke

The death of Iohn Duke of Brabant.

of

A of Brabant, the Hollanders holding the party of the Conteſſe *Iaqueline*, raiſed a good armie, being reſolued to recouer all the countrie of Holland for her; of the which the Lord of Brederode was made Generall, who imbarked with his troopes, ſayling towards Wyeringhen and Texel. Thoſe of Amſterdam, Horne, Enchuyſen, and other ſea townes, hauing gathered together a great number of ſhips, followed them at ſea. The Lord of Brederode ſeeing them come a farre of, landed with his armie in the ſaid Iland of Weyringhen, the which he reduced for a time vnder the Conteſſes obedience. And being there, the enemies drew towards them, either to ſhut them in, or to draw them to fight at ſea. The Lord of Brederode ſeeing that they had no deſire to land, commanded his men to imbarke againe, and to be ready to fight preſently. It was then a lowe

A ſea battaile fought neere to Wyeringhen.

B water, ſo as the great ſhips could not be well gouerned to fight, and the ſaid Lord had a greater number of boates fit for the combate, the which notwithſtanding (to his great diſaduantage and loſſe) he did not ioyne together in one body, a great part remaining ſtill, to ſee how the firſt would behaue themſelues, and then to ſecond them at need, or be more ready to flie. The charge was with extreame rowing on either ſide, and the combate was furious and fearfull, in the which the Lord of Brederode had the worſt; and a great number were ſlaine and drowned. The which thoſe of the reere-ward ſeeing, hauing ſtood ſtill during the fight, they began to be amazed, and to flie, but they could not eſcape, for they were ſpeedily followed, ſo as they had their ſhares in the loſſe aſwell as the firſt. The which had not happened if all their forces had beene ioyned

The Lord of Brederode defeated and taken priſoner.

C together. The ſlaughter was great, but there were more caſt ouer-bord, beſides the priſoners, among the which the Lord of Brederode was one: all which were carried to Enchuyſen, whether all the ſhips after the victory retired, and then held a Councell what they ſhould doe with the priſoners; of the which they did behead 80. ſome would haue done as much to the Lord of Brederode, but by reaſon of his Nobility, (being deſcended from the Earles of Holland) hee had no harme. After the which there was not for a long time, any ciuill warres in Holland.

The 4. of May, at the inſtance and ſute of ſome noble and wiſe-men, Duke *Philip* of Bourgongne, and the Conteſſe *Iaqueline* mette together, and did agree, that the Duke ſhould be acknowledged for Gouernor and next heire to the ſaid Lady, in the ſucceſſion

An accord betwixt Duke Philip and the Conteſſe Iaqueline.

D of Henault, Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland. This done, the Duke appointed *Franc* of Borſſelle for his Lieutenant, being ſonne vnto *Floris* Lord of Borſſelle, of Zuylen, and of Saint *Martins-dike*; and the ſame yeare the Duke condemned them of *Alcmar*, the Kennemers and the Lord of Brederode in certaine pecuniarie fines, for that they had taken armes againſt him.

In the yeare 1429. Duke *Philip* of Bourgongne bought of *Thierry* Earle of Namur (with the ayde and helpe of the Towne of Gand) the ſaid Contie of Namur: In the which the ſaid *Thierry* did inueſt him in his life time, and dyed ſoone after, leauing no children. Since the ſaid Earldome hath continued in the houſes of Bourgongne and Auſtria vnto this day, making one of the ſeuenteene Prouinces of the Netherlands. Of

1429. Philip of Bourgongne buyes the County of Namur.

E which Earldome the Duke made *Iohn* of Croy gouernour.

In the yeare 1430. the fourth of Auguſt, *Philip* Duke of Brabant and Luxembourg, Earle of *Saint Pol*, (after that he had gouerned the ſayd Duchies three yeares) died in the Caſtell of Louvain. There was great contention for the ſucceſſion, betwixt the Lady *Marguerite* of Bourgongne, dowager of Holland, widdow of Cont *William* of Bauaria, and mother to the Conteſſe *Iaqueline*, on the one part, (being Ante to the ſaid deceaſed Duke, and ſiſter to Duke *Anthonie* his father,) and *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne his couſin germaine on the other part: the which was in the end decided to the benefit of the ſaid Duke *Philip*. The deputies of the States of Brabant and Lembourg, with the Ambaſſadors of duke *Philip*, treated together of the rights, immunities, freedoms,

1430. Philip Duke of Brabant dyes.

Philip of Bourgongne makes his entrie as duke of Brabant.

F priuileges, cuſtomes, ſtatutes and ordinances of the ſaid countries; which they required to haue confirmed and ſworne by the Duke, of the which they ſent him a forme in writing to Macklyn. The which being granted, the 5. day of October was appointed for him to take poſſeſſion, and to make his entrie into the towne of Louvain, as duke of Brabant and Lembourg, the which was done: and the third day after the funeralls of

the

the deceaſed duke *Philip* were ſolemnized, whoſe body was interred by duke *Anthony* his father, his mother, and duke *Iohn* his brother. *Lewis* of Luxembourg, ſonne to *Peter* Earle of Converſan, and Lord of Engien in Henault, did inherit the Earldom of *S. Pol.* A

The Lady Iaqueline Conteſſe of Holland marries the fourth time.

Foure yeares paſſed in peace and concord, betwixt the Lady *Iaqueline* Conteſſe of Holland, and duke *Philip* of Bourgongne; among the reſt, there was a condition that ſhe might not marry againe, without his liking and conſent, if ſhe would remaine Ladie of all her countries, of the which notwithſtanding, the duke ſhould be Gouernor. It happened in the yeare 1432. that the Lady *Marguerite* of Bourgongne her mother, ſent her by ſome Gentlemen, goodly and riche Iewels, and ſome horſes. The Conteſſe *Iaqueline* finding her ſelfe bare of money; hauing no meanes to honour her Mothers ſeruants, with preſents or any gratuitie; being deſtitute of money through the laſt warre to preſerue her honour, ſhe ſent ſecretly to the Vicont of Montfort (hauing beene made Lieutenant of Holland, by her before) intreating him to aſſiſt her with a certaine ſumme of money, to preſerue her reputation with thoſe gentlemen, whom her mother had ſent vnto her; and to make them ſome honeſt preſents, according to their qualities. The Vicont excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, that he had ſpent all his meanes in her ſeruice, during the warres. The ſaid Lady being much perplext and troubled, ſent vnto another, by whom ſhe was denyed in like ſort: for the which ſhee was ſo greeued, as weeping, ſhe retired her ſelfe into her chamber, complaining of the ingratitude of her friends and ſeruants, and of the diſhonor which ſhee feared to purchaſe, if ſhe ſuffered her mothers ſeruants to returne emptie handed. Where-vpon one of her houſhould ſeruants, called *William* of *Bye*, ſeeing his Miſtreſſe ſo deſolate, being carefull of her honour, and pittying her, ſaid vnto her; *Madam if it pleaſe you, I will go to* Franc *of* Borſſelle, *Lieutenant of Zeeland, and acquaint him with your preſent neceſſitie, I hope he will doe you ſome good.* The ſaid Lady (being full of teares) anſwered him. *How? he is one of our enemies, and neuer receiued any good nor fauour from vs: I feare he will refuſe vs, and then my diſgrace will bee greater then before. Notwithſtanding if it pleaſe you Madam, ſaid* William, *I will trie him by ſome meanes. I feare,* ſaid the Conteſſe, *wee ſhall not preuaile; yet goe, and let him vnderſtand how the caſe ſtands, and tell him that I will acknowledge it in time and place, and will ſatisfie him ſoone.* *William* went into Zeeland, and performed that which he had in charge. Where-vpon the Lord of Broſſele anſwered him; *Tell my Lady, that not at this time onely, but during my life, ſhe may diſpoſe of me and all my meanes at her pleaſure:* and hauing deliuered him the money which he demanded, *William* returned to his Miſtreſſe, who was wonderfully glad. From that day after ſhe euer held the Lord of Borſſelle in great eſteeme: yea ſhe did ſo affect him, as ſhee deſired to haue him to her husband, the which was afterwards ſecretly performed in her chamber, in the preſence of her ſeruants. B C D

The Conteſſe denyed mony by her ſeruants.

Reaſons which moued the Conteſſe Iaqueline to loue Franc of Borſſelle.

She marryes him ſecretly.

The yeare following this ſecret marriage was diuulged and ſpred ouer all Holland, and the newes came vnto duke *Philip* of Bourgongne, being then at the warres in France with the King of England, who left that buſineſſe, and recommended his armie to his Captaines, and went into Holland: (ſeeming not to know any thing, and yet much diſcontented in minde, fearing that by this marriage he ſhould be excluded from the Prouinces of Holland, Henault, Zeeland, and Friſeland,) and came to the Hage in Iuly; where after many conferences and treaties of diuers things, he cauſed the Lord of Borſſelle to bee apprehended, in the preſence of the Conteſſe *Iaqueline* his wife, and to be preſently imbarked and conuayed to Ruppelmonde in Flanders. The Conteſſe (following the Duke where-ſo-euer he went) did preſſe him to haue her husband againe, the which hee refuſed, vnleſſe ſhee would reſigne all her countries. Some ſay, that during the impriſonment of the lord of Borſſelle, they gaue him a refrigeratiue drinke; others haue ſpoken of a more violent courſe to hinder the acte of generation. In the end, by the meanes of *Frederic* Earle of Mæurs, hee was ſet at libertie, vpon condition that the Conteſſe ſhould reſigne and tranſport vnto the ſayd Duke her couſin, all her countries of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland; and ſo ſhe ſhould marry the ſaid lord of Borſſelle ſollemnly, and enioy him quietly for her husband: prouided alwaies, that if they had any children, all the ſaid Prouinces ſhould returne E F

The Lord of Borſſelle apprehended by the Duke of Bourgongne.

The Conteſſe reſignes all her Countries to the Duke for her husbands liberty.

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A returne vnto them. Moreouer that the Duke ſhould giue vnto the lord of Borſſelle, for him and his for euer, the Earledom of Oſteruant, and to the ſaid lady, the ſiegneorie of Voorne, with the Bryel, the Iland of Zuytbeuelant, and the country of Tertolen: with all the cuſtomes of Holland and Zeeland. By this accord this marriage was confirmed, and the ſiegnior of Borſſelle made Earle of Oſteruant. Soone after the Duke with the Conteſſe and her husband, went into the countreys of Holland, Henault, Zeeland and Friſeland, whereof ſhee gaue him reall poſſeſſion, in the chiefe townes thereof: then the Duke held his Order of the golden Fleece (whereof hee was founder) at the Hage, and among others hee made the Earle of Oſteruant one of his Knights. The Duke of Burgongne takes poſſeſſion of Holland &c.

B In the yeare 1436. on *S. Denis* Eue, dyed this Princeſſe the Lady *Iaqueline*, in the caſtle of Theilinghen, for griefe to ſee herſelfe thus ſpoiled of her eſtate, through the ambition of the Duke of Burgongne, (and it may be, for that ſhe found not her husband as he had been before his impriſonment) after that ſhe had beene Lady and true heire of the Earldomes of Holland, Zeeland, Henault and Friſeland, in great troubles and continuall vexations, for the ſpace of 19. yeare, She dyed at the age of 36. yeares, and lyes at the Hage, in the Chappell of the Court of Holland. 1436. The death of the Conteſſe Iaqueline.

The moſt renowned in Holland & Zeeland, in the time of the Conteſſe *Iaqueline*, were theſe noblemen that follow. *Franc* of Borſſelle, Earle of Oſteruant husband to the Conteſſe: *Hugh* of Lanoy, lord of Xaintes, Lieutenant of Holland, Zeeland and Freezland, Noblemen in the time of the Conteſſe Iaqueline.

C both Knights of the golden Fleece. *Reynold* lord of Brederode, of Vianen and Ameyden Baronies, *Ghyſbrecht* of Brederode Prouoſt, Cathedrall, and afterwardes elect biſhop of Vtrect: *William* of Brederode their vncle who was lieutenant to the Conteſſe *Iaqueline* in Holland, *Iames* of Gaesbeeke, lord of Abcoud, Wyk, Putten and Streyen, *John* lord of Egmond, *William* of Egmond his Brother lord of Iſelſtein, Who were reſtored by *John* of Bauaria, and afterwardes confirmed by *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, *Henry* lord of Waſſenare (who without the reſignation which he made vnto *Iohn* of Bauaria was vicont of Leyden) & *John* of Waſſenare ſiegneor of Woorburch his brother; *Henry* of Borſſelle, lord of la Vere, *Arnold* lord of Seuenberghe, & of Hemſted in Zeelād, *John* lord of Cruyninghen; *Henry* vicont of Montfort: *Adrian* of Borſſelle, lord of Brig-

D dam: *Iames* of Borſſelle his brother; *William* lord of Naeldwyk & of Waterinnghen, *Albert* of Naeldwick his brother; *Phillip* of Cortgeen, *Rutger* lord of Boeaſlaer & of Aſpren, *Didier* lord of Henckelom; *Lewis* of Treſlon; *William* of Holland, baſtard ſon to duke *Albert*; to whom duke *Philip* gaue in Friſeland; the villages Schagen; Baninghen & Harinchuyſen; and was the firſt ſieigneor of Schagen; *Euerard* of Holland, baſtard to Cont *William*, father to the Conteſſe *Iaqueline*, firſt lord of Hoochtwoode, and his brother *Lewis*, *John* of Vianen ſiegneor of Noordeloos; *Didier vander Merwin*; *Gerrard* of Poelgeeſt; ſiegneor of Homede, gouernor of Schoonhouen; *Gerrard* of Poelgeeſt his couſin; *Giles* of Cralinghen. *Gerrard van Zyl*, *Berthould* of Aſſendelph, almoſt all Knights: *Iohn vander Leck*. *Williā* of Egmond ſiegneor of Soetermeer, *Otto* of Egmond lord of Merenſteyn, *Gerrard*

E of Hemſted, & Benthuſeyn; *John* of Hodenpyl, *Williā* of Langerack; *Iames vanden Woode*, Siegnior of Warment and Alcmada, *Adrien* of Raphorſt, *Gerrard van Vlyet*, *Wouter* of Matteneſſe. *Herpert van Foreeſt*, *Ghysbrecht van Swieten*, *Iohn van Swieten*, Baliefe of Leyden, *Gerrard* witten-Hage, *Frederick* of Seuenter, and *Floris* of Kiſhoek, whereof ſome were Knights, the reſt Squiers, and many Gentlemen, which were too long to ſpecifie here; all valiant ſoldiers, whereof many died in the ſeruice of their Prince, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this Hiſtorie. Among the chiefe families and nobles of Friſeland were *Otto* of Broek, *Aurick* and *Emden*, *Sicco Syaerda*, *Wybrandt Hermana*, *Sicco Liaucama*, *Peter Campſtra*, *Aelko Campſtra* bretheren, ſonnes to *Tako*, *Douwe Tyeſſama*, *Ielmer op Adeleen*, *Sybrandt Tyaerda*, *Wybet Walta*, *Piho Eelcxima*, *Wopke*, *In die Stedde*, *Gerrit*

F and *Tyaert Iongama*. *Herman Dowwema*, with an infinite number of other Gentlemen, whom in their language they call *Houelinghen*, which is as much to ſay, as Courtiers. The chiefe Nobility of Fuſeland.

An end of the 2. Booke. Philip

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PHILIP DVKE OF BOVRGONGNE,

Earle of Holland and Zeeland, lord of Friſeland, Duke of Brabant, Lembourg, and Luxemburg, Earle of Flanders, Arthois, Henault, *and Namur, Lord of Salins and Macklyn.*



50 Philippus Burgund. Cogn. Bonus.

The firſt wife I eſpous'd was Lady Michell,
The ſecond, lady Bonne; *the third* Iſabell,
When the falſe Gavithois, and the Brugeois bore
Rebellious armes, a peace with France I ſwore:
The golden Fleece I firſt of all deuiſde,
Luide ſiege at Calais, Luxembrough ſurpriſde.
Subdued Liege: In Holland, I oppreſt
The league of Hamecons: foure and thirty yeares
I raigned, and Dijon drunke my funerall teares.

THE

The Argument of the third Booke.

PHILIP *the first of that name, called the good Duke of Bourgongne, (accompting Iohn of Bauaria, Vncle to the Conteſſe* Iaqueline) *was the* 30. *Earle of Holland, &c. the which he wreſted from the ſaid Lady in her life time: he takes reuenge of the Ganthois for abandoning him before Calais: he was in great danger in Bruges, who in the end were reconciled. Warre betwixt the Hollanders, Zelanders, and the Eſterlings. The factions of Scoringers and Vetcoopers in Friſeland. Thoſe of the Hoecks and Cabillaux reuiued in Holland: warre betwixt the Duke and the Ganthois. Hee diſgraceth the two brothers of Brederode wrongfully, to aduance* Dauid *his baſtard to the Biſhopricke of Vtrecht.* Lewis *Daulphin of France comes to the Duke for refuge, who afterwards conducts him into France to bee crowned King. A quarrell betwixt* Arnold *Duke of Gelders and* Adolph *his ſonne, who deales impiouſly with his father. The Lord of Croy and Launoy hated of the Earle of Charolois.* Iohn *of Koeſteyn hauing vndertaken to poiſon the Earle of Charolois, is conuicted and executed. A diuiſion betwixt the Duke and the Earle of Charolois his ſonne, by reaſon of them of Croy, but in the end reconciled. King* Lewis *the* 11. *diſſembles with the Duke of Bourgongne: he ſends Ambaſſadors to him which accuſe the Earle of Charolois, who anſwers them brauely. A new diſlike betwixt the Duke and the Earle for them of Croy. Ciuill warre in France, called the warre of the Common-weale. The French King and the Liegeois in league againſt the Duke of Bourgongne. The Earle of Charolois goes with an armie againſt the Liegeois: a peace is made. Diſſembling betwixt the French King and the Earle. Thoſe of Santroin and Dynant in the countrey of Liege breake the peace. Dynant beſieged by the Duke of Bourgongne, taken and puniſhed. A ſecond peace made betwixt the Duke and the Liegeois. The Earle of Charolois marries the lady* Marguerite *ſiſter to the King of England: the death of Duke* Philip. *The arte of Printing inuented at Harlem in Holland, and ſtolne away to Mentz.*

PHILIP the firſt of that name, the 30. Earle of Holland and Zeeland; and Lord of Friſeland: ſonne to *Iohn* Duke of Bourgongne, ſlaine at Montereau-faut-yonne, was at the firſt Gouernor of thoſe Prouinces (as we haue ſaid) then by the death of the Lady *Iaqueline*, Counteſſe of the ſaid Prouinces, he was right heire and lawfull ſucceſſor, both by father and mother. And ſo was Duke of Bourgongne, Brabant and Lembourg; Earle of Flanders, Artois, Bourgongne, Henault, Holland, Zeeland and Namur; Marquis of the holy Empire, and Lord of Friſeland, Salins and Macklyn. He did afterwards purchaſe (hauing conquered it by armes in the name of the widow of the deceaſed duke) the duchie of Luxembourg, & other ſiegneories, ſo as he was the mightieſt Prince of all his Predeceſſors in the ſaid countries: Hee had to his firſt wife *Michelle*, daughter to *Charles* the ſixth, king of France, who dyed without children, in the yeere 1422. and lyes buried at Gant. Then he married *Bonne*, or *Olande*, daughter to the Earle of Eu, by a diſpenſation from the Pope, for that ſhee had beene formerly married to *Philip* Earle of Neuers his Vncle, the which was a wonderfull faire lady, and dyed alſo without children. For his laſt wife he had *Iſabell*, daughter to *Iohn* King of Portugall, Aunt to the lady *Elenor*, who was wife to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third. This *Iſabell* was brought by ſea into Flanders, and landed at Scluſe, in the yeare 1430. by whom he had three ſonnes; the eldeſt at Bruſſels in the yeare 1431. called *Anthonie*: who liued not long. Then in the yeare 1433. an other ſonne called *Ioſſe*, who died alſo very yong. The yeere following 1434, ſhe was brought in bedde, at Digeon in Bourgongne, on S. *Martins* Eue, of her third ſonne, called *Charles Martin*, for that hee was borne the ſaid day. There was in this Princeſſe (as ſome ſay) ſome thing worthy of obſeruation, which was, that when ſhe tooke her leaue of her father, to goe into Flanders to the Duke her ſpouſe, the father hauing giuen her his bleſſing, ſaid vnto her, that ſhe ſhould haue three ſons, whereof two (which ſhe ſhould not nurſe her ſelfe) ſhould be ſhort liued, as it happened to the two firſt; and therefore ſhee her

1437.

Duke Philip right heire to Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland.

His wiues and children.

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selfe gaue sucke vnto the last sonne *Charles*: who after that hee was baptized, was made Knight of the golden Fleece, and his father gaue vnto him, the Earledome of Charolois, the siegneories of Bethune in Artois, Chasteau-Bellam in Bourgongne, and Arkell in Holland. This Duke had some bastards; among others *Dauid* bishop of Teroane and afterwards of Vtretch, who did much mischiefe to them of Brederode. *Cornellis* who died in his youth, being slaine at the defeat of the Gantois, before Ripelmond. *Anthonie* Earle of Steenbergh, *Baldwin* a Knight, *Philip* his Admirall at sea, and *Iohn*. Then *Anne*, wife to *Adrian* of Borssele, signior of Brigdam, who was afterwardes married to *Adolfe* of Cleues, Lord of Raueستein, brother to the duke of Cleues.

Duke Philips bastards.

1438. Warre betwixt the Esterlins & the Hollanders, & zelanders.

In the yeare 1438. the Esterlins enuying the sprosperitie of the Nauigations of the Hollanders, and Zeelanders, trafficking in all places at sea, as well as themselues; sought to take and spoile them; the which bred a great warre at sea betwixt them: In the which the Hollanders, (with the consent of their Duke) grew so strong in shipping, as after they had recouered more then their losses, they chased the Easterlins out of the sea, vntill an agreement was made betwixt them. In signe whereof they did beare (as they doe at this day) a little besome at the toppe of their maine mast, to shew they had once clensed the Sea from these Esterlins: whereof they were a long time maisters.

1444. The factions reuiued in Holland.

In the yeere 1444. the faction of Schyeringers and Vetcoopers, being somewhat pacified in Friseland: new troubles grew in Holland by the factions of the Hoocks and Cabillaux, vpon this occasion, especially in the townes of Harlem, and Amsterdam, but chiefely at Leyden; in the which the Magistrates had granted a Subsidie vnto the duke, which was so great and burthensome, as it was not possible to furnish it, without oppression to the Commons. The Magistrates were for the most part of the faction of the Hoeckins, yet the better part of the Cabillautin faction had consented to the raising of this extraordinarie imposition. The people being thus ouercharged, ioyned with the Cabillautin faction, which was the cause of great mischiefe: for on a Saint *Peters* day, there was a great insurrection in the Towne of Amsterdam: the Hoeckins chasing away all the Cabillautins, and their adherents, who made their retreat vnto Harlem, being of their faction. The Duke keeping his court at Brusselles, hearing of this disorder, sent the Lady *Isabell* his wife, with some of his counsell to redresse it, and to pacifie their quarrels. Herevpon the like tumult happened in Harlem, by reason of these heauy impositions, the two factions arming one against another, and comming to handie stroakes, so that some were hurt, and others slaine. The Duchesse was presently aduertised thereof, and sent a gentleman of her Houshold, with *Gerard van Zyl* thither; who beeing arriued, commanded the people in the Princes name, to lay aside their armes, the which was done, but yet the troubles seased not: for they were much incensed against the lord of Lalain, Gouernor of Holland, to whom they did impute the cause of these Impositions; so as if they could haue once gotten him, they would without all doubt haue murthered him, The Ducheſſe went to Harlem, whereas the next day after her arriuall, the Cabillautines chased away all the Hoeckins, so as she was greatly troubled to preserue them from spoile: causing all the Cabillautins to returne into the Towne, which had been before expelled. Shee commanded them of Amsterdam, and the partisans of the Hoeckin faction, that were expelled Harlem, to carry themselues discretly, and to keepe well their towne.

A tumult at Amsterdam by the factious.

The Dutchesse comes into Holland, to pacifie the troubles.

She returnes without any effect.

The Duke sends for the heads of both factions.

In the end leauing the affaires of Holland in this confusion, and not able to pacifie them, she returned to Brusselles, where hauing informed the Duke her husband, of the estate of the countrie, he sent for all the Lordes, Knights and Deputies of the townes of Holland, of both factions, to come before him at Brusselles, vppon great penalties: and with them the Lorde of Lalain. The duke hauing heard both parties, he dismissed the Lorde of Lalain, from his place of Lieutenant, instituting in his place, a worthy and wise man of Flanders; called *Gosswin* of Wilde. And to the ende hee should not more carry his Predecessors title, the which seemed odious to all the Nobilitie; hee would haue him called President of Holland, Zeeland, and west Froezland. If *William* of Lalain did carry himselfe ill in his place of Lieutenant, this *Goswin* behaued himselfe much worse; for he afterwards lost his head, for his wicked life.

Institution of the first President in Holland.

At

A At this time there happened a great tumult in the towne of Leyden: so as they fell to armes: the Cabillautins charged the Hoeckins in such sort, as they were forced to recoyle vnto Saint *Pancratts* Church, whereas many of the Hoeckin faction were slaine, wounded, and taken Prisoners, to the number of sixe score, whereof three of the chiefe that were the motiues of this trouble lost their heads: and there had beene more executed, if the Earle of Osteruant had not saued them: the rest were put to great fines. A tumult at Leyden.

The Duke hearing what had past at Leyden, resolued to goe into Holland, to pacifie these troubles and reconcile his subiects. Whether hee came accompanied with *Iohn* Earle of Nassau, Lord of Breda, and many Barons and knights. Whether likewise came B *Iohn* of Hensberg, bishop of Liege, at the request of *Ghysbrecht* of Brederode, Prouost Cathedrall of Vtrech his cousin, to reconcile the Hoeckins with their Prince. The Duke sent the Earle of Nasau before him to Harlem, to let them vnderstand the cause of his comming, and his intention. This *Ghysbrecht* of Brederode was there also. And being of the Hoeckin faction, the Earle of Nassau and the bishop of Liege made his peace with the duke to the great discontent of his enemies the Cabillautins. From thence the duke went to Amsterdam, where he restored all them that had bin banished & expelled: renewed the Law of Sheriffs, appointing two Bourgomasters of either faction, and the Sheriffs, equally commanding them to lay aside all factions and partialties, and to liue brotherlike together in all loue & amitie, imposing great punishments C vpon them, that should breake his commandements in that regard, and for the authors of any troubles; how meane soeuer they were. This done, after that hee had reduced all to a good order, he departed out of Holland and returned into Brabant. The Duke comes into Holland. He reconciles the two factions.

The duke hauing the yeere before besieged Calais, pretending it to be of the Iymits of Flanders, as part of the county of Guynes, which came vnto him by Session from *Charles* the 7. King of France, was abandoned by the Flemmings at this siege. He remembring the affront which they had done him (hauing punished them of Bruges before) he resolued in the yeare 1452. to doe as much to the Ganthois, to begin and to satisfie himselfe of the great losse and charge hee had beene at, by reason of the raising of this siege: he layd a new imposition vpon all the Countrie of Flanders, of sixe Pat- D tars vpon euery sack of Salt, comming from France, Spaine, or else-where. Wherevnto the Ganthois would by no meanes yeeld. The Duke seeing their obstinacie and wilfulnesse, caused them to be taken and ransomed throughout all his other countries as his sworne enemies. The Ganthois did the like vnto the Dukes men, or to such as did any way affect his party. Herevpon they went to armes: the Ganthois drew many townes into their faction, and forced some; marching in field with their colours flying, in forme of an armie. The Duke had also his armie in field, of the which the Earle of Estampes was generall, who made sharpe warres against the Ganthois, in the which they were some-times beaten, and did some-times beate the Dukes troopes. In the end after a great ruine of townes, and destruction of the country of Flanders, the Ganthois ha- E uing receiued a great defeate by the succours which the Hollanders sent vnto the duke and afterwards an other, where there were slaine 6000. of them vpon the place, which was the 23. of July 1453. They sent their deputies the 26. of the said moneth vnto the Duke, to aske him forgiuenesse in the name of all the people, and the 30. following, by the prayers and intercessions of some Noblemen, both cleargie and secular, they were reconciled vnto the duke vpon certaine conditions, who receiued them into grace: the warre hauing continued fiue yeares. The conditions of this reconciliation (by the which the greatnesse of the Ganthois was much impaired, and the duke assured for the remainder of his life from their mutinies, and all the warres which the Ganthois had had at that time) are written at large in the Chronicle of Flanders. At that time *Adri-* F *an* of Borsselle, Lord of Brigdam, Duyuelant, Galmeade, Somersdyk and Zuyburch, married *Anne* the bastard daughter of duke *Philip* of Bourgongne, by whom hee had one sonne called *Cornelis*, who dyed yong, and two daughters, *Agnes* and *Anne*. The Lord of Brigdam was then great Chamberlaine to Duke *Philip*, and afterwards to duke *Charles* his sonne. War betwixt the Duke of Bourgongne and the Ganthois. 1452. The cause of this warre. 1453. The Ganthois submit themselues vnto the Duke, and are reconciled.

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1455. The death of the Bishop of Vtrecht.

The 4. of March 1455. died *Rodoph* of Diephont bishop of Vtrecht, hauing gouerned his Bishoprick about 23. yeares. After whose death duke *Philip* sent Cont *Ihon* of Nassau, to the Chapter of Vtrecht, intreating them to choose his bastard sonne the bishop of Teroane. *Arnold* Duke of Geldres came in person to sue for *Stephen* of Bauaria Chanoine of Cologne. The Chapter without any respect of the intreatie of two mighty Princes, nor of these two competitors, chose *Ghysbrecht* of Brederod their Prouost Cathedral, a wise and a vertuous man. This election was made ioyntly by them all, except *Gerard vanden Masschc*, & *Iohn* of Wittenhurst Chanoins, who gaue their voice to *Stephen* of Bauaria: yet seeing all the rest were of one minde, they yeelded and consented to their election. A

Great competitors for the bishopricks.

Sugiestions by the Hoecken faction against the bishop of Vtrecht.

This election did not much please them of the Cabillautin faction in Holland, for that those of Brederode were of the Hoekins, seeking all meanes to hinder it, and sending some of the chiefe among them to Brussels to the Duke of Bourgongne, giuing him to vnderstand, that if this election were of force, and that *Ghysbrecht* of Brederode remained absolute bishop, he was in danger to loose his Earldome of Holland, if he did not preuent it by his wisedome. For that (said they) *Renowld* Lord of Brederode his brother, would (with his ayde) attempt to conquer it, vnder a coulour that he vaunts himselfe to be issued from the ancient and first Earles of Holland, hauing already purchased many friends in the dioceese of Vtrecht, and in East Friseland, by whose faiour he might easily seaze vpon the countrie. B

The duke beleeues false reports against them of Brederode.

The Duke giuing eare to these false reports, beleeued them; although that the lord of Brederode was well knowne to be a milde and quiet man, who would neuer haue entertained such a thought, hauing made it sufficiently knowne vnto his Prince with what loyaltie hee had serued him in his last warre against the Ganthois. Vpon these aduertisements, the Duke sent the Bishop of Arras to the Pope, to presse him to haue the prouision of this Bishoprike of Vtrecht, for *Dauid* his bastard, for whom *Alphonso* King of Arragon did also solicite. *Ghysbrecht* the elect bishop, had also sent his Ambassadors to desire confirmation thereof, whom the Pope held in suspence, yet receiuing his annuat or first fruits, which was 4000. ducats, but hee made them no other dispatch. C

The duke of Bourgongne meanes to make his bastard sonne bishop of Vtrecht by force

Whilest that these Ambassadors were at Rome, the Duke and the Earle of Charolois his sonne came into Holland, being resolued to install *Dauid* bastard of Bourgongne in the bishoprick of Vtrecht, by force: being at the Hage the Duke kept open court, & did solemnize the order of the Golden Fleece, of the which hee created 26. Knights, himselfe making the 27. The Lord of Brederode meant to come vnto this feast, but hauing some other lets, he went not, the which was happy for him, for his enemies had laid two ambushes in seuerall places to kill him: but his stay disapointed them. Another time being come vnexpected to the Dukes court at the Hage, his aduersaries laide three ambuscadoes more for him with 500. men: but hee departed sodenly, and so well accompanied, as they durst not attempt any thing, returning safe to Vtrecht to his brother that was chosen bishop. D

Those of Vtrecht hearing that the Duke ment to bring his base Sonne into the Bishoprik by force: sent him word that their preuiledges and eccleasticall orders, did not admit a bastard to that dignity. The Duke (to auoide and make frustrate that obiection) obtained a dispensation from the Pope, for his bastardise, making him legitimate. Those of Vtrecht being discontented, fortified themselues with men and with all things necessary to resist any attempt: Notwithstanding (in despight of them and those of the house of *Brederode*, hauing obtained from the Pope prouision of the sayd Bishoprick for *Dauid* his bastard) hee forced *Gysbrecht* that was chosen Bishop to compound with him, and to yeeld vp his bishoprik to *Dauid*: Vpon condition that he should remaine Prouost Cathedrall, and Prouost of Oudt Minster in Vtrecht, and Prouost of Donas in Bruges, and that yearely during his life hee should haue an Annuall pension of 4200. florins of gold, out of the bishoprike of Vtrecht: and for the charges hee had beene at by reason of his election 50000. Lyons of gold. For the performance of all which conditions, the duke of Cleues stood bound in the name of the duke of Burgongne, who by reason of this accord, entred with his base sonne *Dauid* into the towne of Vtrecht, and put him in possession. But those of Deuenter and other townes of the contry of Oueryssel, which is the high dioceese of Vtrecht, opposed themselues, and would not acknow- E F

Dauid the duke of Bourgonnes bastard made bishop of Vtrecht.

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A acknowledge *Dauid* for their prince & paſtor, vntil the duke beſieging Deuenter, forced them thervnto. Whileſt that the Duke held the ſaid towne of Deuenter beſieged, *Lewis* Daulphin of France fell in diſgrace with King *Charles* the 7. his Father, beeing much perplexed, and doubtfull for a time whether he ſhould retier himſelfe to the King of England or not. But hee thought it beſt to goe vnto his couzin Duke *Philippe* of Bourgongne, taking his waie towards Bruſſelles with a ſmall trayne, which made the duke yeelde to a compoſition ſodenly with them of Deuenter that hee might go and receiue him. This Prince was ſo honorably entertained, feaſted and treated, as hee remained fiue yeares in the Dukes Court, vntill the death of the King his Father: hauing an eſtate and traine appointed him, as if he had beene the Dukes owne Sonne.

Lewis Daulphin of France comes to Bruſſeles to the Duke of Bourgongne.

B In the yeare 1460. died the ſayed French King *Charles* the ſeauenth called the Gentle. The Duke of Bourgongne being aduertiſed thereof, aſſembled all his Barrons and cheife Nobility to conduct *Lewis* Daulphine of France, and to ſee him take poſſeſſion, as the eldeſt Sonne of the deceaſed King, of the Realme and Crowne of France. The King being crowned by the helpe of the Duke of Bourgongne, being deſirous to ſhewe himſelfe thankefull for ſo great a ſeruice, hauing as it were led him by the hand vnto the Crowne, gaue him great thankes, and to recompence him in ſome ſort, he gaue vnto the Earle of Charolois his Sonne certaine townes and caſtells in France, with a yearly penſion. The King would haue make an exchange with the Duke of ſome townes, but they could not agree, ſo as many yeares after, the King diſcouered a ſpleene and diſ-

1460. Death of king Charles of France.

Lewis King of France falles in diſlike with the Duke of Bourgongne.

C like which hee had conceiued againſt the Duke, and that before hee had confirmed the donation made vnto the Earle of Charolois of the ſayd townes and caſtells.

The Earle of Charolois beſides his ſeigneuries of Bethune, Chaſteau-Bellain, Archel, Putten, Streyen, and the Country of Goyelandt, receiued in the yeare. 1461. by *Adrian* of Borſelle his Atorney in that behalfe, the poſſeſſion of the moeity of the Seigneury towne and caſtell of Aſpren, by reaſon of a certaine murther committed by one *William van* Buren, vpon *Rutger* of Boetſelaer lord of the other moeity. And in the yeare 1462. the ſayd Earle was receiued lord of the towne of Henkelom, being but a quarter of a league from Aſpren, by the forfeiture of *Iohn* of Henkelom and *Otto* his Sonne, who in the ende did reſigne it vnto him by agreement. And ſo this ſigneury of

1461. Certaine ſignories come to the Earle of Charolois.

1462.

D Henkelom returned to that of Arckel, from whence it iſſued at the firſt. At that time there fell out great troubles in the Duke of Bourgongnes Court, for the cauſes which followe. *Iohn* lord of Croy had in his youth bred vp a poore boye in his houſe, named *Iohn* of Koeſtein, whome hee aduanced to be firſt an aſſiſtant and then a groome of the Dukes chamber, who carried himſelfe ſo loyally and vertuouſly, as the duke eſteemed him very much, giuing him great meanes, and hauing made him knight, hee was his taſter for his drinke. By which aduancements both in goods and honours, hee grewe ſo proude and arrogant, as hee beganne to contemne others, yea Barons, ſo gracious hee was in the Duke his Maiſters fauour, as hee ſeemed to bee the onely man to mannage his moſt important affaiers. At the ſame ſeaſon *Iohn* of Croy and *Iohn*

What Iohn of Koeſtein was.

E of Lanoy Gouernor of Holland, conceiued a ſecret hatred againſt the Earle of Charolois the dukes Sonne their Prince, for that hee had obtained of his Father the countrie of Arckel, the which the Duke had giuen a little before vnto the ſayd lord of Lanoy: and the gouernment of Namur and Boulenois to the lord of Croy: who had inioyed it manie yeares: for which guifts the Earle had growne in hatred of theſe two Noblemen: who notwithſtanding did wholie gouerne and poſſeſſe the dukes perſon, who by their means ſhewed his Son the Earle of Charolois no good coũtenance. The Earle finding it left the duke his Fathers Court and retired himſelfe into Holland, hoping that this diſlike would paſſe and die. Some of the cheife Noblemen of Brabant and Flanders came vnto him, and furniſhed him with all that hee had neede

F of. Theſe two Noblemen of Croy and Lanoy, full of ſpight, to ſee his traine ſo great, and the cheife Noblemen runne after him: conſulted (for the better maintenance of them ſelues) how they might ſupplant and ruine the Earle: the which they did impart vnto *Iohn* of Koeſtein, who fearing likewiſe to bee diſgraced and put from his Offices, after the dukes death, (beeing alſo wholie bound vnto the lord of Croy, for

Croy, Lanoy & Koeſtein conſpire againſt the Earle of Charolois.

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his aduancement) gaue eare willingly vnto them: and tooke the charge vpon him, A
corrupting a poore younger brother a Bourguignon, with the promiſe of a great
They ſeeke to poiſon him. ſum of money, and ſending him into Piedmont to buy poiſon, deſcouring vnto him to what ende it was. This gentleman called *Iohn d'Iuy* hauing performed his voiage, and brought this poyſon to Koeſtein, demanded that which he had promiſed him: the which he not onely refuſed to pay him, but alſo abuſed him with iniurious words. *Iuy* diſcontented at this anſwere, complained to an other gentleman of Bourgongne, called Arguenbant, and diſcouered vnto him the whole ſecret. This Arguenbant (being wonderfully amazed) aduiſed *Iuy* to goe ſpeedily and diſcouer the whole truth of this
The practiſe diſcouered vnto the earle. matter vnto the Earle of Charolois, ſaying, that if he went not hee himſelfe would goe and accuſe him. *Iohn* of Iuy without any farther ſtay, went vnto the Earle, and caſting B
himſelfe on his knees before him, he beſeeched him humbly to pardon him the offence which he would reueale vnto him, and then layed open the whole truth of the matter. The Earle being much amazed thereat, went preſently to the Duke his Father, to deſcouer vnto him all that hee had heard of this villanous practiſe; crauing iuſtice of the Author thereof, naming *Iohn* of Koeſtein. The duke hauing promiſed to do him iuſtice, the Earle went vnto his lodging, commanding *Iohn* of Iuy to goe vnto Rupelmond, and to attend him there as he did.

The next day morning, *Iohn* of Koeſtein beeing a hunting in the Parke at Bruſſelles, the duke called him, commanding him to go with the lords of Auſſy and Creuereur to Ruppelmond, to make anſwere to a gentleman that did greatly taxe his honour. Koeſ- C
tein anſwered him proudly, after his accuſtomed manner: that hee feared no man liuing, whervpon he pulled on his bootes, and went to horſe-backe with fiue ſeruants: and ſo went to the lord of Auſſy, whome hee found on horſe-backe, with the lord of Creuecœur, with fifteene or ſixteene Archers of the Dukes garde. Being come to Ruppelmond, ſoone after arriued *Anthony* baſtard of Bourgongne, the Biſhoppe of Tournay, with the lords of Croy and Gaule. The Earle of Charolois came alſo, and cauſed Koe-
Koeſtein committed to priſon. ſtein to bee put into a Tower, of the which hee himſelfe kept the keyes, ſo as no man might ſpeake vnto him but in his preſence. Theſe foure Noblemen made the proceſſe of the ſayd Koeſtein, after that hee had beene confronted with *Iohn* of Iuy, declaring
He is condemned to looſe his head. him guilty, and condemning him to looſe his head, and his bodie to bee cut in foure D
quarters. Beeing brought to the place of execution, which was vpon one of the higheſt Towers of the caſtell, hee diſired to ſpeake with the Earle of Charolois, who went vnto him, and heard him long in ſecret, which made them preſume that hee accuſed ſome one (namely the ſayd lords of Croy and Lanoy) the which the Earle diſſembled. Hee intreated that his bodie might not bee quartered, the which beeing graunted him, hee loſt his head. This done *Iohn* of Iuy was called, of whome the
Iohn of Iuy that accuſed Koeſtein beheaded alſo. Earle demaunded, if Koeſtein had kept his promiſe with him, and payed him the ſomme as hee agreede vpon, whether hee would then haue reuealed the fact: the poore foole anſwered no, and therefore hee preſently cauſed his head to bee cut off. E

About that time *Lewis* the leauenth King of France, made a proclamation throughout the Earldomes of Flanders and Arthois, that none ſhould preſume to inrowle himſelfe in the ſeruice of *Edward* King of England, nor any way aſſiſt him. He would alſo haue raiſed an impoſt vpon the fault in Bourgongne, the which had neuer beene practiſed before. But the duke would not admit of the one nor the other: for hee was a
Cauſes of diſlike betwixt the king of France and the duke of Bourgongne. friend and had made a truce with the King of England. Wherevpon hee ſent the lord of Chimay to the French King, to ſhewe him the cauſes why hee could not allowe of ſuch innouations in his countries, and to intreate him to forbeare. But the ſayd lord was long at Court before hee could haue audience. Seeing one daie that they fed him ſtill with delaies: hee attended ſo long before the Kings chamber, as in F
the ende hee came forth. When the King had ſeene him: hee aſked him what manner of man the duke of Bourgongne was: *Is hee of an other mettell then the reſt of the Princeſſe of my Realme? yea my Leege* (anſwered Chimay) beeing a bold man and of great courage) *the Duke of Bourgongne my Maiſter, is of an other ſtuffe*

then

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A *then the Princes of France, or of all the Countries about: for hee hath kept you, nouriſhed and ſupported you againſt the will and liking of the King your father, and all others, whom it did diſpleaſe, the which no other Prince would nor durſt doe.* At theſe words the King held his peace, and returned into his chamber. Afterwards the ſayd Lord of Chymay returned, making his report vnto the Duke. The anſwer of the Lord of Chymay to the French King.

The French King being reſolued to pay vnto the duke of Bourgongne 450000. crownes, and redeeme the townes which were ingaged vnto him in Picardie, on this ſide the riuer of Some, by the treatie of Arras, he gathered together great ſtore of treaſure from all parts of his kingdome: for there was no Abbay, Chanonierie, nor riche Marchant that was eſteemed to haue money throughout all France, but did
B eyther giue or lend him. And hauing recouered the ſayd ſumme, hee ſent it to Abbeuille to the Duke of Bourgongne, from whence the Duke cauſed it to bee brought to Heſdin, where hee then kept his court. Soone after in the yeare 1463. the king came thether in perſon, the Duke went to meete him, and receiued him with great honour and ſtate, and lodged him in his owne lodging in the Caſtell, where hee promiſed to accompliſh all that remained of the Treatie of Arras: but hee fayled afterwards in ſome points. During his aboad at Heſdin, the duke ſent diuers meſſengers to the Earle of Charolois his ſonne, being then in Holland, to come and doe his dutie vnto the king. But hee refuſed to come, ſaying: *That ſo long as Ihon of Bourgongne Earle of Eſtampes, and the Lords of Croy and Lanoy, ſhould be about the*
C *King, hee would not come, holding them for his mortall enemies,* (for theſe Noblemen had left the Dukes Court, and retired them to the kings ſeruice) for hee knew well they were of his ſecret councell, charging them with the practiſe of *Ihon* of Koeſteyn, and to haue councelled the Duke his father to accept of the money for the redeeming of the aboue named townes. The Duke was wonderfully diſcontented at his ſonnes refuſall, and would not for a long time after ſee him. The King parting from Heſdin, the Duke intreated him to confirme thoſe ſeruants (which hee had placed in the redeemed Townes) in their offices: Hee granted it, but hee performed little: changing all the Gouernours, Captaines, Prouoſt and Magiſtrates thereof, appointing and committing in their places, ſuch as hee
D thought were not greatly affected vnto the duke, as the Lords of Lanoy, Croy and Eſtampes. 1463. The French King comes to Heſdin to the Duke of Bourgongne. The Earle of Charolois refuſeth to come to the King which diſcontents his father.

The diſcontentment betwixt the Duke and the Earle of Charolois his ſonne, continued ſo long, vntill the States of the Netherlands (to whom the Earle had made his complaints, eſpecially of the lord of Croy) had reconciled them together: according to whoſe aduice, the Earle accompanied with many Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and the chiefe Deputies of the ſayd States, came to Bruges, where the Duke was. All the chiefe Noblemen of the Court, and the Magiſtrates of the Towne went to meete him: conducting him to the Duke his fathers lodging, where hee lighted, and went vp vnto his chamber, as ſoone as hee ſaw him, hee kneeled downe three times, and at
E the third time he ſayd: *My moſt honored Lord and Father, I haue vnderſtood that you are offended againſt me for three things* (declaring the ſame three points, which hee had made knowne vnto the deputies of the States) whereof he excuſed himſelfe: *Notwithſtanding* (ſaid he) *if I haue in any other thing moued you to anger, I moſt humbly cry you mercy. As for all your excuſes* (anſwered the Duke) *I know the trueth, ſpeake no more of them: but ſeeing you are come to aske forgiueneſſe, be you a good ſonne, and I will bee a good father to you:* then hee tooke him by the hand, raiſed him vp, and pardoned him all. This done, the Deputies tooke their leaue of the Father and the Sonne, being glad to haue performed ſo good a worke. The ſame day that this reconciliation was made, the Lord of Croy parted early in the morning from Bruges, and retired to Tournay to
F the French King, who was there then. The duke of Bourgongne and his ſonne reconciled. The Earle comes to his father. The Earles ſpeech vnto the Duke his father. The Duke of Bourgongne reconciled to his ſonne.

In the moneth of Iune 1464. the French King came to Amiens, and from thence to Saint Pol: where hee found the Duke of Bourgongne. The Earle of S. Pol feaſted them with great ſtate, then they went together to Heſdin, whereas the king required him to yeeld vnto him the gouernment of Lille, Douay and Orchies, ſatisfying him the 1464.

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Which is 20000. pound ſtarling.

ſum of two hundred thouſand Liuers, and paying him 10000. Liuers of yearly penſion, for which ſummes of money hee ſaid the ſayd Gouernment had beene ingaged by a King of France long ſince to an Earle of Flanders. Whereunto the duke anſwered; that when his Grand-father duke *Philip* called *the Hardie*, ſonne to *Iohn* King of France, tooke to wife the Lady *Marguerite*, daughter and onely heire to *Lewis* of Male Earle of Flanders, the ſaid Chaſtelenies were giuen to him and his heires males for euer by the King: and in caſe he had not any, then to returne vnto the Crowne, for the ſayd ſumme and yearely rent. The King made certaine other demands vnto the duke, but he would not hearken vnto them, for that they were vnreaſonable. The duke for his part made three requeſts vnto the King: the firſt was, that he would receiue the Earle of Charolois his ſonne into his grace and fauour, for that he heard the King had beene diſpleaſed with him. The ſecond was that he would not force the Gentlemen his ſubiects and reſident in his countries, holding any fees of land of his Maieſtie, to take any other othe then Gentlemen were accuſtomed to take: for that the King would haue forced ſome to ſweare, to ſerue him indifferently againſt all men. The third was to accompliſh all that remained to be accompliſhed of the treatie of *Arras*, the which he had promiſed and ſworne, when as he redeemed the townes that were ingaged. To which requeſts the King lent a deafe eare, and parted the next day from Heſdin.

Certaine demands made by the French King vnto the duke of Bourgongne.

The Dukes requeſts vnto the King.

A

B

The baſtard of Rubempre ſent into Holland to ſurpriſe the Earle of Charolois.

+ During the Kings ſtay at Heſdin, the baſtard of Rubempre had charge to enter into Crotoye, with a great ſhip called the Balleuier, and forty choiſe ſoldiers with him, to goe into Holland, whereas the Earle of Charolois then remained, who comming into a Port of Holland, the baſtard went to the Hage (whereas the Earle was) as ſecretly as he could: but being drinking at a Tauerne hee was knowne, and diſcouered vnto the Earle, who cauſed him and his companions to bee apprehended and put in priſon: Soone after his companions were deliuered, and the baſtard remained ſtill in priſon, with one other. They had ſent to ſeaze vpon the Ship, but hearing of the Captaines apprehenſion, it put to Sea, and returned to Crottoy. The common fame was then, that the French King had giuen charge by letters written and ſigned with his owne hand to this Baſtard of Rubempre, to take the Earle of Charolois aliue or dead. After which done, being ready with a great armie neere vnto Heſdin (which they ſayd was prepared for England) to ſet vppon the Duke of Bourgongne, (who doubted nothing,) whom hee would haue taken priſoner, and ledde with him, as hee did the Duke of Sauoye his brother in lawe, then to marry the Earle of Charolois daughter at his pleaſure, (being then but eight yeares old) and to haue deuided the Dukes countries, the Duchie of Brabant to the Earle of Neuers, and his other Prouinces to whom he had pleaſed. But GOD diſpoſed otherwiſe.

Rubempre & his companions apprehended.

The Kings intention touching Rubempres acte.

C

D

As ſoone as the baſtard was taken, and had confeſſed the matter vnto the Earle of Saint Pol, who kept then in Holland: the Earle of Charolois ſent letters preſently to the Duke his father, being yet at Heſdin whether the King had appointed him to come: and that hee ſhould attend him there. But at the ſame inſtant the Duke receiued letters about dinner time from his ſonne, acquainting him with the baſtards attempt, and aduertiſing him that hee was not ſafe at Heſdin: Where-vpon hee went preſently after dinner to horſe-back, and retired with a ſmall traine to Saint Pol to his bed, whether euery man followed preſently, leauing *Adolph* of Cleues his couſin, and the Lord of Crequi, to guard the towne, inioyning them notwithſtanding, that if the King would come, to open him the Towne and Caſtle. As ſoone as the King was aduertiſed that the Duke was gone ſo ſodenly from Heſdin, hee went to Rouan: and the Duke of Bourbon came to Lille, to ſee the Duke of Bourgongne his Vncle, and from thence to Gaunt, to the Earle of Charolois his Couſin.

The duke of Bourgongne retires in haſt from Heſdin.

E

1464. The French king ſends Ambaſſadors to the duke of Bourgongne.

The fourth of Nouember the ſame yeare 1464. the Earle of Charolois came to Lille, with about a hundred Knights and Gentlemen, and ſome ſixe hundreth horſe in his traine. All the people were very ioyfull at his comming: being alighted from his horſe, hee went to doe his dutie to his father. The next day there came into the ſame towne of Lille the Earle of Eu, Moruillier Chancellor of France,

F

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A France, and the Archbiſhop of Narbone, Ambaſſadors from the king: the next day they had a publike audience, in the preſence of the Duke and Earle his ſonne: inſiſting vppon three pointes; The firſt was, that they demanded the Baſtard of Rubempre, who was detained priſoner in Holland. The ſecond was, that reparation were made vnto the King, for the imputations which had beene layed vppon him ſince the impriſonment of the ſaid Baſtard. The third, that the Duke ſhould ſend vnto the King, one of the Earle of Charolois houſhold, called *Oliuer de la March*, a knight of Bourgongne, who had firſt publiſhed thoſe ſcandals to the Kings diſhonour: the which a Preacher had afterwardes preached in the Towne of Bruges, requiring alſo to haue the ſaid Preacher ſent, to doe iuſtice of them according to their merites: Alledging for the

The French kings demands.

B Kings excuſe, that the ſaid Baſtard of Rubempre, had beene ſent into Holland to take the Vice-chancellor of Brittaine in his returne from England; and therefore hee ſayd that the Earle of Charolois had greatly offended the King too, hauing hindred the Baſtards charge, in cauſing him to bee taken. The Duke hauing giuen an attentiue eare vnto his ſpeech, and ſuffered him to ſpeake what hee would: hee himſelfe anſwered to euery point. Afterwardes the Chancellor beganne againe, laying foule and diſhoneſt charges vppon *Francis* Duke of Brittaine, whereunto the Earle intreated his father to giue him leaue to anſwere. But the Duke ſayde vnto him, I haue anſwered for thee as much (in mine opinion) as a father ought to doe for his ſonne, yet if thou haſt ſo great deſire, thinke of it againſt to morrow.

C The next day the Ambaſſadors were called againe before the Duke, and there in the preſence of the whole Aſſembly, the Earle of Charolois anſwered from point to point to that wherewith hee or the Duke of Brittanie his friend had beene charged: the which hee did couldly, without any ſhewe of paſſion or chollor, and that ſo eloquently, as all men did admire him.

The Earle of Charolois anſwers.

In the ende the father was very humble and wiſe in his concluſion, beſeeching the King that hee would not lightly beleeue any thing againſt him nor his ſonne, but to continue them ſtill in his good grace and fauour. After which, wine and ſome confections beeing brought, the Ambaſſadors tooke their leaue both of father and ſonne.

D When as the Earle of Eu and the Chancellour had taken their leaues of the Earle of Charolois, (who was a good way off from his father) hee ſayde vnto the Archbiſhop of Narborne, who was the laſt: Recommend mee moſt humbly vnto the Kings good fauour, and tell him that hee hath diſgraced mee heere by his Chancellor, but before that the yeare paſſe hee will repent it: The Archbiſhoppe did not fayle to doe this meſſage, the which bred great hatred betwixt the King and the Earle.

The Earle of Charolois ſends a meſſage vnto the King.

Soone after the Duke fell grieuouſly ſicke at Bruſſelles, ſo as they did in a manner deſpaire of his health: the Earle of Charolois was then with him, who ſeeing that the

The Duke of Bourgongne falles ſicke.

E Lord of Croy and his adherents, had in a manner the whole gouernment of his father s contries, holding the beſt and ſtrongeſt places: knowing that aboue fifteene dayes before the ſaid Lord of Croy, was retyred to the French King: he cauſed in his name all the Townes, caſtles and forts in the countries of Luxemburg, Lembourg, Namur, Henault, Bollenois, and other places to bee ſeazed on: placing newe Captaines in them. The Duke being recouered made his ſonne Gouernour of all his countryes, The Earle ſeeing himſelfe in this authoritie, called the chiefe Noblemen to court: among others, the Earle of Saint Pol, *Anthonie* and *Baldwine* his baſtard brethren, braue Kinghts, and the moſt of the Duke his fathers counſell; to whom hee ſayde: *My maiſters and friends, I cannot nor will not conceale from you any longer my heartes diſcontent: but will preſently deliuer vnto you that which I haue kept long ſecret. I would haue you know, that the Lord of*

The Earle of Charolois made Gouernor of his fathers countries.

His ſpeech vnto his friends.

F *Croy, with his kinſmen and Allyes are (and ſo I repute them for) my greateſt and moſt mortall enemies:* Then he made knowne the cauſes vnto them, the which hee ſent in writing to all the good Townes of his fathers countries. Hauing ſpoken thus vnto his friendes, hee gaue notice vnto the Siegneor of Quivarin (who was chiefe Chamberlayne to the Duke his father) by two or three Knights, that hee ſhould

retyre

retier himselfe from the Duke his fathers seruice, and that he should be packing with as little brute as he could, without aduertising of his Father, least he should be disquieted. The signior of Quieurain was much perplexed at these newes, beeing loath to leaue so good a house, whereas all his kindred had growne great and rich; but hee feared to offend the Earle; Hee therefore without taking aduice of any one, went the next daie in the morning to the Duke, and falling downe vpon his knees before him, thanked him most humbly for the good and honour hee had receiued from his greatnesse: beseeching him to take his poore seruice in good part, crauing leaue to depart; seeing that the Earle his Sonne had sent him worde that hee would kill him if he retyred not. The Duke hearing him speake in this sorte, was exceeding wroth, and hauing commanded him to stay, he tooke a boarspeere in his hand and went out of his chamber full of rage, saying to them that were about him: that he would goe see if his Sonne, would kill his seruants. Those that were present seeing him in that estate, caused the gates to bee shut and the Porter to bee hidden, so as the Duke could not get forth: whilest they sought for the keies, the duchesse of Bourbon his Sister and many ladies of his house came, with *Anthonie* of Bourgongne his bastard, who vsed such milde perswasions as they did some what pacifie his rage, and he returned into his chamber. During this trouble the Signior of Quieurain got out of the Court, and departed with one with him as secretly as he could.

A new quarrel betwixt the Duke of Bourgongne and his Sonne.

The Earle knowing that his Father was much displeased with him, was euery day in counsell, as well with his owne, as with the Dukes cheise Councellors, seeking all meanes to pacifie him, euery man imploying himselfe all he could in that good seruice. In the ende it was thought good that the Earle should write vnto all the good townes of his Fathers Countries, what his heart thought, and the reasons which mooued him, to discharge them of Croy from the seruice of his house, which letter should be red publikely in all places, that euerie man might be aduertised thereof. The like letters were sent vnto all the cheife of the Nobilitie, the tenor whereof is to bee red at large in my great chronicle the which I omit here for breuities sake, they were dated the two and twenty of March 1464. The same month of March the Signior of Roubais with good troupes, went by the Earles commande, to seaze vpon the towne and castell of Lanoy, thinking to finde the lord of the place there: beeing Nephew to the lord of Croy, who was then Gouernor of Lille and baylife of Amiens: but they neyther found him, nor his wife nor children there: for beeing aduertised of Roubais comming, hee had retyred himselfe with all his gold, siluer and richest mouables, into the towne of Tournay, two leagues from thence, then held by the French. The Earle gaue the sayd towne and castell of Lanoy to *Iames* of Luxembourg, brother to the Earle of Saint Pol, withall the prouision that was found within it, the which was verie great, both in poudred flesh, meale and other prouisions and munition of warre.

The Earle of Charolois writs to all the Townes.

1446.

The towne & castell of Lanoy taken.

At that time *Charles* duke of Berry, brother to *Lewis* the leauenth the French King, being about eighteene yeares olde, whome the King kept in his Court simplier and in meaner estate, then hee had beene in the time of their Father *Charles* the seauenth; one day he made shew to goe a hunting with ten men onelie, and fled for refuge to the Duke of Brittaine, the discours of all the troubles which followed after in France, being called the warre of the common-weale, is written at large in the Inuentorie of the Historie of France, to the which I will referre the Reader, for that it doth not properly belong vnto our subiect. The Earle of Charolois writ letters to them of Arras, sending them word that he was aduertised that the lord of Croy and his ffriends, did leauy men, to lead them out of the duke his Fathers countries: & that the Earle of Neuers was gone with the lord of Croy to molest the sayd countries, the which he ment to preuent; and therefore hee commanded them to make publicke proclamations in all their iurisdictions, that none should presume to serue his cousin of Neuers, nor them of Croy, without the duke his Fathers leaue, vpon paine of confiscation of bodie and goods.

Letters from the Earle of Charolois to them of Arras.

1465. The twelfth day of Aprill 1465. which was the day of our Redeemer passion, a great

A great diuine preached at Bussellesin the chappell of the Court, in the presence of the duke and of a great and noble assembly. In his sermon hee discourſed at large, what clemency and mercy was, that he might moone the duke to remit the discontent hee had against his Sonne by reason of the lord of Chimay, the which vntill that daie hee would not do. The sermon being ended many knights of the golden Fleece, went vnto the Duke, and beseeched him humblie, that according to the Preachers exhortation, he would pardon his sonne the offence which hee had committed. The next day about noone the Earle went to present himselfe before his Father, vpon his knee, saying. *My most redoubted lord and father, I beseech you for the honour of the passion of our Lord Iesus Christ that it would please you to pardon mee that which I haue misdone, for*
B *what I haue done hath beene to preserue you and my selfe also from death: and for the preseruation of all your Countries and subiects, as I will giue you to vnderstand at large hereafter.* And hauing spoken other wordes, wisely and humbly, to the great satisfaction of all the hearers: The duke holding him by the elbow, and looking still in his face, sayd vnto him. Charles *my Sonne, all that euer you haue misdone vnto this day, I pardon, bee a good Sonne vnto mee, and I wilbe a good father vnto thee.* In speaking of which words the teares stood in the dukes eyes, the which mooued the hearts of all the company, so as some could not forbeare weeping.

The Earle of Charolois reconciled to his father.

This reconciliation made betwixt the Father and the Sonne, and the feast of Easter past, in the yeare 1465. the duke sent for the three estates of all his Prouinces to come
C to Brusselles, to whome hee shewed letters written from the duke of Berry brother to the French King, to him, making knowne the great desire he had to succor him, being resolued to leauie a greater army then hee had euer done: of the which hee would make the Earle his Sonne generall, and therefore it was needefull that all his subiects should aide him with some extraordinary subsedy, the which was granted: euery Prouince according to their estate. In the meane time the army was preparing, in the which were *Lewis* Earle of Saint Pol, and his three Sonnes, *Iames* his brother: the lord of Raueſtein Nephew to the duke. *Anthonie* and *Baldwyn* of Bourgongne, the dukes bastards, and almost all the Barones, Knights, Squiers and Gentlemen of his countries, vnto the number of 14000. fighting men, that is to say 1400. Launces 8000.
D Archers, and the rest Harguebuziers, pikes and corselets. Those of high Bourgongne were not of this troupe, who made an armie apart to ioyne with the Earle of Charolois in his march, being 600. launces, and about 6000. foote, whereof the Prince of Orange, the Marshall of Bourgongne, the lords of Argeuil, Charny and Toulongeon were the chiefe.

The duke of Bourgongne leauies an army to succor the duke of Berry.

The Earle of Charolois forces.

The 15. of May the Earle of Charolois hauing his army readie, beginning to march with his Artillerie, towardes Quesnoy the Conté in Henalt. It was necessary hee should take his leaue of the duke his Father, beeing at Brusselles. At his parting, the duke sayd vnto him. *My Sonne goe: doe your best endeauor, die rather then flie, if you*
E *bee in danger, you shall not bee forsaken, though I imploy a hundred thousand men.* The Earle entring into Piccardie many townes opened their gates, others hee forced calling himselfe still the duke of Berries lieutenant, promising in the sayd dukes name to abolish all exactions and impositions wherewith the people were wonderfully oppreſt, wherevpon it was called the warre of the common-weale: after followed the battaile of Montleherry betwixt *Lewis* the French King, and the Earle of Charolois, where they ranne away on both sides, yet in the ende the Earle kept the field: after the which the Princes of the league beeing ioyned togither, they marched with their armie before Paris, where at last a Peace was concluded betwixt the King and the Princes, all which you may reade at large in the French Historie. A little before the battaile of Montleherry, the French King had made a league with the Liegeois, anci-
F ent and mortall enemies to the house of Bougongne, who were so presumptuous and rash as to defie the duke of Bourgongne and his Sonne the Earle of Charolois: then marching out of their citty of Liege they went to spoile the dukes comtrie, whereas they burnt some villages, then they went to beseege the towne of Kembourg. The duke aduertised of this brauadoe of the Liegeois, rayſed all the forces hee could, and with

The dukes speech to his Sonne at his parting.

The French King makes a league with them of Liege.

The Liegeois in armes against the duke of Bourgongne.

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with the Duke of Cleues and other his friendes, reſolued to goe fight with them in A perſon. But the Liegeois vnderſtanding that hee was at Namur, with a greater Armie then that which his ſonne had led into France, ſeeing that the King had fayled to ſend them ſuch troupes of horſes as hee had promiſed, they raiſed their ſiege from Lembourg, and returned to their Towne of Leige.

The death of the Conteſſe of Charolois.

The 25. of September the ſame yeare, their dyed at Bruſſelles, the counteſſe of Charolois, daughter to the Duke of Bourbon, a virtuous and very religious Lady, leauing one onely daughter called *Marie*: ſhe fell into ſuch diſtemperature and alteration, when ſhe heard the newes, that her husband had beene defeated at Montleherry, (for ſo it was reported in the beginning) as ſhee fell ſicke, and languiſhed ſome two Moneths, vntill ſhee dyed, for the which there was great heauineſſe and mourning at B the court.

Peronne ſurprized for the Duke of Bourgongne.

The 3. day of October, the ſiegnior of Roubay aſſiſted by Fromelles and *Arguembaut* a Gentleman of Bourgongne, ſurprized the caſtle of Peronne by Scaladoe, where as they found the Earle of Neuers, the Siegneor of Sailly and ſome others in bed. He preſently wone the Towne, which was opened vnto him, and ſo it was ſubiected vnder the Duke of Bourgongnes obedience. The Earle of Neuers was carryed priſoner to the caſtle of Bethune, and *Arguembaut* remayned Gouernor of Peronne, for that hee had beene Author of this enterpriſe.

The inſolencie of them of Dynant.

During theſe broyles in France, the Liegeois were madde, and eſpecially thoſe of Dynant, truſting in the ſtrength of their Towne (vanting that they had endured ſeauenteen ſieges, and had neuer been conquered) and in their wealth; ſtill robbing and ſpoyling their neighbours, eſpecially the ſubiects of the duke of Bourgongne, whoſe Image they made, to the which (in deſpight of him and of his ſonne) they did a thouſand villanies before the gates of Bouvines in the countie of Namur, belonging vnto the Duke, with the fouleſt reproch that any man could vtter, yea or thinke, againſt the fayde Princes and their wiues that were dead. Theſe outragious iniuries came to the knowledge of the duke and his ſonne, the which did ſo incenſe them, as the Earle ſwore hee would be reuenged, as it fell out afterwardes. The Earle of Charolois, beeing ſtill at Conflans before Paris, receiued ſeuerall letters from the Duke his father, commanding D

The Earle prepaires an armie againſt the Liegeois.

him to ſend him fiue or ſixe thouſand men, to ioyne with his armie which hee had againſt the Liegeois, and that his intention was to fight with them in perſon: which made the Earle to haſte out of France, to bee reuenged of the indignities of them of Dynant. And notwithſtanding that after the concluſion of the peace in France, many of his men were retyred: yet hee ſpeedily gathered together about Maziere, a greater armie then hee had in France; for the good townes of the Dukes countrie, ſent their ſworne Bands of croſſebow-men and Archers: whether alſo went many Knights and Gentlemen of Picardie, and of the countries that were reſtored by the peace: and of thoſe that had ſerued the King againſt the Earle.

The Liegeois ſue for peace.

The Liegeois aduertiſed of the Treatie of peace, thought they had beene compre- E hended in it, but hearing the contrarie; and that the Earle approched with a great armie, the Duke being at Bruſſelles, offring to make great reparations, and intreating to be reconciled to him and to the Earle his ſonne. In the ende they obtained a truce for 15. dayes, to aduiſe vpon the ſaid reparations, and the conditions of the reconcilyation. In the meane time the Earle went before S. Truden, a Towne of the countrie of Liege, the which was yeelded as ſoone as he came before it. The 15. dayes of truce being expired; they were diuers times prolonged vnto the 12. of Ianuary, in the yeere 1465.

1465. The Earle ſeeing the delayes of the Liegeois, and that they performed nothing which they promiſed, he cauſed his armie to march, and writ to the Duke his father, intreating him to ſend him ſuch forces as he had; being reſolued without any further delay, to fight with the Liegeois. The Duke ſent the Lorde of Saueuſe vnto him, with F his Troupes, commanding him not to fight vntill hee himſelfe were there in perſon. But being ſome dayes after ready to goe, although he were but weake of his laſt ſickneſſe: the Earle writ vnto him; that thoſe of Liege were come vnto him, bringing the

A peace concluded with the Liegeois.

Treatie of peace, ſuch as he had ſet downe, ſealed, with the great Seale of the cittie of Liege

A Liege, and that the Liegeois craued pardon: which treatie hee had accepted with th good liking of his Lord and father. The which the Duke vnderstanding, hee remayned still at Brussels.

The treatie was seen by the Earle and accepted, vpon amendable & profitable repara-, tions, the which being performed, the Earle did pardon them. *The profitable reparatiõ they should make, was to pay vnto the Duke 600. thousand florins of the Rhine, in 6. years, by equall portions. And that the Earle when he should be Duke of Brabant, and all other Dukes after him, should be* Mombours, *that is to say, Gardiens, and Captaines of all the Countrie of Liege, & haue 2000. florins of the Rhine yeerly pension. And that the Liegeois might not after that time attempt nor begin any thing of Importance, either of warre or peace, without the*
B *leaue and liking of the said Curator.* There were many other conditions in the said Treatie, which for breuities sake I omit, and the rather, for that the Liegeois soone brake it, and would not performe any thing. The treatie being thus concluded, the Earle caused the peace to bee proclaimed in his Campe, and made a reuewe of his armie, in the presence of the Ambassadors of Liege: he went from squadron to squadron to thanke his Capatines, excusing himselfe for the small pay they had receiued, and promising better satisfaction; and so he departed from them, and went to the towne of Saintron; whereas the Liegeois did an affront to his men, vnto their cost; so as if the Eale had not arriued in time the towne had been spoiled, and many inhabitants slaine.

The Liegeois offer an affront to the Earles men.

Soone after the Earle went to Brusselles, where he was ioyfully receiued by the duke
C his father; hauing stayed there some dayes, hee went to visite his townes of Picardie. Passing by Bethune, the Earle of Neuers came vnto him, and asked him forgiuenesse for the wrong he had done him; who pardoned him all, and they liued for a time good friends. The Earle of Charolois went from Bethune to Peronne, where he was aduertised that the French King had leuied a mightie Armie, and yet by his letters hee still entertained the Earle with kinde wordes, and all shewes of loue: yet hee gaue no great credit vnto them, doubting still the Kings inconstancie: and therefore hee made himselfe strong, and stood vppon his gard; knowing that the King did deale with the English by the Bastard of Bourbon, the which hee sought to preuent by *Anthonie* of Bourgongne, his bastard brother.

The Earle of Neuers reconciles himselfe to the Earle of Charolois.

D In the yeare 1466. Those of Dynant (being wearie of the peace which they and the Liegeois had bought dearely of the Duke of Bourgongne and his sonne, the Earle of Charolois:) began to make roads into Henault and Namur, firing villages, forcing Churches, and doing all the mischiefe they could. The Duke went thither in person with the Earle his son. The Dinandois scorning them and their armie, offered them many indignities. Whereat the Princes, father and sonne, being iustly inflenced, besieged them straightly; made great Bridges ouer the Meuse, neere vnto Bouines, battered it furiously, and resolued to giue a generall assault. The besieged seeing their towers and walles beaten downe, sent eight of their principall men to sue for mercie, but they preuailed not: for the next day the Towne was taken by assault, and all that were found ar-
E med, put to the sword. The Duke caused 800. prisoners to bee drowned before Bouines. The towne being taken, the Earle caused the gates and walles to be beaten downe, then he fired the towne, and razed it to the ground. The same day that Dynant was taken, the Liegeois came in great troupes to succor it, Duke *Philip* (for that hee was very old) retyred himselfe: but the Earle marched towards him with his Armie. Then came the Deputies vnto him, beseeching him to take pittie of that people. The souldiers of Leige in a brauerie, would not aduow the words of their Ambassadors: yet after two or three messages, it was agreed that they should pay a certaine sum of money presently, promising for an assurance of the saide accord, to deliuer 300. Hostages, named in a Rowle by the bishop of Liege, by 8. of the clocke the next day: but it was Noone be-
F fore the Hostages came: the Earle & his counsell disputed whether they should charge them as they retyred confusedly in disorder: some sayd I, others no. The conclusion was, that they should send a Trumpet vnto them, who going, met with the Hostages, so as all that difficultie was ended, wherevppon they sent the Deputies presently to Liege, to confirme this peace. The skum of the people, (apt to speake ill) reported vn-

1466. The Dynandois breake the peace.

Dinant besieged.

Dinant taken and razed.

The Liegeois reconcile themselues againe to the Earle of Charolois.

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to them that they durſt not fight, vſing other inſolent ſpeaches. The accord beeing made and ſigned, the Earle returned into Flanders. A

1467. In the yeare 1467. the Duke of Bourgongne beeing in his caſtle of Scluſe in Flanders, ſent for all the Noblemen and Barrons of his Countries, inuiting many of his kinſfolke, friends and Allyes, where as they treated of diuers matters, the Duke labouring to reconcile them, and to make them good friends before his death. At the ſame time, the marriage of the Earle of Charolois with the Lady *Marguerite*, ſiſter to *Edward* the fourth, King of England, was concluded, and *Anthonie* Baſtard of Bourgongne deputed with 400. gentlemen to fetch her: who conducted her to Scluſe to the Earle her husband, and from thence to Bruges to the Duke of Bourgongne, who receiued her very louingly, as well for his ſonnes ſake, as for the King of Englands her brother. B

The Earle of Charolois marries Marguerite ſiſter to the King of England.

Soone after, the Duke being aged and weake, fell into a newe diſeaſe, whereunto in his latter daies he was much inclined. The Noblemen that were about him hoping that he ſhould recouer as he had formerly done, did not preſently aduertiſe the earle his ſon, being then reſident at Gaunt, but the third day following ſeeing that he declyned more and more, and that the Phiſitions diſpaired of his recouerie, they aduertiſed the Earle of the Eſtate of his ſicknes, deſiring him to come ſpeedily to Bruges. The Earle came in poſt, where being arriued, he found his father labouring for life, who within a ſhort time gaue vp the ghoſt, the fifth of Iune 1467. being 73. years old, after that he had gouerned the contries of Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland and Henault, as well with the title of Earle and Lord, as Gouernor about fortie yeares. C

The death of duke Philip of Bourgongne.

Hee was a valiant Prince and of great courage, feated generally of his enemies: he was of a tall ſtature, and of a good repreſentation, ſweet in his ſpeech, and yet ſubiect to choller, high minded, and not willing to be braued of any how great ſoeuer, as hee did often ſhew to King *Charles* the 7. and *Lewis* the 11. of France: he was very curious to entertaine peace with his ſubiects, whom hee loued, and ſought their quiet: ſo in his time all his countries flouriſhed in wealth and aboundance. Hee was a wiſe man, diſcreet, charitable and a great Almes-giuer, by reaſon whereof hee was called the good; but full of reuenge and very ambitious: deſiring to make himſelf great by what means ſo-euer, as appeared by ſo many falſ bounds which he played to the conteſſe of Holland, his coſin. He exceeded all his Predeceſſors, Dukes of Bourgongne in riches, Seigneories, greatnes of ſtate and pompe: ſo as in his time there was no Chriſtian Prince, that for his qualitie might be compared vnto him. He tooke pleaſure to breed vp and nouriſh ſundry ſtrange and wilde beaſts. He had a Gyant and many Turks among his houſhold ſeruants, which he had cauſed to be baptized. D

Duke Philips qualities.

The Duke being dead, the Earle of Charolois, his onely ſonne and ſole heire, called for the Seales, the which he preſently brake. This done, after that he had giuen order for the dead body vntill his returne: he tooke poſte and went to Lillie, where he ſealed vp the chamber and the cofers of his fathers treaſure; appointing gardes that none might touch them: then he returned preſently to Bruges, where hee perfourmed the funeralles of his father with great pompe and ſtate: his heart was buried in the Church of *Arras*, and his body was layed in a coffin of leade, and left in the Church, vntill that it ſhould be tranſported from thence to Ieruſalem, and interred neere to the holy Sepulchre: hauing giuen great giftes to the Couent of Fryars of the ſaid Sepulcher. The Lady *Iſabel* his wife dyed the 17. of December in the yeare 1471. in the towne of Aire, and was interred in the cloyſter of Nunnes at Gouvay by Bethune: afterwards her bodie and the duke her husbands, were carried to the Chartreux by Digeon in Bourgongne, where as they lie vnder a ſtately tombe of braſſe guilt, richly & curiouſly wrought. E

About that time, the art of Printing was inuented, whereof thoſe of Harlem in Holland, challenge the firſt honor: yet afterwards it was brought to perfection at Mentz, by one that had been ſeruant to *Laurence Ianſon* of Harlem, the firſt inuentor: and ranne from him to Mentz with his tooles; they write his name was *Iohn Fauſtus*, as they of Harlem do conſtantly affirme. F

Printing firſt inuented.

Charles

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CHARLES THE WARLIKE, THE 1. OF that Name, the 31. Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Frizeland, Duke of Bourgongne, Brabant, Lembourg. Luxemburg, Earle of Flanders, Arthois, Henault and Namur, Lord of Salins and Macklyn.



Carolus Dux Burgund.

Of so many goodly Countries successor to my father,
Of three wiues I had but one only heire,
At Montlehery I defeyted the French bravely,
At Macklyn I erected my heigh Parliament.

Being incensed I made the Liegeois feele my splene,
If against the Cantons I had not taken Armes,
I had bene more happie, and cruell death
Had not shewed his force against me at Nancy.

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The Argument of the fourth Booke.

CHARLES *Duke of Bourgongne, in the life of his father the good Duke* Philip, *was called Earle of Charolois, the 31. Earle of Holland, &c. At his first entrie into Gant, the Inhabitants maintayned against him, but he brought them vnder. The Liegeois breake the peace, and entred into warre against the Duke; he defeats them in Battaile, whereupon the Towne of Liege yeelded. The Duke of Bourgongne makes a peace with the French king, who comes to the Duke to Peronne: hee was in feare there least the Duke should haue detained him. The Liegeois arme a newe against the Duke of Bourgongne: he forceth King Lewis to go with him to the siege of their Towne, the which he ruines, practises to ruine the house of Bredero'de. The Duke makes war against the Frisons. He entertaines many Princes with the hope of marrying with his daughter. The french king & the Duke of Bourgongne, seek to deceiue one another. The Constable of S. Pollgrowes odious to the both, & they resolue to ruine him. He seeks to reconcile the duke of Gelders & his son, & besiegeth Neuse. The motiue of the war against the Swisses. A truce for nine years betwixt the Duke and the French king: they sweare the Constables death, who in the end is beheaded at Paris. The duke makes war against the Swisses: he is defeated by them, first at Granson, then at Morat; wherewith the Swisses were inriched: the Duke besiegeth Nancy, where he was slaine in battaile, by the treason of the Earle of Campobachio, an Italian. Marie of Bourgongne his only daughter succeeds him and was the 32. commanding in Holland, &c: The French King seazeth vpon the townes of Piccardie and Arthois, with an intent to ruine her: this Princesse being in the Ganthois power, suffers much, putting her cheefest seruants and Councellors to death: the Flemings defeated, and the yong Duke of Gelders slaine. A marriage betwixt* Maximilian *of Austria, the Emperor* Frederick's *sonne, and the Lady* Marie *of Bourgongne.*

CHARLES of Bourgongne, called the Warlike, for that hee had been so great a Warrior; succeeded vnto Duke *Philip* of Bourgongne his father, in all his Estates, & Siegneories; & was Duke of Bourgongne, Brabant, Lembourg, and Luxembourg, Earle of Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Bourgongne, Holland, Zeeland and Namur, Marquis of the holy Empire, and Lord of Friseland, Salins and Macklyn. His father hauing left him great treasures of Gold and Siluer, hee bought (or as some write had in morgage) of *Sigismond* Arch-duke of Austria, the Earledome of Ferret, in the Countrie of Elsatia, neere vnto Basill in Swisserland, vpon the Rhin, somewhat neere to the Dutchie of Bourgongne, and too farre from *Sigismond* to defend it from the incursions of neighbour Princes. Hee was 33. yeare olde when hee succeeded all these goodly Estates. *Katherine* the daughter of King *Charles* the 7. of France, was first promised him to wife, but she dyed yong, before she was married. Afterwards hee married *Elizabeth* daughter to the Duke of Burbon, his cousin, by whome hee had one daughter and onely heire, called *Marie*. This Dutches *Elizabeth* being dead, he marryed *Marguerite* daughter to *Richard* Duke of Yorke, and sister to *Edward* the fourth, King of England, by whom hee had not any children. His father gaue him in his youth to maintaine his estate the Earldome of Charolois (which is in the Contie of Bourgongne, otherwise called Franch Contie) with the Siegniors of Bethune, Arckel and Bellain. In his fathers life time he wanne from the Sea, a great circuit of countrie, opposite to Rotterdam, causing a Village to be built there, the which hee called (with the whole countrie) by his name Charolois, and so it continues vnto this day. Hee had begunne a great fort in the towne of Gorrichom, vppon the Riuer of Wahal, but it remained during his life imperfit.

Duke Charles pourchaseth the County of Ferrette.

His wiues.

Duke Charles takes possession of his countries.

This Duke *Charles*, Earle of Holland, Zeeland, &c. His fathers funeralles beeing finished, hauing setled his estate, and the affaires of his house; went in person to take possession of all his Countries and Siegneories. Frist at Gaunt, to bee inuested

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A in the Earledome of Flanders. The Regents and chiefe of the towne went to meete him, receiuing him with great honor and ſtate, acknowledging him for their Prince and naturall Lord & Earle of Flanders. Entring into the towne, he was followed by about 800. baniſhed men, whom he tooke into his protection, and remitted their baniſhment. Hauing receiued the poſſeſſion of the towne, the next day the people did mutine both againſt him and the Magiſtrate; preſſing to haue a certaine impoſition vpon the corne freed, and to haue their priuiledges reſtored; which the Duke his father had taken from them, with other demands: comming armed vnto the market place with their Enſeignes, crying out that they would not part from thence, vntill the Duke had granted what they demanded. Duke *Charles* ſeeing this, and knowing with
B what people he had to deale, after he had ſpoken vnto them, ſeeing they departed not, he ſtrooke ſaile, and yeelded to all that they demanded, diſſembling his conceptions, vntill hee was freed from them. This trouble thus pacified, the Duke parted from Gaunt, and went to take poſſeſſion of his other Prouinces: then he came to Bruſſelles, whether the deputies of the mutinous Ganthois came vnto him, crauing pardon for the exceſſe committed by them againſt his greatneſſe, carrying him backe the letters which they had forced from him, and offring to make any reparation he ſhould pleaſe. The Duke pardoned the offence, and would aduiſe of the reparation. The deputies departed with this prouiſionall pardon. Two yeares after, the duke did intimate vnto them, that for a reparation of their offence, the Ganthois ſhould teare in peeces all the
C Enſeignes, Banners, and Standards of their companies and trades, the which was put in execution in the towne of Bruſſelles, whether they were brought. And as for their Immunities and freedomes, hauing peruſed and examined them according vnto reaſon, ſome were abrogated, others confirmed, and ſome moderated, granting them ſome new, according to his good pleaſure.

The Ganthois mutine againſt their Duke.

The Duke yeelds to the Ganthois.

The Ganthois ſubmit themſelues vnto the Duke.

A while after, thoſe of Macklyn rebelled againſt their Gouernor and Magiſtrates, whom they chaſed out of the Towne. The duke went thether, with a reſolution to ruine the towne, if the Nobilitie and beſt Bourgeſes had not ſued for mercy, and obteyned it; vpon condition that they ſhould deliuer vp all their priuiledges into his hands: repaire the houſe of *Iohn Muſe* Knight, which they had ruined, and reſtore that which
D they had taken: and more-ouer to pay him for a fine thirtie thouſand Lions of gold; whereby the duke was pacified. The Liegeois brake the peace, not-with-ſtanding the 300. Hoſtages deliuered to the duke of Bourgongne the laſt yeare; taking a ſmall towne called Ligny, and chaſing away all the inhabitants; after they had vtterly ſpoyled it. In the meane time *Lewis* the eleuenth the French King, laboured all he could by goodly offers and promiſes, to drawe the duke of Bourgongne from the allyance of *Francis* duke of Brittaine, and in that reſpect he would abandon the Liegeois that were newly reuolted: the which duke *Charles* refuſed. The King inſiſting ſtill vpon the ſame demand, ſent the Earle of Saint Pol Conſtable of France, and the Cardinall of Balue his Ambaſſadors vnto him. To whom the duke made ſhort diſpatch; telling
E them plainly that hee would not doe any thing: and in the preſence of the ſayd Ambaſſadors went to horſe-back, to goe and make warre againſt the Liegeois: marching directly with his armie before Saintron. A little before they were in councell to determine what ſhould bee done with the 300. hoſtages, whether they ſhould put them to death or not. Some among-others gaue their opinions, that they ſhould dye. But the lord of Humbercourt, giuing a more modeſt, milde, and wiſe cenſure, to preſerue the dukes honor and reputation, and for ſome other reſpects, ſaid, that the beſt courſe was to ſend them back; and at their departure to let them vnderſtand what grace the duke had done them, hauing their liues in his power: & that they ſhould labour to draw the
F people to a good peace: and in caſe the Liegeois would not yeeld vnto it, yet at the leaſt (acknowledging the grace which he had done them) they ſhould promiſe neuer to carrie armes againſt the duke, nor againſt their biſhop his couſin, who was in his company. This aduiſe of the lord of Humbercourt was followed, and the hoſtages did promiſe at their deliuery. To whom it was ſaid, that if euer any one of them was priſoner in the warre, that without any mercy he ſhould looſe his head. And ſo they departed ioyfully

A tumult at Macklyn.

The Liegeois breake the peace.

The Duke goes with an armie againſt the Liegeois.

The Duke ſends back the 300. hoſtages.

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to haue made ſo faire an eſcape. The duke being camped before Saintron ready to batter it, in the which there were 300. ſouldiars Liegeois, and one Knight their captaine. Thoſe of the towne of Liege, to the number of 30000. men good and bad, fiue hundred horſe, and great ſtore of Artillery, aduanced to raiſe the ſeege: and about two of the clocke in the morning came vnto a village that was ſtrong of it ſelfe, and partly incloſed with mariſh groundes, called Bretan. The campe was aduertiſed thereof; hauing a generall alarme giuen them. The duke knowing them to be ſo neere him, put his army in battaile, and after that hee had diſpoſed of them that ſhould gard the campe, hee placed 1200. men on eyther ſide of the village of Bretan, and hee himſelfe ſtood right againſt them with about eight hundred. The lord of Raueſtein leading the vant-gard, with ſome men at armes and Archers, and certaine peeces of Artillery, marched vnto the foote of their trenches. But he was ſo valiantly repulſt, as hee loſt about 500. men, and his Artillery; al the vant-gard wauering, as if it had beene halfe defeated. But the duke aduancing with his battaile, led by the lord of Cretueceur, hee had ſoone put the Liegeois to rout, and defeated them, whereas their died ſome 9000. men, and if night had not approched as many more had beene ſlaine, for the flight was confuſed, being purſued by the dukes horſe, but the darkeneſſe of the night ſaued them.

The Liegeois came to raiſe the ſeege at Saintron.

A battaile betwixt the duke and the Liegeois.

The Liegeois defeated.

The duke beeing a conqueror, returned the ſame night vnto his campe, before Saintron, with his whole army, two daies after this battaile, the Liegeois babling was well cowled: for the beſeeged, imagining that the defeat had beene much greater then it was, yeedled the towne, leauing their armes, they deliuered ten men at the dukes pleaſure, ſuch as hee would chooſe, whoſe heads he cauſed to bee cut of, among the which there were ſixe which had beene of the Hoſtages. This towne being yeelded hee went to beſeege Tongres (an ancient towne ſometimes the chiefe of the Realme of Tongres, which comprehended the Country of Liege, Lembourg Valkenbourg &c. the which at the firſt made ſhew of reſiſtance: yet being not very ſtrong, the beſeeged without any battery, made the like compoſition to them of Saintron, and gaue ten men, who had alſo their heads cut off, among the which there were fiue Hoſtages. From thence the duke marched with his army before Liege, the which did much trouble the inhabytants, ſome deſyring to hold good, and to defend the Citty, ſaying that they had men ynough, eſpecially a hardie knight, called *Raſſe de Lattre*, others ſeeing their countrie deſtroyed and burnt, demanded a peace at what rate ſoeuer: The duke approching neere the towne, there was an Ouerture of peace, by the ſollicitation of the Hoſtages. Who acknowledging the fauour that had beene done then, were mediators of this buſineſſe. Finally they perſwaded them of the towne to yeeld: and brought three hundred of the chiefe of the Cittie, in their ſhirtes, with their heads, legges and feete bare, who brought the keyes of their towne and Cittie of Liege vnto the duke, yeelding themſelues to his mercy, except from fire and ſpoile. At the which there was preſent the lord of Mouy Ambaſſador for the French King, and *Iohn* Preuoſt his Secretary, who were come to make the like demaund and charge vnto the duke, as the Conſtable had done a little before. But they preuailed no more then he had done.

Saintron yeelded.

Tongres yeelded.

Liege yeelds vnto the duke.

The day of the reduction, the duke thinking to make his entry, ſent firſt the lord of Humbercourt, for that he had good acquaintance there: but the entry was forbidden him that day, the mutiners oppoſing all they could againſt the peace. The lord of Humbercourt remained in an Abbay in the ſuburbes, where he wrought ſo pollitikely, as early the next day, many Hoſtages came vnto him intreating him to come vnto the Pallace, wheras the people were aſſembled, and that he would there ſweare two points, whereof they were in doubt, which was that they ſhould bee free from fire and ſpoile, and that preſently after, they would deliuer him the portes. Hee preſently aduertiſed the duke thereof: from whome hauing receiued commandement ſo to doe: hee went and ſware for their better aſſurance, which done the Liegeois commanded their men to come away that were at the gates, ſuffring the lord of Humbercourt to place the dukes gards there, and to plant foure Enſeignes vpon the foure gates. And ſo the duke was Maiſter of the ſayd towne and Citty of Liege, into the which hee entred the day following, in great triumph: cauſing twenty fadomes of the wall to bee beaten downe

The Liegeois in doubt to deliuer the town.

The duke enters into Liege like a conqueror.

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A in his presence, and the ditch to bee filled vp against the breach. There entred with him two thousand men at armes, in complete armes, they and their horses, and two thousand Archers, the rest remayning at the campe. Hee went first to Saint Laurence Church. He stayed some daies in the citie, during the which he caused sixe score to be executed of those which had beene Hostages; and with them the messenger of the towne whom he hated extreamely (it may bee for his bad tongue) he made some newe lawes and customes and charged them with great summes of money, the which he sayd they due vnto him for the breach of the peace. Hee carried away all their Artillery and armes, and raized all the Towers of the towne walles. Then hee returned into his countries: whereas he was received with great triumph; especially in the towne of
B Gand, who with some other townes had begunne to rebell. But now they receiued him like a victorious Prince. Here by we may see how much a victory doth import, not onely with enemies but also with neighbours and friends, and how dangerous a thing it is to bee vanquished. For if the duke had beene beaten in the countrie of Liege, the Ganthois had continued in their rebellion, with the other Flemings; which they did now forbeare seeing him returne a conqueror. A Prince ought therefore to be very carefull to hazard a battaile, if he bee not forced therevnto: and before hee attempt it, hee must propound all doubts and dangers that may happen, for that those that doe balance and peize the benifit or losse that may rise thereby, doe most commonly prosper better then those that rashly and with a vaine presumption,
C runne on headlong to fight, as it hath happened thrice to this duke *Charles*, as wee shall shew hereafter. But all the good councells, and all the best indeauors in the world, are of no force when God hath a worke to do, whereof we must not to curiously serch into the first causes and motiues.

The duke being at Gand the French King sent many Ambassadors vnto him to perswade him to abandon the duke of Brittayne: and he on the other side sent vnto the King to excuse himselfe, saying plainely, that hee could not doe it. This refusall did much displease the King, but especially the victory which hee had had against the Liegeois his allies (whome notwithstanding hee had least ingaged). In the end Sommer being come, the King burning with desire to ruine the duke of Brittaine, caused
D his armie to enter into his countrie. The duke of Bourgongne hauing intelligence thereof, writ vnto the King, intreating him to forbeare seeing that the dukes of Normandie and Brittayne were comprehended in the treatie of peace. But receiuyng no pleasing answere from the King, hee caused his armie to march towardes Peronne. The Cardinall *Balue* came thether to him, but stayed not long, hauing made some ouerture of a treatie, (the King tending to no other ende but to diuide him from the other Princes) telling him that the dukes of Normandie and Brittaine, would accord with the King without him. Duke *Charles* made him a short answere, which was, that he was not come to field to make warre against this King, but to succor his Allies. Presently after the Cardinalls departure, there came a Herald called Brittayne, to the
E duke, bringing letters from the dukes of Normandie and Brittayne, conteyning that they had made an accorde with the King, renouncing all other allyance, namely his. The duke of Bourgongne was much amazed at these newes, seeing that hee was come armed to field only to succor them: he was in some doubt that they had bin counterfit letters, but this suspition was soone taken away by other letters which did confirme it: Messengers posted frō the king to the duke & from the duke to the King: in the end the King gaue vnto the duke 120000. crownes, whereof the moity should be presently paied, before hee raised his campe, for his charges in leauyng of that army. The duke sent a groome of his chamber that was very familiar with him vnto the King, whose name was Frobisser. The king trusting his secrets very much vnto this man, told
F him that hee desired much to speake with the duke, hoping to winne him: considering the bad offices which these two dukes had played him, and the great summe of money which hee had now giuen him. To whome the King sent the Cardinall of Balue to perswade him therevnto, who found the duke at Peronne, but hee made no great shewe to desire it: for that it seemed the Liegeois would

The duke returnes into his countries.

Duke Charles marcheth with an army to succor the duke of Brittaine.

King Lewis the leauenth desires to speake with Charles duke of Bourgongne.

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rebell againe, by the perſwaſions of the Kings Ambaſſadors which hee had ſent vnto them: who notwithſtanding anſwered, that they durſt not, ſeeing the duke had vanquiſhed them the laſt yeare, and beaten downe their walles. And if they ſhould haue any ſuch deſire the accord made betwixt the King and the duke, would diſtaſt them. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties the King reſolued to come to Peronne, hauing receiued a ſafe conduit from the dukes hand. A

The French Ambaſſadors perſwade the Liegeois to rebell.

In the meane time the duke deſirous to ſettle things in good order in the countrie of Liege, ſent their biſhoppe his couzin (for whome all theſe broyles had happened) with the lord of Humbercourt his Lieutenant in that countrie, with ſouldiars. The King comming to Peronne brought no gard, relying in the ſafegard which the duke had giuen him: commanding the lord of Cordes captaine of the dukes gardes to march before him, onely to conduct him. The King approching neere vnto Peronne, the duke went forth to meete him, conducted him into the towne, and lodged him in the Receyuors houſe, which was a fayre lodging, for that his was to little for them both. Before this Enterueiw or any ſpeech thereof, the Duke had ſent for the army of Bourgongne, (being then full of Noblemen) with the which came the lord of Breſſe, the Earle of Romont and the biſhop of Geneua three brethren, of the houſe of Sauoy, with ſome Germaines, bordring vpon Bourgongne and Sauoy, of the country of Ferrette, whome the King loued not greatly, and among others the ſayd lord of Breſſe, (whome the King had detained priſoner) with whome there was alſo the ſignior of Lac, whome the King had alſo kept priſoner. B C

An enterueiw at Peronne betwixt the king and duke.

Theſe foure Noblemen entred into the towne wearing redde Bourgongne croſſes, thinking to come time ynough to go and meete the King: but they came a little to late. They went all to ſalute the duke: the lord of Breſſe ſpeaking for the reſt, beſeeched him to take them into his protection, notwithſtanding the Kings comming, as it had beene aſſured them in Bourgongne, promiſing him to bee faithfull, and to ſerue him againſt all men. The duke granted their requeſt by worde onely, and thanked them. The Marſhall of Bourgongne of the houſe Neufchaſtell, who hated the King no leſſe then the other Noblemen, (by reaſon of the towne of Eſpinal in Lorraine which the King had ſometimes giuen vnto him, and afterwardes taken it away to giue it to the duke of Calabria) was lodged abroad in the countrie, as it had beene appointed by the duke. D

The King ieallous of ſome Noblemen of Bourgongne.

The King beeing aduertiſed of the comming of theſe Noblemen, and of the croſſes of Bourgongne which they carried, grewe amazed and fearefull, (you may ſee what the remorſe of a guilty conſcience may do in a man (how mightie ſoeuer) that hath wronged an other) and ſent to intreat the duke to lodge him in the caſtell: ſaying that all thoſe that were then arriued, were his enemies: The duke was very glad, and cauſed the lodging which hee demanded to bee prepared, aſſuring him vpon his word. The dukes army was come about Peronne, almoſt as ſoone as the King; the which the duke could not countermande, beeing alreadie come into Champagne, when they treated of this enteruiew. Yet theſe Princes treated, as louingly of their affaires as might be. Hauing ſpent three or foure daies in this treaty, there came great newes from Liege. E

The Liegeois rebel againe.

The King comming to Peronne had forgotten thoſe two Ambaſſadors which he had ſent to Liege to ſtirre them vp againſt the duke wherein they wrought ſo well, as the Liegeois hauing gathered togither a great number of ſouldiars, went and ſurprized Tongree, in the which they tooke their biſhoppe and the lord of Humbercourt, although they had a 1000. men to gard them, whereof ſome were ſlaine, others ſauing themſelues by flight left all they had there. The lord of Humbercourt yeelded himſelfe to a knght called *William* of Wilde, who promiſed to ſaue his life, but he could not do it, for preſently after hee was ſlaine. The people ioyfull to haue their Prince pryſoner, and ſome Chanoins whom they hated, put fiue of them to death, and among the reſt one named *Robert*, very familiar with their biſhoppe, whome they did cut into many morcells, caſting them one at an others head, in deriſion, in the preſence of their Prelate, (you may imagin in what feare he was of this mad inraged multitude) marching to field they ſlue ſixteene, as well Chanoins as others, that were faithfull ſeruants to the biſhoppe. F

The cruelty of them of Liege.

Theſe

A These newes were soone brought vnto the duke, by some that had seene the lord of Humbercourt and the Chanoins slaine, saying also that they knewe no other wise but that the bishoppe was dead: and that they had seene the French Kings Ambassadors, naming them by their names. The duke giuing credit to their wordes, fell into a great rage, and crying out that the King was come thether to deceiue him, whereupon he presently commanded the gates of the towne and castell to be shut. The duke transported with the newes of Liege.

The King seeing himselfe coopt vp in this little castell and many Archers at the port, was not without feare: and that which did more terrifie him, hee was lodged neere vnto a great Tower whereas the Earle of Vermandois had caused one of his Predecessors Kings of France to die. The duke hauing thus caused the gates to bee shut, Lewis the 11. in great feare and perplexity.

B complained among his familiars, among the which was *Philip* of Commines lord of Argenton, *Charles* of Voisin a groome of his chamber and others: without whose comfort, and the counsell which they gaue him, it was likely hee would haue played some bad part with the King, or at the least haue lodged him in that great Tower. These newes were presently dispersed throughout the whole towne, and castell, so as in the ende they came vnto the Kings eares, who then was in greater perplexitie then euer, for hee saw no meanes to escape from thence: the castell gates were thus shut and garded three daies togither, during the which the duke neuer came vnto the King. The first day there was nothing but terror and amazement in the towne, the

C second the duke was somewhat pacified, and the third daie he held a councell most part of the daie and night. The King caused some to bee delt withall, who hee thought might assist him, neyther did hee fayle to promise largely: for hee feared those foure Noblemen which had serued him, and whome hee had ill intreated, beeing come with the army of Bourgongne.

Most of the dukes councell were of opinion, that hee must keepe the sauety which he had giuen vnto the King inuiolable: others maintayned flatly that they must detaine him prysoner, without any ceremonie. Others aduised him to send speedely for the duke his brother, and to make a benificiall Peace for the Princes of France. The King caused an offer to bee made that he would giue Hostage, the duke of Bour-

D bon, the Cardinall his brother, the Constable and diuers others, to the ende that after the peace concluded hee might go to Compiegne, and that hee would cause the Liegeois to make reparation of the wronges which they had done; if not, that hee would declare himselfe against them. This night which was the third the duke neuer vnclothed himselfe, but onelie layed himselfe downe twise or thrise, then rise againe and walked vp and downe his chamber, as hee was accustomed to do being in choller. In the morning hee seemed more transported then euer: vsing threates, as if hee had beene readie to execute some great desseigne. Yet hee came againe to himselfe and grewe more calme, saying, that if the King would sweare the peace, and goe with him into the countrie of Liege, to aide him and the bishoppe his cou-

E zin to bee reuenged of the wronges and affrontes which the Liegeois had done them, hee would rest satisfied. And so parted presently from them and went to the Kings chamber, to say as much vnto him. The King had some friend, (who they say was the lord of Argenton) that gaue him present intelligence of the dukes resolution, assuring him that if hee did yeeld vnto those two points hee should haue no harme: else hee should runne into the greatest danger might happen vnto him. When as the duke came into the Kings presence, his voyce trembled, hee was so mooued and full of discontent. Hee made an humble reuerence, but his carriage and his speech were lowder and harsh: demanding of the King if he would hold the treaty of peace, which had beene written and concluded and if hee would sweare it.

F Who answered I, (for there was nothing altered of the treatie of Conflans, in regard of the Duke of Bourgongne). Then the Duke asked him if hee would not goe along with him to Liege, for the causes aboue mentioned; alledging the proximity of bloud that was betwixt them two and the bishoppe of Liege who was of the house of Bourbon. Wherevnto the King answered that when the peace was sworne (which hee sayd hee desired) hee was content to goe with him

The French King offers Hostages to haue his liberty.

The Dukes resolutions.

and

The peace ſworne betwixt Lewis the French king, and Charles duke of Bourgongne.

and to carry as many men and as fewe as he pleaſed. This anſwere did much pleaſe the Duke: and the Treatie of peace was preſently brought, the which was ſolemnly ſworn; then the bels did ring, and all the Towne reioyced. A

This peace thus made, the next day the King and the Duke parted from Peronne, towards Cambray, and ſo into the countrie of Liege. It was then entring into Winter, and a very bad ſeaſon: yet the Duke burning with a deſire of reuenge, hauing called a counſell, made his armie to aduance, and commanded the Marſhall of Bourgongne, to goe and lodge in the cittie of Liege with all his Troupes, and if they refuſed him the entrie, that he ſhould force them if hee could. The people went out armed to incounter him, but they were ſoone defeated, their Biſhop during the combate eſcaped, and retyred to the Dukes campe.

The dukes Armie comes before Liege.

B

There was within the town a Legat from the Pope, to pacifie the troubles and to examine the controuerſie, betwixt the Biſhop & the people, who ſtood yet vpon tearms of excommunication. This Legat in ſtead of pacifying them, (hoping thereby to make himſelfe biſhop) prouoked them to armes, and to commit ſtranger follyes. But ſeeing this ſiege approch, and the apparent danger into the which he was like to fall, thinking to flie away, was taken with 25. of his men well mounted. The Duke being aduertiſed thereof, willed them that had taken him priſoner, to make their profit of him, as of a ſimple marchant, without making any ſhewe that the Duke knew it. But when as they which garded him were growne into ſome queſtion, for his ſpoile and ranſome, and that they came to him to be iudge betwixt them, being at dinner he ſent for him, doing him great honour, and cauſing them to reſtore all that they had taken from him.

The Popes Legat taken priſoner.

C

The Dukes Foreward marched directly towardes the cittie, thinking to enter: but thruſt on by couetouſneſſe they deſired the ſpoile rather, then to accept of the compoſition that was offered them: thinking it needleſſe to attend either King or Duke, who were 8. leagues behind them. They aduanced ſo faſt, as they arriued confuſedly at night in one of the ſuburbs ioyning to the Port, which was ſomewhat repayred. *Iohn* of Vilet, a knight, and ſome other Captaines of the towne ſeeing their diſorder, iſſued foorth by their ruined walles and other places vppon them, killing about 800. men at armes, and had done them much more harme, if the Bourgongnons had not had foure peeces of Artillerie, making three or foure vollees into the ſtreat, by the which the Liegeois came forth to skirmiſh. Vyllette was ſlaine there, and three other of their Captaines. The Duke hearing of this diſorder, which was made greater vnto him then it had been: poſted thether with a part of his armie, forbidding them to ſay any thing vnto the King, and approching neere the Towne, he went to lodge in another of the ſuburbes, The King followed and lodged neere the Duke, which put him in ſome iealouſie, either that he would enter into the cittie, or elſe that he would flie away before it were taken: or being lodged ſo neere him, he would doe him ſome wrong. For the preuenting of all miſchiefe, he layed 300. men in a great Barne that was betwixt both houſes. Thoſe of the Towne gaue them ſome Alarmes, but they were nothing: till in the ende, ſeeing how ſtraightly they were beſieged, they reſolued to make a deſperate aduenture once for all: which was the 600. Franchimontois, led by the Hoſt himſelfe of the Dukes lodging, ſhould iſſue forth and come vppon the backe ſide of the Dukes lodging: about ten of the clocke at night they charged his quarter, ſlew ſome Skouts and Sentinells with their net, and went directly to them that were in the gard at the King and Dukes lodgings, who neuer were in greater danger: yet the reſiſtance was ſo great, that the Hoſt of the Dukes lodging, and other leaders of theſe Franchimonts were ſlaine; and thoſe of the towne which iſſued forth to ſuccour them, beaten beacke into their Ports. The King and the Duke hauing eſcaped this danger not fore-ſeene, held Councell the next day, what was to be done touching the aſſault whereon they had reſolued. The which did much trouble the King, fearing that if the Duke ſhould faile to take it, all the miſchiefe ſhould fall vpon him, and he ſhould be detained priſoner. On the other ſide, the Duke was iealous of the King, fearing that he ſhould depart & make warre againſt him in ſome other place. Whereby we may diſcouer the miſerable eſtate of Princes, who can neuer be ſufficiently aſſured one of another. Theſe two Princes had made a-

The Duke of Brougongne is ſuſpitious of the king before Leige.

A braue and hardie ſallie of the Liegeois.

D

E

F

finall

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A finall peace not 15. dayes before, yet they could not truſt one another.

The duke hauing reſolued to giue a generall aſſault the next day, the King propounded many great doubts and diſcreet conſiderations, very pleaſing to the Dukes counſell, for euery one feared this aſſault, for the great multitude of people that was within the cittie, and for their great courage. All which difficulties they reported to the Duke, from the Kings mouth. The which hee tooke in ill part; ſaying, that the King did it to ſaue them: but he would not faile to giue an aſſault in the morning, as he had reſolued, ſending the King word: *That if it pleaſed him to goe to Namur, vntill the Towne were taken, he was contented: but for his part he would not goe from thence vntil hee had ſeene the end of it.* The King anſwered, *That hee would not goe to Namur, but would be preſent the*
B *next day with the reſt: for without doubt, where there was honour to be gotten, hee would not be taxed of Cowardice.* Euery man reſted himſelfe a little being armed: day being come, and drawing neere to eight of the clocke,, the Duke cauſed a Canon and 2. Serpentins to be diſcharged, to aduertiſe them of the Vantgard, who were quartered on the other ſide farre from him: they heard the warning, and prepared themſelues for the aſſault. The Dukes trumpets began to ſound, and the Coullors approched the wall. The King was in the ſtreet well accompanied. When they came to ioyne they found no reſiſtance, and there were but 2. or 3. men in gard: euery man being gone to his home, not thinking they would giue an Aſſault on the Sunday: they found in euery houſe the cloath layed, Liege taken.
C and the table couered. There was as little reſiſtance whereas the Fore-warde charged, who entred firſt. All the people being retyred beyond the bridge of the Riuer of Meuſe, towards the Forreſt of Ardenne, and other places where they thought to be ſafe. In all there dyed not aboue 2. hundred men, euery man hiding himſelfe in Churches or houſes,. The King marched ſoftly (for he ſaw well there was no reſiſtance). the whole armie entred into the towne on 2. ſides: being in all 40000. men. The Duke being farre aduanced into the Cittie, turned ſodainly to meete the King, whom hee conducted to the Pallace, & then preſently retyred and went to the great Cathedrall Church of ſaint *Lambert*, where his ſouldiers would haue entred by force to ſpoile it, vnder a colour to take priſoners. And although he had ſet ſome Gentlemen of his houſhold to gard it, The Duke ſaues the great church from ſpoile.
D yet could they not be maiſters, but they offered to force the 2. doores. The Duke ſeeing this out-rage, ſlew one of his houſhold ſeruantes with his owne hands, the which kept the ſayd Church from ſpoile: yet they drew foorth certaine Burgeſſes that were fled into it with their goods. The moſt part of the other Churches were ſpoiled, in ſeeking for the Townes-men that were fled into them. The towne being thus taken about Noone, the Duke went to the Pallace to the King (who had dyned) ſhewing great ſignes of ioy for this prize, and commending highly the dukes great courage and reſolution, thinking that thoſe words would bee reported vnto him. After dyner the King and Duke were ſeen very ioyfully together: and if the King commended his valour, behinde his backe, hee extolled him more to his face, wherewith the Duke was much
E pleaſed. The King being very deſirous to retyer himſelfe ſpake vnto the Duke, ſaying, that there was no more to be done, and if he had any vſe of him that he ſhould not ſpare him: but he had a deſire to goe to Paris to cauſe the accord betwixt them to bee publiſhed in the Court of Parliament. The duke conſented (but ſomewhat vnwillingly) vpon condition that the treatie of peace betwixt them, ſhould be read and ratified againe The king departs from Liege.
by the King, the which he did: whereuppon the King tooke his leaue of the Duke, and he conducted him halfe a League.

The King being gone, the Duke commanded the towne to be burnt, reſeruing only the Churches and the Chanoins houſes, in the which there were 4000. of the Countrie of Luxembourg imployed. He cauſed a great number of poore priſoners to be caſt
F into the Riuer of Meuſe, this done, they went to ruine the Countrey of Franchimont, (whence are drawne the braueſt ſouldiers of all the Countrie of Liege) and was no ſooner out of the Cittie but it was fired all along the Riuer. Hee lodged that The great miſerie of the Liegeois.
day 4. Leagues from thence, where they might heare the cryes and lamentations of poore people, as if they had beene within the Cittie. The deſolation contynued the next day, vntill it was quite burnt, except the Churches and ſome 306. houſes of Chanoins

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Chanoins and Prieſts, which was the cauſe it was ſo ſoone re-edified, for the people returned with the Prieſtes and other Church-men. The country of Franchimont being ſpoyled and burnt, hunger forced the Dukes troupes to retier, who went to Namur, and from thence into Brabant, where he was receiued as a victorious Prince. Thoſe of the towne of Aix la Chapelle (within eight leagues of the cittie of Liege) had during theſe warres giuen ſome aide and aſſiſtance vnto thé Liegeois, the duke meaning to bee reuenged, threatned them. But the Regents of the towne went to him to Maeſtricht, to aske him forgiueneſſe, offring him all ſeruice in time to come, and promiſing to pay him 800 00. florins of the Rhine in three years, and ſo the duke was pacified.

Aix la Chapelle ſubmit themſelues to the duke of Bourgongne.

1469. In the yeare 1469. at the ſute of the biſhoppe and Chanoins, the duke conſented to the reſtauration of the towne of Liege: whereas hee placed for Gouernor *Guy* of Brymeux, lord of Humbercourt kinſman to him whome the Liegeois had ſlaine at Tongres: and the ſignior of Wit-hem for his Lieutenant. The duke hauing ſtayed ſome time in Brabant, came into Zeeland, and from thence he went to the Hage in Holland, whether many great Princes and Ambaſſadors came to viſit him. Among others *Sygiſmonde* duke of Auſtria Brother to the Emperour *Frederic*. The Prince of *Trebiſonde* in Greece, the Palatin of Rhine, the Marquis of Ferrara. The duke of Cleues and the lord of Raueſtein his brother: the duke of Somerſet an Engliſhman and many other great Noblemen Barons and Knights. The biſhoppe of Liege, Vtrecht, Tournay, Pouille and Salerne the dukes confeſſor. The Popes Ambaſſador, which was his Nephew his Siſters Sonne, accompanied with the duke of Mantoua: one from the Venetians and an other from the Archbiſhoppe of Cologne. Duke *Charles* accompanied with all theſe Princes, writ vnto *Adolph* Prince of Geldres (who kept his owne father in pryſon) intreating him that all excuſes ſet aſide, hee would come and honour that Noble company with his preſence, hoping to perſwade him to deliuer his father out of pryſon. But this Prince doubting the worſt: excuſed himſelfe vpon his Nobility and townes, intreating the duke not to take it in ill part, if hee came not, for certaine ſpeciall cauſes.

Liege re-edified.

Great Princes come to the duke of Bourgongne.

Adolph Prince of Geldres refuſeth to come to the Hage.

A controuerſie betwixt the duke of Bourgongne and them of Vtrecht.

At that time there fell great contention betwixt the duke of Bourgongne and them of Vtrecht; the duke demanding of them the country of Goyland and all the goods, lands and ſigneuries belonging vnto the deceaſed *Iames* of Gaeſbeke, the which quarrell was not of a long time ended. Hee had alſo ſome controuerſie with the Ilandes of Amelande in Friſe-land, refuſing to pay the tribute which they did owe vnto the Earles of Holland, vnto whome the duke did ſend *Gerard* Enſem, a famous man borne at Enchuyſen: who was well receiued by the States of the countrie, ſending vnto the duke the Abbots of Lidlum, Stauerea and Florencampe, with ſome of their Nobles and deputies of townes to the Hage and there accorded with him. The which was done and the troubles ended by the wiſedome of theſe deputies, who were mediators betwixt the duke and the commons of Friſeland. In thoſe times the lord of Brederode, and *Ghyſbrecht* his brother Prouoſt Cathedrall of Vtrecht, were in great credit with the biſhoppe, and gouerned the whole citty: ſo as by their meanes the biſhoppe did what hee would with them of Vtrecht, renewing the Magiſtrate of the towne, contrarie to their preuiledges: the which hauing renewed, hee ſent for them all into his chamber, in the preſence of the two brethren of Brederode and of Reynier his councellors, and ſayd vnto them: that his intent was, that if happely in the adminiſtration of their charges vnder his obedience, there happened any difficulties, they ſhould haue recourſe vnto thoſe two lords of Brederode, and that without any oppoſition they ſhould do what they commanded, which they promiſed to do.

The lord of Brederode in great credit with the Biſhop of Vtrecht.

1470. In the yeare 1470. thoſe whome the two brethren of Brederode and their Allies, had of a long time baniſhed out of Vtrecht, ſeeking to be reuenged, and to bee reſtored to the towne, made manie falſe reportes vnto the duke of Bourgongne, and the Biſhop of Vtrecht againſt them, the which were lightly beleeued, eſpecially in that which concerned the perſon of the ſayd Biſhoppe: whom they had giuen to vnderſtand, that the ſayd lord of Brederode and his partiſans, had conſpired to expell him, and to reſtore the Prouoſt Cathedrall his brother, who had beene formerly choſen. But although

The brethren of Brederode falſly accuſed.

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A although these two brethren were exceedingly well beloued in the towne of Vtrecht and throughout the whole countrie, yet this practise, was mannaged so secretly, as they could not discouer any thing, vntill the mischiefe fell vpon them. In the meane-time the Lord of Brederode beeing sent by the superintendentes of the towne and countrie of Vtrecht to treate of some businesse with their Bishoppe, beeing come to the towne of Wyke to the Bishoppes Pallace, not doubting anie thing, hee was apprehended as a prisoner; with fiue of his base Sonnes, that is *Walrad Drossort* of Hagenstein, *Renold* Baylife of Vosholl, *Henry*, *Hans* and *Iohn* the younger. This done the Bishoppe went to Vtrecht, and seized the same day of *Ghysbercht* his brother whome hee carried likewise to Wyke: releasing foure of his bastards and retayning

The Lord of Brederode & his brother take prisoners by the bishop.

B onely *Walrad*.

The enemies of these Lordes of Brederode; gaue it out generally that they were Traitors, and that if the Bishop had not committed them to prison, within three daies they had expelled him his Bishopricke; the which they spake, the more to incense the Bishoppe and the duke of Bourgongne against them. But they were held to bee the owne practises, to haue some collour to ruine this house of Brederode, by these slanderous and false reportes. For what collour or likelehood was there, that these two brethren (who knewe they had priuate enemies within the countrie) would haue attemped any thing against the duke of Bourgongne, (for what toucht the Bishoppe toucht him) whome they knewe to bee mightie: who had euen newly forced the

Practises to ruine the house of Brederode.

C French King, and ruined the Liegeois: who were ten times as powerfull, as all those of the house of Brederode, and their Allies: without doubt there was no reason to beleeue it. They must then picke some quarrell against them to ruine them.

Informations were sought for in all places at the Bishoppes charge, to ruine them. The Bishoppe did also cast into prison *Iohn* of Amerongen Baylife of Vtrecht. Hee would also willingly haue layed hold of the Vicont of Montfort, but hee retired himselfe. *Walrad* bastard to the Lord of Brederode was tortured, hauing it giuen him foure times most cruelly: but hee would neuer confesse any thing of that which they demaunded, persisting still in the negatiue. They did also put *Iohn* of Amerongen to the racke vpon the like interrogatories, who confessed some-thing with the

The bastard of Brederode put to the torture.

D torments: whose confession was sent to the duke of Bourgongne, who grewe into such great anger and choller; as hee would not any more heare nor see the Ladie *Yolante* wife to the lord of Brederode, who by the interceſſion of the Ladie *Isabella* of Portugall, the dukes mother; and some Noblemen, was a sutor vnto him, that it would please him to take some knowledge of her husbands cause; and that (beeing a Noble knight of the Golden fleece) his processe might bee adiudged and ended by other knights and his Noble Peeres, and according to the Articles of the sayd order; the which was denied her: whereby it appeeres that they beganne betimes to infringe them, and made waie for the Spaniards, who haue broken them since.

The Baylife of Vtrecht tortured.

E *Walrad* bastard of Brederode hauing beene so cruelly tortured, yet confessed nothing, nine weekes after his imprisonment hee found meanes to escape. The which did so vexe the Bishop and his councell, as without any respect to the ranke or age of the sayd lord of Brederode, they condemned him to haue the extraordinarie Racke, to force that from his owne mouth, which his bastard would not confesse, and which the Baylife of Vtrecht through the violence of the torture had but partly confest. Foure men of account went vnto the prison to the affore sayd Lord of Brederode, whereof the one was Marshall to the Duke, who had certaine Articles written, the which he read vnto him, saying, *That* Walrad *his Bastard and* Iohn *of Amerongen had confessed them, and vpon this confession suffred death by the sworde,*

The Bastard of Brederode escapes out of prison.

F *and that hee must confesse them in like sort, and in so doing hee should haue grace*. The Lord of Brederode answered resolutlie, *That hee could not saie any thing to those Articles: and that if* Walrad *and* Amerongen *had confessed them, they should haue beene confronted with him before their death*. These foure Commissionars, (Iudges pickt out to seeke the ruine of this poore Noble Gentleman) not content with this

The lord of Berderod put to the racke.

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anſwere cauſed him to be layed vpon the Rack, ſtretching him in ſuch ſort thriſe togi- A
ther, as at euerie time they were forced to take him of, thinking hee had beene dead:
beeing ſome-what reuiued, hee ſayd vnto them. *You may cauſe mee to die in this mar-*
terdome, but you can neuer force mee to ſay any thing but the truth. The duke of Bour-
gongne hearing what had beene done vnto him (for the knights of the order made
great complaintes vnto him) hauing ſeene his confeſſions and denialls: hee ap-
pointed that his proceſſe ſhould bee vewed and examined by the knights of the
He is ſent for to the duke to be tryed by his Peeres. order, and hee himſelfe heard verbally in his defences: there were therefore ſent
Iohn of Berghes knight and *Iohn Halewyn* conſeller, to bring him to the duke. Theſe
two came to Wyke for the lord of Brederode and the Baylife Amerongen: before
they were deliuered, the biſhop would haue the lord of Brederode put againe to B
the Rack, in the preſence of Noblemen: and that before hee was laied vpon it, hee
He is tortured before hee goes. ſhould take a ſollemne oth, to anſwere the truth to that which ſhould bee demanded
him, wherevpon a Notarie and certaine witneſſes were called: this proceeding con-
tinued two whole daies; hee was once ſtript and layed vpon the banke: but ſeeing they
could drawe nothing from him without greater torments, nor from Amerongen,
they ſuffred them to goe with the ſayd Comiſſioners, who led them to Berghen vpon
Some to the duke, but they found him not there, being gone to the ſeege of Amiens, ſo
as they conducted them to Ruppelmond in Flanders, wheras they were detained almoſt
a whole yeare.

At the dukes returne the proceſſe beeing referred to the iudgements of the knights C
of the golden fleece, to heare the ſayd lord in his iuſtifications, his Accuſers were ci-
ted, to bring proofe of their accuſations: ſeeing that by tortures hee did not confeſſe a-
ny of thoſe crimes, wherewith hee was charged. But none of his Accuſers appeering,
the duke ſitting in his ſeate of iuſtice, with the knights of the order, among the which
The lord of Brederode freed by his Peeres. were *Engelbert* Earle of Naſſau Barron of Breda, the lordes of Crequy, Lalain and
others, to the number of twelue Barrons, the ſayd lord of Brederode was adiudged
free and abſolued of all crimes impoſed vpon him, and was reſtored to all his Eſtates,
goods and honours, to the great content of all theſe Noblemen and knights, who
complained much of the great wrong that had beene done him: and he was honorably
receiued of all men. Hee liued not aboue two yeares after, hee died in the yeare 1473. D
and was interred at Vianen: let vs heereby conſider of what force enuie is, which ſpa-
reth neither great not ſmall.

Two yeares after *Iohn* of Amerongen was found innocent of the crimes that were
Amerongen Baylife of Vtrecht freed. obiected againſt him, notwithſtanding his confeſſion vpon the Racke, and in like ſort
abſolued, inlarged and reſtored to his Office of Baylife, to the great content of the
Bourgeſes of Vtrecht. As for *Ghyſbrecht* Prouoſt Cathedrall, brother to the lord
of Brederode, before hee could recouer his liberty, hee was forced to reſigne his
Prouoſtſhip to an other, and to ſweare neuer to keepe his reſidence in Vtrecht: the
Ghyſbrecht Prouoſt of Vtrecht deliuered. which hauing performed, hee was ſet at liberty in the yeare 1470. and went to liue
at Breda, where hee died a yeare after, and was buried at the Chartreux by Geertruy- E
denbergh. Duke *Charles* not ſatisfied with the annuall contribution or tribute, which
the Friſons payed him according to the laſt appointment, writ vnto them that they
ſhould ſend their deputies to the towne of Enchuyſen the ſeauenth of Aprill 1470. to
A meeting at Enchuyſen with the Friſons. heare what ſhou'd bee propounded vnto them on his behalfe. They ſent their Depu-
ties. But the duke beeing troubled with the warres of France, came not in perſon, but
ſent *Philip* of Waſſenare lord of Woerburch and others his commiſſioners. There
were many things ambiguouſly and doubtfully propounded and debated, and ſo many
cauillations found out to intrappe the Friſons, as it did much diſpleaſe the Noblemen
of Friſeland, who retyred themſelues, and would not treate in that faſhion, deſiryng
to goe plainely and roundly to worke. Yet the Clergie and Deputies of townes F
remayned, who willing to haue a finall ende, deſired to knowe what the dukes
demaunde was. It was ſayd vnto them that hee demaunded a ſiluer pennie of his
coyne vpon euerie chimney, for all the countrie of Friſeland in generall. The
Deputies demanding of what valour this penie ſhould bee, for that they had no

charge

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A charge from the Eſtates to yeelde to aboue three Liards or a ſoulz at the moſt: the which the dukes commiſſionars would haue referred to the dukes diſcretion. The Friſons in like ſort demanded a day of aduiſe, to make report thereof vnto the Eſtates. The report made, they would no waies yeeld vnto it, but concluded that if the duke would force them, they would defend themſelues, and hinder his entrie into the coũtry. The duke at his returne into France, came into Holland, & hauing heard by his Deputies the intention of the Friſons, hee reſolued to force them to his will by armes; and therevpon cauſed a great fleete of ſhippes to be prepared, to imbarke his men at armes, and to land in Friſeland. But it fell out happely for the Friſons, that *Edward* the forth, King of England, being expelled his realme, came into Zeeland, to the duke his
B brother in lawe, to demande ſuccors of him againſt the Earle of Warwike who had chaſed him out of his Kingdome. The which the duke promiſed, ſending this fleete (appointed for the ruine of the Friſons) to ſuccor the ſayd King *Edward*, the which carried him backe into England. Afterwardes the duke had ſo great warres againſt the French, Suiſſes and Lorrains (in the which in the end hee was ſlaine,) as the Friſons remayned in peace without any further diſturbance.

The Friſons meane to defend themſelues againſt their duke.

Duke Charles reſolues to force the Friſons.

In the yeare 1470. *Lewis* the leauenth the French King, had a great deſire to bee reuenged of the brauary which the duke of Bourgongne had done him at Peronne, practiſing vnder hand to haue the townes vpon the Riuer of Some reuolt: the which being
C hard to effect by ſecret practiſe, hee muſt attempt it by open warre, true it is that hee had iuſt cauſe to apprehend the dukes affronts at Peronne, who had forced him to make a peace, and to go againſt the Liegeois that were before his friends: yet hee beganne it ſome what fearefully, although he had a great deſire to it. The Earle of Saint Pol Conſtable of France and the duke of Guiennes people, deſired warre rather then peace betwixt theſe two Princes: fot two conſiderations, the firſt was for feare to looſe their Eſtates: the other was, they perſwaded the King, that if hee had not ſome forraine warre, he ſhould haue ciuill diſſention at home: The Conſtable offred the towne of Saint Quentin, pretending that hee had great intelligences in Flanders and Brabant, where hee would cauſe many townes to rebell. The duke of Guienne offred for
D his part to ſerue the King with fiue hundred men at armes. The King meaning to beginne this warre with ſolemnity, called a Parliament at Tours, whereas many Iudges aſſiſted: there it was concluded according to the Kings intention, that the duke ſhould bee adiourned to appeere in the open Parliament at Paris. The King aſſuring himſelfe that hee would anſwere proudly, or that hee would doe ſome-thing contrarie to the authority of the court, hee ſhould therefore haue more iuſt cauſe to make warre againſt him. An Vſher of the Parliament went to Gand, to adiorne him (being vnder the ſouerainty of the crowne of France) which he did at his comming from the maſſe: whereat he was much amazed and diſcontented: hauing cauſed the Vſher to be put in priſon, yet ſoone after he ſuffred him to depart without any further harme.

1470.

Warre begun betwixt Lewis of France and the duke of Bourgongne.

The duke of Bourgongne adiourned to appeere at Paris.

E The duke being aduertiſed that the King came to aſſaile him, leauied a great number of men giuing them halfe a pay, to haue them ready at all houres, muſtring them euery month, and yet neuer imploying them. But growing weary of this charge, hee caſſierd them, caſting away all feare, and went into Holland to ſpend ſome-time, leauing no garriſon in the fronter townes. Being there, hee was aduertized by the duke of Bourbon, that ſhortly the King would make warre againſt him both in Bourgongne, and in Piccardie, where as he had great intelligences, whereat beeing amazed, he went preſently to Heſdin: whereas hee beganne to enter into Ielouſie of the practiſes they had in his townes, yet hee was ſomething long before hee could arme. And at the ſame inſtant *Baldwyn* of Bourgongne his baſtard brother, and ſome of his houſhould ſeruants,
F leauing him, went to ſerue the French King, this did amaze him more, fearing it had beene of ſome greater conſequence, for at that time the Conſtable put Saint Quentin into the Kings hands. Amiens yeelded (by his owne fault, for that hee would not enter into it being ſent for from Dourlans) from Dourlans he retired to Arras, fearing the like inconueniences.

The townes of Picardy reuolt from the duke.

Theſe two chiefe townes of Amiens and Saint Quentin beeing yeelded: there

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was an other practise: the Constable laboring to make a marriage betwixt the duke of Guienne and the duke of Bourgongnes daughter, saying that otherwise hee was not likely to haue any ende of the warres. The duke receiuing this answere knewe well that the Constable did not loue him, and that hee was the chiefe Instrument of this warre, wherevpon the duke grewe to hate him in such sort, as hee neuer left, vntill hee had ruined and brought him to his ende. A

Fifteene daies after the yeelding vp of Amiens, the duke of Bourgongne went to field neere vnto Arras, and notwithstanding any resistance, hauing past the riuer of Some at Pygneur, where hee did beate the Kings Archers, hee went and lodged about Amiens, where hee made three campes, saying, that hee would see if the King would come and fight with him, and in the ende hee approched so neere to it, as his Cannon shot at randon into the towne and ouer it: where hee lay in campe about sixe weekes. In the meane time the duke writ sixe lines vnto the King, humbling himselfe verie much, and complayning that for the appetite of an other hee had assayled him: beeleeuing that if his Maiestie had beene dulie informed of all things, that hee would not haue attempted it. The King hauing read these lynes was very ioyfull, for that hee did not credit his intelligences much, and besides all long attempts, were tedious and troublesome vnto him. Hauing sent an answere vnto the duke, there was a small truce, but in the ende there was one concluded for a whole yeare. Whereat the Constable seemed discontented. The which beeing confirmed, both armies were dismist; the King retyring into Touraine: the Earle of Guienne into his country, and the duke of Bourgongne into his also: where hee assembled the States, who granted him the some of 120000. crownes, the which increased aboue 500000. and did greatly augment the number of his warlike men at armes. The duke of Guienne did still presse the marriage of his daughter, who ledde him with great hope, as hee did all others that demanded her: as the duke of Calabria: the Archduke *Maximilian* of Austria, Sonne to the Emperour *Frederick* and others. But during the treatie of this great and Noble marriage with the duke of Guienne, there was still some new enterprise made by him against the King his brother, to blinde the duke of Bourgongnes eyes.

The duke of Bourgongne comes before Amiens. B

A truce betwixt the King and the duke. C

The duke of Bourgongne entertaines many Princes with the hope of his daughter.

During all those dissimulations betwixt the King, the duke of Guienne, the Constable and the duke of Bourgongne, intermixt with some petty warres betwixt the French and the Bourgongnons. *Charles* duke of Guienne brother to the French King, died, the which brake the peace betwixt the King and the duke of Bourgongne, hauing beene sworne, by the meanes of *Peter Dariole* Chancellor of France, and the lord of *Craan*: but the King hearing of the death of his brother, refused to sweare it. Wherevpon the duke to recouer these two principall townes of Amiens & S. Quintin, entered with an army into Piccardie, and tooke Nesle, Roye and Montdidier: then he marched with his army into Normandie, thinking to take Beauvois in Beauvoisin, against the which hee did all he could to force it, but preuailed not: from thence hee came to Eu and Saint Vallery, both which were yeelded vnto him, setting fire of all the quarter, euen vnto the gates of Deepe. Hee tooke Neufchastell, which hee caused to bee burnt and all the countrie of Caux, at the least the greatest part, euen vnto Rouen, before the which hee went himselfe in person. D

They fall againe to armes.

The duke of Bourgongne takes Nesle, Roye and Montdidier. E

It was an vsuall custome betwixt the King and the duke of Bourgongne, euer when as winter approched, to make a truce for sixe monethes: according to which custome they made one, which the Chancellor of Bourgongne, with his Adiuncts did negotiate and treate. During which treaty they did murmor on both sides against the Earle of Saint Poll, the King and the chiefe of his councell grewe in hatred of him, and the duke of Bourgongne much more: for hee had beene the cause of the taking of Amiens and S. Quintin during the time of peace, and did thinke him to be the fire-brande of all the diuision and warre betwixt the King and him. For in the time of truce hee entertayned him with the best wordes that might bee: but when the warres beganne hee was his capitall enemie. Moreouer hee would in a manner haue forced him to marry his daughter to the duke of Guienne.

A truce betwixt the king and the duke of Bourgongne. F

The Constable growes odious to both parties.

Hee

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A He had yet an other cauſe of ſpleene againſt him, for whilſt the duke was before Amiens, the Conſtable made a roade into Henalt and burnt the caſtell of Seure, belonging vnto *Baldwyn* of Lanoy Knight of the order of the golden fleece: for it was not then the manner to vſe burning on either ſide, which made the duke to ſet fire on ſome parts of Picardy and Normandie. They diuiſed therefore ſome meane to be rid of the Conſtable of Saint Poll. On the Kings behalfe there was an ouerture made by ſome that adreſt themſelues to ſome ſeruing the duke, that were the Conſtables enemies, and who hated him no leſſe then their Maiſter, euery one exclayming on him as the Author of the warres. Then they beganne to make a collection of all that hee had ſayd againſt theſe two Princes: they examined his actions, deſcouered his practiſes and ſought his
B ruine. All that yeare during the truce, was ſpent in practiſes againſt the Conſtable, for the which there was a meeting appointed at Bouines in the country of Namur: whether came for the King the lord of Courton Gouernor of Lymoſin, and *Iohn Heberge* afterwardes Biſhoppe of Eureux, and for the duke of Bourgongne came the chancellor of Bourgongne and the lord of Humbercourt, the laſt hated him mortally, for a lie which the Conſtable had giuen him in a conference of State betwixt the King and the dukes men, the which did afterwards coſt him his head.

The aſſembly at Bouines againſt the Conſtable.

This aſſembly of Bouines was in the yeare 1474. In the which it was concluded by both their deputies, that the Conſtable for certaine reaſons ſet downe in writing, was guilty of high treaſon againſt both theſe Princes: and all that ſhould ſerue or aſſiſt
C him. Moreouer the King ſhould giue vnto the duke the towne of S. Quentin withall his treaſure and mouables that ſhould be found in the Realme of France, with all the lands and Seigneuries which he had held of the duke. Among others Ham and Bohain ſtrong places and well appointed. And at a certaine day prefixed the King and the duke ſhould haue their armies ready, to goe and beſeege the Conſtable in Ham. But hee flattered the King in ſuch ſort, as all that was diſapointed, for afterwards there was an entervewe betwixt the King and him, the Conſtable comming armed, conferring togither at a bar, where he was reconciled to the King and to the Earle of Dompmartin, making his excuſe that hee came armed for the hatred and feare of him, from thence the Conſtable went to lodge at Noion, and the next day at Saint Quentin, well reconciled as hee ſayd
D and thought. The King hearing what the world ſayd of this his conference with the Conſtable, he excuſed himſelfe for his folly and baſeneſſe, to haue treated with his ſubiect and ſeruant, accompanied with 400. men at armes, all his owne ſubiects and entertained at his charge, hauing a barre betwixt them. From that time the Kings hatred increaſed daylie againſt the Conſtable. Herein the Kings baſeneſſe is excuſed, for if hee had not done it, the duke of Bourgongne would eaſily haue receiued him yeelding vp Saint Quentin. We haue ſaid before that Prince *Adolph* of Geldres deteined his father Duke *Arnold* in priſon in the yeare 1464. which was the cauſe of great warres. The Duke of Bourgongne did often ſeeke to reconcile them, but he could not: in the end the Pope and the Emperor dealt in it, commanding the Duke of Bourgongne to drawe
E Duke *Arnold* out of priſon: the which hee did vpon a ſommons made to Prince *Adoph*, the which he durſt not refuze, ſeeing ſo many Potentates to deale in the cauſe, and fearing the dukes forces: ſo the duke of Geldres was brought to *Dourlans* to the duke of Bourgongne, at ſuch time as the French King was about Amiens. Prince *Adolph* his Sonne appeered alſo vpon the ſame adiournement. Once among the reſt, being called into the dukes chamber, thinking to reconcile them in a great aſſembly of his councellors, where they pleaded their cauſe: the good old duke preſented his gage of battaile vnto his Sonne. The duke of Bourgongne (for the alliance, which Prince *Adolph* had made in his houſe, and through the recõmendations of the deceaſed duke *Philip* his Father) deſired much to reconcile them, yet he fauored the yong Prince moſt, offring vnto
F him the title of gouernor of Bourgongne, and the country of Gelders withall the reuenues, except the towne of Graue ſcituated in Brabant, the which ſhould remaine to the father with the title of duke, & the Sonne ſhould be called *Moubour*, Gardien or Regent of the country. The lord of Argenton in his memorials writs, that hee was commanded by the duke of Bourgongne to deliuer this meſſage vnto Prince *Adolph* who

1474.

The King and the Conſtable talke togither.

The duke of Bourgongne ſeekes to reconcile the duke of Geldres and his ſonne.

The old duke of Geldres offers the combat to his Soane.

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The cruell & foolish answer of the duke of Geldres.

answered, *That hee had rather haue cast his Father headlong into a well, and himselfe after, then make such an agreement. That his Father had beene duke forty foure yeares, and that it was now time hee were in his turne, but hee would willingly yeelde him* 3000. *florins a yeare vpon condition that hee should neuer come into the Countrie of Geldres*, with manie more wicked, and impious speeches. The Duke of Bourgongne hearing the villanous speeches of this young Prince, was very much mooued, and would force him to make an ende with his Father. But as the duke (after the taking of Amiens) parted to goe to Hesdin, this Prince attyred himselfe like a Frenchman, and escaped away with one man in his company to goe into his country, passing a bridge neere vnto Namur, where there was a certaine Toll to bee payed, hee payed a Florin for his passage. But a Priest knowing him, discouered him to the Tol-gatherer, who stayed him, and caused him to be ledde to Namur, from thence he was carried to Gand, where hee remayned prysoner vntill the death of the duke of Bourgongne, duke *Arnold* his Father was verie ioyfull of his imprysonment: who to reuenge the iniury and outrage that had beene done him, resigned his Duchie of Geldres to the duke of Bourgongne, who kept his sonne prysoner: who tooke possession thereof, notwithstanding the great resistance he found there, and inioyed it vntill his death.

Prince Adolph of Geldres prisoner.

Duke Arnold resigns his duchy of Geldres to the duke of Bourgongne.

The duke of Bourgongne after the Inuestiture of this Duchie of Geldres, returned into his country, hauing his heart swollen with pride, to haue inlarged his territories and increased his reuenues with this goodly Prouince. He beganne to haue some taste in these matters of Germany, for that the Emperor *Frederic* was a quiet still man, who suffred much to auoide charge, and who of himselfe without the Princes of Germany had no great power. Hauing a desire to take something from the Germaines hee prolonged the truce with the French. For the effecting whereof, there fell out happily for him a quarrell betwixt two Noblemen, competitors for the bishoprick of Cologne, the one was brother to the Landtgraue of Hessen, the other kinsman to the Palatin of Rhine. The duke of Bourgongne would hold the Palatins partie, and vndertooke to put him into possession by force, hoping to get some share. And in the same yeare 1474. hee went to beseege Nuys fiue leagues from Cologne, and of that Dioceese; a strong Towne, in the which the Landtgraue of Hessen himselfe was, and many of his Kinsmen and friends, to the number of 1800. horse. The duke had neuer such goodly troupes of Caualerie, and among the rest 1000. Italian launces which the Earle of Campobachio a Neapolitan, led, who afterwardes betrayed him, and was the cause of his death. Those of Cologne did their best endeauors to succor the towne. The Emperor and the Princes of Germany assembled about this businesse, and resolued to rayse an armie. The French King had sent to sollicit them vnder hand. The Princes sent an Ambassador vnto him, intreating him that (as soone as the Emperor should goe to field,) he would straight gather him with 20000. men, the which hee promised vnder the commande of the lords of Craen and Salezard.

Two Competitors for the bishoprick of Cologne.

Nuys beseeged by the duke of Bourgongne.

An army of Germaines to succor Nuys.

This Germaine armie was great: for all the Princes both spirituall and temporall, with the Bishoppes and Townes had sent their forces. The Emperour was seauen monethes in raysing of this army, with the which hee went and campt within halfe a league of the duke of Bourgongne, beyond that of Collogne, which was on the other side of the riuer of Rhine, towardes Duisseldorp, to cut of the Dukes vittells. The Emperour beeing planted before Nuys, hee presently sent to the French King, to requier him to keepe his promise, and to send the 20000. men. But the King fearing the English would inuade France, laboured to make a peace with the duke of Bourgongne brother in lawe to the King of England, or at the least to prolong the truce. The King of England on the other side, did what he could to drawe the duke from Nuys, and presse him to keepe his word, and to make warre against the French King. But the duke excused himselfe vpon his honour, which hee sayd should bee interessed, if hee should rise. There was an Apostolike legate with the Emperour, who went euery day from one campe vnto an other to mediate a peace. The King of Denmarke came also himself in person and lodged at Greuenbrooke in the country of Iuilliers, who labored what hee could. But the duke would giue no eare to any: contynuing still obstinate at this

Mediators for a peace at Nuys.

seege,

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A siege, doing what he could to take it. The Duke being thus obstinate, there was warre attempted against him in two or three places. One was by the duke of Lorraine, who had sent to defie him at the siege of Nuse, and did him much spoile in the Dutchie of Luxembourg: but by the other side, duke *Sigismond* of Austria, with the helpe of the Swisse and those of Strausbourg, tooke the contie of Ferret, & made warre in Bourgongne, tooke Blaumont and besieged the castle of Hericourt belonging to the Marshall of Bourgongne, of the house of Neufchastel. The Bourgongnons went to succour it, but they were defeated, and the Swisses returned into their countrie laden with spoyles.

Diuers make warre against the duke of Bourgongne.

In the beginning of the year 1475. the Duke holding yet his siege before Nuise,
B the truce ended betwixt him and the French King, the which the King would willingly haue prolonged, but seeing it could not be, he made open warre in Picardie, tooke the towne of Roye, Montdidier, & Corbie, the which after that he had spoiled, he caused to be burnt, as he did many other places betwixt Abbeuille & Arras. Those of the garrison of Arras made a Sallie vppon the French, but they were repulst euen into their ports; there were many slaine, and of their chiefe men taken prisoners, as *Iames* of S. Pol, Brother to the Constable of France, the siegnior of Contay, heire to the old Lord of Contay, the Lorde of Carenchy and other Gentlemen.

The French king makes warre in Picardie.

The French King had intreated the Emperour to make a mutuall promise, not to make a peace with the Duke of Bourgongne, one without another, councelling him
C to seaze vppon all his landes, which held of the Empire: as Brabant, Gelders, Lembourg, Luxembourg, aud that he would seaze vpon those that are held of the Crowne of France: as Flanders, Arthois, Bourgongne and others. Wherevppon the Emperor answered wisely to his Ambassadors: telling a Tale of two companions which soulde the Beares skinne to their Hoste, before the beast was taken; as if he would say, come as you haue promised, wee will take the man, and then diuide his goods. The Constable was much grieued for the taking of *Iames* of S. Pol his brother: but this mischance came not alone; for at the same instant the Earle of Roussy his sonne, Gouernour of Bourgongne for the Duke was taken: and therewithall dyed the Constables wife, a vertuous lady and sister to the Queen of France, who had been a great support to him.

A wise answere of the Emperor.

Great mischances fallen to the Constable.

D After these three mischances he was neuer assured, liuing in contynuall feare, & swimming betwixt two streames, to entertaine himself equally in the King and Dukes fauor, which these Princes could easily discouer.

The Duke hauing contynued his siege a whole yeare before Nuise: 2. things prest him extreamely to rise: the first was the warre, which the French King made against him in Picardie; the second was the goodly and great army the King of England made at his request, hauing alwayes perswaded him to come into France, and could neuer induce him vnto it vntill that time: and now the King of England and his Nobles were much discontented, for that the Duke stayed so long before Nuise, and came not to
E ioyne with them, vsing threates vnto them, considering their great expenses and the approaching winter. The Duke of Bourgongne held it for a great glory, that this great armie of the Emperour, and the Princes of Germanie, (which was the greatest that had been seene in the memorie of man, or long before) could not raise him from this siege. The Legat past dayly from one Campe to another, vntill in the ende he made a peace betwixt the Emperor & the Duke of Bourgongne: the Towne of Nuise was deliuered into the Legats hands, to dispose thereof as the Court of Rome should decree: the which had yeelded to his mercie through famine, if hee had continued but tenne dayes longer, but he was forced by the threatnings of the English, to make composition, and to raise his Campe.

The reasons why the duke of Bourgongne did raise his siege from before Nuise.

A peace betwixt the Emperor and the Duke of Bourgongne.

In the meane time the Constable of France was much perplexed, thinking of the
F wrong he had done to the Duke of Bourgongne, touching S. *Quintin*, and hee was out of hope of the King, who prest him to come vnto him, which he would not do, vnlesse the King would sweare vppon the crosse of S. *Loup* of Angiers for his safetie, which he refused to doe: which drawe him into dispaire. At this time the King of England past at Calais with his armie, and the Duke of Bourgongne raised his siege from before

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Nuys, and went to the Engliſh with a ſmale companie, ſending his Armie to refreſh A
it ſelfe, and to bee reuenged of the Duke of Lorraine, in the countrey of Barrois.
what happened during the abode of the Engliſh armie in France, vnto the concluſion of the peace of Piqueny, and their returne into England, I leaue to the Hiſtorie of France, who relates it at large, for it concernes not our ſubiect.

After the Engliſh beeing repaſt the Seas; the French King retyred to Vervins, vppon the fronters of Henault. The Duke of Bourgongnes Chancellor and other his Ambaſſadors were at armes in Henault. The King deſired now to haue peace with the Duke; and vppon ſome difficulties that were propounded, would himſelfe treat perſonally with the ſaid Ambaſſadors: in the ende a peace was con-
A peace betwixt the French king and the Duke of Bourgongne. cluded for nine yeeres. But the Ambaſſadors beſeeched the King, that it might not B
bee ſo ſoone proclaimed, to ſaue the Dukes oath: and that it might not ſeeme that he had accepted the ſame Truce which the King of England had made. This Truce beeing made, the concluſions of Bouvines betwixt the French King and the Duke of Bourgongne againſt the Conſtable were reuiued: where it was reſolued, that hee that could firſt lay holde on him, ſhould execute him within eight dayes, or deliuer him to his companion. Thoſe which followed the Conſtable, fearing theſe practiſes,
Reſolutions againſt the Conſtable. forſoke him. The Conſtable being well aduertiſed that all his diſſignes and practiſes had beene diſcouered, and that his enemies had beene negotiators in the Truce, hee begunne to bee much amazed, ſending to the Duke of Bourgongne, to beſeech him to ſend him his letters of ſafegard, to goe and conferre with him of ſome matters of C
importance, which touched him very neere, whereat the Duke making ſome difficultie, in the ende he ſent them.

This man who was wont to be great in credite and authoritie, did then ſtudy which might be his beſt courſe to flie and ſaue himſelf: holding many conſultations with his
The Conſtable flyes into Henault. friendes vpon this point: in the ende, hee reſolued to goe to the Duke of Bourgongne, and went to Mons in Henault with ſome twenty horſe, whereas the ſiegnior of Aymeries (his deare friend) was great Baliffe, and ſtayed there, attending newes from the Duke, who was then in warre againſt the duke of Lorraine, for the cauſes before mentioned. The King aduertiſed that the Conſtable was gone into Henault, ſeazed vpon Saint *Quintin*, to preuent all reconciliation with the Duke: who hearing of theſe D
newes, ſent to the Siegnior of Aymeries to appoint a good gard in Mons, that hee might not goe foorth,, and that commandement might bee giuen him, not to depart out of his Inne, the which was done. Then the King ſent the Lord of Bouchages, and
The Conſtable deliuered to the Kings men, and beheaded. other Ambaſſadors to the Duke, to preſſe him to deliuer the Conſtable, or to performe the contens of his letter and promiſes; the which he delayed vntill he might ſee an end of the ſiege of Nancy, yet fearing leaſt the King ſhould hinder him in his enterpriſe of Lorraine, hee writ vnto his Chancellor, and to the Lord of Humbercourt (both mortall enemies to the Conſtable) that they ſhould goe vnto Peronne, and at a certaine day, deliuerer the Conſtable, to ſuch as ſhould bee ſent by the King: commanding the Siegnior of Aymeries to deliuer him to them. The Conſtable (according to E
the commandement giuen by the Duke of Bourgongne) was deliuered at the gate of Peronne, to the Baſtard of Burbon Admirall of France. and to the Lord of S. Pierre, who carryed him to Paris, where hee loſt his head. This deliuerie was held diſhonourable in a great Prince, that had giuen him his ſafe conduit, but hee ſoone after reaped the fruites of his treacherie, in the ſame place where he had falſefied his word to ruine him: God ſending him an enemie that was yong, weake, and of ſmall experience, with a ſeruant of his own in whom he truſted moſt, who became a traytor: beſides being growne ſuſpitious of his ſubiects and good ſeruants, which were all preparatiues of a ruinous change; yet he neuer fainted.

The Duke of Bourgongne goes againſt the Swiſſes. The Duke of Bourgongne leauing Lorraine, being angry, went to bee reuenged of F
the Swiſſes, for that they had headed Duke *Sigiſmond* of Auſtria to recouer the Earldome of Ferrette: executed the ſiegnior of Hagenbach (otherwiſe called Arquembault) in the Towne of Baſill: taken much land from the Earle of Romont, and the Towne of Granſon from the Lorde of Chaſteau-Guyon. The Swiſſes hearing that

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A that he came to assaile them, sent twise vnto them to make great offers of submission, the which he reiected, and being resolutely determined to ruine them, went to besiege Granson, the which hauing battred furiously, they yeelded simply to his mercie, whom he put all to death. The Swisses (being in armes, but in no great numbers, for they made haste to succor this place) marching in field, they were aduertised that the towne was yeelded, and that all their men had beene slaine.

The Duke contrarie to the opinion of his counsell at warre, resolued to goe and meete them at the entrie of the mountaines, beeing in a place of great aduantage for him. He sent a 100. Archars to gard a certaine passage of these mountaines, and he himselfaduancing, incountred the Swisses, the greatest part of his army being in the plaine. The Duke
B The first ranke of his Troupes, meaning to retyre and ioyne with the body of his Armie, the foot-men which followed, thinking they had recoyled, began to flie. In the ende the Swisses marched still on, came to the Bourguignons Campe, where they made no resistance, but all fled. The Swisses tooke their campe, the artillerie and all the Dukes Tents and Pauilions, with other infinit wealth; for they saued nothing but their persons: the Duke hauing lost all his great Iewels and plate, but there were fewe prisoners taken, for that both he & his whole armie fled. This was the first disgrace which the Duke of Bourgongne euer had: for in his other interprises he alwayes reaped honor and profit. This happened through his owne wilfulnesse, contemning the aduice of his
C Counsell. Such as the day before temporized with him, and seemed to bee his friendes, became sodainely his open enemies. And all this quarrell grew for a poore cart-loade of sheep-skinnes, which the Earle of Romont tooke from a Swisse, passing through his countrie. Without doubt, if God had not depriued the Duke of Bourgongne of sense, he would not for so small a matter, haue runne into so great a danger, against so poore a nation: whereas there was neither honor, nor profit to be gotten. One of their Ambassadors making sute vnto the Duke to diuert him from this warre, sayde vnto him: *That there was nothing to he gotten from them, their countrey being most poore and barren: that he should haue no good prisoners there; and that hee did thinke the bits of his horses and the spurres of his armie were of more value, then all the goods of the Inhabitants of the Countrey, or the ransome of them all in generall (if they were prisoners) could amount vnto.*

Swisserland a very poore Countrie in those times.

D After this defeat, the Duke was carefull to gather together his scattered Armie, so as in 3. weekes he recouered a great number of those that had been dispersed, the day of battaile: remayning at that time in Losanne in Sauoy, where hee fell sicke, for griefe of his disgrace and losse. Hauing recouered his armie (and growing obstinate as before) he went and planted his campe before Morat (a small towne neere vnto Berne, belonging vnto the Earle of Romont.) The Cantons of Swisses with the forces of Germanie, went and lodged neere vnto him, being come to fight with him, or to raise the siege. They were 11000. pikes, 10000. halberts, and 10000. harquebuziers, and 4000. horse: the Duke of Lorraine was there also with some small troupes, comming before The Duke of
E the battell, and both armies were in field, ready to ioyne: the Cantons being wearie Bourgongne
with lying three dayes so neere the Duke idlely, for that hee kept himselfe in a place defeated at
of strength. But in the end a battaile was giuen, and the Duke againe defeated, and put Morat.
to flight, he sauing himselfe by swimming on horse-backe through the Lake; the which is as broad as the Riuer before Antwerp. But it fell not out with him heere, as at the battell of Granson, whereas hee lost but seuen men at Armes: the reason was, for that the Swisses had then no horsemen: but in the defeat neere vnto Morat the 4000. horse which the Confederates had brought, pursued the Dukes men farre, and slue many, besides those that were drowned in the Lake. In the yeere 1564. I passed by the place where the said battell was giuen, where I did see a Chappell, crosse barred with square timber, full of dead mens bones, that were slaine at this battell, the heades and other
F bones laid orderly in ranks: & ouer the doores of the said Chappel, was this Epitaph. Caroli *illustrissimi Burgundionum Ducis Exercitus* Moratum *obsidens ab Heluetiis fusus, hic sui monumentum reliquit: Anno Domini*, 1476. Before this Chappell there was a Ditch great and spacious, vppon the Lakes side, (which had at the least, a hundreth foote in circomference) where as by the report of those which be neere 1467.

An Epitaph of the duke of Bourgongnes Armie.

dwellers.

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dwellers had beeene buried all thoſe that had beene drowned in the Lake, that number whereof they made ſo great as I dare not write it, ſome Authours writ, that there dyed in all on both ſides, eighteeene thouſand, but very fewe on the Victors part. This ſecond ouer-throwe and diſgrace, thruſt the Duke of Bourgongne almoſt into diſpaire, thinking that all his friendes and Allyes would abandon him, by the experience which he had of his firſt defeate at Granſon, but three weekes before.

The Duke hauing loſt theſe two famous battels, in the yeare 1476. in leſſe then 3. weekes, he retyred himſelfe into Bourgongne, to a place of pleaſure, called *Riuiere*, where hee remained aboue ſixe weekes, hauing a deſire to raiſe a new armie: yet hee went ſlowly to worke, and continued there in a maner ſollitarie. During which aboad, many places were recouered from him in Lorraine, as *Vandemont*, *Eſpinal* and others, euery one being now ready to ſet vppon him, as it is vſuall in aduerſitie, for Cowardes to ſeeme moſt hardie. At theſe newes the Duke of Lorraine leauied men, gathering together ſome troupes of the Commons, and went and camped before Nancy. Moſt of the ſmall townes thereabouts yeelded vnto him: yet the Duke of Bourgongne helde Pont a Mouſon ſtill, which is within foure leagues of it. In the end, though the duke of Lorraines armie before Nancy were very weake, yet through the importunitie of the ſoldiers that were within the Towne, the ſiegnior of Bieures, a braue Knight, of the houſe of Croy, was forced to yeeld it, vpon compoſition to depart with bag and baggage. Two dayes after the yeelding vp of the Towne, the duke of Bourgongne came well accompanied, hauing receiued new Supplyes from Luxembourg and his other contries of the Neitherlands. He had ſome ſmall skirmiſhes with the Lorraine, but nothing memorable.

Nancy beſieged and taken by the Duke of Lorraine.

Nancy beſieged by the duke of Bourgongne.

The Duke of Bourgongne went againe to beſiege Nancy, whereas he grew obſtinate againe, as in all his former enterpriſes: during this miſerable and wretched ſiege, (for ſo might it well be called, both for himſelfe, his daughter and his ſubiects) many of his owne men began to practiſe againſt him, his enemies being increaſed of euery ſide, and his friends growne cold: & among others, *Nicholas* of Campobachio, borne in the realme of Naples, and baniſhed (for that he had beene of the Angeuin faction) one of his chiefe Captaines, who had great command and credit in the Armie: this Earle (from the duke his maiſter's firſt ſiege before Nancy) had had intelligence with the duke of Lorraine, a neere kinſman, and next heire to the houſe of Aniou, after the death of king *Rene*, his granfather by the mother, promiſing to worke ſo at the ſiege, as there ſhould want victuals, and other neceſſary prouiſions in the Duke of Bourgongnes campe: which hee might well effect, conſidering the credite hee had in the Dukes Armie. The diſcourſes of all whoſe practiſes and treaſons, I omit for breuities ſake, being written at large in the French Inuentorie.

The Earle of Campobachio betrayes his maiſter.

The duke of Lorraine hauing treated with the Cantons, for men to fight with the duke of Bourgongne before Nancy, all the Townes were inclined to aſſiſt him; but there wanted nothing but money. The French King did comfort him by his Ambaſſadors which he ſent to the Swiſſes, and did furniſh him with 40000. Frankes to pay the Germaines. So as the duke of Lorraine with the fauor of his friends and the kings money, leiuied great troupes of Germanes, both of foote and horſe, for beſides thoſe which hee payed, the townes did furniſh him, ſome at their owne charge, beſides hee had a great number of voluntarie french Gentlemen: with all which Troupes he made a goodly Armie, and went to lodge at Saint *Nicholas* of Orenuille, neere vnto Nancy, where they camped ſome fewe dayes.

40000. Pounds ſterling.

1477. The 5. of Ianuarie 1477. the Duke of Lorraine diſlodged with his armie, to goe and fight with the Duke of Bourgongne. The ſame day the Earle of Campobachio, came and met them to finiſh his interprize, and ioyned with the Duke of Lorraines Armie, hauing about a 150. men at armes with him: beeing much diſcontented, that he coulde doe no worſe vnto his maiſter. Thoſe of Nancy were well aduertiſed of the practiſes of Campobachio, the which did incourage them much: beſides there was one that paſt through the ditches and entred into the Towne, who aſſured them of ſpeedie ſuccours, without the which they were readie to yeelde: and without

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A out the practiſes and treaſons of Campobachio, it could not haue helde out ſo long.

The Duke of Bourgongne beeing aduertiſed that the Duke of Lorraine, the Germaines and the Swiſſes marched, helde a ſmall Counſell, although it were not his cuſtome, but to doe all things of his owne head. Many aduiſed him to retyre to Pont at Mouſon, not farre from thence, and that hee ſhould lodge his Troupes in ſuch places as hee held about Nancy: ſaying that as ſoone as the Germaines had victualled this Towne they would retyre; and the Duke of Lorraines money would bee ſpent (who ſhould not bee able in a long time to gather ſo many men againe together) neither could their victualling be ſo great, but they would want before that halfe the
B winter were ſpent: and in the meane time, the Duke of Bourgongne ſhould raiſe newe forces, hauing no want of money (for at that time hee had not tenne thouſand men, and hee had in his Caſtle of Luxembourg, 45000. Crownes to leuie men in the Countrey there abouts. This counſell was good, but God blinded his vnderſtanding, for hee would neither beleeue, nor follow this wiſe counſell, nor vnderſtand what enemies hee had about him; but choſe the worſer partie, reſoluing to trie the aduenture, notwithſtanding any aduertiſment they gaue him, of the great number of Germaines, and of the Kings armie, that was not farre off: reſoluing to giue battaile with thoſe men which hee had, halfe amazed,

Good counce I giuen to the Duke, but not followed

The Earle of Campobachio beeing come to the Duke of Lorraine, the Swiſ-
C ſes and Germaines ſent him word, that hee ſhould retyre; and that they would not haue any Traytors in their companie: hee therefore retyred to a Village, called Conde, where hee ſtopt all the paſſages with cartes and other impedimentes, hoping that the Duke beeing defeated, and flying; there would ſome fall to his ſhare, as there did many. The Germaines marched in good order, hauing good ſtore of french horſe, whom the King had ſuffered to goe to thoſe warres: many lay in Ambuſh neere vnto the place where the battaile ſhould bee fought, to ſee if the Duke were defeated, or to get ſome good priſoners or other bootie. You may ſee into what a wretched eſtate the Duke had thruſt himſelfe, in neglecting of good counſell.

The two Armies comming to ioyne, the Duke of Bourgongnes armie (which
D had beene lately twiſe defeated) beeing fewe in number and ill appointed, was preſently put to rout and flight; many ſaued themſelues, the reſt were ſlaine or priſoners, among the which the Duke himſelfe was ſlaine in the field, being ouerthrowne by a great troupe of Lanciers, and not able to bee relieued of his followers for that they were priſoners. Hee had three woundes; the one on the head, the other in the thigh, and the third in the fundement. The Bourguignons would not belieue that he was ſlaine, but that hee was fled into Germanie, and that hee had vowed to doe ſeuen yeares penance. There were ſome among the Bourguinons which ſold Iewels, horſes and other things to be paid when hee ſhould returne: and at Burchſelles in the Dioceſſe of Spierre in Germanie, a poore man begging, they thought him to bee the
E Duke, who did penance: euery man deſired to ſee him, and hee receiued good almes. *Naucler* writes that he had ſeene the ſaid man.

The battaile of Nancy where the Duke of Bourgongne was defeated and ſlaine.

The French King was well aduertiſed of the defeate, whereof they did hourely expect ſome newes. The Lorde of Lude (who lay without Pleſſis, where the King then was) heard the firſt newes by the Poſte, which the Lorde of Craon and others had ſent, but no man did aſſure the Dukes death: but onely the defeate before Nancy, and that he was fled. The King at the firſt was ſole tranſported with ioy at theſe newes, as hee knew not how to containe himſelfe; yet hee did thinke that if hee were taken by the Germaines, they would compound with him for ſome great ſumme of money, which hee would eaſily pay them. On the other ſide hee was in great care,
F if the Duke were defeated & eſcaped, whether he ſhould ſeaze on the Duchie of Bourgongne, or not: being ſo eaſie to take, ſeeing that all his beſt men and his chiefe Commanders were almoſt dead in theſe three battailes, whereupon it was reſolued that although the Duke were in health, yet hee would ſend his Armie into Bourgongne: and ſeaze vpon the Countrey in this amazement; which beeing done, hee ſhould

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aduertiſe the duke that he did it with an intent to preſerue it, that the Germaines might not deſtroy it: for that the ſaid Dutchie did hold of the Souerainty of the crowne of France, the which he would not haue falne into the hands of the Germains, & that what ſoeuer he ſhould take, he would yeeld vnto him againe, which few men would beleeue.

The diſpoſition of the duke of Bourgongne.

Duke *Charles* had beene a Noble and valiant Prince, well bred vp in his youth, and inſtructed in the tongues and liberal Arts, yea in Aſtronomy and Muſick, a man well ſpoken and of a good grace, exceeding chaſte, but very high minded, who would not indure any iniury of his equall, nor of any greater Prince then himſelfe, exceeding cholerike froward and willfull: he left one only daughter and heyre.



32 Maria Charleſia.

My father being deceaſt I was young left,
A Pupill to the Cluoys for a while
But tho of father I was quite bereft
Me, Maximilian. gaue the marriage ſtile:
I him, my faith and dowry: In yeares fiue
I became Mother of three Children faire,
But being twenty ſix I left this life,
My ſoule vnto her Maker did repaire:
Bruges reſerued my bones, my corps lay there.

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A

MARY DVTCHESSE OF BOVRGONgne, Counteſſe 32. ruling in Holland and Zeeland,

Ducheſſe of Brabant, Lembourg, Luxembourg and Geldres, Counteſſe of Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Namur, and of Zutphen, Lady of Sallins and Macklin, Marquis of the holy Empire.

B MARY the daughter and onelie heire to *Charles* duke of Bourgongne, (called the Warlike) ſucceeded vnto her father in all his countries, lands and Seigneuries, ſhee was eighteene yeares olde, when her Father was ſlaine before Nancy; and remained vnder the care and charge of the duke of Clenes and the Lord of Raueſtein his brother.

After that *Lewis* the leauenth, the French King had certaine newes of the dukes death, hee ſent the baſtard of Bourbon, Admirall of France, and *Philip* of Comines lord of Argenton, into Piccardie, with commiſſion to receiue all thoſe that would ſubmit themſelues vnder his obedience. The French King ſeizeth of the townes of Piccardy and Arthois.

C These two Noblemen went to Abeuille, which was one of the townes giuen to duke *Philip* (called the good) at the peace of Arras, by King *Charles* the ſeuenth, the which for want of heires *Maſle* ſhould returne to the crowne of France. At their arriuall, they found that the Inhabitants were in treaty with the lord of Torcy, to whome (after that they were freed of foure hundred lances that were there in garriſon) they opened the gates. From thence the Admirall and the lord of Argenton went to Dourlans, from thence they ſent to ſommon Arras the Metropolitaine towne of Arthois, and the ancient patrimony of the Earles of Flanders, in the which (time out of minde) the daughters did ſucced as well as the Sonnes. The lords of Raueſtein and Cordes being in Arras went to ſpeake with them in the Abbey of Saint Eloy, two leagues from thence, and with them *Iohn de la Vacquery*

D first Preſident of the Court of Parliament at Paris. Theſe Noblemen entring into conference, the Frenchmen demanded to haue the cittie opened for the King, and to bee receiued in his name, being that the King pretended it to be his by right of confiſcation, with all the country of Arthois, and if they did refuſe it, they were in danger to bee forced, conſidering that their Prince was dead, and their chiefe commanders ſlaine in theſe three battailes whereby all the countrie was vnfurniſhed of defence. The Bourguignons anſwered by Vacquerie that the countrie of Arthois, belonged to the Ladie *Mary* of Bourgongne, daughter to their deceaſed Prince, who was lawfully deſcended from the Ladie *Marguerite* of Flanders, her great great Grandmother, who was Counteſſe of Flanders and Arthois &c. the which was married to *Philip* the Hardie

E duke of Bourgongne, ſonne to King *Iohn* of France, and brother to King *Charles* the fift: Beſeeching the King to entertaine the truce, which continued yet betwixt him and their deceaſed Prince. The conference of theſe Noblemen was not long, for the French expected no other anſwere. The Low-countries were much amazed, and not without cauſe, for in eight daies they could not gather togither fiftie men at armes, & as for other martiall men there were but 1500, in the countries of Henault and Namur that were eſcaped from the defeat of Nancy.

The French King marched with his army towards Picardy, ioyfull by the death of the duke of Bourgongne,) to ſee himſelfe victorious ouer all his enemies, wherof the duke was the mightieſt, who with his father duke *Philippe* had beene in warre with him and

F King *Charles* the ſeauenth his Father for the ſpace of 32. yeares, hauing all his landes and Seigneuries ioyning vpon France, and his ſubiects diſpoſed and accuſtomed to warre: and therefore the dukes death was a greater content vnto him, then the death of the duke of Guienne his Brother, the Conſtable of Saint Poll, of Rene King of Sicile, of duke *Iohn* and *Nicholas* of Calabria, of the Earles of Prouence and *Mary* their Couſins, and of the Earle of Armaignac, who had beene ſlaine at Eſtore, of all which the

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King had inioyed their goods and poſſeſſions, both moouables and immoouables, A preſuppoſing now that during his life he ſhould neuer finde any oppoſition in his kingdome. And although hee were thus freed from all feare, yet God would not ſuffer him to take the right courſe, to vnite theſe great ſeigneuries to his crowne, the which hee ſhould haue done, by ſome treatie of marriage, or drawne them vnto him by loue and friendſhip, which he might haue eaſily done, ſeeing the great deſolation into the which thoſe Prouinces were brought, whereby he ſhould haue freed them from great warres, miſeries and calamities, whereinto they haue ſince fallen, and ſhould haue fortified his Realme, and inriched both countries by the means of ſo long and durable a peace. The chiefe meanes to attaine vnto it was to marrie his Sonne (who was afterwardes King B of France called *Charles* the eight) to the Ladie *Marie* Princeſſe of Bourgongne, daughter and onelie heire to the deceaſed duke, although he were then but fifteene yeares olde, and ſhee eighteene. But when hee did ſee the father dead, all his thoughts and cogitations were only to ſpoile this Orphan Princeſſe of her fathers inheritance: wherin God did not bleſſe his actions nor his deſignes, the which were for the moſt part ouerthrowne by the marriage which the ſayd Princeſſe made with *Maximilian* Archduke of Auſtria, Sonne to the Emperor *Frederic*, as you ſhall preſently heare.

Lewis the 11. enters into Picardy with an army.

The King beeing entred in Piccardie with his army, the townes of Peronne, Ham, and Bohain were yeelded vnto him. Hee ſent his Barber, called *Oliuer le Daim* vnto Gand, and Robinet of Audenfort vnto Saint Omer, where they had friends, to put C men into them. The good ſucceſſe which hee had in the beginning in Piccardie, made him to hope that all would yeeld vnto him, and he was aduiſed by ſome (wherevnto he was of his owne diſpoſition inclined) to ruine the houſe of Bourgongne, and to diuide the Prouinces to many: euen naming thoſe to whome he ment to giue the Earldomes of Henault and Namur, and the Dutchies of Lembourg and Luxembourg, lying vpon the frontiers. As for the other great Prouinces of Brabant, Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland, he would make vſe of them to winne ſome Princes of Germanie, which ſhould be his friends, and helpe him to execute his deſſeignes.

The Barbar ſent in commiſsion by the King to Gand.

Oliuer the Kings Barbar, who termed himſelfe Earle of Meulan (a little towne nere vnto Paris, whereof hee was captaine) carried letters of credit to the Princeſſe of D Bourgongne, and had commiſſion to conferre with her ſecretly, and to perſwade her to put her ſelfe into the Kings hands: but this was not his chiefe charge, but to mutine the people, whome hee knewe to bee ſufficiently inclyned therevnto, by reaſon of their Preuiledges which duke *Philippe* and *Charles* had taken from them. Hauing remayned at Gand ſome time, hee was ſent for to deliuer his charge: hee went and deliuered his letters of credit to the Princeſſe, beeing ſet betwixt the duke of Cleues and the Biſhoppe of Liege, and accompanied by a great number of Noblemen. Shee read his letter, and Maiſter *Oliuer* was commaunded to deliuer his charge openly, who anſwered, that hee had no commiſſion but to ſpeake priuatly vnto the Princeſſe. They ſayd vnto him, *that it was not the cuſtome eſpecially to ſo young a Princeſſe*: yet hee perſiſted in his firſt ſpeech, and they anſwered him, *that hee ſhould bee* E *forced to deliuer*, wherevpon hee grewe fearefull: making ſome excuſe, and ſo departed without deliuering of his charge.

The Barber flies out of Gand.

Some of this councell ſkorned him by reaſon of his olde age: and for the ſpeeches hee vſed, eſpecially the Bourgeſſes of Gand, who knew him to well, beeing borne in a nere Village, and did him ſome affronts and diſgraces, threatning to caſt him into the Riuer, the which they would haue done, if hee had not ſpeedily fled. At his departure from Gand hee went to Tournay, beeing then a Neuter towne, but much affected to the French. Hee knewe the ſayd towne to bee neere to both countries, and fit to annoy either partie, ſo as they might drawe in any ſouldiars, (the which the F Tourneſiers would not haue yeelded vnto, hauing neuer ſhewed themſelues Partiſans, but Neuters to both the Noble Princes) but Maiſter *Oliuer* ſent ſecretly for the Lord of *Moux* (whoſe Sonne was Baylife of the afforeſayd Towne, but was not reſident there) that he ſhould come at a certaine time appointed, and bring with him his company of men at armes, which were at Saint Quintins and ſome other ſouldiars

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A ſouldiers out of thoſe parts, who failed not to come at the prefixed houre to the towne gate, where he found maiſter *Oliuer* with fortie men, who partly by loue, and partly by force, cauſed the Barre to be opened, and ſo gaue entrance to the men at armes; where-with the people were ſome-what content; but the Magiſtrate nothing at all; of the which hee ſent ſeauen or eight priſoners to Paris, where they remained during the Kings life. Thus was Tournay put into the Kings hands by the dexteritie of his Barber; wherein a wiſer or a greater perſonage then himſelfe might haue failed. Tournay brought vnder the Kings obeiſance.

The King being at Peronne, there came vnto him from the Princeſſe, certaine Ambaſſadors, which were of the principall men about her: whereof the chiefe were *William Hugonet* her Chancellor, the Lord of Humbercourt, the Lord of Gruythuyſe Gouer- Ambaſſadors from the Princeſſe of Bourgongne to the King.
B nor of Holland, and the Lord of Vere of Zeland, and many Prelates and Deputies of Townes. The King before their audience, laboured all he could to winne them, as well in generall, as in particular; from whom hee receiued nothing but humble and reuerend words, as from men that were in feare: yet ſuch as had their lands lying whereas they thought the King could not annoy them, would in no ſort binde themſelues vnto him, but in making the marriage of the Doulphin his ſonne with their Princeſſe. The Chancellor, and the Lord of Humbercourt (who had beene bred and brought vp in great authoritie with the deceaſed Duke) deſiring to continue ſo ſtill, hauing their lands lying in the Kings dominions, that is to ſay, the Chancellor in Bourgongne, and the Lord of Humbercourt in Picardie and Arthois, gaue eare vnto the King and his
C offers, and did in a manner conſent to ſerue him in making of this marriage, and to retire themſelues wholy vnder his obedience, the marriage being accompliſhed. And although that this were the beſt and moſt honorable courſe for the King, yet was it not pleaſing vnto him, but hee would haue all, eyther by loue or force, to impoueriſh this Princeſſe. But in theſe great actions, God diſpoſeth of the hearts of Kings and Princes, to take thoſe wayes by the which hee will afterwards worke, For without all queſtion, if the King had taken this courſe (which hee himſelfe had ſought and deſired before the death of the Duke of Bourgongne) the warres and ruines which haue beene ſince, and continue euen vnto this day in the Netherlands, had not happened, and the ſaid Prouinces had beene ſucceſſiuely vnder the Crowne of France, and had neuer felt The King regards not the marriage of the Daulphin with the Princeſſe of Bourgongne.
D the furies of Spaine: but wee were not worthy to receiue ſo great a benefit from the hand of God, the which this perpetuall peace would haue brought by the vniting of theſe two great eſtates into one body; who happily would haue preſcribed a law to all their neighbours. And it ſeemes God had ſo appointed it, that the one might ſerue as a bridle and a reſtraint vnto the other; hee did alſo fore-ſee the diſſolution of the one and the other, ſuch as wee haue ſeene it, whom hee would chaſtiſe by ſuch meanes in their due ſeaſon.

The King had good intelligence with the Lord of Cordes Gouernor of Arras, whoſe name was *Philip* of Creuecæur, brother to the Lord of Creuecæur, who had all his liuing in Picardie, lying along the riuer of Some. The King required the Ambaſ-
E ſadors, that they ſhould cauſe the Cittie of Arras to bee opened vnto him: for at that time there were walles and ditches betwixt the Towne and the Cittie, and a gate ſhutting againſt the ſayd Cittie, and now it is contrary, for the Cittie ſhuttes againſt the Towne. After many admonitions and propoſitions made vnto the Ambaſſadors, what were the beſt courſe, and that they ſhould more eaſily attaine vnto a peace in ſhewing this obedience to the King, they conſented, eſpecially the Chancellor, and the Lord of Humbercourt; and gaue their letters of conſent (the which afterwards coſt both their liues,) to deliuer the Cittie of Arras vnto the King, with a diſcharge to the Lordes. The which hee did willingly, retiring out of the towne, and drawing Arras yeelded to the King by conſent.
F forth his men at armes. Then holding himſelfe diſcharged of the Princeſſes ſeruice by this conſent, hee tooke an othe vnto the King, and became his ſeruant, for that his name, his armes, and his lands, were beyond the riuer of Some, neere vnto Beauuois in Beauuoiſin. Hee was made Gouernour of Picardie for the King, Seneſhall of Pontheiure, Captaine of Crotoy, Gouernour in parcicular of Peronne,

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Roye and Montdider, and captaine of Bologne and Heſdin, as he had held them in the time of Duke *Charles* of Bourgongne. After that the King had diſpoſed of the Cittie of Arras, he went from thence to beſiege Heſdein, whether hee led the Lord of Cordes, who was Captaine and Gouernor, whom the beſieged hearing to ſpeake, making ſome ſhew as if they would preſerue it for their Princeſſe, in the end they yeelded the place. From thence the King went before Boulogne, the which did the like, after that they had made ſome ſhew of defence for the ſpace of fiue dayes. Whileſt the King ſtaied before Bologne, thoſe of the Towne of Arras found that they had beene deceiued, being ſhut vpon euery ſide, and a great number of ſoldiers and Artillerie about them: they did therefore what they could to furniſh their towne with men at Armes: and to that end did write vnto their neighbour townes, as to Bethune, Douay and Lille. There were in Douay ſome few horſemen, among others the ſiegnior of Vergy, who had eſcaped from the battaile of Nancie, the which horſemen reſolued to goe and ſuccour the towne of Arras, gathering together about 300. horſe, and fiue or 600. foote. Thoſe of Douay (who were at that time ſomewhat proud, as they bee at this day) preſt them whether they would or not, to depart at noone day, the which ſucceeded vnhappily for them. For as betwixt Arras and Douay, (being but foure leagues,) it is an open champion Countrie, if they had ſtaied vntill night, they might eaſily haue effected their deſſeigne. But marching in the open day, the French-men that were in the Cittie went and incountred them in the way, charged and quite defeated them, moſt of them were ſlaine, the reſt were taken priſoners, among the which was the Lord of Vergy. The King came the next day into the Cittie, being very glad of this defeat: hee cauſed many footemen that were priſoners to bee put to death, to terrifie thoſe few ſoldiers that remained in thoſe quarters. He cauſed the Lord of Vergy to be a long time ſtraightly kept in priſon, vntill in the end (by the perſwaſion of his Mother,) he tooke an othe to the King, who cauſed all his goods to bee reſtored him, giuing him more-ouer 1000. pounds a yeare rent and goodly offices. Such as eſcaped from this defeate (being very few) ſaued themſelues in Arras: whether the King cauſed his Artillerie to approach, and battred it, the Bourgeſſes ſeeing themſelues vnfurniſhed of ſoldiers, and their walles beaten downe, and their ditches filled vp by the furie of the Canon, yeelded vpon compoſition, the which was not well obſerued and kept: for the Lord of Lude put many good Cittizens and other men of qualitie to death, to haue their goods: and beſides the Cittie was taxed at 60000. Crownes to the King. During this ſiege of Arras, the Princeſſe of Bourgongne was in Gaunt, detained by the inhabitants, to her great preiudice, and the Kings profit. For the Ganthois hearing of the death of the Duke her father, their Lord and Prince, it ſeemed vnto them as if they had eſcaped out of ſome priſon, attributing vnto themſelues all the authoritie, not onely of the towne, but of the whole Countie of Flanders. They tooke all them of the lawe priſoners, to the number of ſixe and twentie, whereof they put moſt of them to death: vpon a coullor that the day before they had cauſed a man to bee beheaded, who (although hee had well deſerued death) the Magiſtrate (as they ſayd) could not put to death: ſeeing their power and authoritie ceaſed by the death of the Prince which had created them. They did alſo put to death many good men, who had beene ſeruants and friends to the Duke: although that ſome of them had before time diſwaded the Duke, meaning to deſtroy a great part of the towne for their rebellion. They forced their Princeſſe to reſtore and confirme their ancient priuiledges, which they had forfaited, the which had beene taken from them by Duke *Philip* and *Charles*: which priuiledge (to ſpeake truely and properly,) ſerued them to no other end, but to make occaſion to picke quarrels with their Princes.

Heſdin yeelded to the King and Bologne.

The ſuccors going to Arras defeated.

Arras yeelds by compoſition, the which is ill kept.

The King thinking that all things had beene to his minde, aſſured himſelfe, that hee ſhould ſee them more ſucceſſull then they proued, knowing the factious diſpoſition of the Ganthois, who would not faile to attempt ſome newe thing againſt their Princeſſe, and ſtirre vp ſome ſedition in her Eſtate, knowing how they had alwaies carryed themſelues to their Princes and Lordes, whileſt that the King was before Arras,

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A Arras: there came certaine Ambaſſadors vnto him from the thre Eſtates of the ſayd Princeſſes countries, who were then aſſembled in the cittie of Gand: for whome the Ganthois did not much care, doing all things after their owne mindes, and ouer-ruling their Princeſſe, whome they detained: among theſe Ambaſſadors there were alſo ſome deputies of the towne of Gand. Ambaſſadors ſent from the States to the King.

The King heard them, among other ſpeeches, they ſayd: that what they had propounded to his Maieſty touching a peace, did proceed from the motion and will of their Princeſſe: who in all things was reſolued to gouerne herſelfe by the aduice and councell of her States: deſyring his Maieſtie to deſiſt from making of warre as well in Bourgongne as in Arthois: and that it would pleaſe him to chooſe a daie for a
B friendly treatie, and that in the meane time there might bee aſſurance of armes. The King tooke hold onelie of that which they had ſayd. *That their Princeſſe would not doe any thing without the councell and aduiſe of the three Eſtates of there countries*, and anſwered them, that they were ill informed, for hee was well aſſured that ſhee would gouerne her affayres by priuate perſons, who deſired not any peace: and that they ſhould bee diſauowed. Whereat the Ambaſſadors were much perplexed, and like indiſcreete men anſwered ſodenly: that they were verie well aſſured of what they ſayd, and that they could ſhewe their inſtruction if neede were. Wherevnto ſome replied, that if it pleaſed the King, hee could ſhewe them letters written by ſuch a hand
C as they would beleeue it: the which did import, that the Princeſſe would not gouerne her affaires but by foure ſpeciall perſons: they anſwered, that they were aſſured to the contrary. Then the King ſhewed them a writing which the chanceller of Bourgongne and the Lord of Humbercourt had the time before brought vnto Peronne, whereof part was written by the Princeſſe, and part by the Ducheſſe *Douager* of Bourgongne, widow to duke *Charles* deceaſed, and Siſter to King *Edward* of England then raigning: and part of it by the hand of the lord of Rauеſtein, brother to the duke of Cleues neere kinſman to the ſayd Princeſſe. So this letter was written by three ſundrie handes, although it went in the Princeſſes name onelie: the which had beene done expreſly, to haue the more credit. It was a letter of credit for the
D Chancellor and the lord of Humbercourt. And moreouer the Princeſſe did declare, that her intention was, that all her affaires ſhould bee gouerned by foure perſons. The ſayd Ladie *Douager*, her mother in lawe, the Lord of Rauеſtein, and the ſayd Chancelor and lord of Humbercourt: beſeeching the King that whatſoeuer hee ſhould pleaſe to haue managed with her, might be by their hands, and that he would be pleaſed to direct himſelfe vnto them and not to confer with any other,

When the Ambaſſadors had ſeene this letter, they were wonderfully troubled and perplexed, being incenſed more & more by ſuch as treated with them for the King. In the end the ſame letter was giuen them, and they had no other diſpatch of importance. Wherevpon they returned directly to Gand, wheras they foũd their Princeſſe, accom- The king incenſeth the Ambaſſadors againſt the Princeſſe.
E panied with the biſhoppe of Liege and the duke of Cleues. There was alſo *William* of *la Marke* a valiant & goodly Knight, but cruel & il conditioned: whom the biſhop had taken into fauour, although hee had alwayes beene enemie to him, and to the Houſe of Bourgongne, holding the partie of the Liegeois, to whom the Princeſſe had giuen 150000. Florins of the Rhin, in fauour of the Biſhop, to reconcile him. But ſoone after he banded againſt her, and againſt the Biſhop his prince, hauing attempted by force and the fauour of the French King, to make his ſonne Biſhop of Liege. Afterwardes William of la Marke.
he defeated the ſaid Biſhop in battaile, ſlue him with his owne hand, and cauſed him to be caſt into the Riuer, where hee remained three dayes. The Duke of Cleues was neereſt vnto the Princeſſe, hoping to make a marriage betwixt his ſonne and her, which
F ſeemed very fit and conuenient for many reſpects: but his humors were not pleaſing to her, nor her ſeruants, and muchleſſe to her Ladyes; for he had bin bred vp in that houſe: and it may be the ordinary ſight of him, and the long knowledge they had had of him did him that harme.

The Ambaſſadors from the States of the Netherlands, being returned out of France to Gaunt, a Counſell was held, and the Princeſſe ſet in her ſeat, with theſe Noblemen

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about her, to heare their report. They began to charge her touching the letter aboue A
mentioned: wherewith being ſuddenly mooued and in choller, She anſwered; *That it*
A diſgrace done vnto the Princeſſe by the Ganthois. *was not ſo:* thinking aſſuredly the ſaid letter had not beene ſeene. Then preſently the Penſioner, or Orator of Gaunt (who made the ſpeech) drew the ſayd letter out of his boſome (before all the world) and gaue it her: wherein hee played the part of a ſimple and vnciuill man, to doe this publike diſgrace vnto his Princeſſe, in the preſence of the Dutcheſſe Dowager, the Lord of Rauesteyn, the Chancellour, and the Lord of Humbercourt. They had before had ſome ſpeech with the Duke of Cleues touching the marriage of his ſonne, which bred an alteration in them all, and they beganne to enter into great diuiſion. The Duke of Cleues had beene alwayes in hope vntill that time, that the Lord of Humbercourt had fauoured this marriage. But ſeeing this B
letter he found himſelfe deceiued, and became his enemie. The Biſhop of Liege loued him not, nor *William* of *la Marke*, for thoſe things which had paſt in the cittie of Liege, whereof the Lord of Humbercourt had beene Gouernor. The Earle of S. Pol, ſonne to the Conſtable of France (of whom wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently before) hated the Chancellour, and Humbercourt to the death, for that they deliuered his father at Peronne into the Kings ſeruants hands. Thoſe of Gaunt hated them, not for any of-
The Chancellor and Humbercourt priſoners. fence they had done them, but only enuying their great authoritie and credite.

Finally, the night following, after that this letter had beene ſhowne in the morning, the Chancellor Hugonet and the lord of Humbercourt were committed to priſon, by C
the Ganthois, notwithſtanding that they were ſufficiently aduertiſed thereof before, yet could they not (with all their wiſedome) auoyde their owne miſeries, as many others did, who retyred themſelues in time out of the Town. They might well preſume that their enemies aboue mentioned, would helpe them forward. There was taken with them *William* of Clugny, biſhop of Teroane (who dyed afterwardes biſhop of Poitiers) all three were put together in priſon. Thoſe of Gaunt obſerued a certaine forme of proceeding againſt them, (the which they had not accuſtomed to doe in their reuenges) and appointed ſome of their magiſtrates to examine them, giuing them an aſſiſtant, of the houſe of *La Marke*, a mortall enemie to the Lords of Humbercourt.
Commiſſioners appointed for their triall. In the beginning they examined them; *Why they had cauſed the Lord of* Cordes *to deliuer vp the cittie of* Arras *vnto the King?* but they ſtucke but little vppon that point, al- D
though they could not haue conuinced them of any other: their paſſions were not buſied about the notable loſſe of ſuch a Cittie, neither did they care to ſee their Princeſſe grow weake, nor were the capable to comprehend and iudge, how preiudiciall the loſſe of that Towne might bee hereafter. The Commiſſioners or Iudges of the
Obiections againſt the Chancellor and Humbercourt. Ganthois, ſtood onely vpon two points: the one was, vpon certaine gifts and preſents, which they obiected, they had receiued, and eſpecially for a ſute which the Cittie of Gaunt had lately gotten by their ſentence, and pronounced by the Chancellor, againſt a priuat perſon: wherein they accuſed him; *To haue ſold iuſtice, and to haue taken a bribe of them to haue their right.* Whereunto the accuſed anſwered; *That in that they had ob-* E
tained their ſute, it was according to equitie and iuſtice, that they had iudged it: and as for the money which they had receiued, they demaunded it not, but tooke it when it was offered. The ſecond matter wherewith the Commiſſioners did charge them, was; *That during the time they were in ſeruice with Duke* Charles *their Maiſter (and in his abſence his Lieutenants) they had done many things againſt the Priuiledges and Statutes of their Towne: and that any man that attempted any thing againſt their Priuiledges, muſt looſe his life.* Herevnto the accuſed anſwered; *That therein there was no matter to charge them withall, being neither Bourgeſſes of the Towne, nor any way ſubiect vnto it, and therefore they could not breake their Priuiledges. That if Duke* Charles, *or his father had taken any from* F
them, it was by a compoſition made betwixt them, after many warres and rebellions: but thoſe that had been left them, had been well obſerued. Notwithſtanding all the excuſes and iuſtifications of theſe famous and worthy men, vnto thoſe two crimes obiected, after
The Chancellor and Humbercourt condemned to die. they had tormented them cruelly, without all order of Lawe, the Magiſtrates of Gaunt condemned them to die. They hearing this cruell ſentence, were much amazed, and not without cauſe, ſeeing themſelues in their handes, whereas reaſon had no place,

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A place: notwithſtanding for that the ſoueraigntie of Flanders depended on the crowne of France, they did appeale to the Parliament at Paris, hoping at the leaſt that it might giue ſome delay to the execution of the ſentence; and in the meane time, their friends might help to ſaue their liues. There Proceſſe continued but ſixe dayes, and notwithſtanding the ſayd appellation, being condemned, they gaue them but three houres libertie, to conſider of their affaires, and to diſpoſe themſelues to death.

This ſhort time being expired, they led them to the Market-place, vpon a Scaffold, to execute them by the ſword. The Princeſſe hearing of this condemnation, went to the Towne-houſe, to ſue and intreate for theſe two Noble-men, but it preuailed not: from thence ſhe went into the Market-place, whereas all the people beeing in armes, B ſhee ſaw theſe two Noble-men that were condemned, vpon the Scaffold: ſhee was in a mourning weed, and a plaine kerchief on her head, which ſhould haue mooued them to pittie: Being there ſhee beſeeched the people, with teares in her eyes, and her haire hanging about her eares, to take pitty of her two ſeruants, and deliuer them vnto her. Some of the people would haue had her will fulfilled, and that they ſhould not die: others would haue the contrary, and began to bend their Pikes one againſt another, and were ready for murther: but thoſe that would haue them dye, were the greateſt number: who cryed out vnto the Officers that were vppon the Scaffold, that they ſhould diſpatch them, wherevppon they loſt their heades: and this poore Princeſſe re- C turned deſolate to her houſe.

The Princeſſe comes to the place of execution; and ſues for them.

The Chancellor and Humbercourt executed.

After that the Ganthois had done this execution, they did ſequeſter from their Princeſſe, the Dutcheſſe Dowager of Bourgongne, her mother in law, and the Lorde of Ravenſteyn her kinſman, for that they had ſet their hands to the Letter, which the Chancellor and Humbercourt had carryed to the King, & was the cauſe of their death and did ſeaze abſolutely of the authoritie and gouernment of this poore Princeſſe: Shee might well bee termed poore, not onely for the loſſe of many good Townes, which the King had taken from her by force; but to ſee her ſelfe in the power and ſubiection of ancient Rebels, and very perſecutors of her houſe: and that which was the greateſt miſerie of all, was to ſee her ſelfe ſo depriued of her liberty, & ſequeſtred from D her moſt familiar friendes.

The Princeſſe reſtrained of her Libertie by the Ganthois.

They of Gaunt, hauing forcibly ſeazed vpon the gouernment of State, and of their Princeſſe perſon: put two Noble-men to death, chaſed whom they pleaſed out of their Towne, and ſpoyled all the ancient ſeruantes of the Houſe of Bourgongne of their goods. Now they began to ſtudie of alteration: firſt they drew the yong Duke of Gelders out of priſon (who had beene taken neere vnto Namur, and then ſent to Gaunt) and made him head of an Armie, which they raiſed among themſelues and their neighbours of Bruges, Ypre, and other places, and ſent it before Tournay, where hee onely burnt the Suburbes without any profit. There was within the Towne foure hundred men at Armes, who ſallied foorth, and charged theſe Flemmings E in the Reere, as they made their retreate: who preſently fled with diſorder. The yong duke of Geldres (who was a valiant Prince,) made head againſt them that purſued, that his people might haue the better meanes to retier: but beeing ill ſeconded, hee was ſlaine, with a good number of his people. The Princeſſe of Bourgongne and thoſe that loued her were glad of this defeat, and of the death of the Prince of Geldres: for it was ſayd that the Ganthois intended to force her to marry with him, elſe ſhee would neuer haue done it with her owne good liking, for his great diſloyaltie and cruelty againſt his father.

The Duke of Gelders ſlaine.

In the meane time there was a ſpeech of diuers marriages for the Princeſſe of Bourgongne, all men concluding generally that ſhee muſt haue a huſband to defend all the reſt of her Seigneories: or els that ſhee ſhould marrie the Daulphin F of France, that ſhee might enioye all in peace. Some did much affect that Royall marriage, eſpecially ſhee her ſelfe, before that her letters carried by the Chancellor and Humbercourt had beene diſcouered. Others tooke exception at the Daulphins young and tender age, and the marriage of him promiſed with the daughter of England.

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There were others that laboured for the prince of Cleues: Others for *Maximillian*, A
Arch-duke of Auſtria, the onely ſonne to the Emperour *Frederick*.

The Princeſſe hates the French king.

This Princeſſe had conceiued an extreame hatred againſt the French King, for the diſcouerie of her letters, for ſhee imagined that hee had beene the cauſe (in giuing them to the Ambaſſadors of Gaunt) of the death of theſe two good men, and of the diſgrace ſhe receiued, when as they produced them before ſo great a multitude: and that it had giuen the Ganthois ſuch libertie, as they had preſumed to chaſe away her old ſeruants, and to ſeperate her mother in law and the lord of Raueſtein from her, and had ſtrucke ſuch a feare into her Ladyes and Gentlewomen, that neither ſhee nor they durſt receiue nor open a letter, without ſhewing it to them, nor yet talke together in priuate. See what a libertie, a raſcall multitude will take, when as they haue B
vſurped any authoritie ouer their Prince. Then alſo ſhe began to eſtrange her ſelfe to the biſhop of Liege, (being of the houſe of Bourbon) who labored the marriage of the Dolphin, whereof ſhe would heare no more ſpoken: wherefore euery man held his peace from that time, and the biſhop retyred himſelfe into his Countrey of Liege.

They had before held a counſell about that matter, whereas the Lady of Halwin, the firſt lady of honor to the Princeſſe was preſent, who hearing ſpeake of the Dolphin, ſaid; *That they had need of a man and not of a child; that her Miſtreſſe was a woman able to beare children, whereof the countrie had moſt need.* All were of this opinon. Some would blame the ſaid Lady for ſpeaking ſo freely: others commended her, ſaying C
That ſhe ſpake but of marriage, and of that the Countrey had moſt need. The queſtion was now, to find out this man? If the French King would haue beene content, ſhee ſhould haue married with the Earle of Angouleſme, it may be ſhe would haue conſented, ſhe had ſo great a deſire to be allyed to the houſe of France. The Duke of Cleues laboured for his ſonne, but ſhe had no diſpoſition to it.

The Emperor ſends to the Princeſſe of Bourgongne to treat a marriage.

The Emperor ſent his Ambaſſadors to Gaunt, to the Princeſſe, to entreat a marriage, who being firſt arryued at Bruxelles, they were requeſted to ſtay there awhile, and they ſhould be ſent for: the which the Duke of Cleues did, hauing no delight in their comming, and practiſing to make them returne diſcontented. But the Ambaſſadors, (who had good intelligence in the Princeſſe court, eſpecially with the Dutches Dowager of Bourgongne, her mother in law) paſt on: for ſhe did aduiſe them to come D
forward notwithſtanding any letter to the contrarie, She did alſo aduertiſe them what they ſhould doe at their comming to Gaunt, and that the Princeſſe with many of her friends and Counſell, were diſpoſed to their intention. The Ambaſſadours followed her aduice, and came directly to Gaunt, notwithſtanding any meſſage that was ſent them; whereat the Duke of Cleues was much diſcontented: for he was not yet priuy to the Princeſſe will and diſpoſition.

It was reſolued on in Counſell that they ſhould haue audience, and the Princeſſe was put in mind to ſay (after that they had deliuered their charge) *That they were very*

Audience giuen to the Emperors Ambaſſadors.

welcome, and that ſhe would conſider of their propoſitions, and that at that preſent ſhee would E
ſay no more vnto them, but that they ſhould haue an anſwere giuen them. The Ambaſſadors being entred into the place of audience, whereas the Princeſſe was ſet in the midſt of her Counſell, preſented their letters when they were appointed; and deliuered their charge: which was; *That whereas a marriage had been concluded and agreed vpon, betwixt the Emperor and the Duke of Bourgongne her father, with her owne priuitie and conſent, as did appeare by Letters written with her owne hand,* which they did produce: with a Diamond, which they ſaid; *had beene ſent, and giuen in ſigne of marriage*: deſiring earneſtly in the behalfe of of the Emperor their Maiſter, and the Arch-duke his ſonne; *That it would pleaſe the Princeſſe to accompliſh this marriage, which was conformable both to her fa-* F
thers will and her owne: Sommoning her moreouer; *to declare openly, if ſhee had written the ſaid Letter or no, and if ſhe had any deſire to performe her promiſe.* Wherevnto without demanding futher counſell, ſhe anſwered; *That ſhe had written the ſaid Letters, by the commandement of the Duke her Lord and father, and had ſent the Diamond, avowing all.* Whereuppon the Ambaſſadors did thanke her moſt humbly, and returned ioyfully to their lodgings. The Duke of Cleues was diſcontented with this anſwere, which was

contrary

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A contrary to that which had beene decreed in Counſell, telling the Princeſſe, that ſhee had ſpoken very ill (but this Counſell knew not what this Commiſſion was, nor what the Ambaſſadours ſpeech would bee) wherevnto ſhee anſwered; *That ſhee could not otherwiſe doe: that it was a thing promiſed and paſt, the which ſhee could not recall, nor gaine-ſay.* Which anſwere being heard, and knowing well that the greateſt part were of the Princeſſe minde, the Duke of Cleues held his peace, and reſolued to giue ouer his purſuite for his ſonne, and to returne into his owne Countrie: and the Ambaſſadours well ſatiſfied to the Emperour and the Arch-duke their Maiſters, to make their report to haſten their yong Prince to come. Who ſoone after their returne came to Cologne, whereas ſome of the Noble-men and Barons, (ſeruantes to the Princeſſe;) went to meet him, and was by them conducted vnto Gaunt, hauing eight hundred horſe in his traine.

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MAXIMILIAN ARCH-DVKE OF Auſtria, ſonne to the Emperour Fredericke, by the Lady *Marie* of Bourgongne his wife the 33. Earle *of Holland Zeeland, and Lord of Freezland.*



33. *Maximilianus Austrius.*

Nor am I Heire, nor Earle, but countable
Vnto my ſonne, and for his good I hold it,
I onely twelue yeares kept the Dukedome ſtable,
To render it to him at yeares t'vphold it,
What I poſſeſſe is his, for him I keepe.
My Empire me contents, no more I thirſt,
Two wiues I had, but now with death I ſleepe,
At Newſtad with my Mother, I lye Herſt,

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The Argument of the fift Booke.

THE *good parts of the Arch-duke* Maximilian: *the knowledge of Tongs reuiued: the Arch-dukes marriage with the Princesse of Bourgongne: the order of the Golden Fleece giuen to the Arch-duke. The birth of Prince* Philip *of Austria: the Geldrois reuolts from the house of Bourgongne: the battell of Guinegate, whereas the Arch-duke is victor, Tourney yeelded to the Arch-duke: Truce betwixt the French King and the Arch-duke: warre betwixt the Geldrois and Hollanders. New tumults in Holland by the two Factions, which the Arch-duke doth pacifie. Dordrecht surpized by the yong Lord of Egmond. Many townes in Gelders yeelded to the Arch-duke. The factions reuiued in Freezland. Warre betwixt the Hollanders and them of Vtrecht: the death of the Arch-dutchesse: the Flemmings take vppon them the gouernment of the Countrie, and fall to their old mutinies. Petie warres in Freezland: the Lady* Marguerite *carried into France after the peace, to bee married to the Dolphin. New troubles at Vtrecht, and the Bishop prisoner afterwards restored by the Arch-duke: Engelbert Earle of Nassau, made gouernour of the Neitherlands, by the Arch-duke* Maximilian *and* Philip *his sonne. The Arch-duke created King of Romans: the Factions reuiued and great troubles in Freezland: the Ganthois and Brugeois mutinue againe, and keepe the King of Romaines prisoner: to whose succour the Emperour* Frederick *his father came: against whom, and against the Frison, he made* Albert *Duke of Saxonie his generall: a priuate warre in Holland: a peace betwixt the Flemmings and the Arch-duke: diuers Factions armed in Freezland. Duke Albert seekes a quarrell against them both: a peace betwixt the Arch-duke* Philip *of Austria and* Charles *the 8. the French King: the Arch-duke takes possession of the Neitherlands: warre betwixt the Duke of Gelders & the Arch-duke: the Estates of Freezland held at Sneeke, whereof followed great warre. Duke Albert obtaines of the Emperour the hereditarie gouernment of Freezland: the continuance of the warre in Freezland: Duke* Albert *slaine before Groningen: the Arch-duke inherits the Realmes of Spaine by his wife: Duke* George *of Saxonie after the death of* Albert, *his father, continues the warre in Freezland: the Duke of Gelders reconciled to the King of Castile: the death of the said King: warre renewed betwixt the Geldrois and the Bourguignons.*

MAXIMILIAN Arch-duke of Austria, sonne to the Emperour *Frederick*, was borne the 12. of March 1459. from his infancie vntill he came to be fourteene or fifteene yeares old, he was of a heauie disposition, and slow in speech, for he grew some-what big before he could pronounce his words; but being come to age hee recompenced that defect by wisedome and readinesse of speech, especially in the Latin tongue: Nature and the bountie of God did adorne and inrich him with so many vertues, for the good of the Empire, as by the iudgement of euery man, he did exceed all the Christian Princes of his time, in vigour, vivacitie and quicknesse of spirit; in domestick, publike, politicke and militarie vertues: in zeale to religion, in bountie worthy of such a Prince, and of an invincible courage as well in prosperitie as in aduersitie. His disposition and vertues.

Hee was about 20. years old when hee married his first wife *Marie*, Dutchesse of Bourgongne, Countesse of Holland, Zeeland, &c. By whom hee had the first yeare of their marriage one sonne, named *Philip* (who was father to *Charles* the fift) the second yeare he had one daughter, named *Marquerite*, the which in her infancie was betrothed to *Charles* Dolphin of France, sonne to King *Lewis* the 11. The third yeare he had a sonne named *Francis*, so named by *Francis* Duke of Brittaine. The fourth yere he dyed as we will shew in the deduction of this Historie. His wife and children.

This vertuous Prince marrying this Princesse of Bourgongne, was withall wedded to great warres, which we will discribe heare, for that which shall concerne the Neitherlands, as succinctly as wee can, referring those of Italy and Germanie, to *Paulus Iouius*, *Francis Guichardin*, and others that haue written of that subiect.

The French King had no care but how he should deuoure all the seigneories of this Princesse,

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Princesse, but hearing of her marriage (whereon hee thought least) he did somewhat moderate the least of his greedie couetousnesse. He had already (notwithstanding the Truce made with the Duke, father to the said Lady) wrested away violently all the Townes of Picardie, on this side the Riuer of Some, the countrie of Arthois, with Tournay and Tournesis; practising all hee could the Towne of Gaunt, and the Flemmings, beeing easie to mooue, and which since gaue many crosses to the Arch-duke *Maximilian*: It was therefore needfull for this Prince to craue the succours and means of his father, and his friends in Germanie, for the Neitherlandes were much vnpeopled, both of their Nobilitie, and of their best Commanders in warre, and of common souldiers, which had beene lost in those three defeates, and those fewe which had remained in Picardie (as the Lord of Cordes and others of the countrey of Arthois) had imbraced the French Kings partie: some for that their liuings lay in those Countries; and others being drawne away by gifts, and goodly promises.

The Arch-duke makes a generall Assembly at Bruges.

The Arch-duke hauing visited all the Prouinces of the Dutchesse his wife, where he was well intertained, and hauing receiued the oathes and hostages, returned to Bruges; where hee called an Assembly of all the Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights and chiefe Gentlemen of the said Countries, with the generall Estates, to resolue of the best meanes and course that was to be taken, to resist the attempts of the French king, who did dayly seaze vppon some piece of his estate. But for that hee was not yet Knighted, his desire was (before hee vndertooke any warre against the French) to receiue the order of Knight-hood of the golden Fleece, with the solemnities and Ceremonies accustomed, as the good Duke *Philip* (his wiues grand-father) had instituted it. Hauing therefore receiued the choller from *Adolph* of Cleues, Lorde of Rauesteyn; he held a generall Chapter of the said Order, which hee renewed and added some other Knights. Among the which were *William* of Egmond, brother to *Arnold* Duke of Gelders, father to Prince *Adolph*. The feastes and tryumphs of this Ceremonie being ended, the Arch-duke began to leuie men of all sides to expell the French out of his Territories, who had already taken many places in Henault. But hearing of this preparation for warre, and of so great a leuie of men, they left all and abandoned the countrey: whether the Arch-duke went in person, & in a short time reduced all the countrie vnder his obedience and subiection, after some light skirmishes and incounters which hee had often against the French, in the which for the most part hee was victor.

The Arch-duke made Knight of the golden Fleece.

1478. Philip of Austria borne.

The 22. of Iune in the yeare 1478. was borne in the cittie of Bruges, *Philip* of Austria, first child to the Arch-duke and the Lady *Marie* of Bourgongne, which brought great ioy to all the Neitherlands, giuing thanks vnto GOD that had giuen them a Prince, who in time to come might gouerne them in peace, and defend them against the French, their naturall enemies.

Wee haue formerly sayd that Duke *Arnold* of Gelders, had sold the Dutchie to Duke *Charles* of Bourgongne, by reason of the great wrong which Prince *Adolph*, his sonne had done him by his imprisonment: wherof Duke *Charles* had taken possession in the life time of Duke *Arnold*. But after the death of Duke *Charles*, & of Prince *Adolph* (who was slaine as we haue said before Tournay) the Geldrois did reuolt, especially the Townes of Numeghen and Zutphen, with their dependances. The children of Prince *Adolph* were at that time bred vp in the Court of Bourgongne: wherevpon the Geldrois sent for the Lady *Katherine* of Gelders, sister to prince *Adolph*, to come and gouerne the countrie, the which she did, which was the cause of great warre betwixt the house of Bourgongne and the Geldrois. The Arch-duke *Maximilian* hauing reconquered the Countrie of Henault, he marched with his troupes towards the Countrie of Gelders, hee came to Ruremond, where hee was receiued, and at Venlo also, and in all the quarters there abouts: then he returned into Flanders, & went to Gaunt, to set things in order. In the Meane time Duke *Frederick* of Brunswick (whom the reuolted Geldrois had chosen for their Gouernor) fell sicke, and so retyred into his countrie. Then the Geldrois tooke *Henrie* of Swartsenbourg, Bishop of Munster for their new Gouernour, who tooke vpon him the charge, and came well acompanied.

The Geldrois reuolt from the house of Bourgongne.

The Arch-duke marched into Gelderland.

About the end of the same yeare, 1478. the Arch-duke went from Brusselles with all

A all his Nobility of Brabant and Flanders, leading with him a goodly army and marched into the Contry of Arthois, being reſolued to recouer the townes and places which the French King had taken from the Dutcheſſe his wife. He went and camped at Pont a vendin, which is a ſmale towne betwixt Lille and Arras, The King was far of beſeeging the towne of Lens in Arthois. Theſe two armies were there for a time fronting one an other, during the which there were diuers meſſages paſt on either ſide, ſo as in the end a truce was made, and they retyred euery one to his home.

The truce being expired in Auguſt. 1479. the Earle of Romont, Gouernor of Arthois, ſurprized Cambray and Bohain, a little towne three leagues from thence. The Earle of Saint Pol, brother in lawe to the ſaide Earle of Romont, hauing married 1478. Camoray and Boham ſurprized.

B his ſiſter was made Gouernor of Flanders for the Archduke, although he were much tormented with the gout, yet he was a wiſe and valiant knight. The Archduke accompanied by the Earle of Romont and Saint Pol, by Cont Engelbert of Naſſau, *Philp* of Cleues ſonne to the Lord of Rauesteyn, the Lords of Fiennes, Beueren, Lalain and other Noblemen of the Netherlands, being followed by a goodly army went and camped neere vnto Teroanne, being reſolued to beſeege it. The French, namely the Lord of Cordes coming out of Picardy with. 1800. pikes, and 14000. Archers, thought the fight with the Archdukes army, and to charge them in their campe, But the Archduke being aduertiſed thereof in time, hauing left ſome troupes of foote with 800. horſe vnder the commande of *Philip* of Cleues, to gaurd the campe the vit-

C telers and the baggage, he went himſelfe in perſon, to meet them in the open field. The Earle of Romont Marſhall of the army hauing ordred the Battalyons with the pikes in the forward: and the Earle of Naſſau commanded the reerward. The French men coming downe from the mont of Eſguinegate charged the forward of the Bourguignons, the Earle of Romont with his Flemings ſtood firme and maintained the fight valiantly againſt the French archers. In the meane time the garriſon of Teroanne, meaning to charge the reerward, fell vpon the campe, where they grew amazed, and made ſo ſmale reſiſtance, as they did what they would, or as the horſemen that were therein in gard, hauing beene defeated and put to rout, were purſued euen into the ſuburbes of the towne of Aire. The French whome the Earle of Romont had in front (noting them The battaile of Eſguinegate.

D that fled being greedy of ſpoile) left their places and fell vpon the baggage, The Archduke ſeeing that the French had forſaken their rankes of them-ſelues, to runne after Pillage, he went and charged them ſo furiouſly, as he put the Archers to rout, ſo as there were about 50000. ſlaine vpon the place, and a great number of priſoners, he remayning maiſter of the field, with a memorable victory which GOD gaue him on the ſeauenth of Auguſt. 1491. The Archduke wines the victory.

After the Battaile the Arch-duke returned victorious into the towne of Aire, and the Earle of Romont with part of his troupes went to beſeege the caſtell of Malanoy, neere to the Abbaie of Ham, belonging to the houſe of Croy, in the which there was a French gariſon, from whence he brought Captaine *Cadet* a gentleman Gaſcon pri-

E ſoner, to the Arch-duke, who for his preſumption and brauery cauſed him with 50. of his ſouldiers to be hanged. The French King much diſpleaſed for this fact, in reuenge there of cauſed 50. men to bee choſen out of thoſe which the garriſon of Tournay had taken in the Arch-dukes campe, and commanded his prouoſt generall to goe and hang them giuing him for his garde a thouſand horſe, and ſixe thouſand foote which was in the very place whereas Captaine *Cadet* had beene hanged, ten, before the gates of Arras, ten at the Port of Douay, ten, before Saint Omers ten, and at the gates of Lille the laſt ten. After this victory of Eguinegate, the Arch-duke led his army before Tournay, the which he beſeeged ſo ſtraightly, as in the end neceſſity The Caſtell of Maloney taken and the Captaine with 50 ſoldiars hanged. Tournay taken by the Arch. duke.

F forced them to yeeld vpon compoſition, with a condition that if they did euer rebell any more againſt him, they ſhould forfait al the rents and fees that they had in Flanders and for reparation of the death of Duke *Adolph* of Geldres they ſhould build vp a Chappell in perpetuall memory thereof. The French King ſeeing the happy ſucceſſe of the Arch-duke *Maximilian*, and that he had a ſonne borne, ſent a notable Ambaſſage vnto him with rich preſents, betwixt whome there was a truce made for a time. At

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The factions reuiue in Holland.

that time there reuiued in Holland the factions of Hoecks and Cabillaux, for that one *Martin* of Velaere Baylife of the towne of Horne the which was of the Hoeckin faction and hee a Cabillautin hauing beene expelled the towne without any hope of returne, reſigned his Office to the young Lord of Egmond, promiſing to giue entrance to him and all the Cabillautin faction into the Towne, they laide two plots to ſurpriſe it but both failed: where-vpon the towne of Horne allyed it ſelfe with Enchuyſen, Eedam, Monick, Endam-Metemblick, & other villages there abouts. Theſe factions were the cauſe of great troubles at that time in Harlem Rotterdam, Leyden and elſe where; one party chaſing an other out of theſe townes. The Cabillautines ſurpriſed Oud-water, ſeaſed vpon the court at the Hage, from whence they chaſed away the ſeruants, and ſpoyled the moueables, plate and Iewels of the Lord of La Vere Gouernor of Holland, who had his reuenge in chaſing away the Cabillautines, againſt whom the Hoekins committed great inſolencies.

A while after the Gouernor went to Rotterdam, to remaine there for his better ſafety, but few of the Councell went with him, for the moſt of the towne were of the Cabellautin faction: when the Noble men of that faction which had fled from the Hage, heard that the Gouernor was retired with his followers, they returned, forced the Hoekins lodgings, and brake downe all they found, as they had done to them before. And they were not content there-with, vntill they had drawne the Arch-duke into their quarrells, who to pleaſe them, put the Lord of La Vere from his gouerment of Holland, for whome the Cabillautins laid ambuſhes to kill him at his returne to La-Vere in Zeland, whereof hee was aduertiſed at Gorrichom whether the Archduke was come to ſetle the affaiers of Gelders, and to ſubdue *Ghyſbrecht Pyecht* Lord of halfe the towne of Aſpren, againſt Weſſel of Boetſlaer Lord of another moeity and of an other Caſtell; this holding of Holland and the other of Gelders, which Caſtel the Archdukes men tooke by aſſault, the ſiegeior *Pyecke* being fled before. The Archduke hauing during his aboad at Gorrichom, ſetled the eſtate of Gelders, he went to Dordrecht carying with him all of the Cabillautin faction that had been expelled that towne to reſtore them againe to their houſes. But the magiſtrats and Superintendents of the ſame towne did giue the Archduke ſiſch reaſons as they entred not for that time; whether came the Prince of Orange, Cont *Engelbert* of Naſſau, *Wolfart* of Lauere, *Iohn* Vicont of Momfort, *Walrauen* Lord of Frederode and many other gentlemen of the Hoeckin faction, where hauing treated awhile of buſines the Archduke went to Rotterdam, accompanied with many of Rotterdam and la Goud, as it were for his conuoie, where ther was much trouble betwixt the noblemen of both factions, the which notwithſtanding was pacified without any effuſion of bloud; ſo as in the end, to auoid all factions and partialities, the Archduke made one Gouernor of Holland, that was a neutrall and not borne in the contry, which was Simon of Lalain, Lord of Montigny Sainctes and Knight of the order of the golden fleece, appointing new councelors in the Prouinciall councell. This done hee went to Leyden, leading with him many of the Hoeckin faction, that had beene expelled the towne but they could not all enter, by reaſon of the violent oppoſition of the contrary party; And therefore ſuch as remayned without, entred an action of the reſtitution before the prouinciall councell, againſt the magiſtrate of Leyden; who oppoſed himſelfe againſt them.

The Lord of Vere put from his gouerment of Holland.

The Caſtell of Pyecke taken by aſſault.

A new Gouernor in Holland

1480. In the ſame yeare 1480. the Archduke hauing beene ſick ſome time at the Hage, and recouered his health, hauing taken the aduice of his priuie Councell, to make the nauigation of the riuer of Rhine free; hee ſent *Iohn* of Cleues with *Iohn* of Egmond, and all his Caualerie to beſeege the towne of Wageningen in the Duchie of Gelders; the garriſon whereof ſtopt the paſſage of the Rhine into Holland, which towne in the end they forced to yeeld vpon compoſition to haue their liues and goods ſaued. Soone after the Geldrois ſurpriſed Venlo, and did incite the townes of Nimeghen and Zutphen to reuolt againſt the Archduke whome they would not acknowledge but by force. After that the Archduke had ſtaied long in Holland and labored in vaine to ſuppreſſe the factions of the Cabillaux and Hoecks he returned into Brabant and Flanders to leuie an army, with the which he would make hed againſt the French; which did greatly

Wageningen taken.

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A greatly moleſt his countrie of Luxembourg whether hee went; being in the chiefe Cittie, and hearing that there was a practiſe againſt his perſon, by ſome that were ſuſſpected to haue had an intent to deliuer him vnto the French without any longer ſtay; he retired into Flanders, leauing his armie in the countrie of Luxembourg, to ſtop the courſe and ſpoiles of the French.

The Lord of Lalain Gouernour of Holland, &c. to diſcharge his dutie, began with the new Councell to moderate and pacifie the factions. For the effecting whereof, he went firſt to Horne, being accompanied by *Nicholas van Adrichom* Abbot of Egmont, whether he led all thoſe of the Cabillautin faction that had beene expelled the towne, except *Martin* of Velaere, the Bayliffe who had reſigned his place to the young Lord of Egmont. All theſe baniſhed men being re-entred into the Towne, did promiſe and ſweare neuer to pretend to any Magiſtracy, nor to any place of gouernment within the Towne, wherevpon they were admitted and receiued into fauour with the reſt. The Gouernor did the like in the towne of Goude: but he could not preuaile ſo much with them of Dordrecht nor Leyden, where-vpon he returned to the Hage. At the ſame time they of Amerſſort, chaſed all them of the Cabillautin faction out of their towne. Thoſe of the Hoekin faction of the towne of Leyden, hauing obteined of the Prouinciall councell, a ſentence of re eſtabliſhment in the ſaid towne, notwithſtanding the which, they could not be admitted to enter: whereupon theſe baniſhed men reſolued ioyntly together to ſurprize the Towne of Leyden, with ſome of their Partiſans, being in all 135. hauing taken for their leaders and Captaines *Reyer van Bronkhuyſen* a Geldrois, and *Henry van Nyeuelt* a Hollander: who found the meanes in the hardeſt time of winter, when the ditches were all frozen, to ſurprize the Towne by ſcaladoe, and tooke the chiefe of the Cabillautins priſoners, namely the Magiſtrate of the towne, in whoſe place they appointed ſixe men, who during the troubles ſhould haue the gouernment of the towne, to adminiſter Iuſtice, with ſome Captaines and Centeniers for the gard thereof. The other townes of Holland, as Harlem, Delfe, and Amſterdam, hearing that the Hoekin faction (the which two yeares before had beene expelled the towne of Leyden) had now ſeazed thereon, and that the Magiſtrate and the chiefe of the Cabillautin faction were priſoners, they ſent ſome of the chiefe men among them to complaine vnto the Archduke their Prince; that a Captaine of the Geldrois, with many ſoldiers of Geldres, Vtrecht, and other ſtrangers, with the baniſhed men of Leyden had traiterouſly ſurpriſed the ſaid towne, hauing reſolued to doe the like vnto all the townes of Holland: being to be feared that in the end the Geldrois would ceaſe vpon all Holland, if he did not preuent it. The Archduke hearing theſe news, ſent the lord of Lalain Gouernor of the Country thether with what men he could ſpeedely gather together, to expell the ſaid *Bronckhuyſen* and all his adherents, out of the ſayd Towne of Leyden, ioyning for an aſſiſtant *John van Ranſt Marckgraue* or Gouernour of Antwerp, with his companie. The aboue named Townes ſent alſo ſome troupes vnder the command of *Philip* Baſtard of Brabant, all which were lodged in Rotterdam, fearing the affronts of them of Dordrecht and Goude, of the Hoeckin faction. Before that the Gouernour went to beſiege Leyden, hee ſent conditions vnto them, which they found not tollerable, and therefore they ſent vnto the Prince to make their complaint of the Magiſtrate that was priſoner. Notwithſtanding all this, the Archduke commanded the Gouernour to beſiege them, ſo as in the end, after many skirmiſhes, and taking of Caſtels on either ſide: the Leydois by the interceſſion of them of Dordrecht, Goude and Schoonhouen, were reconciled.

B The new Gouernor of Holland ſeekes to reconcile the faction.

C

D

E Leyden ſurpriſed by the Hoeckins.

Leyden beſieged by the Gouernor.

At the ſame time the young Lord of Egmont, remaining as Chaſtelaine or captaine in the Towne of Gorrichom, accompanied with ſome baniſhed men of the Cabillautin faction, meaning to bee reuenged of an iniurie which the Bayliffe of Dordrecht had done him, found meanes to ſurpriſe the ſayd Towne. In which ſurprize the Bourgmaiſter and the Bayliffes Lieutenant were ſlaine, and about two hundred Bourgeſſes of the Hoeckin faction priſoners, among the which was the Eſcoutette or Bayliffe. This victory gaue courage and comfort to the Cabillautin faction, and daunted the Hoeckins and Geldrois, who afterwards were not ſo buſie, hauing alſo loſt the

F Dordrecht ſurprized by the yong lord of Egmont.

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Towne of Leederdam, which the Archduke gaue to *Gaſper* of Culenbourg, in recom- A
pence of his loſſes by his impriſonment in France, the which hee ſold afterwardes to the Lord of Egmont.

During the time that the yong Prince of Gelders, ſonne to *Adolph*, was brought vp in the houſe of Bourgongne, (as much to ſay as a priſoner) the Duke of Cleues ſeazed vppon many townes in Gelders, for which cauſe the Geldrois made ſharpe warre againſt the Cleuois and Brabanſons, & growing dayly more obſtinate, they did eſtrange and with-draw themſelues wholy from the houſe of Bourgongne: whervpon the Archduke reſolued to make warre againſt them. Thoſe of Numeghen, Thyel, and Bomel
Some townes in Geldres acknowledge the Archduke. (hauing ſome intelligence thereof) went to him to Boiſleduc, where they ſubmitted B
themſelues vnto him, and acknowledged him for their Prince. Wherevpon he went to Numeghen, whither many Deputies of other townes came vnto him to doe the like. This done he went to Ruremont to bridle Venlo: but the Inhabitants did little regard it, being reſolued to defend themſelues. Whileſt that the Archduke carryed himſelfe in this ſort in the Countrie of Gelders: *Dauid* of Bourgongne biſhop of Vtrecht, be-
The Archdukes ſecond ſonne Francis borne. ing expelled the towne by the vicont of Montfort, made an enterpriſe with his Partiſans vpon the ſaid towne: the which ſucceeding not happily, the Archduke hauing diſpoſed of his affaires in Gelders, came to Wyck-ter-duyrſted to him, where they had much conference: from thence the Archduke returned into Brabant, the Dutcheſſe his wife being ready to be brought in bed, & was deliuered of a ſonne, whom the Duke of C
Brittanie chriſtened, and named him *Francis*, by his owne name, but he liued not long.

If in Holland the factions of the Cabillaux aud the Hoecks tormented one another, in Friſeland the partialities of Vetcoopers and Scyringers did no leſſe, the Countrey being ſo diuided there, as not onely the Nobilitie and townes made warre one againſt another with all violence: but alſo the villages, peſants & other priuate perſons, which had any power or meanes: yea the Abbeis, Cloiſters and Moneſtaries, as well with their Prouoſt Monkes as with their lay Fryers; whereof there followed great ruines, deſolations and burning of villages, caſtels, and other poſſeſſions, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Secular. All this time there was ſharpe warre betwixt the Hollanders that ſuc-
Warre betwixt the biſhop and the Towne of Vtrecht. cored the Biſhop of Vtrecht, and them of the towne of Vtrecht and Amerſfort: of D
whom *Iohn* vicont of Montfort and *Reyer van Brouckheuyſen* were the chiefe, and the Lorde of Lalaine for the Hollanders: who once among the reſt, were well beaten by them of Vtrecht, neere vnto the fort of Waert, which the Hollanders did beſiege, loſt their artillerie, and left the banners of their chiefe townes behinde them: the Lord of Lalain ſaued himſelfe being much amazed in Schoonhouen: and thoſe of Vtrecht returned victors with many priſoners into their Towne, who hauing afterwardes ſurprized the Towne of Naerden in Holland, but ſeeing they could not keepe it, they ſpoyled it, and ſo left it. The Lord of Lalain ſent the Marlgraue of Antwerp thither, and little Salezard a Knight of Gaſconie (whom the French King had diſpoyled of his meanes, which made him to come and ſerue the Archduke, with a good troupe of braue ſouldiers Gaſcons) to lie in Garriſon there, with a E
good number of horſe and foote, who continually made roades euen to the euery gates of Vtrecht, and one day among the reſt, went and charged the great Bourg of Emeneſſe, (which is a french league long) wher there were ſome of Vtrecht & Amerſfort in Garriſon: the which (notwithſtanding any reſiſtance) they forced, & ſlue all that could not flie, and ſaue themſelues through the Mariſhes and Quagmires: and after they had ſpoiled it and laden themſelues with the bootie, they ſet fire of it, and burnt it to the ground.

This warre betwixt the Dioceſſe of Vtrecht and the Hollanders, increaſing and
Thoſe of Vtrech: call in the Duke of Cleues to help them. growing more violent by ſundry wrongs, they did one vnto another: the Traiectins F
hauing no Protector, ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Iohn* Duke of Cleues, beſeeching him that he would bee their Protector, and to ſend them his brother *Englebert* of Cleues, to be his Lieutenant, and Generall there. The which the Duke accepted, and ſent his brother, where hee was well receiued and lodged in the Biſhoppes Pallace: whom the Traiectins did acknowledge for their Protector, making an oath of fealtie vnto

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A vnto him, as is accuſtomed in the like caſes. Afterwards the Hollanders defeated the Traiectins and ſlue 1000. vpon the place, purſuing them euen into their Ports, and if they had followed them cloſe, and had not beene too buſie in ſpoyling of the dead, they might haue entred *pel mel* with them, and wonne the Cittie.

In the yeare 1482. in Lent, the Lady *Mary* of Bourgongne, Archdutcheſſe of Auſtria, Counteſſe of Holland, and Zeeland, Lady of Friſland, &c. wife to the Archduke *Maximilian*, being a hunting, mounted vpon an ambling Gelding, fell (ſome write for the feare which her horſe had of a wilde Boare, which ranne betwixt his legges) wherwith ſhe was ſo bruzed in her body, as the 27. of Marche ſhe dyed, to the great griefe of her husband, who loued her entirely: ſhe was buried with a funerall pompe worthy 1482. Death of the Lady Mary of Bourgongne, Conteſſe of Holland.

B of her greatneſſe, in the Quier of Saint *Donas* Church at Bruges, after that ſhee had beene married foure yeares and a halfe, leauing one Sonne named *Philip* about three yeares old, and one Daughter but two yeares old, who by the treatie of peace was made ſure to King *Charles* the eight, ſonne to *Lewis* the 11. the French King. But this marriage being broken, ſhe was married to the onely ſonne of *Dom Fernando* of Arragon, and of *Iſabella* King and Queene of Caſtille, called alſo *Dom Fernando*, by whom ſhe had one ſonne, who dyed within the yeare with the father: afterwards ſhee married with *Philebert* the 8. Duke of Sauoy, who died after he had been ſeauen yeares married. The ſaid Lady *Mary* of Bourgongne being dead, the Archduke her husband tooke vpon him the title of Tutor to her children, that with this quallitie he might preſerue, main-

C taine, and defend them againſt the French King, *Lewis* the eleuenth, who had done ſo much harme and wrong vnto their Mother after the death of Duke *Charles* her father. The Archduke calles himſelfe Tutor.

This qualitie of Tutor did not greatly pleaſe many of the Netherlanders, eſpecially the Flemings. Thoſe of Gaunt, Bruges, Franc and Ypre, (which make the foure members of Flanders,) appointed by their priuate authoritie certaine commiſſioners, to gouerne the countrie of Flanders ioyntly with the Archduke, vntill it were otherwiſe ordered. By reaſon whereof the States were aſſembled in the cittie of Gaunt, where it was concluded that they ſhould not receiue the ſaid Gouernor, but for a certaine time limitted, vpon certaine conditions, and with an othe to keepe them: refuſing to admit any particular Gouernours or Captaines, if they were not, cho-

D ſen and placed by the Archduke and their commiſſioners ioyntly, for that (ſaid they) the Archduke was yet young, and that ſuch as were about him did gouerne him at their pleaſures, and did with him what they pleaſed: alſo the money that was leuied of the people was ill gouerned: that Iuſtice was not duely executed, and that many oppreſſions, extorſions, and violences, were committed in the countrie with all impunitie. This new order ſet downe by the Flemmings, did much diſpleaſe the Archduke, who went to Bruges and to Ypre, but they would no more acknowledge him for their Prince, nor allowe of the Magiſtrates and Officers that were made by him. The Ganthois did baniſh *Robert* of Halewin great Bayliffe of Bruges, out of Flanders for fiftie yeares, and put many Gentlemen of good account from their A new order ſet downe by the Flemings touching the gouernment.

E places and Offices, ſo as in thoſe times the Nobilitie was very much oppreſt in Flanders.

The Lord of Cordes Gouernour of Teroane for the French King, made ordinarie courſes then into Flanders, and ſpoyling the countrie. For the preuenting whereof, theſe Comiſſioners appointed for the gouernement, gaue commiſſion to *Charles* of Sauoy, and the Lords of Beuern and Merwede, to goe with ſome good troupes of men which the Ganthois did furniſh. And at the ſame time the Baſtard of Hennin had an incounter neere vnto Bethune againſt the French, whom hee put to route, and ſlue many of them. At the ſame time there were many ſhippes of warre put to

F Sea, both Flemings, Hollanders, Zelanders and Friſons, which came along the coaſt, ſo as the French durſt not boldly put to Sea. The Seignior of Chanteraine going out of Saint Omer with his company to ſeeke ſome aduenture, mette a conuoy neere vnto Teroane, which carryed the Souldiers pay thether, the which hee defeated and tarried the ſiluer and the ſpoile into Saint Omer. Whileſt that matters were thus handled in Flanders, and vpon the frontiers of Picardie and Arthois, the Archduke Affronts done vnto the French.

The Arch-duke acknowledged in Holland, zeeland and Friſeland for Gardien.

was in Holland, where hee was acknowledged by the States of the Countrie, for Gardien to his ſonne *Philip* of Auſtria, Duke of Bourgongne, being then but foure yeares olde; the like was done in Zeeland and Weſt-friſeland. But the Flemmings naturally inclined to innouations and mutinies, eſpecially the Ganthois, did greatly croſſe him. A

The Factions of Schyeringers and Vetcoopers in Frizeland, were then as violent as euer (as thoſe of the Hoecks and Cabillaux in Holland) the which were no ſooner pacified and reconciled in one part of Friſeland, but they kindled againe in another, and continued ſo long in that eſtate, before they were quite ſuppreſt that the countrie was made a prey to Strangers, and quite ruined, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

In the yeare 1482. the Duke of Cleues made a leuie of aboue 10000. men, horſe and foote, the which he ſent into the Dioceſſe of Vtretcht, to make warre againſt the Hollanders. The Traiectins and Cleuois ioyned together, making a great body of an armie, preſumed they might conquer all Holland, and went to campe before Iſelſtein. On the other ſide the Lord of Lalain, Gouernor of Holland, with many Noblemen went to field, with all the forces he could get, and camped iuſt by them, being reſolued to charge them in their Trenches, and to raize the ſiege. Heerevpon the Cleuois mutining againſt the Traiectins fearing they ſhould be ſurpized during their diuiſion, wherevppon they diſlodged from thence, leauing a part of their Artillerie and carriages behinde them, which thoſe of Iſelſteyn tooke and carryed into their towne. The Hollanders not content with this, did runne ouer the Countrie of Vtrecht, and paſſing by Intfaes, they tooke the Caſtell of Wroneſteyn, and a great Tower which they ruined. From thence they beſieged tooke and raized the two Fortes of Vaert, vpon the riuer of Lecke, and brake the Scluſes, by the which they paſſe from Vtrecht into that riuer, which done, winter approaching they retyred: the Traiectins making no ſhew to hinder them. B C

The Traiectins beſiege Iſelſtein.

In Iune the ſame yeare, there arriued in Flanders a Herald from *Lewis* the 11. the French King, bringing a ſafe-conduit for 60. of the Neitherlanders, which ſhould go & treat with him of a peace, the which were choſen by the 2. Eſtates, Secular & Clergie. This Treatie had bin begun in Nouember, the yeare before in the Cittie of Arras. Of the Archdukes Deputies were the States of Brabant, of Arthois, of Henault, and the foure members of Flanders, with the Kings Commiſſioners, who at this time was very ſicke, ſeeking remedie both by phiſicke, offrings, and pilgrimages, ſo fearefull was he of death. In the end a peace was concluded betwixt theſe Deputies, whereof a treatie was made, containing a hundred & one Articles. Among others: *That the Dolphin of France ſhould marry with the Lady* Marguerite *of Auſtria, daughter to the ſayde Arch-duke* Maximilian, *and the deceaſed Lady* Marie *of Bourgongne, beeing about foure years old.* With many other Articles, which for breuities ſake we omit. The Deputies of the Neitherlands went to confirme them at Tours where the King was, who receyued them courteouſly, ratified the peace, and confirmed the marriage of his ſonne: and after that hee had honoured them with rich preſents, hee thanked them and gaue them leaue to returne to their Prince. During the time of this Treatie at Arras, *Philip* of Creuecœur, Lord of Cordes ſlept not, but went to beſiege the towne of Aire in Arthois, betwixt Bethune and S. Omer; the which made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, but it was ſoone yeelded, or (to ſpeake truely) ſold, for the Captaine had 3000. crownes. The Inhabitants that would not ſtay, to the number of 500. retyred themſelues to Bethune and S. Omer; being ill affected to the French. D E

A peace concluded betwixt the French, and the Bourguignons.

Aire yelded to the French.

A peace beeing concluded betwixt the Archduke and the French King, and the marriage agreed vppon betwixt the Dolphin his ſonne and the Lady *Marguerite* the Archdukes daughter, about Eaſter in 1483. The Earle of Beauieu (afterwards Duke of Bourbon, the Kings ſonne in lawe, came into Arthois to receiue her, where ſhee was deliuered vnto him, who led her to Paris, and from thence to Amboiſe to the King. There was great ioy of her comming, as a pledge and faithfull confirmation of the peace: the which had beene proclaimed before in Holland, Zeeland and Friſeland, to the great contentment of the people, who by that meanes recouered F

1483. The Lady Marguerite of Auſtria deliuered to the French.

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A red their trafficke of marchandiſe in France. And although that this peace and marriage had beene concluded for that good and quiet of both nations, yet ſome gaue bad impreſſions thereof to the Archduke, who ſeemed not much to regard it: ſaying *that he had neuer giuen his conſent to it*: and therefore many that had delt in it were ſuſpected, and not fauoured in Court: and ſome Captaines of the Netherlands practiſed to ſurprize ſome places in Arthois and Picardie vpon the French, whereby they might haue occaſion to breake the peace.

The Archduke had in thoſe times for the pleaſure of *Dauid* of Bourgongne Biſhop of Vtrecht, great warre againſt the Traiectins and Cleuois; hee beſieged Vtrecht, battred it, and in the end (after ſome aſſaults) forced them to yeeld by compoſition, Vtrecht taken by the Archduke.
B vpon condition (among others) that they ſhould beate downe a part of their wall, and fill vp their ditche, by the which the Archduke might enter with his armie into the Towne, after that the ſouldiers of the garriſon were retired. The which was performed, and the Archduke entred in good order and triumphe, the 6. of September, pardoning the Inhabitants, and remitting both their liues and goods, the which hee did alſo to the Vicont of Montfort. Thoſe of Amerſſort hearing of the yeelding of Vtrecht, ſent their Deputies to the Archduke, vnto whom they were reconciled, and to their Biſhop, whom they conducted with a good conuoy to his Towne of Vtrecht, being glad to bee reſtored. The Archduke appointed the Lord of Iſelſteyn Gouernor there for him, with 1000. men in garriſon, at the charges of the Countie
C of Holland. The Hollanders were reſolued to keepe it, to ſerue them as a frontier and Bulwarke on that ſide, fortifying Saint *Katherins* Port towards Holland, and placing ſome men there in garriſon. The 13. of October, the Archduke, hauing ordred all things in thoſe quarters of Holland and Vtrecht, returned into Brabant: for that the Biſhop of Cambray, the Prince of Orange, and the Lord of Croye were come thether to aduertiſe him of the death of King *Lewis* the 11. who died the 13. of Auguſt the ſame yeare 1483: and of what was preſently to be done. The Hollanders put a garriſon in Vtrecht. 1483.

At the reception of the Princeſſe of Auſtria in the Court of France, the King deſired that Prince *Philip* of Auſtria might be put in poſſeſſion of the Eſtates and Seigneuries that were fallen vnto him by the death of the Dutcheſſe his Mother. Where-vpon
D thoſe of Gaunt, Bruges, Franc; and Ipre, required the Archduke to come into Flanders, to ſatisfie the Kings will touching theſe inheritances: but being then at Antwerp ready to goe and beſiege Vtrecht, he referred it to his returne. This ſiege continued long, the Flemings boyling, (as they be in all their firſt motions very violent, yea without diſcretion) tooke their young Prince, being then but fiue yeares old and two moneths, and put him in poſſeſſion of the ſayd Countie, and of all the townes in the Prouince; appointing for Tutors and Gardiens, the Earle of Romont, *Adolph* of Cleues Lord of Rauenſteyn. *Ioos* of *la Vere* Lord of Grooueltz and *Philip* of Bourgongne Lord of Beueron. *Ioos* Lord of Lalain hauing beene ſlaine at the ſiege of Vtrecht, the Hol- The Flemings put Philip of Auſtria in poſſeſſion of the Earldome.
– landers intreated the Archduke to giue them a Gouernour, who according to their
E laſt priuiledges, was borne in the Countrie. According to the which *Iohn* of Egmont was appointed the Princes Lieutenant in Holland, Zeeland, and Weſt-Friſeland: who in the moneth of May following marryed *Magdeline* of Wardenburch, daughter to the Earle of Wardenburch a Germaine.

The Flemings hauing according to the will of the French King, put young Prince *Philip* of Auſtria in poſſeſſion of his inheritance, without attending the Archduke his Father, and hauing appointed him thoſe foure Tutors to gouerne both him and his The Archduke depriued of the gouernment of his Sonne and of Flanders.
Country; during his minoritie, did greatly diſcontent the Archduke therewith; who ſeeing himſelfe depriued of his onely Sonne, and of the gouernment of Flan-
F ders; held diuerſe Councels with his moſt familiars, to know how hee might bring them vnto reaſon: where-vnto the Earle of Naſſau, and the Lord of Goeſbeeke perſwaded him moſt, with ſuch as had beene expelled and baniſhed out of Gaunt and Bruges. And withall there fell out a quarrell betwixt the Flemings, (eſpecially them of Bruges) and the Townes of Antwerp and Berghen vppon Soom, by reaſon of their Fayres and Markets, the Brugeois complaining that their

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A quarrell betwixt the Burgeois and them of Antwerp.

towne loſt their trade, by their meanes, whereupon the Flemings built a fort vpon A
Flanders ſide at Cloppeſdike, vpon the riuer of Eſcault, the which they did man with
a good garriſon and Artillerie, to keepe the ſhippes of Holland, Zeeland and the Eaſt-
countries from paſſing vp to Antwerp, and by that meanes to hinder the traffike of the
ſayd towne, ſpoyling oftentimes vnder this collour, good Marchants, and doing them
great outrages. Thoſe of Antwerp on the other ſide did furniſh forth ſome fewe
Shippes of warre, to bee a conuoie for merchants going vp and downe the Riuer,
and to defend them from the pilferies of the Flemings, the which did the more incenſe
the Archduke againſt the Brugeois: whereupon hee makes an enterpriſe to ſurpriſe
them, the which beeing diſcouered, the Brugeois ſtood ſo vpon their gard, as for
that time hee could not effect any thing, and many Bourgeſes of the ſayd towne were B
committed to priſon, beeing ſuſpected to haue had intelligence with the Archduke
whereof eight were beheaded and quartered, terming them traitors: the which did in-
cenſe the Archduke the more againſt them. In the ſame yeare after Eaſter, there came
out of France *Anthony* of Bourgongne Earle of Steenberghen, baſtard to the good
Duke *Philip* of Bourgongne, a wiſe and an ancient knight, gouernor to *Charles* the 8.
the French King, ſent by the King and his councell, to deuiſe of the meanes to recon-
cile all controuerſies betwixt the Archduke and the Flemings, but their ſpleenes were
ſo great on either ſide, as hee preuailed nothing, either partie remayning obſtinate
in his opinions. A while after the Archduke ſeized of the towne of Deudermonde C
by ſurqriſe; and then beganne ſharpe warres betwixt the Archduke and the Fle-
mings, to the ruine of the countries of Flanders and Brabant. The Margraue of Ant-
werp entred with good troupes into the land of Waes (which is the fatteſt quarter
of all Flanders) where he committed great ſpoiles and burnt the countrie. The Fle-
mings did no leſſe in Brabant, euen vnto the gates of Bruſſelles, whereas the Arch-
duke then was. The lord of Raueſtein did cunningly ſeize vpon Audenarde for the
Archduke. A captaine of Boiſleduc called *Martin Swart*, (a Shomaker by his trade,
whome the Archduke for his prowes had made a knight) entred with his company in-
to Flanders, ſurpriſed the towne of Nienhouen, ſpoiled the French garriſon that was
in it, ranſomed the towne, and they left it. They of Antwerp beſeeged, battred and D
forced the fort of Clopperſdyke, nere vnto Saffringhen vpon the riuer of Eſcault, the
which they raized.

Deudermond Audenarde and Nienhouen ſurpriſed for the Archduke.

Anthony of Bourgongne Earle of Seuenberghen contynuing ſtill to mediate an ac-
cord betwixt the Archduke and the Flemings, vſed ſuch good meanes with them of
Bruges, as they were content to humble themſelues vnto the Archduke, with whome
hee reconciled them in ſuch ſort, as the 21. of Iulie hee entred the towne, beeing ac-
companied by the Earle of Naſſau, and the greateſt part of his armie: where hee pun-
niſhed ſome mutinous rebells, and renewed the lawe, the Magiſtrate and the Officers
of the towne at his pleaſure. The Ganthois hearing what the Brugeois had done,
were by the interceſſion of the Earle of Steenbergeen reconciled in like ſort; whether E
the Archduke went about fifteene daies after, with goodly troupes of horſe and foote,
for his ſafety, knowing with what kinde of people hee had to deale. The ſayd Earle
of Steenberghen came to meete him, bringing with him his Sonne, the young Prince
Philip, whome hee had not ſeene of a long time, and was then very ioyfull to behold
him. The Archduke entring into the towne, pardoned all that was paſt: yet at night
ſome vnquiet mutiners ſtirred vp ſome of the Bourgeſes againſt their Prince, ſo as the
Archduke had beene in danger of his perſon, if his men had not ſpeedily gone to armes,
and chaſed away theſe raſcalls, whereof manie were committed to priſon and execu-
ted: Then had hee occaſion to take from them their preuiledges aud freedomes, the
which hee cancelled and diſanuilled, and tooke Prince *Philip* his Sonne, and carried him F
to *Macklyn*, to his grand-mother in lawe, the Douager of Bourgongne. Soone after
there came to reconcile themſelues vnto him *Adolph* of Cleues lord of Raueſtein, the
Earle of Romont, the lord of Vere and the lord of Baueren, who ſoone after married
with the daughter of the ſayd lord of Vere. About that time the Emperor *Frederic*
came to Cologne, where hee ſtaied eight daies, the Archduke *Maximilian* his Sonne

A new tumult in Gand.

went

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went to him to Aix, who had uot seene him of a long time, and from thence they went togither about Lest to Cologne. All difficulties and quarrells pacified betwixt duke *Iohn* of Cleues and the Dioceſſe of Cologne in the, which the Emperor had inueſted *Herman* Landtgraue of Heſſen, together with the Duchie of Weſtphalen and the Countie of Arenſbourg. The Emperor, the Archduke his Sonne, and all the Princes that were with them parted on Saint Agathes day from Cologne, towardes Francfort to chooſe a King of the Romans, where the 16. of February by a common conſent of all the Princes Electors, *Maximilian* of Auſtria was choſen and proclaimed King of Romains. And the Thurſday after Eaſter following, they returned all to Aix, where he was crowned in our Ladies Church with all the accuſtomed Ceremonies: where as the ſayd King did knight many Princes and Noblemen, among the which were *Philippe* of Bauaria Palatin of Rhine, *Arnold* duke of Saxony both Princes Electors, the duke *Gaſpar* of Bauaria: *William* duke of Iuliers, *William* Lantgraue of Heſſen. *Albert*, Marquis of Baden, *William* Lord of Egmont and many others to the number of 200. The feaſt of his coronation beeing ended, the Princes retired euery one to his home: the Emperor into Auſtria and the King of Romains into Brabant. Before that the Archduke went vnto the Emperor his Father, hee made *Engelbert* Earle of Naſſau Gouernor of all the Netherlands in his abſence, by vertue of a commiſſion giuen him at Boiſleduc in that yeare 1485. whome wee will place for the firſt Gouernor made by the Prince.

The Emperor Frederic comes to Cologne.

Maximilian made King of the Romains.

New knights made by the King of the Romans.

1485.

ENGEL-

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ENGELBERT EARLE OF NASSAV,

the first Gouernor, Lieutenant and Captaine generall for the Prince, in the Lowe Countries.



ENGELBERTVS COMES NASSAVIVS GVBERNAT. BELGII.

I did first Gouerne of the Nasouien blond,
True to my lord of these Low-countries good:
Where Maximilian *of the Romans King,*
Of Austria Duke, and the Archduke his son:
Taking faire note of me, did forthwith bring
Me vnto place and Eminence, but t'was done,
With a proniso, onely for a space:
Through which occasion I did tame the rage,
Of the tumultuous Brugeois, which to my Grace,
Nassau our house at Court, can giue good gage.

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A IN the yeare 1491. *Engelbert* Earle of Naſſau was by *Maximilian* the firſt King of Romains going into Hungary, made Gouernor of the County of Flanders, and the Baylewiks of Lille, Douay, Orchies and Saint Omer. And afterwards in the yeare 1501. the Archduke *Philip* going into Spaine, he was appointed by him gouernor generall of the Netherlands. All this while the factions of Vetcoopers and Schieringers, raged in Friſeland, one againſt an other. In the which the Monks and relligious men delt, with their thundring excomunications, among others *Aggo Albert* of Heenlon did excomunicat *Iga Galama* and his brethren, which was the cauſe of great miſchiefe and ruine. For the ſayd brethren of the faction of Vetcoopers, drewe The Monkes in Friſeland deale with the factions.
B vnto their ſuccors *Iohn* of Egmont gouernor of Holland, who ſent them ſtrange ſoldiars, with the which and ſome Gentlemen Friſons their Partiſans, they went and beſieged the Abbey of Heenlon, which the Monkes had fortified: the which brought diſtruction to the ſayd Abbey and to many Villages there abouts. Theſe factions brought great miſeries and calamities vnto Friſeland, for the Vetcoopers allied themſelues to the towne of Groninghen, and the Schyeringers called the duke of Saxony into their country, which cauſed the totall ruine of both parties as we will relate ſuccinctly hereafter, during the gouernment of *Albert* and *George* dukes of Saxony. Soone after that *Maximilian* King of Romains was returned out of Germaine into the Netherlands, the Ganthois and Brugeois did mutine againe: And therefore the King had leauied 20000.
C horſe and foote for his gard, the which being lodged and diſperced in the the countries, The Ganthois and Brugeois mutine againe.
did much miſchiefe to the poore countriemen, who ſeemed to bee worſe intreated by them, then by their enemies: being all high Bourguignons or Hanniuers, beſides the country was daily ſurcharged with new impoſitions, more then they could beare: all by the perſwaſion (ſayd they) of *Peter Lanchals* knight, his treaſorer, Baylife of Bruges, whome the Ganthois and Brugeois would not obey, wherevpon the King came in February, withall his nobility into the towne of Bruges, leauing the horſemen of his gard without: reſeruing ſome which he held by him with ſome Landtsknets: he made certaine demands vnto the Magiſtrate which they would not accept. Hee being diſpleaſed at this refuſall, by the aduice of the ſayd *Lanchals*, marched in armes withall his traine
D vnto the market place. The ſworne bands not knowing what this might pretend, doubted ſome treaſons and therefore a great number of the Bourgeſes went to armes, to appoſe themſelues againſt the King and his followers, ſo as they could not aduance. Some Noblemen of his councell perſwaded him to retire to his Pallace the which hee did: and in this ſort was kept vnder good gard by the inhabitans: who tooke ſome Noblemen and gentlemen of his houſhold priſoners, yea they kept the King ſo ſtraightly in his Pallace, as he could neither write nor receiue any letters without their priuitie and conſent. *Peter Lanchals* ſeeing this diſorder, beeing well acquainted with the diſpoſition of this people, went and hid himſelfe. The companies which did hate him to the death, ſought him in all places, but not finding him, they promiſed a great
E ſumme of money to him that ſhould diſcouer him. In the meane time they put manie of thoſe priſoners to death, terming them Traitors and rebells to the cittie. Af- The Siegnior Lanchals beheaded.
terwardes they made a third proclamation, by the which it was ſayd, *That if any one had concealed him till that time, in bringing him forth, they ſhould bee pardoned, if not, all thoſe that had ſo long kept and concealed him in their houſes, ſhould themſelues and all their family bee hanged before their dores*, the which did ſo terrefie them, as hee was diſcouered, and preſently led vnto a ſcaffold that was made readie, whereas after they had tormented them ſtrangely in the preſence of all the people, they cauſed his head to be cut off.

F The King of Romains beeing thus reſtrained like a very priſoner in the towne of Bruges: ſome townes of Flanders, as Aloſt, Deudermonde, Oudenarde, Hulſt & others, inſteed of liking, and approuing the folly of the Ganthois & Brugeois did them contrariwiſe much miſchiefe, by ſpoyling and burning euen vnto their very Ports, making them to taſte of the wrong they did vnto their Princeſſe father; holding him ſo treacherouſly and preſumptuoſly priſoner. The which impriſonment was no ſooner come

to

to the knowledge of the Emperour *Frederic* the Kings father, but hee made his mone A
to the Princes of the Empire, complaining of the preſumption and treacherie of the
Ganthois and Brugeois: requiring them that (all affaires and excuſes ſet aſide, (euery
one would come with his forces according to his eſtate, to the Rendezuous that hee
ſhould aſſigne them: and ſo with their vntited forces marche towards Flanders, and
deliuer the King his ſonne. Many Princes, Earles, and Barons, came about mid-May:
others ſent their Lieutenants with forces; and ſo did the Imperiall townes. The Pope
The Emperor goes with an army againſt the Flemings. was alſo intreated to interpoſe his authoritie: wherein *Herman* of Heſſen, Archbiſhop
of Cologne, was imployed: to perſwade them of Gaunt, Bruges and Ypre, by threats,
and eccleſiaſticall cenſures, to ſet at libertie the King, his Officers, and houſhold ſer-
uants, within a certaine time limited: or that otherwiſe hee would proceed againſt B
them by way of excommunication. Theſe Flemings not ſo much for feare of the
Popes thundring, as of the ſtorme which approched by the Emperor, ſet the King at
libertie, ſuffring him to goe where he pleaſed, yea they made meanes vnto him to par-
don them, and that hee would bee reconciled vnto the foure members of Flanders.
Wherevnto the King did not refuſe to giue eare. The which did much diſcontent the
great Councell of Macklyn, and the Prouinces of Holland and Zeeland, who by
the Emperors comming, (whom they did expect) would gladly haue ſeene theſe mu-
tinous Flemings puniſhed. Notwithſtanding ſome deputies of Brabant and Zeeland,
The Flemings accorded with the King of the Romains. aſſiſted by *Adolph* of Cleues Lord of Rauesteyn, came to Bruges, to the States of Flan- C
ders. Whereas matters were ſo handled, as it was concluded, that the King ſhould bee
contented for certaine thouſands of Crownes, to renounce the gouernment of Flan-
ders; where there ſhould bee appointed certaine Curators, vntill the Prince *Philip*
were come to age. But the States of Brabant, Holland, Zeeland and Weſt-Friſland,
would not haue nor acknowledge in their Prouinces any other Curator or head, then
the King of Romaines, father to their Prince: wherein they had reaſon. There were
alſo in this conference many points agreed vpon, which ſeemed to be profitable for the
country, the King and their Prince, according to the which the King was deliuered, but
not his ſeruants. Yet hee pardoned them all, and tooke a ſolemne oath to entertaine
this accord, for aſſurance whereof he left *Philip* of Cleues, ſonne to the Lord of Ra- D
The Flemings are excommunicated. ueſteyn in hoſtage. In the meane time (the which was cauſe of great warre and miſe-
ries which followed) the Archbiſhop of Cologne proceediug to the execution of his
Commiſſion (the Flemings hauing not inlarged the King by the day limitted) pro-
nounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt the townes of Gaunt, Bruges and
Ypre, the which made them odious to all the world, calling them excommunicated
and damned perſons, no man being willing to conuerſe, nor to haue to doe with them.
Yet afterwards by the interceſſion of the French king, ſoueraigne Lord of Flanders
(held immediatly of the Crowne of France) they ſo purged themſelues to the Pope,
as he abſolued them from the Archbiſhops curſſe.

Whileſt that matters were thus handled in Flanders, the Emperor *Frederic* aduan- E
uanced ſtill with his armie, and that of the Princes and Imperiall Townes; vntill hee
came to Macklin, whereas *Maximilian* King of the Romaines his ſonne, went to meete
him, and to receiue him, being accompanied with the Princes, Barons, Noblemen,
Knights, and chiefe Captaines of his traine, whom hauing thanked for the great paines
The Emperor diſlikes the accord made with the Flemings. they had taken to come and ſuccour him, comming before the Emperor his father, he
caſt himſelfe vpon his knees, beſeeching him moſt humbly to pardon them, as hee had
done them of Bruges: if it were but in reſpect of the oath which he had made, and the
faith which hee had giuen them; wherevnto the Emperor would by no meanes yeeld:
ſome Prelates perſwading the King, that his oath did not binde him, to people that
were excommunicated. The Ganthois knowing that the Emperour came in Armes
againſt them, intreated *Philip* of Raueſtein to be their generall, as it had beene agreed F
at the treatie of Bruges, the which he accepted. There were with him in the Citty of
Gaunt the Earle of Vendoſme, and many Noblemen & Captaines come out of France
to ſuccour them. (You may ſee how the French Kings councell, not-with-ſtanding the
peace, ſought all meanes to annoy the King of the Romaines, and the eſtate of Prince

Philip

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A *Philip* his ſonne.) The Lord of Rauesteyn being in field with his Ganthois, ſurpriſed by pollicie the Towne of Scluſe in Flanders, which is the onely Sea Port, by the which the Brugeois haue acceſſe into the Brittiſh Seas. The Emperor and the Noblemen of Germanie, marched with their Armie, vntill they came about Gant and Bruges, ſpoiling the champian country onely, without any other memorable exployt. They incountred ſome-times with the Flemings, but they neuer came vnto a battaile, neither did they take any Townes one from another. The Germaines thought once to ſurpriſe Dam (where there is a ſtay of the Sea-water betwixt Scluſe and Bruges) but their enterpriſe ſucceeding not, they were repulſt with great loſſe, among others, a brother of the Marquis of Brandenbourgs was ſlaine.

B The 21. of May thinking to do as much at Gaunt, many of their men being entred, marching in the ſtreet that was before them, thinking that they had wonne the towne, the Ganthois hauing ſuffered as many to enter as they thought good, and might eaſily maiſter, they cut downe the Port-cullis of the gate, where they were taken likewiſe in a trappe, and were all ſlaine or drowned. In the end the Emperor ſeeing that he ſhould with great difficultie preuaile ouer theſe mightie Townes of Gant, Bruges and Ypre; his horſmen hauing ruined all the countrie of Flanders, and eaten all that was to bee found, ſo as there was nothing left: hauing done no memorable act worthy the writing, and the hard time of winter approching: the Germaines louing their Stoues too well, after that they had furniſhed the Townes of Aloſt, Oudenard, Deudermonde,

C Hulſt, and other Townes with good garriſons, the Emperor retired into Germanie, leauing with the Archduke *Maximilian* his ſonne, king of Romaines, *Albert* Duke of Saxonie, Landtgraue of Miſnia: whom he made Gouernor of the Netherlands, to make warre as well againſt the Flemings, as the Friſons, as we will briefly ſhew.

V ALBERT

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ALBERT DVKE OF SAXONY, LAND-graue of Miſnia, ſecond Gouernor, Lieutenant and Generall for the Prince in his Netherlands.



ALBERTVS DVX SAXONIÆ GVBER. BELGII.

To tame the Flemings, and the Friſon race,
The which the King of Romains had good cauſe
Then to ſupplant, I had the Gouernors place,
Being alſo Prince and head o're Saxon Lawes,
But Freezlands gouernment heriditarie
Was giuen then to me: he cruell foe
At Groninghen reacht me a deadly blowe,
My friends to Miſnia-houſe my corps did carrie.

After

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A 

After the Emperors retreat, the Flemings by vertue of their treatie of Bruges, drew vnto their party against Duke Albert, the townes of Brusselles, Lovuaine, Tillemont and other small towns of Brabant, who had their shares in this warre as also they of Arthois, Henanult and Namur did, by meanes of the French, who were allyed to the Flemings. All this faction was but a ruine and a generall distruction of al the Netherlands, one towne making warre against another: some towne was taken one day for one party, and recouered againe the next by the other. During this warre the Flemings made themselues strong at sea, imploying many banished men of Hollande and other (that might not drinke of all waters) with the which they did much harme vnto the Hollanders, especially to them of Leyden. With which Flemings *Francis* Brederod, brother to the Lord of Brederod did ioyne, with certen banished men of Rotterdam and of some other townes. This Gentleman was made one of their Captaines at sea, to make warre against the Hollanders, who were his owne Countrymen; so as being imbarked in Flanders, he landed at Delfshauen, and so marched to Rotterdam, the which he surprised, (passing ouer to the ditch vpon the Ice) without striking stroake, which towne was at that time full of marchandise, the which they could not then ship, by reason of the great abondance, of Ice which floats in winter in that riuer vnto the sea. The flemings not being contented to set the fire of dessention, by their rebellion in their own contry, but they presently kindled it in Brabant and Holland seducing the good subiects of both contries, to ioyne with them in their villanies.

The Flemings allie them selus with the Brabansoues against the Duke of Saxony.

B

E

In the yeare 1489. the King of Romains came into Holland, where he went throughout all the townes, to shew them that by reason of the alterations in Flanders, they should bee carefull to stand vpon their gards; intreating them to continue in their accustomed loyalty, to the Prince his Sonne and to him, and to receiue no strang forces: doing this, being in the towne of Harlem, their were other townes in Holland, which came to complaine of the Harlemois, which had beene the cause of great troubles, if the King had not wisely preuented it. Yet not with standing there was some warre by reason of the surprise of Rotterdam the which did much anoy their neighbors, hauing drawne the vicont of Montfort to their party, who also made violent warres for his part: vntil that in the end the 22. of Iune the seignior *Francis* of Brederode, Superintendant in the towne of Rotterdam, began to treat with the Squier of the King of Romaines, as in the end an Agreement was made: by the which a Proclamation was made at the towne house, that whosoeuer would depart the towne with the seignior of Brederode, they might freely doe it without any let, and in like sort all that would remaine might do it boldly without feare or serch. According to which agrement *Francis* of Brederode and the other Captaines with their soldiars, departed the towne, and the Squier entred with his men, but all this did not pacifie the troubles in Holland, nor with the Vicont of Montfort.

The King of the Romaines comes into Hollands.

C

Rotterdam yeelded to the King of Romaines.

D In Nouember following *Albert* Duke of Saxony ariued in Holland, he came first to Leyden, and from thence to la Goud, to aduise of the meanes to treat an accord with them and with the Vicont of Montfort. For the effecting whereof there was an assembly of the states in the saide towne of Leyden: But by reason of the Dukes sodaine departure, who went towards Brabant for matters of greater importance, which neere concerned him it remayned for a time in suspence, In the meane time the Vicont being at Worden continued his spoyles vpon the Hollanders. This cruell deuouring warre of the flemings against the King of Romains, being thus strangely inflamed to the ruine and desolation of all the neighbour countries, in the end both parties yeelded to a peace submitting themselues to the arbitrement of the French King, (who should be sonne in law to the King of Romains) and to his councell: who (after manie conferencee and deliberations) gaue an arbitracie sentence, which was very beneficiall to the King of Romaines, and preiudiciall to the Flemings, concluding to an accord and reconciliation, in the which *Philip* of Cleues was not comprehended, who kept at that time in the Castell of Selusi, but afterwards hee was receiued into grace. This

A peace concluded betwixt the King of Romaines and the Flemings.

F

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peace was proclaymed throughout all the Netherlands, to the incredible ioy of all the A
people, being tired with the fore-paſſed miſeries. After-wards by reaſon of the abate-
ment of coines, (which during the warre had bin exceding heigh, in reſpect of that they
The Brugeois mutine againe had bin before) there was a mutiny in the Towne of Bruges, for the ſuppreſſing wherof,
Engelbert of Naſſau was ſent, who (as wel for this cauſe, as for that they kept their Prince
priſoner) did ſo pinch the towne, as they continued poore a long time after, and the Bru-
geois were conſtraind by the allowance of the King of Romaines, to build vnto the ſaid
earle of Naſſau, that goodly houſe which the Princes of Orange, haue at this day in the
towne of Bruges. Duke *Albert* of Saxony being returned out of Brabant into Holland,
after the aſſembly of the eſtates held at Leyden, ſeeing that the Vicont of Montfort did
not forbeare to do all the Iniuries he could vnto the Hollanders, it was reſolued by the B
Montfort beſeeged by the Duke of Saxony. ſaid duke, and by the townes of Holland to go & beſiege him, appointing the Rendeuous
for their army betwixt Worden and Montfort. And about the end of May in the yeare
1490. the ſaid Duke, accompanied with *Iohn* of Egmond Gouernor of Holland, and of
1490. many other noblemen, went & planted his campe before the towne and caſtel of Mont-
fort the which he did batter furiouſly, and ouerthrew the ports, towers, & walls, giuing
many aſſaults the which were well defended, the beſieged making many braue ſallies, in
which, and during the ſiege there died many of either ſide. So as in the end the Earle of
Naſſau & of Chimay arriuing in Holland preuailed ſo by their good meanes & perſwa-
tions, with the Duke of Saxony, to auoid a greater effuſion of blood as there was an ac-
cord made betwixt the Duke & the Hollanders of the one part, & the Vicont of Mont- C
An accord betwixt the duke of Saxony and the Vicont of Montfort. fort on the other, by the which the Vicont ſhould reſtore to the Hollanders the towne
and caſtle of Woerden, departing with his family & all that was in it, in regard whereof
the Duke ſhould raiſe his campe from before Montfort the which was performed of ei-
ther ſide. Then the Vicont tooke an oth of fealty to the King of Romains and to Prince
Philip his ſonne in the hands of duke Albert: ſo the ſaid Nobleman was reconciled, and
all the riuers, waies & paſſages made free, as before this laſt war. *Francis* of Brederode,
hauing left the towne of Rotterdam, to the King of Romanes Squire, retired to Scluſe,
to *Philip* of Cleues, to whom there ioyned many baniſhed men of Holland and other
places: the ſignior of Naeldwyk hauing paied his ranſom to the Squier, was there alſo:
whileſt that the campe lay before Montfort, theſe two Noblemen of Brederode & Na- D
eldwike, (hauing 1800. men) imbarked at Scluſe, and landed in the Iland of Walchren,
where hauing made a great ſpoile they went toward Dordrecht, burnt certein mills at
Suyndreckt, and one mill ioyning to the towne, and then thy returned to the Iland and
towne of Goedereed, with an intention to ſpoile it. The Lord of Egmont Gouernor of
Holland hauing news thereof at the campe at Monfort, parted ſecretly, with many gen-
tlemen and came to Dordrecht, from whence he ſent for men out of Zeland, and from
Bergeen vpon Som, with the which he did imbarke and purſued them of Scluſe, hauing
found them, he charged them reſolutly; the fight was furious; at the firſt incounter the
ſeignor of Brederode finding himſelfe not ſtrong inough to reſiſt long, began to retire
and preſently went to land. The lord of Egmont purſuing him, there was a new fight, in E
the which Brederode was very ſore wounded, & being taken priſoner, was carried vnto
the ſhip and ſo conducted to Dordrecht, where he died ſoone after. The ſeignor of Na-
eldwick, ſeeing that all was loſt, fled with his men towards Ziricxze frō whence he went
A new tumult at Bruges. ſafely to Scluſe. At the ſame time the Bourgeſes of Bruges did riſe againe againſt their
Superiors by reaſon of the baſe priſes of mony, which they ſaid were out of reaſon, and
had not bin ſo agreed vpon by the States of the country. Beſids in the payments which
they made in France, Spaine, Portingall and England, coynes were at a higher rate then
in the lowe contries: So as they feared that the trafficke of their towne would faile, On
the other ſide, as they of Scluſe did much harme, by their courſes and roads, the duke of
Saxony put a good garriſon into the towne of Dam, who did no leſſe in Flanders. In the F
meane time Gaunt, Ypre and other townes were quiet, and did not much care for the
coynes: and had rated them at their owne pleaſure, euer a third part higher then in
other prouinces, wheras the abatement of coines was ſtrictly obſerued: the which was
the cauſe of great contention among all the Inhabitantes of the ſaied Countrie:

wherein

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A wherein the Artisan and the Merchant suffred much: as in deede euery one complayned and not without cause, for the time was neuer so miserable as then. There was not a pennie to bee earned, no mony to bee taken vp: euerie man keeping that which hee had in his cofer, vpon hope that it would rise: and the best marchandise of returne which marchant strangers made in Antwerp and Berghen vpon Soom, was mony, not caring to exchange or to buie any other commodities for theirs, seeing there was so great gaine vpon the peeces of gold and siluer: yet the Earle of Nassau wrought so with the Brugeois and the duke of Saxony, as that matter was pacified, and the coynes rated as at Gand, Ypre and other townes of Flanders, and after the same value as it went in the neigbour Prouinces of the Netherlands. But those of Scluse did not
B cease to robbe and spoile at sea; so as none could passe from the East countries into Spaine, nor goe into the East countries without verie great daunger, which caused a great and generall dearth throughout all the Netherlands, especially of corne.

At that time the French King made warre in Arthois, pretending that it had beene giuen him in marriage with the Ladie *Marguerite*, sister to *Philip* of Austria and daughter to the King of Romains. In the meane time pettie Salezart surprized the towne of Teroane, the which he kept a while for the Bourguignons partie. But as the Earle of Nassau and some other Noblemen went to beseege Bethune, the lord of Cordes, incountring them with all the forces of Piccardie, gaue them battaile, in the vil-
E lage of Hinges, and had the victorie, whereas the Earle of Nassau and *Charles* of Egmont duke of Geldres were taken: the Earle redeemed himselfe soone, and payed his ransome: but the duke was kept long as a prisoner with the French King. At this defeate the French recouered Teroane, the which they held since vnto the yeare 1554. the which the Emperor *Charles* the fift tooke by assault, and caused it bee razed, as it is to this day, the soyle remayning to the French. All this time Holland was much afflicted by the extreame dearth, especially of corne: through the want of mony, by newe impositions and burthens, and aboue all, through the robberies and spoiles done both at sea and land by them of Scluse, hauing surprized the Ilandes of Tessell and Wyering, where they made their retreates robbing and spoyling the
C shippes comming out of Ostland. There was a great tumult twise in the towne of Alcmar, by the countrie-men, for the sayd impositions: the which they were forced to surcease for a time. There was a great assembly in the towne of Horne (the which the sayd peasants had seized vpon for their assurance) of all the Villages and Boroughs of the countries of Kennemerlandt, North-holland and Waterland, in the which they resolued ioyntly, rather to die all, euen to the last man, then to pay such exactions, seeing that the misery of the time would not beare it.

The French King makes warre in Arthois.

The battaile of Hinges.

On the other side the Ganthois (hauing receiued some small affront from the King of Romains people) reuolted againe, and ioyned with them of Scluse. The first of Iulie they surprized the towne of Hulst, although there were a garrison. Then beganne all
D things to decline & go to ruine in Flanders. Many Ganthois that were well affected to the King of Romains, abandoned the towne betimes, of their owne free-will: manie were expelled and banished. The Flemings robbing and spoyling at sea, continued still and increased daylie: the nauigation into the west parts beeing in a manner defended, at the least not without daunger. The which increased the dearth in Holland, Zeeland and Barbant, so as the common people did liue a vetie poore and languishing life. The Ganthois did not hold this towne of Hulst long: for the Earle of Nassau sent pettie Salezart his Lieutenant thether with his troupes, the which hee recouered by force, in the which many of the towne were slaine, among other captaine Wittenhorst, who hauing left the seruice of the King of Romains in Holland, retyred himselfe
F to Scluse, from whence hee did afterwardes much mischiefe vnto the Hollanders. The Seignior of Naeldwyke being in the sayd towne of Hulst, notwithstanding any watch they layd for him both by sea and land, escaped in a disguised habit, and returned to Scluse, where bee beganne to make more violent warre against the Hollanders then euer. The captaines of West Flanders which held the King of Romains party, went to

The Ganthois reuolt.

Hulst surprized by the Ganthois.

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Dixmuyden taken from the Ganthois.

beſeege the towne of Dixmuyden (which the Ganthois had taken a little before) the A
which for want ſuccors was forced to yeeld, to haue their liues & goods ſaued. *Charles*
of Egmont duke of Gelders, ſonne to Prince *Adolph* (who as we haue ſaid, was ſlaine be-
fore Tourney, in ſeruice of the Ganthois) was yet priſoner at the French Kings court,
going and comming vppon his faith, euer ſince that he was taken neere vnto Bethune,
by the Lord of Cordes, with the Earle of Naſſau: ſome of his friendes, (among the
which was the Earle of Mœurs, and other Noble-men Geldrois) did worke his deliue-
rie for money, and conducted him with a goodly troupe of ſouldiers, French and Ger-
mans through the countrey of Leige, into his Dutchy of Gelders, where hee was wel-
Charles duke of Gelders deliuered out of priſon. 1492.
come to all men, and acknowledged for their Duke and Earle of Zutphen. B

The 30. of May 1492. the furie of the Peſants in Holland reuiued againe of thoſe
whom they called *Kaſeubroots-volck*, that is to ſay, men of bread and cheeſe: as if one
would ſay, poore men that ſought for meate to eate, who went in great troupes before
the towne of Harlem, where by the helpe of poore handy-crafts men they entred and
ſpoiled all the rich men, beating and breaking downe doores, windowes, cofers and
cubberts; tearing in peices papers, bonds and inſtruments, pulling of the ſeales, and
The furie of the Peſants at Harlem.
carrying away what was fitteſt for them, and doing other villanies, which did nothing
auayle them, yet could not be appeaſed. And not content heere-with, thinking to doe
as much to Leyden, they aduanced euen to the gates, but they were chaſed away by the C
Canon, ſo as euery one was glad to get him to his home.

During theſe alterations, the Duke of Saxonie, ſent men into Holland to ſubdue
theſe Peſants. Thoſe of Harlem, who were not guiltie of theſe troubles ſmarted not-
withſtanding for it, by reaſon of the ſpoyles which the ſouldiers committed in thoſe
parts, euen at their gates. Soone after the Duke came in perſon into Holland, vnto
whom the Magiſtrate ſent to excuſe himſelfe of all that had paſt, fearing they ſhould
The Duke of Saxony comes into Holland.
bee accuſed as if they had beene culpable: and in the meane time the troupes did the
worſt they could. Duke *Abert* of Saxony comming to Harlem, the Clergie & the magi-
ſtrate went to meet him in forme of a proceſſion, & preſented the keies of the town vn-
to him, but the moſt mutinous fled away: being entred, he cauſed a gibbet & a ſcaffold
to be ſet vp, to puniſh ſuch as remayned: many good Bourgeſſes, which during the D
troubles had abſented themſelues, were called for. And although that the Magiſtrate
and the chiefe of the Towne were not guilty of the breaking downe of the gate, and
that thoſe that were guiltie were fled, yet for that they had giuen a paſport to ſuch
as would depart, (he muſt needs finde ſome coulor, as ſtrange Gouernors do commonly to intrapt them) the towne was taxed at 17000. of S. *Andrewes* florins, ſo as the In-
habitants were forced to bring their Plate and Iewels to the Towne-houſe, to furniſh
the ſumme, for that there was not ſo much coyned money in all the towne, it had been
ſo exhauſte by the warres and troubles paſt.

He puniſhed Harlem and Alcmar.
This Duke did alſo puniſh the Kennemers by fines and reparations: and not yet ſa-
tiſfied with them of Harlem, hee commanded their Banner to bee brought vnto his
lodging, and the Charter of their Priuiledge, the which hee declared to be forfeited: E
cauſing a fort to be built to keepe them in awe. Thoſe of the towne of Alcmar ſent
their deputies vnto him to craue pardon: they were receiued bringing their Banner,
the which in like ſort hee adiudged forfeited, and that they might neuer cary any more,
for that they had ſerued in the laſt interpriſe vpon Leyden, condemning them to pay
6600. Florins for a fine. The Duke hauing puniſhed theſe two townes, and reduced
the Countrie to his will; hee created new Magiſtrates in Harlem, for that they had for-
feited their Priuiledges. The eight of Iune hee went from thence, carrying away all
their artillerie, both great and ſmall; for hee would not enter into the towne, before
that all had beene brought into the Market-place before the Towne-houſe, and that
the Bourgeſſes had brought in all their armes: but preſently after his departure they F
fetcht them againe. From thence he went downe into Zeeland, & ſurpized Zericzee,
where hee lodged all his armie, meaning to fleece them as hee had done the reſt: for
that during all theſe Flemmiſh warres, they had borne more affection to them,
then to their Prince: A proud people, and trafficking dayly with them of Slcuſe. There
hee

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A he also built a Block-house in forme of a Cittadell, and taxed them at 3600. Florins of Germanie, wherewith hee pardoned them, which being done, presuming to haue some good and assured intelligences vpon the towne of Gaunt, hee marched thether with all his army to surprise it: but beeing discouered, the Ganthois let goe their Scluses, and drowned the whole countrie, where hee should passe, so as hee could not approach any neerer, but was forced to retire. Those that were suspected to be assistants to the duke in this enterprise were taken and executed. Among others *Coppen Gheel* (otherwise called *Holl*) one of their chiefe captaines, who had in a manner alone gouerned the whole towne, of whome it is at this daie spoken for a common prouerb, when as any one presumes ouer much. *Thou shalt bee like* Coppen Holl, that is to say, *thou shalt*
B *loose thy head.*

From thence the duke went before Scluse, the which hee beseeged straightly both by sea and land, during which seege there arriued many shippes in the Low-countries laden with corne, the which did abate the prices of all things, especially of bread, the sommer season beeing verie faire and temperate promising a plentifull and rich haruest, the like was neuer seene in the memorie of man. It seemed that with the season which had beene a long time troublesome, men would also growe more moderate and gentle, for in the moneth of Iuly, those of Gaunt sent their Deputies to Hulst, to duke *Albert* to be receiued into fauour, repairyng their faults past with a great sum of money which they promised and paied: by meanes whereof all was pardoned, and their
E fore-passed rebellions forgotten. In the meane time the duke did furiously batter the towne and castell of Scluse, the besieged made many braue Sallies vpon his campe, bringing still away some prisoners: the Artillery of the castell was not idle, shooting through the shippes that did besiege them at sea, and through the Tentes and pauilions that were at land, both partes remayning in this sort a long time. In the end the 10. of October an accord was made betwixt the duke and *Philippe* of Cleues Lord of Raneste in. By the which it was sayd, *that the soldiars that were in the great and little Castell of Scluse, should depart, that the towne and little Castell should bee open to his men.* But the lord of Raueste in should remaine with his familie aboue in the great Castell, the which hee should keepe during his life, for the seruice of Prince *Philip* Archduke
C of Austria.

The beseeged Scluse.

Gand submits to the duke.

The King of Romains visiting the townes of Holland one after an other, beeing at Harlem, the fiue chiefe townes of the countrie, that is to say, Dordrecht, Leyden, Delf, Amsterdam and Goude, came with their complaints vnto him, for that the Harlemois during all the warres against the Flemings would neuer assist them, nor contribute any thing to the charges. But they so excused themselues, as hee remained satisfied, so as for a good summe of money which they did furnish, hee gaue them an Acte of exemption of his hand, for that which the other townes complained of them, who beeing discontented with this graunt, bare it patiently vntill that duke *Albert* came to Harlem, where they renewed their former complaints, but for that the duke
D had made an accord with them and with the towne of Alcmar, they preuailed nothing at that time. Yet for that they would not desist to molest the sayd towne of Harlem, seeking to wrest from them the summe of three score and ten thousand Florins. In the end this towne and the other fiue, submitted themselues to the arbitrement of certaine worthy men, promising vpon certaine pennalties, to performe what they should decree and set downe, which Arbitrators for all the pretensions of the demanders, did taxe the towne of Harlem at 20000. florines, to bee payd in three yeares, at three equall paiements. Whereunto they yeelded although it were verie hard for all them to beare: and to great bitterneſſe in the rest to haue prest them so farre, besides all their former losses by their intestine and ciuill
F warres, and the tumults of the Kennemers. But this summe did little profit the rest. For the duke of Saxony did suck them in such sort, as Hollande did neuer suffer the like in the time of any of their Earles. Wherein hee tooke delight, to teach them not to bee so cruell and bitter one against an other, nor to entertaine factions and partialities amongst them-selues, as they had donne manie yeares vnder

The duke ruins the factions in Holland and Zeeland.

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vnder the titles of Hoecks & Cabillaux, the which it was impossible to roote out, but by reducing both Factions to extremitie. The like hee did vnder the authoritie of the King of Romaines in Freezland, to the Schieringers & Vetcoopers, factions that were as pernitious as those of Holland. The which after that they had wasted one an other, burnt, beaten downe, ruined and spoyled houses and Castells, yea whole Townes they were in the end ouerthrowne by the same Duke of Saxonie, and his successours for many yeares. But the said Duke made no great profit of all the gold and siluer hee had extorted generally from the Neitherlands, neither did hee purchase any lands or siegneories therewith for his children, but wasted it wholy in those warres against the Frisons and Groningeois, and in the end lost his owne life and his sonne *Henryes*, so as *George* his yongest sonne, was forced to abandon all, as wee shall shew in the following course of this Historie.

The Duke of Saxonie seeks an occasion to oppresse the Frisons.

In the meane time there was great heart-burning in Freezeland, betwixt the Nobles of both factions. Duke *Albert* to seeke some occasion of quarrell against them, (after he had ended the troubles of the Netherlanders and Kennemers) writ vnto them, commanding them to send him a certaine some of money, by way of loane, exaction, imposition, or how they pleased to call it. Wherevppon the Frisons, hauing conferred together what were best to be done, and how to answere their Duke: they writ vnto him resolutely; *That he had no right nor authoritie ouer them, to make any such demand, the which they were in no sort willing to grant him: and if any had otherwise informed him they had abused him:* Offering, *that if it pleased him to come or to send his Deputies to Staueren or to Workom, that they should finde them to conferre with them. And if it were found that the Emperor or the Earles of Holland, had euer had any such right and power as he pretended, that they would submit themselues, and do that which belonged to good subiects and vassals.*

1493. The Dukes troupes spoile Gelders.

About the end of Iaunary in the yeare 1493. the Germaine troupes of Duke *Albert*, which was called *Dye groote gaerde*, (that is to say, the great rodde, or the great whippe.) entred into the countrie of Gelders, spoyling and destroying all where they past, specially at the Abbie of Marie-wert; then after they had burnt many villages, in the end of February they came before Vtrecht, lodging in the suburbes committing a 1000. insolencies, and keeping the gates so straightly besieged, as nothing could get in, nor out. The Lord of Iselstein had drawne them together to be reuenged of them of Vtrecht, who had taken from him the Fort of S. *Katherins* gate (whereof hee was Captaine) and first executed, then quartered some of his men. The Traiectins seeing the great spoiles these Germaine souldiers made about this towne, and fearing some greater inconuenience (by the fauour of some friendes) they made an Accord for a good summe of money, with the Lord of Iselstein: vpon condition; *That they should take downe the quarters and heades from the gates, of those that had beene executed, and burie them in the Church-yarde.* Wherevppon the horses retyred.

The Emperor Frederic dies.

The Emperour *Frederick* the third, dyed at Vienna in Austria, the 3. of August, for that (as they said) he had eaten too many Melons, after that he had raigned 44. years, being 73. years old, he was buried in S. *Steuens* Church in the said Towne. To whom his sonne *Maximilian* King of the Romanes, Archduke of Austria, succeeded in the Empire: who was borne the 12. of March 1459. He had beene crowned King of the Romaines the sixt of Februarie 1486. by the consent of all the Princes Electors.

The Emperor sends to pacifie the troubles of Friseland.

About that time, and before the death of the Emperor *Frederick*, the Schyeringers and Vetcoopers in Friseland tormented one another dayly, the Groningeois being ioyned to the Schyeringers, holding the towne of Leeuwarden, and all the Countrey of Ostergoe, which was the cause of great effusion of blood. So as Duke *Albert* seeing some occasion of quarrel against the Frisons, aduertised the Emperor *Frederick*, who being loath to attempt any thing rashly, sent *Otto van Langen*, one of his Counsell, to informe himselfe of all the estate of Friseland, and to pacifie the troubles and intestine warres if it might be. The said Commissioner being come into Swoll in the countrey of Oueryssel, sent for them of Groninghen and of Snecke to come vnto him, being then in warre one with another. But after that hee had heard all their grieuances

and

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A and could not reconcile them, he returned backe to the Emperor. Afterwards the siegnior *Douwe* Curate of Itens, being returned from the Emperors court, brought letters of *Committimus* to *Herman* Arch-bishop of Cologne, and to *Henry* bishop of Munster, to take information of the attemps of them of Groninghen, who *De facto*, (for so the Text said) had without the Emperours knowledge seazed vppon, and reduced vnder their obedience many townes and baylewicks (which they call Grittemes) in the countrey of Freezland, to the preiudice and contempt of the imperiall Maiestie, and of the whole Empire. with other Letters of Inhibition to the Groningeois, not to attempt any thing further: but repaire all new attempts and innouations, restoring the sayde townes and bayle-wicks, vnto their first estate, notwithstanding any voluntary con-
B sent: vppon paine of proscription by the Empire, and confiscation of all their goods, priuiledges and freedomes. The said Letter dated the 5. of Iuly. 1493. At Lins in Austria, where intimated by an Vsher of the Imperiall chamber, to the Superintendents of the towne of Groninghen: who to purge themselues, and to procure a reuocation of the last Letters, sent their letters to the Emperour: but by reason of his death, they could not obtaine any thing: besides the Sneckois and others of the Schyringers factions, had their Agents in Court, who crost them all they could.

A while after the Emperor *Maximilian* the first of that name, sent the same Commissioner *van Langen* into Freezland, to reconcile them: who being come to the towne of Sneck, sent to the States of Oster-goe, Wester-goe, & to the seuen forrests, which are
C the three members of Freezland, giuing them an Assignation, to come by the first of Ianuary 1494. to the said town of Sneck, to heare the causes of his comming, & to vnderstand the tenor of his Commission; and that the 18. of the said moneth, hee went to Groninghen, to acquaint them with the Emperors pleasure, for the better execution whereof according to his Commission, he made a truce betwixt the Groningeois and the Frisons vnto the first day of May following, hoping in that time to finde some meanes to reconcile both parties: but hee found the Groningeois too wilfull and obstinate, and therefore he returned into Friseland.

The Groningeois sent to the Emperor.

The same Commissioner sent into Friseland by the Emperor Maximilian.

1494.

An Assembly of the States of Friseland.

The States beeing assembled in the Emperours name, by the Commissioner *Otto van Langen*, the Prelates, Nobles, Townes and commonalties of Wester-goe, Oster-
D goe, and the seuen Forrests, that were not allyed to the Groningeois came thether. There in the presence of them all, the said Commissioner hauing showed his Commission, and declared his charge by mouth. Which was; *To ratifie and confirme their ancient Priuiledges in paying the arrerages of the annuall tribute due vnto the Empire.* He did also counsell them, in the Emperors name, (according to their Priuiledges and ancient customes) *To choose some one of their owne Nation, some worthy man indued with good parts, and well affected to the good of his Countrey, to bee their Potestate (as they had beene in olde time gouerned) who might bee carefull and vigilant to preserue their Liberties and Freedomes. Else the Emperour (without doubt) would himselfe make choise of one of these Noblemen. Of* Albert *Duke of Saxony, of* Philip *Lorde of Rauesteyn, or of the Earle of Em-*
E *den.* Wherefore he aduised them to follow his counsell, and; *That they should doe well to choose one that were not partiall: amiable, courteous and tractable, well acquainted with the humors and disposition of men, and the estate of the Countrey.* The States hauing heard this proposition, after some priuate conference among themselues, iudging that if they did it not, the Emperour might appoint one by his authoritie, the which would derogate much from their Priuiledges: they resolued therein to follow the Emperors will, and the aduice of his Commissioner. Hauing therefore appointed certaine Prelates and a Notarie, to set downe their suffrages and voyces in the election, they went to choose one of the chiefe of their Nobilitie: in the end by the pluralitie of voyces, the office of Potestate was layd vpon *Iuwde Roma van Baret*, a Gentleman both vertuous
F and honourable, that was nothing partiall, nor factious, quiet and gentle, hauing maryed the sister of *Iuwe Hero*, and *Iarich Hottinga*, who were the chiefe of the faction of Schyeringers. So as *Dekama* was pleasing to all the assembly of States. The which did also wonderfully content the said Commissioner. Then the sayd States during the Assembly, made choise of 24. men to be Iudges and Assistants to the said Potestate, wher-

A new Potestate chosen in Friseland.

all

all together, three or foure times in the yeare ſhould treat of affaires concerning the A
good of their Common-weale. This new Poteſtate did preſent the Commiſſioner for
a remembrance of his loue with two new peices of gold, the one of *Harald Camego*:
in the yeare 794. and the other of *Wibo Reynalda* of the yeare 812. the which had bin
in their time Poteſtates of Friſeland. The ſiegneor *Iuw Hottinga* did alſo giue him
two that were forged at Franyker, in the yeare 1419. by *Sycko Syaera*, which the
Commiſſioner receiued thankfully, promiſing to giue them vnto the Emperour, the
which he knew would be pleaſing vnto him. This Election of a Poteſtate thus made
in the Towne of Snecke, where did not aſſiſt the Siegneors *Iuw Iongama* of Bolſwaert.
Tyerck-walta, thoſe of *Calama* of *Roarda*, of *Herema*, nor their alleyes: the Commiſ- B
ſioner thought it fit to make the like Aſſembly in the town of Bolſwaert, that he might
(by their approbation of the ſaid Election) ſettle the whole Countrey in concord, loue
and quiet, appointing them the fourteenth day following for that Aſſembly. At what
time the Commiſſioner parted from Snecke, with the Nobles and Prelats that had bin
at the firſt Aſſembly, and went toward Bolſwaert, entring into the Towne, the children
and Boyes in the ſtreet began to cry and ſing: *Heer Otto van Langen, is vohyer gevan-
ghen, morgen ſal hy hangen.* That is to ſay; *Otto* of Langen is now a priſoner, and to mor-
row will be hanged. The Commiſſioner heard them and vnderſtood them well, but
An Aſſembly at Bolſwaert. diſſembling it, he paſt on for that hee would not diſcontent any, hoping to doe ſome
great good. Being come to the Franciſcans, in the preſence of *Iuw Iangama, Tyarck-wal-* C
and other Gentlemen: the Commiſſioner made the like propoſition vnto them, that
he had done at Sneck, requeſting them that they would approue and confirme the e-
lection of the ſaid Poteſtate; or if they refuſed it, the Emperour would prouide in an
other faſhion. Whereupon *Iuw Iangama* anſwering in the name of all his Partiſans
They refuſe to allow of the new Poteſtate. ſayd; *That neither he nor any of his would heare ſpeake of ſuch a Poteſtate, vntill that the
whole Countrey of Friſeland were vnited into one body. And as for him that had bin choſen
at Sneck, that they would neuer conſent vnto it, for that he was allyed to the Family of* Hot-
tinga, *which had beenalwayes enemie vnto them: & therfore they would not haue any one that
was allyed to that Family to be aduanced to any command, or to be in greater credit then them-
ſelues.* Whereunto *Iuw Hero* and *Iarich Hottinga* brethren, hearing that for their cauſ- D
ſes their brother in law was reiected. *Iuw* ſpeaking for the reſt of his brethren, ſaide;
That he ſee well that Iuw Iongama *with his friends and Allyes, did little regard the good of
their Countrie, nor the preſeruation of their Priuiledges & Freedoms, but rather through am-
bition, their owne priuate profits, & to the ſuppreſſion of their rights and ancient Statutes.*
Which words drew them on to proude & bitter termes: The common people of the
partie of *Iongama* and *Walta*, (being ſtronger then the reſt) would haue taken Armes a-
gainſt the Nobles of the other partie; whereuppon ſome great inconuenience would
haue growne, if the Commiſſioner had not cunningly pacified them: intreating them
to retyre for that time euery man to his lodging, to conſider better thereof at lei-
ſure: ſommoning them to come thither the next day at two of the clocke in the after-
noone, and whoſoeuer did faile to forfeit a quart of wine; the which pleaſed all the E
company, and ſo by that meanes they departed. The which the Commiſſioner did ve-
ry diſcretly to draw himſelfe and the Nobles that were come with him out of danger,
into the which they were fallen by this confuſed multitude of baſe people. That night
he went with *Peter Camſtra* and the *Hottings* to lodge in the caſtle of *Iongama*, and the
next day (early in the morning) they returned to Snecke, being aſſured that he ſhould
doe no good at Bolſwaert, and that it was dangerous to ſtay there, it might bee with
effuſion of blood, the which he ſought to auoyd, for he ſee in the reſt nothing but ha-
tred and ſpleen.

The next day *Iuw Iongama, Tyarck-walta*, the *Galamas* and their Partiſans, came at the F
appointed hower to the Fryers, where finding neither the Commiſſioner, nor the other
Nobles, they were almoſt mad with ſpight, not knowing how to take it, exclaiming a-
gainſt the *Hottings* and their Allyes. And ſo this Convocation proued friutleſſe. The
reaſon why *Iongama* the *Galamas* and their Partiſans had ſhewed themſelues ſo obſti-
nate, was; for that they relyed much vppon the Groningeois, who through their too

great

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A great pride and preſumption made no accompt neither of the Commiſſioner, nor of any commandement from the Imperiall chamber, no not of the Emperour himſelfe. *Otto* of Langen (the Emperors Commiſſioner) ſeeing that by their factions and bitter partialities, and by the inſtigation of the Groningeois hee ſhould profit nothing, departed from Sneck and went to Deuenter, whither hee ſent againe for the parties, and them of Groninghen to come vnto him the 4.of February; but beeing there, they were ſo incenſed one againſt another with ſuch bitterneſſe, as they departed without doing any thing: and the ſaid Commiſſioner tooke his way towardes the Emperour. Afterwards that which he had fore-told them came to paſſe: *That if they would not conſent to the election of a Poteſtate, within a ſhort time other ſtrangers would come, and force*
B *them vnto obedience.* The which happened, for they themſelues digged a pit, into the which they fell. There were yet other Commiſſioners ſent by the Emperour to them of Groningen, with Letters of Inhibition not to attempt any more, but to reſtore Friſeland to her firſt rights and Priuiledges: but nothing auayled, for the partialities and Factions, as well of them that were allyed to the Groningeois as of the Schyeringers and Vetcoopers continued as violently as before, ſo as there followed at diuers times, yea in one Family of the *Iongamas*, diuers factions and great effuſion of blood. Thoſe of *Harinxima* and *Galama* did no leſſe one vnto another. The Townes, Abbaies and Monaſteries did the like, calling in forces and in ſo great numbers to their ſuccours, as they could not be freed of them, vntill they had payed them
C the laſt farthing, to the great oppreſſion of the people. The which was no ſooner diſmiſt and gone out of the Countrey, but Duke *Albert* of Saxony entertained them, and came into Friſeland to make them to lay aſide their factions, being forced thereunto by pouertie. And theſe were the fruits of their wilfull obſtinacie.

PHILIP.

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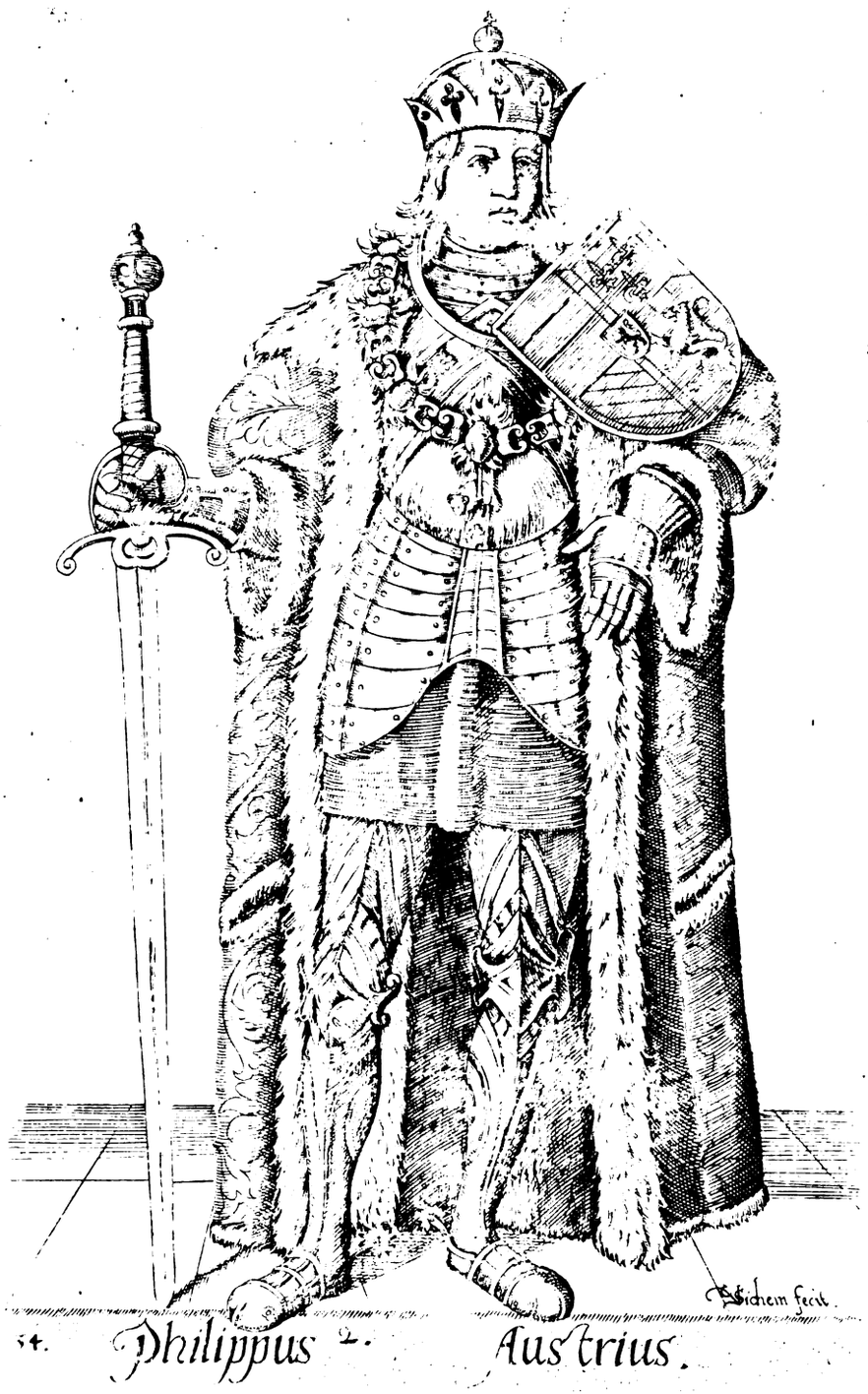
PHILIP OF AVSTRIA THE 2. OF that name, the 34. Earle of Holland and Zeeland,

Lord of Friſeland: Duke of Bourgongne, &c. Earle of Flanders, &c.
Marquis of the holy Empire.



34. Philippus 2. Austrius.

My father With my goods gaue me a wife
A peerleſſe Princeſſe of the Arragon blood,
From her ſixe children, Kings and Queenes tooke life,
By me twelue years Holland from danger ſtood:

And by my wife I did inherite Spaine, (merryed,
But my death prou'd my wiues. who with griefe
Waſhing my corpes in tears that ſtream'd amaine,
My bones at Burgos in a Tombe interred.

PHILIP

A PHILIP the ſecond of that name, Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friſeland, the onely ſonne of the Archduke *Maximilian* of Auſtria (afterwards Emperour) and of *Mary* Dutcheſſe of Bourgongne, daughter to Duke *Charles* the warlike, was borne in Bruges the 20. day of Iune in the yeare 1470. hee was foure yeere old when his mother dyed. Senee whoſe death the Archduke, king of Romaines, his father, in qualitie of Regent, Tutor or Curator, gouerned his wiues Inheritance with great troubles and vexation, by reaſon of the great factions and partialities, which raigned then both in Holland and Flanders vnto the yeare 1494. that 1494.
B the King of Romanes by the death of the Emperour *Frederick* his father, was crowned Emperor: Prince *Philip* his ſonne being then 16. yeares old, was intituled, Archduke of Auſtria, Duke of Bourgongne, Lothier, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Lembourg, Luxembourg and Gelders; Earle of Habſbourg, Flanders, Arthois, Bourgongne, Ferrette, and Kiburch; Palatin of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur and Zuphen. Marquis of the Holy Empire and of Bourgau: Landtgraue of Elſaten, Lord of Windiſmark, Portenau, Salines and Macklyn. Philip ſtria

The 16. of March, the ſame yeare, the Emperor *Maximilian* marryed in the towne of Inſpruch, the Lady *Blanch Maria*, daughter to *Galeas* Duke of Milan, and ſiſter to Duke *Iohn Galeas Maria*. This marriage diſcontented ſome Princes of the Empire, and Maximilians ſecond marriage.
C many of the Emperors friends, for that ſhe was not of ſo noble a Houſe as they deſired, for of the *Viſcontes* ſide (who then gouerned at Milan) there was little Nobilitie, and of the *Sforces* ſide leſſe. A while after he brought his wife into the Low-countries, being accompaned by many Princes of Germanie. The Archduke *Philip* his ſonne, The Archduke Philip put in poſſeſſion of the Netherlands.
and the Lady *Marguerite* his ſiſter (who had beene ſent backe out of France, after the marriage of King *Charles* the 8. (to whom ſhee was promiſed) with the Dutcheſſe of Brittaine) went to meet them with the chiefe Nobilitie of the Neitherlands, at Maeſtricht, from thence they came to Louvain, whereas the Archduke was with great Ceremonies and pompe put into poſſeſſion of the Dutchie of Brabant, and ſoone after in Antwerp of the Marquiſate of the holy Empire. The 12. of December in the Towne of S. Gheertrudenbergh of the Earledome of Holland; and ſoone after
D at Romerſwael of the Countie of Zeeland. From thence hee went into Flanders, Arthois and Henault, where he receiued the like: whither the Deputies of euery Prouince came, who did him homage, and tooke an oath of fealtie.

In the ſame moneth of December, *Charles* Duke of Gelders returned out of Lorraine, whither he was retyred for feare of the Emperor *Maximilan*, who then held almoſt all the Dutchy of Gelders: who by the interceſſion of the Empreſſe and his other good friends, was ſuffered to remaine in Brabant, and to diſpute the right which hee pretended to the ſaid dutchie, before the 4. Electors of the Rhine, which were, the Cont Palatin, Vicarie of the Empire, and the Archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne and Treues, whereuppon a day was aſſigned in the Towne of Maeſtricht, where a ſentence was gi-
E uen by the ſaid Princes: *That* Charles *& his Predeceſſors from Duke* Renold, *in the yeare* 1423. *were fallen from the Dutchie: for that the ſayd Duke* Renold *dying without heires male, the race of the Dukes of Gelder dyed with him. Beſides that in fiftie yeeres his grandfather* Arnold *and his father* Adolph *had neglected to take vp the ſayd Dutchie of the Empire and to doe their homage, and therefore being now returned againe to the Empire, he could no more pretende any intereſt vnto it, and that from hence-forth he ſhould call himſelfe* Charles *of Egmont, and not of* Gelders. Notwithſtanding this ſentence, *Charles* remained in Gelders, and called himſelfe Duke; all the Townes acknowledging him ſo, and loued him better then the Emperor, or the Archduke his ſonne, who might pretend ſome A ſentence giuen by 4. Electors, againſt Charles duke of Gelders.
F intereſt vnto it, by the tranſport which Duke *Arnold* had made (excluding prince *Adolph* his ſonne father to this *Charles*) to the Duke of Bourgongne, (as wee haue ſayde before.) To which *Charles* the Geldrois enclined the more willingly, for that they demanded a Prince of the blood of their old Dukes, expelling the Emperors men out of their Limits: whereuppon the Germanes and Prince *Philips* forces went to beſiege

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Nymeghen beſieged by the Archduke Philip.

Ruremond, but they redeemed themſelues from this ſiege: from thence they went before Nymeghen, the which was well aſſaulted, and better defended by a good Garriſon both of horſe and foote, that was within it, the which did great ſpoile vnto the enemies campe, by many braue ſallyes, ſo as in the end ſeeing they could preuaile nothing: being forced, they raiſed their campe, leauing part of their Attilerie, which they could not draw away in time. Soone after the Emperor returned into Germanie, to an imperiall dyet, which ſhould be held at Wormes: leauing in the meane time in the Countrey of Gelders, the troupes of Duke *Albert* of Saxony, (the which were called the great ſcourge) robbing, burning and ſpoyling euery where as they went: hauing ſeazed vpon Niekerke, which they fortified, ſeruing them as a retreate for their thefts and ſpoiles. *Charles* Duke of Gelders went and beſieged them, and ſhot fire into it, which burnt all their munition and vittails, ſo as after they had endured 3. aſſaults, they yeelded the place to haue their goods and liues ſaued, the which the Duke cauſed to be raized.

The factions of Friſeland demand ſuccors of the Duke of Saxony.

Whileſt that the factions of the Scheringers and Vet-coopers in Friſeland (after the reiection of their new choſen Poteſtate, according to the Emperors Commiſſion) were in their greateſt heat and furie: *Goſlic Iongama* couſin to *Iuw Iongama*, and *Hero Hottinga* were in the Towne of Harlem in Holland with duke *Albert* of Saxony, to demand ſuccours, who gaue them good hope, when hee ſhould ſee how the quarrell betwixt the Towne of Maſtricht, and the Lord of Aremberg would be decided, keeping them with him ſometime, and entertaining them with ſuch ſhewes of loue and kindneſſe as they promiſed him, that hauing Commiſſion from the Emperour they would preuaile ſo with their friends and partizans, as hee ſhou'd be receiued for Poteſtate or Gouernour of all Friſeland, the which hee aſpired vnto: ſo as the third of October the ſaid *Goſlic Iongama* and *Hero Hottinga* returned into Friſeland, with 8. hundred ſouldiers with which duke *Albert* had furniſhed them, whereof Collonell *Nythrad Fokx* was chiefe commander: who notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the Groningeois, of them of Leiu-warden and of Bolſwaert, and of all other Gentlemen and partiſans Vetcoopers, they landed, and came to charge them with ſuch furie (although the other were thrice as many in number) as they made them recoyle, leaue their Artillerie, and retyre for their ſafetie to Lieu-warden. Therevppon *Goſlic Iongama*, *Hero Hottinga*, with theſe forraigne forces and ſome gentlemen Schyeringers, went the 4. of October (by the breake of day) to aſſayle the towne of Bolſwaert. At the firſt the Inhabitants did valiantly reſiſt them, but in the end they were forced, and the Towne taken, with the loſſe of twelue Bourgeſſes onely, and of many priſoners, among the which the chiefe were *Iuw Iongama*, *Thyark Walta*, and *Sybrand Roorda*, the chiefe of the Vetcoopers faction. *Iongama* made offer vnto the ſouldiers that had taken him of 600. Florins of gold to ſaue his life, the which thinking to doe, they hid him in a poore mans houſe: but *Goſlic* his couſin hauing diſcouered him, went thither, drew him forth, and ſlew him. He offered 200. florins of gold to the ſame ſouldiers, to haue *Tyarck walta*, but they ſeeing how he had murdered the other, deceiuing them of the ranſome which they expected, they refuſed him, which done, the towne was abandoned to the ſpoyle. The Schyeringers tryumphing ouer the Veetcoopers their enmies, hauing recouered many places, deſired to be diſcharged from the troupes of Golonell *Focks*. For the effecting whereof, they charged the quarter of Weſter-goe, with a certaine impoſition, the which ſome payd willingly, others by conſtraint. They borrowed alſo the chalices and ſiluer veſſell of the towne of Bolſwaert, & of the Churches in villages thereabouts ſo as monie being found & the ſouldiers paid, Collonel *Focks* retyred with his men out of the countrey, leading with him *Tyack Walta*, and *Sybrand Roorda* priſoners, chiefe of the faction of the Vetcoopers. In the year 1497. the Lord of Iſelſteyn, in the name of the Archduke *Philip* Earle of Holland, was gone to make a roade into the Countrey of Gelders, about Tyel, where hee ſpoyled and burnt ſome Villages. The Geldrois went to Armes, eſpecially the inhabitants of Nymeghen: where there was a great incounter, in the which by reaſon of the Ambuſhes which the ſaid Lord had layed, there died many of either part, but moſt of thoſe of Numeghen. In Autumne following the

A cruell murther of a kinſman.

1497.

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A the Geldrois (to haue their reuenge) surprised the Towne and castle of Leederdam in the countrie of Arckell, two leagues from Gorrichom, from whence they greatly annoyed them that held the Hollanders part. *Albert* Duke of Saxony posted thither to suppresse them, putting good Garrisons into the townes of Henkelon and Aspren (the which with Leederdam make a Triangle, not aboue a quarter of a league one from the the other) and so coopt them vp, as of the one side they could neither go in nor out: so as in the end being reduced to extremitie, they were forced to yeeld vp vnto the Duke, to haue their liues and goods saued. A while afterward the Geldrois ouer-runne all the Countrey of Boisleduke from whence they brought great spoile, and many pri-
B soners. Duke *Albert* meaning to doe as much in Gelders, cast a floating bridge ouer the Riuer of Meuze, whereas ten horse might passe in Front, and so they had their reuenge of the Geldrois. Hee tooke the Towne of Baten-bourch by Scalado, the Inhabitants seeing themselues so surprized fled into the castle, the which he besieged. Those within it defending themselues valiantly, were in the end forced to yeelde, after that their walles had been beaten downe, the which the Duke caused to be repayred, and placed a garrison there, where with he might anoy the Geldrois. Presently after there was a truce made betwixt the Arch-duke *Philip*, and the duke of Gelders.

Baten-burch surprised by Duke Albert.

Duke *Albert* of Saxony beeing at that time at *Alcmar* in Holland, sent his Com-
missioners to Franicker in Friseland, to let the Frisons vnderstand that the Emperour
C *Maximilian* had giuen him the Gouernment hereditarie of all Friseland. The States of the countrie being assembled, hauing heard the charge of these Commissioners, and the tenor of the Imperiall Letters Pattents of the sayd prouision, would in no sort giue eare vnto it, nor receiue any Lord nor Prince, against their ancient liberties and freedomes. This report made vnto the Duke, he threatens to enter into their Countrey with an armie, as Collonell *Nythard Focks* had done in his behalfe, the yeere before, being accompanied by *Goslick Iongama*, and *Hero Hottinga*, who had put the said hereditarie gouernment into his head: presuming to put him into peaceable possession thereof. For the effecting whereof they secretly laboured their friends, and the towns in Wester-goe, to make them yeeld vnto it: thinking it sufficient to cause him to be re-
D ceiued in that quarter, whereof being assured, the doubted not of Oster-goe, and much lesse of the seuen Forests. But seeing that in priuate they profited little, they durst not moue it in publike: wherefore this acceptance remained for a time in suspence, the Duke sending no Troupes in his name, but did wonderfully afflict the Countrey vnderhand. He in the meane time made shew as if he knew not any thing, till in the end they were glad to seeke for succours from him, the which was the thing hee expected, as we shall presently shew.

The Duke of Saxony made hereditarie gouernor of Friseland.

But before we proceed, we will first relate for what cause the Emperor did aduance Duke *Albert* to the hereditarie gouernment of Friseland. You must vnderstand that Duke *Albert* was sonne to the Emperor *Fredericks* sister, who was father to *Maxi-*
E *milian*, and so cousin Germaine to the said Emperor *Maximilian*, not that he was Duke of Saxony (for he was a yonger brother to Duke *Arnold*, Prince Elector and true duke of Saxonie) and for that he was knowne to be a great captaine, and well experienced both in warlike and politicke affayres. The Emperour *Maximilian* (when he was yet but King of Romaines, and Gardien to his sonne the Arch-duke *Philip*) made him his Lieutenant in the gouernment generall of the Neitherlands: where hee did many exployts of warre, with his Germaines that he had sent for out of his countrie of Misnia and other places By reason whereof there was so great summes of money due to him, his Collonels and Captaines for their entertainments, as for the assurance thereof, there were diuers castels put into his hands, as Vilvoerden in Brabant, Sclusc in Flan-
F ders, Woerden and Harlem in Holland, Louvesteyn in the countrey of Arckell, Medemblick in west Friseland, & Ziriczee in Zeeland. The ingaging of all these castels, (by the which Duke *Albert* might keepe all these Prouinces subiect and in awe) did in the end trouble the States of the Neitherlands, who consulted how they might tetire them out of his hands, finding none more expedient nor lesse chargeable then to transport vnto him the hereditarie gouernment of Friseland, wherein they were much as-

Many castles ingaged to the Duke of Saxony for his entertaynment.

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ſiſted by the comming of *Otto van Langen* out of Friſeland, during the time that they treated with the duke, who giuing an account of his Commiſſion, made knowne the great partialities, quarrels, factions, and ciuill warres that were generally ouer all the countrey of Friſeland, from whence ſprung great murthers, robbing, ſpoyling, burning, with the ruine & ouerthrow of towns, caſtels & countrie-houſes, the which it was not poſſible to moderate nor pacifie, without vſing of ſome ſeuere meanes, proceeding from a high & ſoueraigne hand, ſo bitterly they were incenſed one againſt another. And although ſaid he, that he had aduiſed them to chooſe (according to their ancient Imperiall priuiledges and cuſtomes) a Poteſtate that might gouerne them in peace: yet could they not agree, but fell to contention and quarrell, ſo as hee thought it fitteſt to come away without bidding them farewell, to auoyd the danger of his perſon, and of ſuch as were in his companie, which affected the good and quiet of their Countrie. And therefore the Emperor with the Counſell of the Princes Electors, and the aduice of the States of the Neitherlands, to force the Friſons vnto Peace & concord, ſeeing that no mediators could preuaile, was perſwaded to giue them a Poteſtate or Gouernor, the which he would haue hereditarie; & held of the Empire; which the Friſon fearing leaſt by their diuiſions, they ſhould (in giuing themſelues to ſome other neighbour Prince, as to the King of Denmarke, or to the duke of Holſteyn) with-draw themſelues from the obedience and ſoueraigntie of the Empire, appointing duke *Albert* for their hereditarie Gouernor, in conſideration whereof hee reſtored all the caſtles and other places of the Netherlands which had been giuen him in pawne, except the caſtle of Medemblyke which he deſired might be left him, to ſerue for a Rendezuous and eaſie paſſage to ſayle into Friſeland when he pleaſed. By vertue of this donation, duke *Albert* required to be receiued of the Friſons, for their Gouernor, or Poteſtate hereditarie, writing diuers letters vnto them, to draw them to conſent therevnto by mildneſſe, before that he would vſe any force; to auoyd effuſion of blood, and their greater ruine, making many faire promiſes to bee a good Prince vnto them. But they would by no meanes giue eare vnto it, alwayes relying vppon their Priuiledges and Freedomes, the which had been giuen vnto them by the ancient Romaine Emperors; and confirmed by *Charlemaine* and other Predeceſſors to the Emperor *Maximilian*, the which they might not breake; and therefore neither he, nor the Princes Electors, nor the Imperiall chamber, had any right to make ſuch a donation, from the which they did appeale as voyd and vniuſt.

The Friſons refuſe Duke Albert for their gouernor.

Duke *Albert* hauing vnderſtood by the relation of the Commiſſioner *van Langen*, what the factions of the Schyringers and Vetcoopers in Friſeland were, and with what violence and furie they did maſſacre and ruine one another: and thoſe of the faction of the Schyeringers had giuen him an honorable reception, hee reſolued to make vſe of theſe partialities, and to ſhew more loue to the Schyeringers (whom hee had knowne better by the meanes of *Goſlick Iongama* and *Hero Hottinga*, who came vnto him to Harlem, and who had perſwaded him much vnto it) then vnto the Vetcoopers, and therefore he began to ſhew them the leaſt countenance hee could poſſibly. Sometimes when he came to thinke of the obſtynacie of the Friſons, wheras ſo many Earles of Holland ſeeking to ſubdue them, had loſt their liues: and how that many other great Princes, ſuch as the King of Denmarke and others, which would haue vanquiſhed them, and had ſubdued them for a time, had beene chaſed away with ſhame and loſſe, hee did halfe repent him that hee had euer thought of it. Wherevppon *Edſard* Earle of Emden came to comfort and incourage him, promiſing all fauour and ſuccour to reduce them that were obſtinate. The which fell out happily for *Edſard* to ſettle his new eſtate of the Earledome of Eaſt-Friſelande, where *Vlrick* his father had been the firſt Earle, by vſurpation ouer many noble men and priuate gentlemen of the ſayd Countrie. On Saint *Martins* day, the Groningeois with thoſe of Oſter-goe and Weſter-goe, held an Aſſembly of State at Donrip, whereas a truce was made vntil the 11. of Aprill. 1498. by the which they did ſwear to ſuccor one another with all their powers to repulſe the rule & command of ſtrangers, as wel of the duke of Saxony, as of any other, that ſhould ſeek to enter into their countrie by force of armes.

The Duke will make vſe of the factions in Friſeland.

Notwith-

A Notwithstanding the truce aboue mentioned betwixt the Frisons and Groningeois, after that the troupe of Landisknechts (whome they termed the great scuorge) had beene defeated by the duke of Geldres and the Bishoppe of Vtrecht, there was yet remayning some 1500. such souldiars about Harderwyck, without any lord or maister: yet they were countenanced and supported by the duke of Saxony, who would gladly haue had them in Friseland. Some captaines pensioners to the duke, set on vnderhand by him (to the end it should not seeme that hee would imploye these men without occasion) did treat with *Thyark Walta* and other Vetcoopers banished from Woorckum, and fled into the towne of Suolle, offring to restore and settle them without any charge in Bolswaert, contenting themselues onelie with the hazard of the
B pillage. This pleased *Thyarck*, who without any delaie came with these troupes into Friseland ouer the Ice. Euery man thinking they had beene *Thyarcks* followers, vntill that it appeared otherwise. But good God, what spoiles, what burning, what ruines of houses and Castells, how many Gentlemen taken prisoners, what ransoming, what exactions oppressions and violences, did these strange souldiars commit, not in one quarter onelie, but ouer a Friseland: and yet in the meane time nothing could mollefie the hearts of the factions, to reconcile themselues togither. If at any time they made some small truce or agreement, sodenly the ouer-weening pride of the one seeking to oppresse the other brake it, before they had seene or tasted the fruites thereof. In the ende *Bocko Hartinexima*, *Hero Hottinga*, *Iuw-decama*, *Edo Iongama*, *Epo*
C *Aelma Syurdt Beyma*, with manie other Gentlemen and the townes of Sneck, Franyker, with the Baylewiks holding the partie of the Schyringers, seeing that the spoyles, which these strange souldiars, (which *Thyarck Walta* had brought in) had no ende in the quarter of Wester-gooe, & that their neighbours of Oster-gooe & the seauen forests, did in no sort ayde them; they did certainely beleeue that all this was procured by *Walta*, and that they were his men: in which opinion they Groningeois did confirme them the more saying, *that they had no feare that* Walta *would doe them any harme.* After many conferences togither, as well in the townes of Franiker and Sneck, as elsewhere, to aduise what were most expedient and proffitable for them, in the ende they resolued, to send and intreat duke *Albert* to bee their Protector and defender: by
D whose meanes and power, they might once bee deliuered from these theeues and robbers. And that vnder his protection the countrie of Wester-gooe might from thence forth liue in quiet and rest. This was the marke whereat the duke aymed: that hauing weakned one party, and so reduced it to his deuotion, that hee might dispose of them at his pleasure: the other faction might with lesse difficultie be brought to reason, as he did. This resolution taken, those of Wester-gooe, sent the chiefe of their Nobility, to the duke of Saxony, being then at Medemblick, to offer him the countrie and their obedience, and to acknowledge him for their hereditary Lord, vpon the conditions that were set downe in the contract which had past betwixt him and them. The duke to take possession of that which was offred him, and which he had so much affected, sent
E the siegnior *Willebrord* of Schooneburch a knight, his councellor and treasorer generall, with an ample commission to treat with them; ioyning with him the Collonel *Nythard Focx* & *Bernard Mets* with their Regiments, to chase away those troupes which *Thyarck Walta* had brought in: with whome the sayd councellor and Collonel delt in such sort (for they were the duke their Maisters men) as they drewe them out of Bolswaert: And after that the dukes commissionars had taken possession in his name of all the quarter of Wester-gooe, all these troupes went togither into Oster-gooe, & seized vpon the towne of Dockom, robbing and spoyling all the country.

The Vetcoopers drawe strange forces into Friseland.

They call the duke of Saxony into Friseland.

The Groningeois felt of it likewise, who seeing that they meant to set vpon them, agreed in good time with the commissionars. It would be tedious to describe the war,
F miseries and desolation which happened in this country of Friseland, which wee leaue to our great Chronicle. For the duke hauing halfe done in Friseland, would besiege the towne of Groningen, for the which hee came with duke *Henry* his Sonne to Harlinghen, and demanded the forth man ouer all the countre of Friseland, or the twelfth penny of all their goods and reuenues: in consideration whereof they should be free

The duke makes an excessiue demand.

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from ſeruing him in the warre. This demand was afterwards the cauſe why the whole countrey reuolted from him. The ſame day that the Duke arriued at Harlengen, Collonell *Focks* went with 350. men to meet with *Edſard* Earle of Emden, being in the Towne of Dam in the countrie of Groningen, & to receiue the ſaid town of the Earle in duke *Alberts* name. The Groningeois, knowing well of what importance it was for them, and whereunto the duke pretended, which was to cut off the paſſage of the ſea behinde them; they ſent a thouſand men, and taking him at an aduantage defeated him, where he was ſlaine, for that he refuſed to yeeld: his body was carryed into Groninghe and buried in the *Franciſcans* Church. The Biſhop of Vtrecht laboured to make an accord betwixt the duke and the Groningeois, but nothing ſucceeded; whervpppon the duke and Cont *Edſard* went to Emden and from thence hee returned into his Countrie of Miſnia, leauing duke *Henry* his ſonne in Friſeland for his Lieutenant, who held his court at Franicker, and there ſeated the Parliament of Friſeland.

Coll onell Focx ſlaine by the Groningeois.

In the yeare 1500. Duke *Henry* Lieuetenant to his father in Friſeland, ſeeking to exact too much vpon the Friſons, made them to riſe in armes againſt him, & to beſiege him in Franicker. Duke *Albert* his father came poſting out of Germanie, to the Earle of Emden with a new armie to vngage his ſonne, and from thence hee went into Friſeland, where he made ſuch a pittifull ſpoile, as all both noble and baſe, rich and poore, Prieſtes, Monkes, Nunnes and Nouices fled out of the Countrie, none remaining but the poore peſants of the ſeuen Forreſts, who would ſee what the end might bee of all there miſeries. Duke *Henry* would gladly they had ruined all Friſeland, not being ſatiſfied with the reuenge his father had taken. But the father with a better conſideration (being of a deeper iudgement then his ſonne) would not conſent vnto it. But writ his letters freely vnto all the Villages; *That the Peſants ſhould returne freely euery man to his houſe, and that for a certaine ſumme of money (which they ſhould contribute euery one according to his habilitie) he would receiue them againe into fauour.* Whereupon they returned, redeeming themſelues of the Duke; ſome Village at a 100. 200. 300. 400. 500. florins according to their wealth. Then commandement was giuen to bring all their Armes into the Cittadell of Lewarden, and aboue all for a reparation, they ſhould come bare-headed and bare-footed, without girdles, to ſue for pardon vppon their knees, and to promiſe all future obedience to him and his heires. This was in regard of the countrey-men and peſants; as for the Nobilitie, gentrie and Church-men, they were forced to purchaſe letters of grace and pardon at a deere rate. Behold what miſeries their factions cauſed, hauing nouriſhed them ſo long among them, with ſo great obſtinacie and rancour as ſome would rather haue loſt their countrie, libertie, freedomes and Priuiledges, goods, Kinſfolkes and friends, then to giue eare to any reconciliation, calling in a ſtrange Prince, rough and auſtere, with two ſonnes of the ſame humour: burning themſelues to ſcald another. For without doubt if they had liued vnited vnder one Poteſtate, as they had been wont in old time, and as the Emperours Commiſſioner *Otto van Langen* had well aduiſed them, and that if they had choſen him, the Emperor would neuer haue beene moued to remedie their ciuill wars by a ſoueraigne authoritie. And there would not haue been any Prince ſo preſumptuous that would haue dared to trouble their quiet, much leſſe to haue arrogated any right of ſuperioritie or command ouer them. But this ſtrange Prince being called in by themſelues, hauing one partie which was the moitie of the countrie at his deuotion, and many of the other partie ſhaken: it was eaſie for him to humble them, as Duke *Albert* of Saxony did, remaining by that meanes Lord of Friſeland.

The Duke tyrannizes ouer the Friſons.

The fruites of their factions.

The Duke fore-ſeeing that if hee did not in like ſort ſubiect the towne of Groningen and the countrie there abouts, he ſhould neuer inioy Friſeland quietly: hee went the laſt of Iuly 1500. to beſiege it, he planted his Campe in Auwert, Seewert, and of the ſide of the Port of Bottoringhe, hee battered it furiouſly, as well the walles and Ramparts with his Cannon, as the houſes in ruine with his great morters. The inhabitants had a good garriſon of ſouldiers, who made many braue ſallies vpon his campe. One day as he himſelfe was taking a marke with a Cannon, a ſhot of artillerie came from the towne, who although he were not toucht with the bollet; yet was hee ſore

wounded

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A woũded with the ſplinters of the carriage & the gabions, & was carried to his lodging. In the meane ſeaſon by reaſon of his wounds, at the interceſſion of the Biſhop of Vtrecht (whome they of Groningen had intreated) and of the Earle of Emden, after that he had beſieged it ſix weekes; the plague alſo being very whot in his campe, and hauing yet preuailed little; he made a ſuſpenſion of armes, and raiſed his campe, and then cauſed him ſelfe to be tranſported to Emden, where he died the twelfth of September: hauing before his retreat from Groningen left Cont *Hughe van Lynſenack*, to bee his Lieutenant ouer all Friſeland, during his abſence and his Sonnes, giuing charge to *Willebrord* of Schoonenburch, to enter into Friſeland with 2500. men, and to punniſh the rebels which remained, reducing them vnder his obedience: who marched with his troupes vnto the ſeauen Foreſts and to Schellingwerff, who neuer vnto that time wold acknowledge duke *Albert* for their Lord, he camped in Oldebercoop, ſending for them of Schellingwerf to come vnto him, who being loath to be ruined by their owne obſtinacie, ſent their deputies to reconcile them vnto the duke, and to acknowledge him for their Lord: wherevpon they were receiued, in paying three florins of gold vpon euery houſe for a reparation. Duke *Henry* of Saxony ſent his Fathers bodie into his country of Miſnia, and he himſelfe went to Bruſſelles to his couzin the Archduke *Philip*, neuer returning more into Friſeland: for that (as they ſayd) being beſieged in Franicker, hee had vowed vnto God, that if hee might get ſafely out, he would neuer returne. So afterwards he reſigned all his right to duke *George* his yonger brother.

He dies at Emden.

Duke Henry leaues Friſeland to his yonger brother.

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GEORGE DVKE OF SAXONY GOuernor of the Netherlands, for the Archduke Phillip *of Austria Prince and Lord of the* said Countrie.



GEORGIVS DVX SAXONIÆ GVBER. BELGII,

Albert *my Father hauing his life loſt,*
At Gronings ſiege, for there the Duke was ſlaine:
Henry *my Brother being in priſon t:ſt*
In Franiker did in ſuch height, diſdaine
The Groningers, and Friſons; that to me
He left the place and ſwaye, but their bold fight
Driuing to danger and diſpence: I free
To Emperor Charles *ſurrendred all my Right.*

George

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A  EORGE duke of Saxony ſonne to duke *Albert* hauing by the death of his Father, and the reſignation of duke *Henry* his elder brother, obtained the gouernment of the country of Friſeland & Groningen, by the title of donation which the Emperor had made vnto duke *Albert*: had alſo ſince after the deceaſe of the Archduke *Philip* of Auſtria, King of Caſtille by his wife, the gouernment of the Netherlands for a time, in the abſence of the Emperor *Maximilian*, buſied in the warres of Italie. He was great grand-father to Prince *Mary* of Naſſau by the mothers ſide.

About that time the baniſhed men of Friſeland, which could obtaine no pardon from the dukes of Saxony father and ſonne: hearing that about Harderwyke in Gel-
B dres, there were certaine troupes of ſoldiars, that were not entertained by any: ſome gentlemen Friſons that were fled out of their country, went vnto them to drawe them vnto their ſeruice, the which (for money and faire promiſes) marched with them towards Friſeland. But as they oppreſt the poore countrymen to much, where they paſt, they began to riſe vpon them, ſo as this troupe vaniſhed and came to nothing.

Afterwards all theſe baniſhed men, with one common conſent, ſent their deputies to Antwerp, to the Archduke *Philip* and to duke *Henry* of Saxony: for the Nobles there went *Edo Iongama*, *Edo Gerbranda*, *Douwe Galama*, *Tyark Walta*, *Iuw Roorda*, *Ian Roorda*, *Rienick Campſtra*, *Ritsk Iuckama*, *Sasker Heringa*, *Wattie Harinxma*, *Douwe Hiddama*, and *Agge Lankama* of *Mackom*, for the clergy, *Herma* Paſtor of Foſwaert, *Albert* Paſtor of Styens, The Friſons complaine to the Archduke Philip.
C *Gello* Paſtor of Vollega, & ſome others of their Clergy. Theſe deputies being in the preſence of the Archduke *Philip*, and of duke *Henry*, deploring the miſerable eſtate of their coũtry, made a long ſpeech of the cauſes & motiues of the alteration which had happened, wherof inſued the ſiege of Franicker, which had not bin, but through the exceſſiue and inſupportable exactions and taxes, which were daily laied vpon them, without intermiſſion, wherewith the country was not onelie exhauſted of money, but made poore miſerable and deſolate: and all through the horſe-leeches of gouernors and officers which the duke had placed there: the which thruſt them into ſuch diſpaire, as the miſeries and calamities which followed, tooke their ſpring and beginning from thence. They therefore beſeeched him, that it would pleaſe duke *Henry* of Saxony, in regard
D of a certaine ſumme of money (although by reaſon of the extorſions paſt it would bee heauy and burthenſome) ſuch as ſhould bee agreed vpon, from that time forward to relinquiſh and giue ouer the ſiegnorie of the country of Friſeland, the which had been alwaies wont to remaine free: or elſe to reſigne it to the Archduke *Philip* his couzin, their neereſt neighbour, either by ſale, tranſport, or otherwiſe: to whome they would promiſe and ſweare all fealty, gouerning them according to their ancient preuiledges, and preſeruing them from all wrongs and oppreſſions of all other forraine Princes, or enemies that would inuade them: as duke *Albert* had promiſed and ſworne vnto them at his reception, the which his Lieutenants and officers had broken in ſundry ſorts, whereof all their miſeries haue growne. Anſwere was made to this petition, *that they*
E *would ſend ſome of them of qualitie and Iudgement: two of the quarter of Oſter-gooe, two of* An anſwere to the Friſons. *Weſter-gooe, and two of the ſeauen Foreſts, the which ſhould goe into the ſayd quarters, to vnderſtand from the Inhabitants, whome they would more willingly obey, the Archduke* Philip *or the Duke of Saxony: and by what meanes for the greater good of the country, the might be treated of and accorded.* According to the which, there were on the Suppliants behalfe, deputed *Edo Iongama*, and *Syurd Wybes* for the quarter of Oſter-gooe: *Aggo Lanckama* and *Baldwin Lattiens* for Weſter-gooe: *Syres Hylcko* and *Vlbe Igles* for the Seauen Foreſts. Theſe ſixe being arriued at Cuinder, ſent vnto Cont *Hughe* of Linſenach, the duke of Saxonies lieutenant, to craue a Paſport at his handes, the which hee ſent them, but in ſuch obſcure and doubtfull tearmes, as they durſt not
F truſt vnto it. For in truth this reſignation of the ſiegneury of Friſeland vnto the Archduke *Philip*, which was then in queſtion, did nothing pleaſe the ſaid Lieutenant, the councell, nor the Nobles of Friſeland that were partiſans, to the Saxons: whereupon they ſent them this defectiue paſport, meaning to intrappe them. For contrariwiſe, inſteed of giuing eare to this reſignation, they forced all the countrie of Friſeland,

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Friesland, from Staueren vnto the riuer of Lauwers, to sweare vnto the dukes *Henry* A
and *George* of Saxony Brethren, sonnes to the deceased duke *Albert*, exacting vpon all
the townes and villages of the country, a yeares contribution of aduance, except the
Clergy whome they did free for that time. Moreouer they raised certaine newe
Impostes vpon the Wine, Beere, and Cloth: Whereof they made an estate, the which
they sent vnto these two dukes Brethren: that seeing the great reuenues, and the pro-
fit which did ariue yearely vnto them from those countries, they should bee the lesse in-
clined to resigne them. But it was not the profit of these Princes that did so much
rule them, as their owne priuate interest, without any respect to the publike good.

We haue sayd before that *Ferdinand* Prince or Infant of Castille the onelie sonne
of the King *Don Fernand* of Arragon and of Queene *Isabella*, had married the Ladie B
Marguerite of Austria and sister to the Archduke *Philip*: which Prince died within a
yeare after his marriage, leauing his wife with child, who was deliuered of a sonne, the
which liued not long after: so as there was none neerer to succeed in the realmes of
Castille, Arragon, Naples, Sicile and others, then the Lady *Isabella*, eldest daughter to
the King *Don Fernando*, who was married to *Don Emanuel* King of Portugal, and then
the Lady *Iane* wife to the Archduke *Philip*: the Lady *Isabella* Queene of Portugal died,
leauing one only son, named *Michel*, who liued not long. All which being dead: that is to
say, the Prince *Don Ferdinand*, and his son, that was borne after his death, the Queene of
Portugal & Prince *Michel* her son, there remained only to succeed in the said Realmes,
the Lady *Iane* Archdutchesse of Austria, dutchesse of Bourgongne, mother to *Charles* & C
Ferdinand Emperors in their times. Wherfore the Archduke and his wife were aduised
and councelled by the Bishop of Besanson, to go into Spaine, before that the King
Don Ferdinando of Arragon, and Queene *Isabella* of Castille, father and mother
to the sayd Ladie *Iane* Archdutchesse should die, to prepare themselues to the
succession of the sayd Realmes: and to take their way through France. And the rather
for that *Lewis* the twelfth the French King, & the duke of Bourbon Vncle to the Arch-
duke had a great desire to see him. Comming into France with a stately traine of
Princes and Noblemen, as well Germains as Netherlanders, they were honorably re-
ceiued in all townes by the Kings commandement, with power to pardon prisoners for
crimes. The King and Queene attended them at Blois, being accompanied by the Prin- D
ces of the bloud, dukes, Earles, Barons, Cardinalls, Archbishops and Bishops, where
they staied six daies, then hauing taken their leaues, they went on in their voiage, vntill
they arrited in Spaine, where they were welcome to the King and Queene, who were
ioyfull to see their daughter, and then their onely heire. The Archduke hauing staied
sometime in Spaine, tooke his leaue of the King and Queene, to goe vnto the Emperor
his father in Germany, and there take possession of his estates and siegneuries, for
which cause the Emperor had sent for him. He returned as he went by France (leauing
his wife in Spaine) where there fell out a quarrell in Court betwixt the French
and the Spaniards, in the which the duke of Nemours was slaine, whereof the Arch-
duke purged himselfe vnto the King: yet hee was so terrified, as hee fell into so violent E
a feuer, as for a time they doubted of his health: yet through the care of the King and
the duke of Bourbon, with the helpe of good Phisitions he was soone recouered, and
so departed, taking his way towards Germanie, where the Princes attended him vpon
the Rhine, who receiued him very honorably.

The Archduke Philip and his wife goe into Spaine.

They are honorably entertained by the French King.

The Archduke goes into Germany.

All this time the warre continued betwixt the duke of Saxony, by the conduct of
Cont *Hugh* of Lynsenach, and the Groningeois, by many prises and reprises of either
side, as of dam, of Delfziel and other places: The exiled Frisons were reconciled to the
duke of Saxony, who chose rather to receiue them into grace, then to enter into con-
tention with the Archduke his couzin. In the yeare 1503. died that vertuous Prin-
cesse, the Ladie *Maguerite* of Yorke, dutchesse Douager of Bourgongne, who was F
buried at the Franciscan friars in Macklyn: shee was wonderfully lamented of the
poore, for her great almes deedes, and of all good and vertuous men: for she was a wise
and vertuous Princesse, and had pacefied many quarrells, shee was sister to *Edward* the
forth King of England.

1503. Death of the Dutchesse Douager of Bourgongne.

The

A The yeare 1502. and 1503. were spent without any warre in the Neitherlands, at the least that was memorable, by reason of the peace which was betwixt the said countries and the French, of the truce betwixt Gronninghen and the Duke of Saxony, and that the Frisons (without seeking any quarrels after their accustomed manner) had worke enough to repaire their Sea walles and bankes which the last violent tempests had broken and carried away.

In the same yeare 1503, the Lady *Marguerite* of Austria, sister to the Arch-duke *Philip*, widow to prince *Don Fernando* of Castile, married againe to *Philibert* the 8. duke of Sauoy; a valiant & vertuous Prince, full of such manly beautie, as he was called *Philibert the faire*; he was also amiable and courteous to all men: he succeeded to his father Marguerite of Austria married to the Duke of Sauoy.

B *Philip* in the said Dutchie, and Principalitie of Piedmont in the yeare 1495. After that he had done many things worthy of memorie, he dyed, leauing no issue of his body: & therefore *Charles* his brother succeeded him. The Lady *Marguerite* his widow, in testymonie of the loue she bore him (although shee were yong) would neuer marrie againe, but continued the rest of her life a widow, & was afterwards Gouernesse of the Low-countreys, for Prince *Charles*, sonne to the Arch-duke *Philip* of Austria, King of Castile, in the right of his wife, and her Nephew.

1504. In the moneth of May 1504. the Lady *Iane* of Castile, Arch-dutchesse of Austria, returned out of Spaine, and came to the Arch-duke her husband, who receiued her with great ioy. Then the Archduke according vnto that which hee had promised the The warre reuiued betwixt the Archduke Philip and the duke of Gelders.

C Emperor his father, being in Germanie, prepared to make hot warres against the duke of Gelders, to whom he sent a Herald to sommon him to yeeld him vp his Dutchie of Gelders, and Countie of Zutphen, else he did defie him and all his subiects and allyes, and denounced warre against them, with fire and sword. He made also a Proclamation throughout all his Prouinces, inhibitting all men to carrie any victuals or munition of warre into the countries of Gelders, Zutphen and Ouerissell, and he sent some shippes of warre into Zuyderzee, vnder the command of an Admirall who should gard those seas, that nothing might enter into the Riuer of Yssell, of Ee, and other channels; nor into the Hauens of Harderwyck and Elburch: then he sent all his armie to Boisle-duke, where hee was intreated by his Noble-men, and the Commanders of the armie, not to goe himselfe to field in person; and therefore hee gaue

D charge to the Lord of Vergy, a Bourguignon, to *Cornillis* of Berghen, lord of Seuenberghen, and to *Floris* of Iselsteyn, to march with the whole armie into the countrey of Gelders, where at the first they besieged the castle of Hameiden, the which they tooke, from thence they went before Midele, where the Bastard of Gelders was, the The exploits of both armies.

which after batterie and an assault giuen, was yeelded by accord; hee himselfe remaining prisoner and was sent into Brabant. Then they tooke the castell of Trecele, and spoiled the Champion contrie; but winter approching they retyred againe to Boisle-duke. The Geldrois (on the other side) lay not idle, making many roades into Brabant and into other neere places, belonging to the enemie, from whence they also carryed great spoile. In the same month duke *George* of Saxony, made his first entrie in-

E to the countrey of Frise-land, hee arriued first at Harlingen, from thence hee came to Franiker to the castle of Syardama, where he caused all the States of Friseland to bee assembled, to whom there were certaine Articles propounded on the Dukes behalfe, the which he would haue entertained and kept by them. One among the rest was; *That all Noble-men or Gentlemen that had held any Siegneories or other fees, should come and take them vp of him, as of their Souereigne and absolute Prince.* Whereunto the States would by no meanes yeeld, seeming vnto them neither iust nor reasonable, to subiect themselues vnto a thing whereof God and nature had made them in all ages free, to make themselues slaues, and to subiect them and their children for euer. The duke beeing Duke George of Saxony comes into Friseland.

F fully instructed of the reasons of their deniall, fearing some greater inconuenience, gaue ouer that point, vpon condition, that they should pay him yearely the 21. penny of all their goods, rentes, and reuenues, inioying all the surplusage quietly without any further demaundes, and neuer to impose any further charges hereafter vppon them. The which was granted by a generall consent of all the Nobles and townes. He makes a composition with the Frisons.

This

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This Accord thus made and agreed vpon, hee alſo called together all the Clergie A
of the ſayd Contrie to the towne of Franiker, to whome hee made the like demande of
the 21. pennie. But as there was great diſputing about it, the aſſembly brake vp, and
would not yeelde to any thing. Yet the. 7. of Iuly they were ſent for againe, wher after
much contention, in the end they yeelded, vpon condition, that it ſhould bee paied
by Chaptirs and Prebends where-vnto the goods which they held in propriety or by
imheritance, ſhould not be bound. Euer ſince that Duke *Albert* tooke firſt poſſeſſion of
The Duke of Saxony appoints ſix men to gouerne Friſeland. the Seigneurie of Friſeland, vnto the yeare. 1505. the contry had bin allwayes gouer-
ned by Lieutenants vnder the authority of the Dukes of Saxony: but this yeare Duke
George, committed ſix worthy men, both in wealth, wiſdome and experience, to the go-
uernment of affaiers: three Germains, *William Trucxes* and *Syurdt Lutſing*, Knights, with B
his Chancellor doctor of the lawes, the three other were Friſons, *Bucho Paſtor* of Wyr-
dom, *Heſſel Martua* and *Francis Minnama*, ouer whome *Trucxes* was ſuperintendent; to
whom the duke hauing giuen their comiſſions & inſtructions how they ſhould gouerne
thẽſelues, after that he had ſetled the court or Parlament of Frieſeland at Leeuwarden,
and built the Chancery before the Cittadel, the which he did furniſh (as he did al other
forts of the contry) with good gariſons, and ſufficient munition, he parted out of Friſe-
land, and went to Emden where before that he returned into his country of Miſnia, he
made *Edſard* Earle of Eaſt Friſeland, his Lieutenant and captaine General of his armie,
when hee ſhould begin warre againſt them of Groningen, which done hee retired. At
that time the warre was very violent betwxt the Bourguignons and Geldrois waſting C
and ſpoiling one an other both by Sea and Land, at which time the Emperour *Maxi-
milian* ſent the Earle of Anholt with a 1000. foote and 500. horſe to ſuccor the Arch-
duke *Phillip* his ſonne againſt the Geldrois. who went to lodge in a cloiſter of regular
monks, neere vnto Bomell, the which hee fortified, from whence he did much anoy the
Geldrois within the circuit of Tyel and Bomel by ſpoiles and ranſomes, and among o-
thers he ruined the great village of Dryell. On the other ſide *Robert* of Aremberghe be-
ing in garriſon at Naerden, as Gouernor of the contry of Goylandt, did no leſſe vpon
the Velawe and contry there abouts. To conclude all this warre was nothing but the
ruine of the Contry-man and of ſome priuate Gentlemen.

1505. In the yeare 1505. the truce betwixt the Duke of Saxony and the Groningeois ex- D
pired and not being able to agree, the warre reuiued. The Regents (for ſo we will call,
thoſe ſixe men which duke *George* had left for the Gouernment of the Contry of Fre-
land) did preſently put 400. men into the fort of Auwert: The Duke ſent them alſo for
a ſupply the ſeignior *Vit* van Draekdorff with ſome troopes, who did alſo lodge in Au-
wert. And then the Earle of Emden in the Dukes abſence, tooke vpon him the charge
of Generall of all the army, and of the campe which he planted before Groningen, wil-
ling the Regents to ſend him 600. men well armed, wherein he was preſently obeyed.
He cauſed a fort to be built vpon the territory of Oueriſſell, to keepe all ſuccors from
entring into Groningen on that ſide, whereof the townes of the ſaid Contrie of Oue-
riſſel, which are of the Dioceſe of Vtrecht, complained vnto their Biſhop, for otherwiſe E
they would willingly haue ſuccored them: but the Biſhop pacified them, and touching
the ſuccors, he diuided the Townes, ſome deſiring it, others not; ſo as in the meane
time the fort was finiſhed, the which was called *Weert den bras*, wherby the Groningeois
were fruſtrate of the ſuccors which they expected from them of Oueryſſell. The Em-
perour *Maximilian* being then in the contry of Gelders, the towne of Groningen and
the Townes of Oueriſſel, ſent their deputies vnto him, to make their complaints of the
duke of Saxony, and of the Regents which hee had commited for the gouerment of
The death of Iſabella Queene of Caſtille. Friſland, whervpon there was a day appointed in the towne of Hatem in Gelders whe-
ther came the ſaid deputies on the one part, and the Earle of Emden with ſome of the
Regents on the other part. Euery one deliuered his reaſons, which were well heard. F
But the Emperour fauoring the duke more then the reſt, the Groningeois and thoſe of
The Arch-duke crowned King of Caſtille. Oueriſſell preuayled nothing. In the ſame yeare died the Lady *Iſabella* Queene of Ca-
ſtille wife to the King Don *Fernando* of Arragon, mother to the Lady *Iane*, Arch-du-
cheſſe of Auſtria, wife to the Archduke *Phillip* remayning their onely daughter: ſo as
now

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A now ſhe was their onely heire, and ſucceeded in the realmes of Caſtille, Leon, Granado. &c. Whereof ſhe and her husband were crowned King and Queene in Bruſſelles, whither the Crowne was ſent them out of Spaine.

Cont *Englebert* of Naſſau had alwayes diſſwaded the Archduke from making of warre againſt the duke of Gelders; for being a wiſe Noble-man, and knowing whereon he grounded his right, hee did fore-ſee what the iſſue would bee after his death. Some of the Archdukes counſell (newly King of Caſtile) perſwaded him, that before hee went into Spaine with his wife to take poſſeſſion of her Kingdomes, he ſhould conquer all the Dutchie of Gelders, and the Countie of Zutphen: where-vppon ha- Bommel beuing made a great preparation, he went and beſieged Bommel, the which hee battered ſieged by the Archduke.

B for a time, then hauing but two Forts to keepe them in, hee marched with his armie towards Arnhem, the chiefe Towne and Chancerie of the Dutchie; the which hauing beſieged long, and battered vntill it could endure no more, in the end it was yeelded, paying to the ſouldiers to redeeme the aſſaults, 8000. Florins. That of Harder- Townes tawyck (which is a ſea Towne belonging to the duke of Gelders) yeelded in the like ken in Gelmaner: then the Towne and caſtle of Hattem vppon the Riuer of Yſſell, (where as the ders. Earle of Suffolke, an Engliſh-man was taken.) Then the Townes of Elburch, Doeſburch, Dotecom, Grolle, Tyell, Bommel, Lochem, and other ſmall townes yeelded. There was alſo many Gentle-men Geldrois, which tooke the Bourguinons partie, (for ſo the Archdukes men were called) Among others the ſiegnior of Bronckhorſt,

C Wiſch, Scheerenberghe, *Otto Scenck* of Wachtendonck, a braue knight, who did much anoy the Geldrois, with ſome others who went to ſerue the Archduke. The duke of Gelders affaires were then reduced to that eſtate, as if the Bourguignons had then purſued their victory, they had wholy conquered all the duke of Gelders country.

During the Earle of Emdens ſiege before Groninghen, there grewe ſome diuiſion Diuiſion in betwixt him and the Germaine Collonels, and other chiefe Officers of the duke of the Duke of Saxonies, wherewith the Earle was ſo diſcontented as without ſpeaking of any word, Saxonies hee retyred to Dam, the which his men held 3. leagues from Groninghen: which the campe before Germaines did little regard, aſſuring themſelues of the taking of Groninghen, which Groningen. was then brought to extremitie, and could not long hold out, hauing beene beſieged

D almoſt a whole yeare, ſo as they not onely had neede of victuals, but of all other prouiſions, and munitions for warre. Wherevpon the Groningeois, both gentlemen and Bourgeſſes aſſembled vppon the place, before the Counſell-houſe to aduiſe of that which ſhould be moſt expedient for them to doe, for the auoyding of the totall ruine of their Towne, and that they might not bee forced to yeelde vnto the mercie of the Germaines. In the ende it was reſolued, to call *Vytt van Draeckſdorff*, one of the chiefe commanders of the duke of Saxonyes armie, next vnto the Earle of Emden, and to capitulate alone with him of their redition, hoping that in offering him that honour, (ſeeing that hee had the chiefe command ouer the Saxons and Germaines) they ſhould haue the better compoſition. But as this was thus decreed, and

E that they were ready to ſend their deputies to him to Auwert; Behold there came into the towne a Bourgeois and his wife (whileſt the inhabitants were yet together) ſo villanoſly entreated and diſſigured, as all men had horrour to behold them; for beeing priſoners, and hauing no meanes to pay the ranſome which they demanded, Collonell *Vytt* cauſed their noſes and eares to be cut off, ſending them back thus diſſigured to the Towne, who by their cryes and lamentations did moue all the cittizens to pittie, and furie againſt *Vytt*, and all the Germaines, reſoluing to ſet fire on the Towne, and conſume it to aſhes, rather then to yeeld to ſuch tyrants: and ſo they entertained themſelues in their pouertie for a while. But hearing afterwards of the diſlike that was betwixt the Earle of Emden & Collonel *Vytt*, they writ ſecretly vnto the Earle, to know

F his minde; *If he would not receiue them vnder his hereditary protection, as wel for him as for* The Groning- *his ſucceſſors.* Theſe Letters did wonderfully pleaſe the Earle, who ſent the Meſſenger geois treate backe with an anſwere as pleaſing to them of the Towne: which was; *That they ſhould* with the Earle *ſend their Deputies with full power and ample commiſſion to treat with him.* The which of Emden. they did, vppon condition, that hee ſhould leaue them in the ſame eſtate, and vnder

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the ſame Priuiledges that he ſhould find them at his entrie. The which the Earle promiſed, ſo as he might build a Cittadell there as great as hee pleaſed. The deputies of the *Groningeois* returned to the Towne, hauing made their report of that which they had treated, and concluded with the Earle of Eaſt-Friſeland. The Magiſtrate and Counſell did preſently remit the Impoſitions and Cuſtomes which they had taken before, that they might liue vnder the Earle in the like libertie. According to this Accord, the firſt of May the Earle entred into Groninghen with 2000. men, leauing a ſufficient garriſon in Dam, approching neere the high Bridge they went to meet him; the Prieſts and Moncks going in proceſſion with their Croſſes and Banners, receiuing him with great tryumph and ſtate, and hauing brought him to the State-houſe, they tooke the oth and did him homage, acknowledging him for their Lord, Deliuerer and Protector. A ſtrange alteration and ſodaine change; the Groningeois neuer had a greater enemie then this Earle, yet ſuddenly they except of him for their Protector and defender: he whom a little before they ſo much blamed, curſed and deteſted, (as the man whom they held to be the onely cauſe of all their miſeries) they now receiue him for their Prince; yea, the little children reioyced that they were not fallen into the Saxons hands, nor maiſter *Vytts*, ſinging in the ſtreets; Heer vyt is Groningen quyt. *Maiſter* Vytt *hath loſt Groningen*. Behold the fruits of this Collonels cruelty. But it is no new thing in the Germaines, no more then in the Spaniards to vſe the like barbarous inhumanitie, if they doe but thinke that they haue vanquiſhed their enemies. Soone after that the Earle was entred into the towne, he built a Cittadell on the South-ſide at Heere-Port, well flanked with great Bulwarks, deepe ditches, and goodly gates, both within and without the Towne.

The Earle of Emden made Protector of Groninghen.

The Earle of Emden Builds a cittadel at Groninghen.

Theſe newes of the yeedling vp of Groningen into the Earle of Weſt-Freezlands hand, beeing come into Miſnia to duke *Georges* eares, he went vnto the Earle to know in whoſe name he had receiued the Towne of Groningen into his protection: whereunto he preſently anſwered: *That what hee had done, was in the name of the Empire, by reaſon of the controuerſie that was betwixt the Duke of Saxony, and the high Dioceſſe of Vtrecht (which is the country of Oueryſſel) for the iuriſdiction of Groningen, which being decided, he would yeeld it to whom it ſhould appertaine.* And although the Dukes deputies knew the contrarie, yet they tooke theſe excuſes for payment, fearing to incenſe him more, and that he ſhould draw in the other troupes, the which being ioyned vnto his, and with the helpe of the Friſons, hee might eaſily chaſe the Saxons out of all Friſeland, and quite diſpoſſes the duke. The which had beene eaſie for him to doe, if he had then attempted it. Afterwards the Duke ſent his Marſhall into Friſeland with a great ſumme of money to the Germaines Campe, lying yet about Groningen, to pay them, and to thanke them. The Collonells, Captaines and Gentle-men before their departure (hauing ſerued long there) would gladly haue ſeene the Towne, but the Earle would not ſuffer them. This Marſhall and the Dukes counſell (to keep the Earle ſtill in breath, and at the dukes deuotion) gaue him the title of Leiutenant and Generall in the dukes name, of the Towne a nd Countie of Groningen, with an honourable yeerely entertainment, taken out of the dukes cofers, with a promiſe, that when hee ſhould be diſcharged thereof, to pay him 30000. florins of gold at one intire payment, with many other things which they granted vnto him. The Earle accepted of all by prouiſion, and made his profit thereof; knowing very well whereto they tended, the which notwithſtanding he diſſembled, ſeeming alwayes to bee at his ſeruice: and in this ſort the ſtate of Groningen was maintained vnto the yeare 1512. being doubtfull whither the Earle held it for himſelfe, or for the duke of Saxony: vntill that ſome gentlemen Friſons, who he diſauowed, were for his ſake beheaded in the Towne of Leeuwarden. Yet notwithſtanding the Friſons and Groningeois liued in peace, vnto the yeere 1514.

The Earle of Emden receiues entertainment from th duke of Saxony.

In the meane time the ſix Regents Saxons, during the hard froſts of winter, did ſtill put garriſons into their Townes, fearing the Earles ſurpriſes, houlding ſtill the two Forts which they had in the countrey of Groningen: that is Winſom and Werdenbraſſe: the which they had continually well manned with good ſoldiars at the duke of Saxonies

A Saxonies deuotion. The duke had a conceit, that during his abſence, the ſixe Regents which he had appointed to gouerne Friſland, had but negligētly executed their charge, or otherwiſe through enuie and ielouſie one of another, had neglected their duties, & that the gouernment of one alone with the counſell was more lawfull, more befitting, and of greater authoritie: where-vpon the Marſhall of Saxonie, aſſembled the States of Friſeland, in the Towne of Leuwarden, the 6. of Iuly, where the ſaid 6. Regents were diſcharged, and in their place was inſtituted Count *Henry* of Stalburch, a wiſe and diſcreet noble man, and one that feared God, to be the Dukes Lieutenant generall throughout all Freezland. Which being done, the Marſhall and the Earle went to Dam, whither they ſent for the Commonalties of the countrey of Groninghen in the B Dukes name, to take the othe of fealtie as his Vaſſals, but not any one appeared; deſiring rather to acknowledge the Earle of Eaſt-Friſeland, who the ſame yeare cauſed money to be coyned in the towne of Groningen, with this Inſcription *Edſardus Comes & Senator Groningenſis*. In the yeares 1506. 1507. and 1508. there was no memorable thing done in Friſeland that doth merit the writing.

The Earle of Stolburche made the Dukes Lieutenant in Friſeland.

After that the towne of Arnhem and other places of the Dutchie of Gelders and countie of Zutphen, were thus reduced (as we haue ſaid) vnder the obedience of the Archduke, King of Caſtile: hee ſtayed ſome-time without the ſaid towne of Arnhem in the caſtle of Rooſſendael. Thither came the biſhop of Vtrecht, the vicont of Montfort, and many other Noble-men, who laboured ſo vnto the King to reconcile the C duke of Gelders, as in the end he was ſent for to come vnto him, being accompanied with ſome Noble-men. Comming before the King, hee kneeled downe: but the King tooke him vp preſently with great courteſie, and ſo they went together into the caſtle, where as they remained ſome time. And as the King and many of his Princes and Noble-men were very deſirous to goe into Spaine, it was concluded betwixt the King and the duke; *That either of them ſhould hold what they had in the Dutchie and countie of Zutphen: and that the Duke ſhould accompanie the King in this voyage*: but afterwards the duke excuſed himſelfe with a good and auailable reaſons.

The Duke of Gelders reconciled to the King of Caſtille.

The King hauing recouered money, made his preparations with his wife to goe by ſea (whereof *William* of Croy Lord of Cheurees had the charge: and before their departure was made Gouernour of all the Neitherlands in the Kings abſence) and D recommended his ſonnes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, to the Ladie *Marguerite* his ſiſter, Douwager of Sauoy. The French King hearing that they tooke their way by Sea, and would not paſſe through France, he ſent *Philip* of Cleues, Earle of Neuers and the biſhop of Paris vnto them in Ambaſſage: requiring firſt; *That the marriage which had beene concluded betwixt Prince* Charles *their ſonne, and the Lady* Claude *of France, the Kings daughter, ſhould bee diaſnulled and made voyde, for that the Princes of the blood, and the Parliament did not thinke it conuenient.* And for the ſecond point; *That the King of Caſtile ſhould not attempt any thing vpon the Soueraigne iuriſdiction of Flanders in ciuill cauſes, and in Arthois touching Appellations, both in Ciuill and Cryminall cauſes*. The which was wholy granted. Theſe Ambaſſadours diſpatcht E away, King *Philip* and Queene *Iane* of Caſtile his wife, accompanied with a goodly traine of Princes, Noble-men, Princeſſes and great Ladyes parted in the ende of the yeare 1505. from Antwerp, and came into Zee-land, where waying anchor at Arnmuyden, the day after tweft-day 1506. they went to Sea with a rich and mightie Fleet of ſhippes: but they had not beene long at Sea before that there did riſe a great tempeſt of winde, ſnowe, and ſuch miſts, as being long before they knew what courſe they went, they were hourely in great danger to perriſh in the Sea. Euery man wondered that in the depth of winter, they would commit themſelues to the danger and perrill of the Sea, GOD letting them for to vnderſtand that the F greateſt Kings and Princes, are ſubiect vnto theſe dangers, as well as the pooreſt, Marryners: but he preſerued them, and they put to land at Weymouth in the Weſt part of *England*, all the reſt of the fleet was ſo diſperſed, as they knew not what was become of them, whereof ſome ſhippes were caſt away. *Henrie* the ſeauenth King of *England*, hearing of their being in the Harbour, ſent ſome of his Princes to receiue

An ambaſſage frō the French king to the king of Caſtille.

1506. The King & Queene of Caſtill in danger at Sea going into Spaine.

They put to land in England.

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them in his name, and to intreat them to come on land and refresh themselues: whether he himselfe went and entertained them very louingly, shewing them all the delights hee could, and giuing them many goodly presents, to make them forget their troubles past at sea. At one time King *Henry* intreated King *Philip*, that he would deliuer him the Earle of Suffolk, who (as we haue sayd,) was taken with the bastard of Geldres in the Castell of Hattem. King *Philip* after great importunity, vpon promise that King *Henry* should not touch his life, consented that the Earle of Suffolke should be brought into England: the which did much discontent many good men. He was kept in the Castell of Namur, from whence hee was brought and deliuered to the King of England, who caused him to be lodged in the Tower of London. After that King *Philip* and the Queene his wife had stayed for a faire season, from their landing which was in Ianuary, vnto the 24. of March, they put to sea, and hauing a prosperous winde, they arriued soone after at the Groyne, from whence they went to visit the relicks of Saint Iames in Compostella, going from thence towards Castille, where they were royally receiued by all the Princes and Noblemen of Spaine. The King of Castille had no sooner left the Netherlands, but the Geldrois went to horsbacke against the treaty made at Roosendael, falling vpon those townes and places, which by the sayd treaty remained to the King of Castille, among the rest, vpon Groll and Waganengen, the which they tooke: running from them into Holland and Brabant. The lord of Cheures, hauing leauied an army, went and besieged the sayd towne of Wagenengen, but it was furnished with such good men, which made continuall sallies vpon his campe, as in the end, seeing that he preuailed nothing, he retired his army.

The duke of Gelders begins warre.

A Comete.

In August the same yeare 1506. there appered a Comete which did rise at the North-east, and did set in the North-west, drawing the taile (which was great and large in forme of a rod) towards the West, the which was seene eighteene daies together. In the same moneth there was a poore woman in Holland, betwixt the villages of Beuerwic and Vyc vpon the sea, great with child and readie to bee deliuered. Fifteene daies before her lying downe the fruite that was in her wombe, was heard almost continually to cry and lament. The which many worthy men, for a greater approbation of the truth went daylie to heare it, and since haue certified it. Whereof some learned men in Philosophy and the Mathematiks haue diuersly written, inferring that the crying of this child with the Comete did pronosticate the death of the King of Castille Prince of the Netherlands, and the great miseries which haue since happened in Holland and other of the sayd Prouinces. The King and Queene of Castille, beeing arriued in Spaine, went from one Realme vnto an other and from one cittie vnto an other, to take possession, according to the Preuiledges and customes of places. Although that the King *Don Fernando* of Arragon father to the Queene offred to King *Philip* 500000. ducates a yeare, to remaine in the lowe countries, and not to come into Spaine, yet hee and his wife would goe, and themselues in person end the controuersie that was (by reason of the succession of the deceased Queene *Isabella*) betwixt them and the King *Don Ferdinando* their father. The which they did, and *Philip* in the right of his wife, was acknowledged King of Castille, Leon, Grenado &c. But he enioyed it not long, for the 27. of September in the same yeare 1506. he died sodenly in the citty of Bourgos, not without suspition of poison, being but 28. yeares old. He desired before his death that his heart might be carried and buried at Ierusalem, ioyning to that of the duke of Bourgongnes his great grandfather, the which was done. His bowells were carried to Bruges in Flanders, and his body was interred in a Couent of Chartreux Monks called *Amesfleur*, vpon a mountaine, without the citty of Bourgos. The Lady *Iane* his widoe was with child of a daughter, whereof she was afterwards deliuered. The newes of the death of this Prince, caused great mourning and heauines throughout all the Netherlands, fearing other troubles and reuolts, by reason of the warre betwixt the duke of Geldres and them. Those which at that time pretended to knowe the affaires of State, sayd, that the marriage which the Archduke *Philip* made with the Lady *Iane* of Castille, was vnhappie for the Netherlands, not for the miseries which the Spaniards haue of late yeares brought in, and which the countries haue suffred (for they could

A childe in Holland crying in the mothers belly.

Philip King of Castille dies sodenly.

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A could not fore-see these things so long before) but for the great charges wherwith they were burthened, to enter into those realmes of Spaine, with a rich and stately pompe; the which he did by the councell of his wife, to impouerish the said countries. For besides that which he solde, alienated and surcharged, yea ingaged his reuenues: this ladie carried with her all the goodly Iewels, riche Tapistrie, massie plate both of golde and siluer, that great and famous Flower de Lys of Diamants, one of the nailes wherewith our Lord IESVS CHRIST (*si credere fas est*) was nailed vnto the crosse, and the great Besome of Flanders. To conclude, she left not any thing, causing all to be packt vp, all which was in those dayes esteemed at nine Millions of gold. After the death of King *Philip*, all the Noblemen of the Netherlands were sent out of *Spaine*, neither were B they very welcome there: so as the greatest part of these riche moueables, plate and Iewels, was stolne and lost, onely some little which *Iohn* Earle of Nassau Lord of Breda, recouered with great diligence and care, and brought them with him into the Lowe-countries.

The Earle of Nassau brings some Iewels out of Spaine

In the yeare 1507. the Dutchesse of Burbon Ante to the Duke of Gelders by the mothers side, sent (as it was reported) certaine troupes of Frenchmen vnto her Nephew, the which being come to Ruremonde, the Duke lead them (being ioyned with his owne forces) to Tournhoult in Brabant, to spoile it: then hee went before Dyest, pretending to surprise it; but Cont *Iohn* of Nassau made such resistance as he got nothing but blowes. From thence the Duke went to Tillemont, which he tooke by assault, C where he lost a Germaine Earle, the which (hauing spoyled and taken many good prisoners) he abandoned, carrying all the bootie to Ruremonde, and putting his men into Garrisons. The Frenchmen passing by the countrie of Liege, to returne into France with their prey, being in the Forrest of Ardennes, lodged about Saint Hubert, and making good cheere vpon the poore country men, and (as they say) sleeping after the French fashion, some Namurois, Houilliers and Bocquillons, to the number of 600. men, vnder *Iohn Despontin* their Captaine, came early in a morning to wake them; they first slew their Sentinels and *corps de garde*, then entred into their quarter and surprized them in bed, whereof there were many slaine: who thought (but too late) to take armes; there were many prisoners, especially of Gentlemen; to conclude, all were de- D feated, and happy was he that loosing his horse, armes, and baggage, could saue himselfe on foote in the Forrest. So as these Namurois by this hard enterprise, wone much honor, and a riche spoile both of horses, armes, gold, siluer, plate, silkes and veluets, which the French had gotten in Brabant, casting vp all at once which they had gotten in the diuers towns which they had spoiled: Soone after the Geldrois burnt that goodly great village of Bodegraue, betwixt the townes of Woerden and Leyden in Holland. *Iohn* of Egmont Gouernour of Holland, to be reuenged of the Geldrois, went at the Hollanders charge and of them of Boisleduc, to besiege the strong place and Castell of Puydroyen, whereas then the Seignior of Seewint Marshall of Gelders did much harme vnto the Marchants, to whom the sayd Marshall was a capitall enemie. But the E Duke of Gelders came himselfe in person, forcing the Lord of Egmont to dislodge. After the death of the King of Castile, the Emperour *Maximilian* tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Netherlands, as gardien to *Charles* and *Ferdinand* his Grandchildren: and by the meanes of the French King, and the King of Arragon, a peace was concluded at Cambray, betwixt the Emperour in qualitie of gardien, and the Duke of Gelders, the which was of no long continuance: the warre kindling againe soone after, by some occasions offred by the Lord of Iselsteyn.

1507. The Duke of Gelders enters into Brabant.

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CHARLES OF AVSTRIA THE 2.

of that name, the 35. Earle of Holland and Zeeland,

the first Temporall Lord of the Towne and Dioceſſe of Vtrecht,
of Friſeland, Oueryſeel and Groninghen.

The fift Emperour of that name.



CAROLVS 5 IMPERATOR

Afrique, Turkey, Germanie,
England, France, their ſeuerall loſſes,
Haue felt my ſpirit to. pillars planted,
Beyond Gibralter are my [illegible] Philips daughter
My wife a Portugaiſe, and I[illegible]

Through my victorious powers fayre Italie
Hath ſeemd to tremble, when neere Pauia
I plotted 'gainſt the French, and tooke as Captiue,
Francis *the firſt, their famous warre-like King.*

Then

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Then with freſh Souldiers being from Spaine ſupplyde,
I quite did tame the haughtie Germaines pride;
I call to witneſſe priſoners that were Princes,
As Saxonie and the Lanſ-graue: the rich Ranſomes,
Engines of warre, with which (as gifts conſtrainde)
They made peace with my furie; great and ſmall
Were ranſomde as I pleas'd, my Spaniſh Forces
Tooke holy Rome, the Italians greateſt Terror,
There three dayes was their Pillage, in no place
The Pope found ſuccour, but his powers and hee
Lay in their Forts beſiegde, not Iſſuing forth
Vntill their Ranſomes bought them a free way,
From which the Almaine armie receiu'd pay:
Was it not I with blowes as quicke as lightning,
Conquerd Golletto, Tunis, and Argier?
And made the famous Pyrate Barbaroſa,
At Ariaden ſhrinck vnder my Sinewe?
Who bade fare-well to Africa by flight,
Which alſo ſtoopt and ſunke vnder my might?
Did not I Muly-aſſen *then erect,*
When I Barbarians and the Moores had tamed?
Was it not I that with my Campe of Almaynes
From Auſtria chaſde the great Turke Solyman?
With which the noble conqueſts that I held
In the Weſt-Indyes, may be paraleld.
Were not my men the firſt that did finde out,
Thoſe mynes of Peru-gold? and made bolde way
Through ſandy bounds of rich America?
Vnder the obedience of the Spaniſh lawes
Bringing their Kings? what though at firſt afront
They Kingly ſtroue, being vanquiſht, there my ſlaues;
Nor ought the world forget my ſouldiers deedes
That two and twenty millions put to ſword
Of rebell Indians, forcing the remaynes
Like brutiſh beaſts to vnder-goe baſe paines?
Am not I CHARLES *fifth Emperour of that name,*
Throughout the vniuerſall Globe the Terror?
But when I thought mee firme-vnder my ſtroake
The Spaniard toucht, the Almaines left my yoake,
And a new Trouble nere conceiude before
Did vnawares beſet mee, Germaine Princes,
Confederates came vnexpected Foes
And forceſt me flie from Inſpruck all vnfurniſht:
I that was woont Foes with a whip to chaſe,
Was forſt to worke my ſafetie by my flight,
Death to my pride, and furie of my Sword;
Yet all I wrought either by force or Law,
When I to narrow ſtraights the Cleuoys forceſt
That Gelders, Freezeland, Vtrecht, in the end
And beyond Iſland all the wealth was mine:
Vnder my Lawes ſtoopt Groninghen and Cambray:
Fiftie two yeares I Holland did poſſeſſe.
Then to my Sonne all titles I reſignde,
My fleſh lyes at Granado, my ſoule fares
Like her eternal ſelfe, from humaine cares,

The Argument of the sixt Booke.

THe birth of the Emperor Charles *the fifth: warre betwixt the Esterlings, Danes, and Hollanders. The Duke of Geldres makes warre against the Bishop of Vtrecht and the Hollanders. The state of Friseland. A quarrell betwixt the Duke of Saxony and the Earle of Emden for the siegniory of Groningen.* Henry *Duke of Brunswyke slaine there. The Groningeois giue themselues to the Duke of Geldres. Prince* Charles *of Austria takes possession of the Netherlands.* George *duke of Saxony resignes his interest of Friseland to Prince* Charles: *Hee holds the feast of the golden fleece at Brusselles.* Philip *Bastard of Bougongne Bishop of Vtrecht:* Marten van Rossen, *Gouernor in Friseland, Prince* Charles *crowned King of Spaine: the death of the Emperor* Maximilian. Charles *the fift choosen Emperor: the Lady* Marguerite *Duchesse of Sauoye Gouernesse of the Netherlands. Troubles in Spaine the King being absent: warre in Friseland: warre betwixt the French and the Bourgnignons: the Peasants warre in Germany: the Groningeois reuolting the Duke of Geldres giue themselues to the Emperor: the second bloudy Edict made by the Emperor against the Protestants of the Netherlands. A tumult at Vtrecht, who call in the Geldrois against their Bishop.* William van Enkeuoort 59. *Bishop of Vtrecht: the Coronation of the Emperor* Charles *by the Pope. An Imperiall diet at Ausbourg, whereas the Protestant Princes present a confession of their faith: A wonderfull deuowring Inundation in the Netherlands:* Mary *of Austria Queene Douager of Hongarie succeeds in the gouernment of the Netherlands after the death of the Ladie* Marguerite *her Aunt: warre betwixt them of Lubec and Holland: An Imperiall dyet held at Ratisbone concerning religion. A peace betwixt the Emperor and the Duke of Geldres: warre betwixt the French and the Bourgnignons. The townes of Geldres mutine against their duke: the Emperor comes out of Spaine through France, to punish the Ganthois: warre betwixt the Emperor and the French King. A peace concluded.*

Charles his Inheritance.

CHARLES the second of that name, the 35. Earle of Holland and Zeeland, Lord of Friseland, eldest sonne to the Archduke *Philip* of Austria, and of Lady *Iane* Queene of Castile, was borne at Gand in Flanders the 24 of February 1500. After the death of his Father, he did inherit ouer and aboue the counties of Holland, Zeeland & West-frisland, the Dutchies of Bourgongne, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Lembourg, Luxembourg and Geldres. The counties of Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Bourgongne, Ferrete, Kyburg, Namur and Zutphen, the Landtgraueship of Elsaten, the Marquisate of Burgau, and of the holy Empire, the Principalitie of Suaue, and the Seigneuries of Windismark, Portenau, Salins and Macklin. Afterwards hee conquered the Dutchie of Milan, and did incorporate the country of Friseland, Vtrecht, Ouerysel, Groningen, Cambray and Cambresis, all holding of the Empire. The Emperour *Maximilian* hauing (as we haue sayd) taken vpon him the gardianship of his Nephews and Neeces, retiring out of the Netherlands to goe into Germanie about the affaires of the Empire, hee appointed his daughter, the Lady *Marguerite* Douager of Sauoy, Aunt to the Princes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, Regent of the low-countries, in the name of the Prince her Nephewe, who meaning to come out of Flanders into Zeeland, she imbarked at Nyeuwerhauen, right against Flesingue: *Philip* of Bourgongne, lord of Somersdike, Admiral, & *Adolphe* of Bourgongne lord of Beueren, with the Noblemen and deputies of the states of Zeland, went with a good number of flie-boates, shaloups, & other light boates to receiue her at the sayd place of Nyeuwerhauen. Whilest that the sayd Noblemen were gone to land to entertaine the sayd Princesse, the ships of war lying before the hauen shoting off their great Ordinance in signe of honour, it happened that fire fell into the poulder of the Admirall, so as many were slaine, drowned and wounded: but there were not any of these Noblemen in her, al being gone to land in their long boates to salute the Gouernesse. At that time died the vertuous Lady Anne bastard of Bourgongne, Lady of Raueistein (of whom we haue formerly spoken) after that shee had recouered and walled in many Islands that were drowned in Zeeland. To whose goods succeeded *Baldwyn* and *Philip* of Bourgongne, her brethren, except the Island of Duyueland, the which returned to them of the house of Borssele, from whence it first came.

1508. The duchesse of Sauoy gouernesse of the Netherlands.

The death of Anne bastard of Bourgongne.

William of Egmont Lord of Ifelstein, with the consent and cõmission of the Emperour *Maximilian*

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A *Maximilian* and of his councell, went to take and ranſome ſome Inhabitants about Boinmel, for that they ſaid they were of the Iuriſdiction of Geldres, and contrarywiſe the ſaid Lord of Iſelſtein would haue them of his Princes Iuriſdiction, where-vpon the Duke of Geldres tooke occaſion to reuiue the warres. Saying that the Bourguignons had firſt of al broken the peace, where-vpon the Geldrois lay in waite for the marchants of the Netherlands at their returne from Francfort Mart, whome they ſpoiled and carried away priſoners to the towne of Gelder, ſetting them at great ranſomes, beſides their loſſes which they had taken from them.

In the ſame yeare 1508. Raoul Prince of Anhault, of the noble and ancient houſe of Aſcagne, cheefe of *Maximilian* the Emperors Armie in the Netherlands
B went againe to beſeege the caſtell of Puydroyen in the month of March, from whence the duke of Geldres had forced *Iohn* of Egmont to raiſe his ſeege, who hauing battred it and giuen diuers aſſaults (in the which the marſhall Seewint was ſlaine) in the end it was yeelded to his mercie, which was, that the beſeeged ſhould depart euery one with a white wand, retaining twelue to diſpoſe of at his pleaſure, whom he cauſed to be preſently hanged before the port: then he cauſed both caſtell and fort to be ruined and razed, In the meane time the duke of Geldres thought to ſurpriſe the towne of Harderwick which the Bourguignons held yet, but he failed, from thence the Prince of Anhalt went to beſeege the towne of Weſep and the Caſtell of Muyden both together, being but a quarter of a League one from an other. The French king ſent an ambaſſador to the
C Princes campe who did mediate the yeelding vp of the ſaid two places by ſome good accord to the ſaid Prince in the Emperors name, after that the Geldrois had firſt been chaſed from the Block-houſe of Amſterdam, and the Lord of Aymeries with his walons defeated vpon the mont of Muyden, where the Lord of Iſelſtein was ſlaine.

Fuydroien taken and razed.

In the yeare, 1509. there died in the citty of Cologne Cont *Henry* of Stolburch Gouernor for the Duke of Saxony in the contry of Freeſeland; he was much lamented of the Friſons for his mild gouernment being a good Iuſticer, an vpright man, & fearing God, after whoſe death, Duke *Georges* Mareſhall came into Friſeland bringing with him *Enerwin* earle of Benthem, with the dukes Comiſſion to be gouernor of the ſaid contry. In the yeare 1510. there fell out great warre betwixt the King of Denmarke and the townes of the Eaſt contries as Lubeck, Wiſmare. Roſtwicke and others: They of Lubeck
D did write into Holland, Zeeland and Freeſeland for-bidding them to ſayle into Denmarke, but they would not forbeare: for that the greateſt profit of thoſe contries conſiſts in nauigation, where-vpon the Lubeckers tooke ſome of their ſhips at two ſeuerall times: their ſecond loſſe was by the default of the Danes, who did not ſuccor them as they ought. The yeare following the Eſterlings came with ſome of thoſe ſhips which they had taken into Zeland and Flanders wher the Hollanders arreſted them and called them into the Admiraltie court, where they had reſtitution granted them. But the Hollanders had their reuenge afterwards after an other manner, as you ſhal heare. The duke of Gelders not able to liue at reſt cauſed 2000. men to come out of Den-
E marke, the which did land at Geelmuyden, with an intent to doe ſome exployt vpon the towne of Campen, and other places in the contry of Oueryſſel, but his enterpriſe being deſcouered, the Collonell of his troupes was taken by the Campenois with 40. of his men, wherof foure of the chiefe wel knowne in the contry, loſt their heades wherwith the duke being much incenſed, marched with this troup and the reſt of his ſoldiars towards Deuenter, thinking to doe them ſome affrent. But the Bourgeſes and ſome 600. ſchollers hindred him, from thence hee went and tooke certen ſmale townes as Goer Dyepenheus and Oldenſeel: the which Frederic of Baden biſhop of Vtrecht (of whoſe iuriſdicton they are) recouered ſoone after, and in reueng thereof ſpoyled the
F dukes country about the Velawe vnder the conduct of the Lord of Iſelſtein Generall of his army, taking many forts and caſtells from him in the conty of Zutphen, and after they had done the worſt they could one vnto an other, in the end they muſt come to a compoſition. During this petty war betwixt the biſhop & the duke, the Traiectins had not giuē any ſuccors vnto their Biſhop, to recouer thoſe places which the Geldrois had taken from him in the contry of Oueriſſel: but had a ſecret enterpriſe vpon the towne of Iſelſtein, the Lord whereof was in their Biſhoppes ſeruice, the which not ſucceding,

1509.

The gouernor of Freeſeland dies.

The Duke of Gelders makes warre againſt them of Oueryſſel.

War betwixt the Duke of Gelders and the Biſhop of Vtrecht.

the

the ſaid Lord of Iſelſteyn (meaning to be reuenged) went with ſome troupes to ſpoile round about their towne burning ſome houſes in their ſuburbes and taking certaine Bourgeſes, the which he put to ranſome. Notwithſtanding the Traiectins growing reſolute againſt the ſaid towne, hauing allied themſelues with the Duke of Geldres, went to beſeege it. The Lord of it with the helpe of his couſin the Gouernor of Holland, and of many other Noblemen and Knights, cauſed them to riſe from thence after they had camped before it almoſt three monthes: forcing them to ſaue themſelues in the towne of Iſelſtein, ſo as in the end after all their fighting they made an agreement. During this time the Geldrois recouered the towne of Bommel, which was held by the Bourguignons, *Phillip* van Zemeren did alſo yeeld vnto the duke the caſtell of Hattem and Grebbeuorſt, then he tooke the towne of Vandrichom. The remaynder of this yeare and the next following, by reaſon of the truce and peace of either part, paſt without any memorable thing done in the Netherlands, that merits to be written. In the yeare 1512. the warre betwixt the duke of Gelders, the Hollanders, and thoſe of Boiſleduc began againe. The Earle of Serberen Collonel in the dukes ſeruice, on Candlemas day early in the morning, tooke the fort of Tuylle. Thoſe of Boiſleduc meaning to ſpoile the Iland of Bommel were ſoore beaten by the ſaide Earle, and by captaine *Michel* van Pomeren, wher they tooke many priſoners. They would haue had their reuenge, going to beſeege Bommell but they were forced to riſe, & leaue it. The Lord of Iſelſtein entred into Gelders and tooke the fort of Roodentoren, where he ſlue all he found within it, and then razed the place. The like he did to Perſicke and Hoeman: ten daies after the towne of Tyel was taken againe by the Geldrois who burnt the Bourg of Bodegraue the ſecond time: they went with 1200. men before Amſterdam, wher they burnt many ſhips; from thence they retired one halfe of them to Bilt by Vtrecht, and the other moitie to the Chartreux without the town. The Lord of Waſſenare hauing gathered together ſome 4000. men went on Chriſtmas euen at night to skirmiſh with the Geldrois that were lodged in the Chartreux, whome he chaſed from thence and lodged there himſelfe: Thoſe that were chaſed away, hauing ioyned with their companions that were at Bilt returned on Chriſtmas day early in the morning, to charge the ſaid Lord of waſſenare and his men in the Cloiſter, the which they forced, and tooke the Lord Waſſenare and many of his men priſoners.

The Traiectins beſeege Iſelſtein.

The Duke of Geldres takes diuers places from the Bourguignons.

1512.

A B C

1513. In the yeare 1513. the Geldrois went and burnt certen houſes before Schoonehouen the which captaine *Iohn* van Delfe ſeeking to hinder, he was wel beaten, frō thence they entred into the circuit of Dordrecht, Alblas and Alblaſſerdam, from whence they carried a great booty and many priſoners. Duke *George* of Saxony (finding wel that the Earle of Emden kept the towne & contry of Groninghen, although in the begining he tooke vpon him but the title of his Leiutenant); ſought all means he could to haue the Earle relinquiſh that Seigneurie, and to deliuer it into his hands, but the Earle (who found it pleaſing as well as the Duke) would not harken to it, whereof the Duke complained to the Emperour, who deputed the Biſhop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleues to reconcile them: but ſeeing they could not preuaile, they remitted the buſines againe to the will of his Imperiall Maieſtie, and of his councell, who ſent a commandement to the Earle of Emden, that vpon paine of incurring the indignation of the Empire he ſhould leaue the poſſeſſion of the ſaid towne & contry, & deliuer it into the hands of his couſen duke *George* by the 17. day of Ianuary in the yeare 1514. The Earle receiued many other charges and threats from the Emperiall chamber and there were diuers conferences betwixt the deputies of theſe two Noblemen; But they could neuer agree ſo as there were great likelehoodes of warre. The which notwithſtanding the Saxons feared much knowing what friends the Earle had in Freeſland, among the gentlemen of the Vetcoopers faction, of the which he was, whome they had incenſed, by the death of the two gentlemen of their party, whom the yeare before they had executed at Leeuwarden.

D

A quarell betwixt the duke of Saxony and the earle of Emden for Groninghen.

E

F

The Duke of Saxonies forces enter into Eeſt Friſland.

The 17. day of Ianuary 1514. being come & paſt the Earle of Eaſt Friſlande hauing not obaied the Emperors commandement, the troupes which the duke of Saxonies Lieutenant had in Frieſeland marched towards Eaſt Friſeland, duke *George* came in perſon to Leuwarden, where he wintred, the dukes *Erick* and *Henry* of Brunſwick bretheren,

came

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A came to succor the Saxon with 1200. horse and 3000. foote,the which came also into East Friseland, and tooke the castell of Wredeburch,thether came also 5000. Landtsknechts, which they called the black troupe, which the duke sent by the seauen Forests into Reiderlandt, the which ioyned with the troupes of Brunswick. Then the duke of Saxony went to inuest Groninghen with a mighty Army. The Saxons had a little before taken the fort of Deelszyel. The Earle of Emden going out of Groninghen passed the riuer of Eems,and chased the Saxons out of Fermsam & Otterdom,and then he recouered Deelszyel. The Saxons campe which was at Essens, hearing what the Earle had done at Deelszyel and in other places,durst not attend him,retyring to the forts of Weedenbras and Auwert. The Groningeois notwithstanding the siege,made many
B gallant sallies, and attempted their enemies forts. The duke of Saxony assembled the states of Friseland demanding an aide or imposition of seauen solz of the Florine in rent; of him only that was the owner of the land,which demand the Nobility found very vnreasonable, for that the winter before they had camped before Auwert at their owne charge,and therfore nothing was concluded. In the meane time the duke of Brunswick was spoyling of East Friseland, (which is the country of Emden) where hee tooke the castel of Knysohousen,belonging to a gentleman of the country: from thence he went to Merhuysen,the which he assaulted foure times with great losse of his men. The Earle of Emden came & succored it,and defeated 600. of the dukes men,yet being to weake,hee was forced to retire. He being gone,the duke besieged this castel afresh,so as in the end
C he forced it,killing al that he found armed,being no: aboue 80. men. Then hee went to Styckhuisen,which he also won. On the other side 3000. Saxons marched to Delfziel, which the captaine left vpon their approch, & the fort was presently raized,they won Hoogherkerke also. During these losses,the Earle was not idle,hee had his ships at sea, which tooke vpon the Norderwat three ships belonging to the duke,laden with poulder, boullets and a great some of money, which serued him well. Vpon the demande which the duke of Saxony had made to the Frisons, of 7. solz only vpon the Florine in rent, the Nobles being againe assembled in Friseland,did grant vnto him in lieue therof,to serue him two months at their owne charge,with 500. men,vpon condition to be discharged of the twenteth peny,the which he accepted,whervpō the duke approched
D with his campe neerer vnto Groninghen,to Selwerd,his men and the Groningeois being euery day at blowes, not without losse of either side, but most of the Saxons: who were often surprized in their Corps de Garde. Duke *Henry* of Brunswick was then before the fort of Dam, called Oordt: the Earles men were on the other side of the riuer of Eems,in a smal fort which plaied vpon the dukes men when they went to the assault, so as at the last which they gaue, the duke of Brunswicke being there in person, a Gonners boy but 15. or. 16. yeares old,discharged a culuerine,with the which hee tooke away halfe the dukes head, where-vpon Duke *Erike* his brother raised his Campe, and retired to Auwert. Duke *Henries* sonne,called also *Henry*, tooke vp his fathers bodie,the which hee kept vntill that his mother came to fetch it, and that this death was
E reuenged. During these attempts,the Earle of Emden went to the duke of Geldres to Zutphen, to craue succors of him: from whome he carried 400. horse and 300. foote, with the which hee entred into Groninghen. The 14. of Iuly, the duchesses of Saxony and Brunswicke came vnto the campe: the duchesse of Brunswicke would gladly haue retired her sonne, and carried backe her husbands body, but the sonne would not depart, vntill hee had reuenged his fathers death, wherefore duke *George* of Saxony hauing well fortified Selwert, Auwert, Winsom and Weerdenbras, with the rest of his campe about Groninghen, hee went the two and twenty of the sayd moneth with the dukes of Brunswick before Dam which was then held by the Earle of Emdens garrisons, the which after they had battered, in the end they forced it with a furious
F and continuall assault,killing all they met, except Churchmen, women and children: the which the duke of Brunswicke (to satisfie his reuenge) would also haue had massakred, if the duke of Saxony had not staied him.

The duke of Saxony makes an vnreasonable demand of the Frisons.

Henry duke of Brunswike slaine at an assault.

Dam taken by assault.

Notwithstanding the crueltie was exceeding great,and there was much bloud spilt, euen with in the churches, and vpon the Altars, Wherewith the duke of Brunswicks

Vncle

Vncle and Nephew, thinking themſelues well reuenged, retired into their country, and A
the Duke of Saxonie to his campe before Groningen, the which hee did beſiege more
ſtraightly then before: whereof the inhabitants began to grow weary, ſo as in the end
they reſolued to receiue and acknowledge him for their Prince: and to that end they
ſent the Paſtor *Willa*, and ſome others to treate with him in the towne of Leeuwarden,
vpon certaine Articles which they propounded, among others, to beate downe and
raze the Cittadell which the Earle of Emden had built. The Duke accepted of theſe
conditions, and making good cheere vnto the Paſtor and to his companions, hee ſent
them back to their lodging, ſaying, that *the next day hee would diſpatch them*. But the next
day the Paſtor going to receiue his anſwer, hee found the Duke of an other minde, and
that his Councell had diſſwaded him from this accord, vnleſſe the Cittadell might re- B
maine entire and whole: wherevpon they returned without any concluſion. The Gro-
ningeois ſeeing that they could not long continue in that manner; had ſome confe-
rence with the Earle of Emden, ſhewing him their poore eſtate. He (who knew it as well
as themſelues,) was content they ſhould ſeeke for ſuccors of ſome other Prince, & giue
The Groningeois giue themſelues to the Duke of Geldres. themſelues vnto him, aduiſing them to chooſe the Duke of Geldres, vnto whom they
ſent; offring themſelues vpon the ſame conditions, which they had preſented vnto the
Duke of Saxony, and to take vpon him their protection and gouernment: wherevnto
he yeelded preſently; being glad to inlarge his eſtate by that meanes: and therevpon
he ſent them 4000. men for a ſupply, vnder the command of his Marſhall *William van
Ogen* and *Werner Spieghel*. *Euerwin* Earle of Benthem would gladly haue charged theſe C
4000 Geldrois with his black troope: but his ſoldiers knowing what they were, would
not fight againſt them. So as they paſt without any danger vnder the wall, and vnto the
gates of Groningen, whereas they made a ſtand; vntill that their commander had been
in the Towne, and taken directions what was to be done. At their arriuall the Earle of
Emden diſcharged the Groningeois of their othe of fealtie which they had made vnto
him, when as they receiued him for their Lord, thanking them for the loue and honor
they had ſhewed vnto him vntill that day, promiſing at all times to acknowledge it, as
their good neighbour and allie: and therevpon the ſaid Marſhall of Geldres was recei-
ued & acknowledged in the name of the Duke his Prince. The Earle of Emden retiring
the next day, deliuered the Cittadell into the Magiſtrates hands, the which the Bour- D
geſſes hauing in their power, did preſently beat downe to the ground. The lord of Oyen
without any other exploit, retired with his men towards Geldres, promiſing the Gro-
ningeois to come and raiſe the ſiege before Saint *Nicholas* day. In his retreat the Duke
of Saxony with the Friſons, and this black troope fell vpon the Geldrois reer; but not
without loſſe of either ſide. This done, the Friſons returned home, and the Duke to his
The duke of Saxony perplexed for want of money. campe before Groningen. The Duke of Saxony growing bare of money, had not ſo
many voluntary ſoldiers as he was accuſtomed, (for money only workes with the Ger-
maines) and there was no meanes to get any Friſons, for they were too much waſted
and conſumed: neither would they contribute any thing, wherevpon he was forced to
borrow much mony of Abbeys, yea of priuate perſons, whom he knew to haue mony. E
He alſo made a demand to the States, who required a day to aduiſe, and in the meane-
time the Geldrois returned with great forces into Friſland, and made themſelues mai-
The Geldrois enter Friſland with an army. ſters of the ſeauen Foreſts, Gheeſter-land, Staueren, Sloten, Sneck, Bolſweart, Win-
bridſeradeel, and Oonſeradel: So as the dukes demand was made fruſtrate: and after-
wards the Friſons paide him no impoſitions whatſoeuer, beginning to leane to the
Geldrois party, who promiſed them liberty and freedom; which words the Friſons do
willingly giue eare vnto. Notwithſtanding the Saxons did ſtill hold Dam, Leeuwarden,
Dockom, Franicker & Harlingen, wherby they did for a long time torment the Friſons.
Without doubt Friſland was at that time wonderfully tormented, with the Geldrois
on the one ſide, and the black troope on the other: by the taking of townes, burning of F
The miſerable eſtate of Friſeland. villages and mills, ruining of caſtels, murthers, thefts and robberies of either ſide. If the
ſoldiers entred into any towne, either by ſurpriſe or otherwiſe, they would not depart
before they were paid; which all lay vpon the inhabitants: and when they were paide
in one place, they went vnto another to doe the like. The Sea was not free from
theeues

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A theeues and robbers which hindred the trade and comerce of marchandise and nauigation so as nothing could come into the contry which caused a great derth. If there were any prouision of vitrells in townes, they kept that for themselues, not suffring any to goe forth, so as the poore of the villages died for hongor: for if they had a bit to eate the soldiers pulled it from them.

In the yeare 1515. Prince *Charles* of Austria, hauing taken possession of his contries of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Namur, Lembourg, Luxembourg, &c. falne vnto him by the death of King *Phillip* his father: he arriued at Midelbourg in Zeeland, & from thence went to Ziricxee, in which 2. townes he tooke possession of the country of Zeeland, where he was honorably entertained by the noblemen of the contry, from thence B he went into Holland, where hee did likewise inherit the same County and west Friseland. The 16. of Ianuary in the yeare 1515. died Don *Fernando* king of Arragon, who was in the right of *Isabella* his wife King of Castille, Leon, Granado, &c. in whome fayled the race of the Kings of Arragon descended from the Berengers Earles of Barcellona which race raigned in Spaine 470. yeares & in Sicile, 230. He had for his heyre Prince *Charles* of Austria, sonne to the Lady *Iane* of Arragon and Castill, his daughter and only heire: Duke *George* of Saxony seeing that it was impossible for him to maintaine himselfe any longer in Freeseland, where he had wasted so much of his owne and of other mens; and that the end was worse thē the beginning, hauing this word ordinary in his mouth, that he called the contry of Friseland, in steed of Fryeslandt, Freslandt that is to say, a deuou- C ring contry: for that it had deuoured most of his meanes but he did not confesse that he was neuer satified, and that they had no sooner granted him one Imposition or subsidy, but he exacted an other, and that the bad gouernment of his officers, gaue them still occasions to reuolt: the which doth fall out ordinarily, where as strangers command. He resolued to resigne ouer the interest which he had to some mightier Prince, who by his forces should haue means to reduce them to his obedience; for he did well foresee that the duke of Gelders in like sort would not long hold it. He therfore resolued to resigne the said contry vnto *Charles* of Austria Prince of Spaine: and this resignation was con- cluded in maner as followeth. That Prince *Charles* should pay presently vnto the Duke of Saxony, 70000. Florins: fifty thousand in ready mony, and 20000. in cloth for his D soldiars: and besides that the summe of 300000. Florins at three paiements in consideration whereof the duke should paie his soldiars and retier them all out of the contry of Friseland. The which duke *Henry* his eldest brother should also ratefie, and renounce all the right which he might pretend to the said contry of Freeseland, for the assurance of which resignation, to be made by the said duke *Henry*, the contries of Misnia and Turingen should stand bound. And in this maner the rule of the Saxons ended in Freeseland. This resignation made and concluded, the Burguignons (that is to say the subiects of Prince *Charles*) made a truce for fower monthes with the Geldrois: the Saxons notwithstanding houlding the townes & fortresses, vntil they were deliuered into the Princes power. For the performance wherof *Floris* of Iselsteyn arriued the 3. of Iune, 1515. E with the Duke of Saxons commissioners in the towne of Harlingen, whereas the fort was deliuered him, and he receiued it in his Princes name, taking an oth of the Bourgeses. The like was done at Leeuwarden the cheefe towne and Parliament of the country) touching the Cittadell. But they made some difficulty both there and in other places concerning the oth. But the Lord of Iselsteyn keeping them in awe with this Blacke troupe which was yet in the country, staying for paie in the end they yeelded vnto it: and the said Prince was proclaimed in the towne of Leeuwarden, with great sollemnity and acclamations of the people, and acknowledged Lord of Freesland, the Lord of Iselsteyn accepting it, and causing peeces of Gold and siluer to be cast about, coyned with Prince *Charles* his name. In whose name he made some Gentlemen Frisons Knights; F promising to suffer them to inioy all their Preuiledges such as they had had in the times of the dukes of Saxony. This was the forth time that the Frisons in lesse then twentie yeares did change their Lord and Prince. The Lord of Iselsteyn hauing paied the 70000. Florins in siluer and cloth to the soldiars of the blacke troupe thanked them, and then they were presently entertained by the French King, by

1515. Prince Charles of Austria takes possession of the Netherlands.

The Death of the King of Arragon.

Duke George of Saxony resignes Freeseland, to Prince Charles.

The Lord of Iselsteyn takes possession of Freeseland for prince Charles.

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one of his Collonels, who led them out of Friseland, the which by this means was happily discharged. This done the Lord of Iselstein beeing in the Castell of Leeuwarden he sent for *Bernard Buchodita*, *Hessel Martua*, Doctor *Kempo Martua*, *Goslic Iongama*, *Tyard Bourinania*, *Tyallinck Botina*, *Reinick Camminga*, *Reinick Campstra*, and *Gerold Herama*. To whom in Prince *Charles* his name hee did commit the gouernment of Iustice; for the which they tooke an oth. He did also write vnto the Earle of Emden, being at Dockom, that he should leaue the sayd towne, and retier with all his men out of the country of Friseland, wherevnto he obeyed, fearing the power of this Prince more then the dukes of Saxony. The country of Friseland, beeing deliuered into the hands of the Lord of Iselstein, all the Artillery, which belonged to the duke of Saxony, remained one whole yeare in the castells and forts, the which was deliuered by Inuentary, with a condition to deliuer them, or to paye the value of them within the yeare. The Saxons did also yeeld vp the castell of *Medemblyck* in West-Friseland: then all the dukes officers went out of Friseland, the which remained for a while in some rest, by reason of the truce which was betwixt Prince *Charles* and the duke of Geldres, which was proloniged for three yeares, but twise broken by the Geldrois. In the beginning of the yeare 1516. Prince *Charles* being in Holland, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Francis* the first the French King, to wit, the duke of Vendosme and the bishop of Paris, well accompanied, to congratulate his comming to the crowne of the realmes of Spaine: and to so many goodly estates which hee did inherit by the death of his Grandfather *Don Ferdinando* of Arragon. The Prince being at the Hage, there was speech of a marriage betwixt Prince *Ferdinand* of Austria, brother to Prince *Charles*, with the sister of *Lewis* King of Hungary, wherein there was great diuersity of opinions. There was also concluded by the aduice of the Emperor *Maximilian*, the mariage of *Christerne* the 2. King of Denmarke, & Lady *Isabella*, sister to the Princesse of Austria. For which effect the Bishop of Dronten was sent Ambassador for the King of Denmarke into Holland, with a great conuoy of ships, beeing accompanied with the chiefe Nobility of the Realme, to receiue the sayd Princesse in their name, according to the treaty of marriage, and to conduct her to the King her spouse. And to attend on her, there were appointed on the behalfe of Prince *Charles*, the Lady of Chymay with a goodly traine of ladies and gentlewomen: and for their conuoy at sea, *Philip* of Bourgongne Admirall of the Netherlands, the Lords of Faleze, Cortgeene & Chasteau, and other noblemen and gentlemen, with a great number of ships of Holland and Zeland. This Princesse with all her fleet had great tempests and a dangerous passage. Prince *Charles* desirous to imitate the ancient custome of his Predecessors dukes of Bourgongne in the conuocation of a generall chapter of the order of the golden fleece, wherewith the greatest Kings and Princes of Christendome are commonly honored, (if they be obseruers of the relligious ceremonies thereof) and the most worthy and valiant noblemen, as wel vassals of the house of Bourgongne as others. And to hold a sollemne feast of the order in the same manner that the good duke *Philip* of Bourgongne his great great grandfather had instituted it, continued by his other Predecessors vnto his time. Hee began to hold this feast the 26. of October in his Pallace at Brusselles, continuing three daies togither in diuers habits: *Frederic* of Baden bishop of Vtrecht finding himselfe sick, and very weake of al his members so as hee could no more gouerne his estate, nor defend his subiects from the Inuasions of their enemies the Geldrois and others, after that hee had gouerned his bishoprike about 20. years. He was perswaded to resigne it, (as wel by the motion of the Emperor *Maximilion*, as of Prince *Charles* his councell) to some one of the house of Bourgongne, pretending in time to make the temporall Iurisdiction of Vtrecht to fall into the house of Austria, as it did. The which hee did vnto *Phillippe* of Bourgongne, bastard Sonne to the good duke *Philippe* of Bourgongne; and brother vnto *Dauid*, who had beene Bishoppe of Vtrecht before *Frederic* of Baden. Hee was now growne so olde beeing Admirall at the sea, as hee left it to bee admitted in the sayd Bishoprike, whereof hee tooke possession and made his entrie in the yeare 1516. where hee was honourablie receiued as well by the Clergie as the temporaltie of the sayd Towne and Countrie of Vtrecht. Hee was much respected of them and beloued for his peceable

A B C D E F

The gouernment of iustice committed to nine Frisons.

Ambassadors from the French King to Prince Charles.

The bishop of Vtrecht resignes his bishoprike.

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A peaceable gouerment, he like vnto his brother *Dauid*, very curious to adorne the Temples and to repaire the Castells.

The truce being broken by the Geldrois, the spoyles of the Bourguignons were not lesse in those times in the countrie of Geldres, then those of the Geldrois in Freezland, doing what mischiefe they could. But soone after the Geldrois found themselues so oppressed in their owne countrie, euen the towne of Arnhem the Metropolitaine of the Dutchie. In the which the Duke was straightly besieged, and so tormented by the Bourguignons, as they could not long haue subsisted, if the French King had not beene a mediator and procured them a truce, the which was granted for six monthes, but it lasted not long for when as they came to proclaime it in such places as the Duke held

1527. The Duke of Gelders besieged in Arnhem.

A truce concluded.

B in Freezland, the Captaines Geldrois, did not onely reiect it but committed strange outrages: for the Captaine of the castel of Rheemstick caused him that had brought this treatie to be put into a sacke, and cast into the water. *Arkelens* chiefe of the men of war in the towne of Sneeke, cast the messenger in prison that came vnto him, and would haue intreated him in this same manner, if his father had not beene a dweller in Sneeke, and if the inhabitants had not sued for him, *Goldsteyn* captaine of the towne of Doc-

Outrages done by the Geldrois to breake the truce.

kom forced the messenger to eat and swallow downe the writing of the accord of this truce, the which contained aboue six sheets of paper, the which the said Captaines did, for that they would not yeeld to any peace nor truce. The Geldrois hauing absolutly refused the truce; imploied all their best meanes, to draw the Frisons to the obedience

C of the Duke of Geldres. And thereupon *Arkelens* the Dukes Lieutenant caused the deputies of the townes of Freezland to be assembled the tenth of Nouember. 1517. producing a certaine letter written by his master letting them vnderstand that it was neuer his intention to abandon the country of Freezland, nor the good inhabitans thereof, neither at the instant would he leaue them, but rather hazard body and goods to maintaine and preserue them; and that whatsoeuer concerning them had beene giuen out, and affirmed by the Bourguignons was a meere lie to distract his good subiects by such false practises; and that so long as they should remaine faithfull vnto him, they should find him well affected vnto them. The Cittizens answered that so they would, and desired to liue his most faithfull subiects euen vnto the last breath. The Lieutenant was exceeding glad of this answere; and that he had perswaded them thereunto: for that

The Duke writes vnto the Frisons.

D he did greatly doubt, that the commons would ioyne with the Bourguignon partie. The Geldrois hauing twise broken the truce, oppressing and molesting the subiects of Prince *Charles*, both by sea and land, without any respect; who durst not reuenge themselues in Freezeland. Those that held the Princes partie, were forced to send for deputies to Vtrecht, to an assemblie that was held there, Doctor *Kempo Martua*, *and Thyart Bourma* made knights and counselors to Prince *Charles*, to show vnto the ambassadors and deputies of princes, the rebellion and obstinacie of the Geldrois perfidious breakers of the truce. Intreating that noble assemblie, to take some course in that behalfe, that the Geldrois might obey, or else that order might be taken; such as they should thinke fittest for their better securitie. In the meane time *Arkelens* went into

Deputies of the Frisons of the Bourgongne partie sent to Vtrecht.

E Geldres to the Duke his maister where hauing staied sometime, he was dismissed from his charge; & *Martin van Rossem* Seignior of Puydroyen being substituted in his place. They came both together into Freezeland, being arriued there, *Rossem* called an assemblie in the towne of Sneeke, of the states which held the duke of Geldres partie; to appeare there the second of August, where among other poynts he propounded, that the impostes of wine, beere, & such other like things should be take away, as they were already in those townes which held the Bourguignon party for that the commodities which did pay a custome to the Geldrois, were transported into the townes of the Bourguignon faction, to be freed, to the great preiudice of the duke and the townes vnder his

Demands of the Duke of Gelders to the Frisons.

F obedience. That the said impostes being taken away, they should finde some meanes, to entertaine their troopes, and to defray other charges of the countrie. Vppon which proposition after long consultation, it was resolued that the impostes should bee taken away, and that they should agree to giue him a yearely summe of money, towards the maintenance of his house and state. There were also certaine articles propounded by

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the saide states, which they required to haue confirmed by the Duke; the which *Arkelens* carried with him, promising to make a good report, and to do his best indaeuour to procure the Duke to ratefie them. A

A notable Pirate. There was a certaine Pirate at sea called *Grand-Pierre* or great *Peter*, with the Duke of Geldres commission who made as great spoiles at sea as the Geldrois did at land, for there were not any ships which past him, from North or South, Esterlins or others, but they were all good prize. But aboue all, he did seeke to ruine the Hollanders; for as many as he tooke he threw them ouer-boord with out pittie or mercy. The 28 of September, after many great spoiles which this *Grand-Pierre* had done at sea, being 25. ships strong; in the which he had 1200. men, giuing it out that he went to Harderwycke to the duke, he directed his course towards Horne, hauing landed his men couertly B

Horne surprised by a Pirat and spoiled. for want of good guard hee surprised the towne by Scaladoe, hauing spoiled it, and his men laden with pillage, hee retired presently to his shipps. At his returne, hee met with a ship of Enchuysen, the which he borded himselfe, and cast the maister and his seruant ouer into the sea, for that they were Hollanders. After the death of *Don Fernando* of Arragon King of Spaine, Prince *Charles* of Austria, Duke of Bourgongne &c. Earle of Holland, Zeeland &c. receiued letters from Pope *Leo* the 10. and the Emperour *Maximillian* his grand-father. With others written vnto Cardinall *Pimero*, and the Councell of Spaine; by the which they required them to receiue and inuest Prince *Charles* in the realmes of Castille, Leon, Arragon &c. These letters being red

Prince Charles sent for to receiue the Crowne of Castile, Arragon, &c. in Spaine, some would haue apposed; and among others *Don Piedro Giron* eldest sonne C to the Earle of Vrenare; who by descent and genealogy pretended to showe that he was the neareſt (after Queene *Iane*, who was benummed of her members) to the crowne of the saide realmes; thinking this occasion to be happely falne out for him, by the death of *Don Fernando* father to *Iane*. Cardinall *Pimero* seeing this beginning of an alteration (which might haue turned into a ciuill warre) by the aduice of the deceased Kings Councell, sent presently for Prince *Charles*: who was then in the Netherlands; to come with all speed and receiue the possession of the saide realmes. These letters being come to the Court at Brusselles it was decreed, that before his departure out of the saide country he should make choyce of some one to gouerne those countries in his absence. For the which the Emperour *Maximillian* his Grandfather, was appointed as Curator, but for that he was for the most part absent out of those Countries, D and at that time busied in Germanie and in the warres of Italie, he appointed the Lady Marguerit his daughter widdow douager to the duke of Sauoye, aunt to Prince *Charles* to be Regent and Gouernesse of the Netherlands, as she had bene in the yeare 1508. The Lord of Cheures his gouernor, remaining neare his person. The which being thus appointed and all his equipage ready, the Prince accompanied with the knights of the

Prince Charles goes into Spaine. order and the states of the Netherlands, with many Princes, Barons Knights and gentlemen, parted from Brabant and arriued in Iune, 1517. at Middelbourg in Zeeland, where he staied till the twelfe of August, and then with a prosperous winde he had a short and happy passage, comming to the coaste of Spaine about the towne of Tassone in the countrie of Asturia. The country-men of the quarter seeing so great an armie E at sea, feared they had bene the French or some other pirats and enemies: so as hauing hidden their wiues and children in the mountaines, they presented themselues in armes, vpon the sea-shoare. Prince *Charles* reioiced to see them, & hauing commanded

Prince Charles arriues in Spaine. to put forth their standards, ensignes, banderolls and flags with his armes, he caused them to cry *Spaine Spaine*, where-at casting downe their armes, they fell vpon their knees, receiuing him with great ioy: being landed in Spaine, he marched by land from one towne to an other, where he was honourably receiued by the chiefe nobillity of the realme, hauing attended his comming at Valiodolit, where he made his entry with a royall and stately pompe. F

1518 The Coronation of the King of Spaine. The Prince hauing staied there about sixe monthes, in February. 1518. They beganne his coronation in Saint *Pauls* Church. To this solemnitie came many great Princes strangers: the Ambassadors of Kings, Princes, and Christian Potentates; the chiefe officers of the crowne of Castile, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and the greatest

A greateſt of all Spaine were there,euery man in his ranke and degree.The chiefe Noblemen of the Netherlands had followed the Prince to ſhew themſelues at this coronation: among others thoſe of the houſe of Melun, of Croy, Lalain, Egmont, Boſſu, Berghen, Lygnel, Horne, Lanoy, and many other Barons and Knights, euery one richly attired, in emulation of the Noblemen of Spaine, both in their owne apparell, and in their liueries, and the furniture of their horſes: Wherein they did not onely equall the Spaniards,but exceeded them.

On the 7. of February Prince *Charles* was crowned with the ſolemnities and ceremonies accuſtomed at the coronation of the Kings of Caſtile. This done, the King and the Queene his Mother, ſitting in their Throne, *Don Garcia* did read the othe with
B a lowde voyce (the which was great and ſollemne) the which the Prelates, Princes, and Gouernours of Prouinces and Townes, were accuſtomed to take to his Predeceſſors Kings of Caſtile. Wherefore all thoſe that were bound to that othe drew neere and preſented themſelues,euery one ſwearing vpon the holy Euangeliſt, and then they kiſt the Kings hand. The firſt was Prince *Ferdinand* the Kings Brother, then the Lady *Elenor* his ſiſter,and after came the Prelates,as Archbiſhops, Biſhops,and other Cleargie men. This othe being taken, *Don Garcia* did read with a lowd voyce, the homage of a loyall vaſſall, the which the Princes and Noblemen were to doe: The firſt of the which alſo was Prince *Ferdinand* and his Siſter, who did their homage, in the hands of *William* of *Croy*, Lord of Cheures, Gouernour to the King: either of them putting
C their hands ioyned into the ſayd Lords hands, who receiued them in the Kings name. This homage done, the King cauſed Prince *Ferdinand* to ſit downe by him, in a ſeate appointed for that purpoſe, where ſitting bare-headed, hee receiued (in the King his Brothers name) the homages of all the Princes and Noblemen of the realme, who after they had deliuered their hands into Prince *Ferdinands*, kiſſed the Kings hands: This ceremonie being ended, *Te deum* was ſong, and the Trumpets and clarions ſounded. Then the King retired to his Pallace, being alwayes accompanied by the Princes and Noblemen on foote, none being on horſe-back but Prince *Ferdinand*, and the Ambaſſadors to the Emperour, Pope, Kings of France. England, and of Portugall, and of the Seigneurie of Venice. The remainder of the dayes of this
D feaſt were ſpent in Tylt, Tourney, Dancing and other ſports, and ſo the feaſt ended with all ioy and content. From that time the Kings affaires began to proſper more and more, all his ſubiects of his Realmes of Spaine comming to yeeld him obedience and fealtie.

Wee haue before made mention of that Blacke troupe, which (the Duke of Saxonie hauing payed them) were ſent out of Friſeland, and that a French Collonel had entertained them; but hauing neither money nor meanes to imploy them, they continued eating and ſpoyling in the high dioceſſe of Vtrecht, about Deuenter; from thence they went into the countrie of Geldres, from whence the Duke cauſed them to diſlodge, where-vpon they thruſt themſelues into the country of Cleues. Theſe gal-
E lants with-out care or feare of any man,continued there ſo long,vntill that the Dukes of Cleues and Geldres, the Biſhop of Cologne, and the Earle of Naſſau, (hauing gathered together three thouſand horſe, and ſome good troopes of foote) went to ſeeke them. They had made ſome accord with the Earle of Naſſau; but the Wallons hauing defeated 1200. at one charge, the commons ſeeing this, fell vpon the great troope, being yet in their trenches, who were ſo amazed, as abandoning armes and all, euery man ſought how to ſaue himſelfe, and ſo theſe inſolent ſoldiars which had done ſo much miſchiefe, were defeated and diſperſed: a great number of them were ſlaine by the peaſants, and afterwards many of them were taken and executed by the hand of Iuſtice: eſpecially all thoſe that were knowne to haue beene at the ſacke of
F the towne of Aſpren; the bloud of Innocents crying vp to heauen for vengeance againſt thoſe execrable murtherers. The blacke troope defeated.

The Emperour *Maximilian* beeing diſcharged of the Gardienſhip of Prince *Charles* his grand-child; hee tooke his leaue of him and of the Noblemen of the Netherlands, taking his way towards Germanie, where after that hee had diſpoſed of

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his affaires, returning from an Imperiall diet at Ausbourg, hee fell ſicke at Inſpruck A
of a flux, which grewe by weakeneſſe, from whence for his eaſe hee was tranſported
to the towne of Velſe, whereas his infirmitie did ſo increaſe daily, as the Phiſitions
deſpaired of his helth.

There hee made his laſt will and teſtament: by the which among other things hee
did expreſly forbid them to imbalme his bodie, but they ſhould find out a coffin of
oake, in the which hee would bee buried, ſaying, that therein they ſhould finde all
things neceſſary for a dead bodie, which was a courſe canuaſe ſheete, wherein his
bodie ſhould bee ſowed: ordayning that they ſhould fill his eares, eyes and mouth
full of lime, and ſo put his bodie into this coffin of oake, and cauſe it to bee interred.
The Emperors will for the burying of his body. Aboue three yeares before his death hee had alwaies carried this coffin about with B
him, whereſoeuer he went, lockt vp in an other cofer of iron, whereof hee himſelfe had
the keye, the which hee would euery night haue carefully carryed into his chamber:
which made many to coniecture that there was ſome great treaſure in it. His ſick-
neſſe increaſing, hee diſpoſed himſelfe to die, remitting himſelfe vnder the Standard
of fayth, with a full confidence in the merits and ſatiſfaction made by the bloud and
paſſion of IESVS CHRIST our Lord: and recommending his ſoule vnto GOD,
he gaue vp the Ghoſt, the twelfth of February 1519. beeing fifty nine yeares old, one
The death of the Emperor Maximilian. 1519. month and one day, hauing beene Emperor 32. yeares and a leauen monethes. Then
beeing layed in this coffin, according to this decree, he was carryed to Nyeuſtadt, and
burried by his mother the Ladie *Elenor* daughter of Portugall. Hee was a Prince in- C
dued with ſingular vertues: hee ſpent one part of his life priuately among learned
men: with whome hee diſcourſed familiarly of diuinitie; of all partes of Philoſophy,
but eſpecially of Phiſick, of the Mathematikes and of the Hiſtories of all ages: quick-
His courſe & life. ning his wit daylie with the reading and meditation of theſe things: ſo as by his ex-
ample; his exhortations, and the recompences which hee promiſed, the knowledge
of hiſtories in Germany was reuiued, beeing then buried in Barbariſme, and igno-
rant of the pinciples of true and ſollide learning, ſo as before him there was not any
Prince, that either priuatly or publickely did inrich Germanie with more excel-
lent guiftes then hee did. Hee was a great louer of Phiſicke. And for that hee
was very curious in the ſerch of Antiquities, hee cauſed *Cuſpinian*, *Nauclerus*, *Con-
rade Putinger* and *Iames Manlius* to write generall hiſtories from the beginning of D
the world. He did incite certaine others, as *Ladiſlas*, *Suntheius* and *Stabius* to ſerch
out and write without flatterie or corruption, the auncient familes of Ger-
manie, the Nobilitie whereof hee knewe in olde time to haue beene verie great,
wherein hee ſpent great ſummes of money. The other Noble Princes of Ger-
many mooued by the example of this Emperour, beganne to ſhew themſelues in the
like zeale and affection to the knowledge of hiſtories and learning. And then they
beganne to erect many vniuerſities.

After the death of this Emperor, they found that the Aſſemblie of the ſeauen Prin-
ces Electors of Germanie did auaile much for the quiet of all Europe for matters in-
clyning to ſome great alteration, the dignity of the Empire and the forme of publike E
gouernment was maintayned by the wiſedome, conſtancy, vnion and fidelity of the
ſayd Princes Electors. *Albert* of Brandebourg Archbiſhoppe of Mentz, Prince Elec-
An aſſembly at Francfort for the chooſing of a newe Emperor. tor, and Chancellor of the Empire throughout all Germanie, hauing newes of
this death, gaue notice thereof (according to his charge) to the Princes Electors,
and called them all to Francfort vpon the riuer of Mayn, to proceed vnto the election
of a new Emperour: whether they came all, *Videlicet*. *Albert* himſelfe, *Herman*
Earle of Weda, Archbiſhoppe of Cologne, *Richard* Archbiſhoppe of Treues. *Ladiſlas*
of Sterneberg Ambaſſador to *Lewis* King of Bohemia, *Lewis* Count Palatin of Rhine,
Frederic duke of Saxony and *Ioachin* Marquis of Brandebourg. F

The ſeauenteene day of Iune in the ſame yeare 1519. they aſſembled all in Saint Bar-
tlemewes Church at Francfort, where after the accuſtomed ceremonies, the Princes
in their habits of Electors, approched to the Altar, where in the preſence of a great
multitude, they did ſollemnly ſweare, faithfully to obſerue all the Articles

of

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A of the election contained in the golden Bull of *Charles* the fourth, the which to that effect was publickly read before them all: from thence the Princes Electors alone entred into the Vestry of the said Temple, where they had beene accustomed for a long time to make the like elections. The Archbishop of Mentz opened the cause of their assembly, and after some preface of honor and prayers done vnto God, to direct the whole assembly of the Electors: wherein he gaue a testimony of his wisedome, piety, fidelitie, and sincere affection to the publicke good and quiet: the chiefe point of his discourse was to exhort them to vnion, and to auoyde all occasions of ciuill warre in the Empire. Alledging to that purpose what had happened in the times of other Emperors, namely of *Lewis* the gentle, *Henry* the first, the *Ottons*, *Henry* the fourth, *Conrard*
B of Suabe, *Lothaire* of Saxony, and others: where by the discord of Electors infinite miseries haue fallen vpon the Empire. Hee added more-ouer, that this discord had caused trouble and schisme in religion. That at this present the threatning of the Turke, who conspired against the liberty and religion of Christians, especially of Germanie: and the threates of some Princes, who sought occasions to sowe troubles, and to deuide the Germaines, should admonish the Electors to remember their oth, wherby they were chiefely bound to preuent all sedition.

After many other speeches to the same purpose, the Electors hauing had some short conference together, they commended the Elector of Mentz for his zeale and affecti- A commendable thing in the Electors.
on to the publicke state, protesting that they would therein indeuour to follow his ad-
C uice, and to be of one minde and consent if it were possible. This was spoken in the name and behalfe of them all, by the Marquis of Brandebourg, to whom his companions gaue the charge, in respect of his eloquence: for then the Princes were so vnited, as without any emulation, they did willingly yeeld one vnto another, and were carefull not to blemish the graces which their companions might haue, respecting therein the publick good. To conclude, according to the custome of the ancient Germaines, they resolued to ioyne loue and plainesse together: and without doubt they were so nobly affected, as they would neuer shew their passions, in any of their consultations which concerned the publick good; nor conceiue in their hearts any bad conceit against their brethren, especially in affaires of consequence: the Electors deferred their resolution Ambassadors from Prince Charles to the Electors.
D vntill the next day. In the meane time the Ambassadors of Prince *Charles* Archduke of Austria, Duke of Bourgongne, Earle of Holland, &c. and King of Castile, &c. arriued at Ments. They intreated the Electors to remember *Charles* in their election; adding some-thing of his vertues: they did also put them in minde, that the Emperour *Maximilian* had recommended his grand-childe vnto them, the which hee would not haue done, being so good & so wise a Prince, if he had not knowne it to be for the good of the Empire.

In the meane time the Ambassadors of *Francis* the first the French King were Ambassadors from the French King.
at Coblents on Conflans, from whence they did sollicite for their Maister, who had some Electors fauourable to his party: the which as some Histories say, had giuen
E King *Francis* incouragement to affect it. These Ambassadors did extoll their Princes vertues all they could, pretending many reasons why hee should be chosen before any other. The Princes Electors hauing receiued letters from the Ambassadors of France and Spaine, made answer in few words: *That they were exceeding glad of the good af-* The electors answer to the Ambassadors.
fection which both Kings carryed vnto the Empire: But as for the election, they did hope that GOD would giue them the grace, to carry themselues faithfully, and as they were bound by othe, and by the lawes and ordinances of their Predecessors When they came to consult touching the election: the Archbishop of Mentz, hauing conferred priuately with *Fredericke* Duke of Saxony, (who was in great credit and authority among them all) The Elector of Mentz his speech.
began his Oration, vtterly reiecting the French King, for the aduancement of King
F *Charles*, describing and setting downe his good disposition, his great meanes, the benefit which the Empire might hope for and expect, and with-all his beginning, being issued and descended out of Germanie, holding him as a naturall Germaine, where they must finde and choose themselues an Emperour, and not among strangers: concluding in the end in fauour of *Charles*.

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After that hee had ended his ſpeech, hee perſwaded, the other Electors to deliuer A
The Elector of Treues ſpeech. their opinions, who after they had conferred ſome-what togither, they intreated *Richard* Archbiſhoppe of Treuer, Prince Elector, to ſpeake, for he was much eſteemed for his iudgement and experience in affaires of State: who contrarie to the opinion of him of Mentz, maintained, that the King of Spaine was no more to bee admitted, then he of France: in whoſe honour hee ſpake verie highly: ſaying that the ſame reaſons that hee of Mentz had obiected againſt him, were lyable alſo againſt the King of Spaine: and therefore hee concluded that the French King for the ripeneſſe of his age, for his valour and experience in warre (Germanie hauing great neede of ſuch a Captaine againſt the Turke) ſhould bee preferred before the King of Spaine beeing young and without experience. And if the lawe did forbid them to chooſe B a Frenchman, that it was of the ſame force againſt a Spaniard. Or els if neither the one nor the other were to bee admitted, then they ſhould aduiſe among all the Princes of the Empire, to chooſe one that had not liued any where but in Germanie, that was a Germaine by birth, in his manners, minde and language, deliuering manie reaſons, why and howe that might bee donne, againſt the allegations of him of Mentz vppon that point, *Saying that the meanes were eaſie to finde, by the which an Emperour choſen out of their owne Nation might maintaine his authoritie and that of the Empire, both at home and a broade and ſo hee ended his ſpeech.*

Frederic duke of Saxony ſpake next: who hauing ſhewed that the French King was excluded by the lawe, and that *Charles* was a Germaine Prince, hauing liued in C
The Elector of Saxonies ſpeech. Germany and ſpake the language; hee concluded that the common-weale had neede of a mightie Prince, and that he knewe not any comparable to *Charles*. Therefore it was moſt conuenient to chooſe him Emperour, but with certaine lawes and conditions; ſo as Germany might remaine at libertie, and that they might auoyde thoſe dangers which the two Archbiſhops ſayd were to be feared. After that the reſt had approued his ſpeech the Archbiſhoppe of Treues ſayd, *I fore-ſee the deſtinie of Germanie, & an alteration at hand, yet ſeeing it pleaſeth you. I muſt yeeld vnto your willes.* And for that it was then late they retired themſelues,

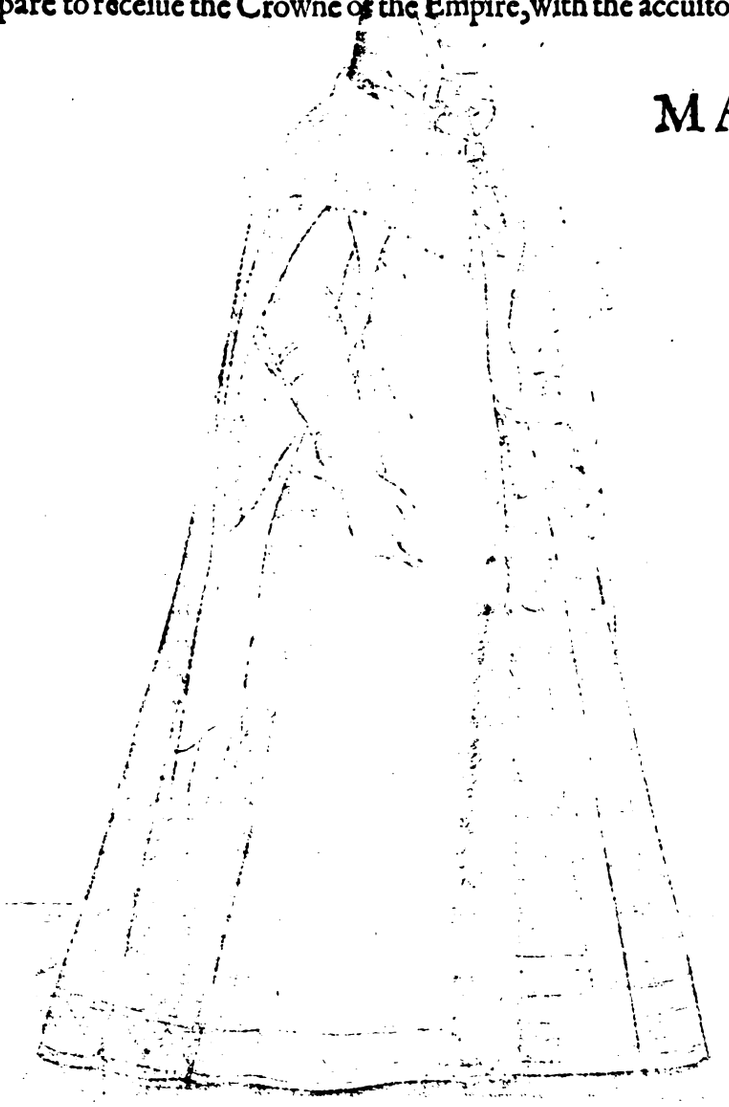
Pope *Leo* the tenth was much troubled, and in a worde, feared the election of one of theſe two Princes, for both were alike ſuſpect vnto him. To the ende that hee D
might preuent both of them, hee labored to haue a third man choſen. Wherein hee ſought to imbarke the French King, putting him in diſpaire euer to attaine vnto it himſelfe. But hee feared alſo this third, ſeeing no man ſo apparent and likelie, as *Frederic* duke of Saxony, a fauorer of *Martin Luther*, who was his mortall enemie: yet
Charles King of Spaine choſen Emperor. all theſe deuiſes and practiſes turned to ſmoke: and ſo did all the ſolicitings, guiftes, preſents and promiſes, made by the French King: the election of *Charles* remayning firme and conſtant.

The next day after the ſayd election: the Princes Electors beeing aſſembled, they beganne to treat of the conditions they ſhould giue and preſcribe vnto *Charles*, the which was debated ſome daies togither; and in the ende all beeing concluded, they E
ſent the lawes and conditions in writing to *Charles* his Ambaſſadors remayning at *Mentz*. After they had receiued them, they put in writing the voices of euery Elector, according to the cuſtome with his hand and ſeale. The day before the ſayd Election, they had preſented the Empire to *Frederic* duke of Saxony, but hee refuzed it, with a Noble reſolution; excuſing himſelfe vpon his age, hauing (as wee haue ſayd) alreadie giuen his voice vnto *Charles*. This done the Noblemen were called, and admitted in, then the Biſhop of *Mentz* going vp into the pulpit in Saint Bartlemewes Church, declared that *Charles* the fift of that name, Archduke of Auſtria, duke of Bourgongne &c. Earle of Flanders, Holland, Zeeland &c. and King of Spaine, was choſen King of Romains, in the place of the Emperor *Maximilian* deceaſed. Then F
the Ambaſſadors which were come within a league, were ſent for. Beeing come, a councell was held for the gouernment of the common-weale: and the charge was giuen vnto Prince *Caſimir* to leauie men, and to put them in garriſon, for feare of ſome Innouation. The Electors did write vnto Prince *Charles* and ſent an Ambaſſage

A Ambaſſage vnto him, to certifie him of all that had beene done; the chiefe of which Ambaſſage was the Pallatin *Frederic*, who arriued in Spaine in the end of Nouember with Letters; intreating him to accept of the Empire, which they offred him; and that hee would make haſt to come into Germanie. King *Charles* hauing ſetled his affaires in Spaine, hee gathered together a great fleete of ſhips and gallyes, and taking leaue of his Princes and Citties, hee imbarked and landed in England, where hee was ioyfully entertained with great ſtate, by King *Henry* the eight, and by the Queene his Aunte, and by the French Queene (married to the Duke of Suffolke) the Kings ſiſter; who had beene promiſed to him in marriage, ſhe gaue him a very kinde and louely welcome. Hee was very honourably intreated there for ſome dayes; then being imbarked
B againe with a proſperous winde, he paſt ſoone ouer to Fleſſinghe, and from thence into Brabant, where he was ioyfully receiued by all his ſubiects. The Princes Electors hearing that hee was arriued in Brabant, they ſent other Ambaſſadors vnto him, to haue him prepare to receiue the Crowne of the Empire, with the accuſtomed ceremonies.

Charles King of Spaine comes into England.

MARGVE-



MARGVERITE OF AVSTRIA, PRINcesse widow of Castille, Dowager of Sauoy, Aunte to the Emperour *Charles* the 5. Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands.



MARGARITA AVSTRIACA DVCISSA SABAV. GVB. BELGICÆ.

From Daughter to an Archduke, I became
An Emperors Daughter: to King Lewis *ſonne*
I firſt was promiſed with pompe and Fame,
But my place in his bed another wun:

The Prince of Arragon was my firſt Pheere,
But being left a widdow, I did wed
For ſecond, Duke of Sauoy, he being dead,
I from my Nephew did the gouernment beare.

The

THe Lady *Marguerite* of Auſtria, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and to the Lady *Mary* of Bourgongne, was firſt married to the Prince *Don Fernando* of Artagon, the onely ſonne of *Don Fernando* King of Arragon, and of *Iſabella* Queene of Caſtile, which Prince died ſoone after, leauing no children. Afterwards the ſaid Lady was married againe to the Duke of Sauoy, with whom ſhe liued not long before he dyed. Returning into the Netherlands after the death of her brother *Philip* King of Caſtile, in the yeare 1508, ſhe was by prouiſion admitted by the Emperor her father, during his abſence in Germanie, and the warres in Italy, to the gouernment of the Netherlands, with *George* Duke of Saxony. So as this yeare 1520. King *Charles* her Nephew went into Germanie to receiue the Crowne of the Empire, leauing the ſaid Lady his Aunte Gouerneſſe in his abſence.

The Emperor elect parted from Bruſſells with a great and honorable traine, & came the 20. of October to Cologne, where the Princes Electors did attend him, and from thence they came to *Aix la Chapelle*: At his entry into the towne, the Knights of the order of the Golden-fleece marched firſt, euery one in his ranck, according to his antiquitie in the ſaid order. After followed the Princes Electors: firſt the King of Bohemias Ambaſſador, the Archbiſhop of Ments, either of them with 700. horſe: The Archbiſhops of Cologne and Treues, either of them with 600. horſe; the Cont Pallatin of Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandebourg, euery one of them with 600. horſe. There were beſides other great Princes which followed to do him honour and homage for their Seigniories: being accompanied with many Nobles and great traines. As the Duke of Iulliers, *George* Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Baden, the Dukes *Henry* and *Erick* of Brunſwick, brethren, euery one of them with 600. horſe: the Biſhop of Leege, the Duke of Lunebourg, father to the Ducheſſe of Geldre, the Earle of Emden, and his ſonne the Lord of Eaſt-Friſeland, the young Prince of Cleues, who was alwaies with the Emperor, the Earle of Saint Pol, and many others with a ſtately traine. Then the Ambaſſadors of the Kings of England, Poland, Hongarie, and Denmarke, of the Venetians, the Dukes of Sauoy, of the Knights of Rhodes, and of the great Maiſter of Pruſſia. The Lady *Marguerit* his Aunte was in the traine with a goodly company of Princeſſes, Counteſſes, Ladies and Gentlewomen, euery one with her attendance in goodly equipage. There were in all full 15000. horſe, as well barded as archers, and thoſe of the Emperors houſe-hold, Spaniards, Wallons, Germaines and other nations; marching quite through ths Cittie, and going out at another Porte, to lodge abroad, for there was ſcarce roome in the Citty to lodge the Maiſters. The Emperor approching neere the Porte, the Chanoins, and the foure orders of begging Friars went to meete him, conducting him to the great Church, which they call *Charlemagnes* Chappell, where in two dayes hee was annointed, ſacred and crowned with the firſt Imperiall Crowne, the which was of Yron, with all the ancient ceremonies and ſolemnities accuſtomed; the which are particularly deſcribed in my great Chronicle. Hee remained fiue dayes in the citty of Aix, after his coronation, ſending backe many Noblemen Netherlanders, to prouide for the frontiers. Then hee returned to Cologne, and from thence to Maeſtricke.

1520. The Emperors entry into Aix.

About that time certaine ſhips (which they called Buſſes) being fiſhing for Hearing, were taken at ſea by the commandement of the King of Denmarke, and carried to Copenhagen. *Adolph* of Bourgongne Lord of Beueren, high Admirall to the Emperour, ſent certaine deputies in his Maieſties name vnto the King. In this priſe of ſhips there was one of La Vere in Zeeland, the which being ſeazed on by the Danes; a ſtorme comming, the Marriners of Zeeland became maiſters of them, whom they kept cloſe vnder hatches, vntill they had brought them to la Vere; where they were kept priſoners, vntill that the deputies had obtained a diſcharge for their ſhips from the King of Denmarke: which done, the Admirall attired the Danes that were brought to la Vere, all new, and ſent them home into Denmarke with good vſage. After that the Emperor was parted from Spaine to come into Germany to receiue the Imperial crowne, there

Ships of Holland taken by the Danes.

fell

fell out great troubles, for that *Don Piedro Giron* and others, did riſe in armes, by rea- A
ſon of their freedomes and liberties, complaining of the ſeuere gouernment of the
Lord of Cheures, whom the Emperour had left in Spaine, as if hee would giue all the
offices of the Kingdome to the Netherlanders, and other ſtrangers, excluding the
naturall Spaniards. So beeing in great numbers both of horſe and foote, they mar-
ched directly towards Valliodolit, where without ſtriking ſtroake or any oppoſition,
they carried away Queene *Iane* the Emperors Mother, and all the Councell priſo-
ners to Tordeſillas, diſtant but eight leagues from thence. The which Cardinall
Adrian (borne at Vtrecht, who had ſometimes beene the Emperors Scholemaſter) ſee-
ing, hauing beene appointed gouernor with the Admirall of Caſtille, did leauy men al-
ſo, to make head againſt them, hauing firſt ſommoned them by deputies, to ſubmit them B
ſelues, and returne to their accuſtomed obedience, with promiſes of the Emperors
ſpeedy returne. To whome they made a bould and a preſumptuos anſwere: that they
did their duties to marry their Queene, widdow to King *Philip* & mother to the Empe-
ror, to the duke of Calabria, ſonne to King *Frederic* expelled from Naples, to make him
King of Caſtille. But being obſtinate, and not willing to yeeld to any reaſon, they were
ſurprized in Tordeſillas, and the Queene deliuered out of their hands: ſo as ſome were
puniſhed with death, others baniſhed.

When as *Martin van Roſſein* Lord of Puydroien had diſcharged for a time the Of-
fice of gouernor of Friſeland for the duke of Geldre, finding that the priuate gouer-
nors, captaines, and other Officers, ſought more their owne priuate profit, then the ſer- C
uice of their Prince, or the good of the common-weale, and not able to endure it, hee
parted from Sneck and returned into Geldres, acquainting the duke with the cauſes for
the which he would giue ouer his place. Wherevpon their was a new gouernor ſent in-
to Friſeland in his place, which was *Chriſtopher* Earle of Mæurs, a man of great reſpect
and authority. In the meane time the prolongation of the truce for a yeare beganne to
weare away, wherevpon it was continued againe for two yeares more. During the
which the Geldrois did not forbeare to rob and ſteale both by ſea and land: the which
the poore ſoules of the Bourguignon were faine to beare, beeing forced to obſerue
the Articles of the contract, ſo as in ſuffring they had nothing left them but that good-
ly vertue patience.

The Earle of Mæurs ſent gouernor into Friſeland.

About the time of the Emperors coronation the Geldrois did carry themſelues ſo D
inſolently, as without reſpect of truce or any thing elſe, they tooke the towne of
Nieuport, right againſt Schoonhouen in Holland, the which they did ſpoile and burne.
The Bourguignons vanquiſhed with impatience, purſued them, ſo as they tooke ſome
priſoners, and among the reſt ſome gentlemen of good houſes, who were executed and
layed vpon wheeles, as theeues and robbers. The Friſons of the Bourguignon party hea-
ring that the Emperor ſhould hold an Imperiall diet at *Wormes* in Germany, ſent
their deputies thether, *Kempo Martua* a knight of the councell of Friſeland, and *Sy-
brand Roorda*, to beſeech his Imperiall Maieſty and the Princes of the Empire, that they
might be once freed and deliuered from the oppreſſions, and outrages, which the Gel-
drois did them. To which petition they had a fauorable anſwere, the Emperor excuſ- E
ſing himſelfe for that he had no ſooner prouided for it: with promiſe to redreſſe it ſpee-
dily. Afterwards *William* of Rogendorf the Emperors Lieutenant in Friſeland, was
called away and diſcharged from his gouernment, & in his place was appointed *George
Schenck* Baron of Tautenbutch, who before had beene Droſſart of Vollenhof, who
came the 24. day of March to Leuwarden with ample commiſſion. The ſayd Lord of
Rogendorf was made generall of the armie which *Philip* of Bourgongne Biſhoppe of
Vtrecht, ſent to paſſe the Zuyderzee, and entred into Cuyndert, where hauing ſtayed
ſome-time and made warre againſt the Geldrois, Friſons, they went on and came to
Lemmer: whether the Earle of Mæurs the duke of Geldres lieutenant had afore F
ſent ſome men, to ſtoppe his paſſage, if happily *Rogendorf* ſhould offer it. Yet notwith-
ſtanding any reſiſtance, hee paſt there, chaſed the Geldrois, ſpoiled and ranſomed
Lemmer, and all the Sea-coaſt towardes the Eaſt. *Rogendorf* hauing thus paſt his
troupes into Friſeland, hee left *Nicholas Wilderſtroff* to commaunde in his place, and

Nieuport by Schoonhouen taken.

The Friſons ſend to the Imperiall diet.

went

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A went to the Court at Brusselles. All this was done to vanquish and tire the Frisons Geldrois, and to drawe them to the Emperours obedience. The Emperor thrust on by Pope *Leo* to suppresse the doctrine of *Martin Luther*, published in the same yeare 1521. his first bloudy Edict against them of the Protestants relligion, whome then by a generall terme they called *Lutherans*, which continued in the Netherlands vnto the yeare 1566. since which time vnto this day they haue called them *Gueux*, as in France the Huguenots, as wee shall hereafter see, but the Spaniards yet call them by the name of *Lutherans*. 1521. The first Edict against them of the religion.

All this time the warre continued in Friseland, betwixt the Bourguignons vnder the command of the Baron of Tautenburche, in the name of the Emperour, hauing
B ioyned with the Bishop of Vtrechts forces vnder *Nicholas* of Wilderstorffe, against the Geldrois and Frison Geldrois, vnder the command of the Earle of Mæurs, of Colonell *Martin van Rossen*, and Captaine *Grand Pierre* for the Duke of Geldres, vnto the yeare 1526. During the which there were many townes and castels taken and recouered againe on eyther side; diuers incounters, skirmishes, and sieges raised; wherewith the whole country was miserably afflicted and ruined, for if the poore country-men of eyther side would keepe any thing, they must of necessitie carrie it into the townes, from whence they might not retire it, when they would. Some writers speake diuersly of the causes and motiues of the warre betwixt the Emperour and the French King. But all concurre that the election of *Charles*, reuiued the old quarrels and bred new. The miserable estate of Friseland.

C The French King had alwayes an eye to the realme of Naples, hauing treated with Pope *Leo* for the recouerie thereof. Hee desired also to restore the King of Nauarre to his kingdome; seeing that the Emperour made no accoumpt to leaue it. On the other side the Emperor was not well pleased to pay the 100000. crownes pension to the French king, according to the accord made with the Lord of Cheures his Gouernour, ratified by the Emperour *Maximilian* his grand-father, for the rights pretended by the French king vpon Naples; Hee did also beare the losse of the Duchie of Bourgongne impatiently, seazed vpon by king *Lewis* the eleuenth, after the death of Duke *Charles*, his great Grand-father by the Mother side, slaine before Nancy. There wanted no quarrell also, touching the Duchie of Milan. As they were about

D to seeke occasions to assaile one another, there was one offered, small in shew at the beginning, but it was the fire-brand to kindle this flame; the which afterwards did thrust the greatest part of Europe into combustion, and made these two Princes, their successors and subiects so to afflict one another, as all the miseries that might be imagined haue followed: and this was the occasion.

There was a sute betwixt the Lord of Aymerie and the Prince of Chimay of the house of Croy, for a Towne in the forrest of Ardennes, called Hierges; and a sentence giuen in fauour of Chimay, by the Peers of the Dutchie of Bouillon; who doe iudge soueraignely without any appeale from their sentences: yet the Lord of Aimery (who had great credit with the Emperor *Charles*, and the chiefe in Court) preuailed so, as
E he obtained letters from the Chancerie of Brabant, to call in the heyres of the Prince of Chimay; to appeare at a certaine day, and to heare the reasons of Aimery if need were, and to see the sentence giuen in their fauour disanulled. They seeing the wrong that was offered them, repaired to *Robert* of *Marcke* Duke of Bouillon, as to their Lord and Protector, that he might defend the liberties and priuiledges of his Duchie, being withall Tutor vnto Chimays children, hauing married their Aunte. Whereupon the Duke did what he could possible to maintaine his rights: but seeing that they meanes to depriue him, he addressed himselfe to the French king, with whom he found meanes to make his peace (being before in some disgrace with him) putting into his hands, both his person and his places, craning fauour and support, that he might haue Iustice The first cause of the warre.

F of the wrong done vnto his soueraignetie. Hauing thus prouided for his affaires, hee sent to defie the Emperor, the which was a great presumption for him, and he bought it full deerely) at the diet at Worines, and soone after the Lord of Florenges his eldest sonne leuied 3000. foote and 500. horse in France, against the kings Proclamation: and went to besiege Vireton, a small towne in the country of Luxemburg, The Duke of Bouillon defies the Emperor.

Heerevpon the King of England hauing perſwaded the French King, not to enter into A
quarrell for ſo ſmall a ſubiect as that of Bouillon with the Emperour, matters were
paſt ouer, and the Duke of Bouillon diſmiſſed his Armie. But in the meane time the
The Emperors armie inuades the duke of Bouillons country. Emperour raiſed one, whereof the Earle of Naſſau had the command, with the
which he tooke Longnes, Meuſancourt, Fleuranges, Sanchy and Bouillon: where-
vpon the Duke finding himſelfe too weake, obtained a truce of the Emperor, for ſixe
weekes onely.

The French King conſidering that the granting of this truce, was a ſecret declara-
tion of warre againſt him (for that if the Emperor had had no other deſſeigne but
The French kinges armes. againſt the Duke of Bouillon, there had beene no need of any truce, hauing meanes
to ruine him within ſixe weekes) hee began in like ſort to raiſe an Armie; ſolliciting B
the King of England to ioyne with him. The Emperour on the other ſide, hauing this
ouerture, began to looke to himſelfe, and both Armies went to field, attempting no-
thing yet one againſt the other: for the King of England hauing offered to be an ar-
bitrator of their quarrells, a parle was appointed at Calais, whether the Commiſſio-
ners of both parties came. But for that they did not yeeld vnto the Emperor the re-
ſtitution of the Duchie of Bourgongne, and the abolition of the homage of Flanders
and Arthois which hold of the Crowne of France, there was nothing concluded.
In the meane time the Lord of Liques a Wallon, made an enterpriſe vpon the Abbay
of Saint Amant in Tourneſis belonging to the Cardinall of Bourbon, and vpon a
ſmall Towne called Mortaigne not farre from thence, of the county of Holland. This C
Gentleman pretended theſe places to belong vnto him, and made himſelfe Maiſter
thereof. At the ſame inſtant the Lord of Fiennes Gouernor of Flanders, did beſiege
Tournay beſieged by the Emperors men Tournay; of all which exploits the Emperour excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, that they were
priuate quarrels. But the King ſeeing that the Imperiall Armie (vnder colour that
the truce with the Duke of Bouillon grew to an end) approched neere Mouſon, hee
ſent ſome troupes thether, and ſo the warre began betwixt theſe two great Princes,
both in Champaigne, Picardie, and elſe-where; all which I will forbeare to write of
in this worke, both for that they do not properly concerne this ſubiect, as alſo being
ſet downe at large in the Hiſtorie of France. *George Schenck* Gouernor of Friſeland,
with the Lords of Waſſenare and Caſtre, hauing taken the fort of Warckom, and
Sloten beſieged by the Bourguignons Mackom; the Townes of Dockom and Bolſwaert, with ſome other forts holding the D
Geldrois party: they went to beſiege the Towne of Sloten, the which they did batter
furiouſly, and the beſieged defended themſelues as couragiouſly; ſo as in a ſally which
they made in the night, the Lord of Waſſenare was ſhot in the arme, and the Gouer-
nor Schenck in the bottome of his belly, yet they remoued not out of the Campe.
Thoſe of the Towne, ſeeing there was no hope of ſuccours, were forced to yeeld. The
Earle of Mæurs being at Steenwyke, and hearing that the Bourguignons had taken
Sloten, retired from thence vnder coulour that he went into Geldres (as he ſayd) to
Lemmer yeelded. the Duke, to ſeeke for ſuccours. From Sloten the Gouernor Schenck went to beſiege
Lemmer, thoſe within it diſpairing of ſuccours, yeelded it alſo, and the Caſtell was
preſently razed. Doctor *Hubert* Chancellor for the Duke of Gelders in Friſeland, E
and *Wyard* of Bolſwaert captaine of a ſhip, who had bin ſhut vp in Sloten, hauing their
liberties vpon the yeelding vp of the place, thinking to goe to Steenwike, which was
contrary to the capitulation, they were purſued and taken; and for that they had bro-
ken the accord, Captaine Wyard loſt his head in the towne of Leewaerden, the Chan-
cellor for that hee was a Prieſt, was ſent to the Lady *Marguerite* Gouerneſſe, who lod-
ged him in perpetuall priſon at Rippelmonde, where he dyed.

This being thus performed by the Lords of Schenck, Waſſenare & Caſtre, they went
Steenwicke taken without any reſiſtance. to beſiege Steenwyck, which they tooke without any reſiſtance: the ſoldiers that were
there in garriſon for the Duke of Geldres, hauing abandoned it, as ſoone as the Earle F
of Mæurs was departed; not daring to attend the Bourguignons, whom they did ſee
winne all where they came. This towne thus wone, the gouernor with the aduice of the
ſaid Noblemen, cauſed a fort to be built there. Afterwards the lord of Waſſenare died
in the towne of Leewarden of the wound which he had receiued before Sloten, for the
which

A which the Friſons did mourne greatly. He was buried with a great funerall pompe, after the maner of a martiall man, and greatly lamented of all men, carried into Holland, and buried in the Cloiſter of Preaching Friars at the Hage, by his anceſtors. There remaines little to write of this warre of Friſeland; for through the valour and diligence of the ſaid Noblemen, all the country was in quiet, and reduced vnder the Emperors obedience, from Gheerskersbrugge vnto Staueren, hauing all taken the othe; and the Gouernor diſmiſſed his ſoldiers with thankes: yet for that the Geldrois did yet hold the towne and country of Groningen, which were neuer quiet, nor ſatiſfied with any reaſon: we will relate here-after what they did, and how Groningen was yeelded vnto the Emperor. This yeare the Geldrois entred with a ſmall troope into Holland, euen
B vnto the ports of Leyden, ſpoiling all the villages thereabouts, euen the Hage it ſelfe, whereas the court remaines; and from thence they paſt into South-Holland, into the 1523.
iuriſdiction of Dordrecht, where they did not much leſſe, returning brauely from whence they came, without any loſſe or aduenture. The Emperor *Charles* hearing the bad newes of the alteration that was in Spaine, againſt the Gouernors which hee had left there; after that he had conſulted with the Princes Electors, and taken his leaue of The emperors ſecond voyage into Spaine.
them, and of the Noblemen Netherlanders, hauing diſpoſed of his affaires there, hee parted towards the Iland of Walchren, being accompanied with a great number of Noblemen, Knights of the Order, and others: where finding a proſperous wind, he ſet ſaile, and toucht firſt in England; where hee concluded an alliance with *Henry* the 8.
C King of England, to marry with *Mary* his Daughter (being then but ſeauen yeares old) when ſhe ſhould come to age; but it ſucceeded not, as we ſhall ſee: from thence he ſet ſaile towards Spaine, where he arriued in few dayes without any aduenture: only one great ſhip of the fleete was burnt by chance, with the men, and many horſes that were in it. After the Emperors departure out of the Netherlands, hee returned not in eight yeares, being much troubled to keepe thoſe realmes in peace, vntill hee had left them an heire Male his ſucceſſor to the crowne, *Philip* the ſecond, father to *Philip* the third now raigning.

The Emperor being parted for Spaine, there fell out great troubles in Germany, the Peſants riſing againſt the Nobility, abuſed with groſſe errors: who being aſſembled The peaſants warre in Germanie.
in great numbers, did ſpoile many Abbayes, Cloiſters, and religious houſes: ſtealing
D all they could lay hand of, and committing a thouſand outrages and inſolencies, without any ſubiect or reaſon, but onely ſtirred vp and ſeduced by certaine falſe Preachers, who ſaid they had a reuelation from God, that they ſhould roote out that tyranous Nobility, and enioy their full liberty. But God would not long ſuffer the brauery of theſe villaines: for the Cont Palatin the Archbiſhop of Mentz, & ſome other biſhops, made a great leuie of horſe and foote, and charged theſe poore miſerable abuſed Peaſants, whom they defeated and put to rout. Their leader being taken, was publikely executed, and the poore wretches that could eſcape from the battaile, returned euery one home to his houſe. The ſame yeare the Geldrois entred into the Mairie or iuriſdiction of Boiſleduke, whom they forced by their ſpoiling and burning, to pay a contribu- 1524.
E tion vnto the duke of Geldres. They of Boiſleduke were not in the meane time idle: The Geldrois begin warre againſt the Emperor.
but ſoone after entred into the Iland of Bomel, and by their exploits reduced it vnder the Emperors obedience, waſting and ſpoiling that quarter, as much as the Geldrois had done their Mairie. Then the Geldrois did labour to enter into Stellingwerff, in the country of Friſeland, to waſte it. But the Gouernor *Shenck*, although he had but newly diſmiſſed his troopes, taking ſome number of Peſants, who were preſently in armes, he cut off their paſſage, and forced them to retire without any exploite doing. After that the Geldrois had thus played the gallants in the Mairie of Boiſleduke, and they on the other ſide for their reuenge in the Iland of Bomell, there was a truce made betwixt
F the Emperor Earle of Holland, and *Charles* of Egmont Duke of Gelders: vpon condition that the money promiſed for contribution vnto the Duke, ſhould be payd in the towne of Arnhem: and that which was promiſed vnto the Emperor by the Geldrois, ſhould be paid vnto a receiuer appointed for that purpoſe at the Hage in Holland.

In the yeare 1526. Collonell *Martin van Roſſem*, made warre for the duke of Geldres 1526.

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in Rydderlandt againſt the Earle of Emden, and began to fortifie Iemmingen: the country-men ſeeking to hinder it, and running without order, contrary to their Earles will and pleaſure, were defeated; then with 4000. men hee beſieged the Towne of Gryet, the which at the end of three weekes the Droſſart yeelded vp vnto him without any force: for the which hee was afterwards priſoner at Emden, and had not eſcaped without the loſſe of his life, but by the meanes of his good friends. The Duke of Geldres affaires ſtanding vpon theſe termes, the ſayd Collonell did write vnto them of Groningen, to ſend him ſome ſupplies of men and munition, the better to maintaine himſelfe. But the Gronningeois nor their neighbours would by any meanes yeeld to it: ſaying, *That the Earle of Emden was their very good friend, and had not deſerued any ſuch vſage.* So as for want of ſuccors from the Groningeois, the Geldrois were forced to make an accord with the Eaſt-Friſons; by the which the Duke of Geldres did reſtore the towne of Gryet to the Earle of Emden.

The duke of Gelders ſeeks to be reuenged of the Groningeois.

The Duke of Geldres did not eaſily forget the ſuccours which the Groningeois had refuſed him; but ſought ſome occaſion to bee reuenged. About Aprill, in the yeare 1526. hee ſent one of his Captaines called *Meynard van Ham*, a lame man, towards Dam, with ſome ſoldiars, commanding the peaſants there-abouts, to come and to helpe to fortifie it. The Duke had drawne theſe ſouldiers out of the country of Holſteyn, to the end it might ſeeme, that it was not his action; but the Duke of Holſteyns. Wherevpon the Groningeois made a Proclamation; forbidding the peaſants vpon paine of fiering their villages and houſes, not to aide nor worke at this fortification in any ſort whatſoeuer. Wherevpon the third of May, *Meynard van Ham* cauſed all the ſuburbes of the towne of Groningen to bee burnt: whereof the Inhabitants neuer drempt: there was great ſlaughter done, and many men made poore: there were 30. ſhips alſo burnt, the fire whereof flew ouer the Rampart, and burnt fiue houſes in the Towne. Some dayes after hee returned, and burnt in like ſort the ſuburbes of the ports Ebbing and Boteringe, who hauing committed all the outrage they could, they retired to Dam. The Groningeois not knowing what to doe to this troope of ſouldiers, nor well whoſe they were; writ vnto the Duke of Geldres, that there were enemies entred into their countrie, the which did pittifully ſpoile and burne them: wherefore they deſired to know if it were done with his priuitie and conſent, as ſome did boldly ſay, the which not-with-ſtanding (they ſayd) they could not beleeue. To which letters they had no good anſwer: wherevpon there was a day of meeting appointed in the towne of Eſſen, whither the Duke of the Groningeois ſent their Deputies to reconcile their differences: the which could not be done, for that the Duke would build a Cittadell within their Towne, and the Dam might be fortified: where-vnto they would by no meaues yeeld. Herevpon the Conſuls of the Towne and of the countrie (which they call *Ommelandes*) writte vnto the Lady *Marguerite*, Dutcheſſe Dowager of Sauoy, Aunte to the Emperour, and Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands; ſhewing vnto her the great wrong and violence that was done vnto them by the Duke of Geldres men; offering to ſubmit themſelues to the Emperours obedience, and to pay vnto him ſuch yearely tribute as they were accuſtomed to pay vnto the Duke of Geldres; if it ſhould pleaſe her greatneſſe in the Emperours name, to vndertake their protection and defence againſt the ſayd Duke and all other enemies: the which the ſaid lady did accept with an honorable acknowledgment, promiſing to free them very ſpeedily: the deputies hauing receiued good entertainment in all places, returned home ioyfully. The Dutcheſſe would not looſe this goodly occaſion, but taking hold therof, did preſently leuie men, the which ſhe ſent into Friſland with an expreſſe charge to *Schenck* Baron of Tautenbourg, gouernor of the coũtry, to vſe all care in that action: marching preſently to Groningen, and there to receiue an othe of the Bourgeſies, and ſwearing likewiſe vnto them in the Emperors name. *Schenck* according to his charge marched towards Groningen, where he receiued the ſaid towne in the Emperors name, in S. *Walburges* church the 7. of Iune, whereof he tooke poſſeſſion, & receiued their homages. This done *Schenke* made haſt to beſiege Delfzeel, which the Geldrois held and had halfe fortified. The Duke of Holſteyn (with whom the Duke of Gelders

The ſuburbes of Groningen burnt.

The Groningeois giue themſelues vnto the Emperor.

Collonel Schenck receiues Groninghen for the Emperor.

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A ders had made a league) ſent two thouſand foote to ſuccour it, and to raiſe the ſiege. But *Schenck* hauing prouided for the gard of his campe, the Inhabitants of Groningen & ſome peaſants; went to incounter the troupes in Weſterwollingerlandt, whome the third day following, on Saint *Iames* day, he quite defeated, *George van Manſter*, Droſſart of Wedden was taken, and many gentlemen with him. The Droſſart was carried to Leewarden, and the reſt of the priſoners to Groninghen. The Duke of Holſteynes troupes defeated.

The Geldrois that were in Dam ſeeing Delfzyel yeelded, and the ſuccors which they expected from the Duke of Holſteyn defeated; began to parle, demaunding a ſafe retreat; the which was granted them by the Gouernor *Schenck*; vppon condition that they ſhould depart with white wands in their hands, and deliuer their Captaines Dam yeelded by the Geldrois.

B *Meinard van Hem* and *Bernard van Hackfort*, the which they did willingly, and departed the fifth of September according to the compoſition, the Gouernor cauſing the fort which they had made at Dam to be preſently laied euen with the ground. This done, the Caſtell of Wedden was beſieged, the which was alſo yeelded vnto *Schenck*, vppon condition to haue their liues and goods ſaued; the beſieged being out of all hope of ſuccors, from thence he returned to Groninghen, to ſee his wife and Ladie *Iane* of Egmont, who attended him there: hauing ſent his troupes in the meane time to beſiege the Towne and Caſtell of Coeuoerden and Kinckhoſt whether he himſelfe went after ſome daies, hauing lyen about two monethes before Coeuoerden, the Droſſart *Selbach* yeelded it, vpon condition to depart with their Armes and baggage, where ha- Wedden yeelded. Coeuoerden yeelded.

C uing placed a good garriſon; the ſaid Gouernor *Schenck* hearing that there were ſome Geldrois in troupe neere vnto Deuenter, he cauſed his men to marche that waie, tooke the towne of Diepenhem the twenty nine of Nouember, and the next daie the Caſtell of Kinckhoſt neere vnto Meppel, the which was alſo yeelded vnto him, whereas Captaine *Magreheyn* was taken priſoner. The Duke of Gelders ſeeing that all things ſucceeded all for him in Freezeland, and that the towne and countrie of Groninghen, the Drent and Dwent were in the Emperors hands, he began to growe weary of his toile and charge, knowing well that the more he made warre, the more he loſt. He reſolued therefore (and wiſely for himſelfe) to make an hereditary accord with the houſe of Bourgongne, the which was done, and proclaimed in Groninghen, before the State- A peace betwixt the houſe of Bourgongne and the Duke of Gelders.

D houſe the 17. of December in the yeare 1326. to the great content of the whole countrie, being tyred in the forepaſſed warres: ſo as by that meanes there was throughout all the country of Freezeland and Groninghen a moſt deſired peace, the which had not continued ſo long for 200 yeares before, which was from that time vnto the yeare 1568. that the Duke of Alua entred into thoſe countries. In the ſame yeare was publiſhed by the Emperor, the ſecond bloudy Edict againſt the Proteſtants of the reformed religion, which they called Lutherans, by vertue whereof many were burnt or otherwiſe executed in the Netherlands. The ſecond bloudie Edict againſt the Proteſtants.

In the yeare 1527. there fell out a great tumult in the Towne of Vtrecht, the in- A great Tumult in Vtrecht

E habitants & men of trade hauing taken armes: would needs know the reaſon why they had baniſhed ſome, & wherefore they had forbidde handicrafts men to vſe their trades, within the circuit of any Abbay, (whereof there are many in that towne) whereby the poore commons loſt their profit, who hauing no meanes to ſet vp any ſhoppe, who had beene wont to labour and get their liuings there, moreouer the Magiſtrates and Councell had promiſed to furniſh their Biſhop with a great ſome of money, to be payed at two payments, where-vppon they did ouercharge the commons with impoſitions who required that all the inhabitants of the towne in generall, as well Gentlemen, Clergie men, as others, ſhould contribute euery man according to his portion: requiring alſo that the Clergie might paie their parts of the aſſiſes and cuſtomes as well as they, the which remained long in ſuſpence, vntill that the Biſhop

F tooke the matter in hand, granting great priueledges vnto the Bourgeſſes, confirming them by his authenticall letters vnder his ſeale. But the Colledge would not contribute any thing, which made the Bourgeſſes to mutine againe and to riſe againſt the Clergie, being incouraged and prickt forward by ſome turbulent ſpirits, that were ill affected to the publike quiet; the which moued the Biſhop to reuoake, and diſanull

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the priuiledges which he had giuen them, and then to retire to his Castell of Wyck, whereas hee made his ordinary aboad. Afterwards offering to returne into the towne; some seditious men denied him the entry; others sent to the Duke of Geldres to come and succour them, and to be their Protector, offering to open the gates vnto him. The Duke (who was a stirring Prince, and desirous of innouations) came with all speed with a good number of horse and foote: where hauing taken some order for his safety and for theirs that had called him; hee left the Earle of Mæurs there for his Lieutenant, with a good number of men: and then all the Bishops Cleargie, and those that held his party, were chased out of the Towne, and most of their goods spoiled. Those that remained newters, and medled with neither party, liued quietly in their houses. The Bishop seeing this, built a Fort at Vaert vpon the banke of the riuer of Leck, right against the towne of Vianen, the which hee did man with a good garrison, as also the Castell of Abcoude; cutting off all approches to the Towne, and all their victuals, keeping them so straightly in, as the people fell into great misery and pouerty: for within they were exceedingly oppreſt by the Duke of Geldres soldiers; and without their victuals were cut off from them. The which hauing made knowne vnto the duke, he came with certaine horse and foote, and victualed the towne a little, but the common people tasted least thereof.

They of Vtrecht call the duke of Geldres to bee their protector.

Harderwyck taken by the Geldrois.

The Geldrois being thus in Vtrecht would not liue idlely, but went in the night and surprized the Towne of Harderwyck held by the Hollanders, the which the Duke thinking to keepe (for it was belonging vnto the Duchie of Geldres) he manned with a good garrison, from whence they made ordinary roades into Holland, both by sea & land, being a sea towne vpon the Zuyderzee. Once among the rest these Geldrois of Vtrecht, with some Bourgesses & inhabitants of the towne (hauing gathered together a great number of Barkes and Boates) entred with them into Holland, running as farre as the Hage, whereas the Court and prouinciall councell remained: one halfe of the soldiers kept the barkes, whilest that the other went to their exploit. Comming to the Hage with Burguignon crosses, the inhabitants at the first doubted no harme, thinking they had beene the Emperors men which came to gard the place, but being in the midest of the Bourg, and vpon the market place, striking vp their drums they began to crie Geldre, Geldre, wherewith the inhabitants were so amazed, as (fearing no enemy) euery man fought to saue himselfe: the soldiers spoiling them all, carried their booty vnto their boates, and besides they did ransome it from fire, with the paiment of many thousands of Florins, and so they returned to Vtrecht without any let or incounter.

The Hage spoiled by the Geldrois.

The Duke of Geldres did also take Rhenen, belonging to the bishop of Vtrecht: and there caused a Castle to be built: he did in like sort seaze vpon the castle of Horst, into the which hee put good garrisons, thinking to make them his owne hereditarily. He did also much harme to the countries of Oueryssel, with the forts which he caused to be built by the townes of Campen, Deuenter, and Swolle, whom the soldiers did afflict daily with their spoiles and burning; So as in the end these townes with the consent of their Bishop, demanded succours from the Emperor, who accepted them, vpon condition, that the Bishop should yeeld and transport vnto him all the temporall iurisdiction of his country and dioceſse of Vtrecht, giuing him some yeerely pension during his life: whereupon *George Schenck* Baron of Tautenbourg, came into the quarter of Oueryssell, and besieged the towne of Hasselt, whereas the Earle of Emden was also in the Emperours seruice, who did so batter this towne with this Canon, as there was scarce a house left whole. The besieged hauing long held out, and done their parts in the defence thereof, seeing that the Duke sent them no succours, they yeelded it vp, to haue their liues and goods saued. The Duke had promised to free them from this siege, and went and shewed himselfe before Hasselt; but hearing that it was yeelded, he retyred himselfe: from thence the Earle of Buren and the Baron *Schenck* went and camped before the towne & castell of Hattem, in the country of Gelders, the which they had by composition, suffring them to depart with bagge and baggage. Then the towne of Harderwyck was also yeelded vpon the same conditions, onely the horsemen left their horses. They tooke also the towne of Rhenen againe, which

Hattem in Gelders yeelded.

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A which the Geldrois had abandoned, flying away, and therefore they did no harme vnto the towne.

This done, they ſeized vpon many places, caſtells and forts, to the number of one and twenty. Among others of the fort of Koeborch, whereas all were put to the ſword, the caſtell of Hulckenſteyn, the Block-houſe which was vpon the blacke water neere vnto Haſſelt, and the caſtell of Amerongen betwixt Vtrecht and Rhenen, the caſtell of Ham neere to Vtrecht, the caſtell of Droem, with diuers other caſtells. The townes of Haſſelt, Rhenen, Hattem, Eleburch and Harderwyke, the duke of Geldres hunting houſe, Leuendale and Altena and others were burnt: the caſtell of Deyn neere to Amerſfort and Puydroyen were burnt and ruined, of the which *Martin* B *van Roſſen* was Lord. This done the Emperors army ſtayed a while in the Veluwe, and from thence went to beſiege the towne of Tyel; whether the duke of Geldres had ſent 700. men, who with-ſtood many aſſaults, and defended themſelues very valiantly, ſo as they were forced to raiſe their campe, and to leaue the place, for that there fell ſo much raine, as the Canons did ſinke aboue their carriages. At that time two companies belonging to the Biſhoppe of Vtrecht, entred into the countrie of Geldre, into the Veluwe, to go to the Picoree. The Geldrois hauing layed an ambuſhe for them, went to skirmiſh with them, then making a ſhewe to flie, the Traiectins followed them into the Ambuſcadoe, where as the Geldrois diſcouering them they charged them of all ſides, and defeated them, taking all priſoners and diſarming them. C Then the captaine of the Geldrois ſayd vnto his ſouldiars. *Companions remember Koeborch, where our men were all murthered or hanged*, which they hearing, fell vpon theſe poore priſoners and killed them all in cold bloud.

Many townes and caſtells yeelded to the Emperor.

In the ſame yeare 1528. in September, ſome Collonels brought two thouſand Spaniſh ſouldiars out of Spaine, who through contrary windes and great tempeſts were almoſt ſixe monethes at ſea: hauing refreſht themſelues a while, they were ſent for a ſupplie to the Emperors men which made warre in Geldres. At the ſame time the duke of Geldres gathered togither certaine men at Ruremonde, Venloo, and the Villages there abouts; making fiue companies, of the which *Henry van Wyſſche* was Collonell, ſending them into the Mairie of Boiſleduke to waſt it. *Thyerry* Barron D of Batenbourg was then in Boiſleduke, Lieutenant to the Earle of Buren, who hearing that the Geldrois were ſo neere him, gathered togither ſome foote men out of the neere garriſons, and hauing armed all the countrie-men, went to charge the Geldrois, whome hee defeated, beeing all in a manner ſlaine or taken priſoners: ſo as there returned fewe to their houſes, for they were purſued euen to the bankes of the riuer of Meuze, where many were drowned. Thoſe of Boiſleduke tooke many harquebuzes a crock, many ladders and hardels to paſſe ouer the ditch, leuers of iron, which they call goates-feete, and cords to binde the poore peaſants, and to carry them away priſoners. They had alſo great ſtore of victualls and munition, meaning to make ſome ſtay there for the doing of ſome exploite: but the chance turned. Theſe newes E being come to Ruremonde, there was great lamenting, poore women for their husbands, and children for their fathers.

1528.

2000. ſoldiars come out of Spaine.

At the ſame time that the Emperours army did riſe from before Tyel, the Barron *Schenck* hauing ſurpriſed the towne of Zutphen: ſome Geldrois that were there in armes to repulſe him, were ſlaine. The ſouldiars that were within Tyel, during the ſiege, had beene before in the caſtell of Hattem when it was yeelded by compoſition, and had ſworne not to carry armes for one month againſt the Emperor: theſe ſoldiars came to Megen and made a fort within the towne: whileſt that the garriſon was gone forth to conuoy certaine wagons laden with wine, which the Geldrois had appointed to goe to Os and Nieulant: thoſe of Boiſleduke ſent the Earle of Burens F troupe, with a hundred horſe, to cut them off, and withal to diſlodge them from Megen; but without any ſtay, they abandoned the place, flying away with their booty, & the priſoners they had taken there abouts. The ſame yeare in May was burnt the goodly village of Scherpeniſſe in the Iſland of Tolen in the territory of Saint Martins dyke in Zeeland.

Megen taken and abandoned againe by the Geldrois.

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In the ſame yeare thoſe of Franc and Bruges ſet out ſome ſhips of warre againſt the A
French, among the which there were ſome of Zeeland. Being at ſea there was a ſhip of
Scluſe in Flanders, which had her maine maſt carried ouer-bord with a cannon ſhot,
before Deepe. The Diepois ſeeing this, went out of their hauen, and purſued this
ſhippe thinking to take it: but the Admirall of the Flemings behaued himſelfe ſo va-
liantly, as he preſerued his owne ſhip, and ſunke the chiefe of the French ſhips, which
they ſayd was the Admirall of Deepe, where there periſhed many gentlemen and
Bourgeſes of Deepe: the other Frenchmen ſeeing this, left the Flemings in peace who
returned victors to Scluſe. Whilſt that the Emperors men were thus buſied in the
country of Geldres, ſome Burgeſes of Vtrecht aſſembled ſecretly togither, to prouide
for the good of the poore commons, who they did ſee ſo oppreſt by the Geldrois ſoldi- B
ars that were there in garriſon, as it was not poſſible to endure them any longer. Theſe
good Burgeſes imbracing the oportunity of the Earle of Mæurs abſence, who was
Lieutenant to the duke of Geldres and Collonel of thoſe ſoldiars, who was gone to
fetch money: they conſulted by what meanes they might drawe in the Biſhops men,
who was the naturall Lord of that towne. Some of them went to Amerſfort to con-
ferre with the Biſhoppe, who was much amazed and exceeding glad: and for that hee
would looſe no occaſion he gaue them *William Turc* with his company, and part of the
garriſon of Vaert: beeing in all foure enſeignes the which all togither made a ſtand
The Geldrois of Vtrecht defeated. vpon the Black water, vntill they had newes of the Intelligences which they had with-
in the towne of Vtrecht: moſt of the garriſon beeing then runne for the pillage into C
the quarter of Goyland, where they tooke great ſpoyles. At their returne, the Bi-
ſhops men hauing cut off their paſſage, incountred them and defeated them, and tooke
their bootie from them, with many priſoners. In this manner the Biſhoppes men
ſtaying vntill the next daie, kept all from paſſing, to giue them aduertiſement in
the towne.

The next morning at the opening of the porte a woman went forth with a basket
on her arme, who gaue notice vnto the Biſhoppes men, that the ſoldiars of the towne
had moſt of them left the gard, and were gone to ſleepe, and therefore when as Saint
Iames his clock did ſtrike, they might approch boldly, and that they ſhould finde all
things prepared to giue them entrie vnto the towne. So the ſecond of Iulie in the D
yeare 1528. the Biſhops men came to the port, which they found wide open, ſo as
Vtrecht ſurprized by the Biſhops men. many entred. The watch which ſtood in ſentinell vpon the port, perceyuing this,
let downe the Portcullies: but preſently fiue or ſixe men of Vaert with Axes and
Hatchets, cut in ſunder the beames; ſo as the ſoldiars entred with the Horſemen,
and marched into the towne without any Incounter or let, vntill they came to the
Friars: where ſome Geldrois ſoldiars beeing gathered togither, thought to repulſe
them: but it was in vaine, for the Biſhoppes men were to ſtrong for them, who ſlue
foure and twenty of thoſe Geldrois, and tooke three hundred and fifty priſoners. The
Earle of Mæurs (who was returned the day before) was taken priſoner, with ſome
others, who by the treaty of peace, were afterwardes ſet free. The ſoldiars which E
had the gard of the gates fled, and ſo did ſome Burgeſes partiſans to the Geldrois.
The baniſhed men of the towne, which had alwaies held the Biſhops partie, returned
Executions at Vtrecht. with him: before the concluſion of the peace, there were twelue chiefe men of the
town executed by Iuſtice, and two Chanoins put into a ſack & caſt into the riuer. The
Biſhop had put more to death, if the Earle of Hochſtraten, who came that day from
Vianen, had not preuented the miſchiefe. The ſoldiars ſpoyled al the houſes of the Gel-
drois partiſans, breaking open dores and windoes, and taking vp the flowers and plan-
chers of houſes, to ſee if there were no money hidden, where they found much, doing
moreouer great outrages vnto the Burgeſes. Notwithſtanding the towne of Vtrecht
was thus happely deliuered from the oppreſſions and extorſions of the Geldrois ſol- F
diars. For if they had continued there longer; it was to be feared that the towne had
beene beſieged, and that it had beene forced to endure more to the ruine of their good-
ly houſes and the loſſe of their goods.

The town of Vtrecht being by this means come into the Emperors hãds (according to
the

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A the accord made the Biſhoppe for the temporall Iuriſdiction of the ſaid Countrie) there was a Nobleman ſent from the Court at Bruſſells to do iuſtice vpon the rebels and to pacefie all partialities and mutynies: and the better to keepe them in obedience and awe, theie bulita Cittadell by Saint *Katherines* port, which was called *Veredenbourg*, that is to ſay the Caſtell of peace, the which from that time continued vnto the yeare. 1577. that many Cittadells and Caſtells in diuers parts of the Netherlands were ruined, as wee ſhall heareafter ſhew. The Emperors armie beeing returned from *Tyes*: there was a meeting appointed in the Towne of Gorrichom, betwixt the Duke of Gelders and the Biſhop of Vtrecht, whether came commiſſioners on the Emperors behalfe and for the Duke of Gelders: for the Emperor came the Earles of Buren
B and Hochſtraten, the Biſhop of Palermo Chancelor, and the Audiencier or Secretarie: for the Duke of Gelders came *Henry Kieſpenniek*, *Rolland Kerckelandt* and *Vereſſen*, who after much debate, in the end concluded a good peace, betwixt the Duke of Gelders on the one part, and the Biſhop of Vtrecht on the other, and the Emperor being ioyned to the ſaid Biſhop: and alſo for his owne particular, touching the temporall Iuriſdiction of Vtrecht, which accord conteyned many articles, the which wee omitte to auoyd tediouſnes. By the which the Earle of Mæurs and Doctor *Wynant* were deliuered without ranſome, beeing taken priſoners at Vtrecht and a time lymited for the baniſhed men of Vtrecht and Swoll to returne home to their houſes, for the confirmation of which accord and peace, there went to Bruſſelles the Earles of Buren
C and Hochſtraten, and the Baron *Schencke* for the Emperor and the Biſhop of Vtrecht: and for the Duke of Gelders, *Iohn van roſſem* Lord of Brouchuyſen, Doctor *Erckelens* and others, who finding not the Lady *Marguerite* Douager of Sauoy, the Emperors ſiſter and gouerneſſe of the Netherlands at Bruſſelles, theie went vnto her to Macklyn: whereas the ſaid Ladies Councell in the Emperors name, and the Dukes Councell in their maiſters name did ſweare the ſaid peace in Sainte *Peeters* Churche. The Queene vſed the Dukes Comiſſioners very honourably, giuing to euerie one of them a faire Cup full of golden Carolus, who returning by Antwerp, went to make report vnto their Prince, whereof hee was exceeding ioyfull. A while after the Duke ſent *Martin van Roſſem* Lord of Puydroyen to the French King, to aduertiſe him of the peace hee had made with the Emperour, where-with the King was
D well pleaſed.

A peace betwixt the duke of Gelders the Biſhop and the Emperor.

In the yeare 1529. *Henry* of Bauaria Biſhop of Vtrecht, diſcontented with the warres, and ſeeing himſelfe thus depriued of the temporall Iuriſdiction of the ſaid Biſhopricke, which the Emperor had gotten into his poſſeſſion, reſigned his Biſhoppricke in Iuly, into the hands of Pope *Clement* the 7. going to gouerne the Biſhopricke of Wormes, after they had beene at Vtrecht fiue yeares, to which Biſhopricke there was aduanced an ancient man called *William van Engueuoort*, borne in Brabant, Cardinall and Biſhop of Tortona in Spaine, who being at Rome, tooke poſſeſſion of the ſaid Biſhopricke of Vtrecht, by his Atorney: leauing *Iohn Vtenengen* his vicegerent to go-
E uerne it, whether hee neuer went, but died foure yeares after in Rome in the yeare 1533. A Peace beeing concluded betwixt the Emperour and the French King in the yeare 1529. the Emperour arriued with a great fleete at Genoa where hee had newes of the Peace concluded at Cambray, the which did amaze all the Princes of Italie, fearing they ſhould bee now abandoned by the French: whoſe entrie into Bologne, I haue thought good to deſcribe, for the ſtatelyneſſe thereof, although it doth not concerne our ſubiect.

1529

The Emperor comes into Italie.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth went towards *Bologna la graſſa*, whereas Pope *Clement* was then reſident; beeing neare the Cittie, fiue and twenty Cardinalls went to meete his Maieſtie, comming neere him, they all lighted to doe their duties
F vnto him; then they tooke their mayles againe, conducting him into the Cittie, hauing of either ſide of him the Cardinalls of Ancona and Farneze, entring into the Cittie, there marched firſt 300. light horſe in a liuerie; after came ten great Canons with their pioners, carrying euery one a Lawrell branche, then the Captaines well mounted, *Don Anthonio de Leua* followed with ſome field pieces, being carried in a Caroſſe trimmed with

His ſtately entry into Bologna la graſſa

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with tawney veluet, hauing with him foureteene enſeignes of Germaine foote: after A
the which marched two Noblemen in complete armes and their horſes barded, before whome were carried two Standards of cloth of gold with an Eagle in the mideſt, and betwixt thoſe two was an other Standard of watchet ſatten with a red croſſe, which the Pope had ſent vnto the Emperor. The Earle of Rieux Lord Steward of his houſe was next, accompanied with three hundred men at armes, all in caſſakes of one liuerie, yealow, red and blew: then the Grandos and Noblemen of Spaine with foure hundred horſes barded. After them fiue and twenty pages of honour belonging to the Emperor, all in cloth of gold, mounted vpon Genets of Spaine, richly furniſhed, then ſixe hundred halbardiers all apparelled in yealow, in the middeſt of whome marched the Emperor vnder a canopy of cloth of gold, beeing mounted vpon a Hungarien horſe with a rich capariſon, hauing the bit and his ſtirrops of maſſie gold, being armed vnder his coate of armes with cloath of gold, his Marſhall went before him carrying a naked ſword in his hand: about his horſe went fiue and twentie Bollonian gentlemen on foote, all in white ſatten dublets cut vpon cloath of gold, and breeches of chrimſon veluet. The Earle of Naſſau came after alſo with foure ſcore men at armes, and a great traine of Nobility: then others attired in diuers liueries to the number of two thouſand horſe, and behinde, ſix companies of Spaniſh ſhot, all in yealow. B

The Emperor beeing entred into that cittie, they brought him a croſſe of gold, the which he kiſt. The Pope was carried out of his Pallace vnto Saint Petronelles Church, C
where hee did ſit downe in his pontificall ſeate, with his Cardinalls about him. The Emperor approching neere the ſtaires, lighted from his horſe, withall his Noblemen, who marched vnder his canopie, vntill hee ſee where the Pope was ſitting, who made three curteſies vnto the Emperour, and hee kneeling downe kiſt the Popes feete, and then ryſing hee kiſt his hand and his face: then all the Noblemen followed and kiſt the Popes feete: which done, he roſe out of his chaire, and kiſt the Emperor three times of the cheeke: ſaying. *I cry you mercie, and yeeld my ſelfe vnto you, it was not my deſire that you ſhould kiſſe my feete, but to obſerue the accuſtomed ceremonies at the coronation of Emperors.*

The Emperor Charles kiſſeth the Popes feete.

The two and twenty of February in the yeare 1530. the Emperor hauing ſtaied almoſt three monthes in Bolognia, all things beeing prepared and made ready, after ma- D
ny ceremonies, hee was anointed and crowned King of Lombardy, the Pope ſetting a crowne vpon his head, which they call the crowne of ſteele. The two and twenty day of the ſame month, the Pope beeing in the Church, the Emperor was conducted thether, with great pompe and ſtate. Firſt marched the pages and gentlemen of his houſehold and of his chamber: Earles, Marquiſes, Dukes and Princes, euery one in his degree; then the Officers of his houſe. The Kings at armes and Heralds of the Emperor of France, England and Sauoy. Then the Stewards of his houſe with their ſtaues. The Marquis of Montferrat followed, ſumptouſly apparelled, carrying the ſcepter. The duke of Vrbin carried the ſword in a ſheath of pure gold, inritched with pretious ſtones. The Count Palatin carried the Globe, and the Duke of Sauoy carried the E
Imperiall crowne.

1530. The Emperors coronation by the Pope.

The Emperour marched after, carrying vpon his head the crowne of Lombardie, beeing followed by all the Ambaſſadors of Kings and Princes: After whome came the Councellors and Secretaries of State. Before that the Emperor entred into the Church, hee was receiued and led into a Chappell by the Deane and Chanoins of Saint *Peeters* Church at Rome, beeing come expreſly thether: where the Emperor tooke the accuſtomed oth in the handes of a Cardinall. Then after many other ceremonies, and change of Ornements, after that hee had beene anoynted, hee was led before the Pope ſitting in his pontificall ſeat, doing a great obeyſance vnto F
him, wherevpon the Pope came downe in his coape, and went towards the Alter to celebrate the maſſe. Then was the Emperor ſet in a ſtately throne: and all the markes which theſe Princes carried, were ſet vpon the Altar, vntill the Epiſtle of the maſſe was ſung.

Then

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A Then the Emperor was brought before the Pope, where hee kneeled downe. The Pope drawing forth the Imperiall ſword, ſayd vnto him, *Accipe gladium &c.* The deacon which did helpe to ſay maſſe, hauing taken it out of the Emperors hands, put it into the ſcabberd and deliuered it vnto the Pope, who hunge it at the Emperors ſide: who riſing vp, drew it forth three times and ſet the point vnto the ground and then put it vp againe. Then the Pope deliuered into the Emperours hands the ſcepter and the globe, vſing at eyther time many wordes and ceremonies. In the end hee ſet the Imperiall crowne vpon his head, giuing him the true titles of an Emperour. The Emperor hauing beene thus adorned withall the Imperiall markes, hee deliuered vnto theſe Princes the crowne, the ſcepter and the globe, with the Imperiall roabe,
B and in his caſſacke and bare headded, hee went to offer at the Popes feete, as many peeces of gold and ſiluer, as he was yeares old. All beeing ended, he was attired with his Imperiall Ornaments, and carryed backe to his throne. And then the Pope and the Emperor returned both on horſbacke vnder one canopie to the Pallace.

An Imperiall diet at Auſbourg.

The Emperor *Charles* beeing thus crowned, hauing ſetled the affaires of *Italie*, parted two and twenty daies after his coronation, to goe to an Imperiall diet appointed at Auſbourg, the firſt of May, whether came the Prince Electors and many other Princes of the Empire, Earles, Barons, Biſhoppes and Prelates. Where the Emperor arriued with the King of Hungary his brother, and the Cardinall *Campege* on the Popes behalfe the thirteenth of Iune. And as it ſeemed that this diet was principally held
C for matters of relligion, after that Cardinall *Campege* had made his oration, and the Ambaſſadors of Auſtria layed open their greuances; the Prince Elector of Saxony, *George* of Brandenbourg, the duke of Lunebourg and the Landgraue of Heſſen, as well in their owne names, as of other Earles, Noblemen and Imperiall townes, beſought the Emperor to heare the confeſſion of their doctrine, but hee on the other ſide, commaunded them to deliuer it vp in writing: and they ſtill preſt to haue audience, the which beeing denied them, they ſtill inſiſted, for that it toucht their honors, liues and goods, yea the helth of their ſoules wherein it may bee they had otherwiſe informed him then was true. Wherevpon the Emperour commaunded them to come the next daie to his lodging: but hee would needes haue the writing
D deliuered, the which was donne the next day both in Lattin and Dutch, offring to expound it, if there were any thing either to obſcurely, or too breefly ſet downe, and if the matter could not bee decided, they refuzed not a councell. The Empeperour gaue the Duke of Saxonies confeſſion to the other Noble Princes, to iudge thereof, who deliuered them into the handes of their Doctors, whereof *Faber* and *Eckius* were the chiefe, who writ againſt, and confuted the ſayd confeſſion.

The proteſtant Princes deſire to haue their confeſſion heard.

Vpon this confeſſion of their faith, there were diuers diſputations, betwixt the doctors of the Proteſtant Princes, and many townes which did adhere vnto them, and the Popiſh deuines. The Emperor in many things would interpoſe his authority and abſolute power, wherevnto the Proteſtant Princes did oppoſe. Many con-
E ferences were held betwixt the doctors of both relligions, the which did not paſſe without ſome bitterneſſe, in the which the Princes themſelues were actors: ſo as the Proteſtants could not obtaine any thing. Therefore their Ambaſſadors (ſeeing that they could not preuaile in any thing, but what pleaſed their Aduerſaries,) did write vnto the States of the Empire, wherein they did breefly lay open what had beene done, intreating them that in the end of the decree, they ſhould not adde the names of their Princes with the reſt, (for they had made a kinde of decree as if all had conſented therevnto) And for that they had gotten nothing, by their ſolliciting for peace, they declared that they could not poſſibly contribute any thing to the warres a-
F gainſt the Turke: Moreouer for that it is ſayd by the decree, that thoſe onelie ſhould haue place in the Parliament and Chamber of the Empire, which had allowed and ſubſigned it, they intreated that this Article might be reformed or els they would not contribute any thing to the charges of the ſayd Chamber. Hauing made this proteſtation, euery one retired to his owne home.

Conferences betwixt the Proteſtants and Papiſts.

In

A terrible deuouring Inundation.

In the sayd yeare 1530. the first of Nouember, there was so great a Tempest at sea, with a North-west winde, and the tide was so high at Noone-day, as the water ouerflowed the bankes in many places, although it were not the time of full sea by two houres, with which tempest and spring-tide, there were ouer-flowne and drowned in Holland, Zeeland, Friseland, Brabant and Flanders (as some haue obserued and left in writing) foure hundred and foure Parishes, yet Holland and Zeeland, were most damnefied. In the Island of Zuy-beuelandt, the quarter on the East-side was all drowned, within eighteene villages. The Towne of Romerswaell, the castell of Lodycke and the Scluse of Creeke was all carried away. The quarter of the West-side, which is diuided with a dike that runnes crosse the Island, where the towne is scytuated, with many goodly villages, was likewise drowned, and a peece of the towne gate was carried away with the violence of the water. The Island of Noorbeuelandt did suffer verie much, first neere vnto Loo, right against Wissen-kerke: the daie following the sayd tempest, the Scluse of Bomvlyet, betwixt Emeliisse and the towne Cortgeen, was also carried away, so as in lesse then three daies, all the countrie was vnder the water. The towne of Cortgeen, Cats, Emeliisse and other villages were wone from the sea, and they were in hope to recouer them the sommer following, but they could not, vntill the yeare 1597. that Count *Philippe* of Hohenlo, husband to the Ladie *Marguerite* of Nassau, recouered them and walled them, in the name of his wife. The Island of Schouwe was also peerst through in diuers places. The wall was broken in three or foure places about Bordendam, Burch and Hamstede, so as the whole countrie was couered with waters for eighteene daies togither, but the Inhabitants of Ziricxe caused the breaches to bee repayred with great labour and cost. The Island of Duyuelandt was also ouer-flowne in diuers places, so as the whole country, and causies thereof (which in their vulgar tongue they call Poldres) were all ouer-flowne, except the quarter of Sheeren-Islandt. In the Island of Annelandt there was the like wrack by inundation: the which notwithstanding was soone recouered. The Ile of Tolen did also feele of it, whereas the bankes were wonderfully broken, but soone repaired againe. In the countrie of Borsseles which was defended on the side of Zuydbeuelandt had six parishes drowned, the which remained all winter subiect to the ebbing and flowing of the sea. The Island of Philippelandt was in the like case. In the countrie of the newe and olde *Tonge*, there were certaine Poldres or Causeis ouer-flowne, but they were soone recouered againe.

By reason of these tempests and vnreasonable tides, there was so great a desolation throughout all the countrie of Zeeland, and elsewhere, as it can hardly bee described: for there was an incredible number of al sorts of cattell, as Horses, Oxen, Kyne, Sheepe, Swine and other beastes swalloed vp in the sea: manie faire country houses, and farmes with their barnes full of corne, were ouerthrowne and carried away with the violence of the water. But that which was most lamentable, manie men women and children were drowned, and could by no meanes be releeued. Many rich men keeping good houses, and possessing great lands, were vtterly ruined by these inundations; and who before were accustomed to be serued, were now forced to go and serue, and to labour for others; some were faine to begge their bread: a pittiful thing to behold. Those that could saue themselues from the furie of the waters, being come into the neighbor quarters of Zeeland died languishing with greese, and others with want and miserie. Many villages in the Island of Zuydbeuelandt remaine vnto this day in the botome of the sea: and of all the East quarter there remaines nothing but the towne of Romerswael, the which through the mallice of these last ciuill warres, is now very disolate, whereas it was wont to bee a good and a rich towne. The six villages which were drowned in the country of Borssele, (which was wont to bee one of the most ancient, the most famous and the greatest Islandes of Zeeland, ioyning to that of Zuydbeuelandt) were Monster, Saint Catherine, Ostkerke, Westkerke, Walfardorp and Deuyc, whereas the Lords of Borssele did vsually make their residence. These villages, were the Sommer following recouered: but two yeares after 1532. they were againe drowned,

A drowned, and ſo remained vnto the yeare 1597. that Northeuelandt was recouered, of this memorable and lamentable Inundation, happened in the yeare 1530. theſe two Latin verſes were made, ſhewing the date of the yeare and the day.

Anno ter deno poſt ſeſquimille Nouembris
Quinta, ſtat ſalſis Zelandia tota ſub vndis.

The 27. of Nouember the ſame yeare the Ladie *Marguerite* of Auſtria, Douager of Sauoy, Aunt to the Emperor, Gouerneſſe of the Netherland, died at Macklyn: ſhe deſired to be interred at Bruges, by the Ladie *Marie* Dutcheſſe of Bourgongne, Counteſſe of Holland, Zeeland &c. her mother. In December the ſame yeare 1530. the The death of Lady Marguerite of Auſtria.

B Emperour parted out of Germany with King *Ferdinand* his brother, and the Princes both Electors and others, and many great Noblemen both Clergy and Temporal, and arriued at Cologne the fift of Ianuary 1531. where the ſixt of that month *Ferdinand* his brother was choſen King of the Romaines, by all the Princes Electors, except him of Saxony. After the election, the Emperor and his brother, accompained with all theſe Princes and Noblemen, entred into Aix la Chapelle, the tenth of the ſayd month, where hee was the next day crowned with all the ſollemnities required for a King of Romains. This done *Ferdinand* returned with the Princes into Germany, and the Emperor came to Bruſſelles the 24. of the moneth, where ſoone after he went to ſee the Lady *Mary*, Queene Douager of Hungary, his ſiſter, whom he made Gouerneſſe in his

1531. Ferdinand the Emperors brother made King of Romaines.

C name of all the Netherlands, by the death of the Lady *Marguerite* their Aunt.

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MARY OF AVSTRIA, QVEENE-DOWAGER of Hongary, ſiſter to the Emperor Charles the 5. Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands.



MARIA REGINA HONG. GVB BELGII.
SOROR IMPERAT. CAROLI QVINTI.

To Lewis *King of Hungary I was wife,*
King to my Father, Emperor to my Brother:
Amongſt the Turkes my husband loſt his life,
And euer ſince I liu'd without another.

Not vnto ſecond marriage had I heart,
But kept my ſtate of widdow-hood to the end,
My Brother vnto me ere his depart,
The rule of the Low-Countries did commend.

Mary

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A  *ary* of Auſtria, ſecond daughter to the Arch-duke *Phillip* and the Lady *Iane* King and Queene of Caſtile, ſiſter to the Emperors *Charles* the 5. and *Ferdinand* the 1. was married to *Lewis* King of Hongarie, who was ſlaine in battell by the great Turke *Solliman*, and remained a widdow. By the death of the Lady *Marguerite*, Dowager of Sauoy, ſhe was by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth her brother, appointed Gouerneſſe of all the Netherlands. During the Emperours aboad at Bruſſelles, the inhabitants of the Towne obtained of his Maieſtie, a confirmation of the grant which they had ob- The beginning of the chanell which goes from Bruſſelles to Antwerp.
B tained long before of the Lady *Mary* Ducheſſe of Bourgongne, and of the Emperour *Maximillian* her huſband, for the making of a new riuer or chanell betwixt Bruſſells and Antwerp, in the which after that time they began to labour, vntil it was fully ended, and that ſhips came vnto it in the yeare 1560. The Anabaptiſts which began in thoſe times to raigne in Germanie, crept in like ſort into the Low-countries, namely in Holland to Amſterdam where the Proctor general of the Hage, cauſed nine to be appre- Anabaptiſts in Holland.
hended at one time, whereby a ſentence giuen by the Emperour they loſt their heads. All this yeare 1531. that the Emperour ſtaied in the Netherlands, there paſt nothing that was memorable; onely the 3. of December hee renued the order of the golden Fleece, in the Cittie of Tournay, then hee made his preparations to returne into Germanie, to an Imperiall Dyet which ſhould bee held at Ratiſbone, to conclude the controuerſies in relligion, and the Turkiſh warres. The Count *Palatin* came to
C Bruſſells to fetch him, with whome hee parted the 17. of Ianuary 1532. This yeare was pubiſhed in Holland, Zeeland, and other Prouinces of the Netherlands, the third bloudy Edict againſt them of the reformed relligion, and more rigorous then any of the former. The 3. bloudy Edict againſt the Proteſtants.

The Hollanders hauing by the Emperors commandement deliuered certaine ſhips vnto *Chriſtierne* the 2. King of Denmarke, beeing exiled, to carry him backe into his Kingdome with the which hee paſt into Norway: thoſe of Lubeck and their Allies beeing much incenſed thereat, rigged forth many ſhippes of warre, which they ſent to Sea: cauſing them to keepe the Sounde in ſuch ſort, as no Hollanders ſhippes could paſſe, which was the cauſe of great pouertie and want among their marriners, War betwixt them of Lubeck and Hollanders.
D and ſuch as get their liuing by the nauigation of the Sea. Corne grew exceeding deere there, and had beene deerer if thoſe of Breme had not ſent in a great quantity of wheat and rye to Amſterdam during the Sommer time. The Hollanders complained to the Queene of Hongary, who did write to the Lubekers, deſiring a day of meeting might bee appointed betwixt her and them, touching their controuerſies: where-vppon they reſolued on either ſide to aſſemble at Hamberough, whether the Deputies of Amſterdam came, and one of the Priuie Councell. But thoſe of Lubeck came not, ſending onely ſome Deputies, excuſing them-ſelues that they could not come to the ſame Aſſembly, without the preſence of Frederic Duke of Holſteyn their Lord (beeing then newly choſen King of Denmarke) or of his Com-
E miſſioners, who had written vnto them that hee deſired the ſaid Aſſembly might bee held the next yeare at Coppenhagen, whither hee would come him-ſelfe in perſon, to treat with the Emperour, and ſeeke all meanes of peace. Although the Deputies of the Netherlanders, were not well ſatisfied, yet for that they could not helpe it, they were content to remitte the Aſſembly vnto the time required, returning as well into Holland as Bruſſels to make their report.

Soone after the returne of the Deputies, ſome ſhippes of warre of Lubeck came running along the Coaſt of Zeeland, where they tooke a ſhippe of Edam laden with ſalt, comming from Lisborne beelonging to them of Amſterdam. Where-vppon the Court (at the ſute of the Hollanders) cauſed all the ſhips, goods, marchan-
F diſe, and generally what-ſoeuer did belong to them of Lubeck and Hambrough, to bee ſtaied and arreſted, in recompence of this ſhip that was taken by them. The 10. of Iune *Ioos Ameſon Vander-Burch, & Gerard Mullart van Campen, with Cornelis Bennick* of Amſterdam parted out of Holland to this aſſembly at Copenhagen. The King of Denmarke and Prince *Chriſtierne* his ſonne (who afterwards was King, called *Chriſtierne* the 3.)

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receiued these Deputies honourably. Those of Lubeck propounded many complaints in the open Assembly against them of Holland, blaming them with many Articles. Yet the King and all the Townes of the East countries layed the fault vppon the Lubekers

A peace made by the Emperor and Hollanders with the King of Denmarke.

And so a Peace was concluded betwixt Frederic King of Denmarke and his sonne, with the Townes of the Easterlins of the one partie, and the Emperor with the Hollanders of the other, where-vnto the Lubeckers were forced to consent with the other Townes, and to set their signe and seale to the treatie of Peace: so as all shippes and goods that had beene stayed on either side, were discharged, the Sounde remaining open and free. The newes of this peace did greatly reioyce them of Amsterdam, and did bring downe the price of pitche, rozen tarre, corne, and of all other comodities that came out of the East Countries by the Sounde.

A Dyet at Ratisbone touching religion.

In the beginning of Ianuary 1532. the Emperour beeing as wee haue said, parted out of the Netherlands, and came with his Brother King *Ferdinand* to Ratisbone to hold a Dyet, whither came all the Princes, except the Duke of Saxony, and the Landtgraue of Hessen. The Emperour beeing come to Ments the first of February, the Arch-bishoppe of that place and the Count Palatin did sollicit him againe for peace, and hauing warrant from him to deale in it, they did admonish and aduise the Princes of Saxony and Hessen to harken to it. So as after many letters sent on either side; in the end they mette in the beginning of Aprill at Schuynfort. There a proposition was made to liue in peace vntill a Councell were called, and some

Articles propounded to the Protestants.

points were propounded by the Emperours commandment, touching the which there was some debate on the behalfe of the seauen Princes, and the twenty foure Protestant Townes, yet notwith-standing there followed an Accord, the tennor whereof followes.

A forme of the conditions of peace in Germany.

As well those that haue presented the confession of their Doctrine at Ausbourg, "and the defence thereof: as those which shall hereafter ioyne vnto that relligion, "shall conteyne them-selues within these limitts without any Innouation vntill a "Councell, bee called. They shall not conuerse with those that teach the Sacraments "of the Lords supper, and of Baptisme, other-wise then is sette downe in their decla- "ration at Ausbourg. Touching that which concearnes matters of Doctrine, they "shall not suborne nor defend any one of a strange Iurisdiction, vnder coullor of relli- "gion. But if the law allowes any to go at their pleasure, after they haue giuen notice "thereof vnto their Lords, they may then go where they like or are admitted. They "shall not send their Preachers out of their Countries to teach, if the Magistrate "doth not require it, or suffer it, when there shall bee any Assembly there: if hee "denies, then may they preach in the houses, If they bee called to an imperiall Dyet, "or if they send their men against the Turke, they shall allwaies haue their Preachers, "and the administration of the Supper, according to the commandment of *CHRIST*. "They shall auoyd iniuries; and the Ministers of the Church shall according to their "duties, reprehend errors and vice modestly, and teach the truth. They of their rel- "ligion shall not bee excluded from the Imperiall Chamber. The Ecclesiasticall Iuris- "diction shall remaine as it is at this present, and it shall not bee lawfull for the Bishop "to call any one into question for matters of relligion. All sentences giuen touching "relligion, Iurisdiction, ceremonies and holy things, (which are not yet put in execu- "tion) shall remaine in suspence, vntill a Councell. Those shall enioy the goods of the "Church which shallbee resident vppon the place, to whome properly such goods "belong. That nothing bee taken away violently from any man. That the yearely "reuenues bee carried to those places where they were wont to bee, vntill the Coun- "cell doe other-wise determine, in polliticke matters euery one to do his duty, and "to bee carefull of the common-weale carrying them-selues faithfully together, and "louing one an other mutually.

1532. A peace betwixt the Emperor and the Protestants.

According to these Articles, the Protestants for their parts beeing seauen Princes and twenty foure Townes offered obedience to the Emperor, and promised him succors against the Turke. The Noblemen that had bene mediators, concluded this treatie of peace the 23. of Iune. 1532. & the Emperor ratified it the 2. of August, and

by

A by a publicke Edict did authoriſe it, commanding the Imperiall Chamber and all other Iudges to obey it. And for that they had daſely newes of the Turks approching, it was decreed that all the States of the Empire, ſhould giue ſuccors, not contributing of mony, but ſending men. And ſo the Aſſembly ended the 27. of Iuly, euery one going to prepare for the warre. The ſame yeare the 8. of Aprill was begun the new hauen of Middelbourg in Zeeland, in the Iland of Walcren, paſſing in a ſtraight line from the towne vnto the banke of the Iland, where it falls into the ſea, the which was finiſhed in two years, a very commodious and profitable worke, ſeeing that before their hauen was neere vnto the ſalt marſhes of Armuyden, hauing a crooked courſe vnto the towne, and therfore very diſcomodious. A new Hauen at Middelbourg.

B *George* of Egmont the 80. Biſhop of Vtrecht, ſonne to *Iohn* the firſt Earle of Egmont ſucceeded *William* van Enkeuoort, who (as we haue ſaid) died at Rome. He was before Seignor of Hoochwoud and Ertſwoude and Abot of Saint Amand in Tourneſis: But he had no authority in the Seigneury of Vtrecht, but ouer the ſpirituall Iuriſdiction: the Emperor hauing before (when as *Philip* of Bourgonge was Biſhop) ſeaſed vpon the reuenewes and temporall iuriſdiction, vnder collour, that the Biſhops were not powerfull inough to defend it againſt the Duke of Gelders and other ennemies: and alſo by reaſon of their ordinary mutinies, tumults and ciuil wars, againſt the Biſhops, yet notwithſtanding *George* of Egmont did gouerne the ſayd Biſhopricke with great magnificence, the ſpace of 25. years.

C The 3. of May in the yeare 1536. about three of the clocke in the after-noone, there fell a great and fearefull fier at Delfe in Holland, ſo as in a ſhort time the whole towne was in a manner conſumed; there were burnt 9300. houſes, the two pariſh Churches, and many goodly Cloiſters and monaſteries: ſo as there remained not aboue 300. houſes. There was no means to quench it, for that moſt of the Cloiſters and houſes were couered with reeds, and beſides there had no raigne fallen of a long time, ſo as there was a great drought: and withall the wind was great, which draue the fier from one place to an other. There were many burnt, eſpecially women lying in child-bed, and great riches, plate and Iewelles conſumed with the fyre. 1536.

In the moneth of Auguſt the ſame yeare, the warres being kindled againe betwixt the Emperor and the French D King, two ſhippes of warre Frenchmen, ranne along the coaſt of Holland, who with their long boats went ſome-times to land, to ſurprize ſome of the Country-men, if they could in their beds: but they kept ſo good gard as the French-men could not doe any thing. Theſe two ſhippes lay houering vp and downe there a long time, making many attempts, but all in vaine. Thoſe of Dordrecht hearing talke of them, ſome marriners conſulted together how they might intrappe them, where-vpon fifty tall fellowes put them-ſelues into a Hoye (which is a kind of ſhippe they vſe to carrie marchandiſe and paſſengers) hauing filled certaine ſacks with ſtrawe, and laied them vpon their hatches, as if they had beene wooll, they all lying hidden vnder the decke; onely the mariner and his boy walked aboue: and ſo paſſing out of the old Meuſe, they went E to ſeeke theſe two ſhippes. Thoſe beneth were redy with their Armes, vpon the firſt ſigne that the marriner ſhould giue them. The hatches, were ſo ordred, that as ſoone as they were toucht, they would fall downe. The marriner hauing diſcouered theſe two ſhippes approched a little towards them, and then he made ſhew to flye from them. Two French ſhips cunningly taken by them of Dordrecht.

The French ſeeing it purſued him with full ſayles, and comming neere cryed vnto him to ſtrike ſayle, and that he ſhould come aboord: then he drew neerer, intreating them to ſuffer him to depart, and that he was a poore man, who ſought onely to get his liuing, and that if they tooke away his boat he muſt go beg his bread. Then the French cryed out the more to haue him approch & come a boord, or elſe the would ſinke him.

F Being come cloſe vnto them & the French entred, beginning to handle thoſe ſackes, he cryed out and gaue a watch-word to them vnder the hatches, who comming vp ſodenly with their ſwords drawne fell vpon theſe pirats whom they ſurpriſed and ſlue all that were entred. Thoſe that were in the other ſhippe ſeeing this diſorder, fled as faſt as they could and went to land. Soe the Hollanders of Dordrecht had theſe two ſhippes,

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good cheape, the which they carryed vnto their Towne, not without ioy and admiration of so hardie an enterprise. *Charles* Duke of Geldres was much discontented, to see himselfe so depriued of the towne of Groningen, the which was yeelded vnto the Emperor, as wee haue said. Being desirous to haue his reuenge, hee studied how hee might surprise some Towne. He had a certaine enterprise vpon the towne of Amersfort, the which some traytors within it should deliuer vnto him the 13. day of September the same yeare. But a woman hauing discouered the treason of the Bourgmaster of the towne, the enterprise failed, and he returned as he came. The traytors were quartered, and their heads set vpon the gates of the towne. The second day of Nouember, there was a meeting appointed in the towne of Graue, betwixt the Deputies for the Emperor and the Duke of Geldres, touching the difference that was betwixt them by reason of the towne of Groningen and the Ommelandts. After long conference betwixt the Deputies, in the end they concluded the tenth of December a good and friendly peace, betwixt the Emperour and his subiects of the one part, and the Duke of Geldres and his subiects of the other part, whereof a Treatie was drawne in writing, conteining 16. Articles, proclaimed at Brussels the twentith of December.

The duke of Geldres enterprise vpon Amersfort.

In Aprill 1537. the French King entred with a mightie Armie, in the which were three Kings; himselfe, *Iames* King of Scotland the fift of that name, and the King of Nauarre, into the Country of Arthois, where hee besieged Hesdin a frontier towne, the which hee wonne, the Inhabitants beeing retired with all their chiefe moueables into the Castell, the which held good for a time: but through the Kings goodly offers and great threats, they forced the Captaines to yeeld the place. The Earle of Buren on the other side besieged the towne of Saint Pol in Arthois, belonging to the house of Longueuille, manned with a good garrison of French. Sending to sommon it, the Gouernor in despight of the Emperour, caused the Trumpet to bee hanged that did this message, where-with the Earle with all the Commanders of the Emperors Armie were much incensed: after that they had battered the towne with great furie, and made a sufficient breache, the Earle at dinner time, when as the Gouernor and Captaines were at meate, caused a furious assault to bee giuen, and in the end forced the towne, killing and massacring all that they mette in the heate of their furie, not sparing any, yea the bloud was mingled with the wine vpon the Tables: the Bourguignons were in the towne, before the French Captaines would beleeue it: the towne being wonne, some Bourgesses fled into the Castell, the which after that the furie was past, they yeelded, to haue their liues saued. The taking of this towne was re-markeable, for the great effusion of bloud, especially of the French Nobilitie; a iust reward for their brauing presumption: It was taken the thirteenth of Iune 1537.

Hesdin taken by the french.

Saint Pol taken by the Imperials.

The Duke of Geldres not content with the peace which hee had made with the Emperor, practised meanes to surprize the Towne of Enchuysen in Holland, thereby to make himselfe maister of the Zuyderzee, to which end hee furnished out fiue ships at Harderwyke, in the which hee imbarked 700. men, as secreatly as hee could in the night, himselfe conuoying them euen vnto the Bridge. These fiue ships arriued the next day before Enchuysen by three of the clocke in the morning, the soldiers lying hidden vnder hatches: two of them entred into the Hauen, where (by reason of the peace they had with the Geldrois) they had not shutte the barre, so as ships might enter in by night. But as GOD would haue it, it was then a lowe water, so as their ships could not floate. And as the day appeared fearing to bee discouered, after that they had attended foure houres for a high water, they retired without any effect, the two and twentith of Iune 1537.

The duke of Geldres enterprise vpon Enchuysen.

1537.

The Duke seeing his enterprise miscarried, feared least the Hollanders should complaine vnto Queene *Mary*, the Gouernesse; hee therefore excused himselfe vnto them of Amsterdam: how that his Nephew the Cardinall of Bourbon, desiring to see him once before hee dyed, had requested him to send these shippes for his garde: but

The duke excuseth himselfe for this enterprise.

A but they had beene forced by the tide to enter into the hauen of Enchuyſen: intreating them of Amſterdam to giue a ſafe conduct to his Nephew by the Zuyderzee, for fifteene daies.

They of Amſterdam hauing red this letter, did wonder at the dukes ſubtill and ſondaine inuention, for they had certaine intelligence that hee himſelfe had beene in perſon within Harderwick, and had kept the towne gates ſhut two daies togither, to the end that no man ſhould go forth, to aduertiſe them of Enchuyſen, and other ſea townes of his comming: that he had ſtruck vp the drum to call ſoldiars togither and had made a proclamation, that all ſuch as had ſworne to the King of France, ſhould imbarke preſently, and do whatſoeuer their captaines ſhould command them, vpon paine of death.

B Although they of Amſterdam were well aduertiſed of all this by ſome of their Burgeſes that were ſhut vp at that time in Harderwyck, yet they would make no mention thereof, but anſwered him onely. That they had no authoritie to grant any paſports to the Emperours enemies, to come into his country; but hee muſt ſeeke it from Queene *Marie*, Gouerneſſe for the Emperour. The Earle of Buren, after the winning of Saint Poll, tooke Monſtruiel, and then hee went and beſieged Teroane, a towne ſcituated in the mideſt of the countrie of Arthois, two leagues and a halfe from Ayre, and as much from Saint Omer. During which ſiege the Marſhall of Annebaut came with an armie to raiſe his campe, or to victuall the towne. The Earle of Buren being aduertiſed thereof, hee ſent the Earle of Roeux, the Lord of Brederode and other No-

C blemen, with troupes of horſe and foote, to cut off their paſſage, the which they could not do, being to farre aduanced, euen iuſt to the towne, but attending them in their returne, they charged them in ſuch ſort, as they were all defeated.

The Marſhall of Annebaut chiefe of this army, the Lord of Chaſtillon, the Lord of Sercis ſonne, *George Capuſman* captaine of the Albanois and about 1500. horſe were pri- The French ſoners beſides thoſe that were ſlaine vpon the place. This incounter was called the battaile of Saguelets, for that euery one of the French horſe-men carried a bagge of poulder. But preſently after a truce was concluded for fixe monethes betwixt the Emperour and the French King, ſo as Teroane was freed from ſiege. Although that the yeare before 1536. there had beene a firme peace concluded betwixt the Em-

D perour and the duke of Geldres, yet the duke practiſed all the meanes hee could to ſurpriſe ſome townes in Holland: as hee had failed firſt at Enchuyſen, then at Gorrichom and laſtly at Dordrecht. And ſeeing all theſe deſeignes to proue fruteleſſe; hee deuiſed how hee might in his life time reſigne all his Seigneuries to the French King. The which not able to do without the generall conſent of all the townes and country of Geldres, hee commanded them to come all to Arnhem in October, to heare that which hee ſhould propound vnto them. The deputies of all the townes being aſſembled, he declared vnto them, that being now growne old, his deſire was to prouide them now in his life time of a good Prince, rich and mighty, that had meanes to defend them againſt all men, and therefore to that end hee would inſtitute the French King in his

E place, intreating them to conſent thereunto, and to accept him for their Prince and Lord, and that in his hands they would take the oth of fealty, and do homage vnto the King. The deputies hearing this, anſwered, that they had once taken an oth of fealtie vnto him, and therefore they would hould him for their Prince and Lord, ſo long as he liued, neither would they giue their faith vnto any other, during his life. But as the duke inſiſted ſtill with great importunitie, and that it ſeemed hee would force them, for that hee had caſtells in all the townes: the deputies deſired to haue fiueteene daies reſpight to conſider and reſolue thereon, the which hee granted them. The deputies beeing all aſſembled to conſult in what ſort they might beſt gouerne themſelues in this buſineſſe; And conſidering then the eſtate and ſcituation of their

F country, lying in the mideſt of the Emperors territories, they reſolued not to giue the- The townes ſelues vnto the French King. The townes of the Duchy of Geldres and cou- of Geldres nty of Zutphen, hauing thus reſolued; as the Duke had his garriſons in the caſtells gainſt their of ſome townes by the which he might bring in the French at his pleaſure. ine their caſtels.

Thoſe of Nemegen, Zutphen, Ruremonde and Venlo, foure of the chiefe townes,

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reſolued by practiſes of force to ſeaze vpon their Caſtles, the which they did preſently A
ruine, ſo as the Duke could no more enter at his pleaſure. The Duke ſeeing this,
made a leauie of 4000. men to terrifie them. Theſe Towens did alſo furniſh them-
ſelues with ſoldiars, Bourguignons and Cleuois, euery one of them 300. men, and
Nymegen ouer and aboue entertained 300. horſe. The Dukes men were diuided to
goe to Nymegen and Zutphen, hoping to recouer by ſome Intelligence within the
Townes, but they were ſo well entertayned by the Inhabitants and ſoldiars, as they
were forced to retire with ſhame. The Duke much diſcontented that hee could not
preuaile ouer theſe Townes ſent his horſmen into the quarter of the Veluwe, to ruine
the peaſants and to ſpoile the country. What doth a Prince get in ruining his owne
ſubiects, through wilfullnes, to make him ſelfe poore? he ſent his Deputies to the aboue B
named townes, to know the reaſons why they ruined his Caſtells: who anſwered that
they did acknowledge him for their Prince and Lord, and that they deſired no other
ſo long as hee liued. And for the Caſtells which they had beaten downe: that it had
not beene for any other reaſon, but that they feared they ſhould haue bene forced to
receiue in the French by them; and to take an oth to the French King, the which
they were not reſolued to do. But during his life they would not acknowledge any
other, and that hee being dead, they would receiue him for their Lord that had moſt
right. This remayned a while in ſuſpence: not long after hee ſent his Comiſſioners
againe to theſe Townes, to command them to pay him his reuenues, and that they
ſend their Deputies with them of the Townes to Arnhem, where hee was reſolued C
to hold an Aſſembly of his States: they anſwered, that they were not reſolued to
paie him any thing vntill that hee diſcharged his horſmen, and ſent them out of
the Country.

Theſe Townes hauing beene long thus in bad tearmes with their Prince and that
ſometimes their ſoldiars fell vppon the Dukes men, who ouerunne the Veluwe, ill
intreating the poore countrymen, in the end by the meanes of ſome Noblemen an
Accord was made, about the end of December, betwixt the Duke and the Townes:
The Empreſſe brought in bed of a 2. ſon
after the which the Country of Gelders and the Country of Zutphen were at reſt
vntill the Dukes death. About the end of this yeare, the Lady *Iſſabella* Empreſſe,
1538 was deliuered of a ſecond ſonne in Spaine called *Iohn*, whereof there was great ioy D
in the Netherlands, hoping to haue a particular Prince, but hee died in Aprill follow-
ing. The ſecond of Iuly in the yeare 1538. *Charles* of Egmont Duke of Gelders died
The death of the Duke of Gelders.
beeing 71. yeares old, hauing gouerned and moleſted his Country for the ſpace of
thirty ſix yeares. Hee was the cauſe (through his violence) that the Prouince of Friſe-
land, the Dioceſſe of Vtrecht, the Towne of Groninghen, and the Ommelands came
vnder the Emperors obedience; the which he might eaſily haue preſerued for himſelfe,
if he had not continuallie ouercharged the people with new exactions, by the which he
loſt the hearts of men. This prince was of a turbulent ſpirit, and a great louer of Inno-
uations. Being dead, *William* duke of Cleues came into Gelders, where he was honou-
bly receiued, and ſollemnly put in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Duchie, and of the Country of E
The death of the Earle of Naſſau.
Zutphen: The 13. of September in the ſame yeare 1538. *Henry* Earle of Naſſau father
to *William* prince of Orange, died in his Caſtell of Breda, eight daies after hee had
1539 feaſted the Queene of Hongarie, Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, with great Pompe.
The death of the Duke of Cleues.
In February 1539. died *Iohn* Duke of Cleues, to wome *William* his ſonne ſucceeded,
who was Duke of Cleues, *Iulliers* and *Bergh*, Earle of La Marck and Rauenſbourg,
Lord of Rauenſteyn &c. and heire to the Ducthy of Gelders, by the death of Duke
Charles of Egmont.

Mutine of the Ganchois.
The 17. of Auguſt the Ganthois began to mutine, the companies of trades and
occupations aſſembled togither in their ſeuerall halles, and then they went to
armes, ſeeking to extort many things from the great Bayliffe, and from the Magiſtrate F
of the Towne. They committed many of the Court of Flanders to priſon, and among
others one *Lieuin Pin*, whome vppon their owne motion and authoritie, they cauſed
to be publikely beheaded. The 25. of September the Bayliffe, Bourgmaiſter & the Se-
cretary of the towne of Maeſtricht, in a great popular tumult were all three maſſackred.

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A The 24. of October died *Floris* of Egmont the firſt Earle of Buren, in his caſtell of Buren: *Maximilian* his ſonne Lord of Iſelſtein, ſucceeded him, whoſe daughter and onely heire, *William* of Naſſau Prince of Orange tooke to his firſt wife: of which marriage are iſſued *Philip* of Naſſau, at this day Prince of Orange and the Lady *Mary* of Naſſau, widow to Count *Philip* of Hohenlo. The thirty of the ſayd month the Earle of Roeux, entred into Gant, hauing giuen them to vnderſtand in the Emperors name, that they ſhould hold their lawes, rights and accuſtomed preuiledges. And the tenth of December the Emperour truſting to the French Kings word and ſafe-conduit, parted from Spaine to come by land into the Netherlands, through France. The Prince Daulphin and the duke of Orleans the Kings ſonnes, were to receiue him at the foote B of the Pyrenee Mountaines: who conducted him to Paris. Hee was receiued with great State in all townes where he paſſed, with acclamations and great ſhewes of ioye, hoping that his comming ſhould bee a confirmation of a perpetuall peace. Approching neere vnto Paris, the King went to meete him, beeing accompanied with all his Princes and Noblemen, and 1500. gentlemen, all richly appointed. The Marchants did him all the honour they could, comming to the Louure his reception was great and ſtately by the King and Queene, the Emperors ſiſter. Hauing taken his leaue of the King and Queene, hee was conducted by the Daulphin and many Princes and Noblemen, to Valenciences the firſt towne in Henalt, whereas the Lady *Mary* Queene of Hungary went to receiue him, from whence they went to Bruſſelles, where hee arC riued the nineteene of February 1540.

The Emperor paſſeth through France to come to Gant.

1540.

In the beginning of the ſayd moneth of February died that valiant captaine *George Schenck* Baron of Tautenbourg, knight of the order of the golden fleece, Gouernor of the countries of Friſeland and Groningen, in whoſe place, ſucceeded to the ſame Gouernment, *Maximilian* of Egmont, Earle of Buren Lord of Iſelſteyn. The ſecond day of Aprill died in the citty of Gant *Anthony* of Lalain Earle of Hoochſtraten, after that hee had beene eighteene yeares Gouernor of Holland, Zeeland &c. to whome ſucceeded *Rene* of Chalons Prince of Orange, Earle of Naſſau and Lord of Breda. The Emperour beeing arriued at Bruſſelles, hearing the many complaints that were made vnto him of the rebellion of the Ganthois, hee parted from Buſſelles with foure thouD ſand men towardes Gant, comming neere the towne, the Magiſtrates went to meete him, and brought him into the towne with great honour. During his aboad, hauing beene dulie informed of all matters, hee cauſed many Bourgeſes to be apprehended: and among others the great deane (who was a carpenter by his trade:) the chiefe motiue of this rebellion. Their Proceſſe being made & finiſhed nine of the chiefe were beheaded, and the Burgeſes were forbidden to carry any kniues, vnleſſe the pointes of them were broken, and then to keepe the towne in better order then it had beene, the Emperour cauſed a great and ſtrong Cittadell to be built, in the place whereas the Abbaie of Saint Bauon was wont to ſtand: into the which hee put a good gouernor, and a ſufficient garriſon, to hold them in ſubiection, that they might neuer rebell any E more. Moreouer the towne payed 500000. florins vnto the Emperour, beſides their Annuall duties. All the preuiledges which they had enioyed for ſo many yeares, which had beene the cauſe of their often and many mutinies and rebellions, were taken from them, fifty of the chiefe of the towne, attired all in mourning weedes, caſt themſelues at the Emperours feete, and other fifty in their ſhirts with halters about their necks, crying for mercy, with their hands lift vp, with other indignities that were done them, as you may reade at large in the Chronicle of Flanders.

The death of George Schenck.

The death of the 1. Earle of Hoochſtraten.

The Emperor doth puniſh the rebellion of the Ganthois.

On Saint Mathews day, *Ferdinand* King of Romaines arriued at Bruſſelles with a ſmal traine, whereof the Emperor being aduertiſed the ſame night, he tooke poſt with foure horſe only, whereof the Earle of Buren was one, and the Lord of Conde an other, F it was very darke before they arriued at Bruſſelles, whereas hee was welcome to his brother King *Ferdinand*, and to his ſiſter the Queene of Hungary. This ſame yeare was publiſhed by the Emperor, the 4. bloudy Edict, againſt them of the religion in the Netherlands, the which confirming the 3. precedent, was the ſubiect of al thoſe that haue ſince bin granted, both by himſelf, & King *Philip* his ſon, beeing called the great Edict

The 4. bloudy Edict againſt the Proteſtants.

of

of the yeare 1540. the which is yet daylie obiected against them of the relligion in the lowe countries. Whilest that the Emperour made some aboade in the Netherlands, being much troubled to suppresse the Ganthois. Hee consulted also what was to bee done against the Protestants of Germanie: the Popes Legat incensed him against them all he could, vpbraiding them with all the opprobrious termes that might be, terming them worse then Turkes, and proclayming warre against them, charging them with heresie and rebellion. The Emperour following his accustomed course, without aduertising of the Legat, appointed a diet at Haguenau; where King *Ferdinand* was president for the Emperor, and as King of Romains: where after some conferences, it was sayd, that matters were in that estate, as they could not determine any thing: especially through the absence of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landtgraue of Hessen, and therefore they must referre the businesse vnto an other daie, when as the Ambassadours and Diuines of eyther side should meete in equall numbers, to conferre togither vpon the Articles of the confession of the Protestants faith: prouided notwithstanding that the Edict of Ausbourg should stand in force, and that it should bee lawfull for the Pope to send his deputies thether if he pleased.

A diet at Haguenau.

The conclusion of Haguenau.

The diet was referred to Wormes, and in the meane time the Emperor writ his letters, confirming the former conclusion, promising an Imperiall diet, whereas hee would be himselfe in person, whither that should bee brought that should bee treated at Wormes. Hee sent his Ambassador *Granuelle* to Wormes, with his sonne *Anthony Perrenot* Bishop of Arras, and some Spanish diuines. *Granuelle* in the Emperors name exorted them that were there present to studie for peace and vnion. The next daie *Campege*, the Popes Ambassador made his speech, to this effect, that the Pope would for his part do all that was possible, excepting relligion. But nothing was done in this assemblie, for that matters inclyned in fauor of the Protestants, who desired nothing more then to enter into conference, hauing brought many learned men to that end: among others *Melancton*, *Bucer* and *Caluin*. After many remises for a countenance onely, there were some publicke disputations betwixt *Melancton* and *Eckius*, touching originall sinne. But the third daie *Granuelle* and the other Ambassadors receiued letters from the Emperor, by the which hee referred the businesse vnto the diet at Ratisbone, commanding the Protestants to be there also, and *Granuelle* to returne vnto him. In the beginning of February 1541. the Emperor leauing the Netherlands, came to Mets in Lorraine and so passing by Spire came to Ratisbone. He was receiued at Nuremberg with great state: In March many Princes & the states of Germany, came to Ratisbone, where he attended them: who on the day of the assembly begun the 25. of Aprill, propounded many excuses why matters had beene so long delaied, yet prefering the quiet of Germany, before all other things, yea before his owne health, hee was come thether to intreat them to aduise of some good agreement: and to the end that euery one might know how much he desired peace, his opinion was, if they found no better expedient, that there should be some learned and quiet minded Germains chosen out to conferre friendly togither of all differences, and report as well to the Emperor, as to the States, how they might come to some agreemēt. Wherevpon there were diuers conferences betwixt three Doctors of the Protestants, and three of the Romish relligion, but they agreed in fewe things, the Romanists offring still to refer their controuersies to the Popes decision, the which the Protestants did, mightily impugne. The Emperor hauing heard all their opinions, discourse in order, concluded: that, seeing their differences could not be there determined, and that there were other important affaires, hauing also staied long there, hee referred all to a councell, whereof the Popes Legat had giuen him hope, and that hee himselfe would in person sollicit it vnto the Pope: promising also to returne into Germany. If that the Pope did not aduance any thing, to prouide himselfe for the pacification thereof. *William* duke of Cleues, of Iuilliers &c. vpon the word of *Ferdinand* King of Romaines, went vnto the Emperour, to see if they might agree touching the duchie of Geldres, but hee could neuer obtaine a confirmation from the Emperour. As for his proximitie and neereneſse to the succession, there was no doubt of it. But the Emperour pretended

An Imperiall diet at Wormes.

An Imperiall diet at Ratisbone.

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A pretended the Inueſtiture which his Grandfather the Emperour *Maximillian* had made vnto him, to hold it in fee of the Empire: and the purchaſe which the Duke of Bourgongne his great Grandfather had made of Duke *Arnhold*: and laſtly the accord made betwixt him and *Charles* of Egmont, the laſt Duke of Gelders. With which allegations and pretenſions the Duke of Cleues could not be ſatiſfied, maintayning all theſe ſales, ſeazures, and accords to be voyd and of no force, for that they could not be made to preiudice the next heire apparent without his conſent. The French King hearing of the Duke of Cleues diſcontentment, reſolued to make an alliance with him, that by his meanes and others, hee might make warre in the Netherlands: and there-vpon offered not onely to take him and his countries into his protection, B but alſo to giue him all aſſiſtance and ayd to inlarge his limits: with a good annuall penſion: and moreouer to giue him his Neece, the King of Nauarres daughter, with all her fathers ſucceſſion: vppon theſe offers and promiſes, whylſt that the Emperour was parted out of the Netherlands, to go to the Diet at Ratiſbone, the Duke of Cleues went into France to confirme this alliance with the King, where hee was honorably entertained, and after all their Treaties he eſpouſed the Princeſſe of Nauarre at Villers-Coſte-Rez, ſhe was then but twelue yeares old. Within few daies after the Duke returned into his country, leauing his ſpouſe in France, for that the mother would keepe her, vntill ſhe were ripe of age. *Martin van Roſſem* Marſhall of Gelders, had then ſome troupes of foote, the which hee ſaid belonged vnto the French King, C wherewith hauing paſſed the Rhind, and ioyned with the French troupes of the Duke of Longueuille, they entred togither into Brabant, ſtill ſpoyling and waſting the country, vntill they came before Antwerp. Whereof *Rene* of Chalons Prince of Orange being aduertiſed, he gathered to gether ſome men, and ſent word to them of the towne, that at a certaine houre aſſigned, they ſhould iſſue forth in armes, with all the forces they could make; to the end whilſt that he ſhould charge the Geldrois on the one ſide, they might ſet vppon them on the other. But the meſſenger that was ſent was taken by *Roſſems* men, for as they of the Towne wanted this aduertſment, the Geldrois knowing the Princes deſſeine who approched, and hee ſeeing them in armes, thought D they had beene the Cittizens of Antwerp, and went into the midſt of them; who hauing compaſſed them in, defeated them quite, where there died aboue 1000. men. The Prince being well mounted did happely ſaue him-ſelfe by flight in Antwerp: the which hapned on Saint *Iames* day in the yeare 1542. After the defeat of the Princes men in this manner, the Geldrois remained ſtill about Antwerp, for that there were ſome of their faction that ſhould yeeld it vp vnto them, firing it in diuers places, and breaking or filing a ſonder the chaines of the wells, to the end they might not draw any water to quench it. But as *God* would haue it, thoſe that were about the filing of the chaines, were taken in their worke, and diſcouered all the actors and factors of this Treaſon, who were executed.

The Duke of Cleues allies him ſelfe to the French King.

The Duke of Cleues eſpouſeth the King of Nauarres daughter.

The French enter into Brabant.

The Prince of Orange defeated.

1542

E *Martin van Roſſem* ſeeing this enterpriſe diſcouered, burning ſome of the ſubburbs, milles, and houſes of pleaſure in Antwerp, marched towards Louvaine thinking to take it vppon his firſt approche for that it is a great vaſt Towne, and ill peopled, where hee ariued the ſecond of Auguſt ſpoyling and burning all where hee paſt. Beeing before the Towne, hee ſummoned it to yeeld vnto the King of France, and that as his Lieutenant they ſhould ſuffer him to lodge three daies there with all his Armie, and paie him 70000. Crownes. They of the Towne were much perplexed: for the Mayor nor the Magiſtrate knew not what to anſwer. In the end the Mayor with ſome Deputies went vnto him to treat. They had forbidden the inhabitants to ſhoote from the walles. Yet ſome Schollers with ſome Bourgeſſes, F and ſome women, going vp to the walles and Towers thereabouts, ſeeing their enemies to lie ſoe open, ſhotte into the midſt of their troops, whilſt that the Mayor was in parle with *Martin van Roſſem*, who was forced to flye ſpeedily into the Towne the which other-wiſe hee was reſolued to haue yeelded, had not the Schollers and ſome Bourgeſſes oppoſed them-ſelues, tiring his camp with their ſallies and ſkirmiſhes; ſo as they forced *Martin* to retier towards Waueren, and from thence into Luxembourg

Martin van Roſſem repulſt by the Schollers of Louuain.

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Luxembourg, where he beſieged the towne of Yuois, the which yeelded vnto him vpon compoſition to haue their liues and goods ſaued. After that time they began to fortifie the towne of Antwerp, the which before had beene eaſie to take with few men. The Duke of Longueuille, and *Martin van Roſſem* hauing taken Yuois, the French king commanded them to enter into his country, to helpe to chaſe away the Spaniards, the which they did after they had taken Danuilliers, Virreton and Luxembourg, the chiefe towne of the Country, and ſo forcing themſelues a paſſage, they ioyned with the Armie of the Duke of Orleans the Kings ſonne, who being retired with his army, the Emperors men recouered all thoſe places againe, except Yuois.

Yuois taken by the Geldrois.

A tumult at Bruſſels.

The 7. of Auguſt there was a great tumult at Bruſſels betwixt the Wallons and Spaniſh ſoldiers, who put themſelues in armes, either of them ſtriuing to get the market place: but the Lord of Molenbais and others, made them retire towards the Port of Louvaine, and then *Frederick* Baſtard of Meleun, maiſter of the Ordinance, cauſed two Culuerins to be brought, the which he diſcharged againſt the Spaniards, ſhooting ouer them of purpoſe, onely to feare them, and to haue them retire, as they did. This yeare thoſe of Middelbourg in Zeeland had a great ſute againſt them of Ziricxee, touching the lading of Salt, whether ſhips of thoſe two townes ſhould lade firſt: wherein thoſe of Ziricxee did yeeld; by reaſon whereof they would no more come to Arnemuyden, nor to Middelbourg to lade any Salt; but made the Brittons ſhips, and others laden with Salt, to come before La Vere, and to anchor neere vnto Northbeuelandt, where it was ſold, and there they went to lade, which courſe continued almoſt a yeare. They of Middelbourg ſeeing this, and that they themſelues were moſt interreſſed, agreed with them of Ziricxee, that they might lade as they had done at Armuyden or Middelbourg.

The Emperors armie enters into Iuilliers.

Whileſt that *Martin van Roſſem* lead the Duke of Cleues armie into France: the Prince of Orange, the Earle of Boſſu, and the Earle of Buren Gouernor of Friſeland, entred with 20000. foote, and 4000. horſe, into the country of Iuilliers, whereof they made themſelues maiſters in a ſhort time, finding no reſiſtance, for that all the Dukes forces were out of the country. Winter being come, this armie was diſmiſſed; the which was no ſooner gone out of the country of *Iuilliers*, but *Martin van Roſſem* returned with his troopes, and recouered all in a ſhort time which the others had taken; except the towne of Heynsbergh, which he went to beſiege, hauing put good garriſons in all the other places. The Prince of Orange being aduertiſed of the Cleuois returne, and that they were at the ſiege of this towne, leuied good troopes of men, and came and charged their campe behinde, whereof he defeated a part, the 22. of Iune. After this route, *Roſſem* hauing gathered together what was left, and what ſoldiers he could otherwiſe raiſe, with a good number of peaſants, made a new armie, with the which he went to beſiege the towne of Amerſfort in the Dioceſſe of Vtrecht: the inhabitants were much amazed to ſee themſelues ſo ſodenly inueſted of all ſides: and vpon the goodly words and faire promiſes which *Roſſem* made vnto them to maintaine them free from all impoſitions, paying him onely ſeauen thouſand Florins, they yeelded the towne. But as ſoone as he was aſſured thereof, he would not bee ſatisfied with 7000. Florins, but would haue the inhabitants bring in all their gold and ſiluer, plate and iewels, yea the rings and girdles of their wiues, to whom his ſoldiers did great out-rages. Soone after the Prince of Orange came to Vtrecht, with good troopes both of horſe and foote, the which *Roſſem* vnderſtanding, hee diſlodged ſpeedily from Amersfort, carrying the richeſt Bourgeſſes of the towne with him into the country of Geldres, the which hee did afterwards ranſome, leauing onely three companies of foote for the gard of the ſaid towne.

Amerſſort yeelded to Martin van Roſſem.

1543. The Cleuois vanquiſh the Imperialiſts.

The 14. of Marche 1543. there was a battaile betwixt the Cleuois and the Imperialiſts, in the which the Cleuois had the victory, winning the Artillery with all the carriages & baggage of the Emperors campe, the which they carried into Ruremond, yet the Cleuois loſt many of their horſemen. This done, they went and beſieged the towne of Heynsberg: and in Aprill following, the Geldrois & Cleuois together, entred into Lēbourg, where they did ſpoile & burne all they could, carrying away many priſoners.

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A The ſame yeare the firſt day of May. *Maximilian* of Bourgongne, Marquis of la Vere Admirall] of the Nether-lands for the Emperour ſent out ſix ſhippes of warre well appointed to make warre againſt the French, going forth to ſea they met with three other good ſhippes of Zeeland, which Ieroſime Sandaline, receuer of Beueſterſhelt at Middelbourg had cauſed to bee armed, the which ioined with the other ſix: who together entred into the riuer of Bourdeaux, where they ſpoyled all the fleet, and burnt the ſhippes going from thence into Normandy, ſeuenteene only reſerued being laden with wine and would the which they brought to la Vere in Zeeland, ſome of thoſe Captaines landed with their Mariners and ſpoyled ſome villages in France, carrying away the Bells and other booty to ſhew that they had anoyed their ennemies by land as well as by ſea. The Hollanders zeelanders make war at ſea againſt the French.

B The 23. of May, the Emperor hauing beene abſent three yeares, arriued at Genoa. They had for a time accoumpted him dead in this laſt voiage of Affrike; therefore all his affaiers in the Netherlands ſucceded ill, by reaſon of the warre with the French, Cleuois and Geldrois his contries lamenting him much; the which did greatly reioice, hearing that he was ſafe and arriued at Genoa. Hee was a good ſpace before he could come into the Netherlands by reaſon of an Imperiall Diet which was held at Spier touching the Turkiſh affaiers. In Auguſt following he came to Nuys of the dioceſe of Cologne with goodly troupes af horſe, which he brought into the Netherlands. At the ſame time the French King thinking to ioyne with the Duke of Cleues forces en- The Emperor arriues at Genoa.

C tred into Henault, where he tooke Landercie, fortefied it, and put in a good garriſon: then hearing of the Emperors returned, and that it was two Late to ioyne with the Cleuois, he retired into France, after that he had ſpoiled and waſted a great part of the Country of Henault. The Queene of Hungary did then all ſhee could to fortefie Bruſſelles, knowing that the King was in Henault.

The 27. of Iuly, the Earle of Boſſu hauing giuen the States to vnderſtand in the Emperors name, of the great toile and charge his maieſty had been at, to come and ſuccor thoſe Contries in this warre of the French Cleuois and Geldrois. The ſaid Sates made a preſent vnto him of 15000. florins of gold. The other Prouinces preſented him in like ſort, euery one according to their power and abilities. The Emperour returning out of Germay brought with him his Spaniards and Italiens, to imploy them in the Preſents giuen to the Emperor by the Netherlanders

D warres of the Netherlands. Bein at Bonne he made agnerall muſter of his army, in the which were 14000. Germaines, 4000. Italiens, whereof *Camillo* Collonna and *Anthoine* Doria were clolonells, 4000. Spaniards, hauing for Collonels Don *Aluaro* de Sandes, and Don *Louis* Perez de Vergas, 4000. Germaine horſes and Bourguignons, and 600. light horſes Italiens and Albanois: beſides this armie the Prince of Orange arriued with 12000 foote. and 2000, Lances; The Generall of this Army was *Don Fernand* of Gonſague, the Marſhall of the Campe Stephano Collonna the Marquis of Marignan Maiſter of the Ordynance, and *Franciſco* la Eſte generall of the light horſe, with this goodly army, being 34000. foote, and 6000. horſe the Emperor went and The Emperors Armie.

E planted himſelſe before Duren, ſometimes an Imperiall towne ſcituated in the mideſt of the Country of Iuilliers, and ſence vſurped by the Dukes, one of the ſtrongeſt places in all that quarter, being well furniſhed with men and all things neceſſary to maintaine a ſeege; in the which Captaine *Flatien* was Gouernor for the Duke, beſids the inhabitants were for the moſt part trained vp in armes and well affected to the Duke of Cleues their Prince. The 22, of Auguſt he ſent a trompet to ſommon it; and they anſwered in skorne (the which afterwards coſt them full deere) that they had noe feare of him whome the Cods in the ſea had deuoured: for it was generally bruted, that after the defeat of Algier, the Emperor, putting to ſea to returne into Italy, had beene drowned: which opinion had taken ſuch an impreſſion in the hearts of the people of Duren beſeeged by the Emperot.

F Cleues, as they would not beleeue them, that not onely ſaid they had ſeene him but that had ſpoken with him: The Duke of Cleues was of the ſame opinion, the which a buſed it. The Emperor hearing this anſwer, fortefied his Campe, and they within the Towne reſolued to defend it; but through the Emperors great attempts, all this defence auayled little. Hee had made a breach, and preſently gaue order for an Aſſault: but

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but the Spaniards and Italians, who had the poynt, where repulſt and many ſlaine and remaining in the ditches. The Gouernour *Flatten* was ſlaine with the ruines of a tower that was battered downe by the Emperors Canon: at whoſe death the Inhabitants were much amazed. Another ſufficient breach being made, the Emperor cauſed a reſolute Aſſault to be giuen and well ſeconded, incouraging his men himſelfe in perſon, ſo as in the end the towne was take by force, the ſoldiers putting all the incountred to the ſword. There died at this aſſault of the Emperors ſide ſix hundred men. The towne being taken, a houſe was ſet on fire (no man knew whether it were accidentall, or done on purpoſe.) the which burnt almoſt the whole towne. The Emperor ſeeing it, ſaid, that it was well imployed: wiſhing that it might ſo happen to all thoſe that ſhould rebell againſt him; the which he ſaid to terrifie the reſt; who ſeeing this goodly preſident before their eyes, came one after an other to bring their keyes vnto the Emperor: ſo as in a ſhort time and without any great effuſion of bloud, he had made himſelfe maiſter of thoſe two goodly Prouinces, Cleues and Iuilliers. The Duke was not farre from the Emperors Campe with his armie, beeing much troubled with theſe loſſes; who beeing loth to hazard all, he reſolued to make his peace with the Emperor by the meanes and mediation of his good friends.

Duren taken by aſſault.

For the effecting whereof, he went accompanied with the Duke of *Brunſwyk* and the Elector of *Cologne*, and caſt himſelfe at the Emperors feet: deliuering into his hands all the townes and fortreſſes of the Duchie of Geldres & Conty of *Zutphen*, confeſſing that he had held them wrongfully, and crauing pardon for all. The Emperor to ſhew his mildnes and clemency, conſidering alſo what perſons did ſue and mediate for him, pardoned him gratiouſly, reſtoring all that he had taken from him in his contries of Iuilliers and Cleues, which reſtitution was made in December following the ſame yeare; vpon conditiõ that remaining in the Emperors ſeruice, he ſhould renoũce the league he had made with the french King, and the mariage which he had contracted with the Daughter of the King of Nauarre, and not yet conſumated; beeing broken, he cauſed him to marrie his Neece, the Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of Romains. Afterwards he remained a good ſeruant to the Emperor, although his mother did not much loue him for this marriage but died afterwards of griefe.

The Duke of Cleues reconciles himſelfe vnto the Emperor.

The Emperors affayres ſucceeding well in this warre of Cleues, beeing loath to looſe any time, he cauſed his armie to march, beeing ioyned to the Dukes: (whereof *Martin van Roſſem* was commander, whom the Emperor had in like ſort receiued into grace) towards the fronters of France, to recouer that which the Duke of Orleans had wonne in Luxembourg and Arthois and namely Landercye, which the Seignor of *la Lande* the Kings Lieutenant, had wonderfully fortefied and manned with a good gariſon and all other things requiſite for ſuch a place: which garriſon did greatly afflict the contries of Arthois and Henalt who beſought the Emperor to goe thither.

According to which reſolution, he marced with his armie through the countrie of Cambreſis, into Vermandois. *Don Fernando* of Gonzague Generall of the ſaid armie, propounded to beſeege Guiſe firſt, which is not farre from Landrecy, and planted his Campe at Marolles neers vnto it: where the french came to viſit him with a gallant skirmiſh in the which *Peter Stroſsy* (a baniſhed man of Florence) was taken of the french party, and of the Emperors ſide *Don Franciſco d' Eſte* Generall of the light horſe, his horſe beeing ſlaine vnder him: hearing that the Earle of Roeux was already planted before Landrecy, with ſome Netherlanders, and foure thouſand Spaniards, that were newly ariued, vnder the command of *Don Pedro de Toledo*, with two thouſand Germains: the Emperor (who was ill diſpoſed at Queſnoy le Conte in Henalt) commanded *Gonzague* to go and ioine with the reſt before Landrecy, where beeing ariued, he ſeperated his Campe from the Netherlanders, and the Engliſh, hauing euery one his Campe a part. Theſe three Campes began euery one to batter the towne: but *Gonzague* ſeeing he aduanced little, thought to famiſh it, and in the meane time ſought to ruine it. *la Lande* the gouernor made many ſallies, now vpon one Campe, then on another, ſtill taking ſome thing. The french King came with all his power and vitualed the towne: then winter being neere, the Emperor raiſed the ſeege and diſmiſſed his armie.

Landrecy beſieged.

Landrecy

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A Landrecy being thus victualled, the Emperor came to *Cambray*, where he put ſome bands of Ordynance in garriſon, for that he doubted this towne was to much affected to the French, wherof he had obſerued ſome tokens in former warres. The Inhabitants deſiro us to make proofe of their loyaltie to the Emperor, excuſed themſelues, laying all the blame vpon their Biſhop, whom the Emperour did pardon: then hee cauſed a ſtrong and mighty Cittadell to bee built to the end the cittie might no more bandy againſt him, nor ſtand as Neuter, as they would doe, (the citty holding of the Empire) but that as vnto *Charles* of Auſtria, Earle of Arthois and Henalt his ſucceſſors and not as Emperor, it ſhould be ſubiect vnto him and the Burgeſes forced to hold his party. Wherein hee himſelfe did impugne and breake the preuiledges of that cittie, giuen by
B former Emperors, the conſtitutions of the Empire, and his owne oth.

A Cittadell built at Cambray.

The laſt day of September *Rene* of Chalons Prince of Orange, after that the ſoldiars were fled out of the towne of Amerſſort, tooke poſſeſſion of the ſayd towne in the Emperors name, and then of all the townes of the Duchy of Geldres, whereby there was peace and quietneſſe in all thoſe quarters of Iuilliers, Cleues and Geldres. The ſecond of Ianuary. 1544. the Emperor parted from Bruſſels to go to an Imperiall diet 1544.
at Spyre, which ſhold be held the 22. of February following, during the which the Admirall of Egmont, ſonne to the Earle of Egmont, married with *Sabina* of Bauaria Palatine, at which marriage the Emperor aſſiſted in perſon. About that time was proclaymed throughout all the Netherlands the fift rigorous and bloudy Edict, which
C they called Lutherien, againſt them of the religion. The warres grew hot betwixt the French King and the Emperour, who entred into Champaigne with a great army and tooke diuers townes, King *Francis* had leauied a goodly army to incounter him, and was ready to giue him battaile, yet by the mediation of ſome good men, louers of peace, and to auoide the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud, a peace was concluded betwixt theſe two great Princes, and the Emperor retired from Soiſſons to Bruſſelles. The Emperor beeing returned to Bruſſelles, the ſecond of October the peace was proclaimed. And the 22. of the ſame month arriued in the ſame towne the ladie *Elenor* the French Kings wife, and the Emperors ſiſter, accompanied with the duke of Orleans, who entring into the towne, marched betwixt the two Princes of Hungary, ſonnes to King *Ferdinand*, being followed by the Prince of Piedmont, the duke of Camerino and
D many Princes and Noblemen. There was nothing omitted that might giue delight and contentment to the Queene and to Madame *d' Eſtampes* the Kings Miſtres. The Emperor ſitting downe at the table, tooke Madame *d' Eſtampes* on his right hand, and the French Queene his ſiſter on the left, beeing followed by the Queene of Hungarie, and ſo of the reſt: thirteene daies were ſpent in feaſtes, bankets, maskes, turneys, and all other ſports: during the Queenes aboade there, who tooke her leaue of the Emperor, and departed from Bruſſelles with the duke of Orleans the third of Nouember. Then began things in Germany to incline to warre. The Pope was exceeding glad of the peace concluded betwixt the Emperor, and the French King: and renewed the aſſignation of a councell to the 15. of March 1545. *Herman* Archbiſhop of
E Cologne, according to that which had beene decreed at the Imperiall Diet at Ratisbone, meaning to reforme his dioceſe according to the word of God, hauing ſent for *Bucer* and other miniſters to that end, his Clergie banded againſt him, and appealed to the Pope and the Emperor. The Pope did excomunicate him, and a while after he was depriued of his Archbiſhoprike, and all other dignities.

A peace betwixt the Emperor and French King.

Queene Elenor of France comes to the Emperor her brother.

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The Argument of the feauenth Booke.

THE Emperor returnes into Germany and treates of religion, Herman Archbishoppe of Collogne seekes to reforme his dioceſe: the Pope and Emperor oppoſe themſelues. The Proteſtants aſſemble at Franefort. The Emperor gines them good words whileſt that heet prepares to armes. A conference of Diuines at Ratisbone. The Emperor and Pope make a leagne against the Proteſtants, who arme alſo, and make a league, printing their Iuſtifications and go to field: the Emperor baniſheth the duke of Saxony and the Landgraue of Heſſen, who deſie him: the Emperor in danger at Ingolſtade, whereas the Earle of Buren ioynes with him: the Proteſtantes army disbandes: Duke Maurice troubles the Duke of Saxonies ſtat.: the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Imperiall townes reconciled to the Emperor, who ſends to ſuccor Maurice. A battaile betwixt the Emperor and the duke of Saxony, whereas the Duke is taken priſoner. Sute to the Emperor for the Landgraue of Heſſen, who comes to make his peace, & is detayn'd priſoner. Magdebourg a Proteſtant towne holds onely against the Emperor: Maurice made Elector: Prince Philip the Emperors ſonne comes out of Spaine into the Netherlands. A bloody Edict against the Proteſtants: the Emperor affects the Empire for Prince Philip his Sonne: which breeds a quarrell betwixt the Emperor, and his brother Ferdinand King of Hungary: the Proteſtants refuze to come to the councell of Trent. The conſtancie of them of Magdebourg, who are freed from ſiege: the Landgraues reſtraint is preiudiciall to the Emperors affaires in Germany: Duke Maurice, takes armes against the Emperor: the French King comming with a great army to ſuccor Maurice, takes Metz, Thoul and Verdun, Martin van Roſſem makes warre in France: the Emperor flies haſtely from Inſpruch through the mountaines. An aſſembly at Paſſau to treat a peace. Albert of Brandebourg makes warre a part: the Emperors fruitleſſe ſiege before Metz: the taking and razing of the towne of Teroane. A battaile betwixt duke Maurice and Albert of Brandebourg: the ſiege and taking of Heſdin: the battaile of Talma. Philip King of Spaine marries Marie Queene of England: the French beſiegeth Renty, the Emperor releaues it in perſon. An Imperiall Diet at Ausbourg. A defeate of the Arreer-ban of the French: the Emperor reſignes his countries to his ſonne: the reſolution of the Imperiall Dyet at Ausbourg. The Emperor reſignes the Empire to his brother Ferdinand. His departure out of the Netherlands with his two Siſters.

1545. A Diet held at Wormes.

THE 3. of Aprill the Emperor parted out of the Netherlands to go to an Imperiall Diet which was to be held at Wormes, where he arriued the 16. of May. Being there, he writ to the King of Poland to incenſe him against the Proteſtants. The Pope was wonderfully deſirous to haue warre attempted against them, and notwithſtanding the councell which he had publiſhed, hee promiſed the Emperor 12000. foote and fiue hundred men at armes for that warre. In Ianuary 1546. the Proteſtants aſſembled at Francfort, where as they conſulted what was to bee done touching the coūcel of Trent, to continue the league for the charges of the warre against *Henry* of Brunſwick, a great perſecutor of the Proteſtants. Not to abandon the Archbiſhop of Cologne. To ſollicit the Emperor to giue peace

1546. The Proteſtants aſſemble at Francfort.

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A peace, vnto religion: and to rule the Imperiall chamber. In this aſſembly the Ambaſſadors of *Herman*, Elector of Collogne made their complaints of the wrongs his Clergy did him, and of the commandements and Citations ſent from the Emperour and Pope. In the meane time *Frederic* Count Pallatin, Prince Elector appointed Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpell throughout all his countrie, ſuffring them to receiue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and in the vulgar tongue, and that Preeſts might marry.

The Emperor arriues at Wormes.

B The Emperor beeing arriued at Wormes the ſixteene of May, his councellors treated with the Proteſtants, touching the generall councell and other things, laboring to perſwade them to yeeld to that which ſhould be reſolued on at Trent, and to come thether to propound their cauſes of recuſation, to the which regard ſhould bee had: whervnto they replied as before, ſo as after a long conſultation, the affaires were referred to Ianuary in the yeare 1546. And in the meane time the Emperour ſeeing that the Proteſtants were not willing to contribute to the warre againſt the Turke, if he did not grant their demaunds touching a free councell and the reformation of the Parliament of the Empire, he ſent *Gerard Veltwycke* a learned man, and who ſpake many languages, to the Turke, to make a truce, deſyring rather to make warre, againſt Chriſtians, his owne ſubiects then againſt the Turke.

Some daies after it was bruted, that the Emperor made ſecret preparation to warre, and they could not coniecture that it was againſt any other then the Proteſtants, for

C hee was at peace with the French King, and was aſſured to haue a truce with the Turke. Wherevpon the Landtgraue of Heſſen did write vnto *Granuelle* to preuent it. But *Granuelle* did what hee could to lull him a ſleepe. And in the meane time there were flatterers which informed the Emperour that the Proteſtants had conſpired againſt him at Francfort: ſo as matters began then to growe more bitter, and in the meane time they ſought to blinde the Proteſtants vntill the Emperour had his armie ready, to worke what hee pretended. Then began the councell of Trent, where the Pope did preſide by his legats, the Emperor hauing vowed to make the decrees thereof to be receiued by the point of the ſword. Wherof the Landtgraue tould the Empe-

The Emperor ſeekes to abuſe the Proteſtants whilſt that he prepares to armes.

D ror openly in the towne of Spier, and he ſought to excuſe himſelfe, ſaying *That hee demaunded nothing more then the quiet of Germany*. In December during the diet of Ratiſbone, the conference which had beene appointed betwixt the diuines of both religions, was begunne. Where there were learned men and of great authority of eyther ſide, for the Emperour were ſent *Peeter Maluenda* a Spaniard, *Euerard Billic* a Carmelite, *Iohn Hofmeiſter* an Auguſtin Friar and *Iohn Cocleus* all foure diuines. *George Loxan Caſpar Caltental, George Iſlinger, Bartlemew Latome* Auditors; for the Proteſtants came *Bucer, Brencius, George Maior, Erard Schnepf*, diuines. *Volrad* Earle of Walder, *Balthazar Gralling, Laurence Zoch* a lawier and *George Woltmer* Auditors. *Maurice* Biſhop of Eiſtet and *Frederic* of Furſtenberch, were aboue them all. There they diſputed vpon the Articles

A conference of diuines at Ratisbone.

E of the confeſſion of Ausbourg: The Emperour would haue all kept ſecret, and the Proteſtants would haue the contrary. So as after ſome conference, not able to agree, the aſſembly was diſſolued: the which ſerued to no other end but to abuſe the Proteſtants with a ſhew of that which was not intended. The ſame yeare was publiſhed by the Emperor the ſixt bloudie Edict againſt them of the religion in the Netherlands. At that time *Adrian* of Croy, Earle of Roeux, *Maximilian* of Bourgongne, Admirall of the ſea, and *Cornellis Schepper* Seignior of *Eyken*, were appointed by Queene *Mary*, Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, in the Emperors name, to build a fort or caſtell in the Iland of *Walchren*: and then was that mighty fort of Blau hoek made, which now they call the caſtell of Rameken in Zeebourg, the which was finiſhed in March 1547.

The caſtell of Ramekens built.

F During the conference at Ratisbone, it was generally ſpoken, that the Emperour, King *Ferdinand* his brother, and the Pope, made great preparations for warre: for at the ſame inſtant he ſent the Cardinall of Trent in poſt to the Pope, with inſtructions to leauy men: and two daies after hee deliuered money to his Collonels and captaines. He had before ſent to *Maximilian* Earle of Buren, to leauy all the horſe and foote hee could in the Nethelands. Hee commanded *Albert* and *Iohn* of Brandenbourg, and

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Wolfgang maister of the Germaine order, to inroule all the soldiars they could, for allthough that these two were Protestants, and *Iohn* of the same league; yet vppon the Emperours false pretexts, that they tooke not armes for relligion, but to punnish the rebellion of some, that put them-selues into his seruice. The Cardinall of Trent, beeing sent to the Pope, made a league betwixt them vppon certaine conditions, binding them respectiuely for the managing of this warre. After this the Pope writte vnto the Swisses, iustifying the Emperor, and accusing the Protestants, against whome hee required their assistance. The Ambassadours of the Protestants being at this Assembly at Ratisbone, moued with this newes, as carefull of the quiet of Germany, they intreated the other States of the Empire, to bee ioynt sutors with them vnto the Emperour, not to attempt any warre, the which was not done, for those of Ments and Treues would not yeeld vnto it. The Landtgraue who was carefull to discouer what was done, sent letters often to Ratisbone, by the which he did aduertise the said Ambassadours, of all that hee had vnderstood and what aduertisment he had receiued from diuers places: beeing of oppinion that they should retaine certaine men at armes, which they had leauied for feare of the warre, and that they should raise more. But his companions relyed vppon the Emperours demand, who made a shew of all mildnes and desier of peace; assuring themselues, that they should haue no warres for that yeare. Notwithstanding for that the common brute was not in vaine seeing that the dromes sounded both in Germany and Italie, and the Spanish troops began to approche, the Protestant Princes began also to thinke of their affaiers, and went first to field with some troopes; intreating the Swisses not to giue passage to any strange soldiars through their Country: which happening that they would suffer their voluntary soldiars to come vnto their pay.

A League betwixt the Emperor and the Pope against relligion.

The Duke of Saxony and Landtgraue writ vnto the Emperour, to iustifie their innocency against all slanders: adding in the end of their letter these words. All the world knowes that lastly at Spyer, you were agreed with vs two, & fiue yeares before at Ratisbone: so as there is no reason to accuse vs of rebellion or any trespasse whatsoeuer: you may not forget the oth which you made vnto the Empire, when as you were chosen at Francfort; and how that you must proceed Iudicially and according to the lawes, when as any one is accused of the crymes where-with wee are now charged. To conclude if you bee resolued to pursue vs by armes, and not to giue Audience to our Iustifications, wee will recommend all vnto GOD: and when wee shall bee informed of the matters where-with wee are charged, wee hope to make such an Answer as all the world shall know we are wronged.

The Duke of Saxony and Landtgraue writ vnto the Emperor.

There-vppon the Emperour made a long declaration of his intention to the peace and quiet of Germany, but that hee was forced to vse his prerogatiue and authoritie, against such as should oppose them-selues. Hee did also write vnto many Townes of the Protestant league, namely to Strausbourg, Nurembourg, Ausbourg and Vlme; where after that hee had blamed and disgraced the Protestants, hee concluded in these words. Therefore I may no longer indure this; and if I would, I were no more to bee excused. To the end therefore that my dignity, the publicke peace, and right may bee maintained; and that the Empire and euery one of you may bee freed from danger; I haue resolued to punnish the perturbers of the common weale, and to restore Germany to her first Beauty and libertie. Whereof I thought to aduertise you, that you might not giue credit to them who it may bee, will report otherwise of our enterprise: for I may relligiously protest vnto you, that I haue no other Disseine then this. Hoping that you will not faile mee herein, to the end that their presumption may be bridled, and you recouer your ancient libertie: if you do it, you may be assured of my grace and fauour, as I will make knowne vnto you, if you send your Deputies vnto me to that end. &c. He writ to the Duke of Wirtenberg, a letter of the like tenor; and at the same instant the seignior of Granuelle & Naues, his chiefe councellors called the Ambassadors of the townes that were at the Diet at Ratisbone, & conferred with them, giuing them to vnderstand that this war was not

The Emperor writes to the Protestant townes.

prepared

A prepared againſt the townes but (as it had beene before ſaid) with many other ſweete words. Thoſe of Strausbourg anſwered amply to the ſaid leters, ſhewing that the Pope and his people had imbarked the Emperor in this warre; beſeeching him not to come to that extremity: but to make knowne, in Iuſtice, the wrongs which they pretended had beene done him, and to ſhew himſelfe a father and protector of the country. But all theſe perſwaſions preuayled nothing; the irons were too whot. And withall Duke Maurice (an enemy to the Prince Elector of Saxony) had beene long in ſecret conference with the Emperor, who would not faile to ſerue him againſt the ſaid Elector and the other Proteſtants, for the profit and aduancement which he expected, and which the Emperor had promiſed him if hee held his part: although that hee knew well that

B Maurice was of the Proteſtants relligion, as well as Albert and *Iohn* of Brandebourg. The Proteſtant townes and the Dukes of Wirtemberg, being aduertiſed by Granuell and Naues of the Emperors intention, did preſently aduertiſe the Duke of Saxony and the Landtgraue of Heſſen, (cheefe of the Proteſtants Vnion) of the Emperors deſſeins offring them al ſuccors and fidelity, leuying preſently, all the men they could, ſo as they were firſt in armes. The Prince Elector Palatin, demanded priuatly of the Emperor the cauſe of this warre, and againſt whome he intended it: Granuelle anſwered him in the Emperors name in the ſame ſubſtance as hee had done the Ambaſſadors of the townes. In the meane time the Prince of Saxony and the Landtgraue being aſſured of the Emperors reſolution to make warre againſt them, and the preparations that were made,

C did ſpedely leuie men, and ſent vnto their companions to doe the like, and not to ſuffer them-ſelues to be diuided by the cunning councells of ſome men: And after they were aſſembled to conſult of their afaiers, they cauſed a booke to be Printed wherein they ſhewed by many reaſons that the motiue of this warre was relligion, and that all the Emperors other pretexts to puniſh ſome rebells, was but to diuide the confederats, and ſo to ruine them one after an other to ſettle the Popes doctrine. They alſo publiſhed an other Booke againſt *Iohn* of Brandenbourg who being of their Leagus and confeſſion had taken armes againſt them. And although the Emperor thought to ſurpriſe them, yet they vſed ſuch dilligence, and found ſo many reſolute men to carrie Armes in this warre, as the 16. of Iuly in the yeare 1546. the Landtgraue

D went to field with his army, and preſently after began open warre betwixt them and the Emperor.

The answer of the men of Strausbourg to the Emperors letter.

The Duke of Wirtemberg and the towne army.

A booke of the Proteſtants Iuſtifications.

The 20. of Iuly the Emperor publiſhed his leters pattents, in the which after that he had made a long complaint againſt *Iohn Frederic* Prince Elector of Saxony and *Phillip Landtgraue* of Heſſen, hee baniſht them as periured, rebbles, ſeditious, guilty of high treaſon both againſt GOD and man and perturbers of the publike quiet, meaning to puniſh them according to their deſerts that hee might after-wards prouide for the affaiers of State and doe that which ſhould belong vnto his duty, for bidding all men to ſuccor them or to ioyne with them, vpon paine of forfeiture both of body and goods: diſſoluing all Leauges and compoſitions, and abſoluing the Nobility and ſubiects from

E the faith and oth which they ought vnto theſe Princes: to whom he gaue the publicke aſſurance if they did obey: adding that ſuch as did refuſe ſhould be puniſhed like vnto them. But the Proteſtants did ſhew that the Emperor had no quarrell to them but for their relligion: wherein hauing ſought all meanes of accord, they were excuſable, if to mainetaine the liberties of their conſciences and the quiet of Germany, they defended themſelues: being there-vnto aduiſed by the reſolution both of Lawyers and Diuines. In the meane time the Proteſtants army aduanced and tooke the ſtrong fort of Ereberce ſcituated vpon a mountaine, which ſtopt the paſſage from Trent for Italy to Enepont, and withall the towne of Fieſſe belonging to the Biſhop of Ausbourg, and paſſing on, they tooke Dilline and Donaverd. The Emperor was then at Ratisbone, ill

F prepared to make head againſt them: Soe as if their affaiers had beene gouerned by one only commander, the Emperor had beene in great danger. The 7. of Auguſt in the towne of Macklin (which is one of the 17. Prouinces of the Netherlands whereas the Great councel of Parlament of the ſaid countries did remaine) lightning fel among the gonpouder, which was in great quantity in a tower of the wal at the port which they cal

Ereberch and Fieſſe taken by the Proteſtants.

Macklin burnt by lightning.

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Necbecſpoel, the which at firſt ouerthrew both the Tower and the gate; then it tooke A
hold of the buildings both within and without the Towne, and aboue 500. paces
round about, ſo as it ruined and defeated the whole Towne; the trees were pulled vp
by the roots & burnt: the water in the towne ditches was drawne out, and the fiſhes caſt
farre out into the fields. There were about 150. burnt & ſlaine in this accident with the
ruine of houſes, beſides thoſe that were grieuouſly hurt and recouered, and ſuch as
died of their wounds, which were very many. Many came two, three, and foure daies
after out of Caues, where they ſaued them-ſelues, others were ſmothered or dyed
for honger. A great number of Cattell with the ſtables, was alſo conſumed by
this fier. The wall where the Tower ſtood was ſhaken aboue 200. paces long. The
domage that was done by the fier could not be repaired in a long time.

Then grew the warres hotte in Germany betwixt the Proteſtants and the Emperour. B
To whome the Prince of Saxony, the Landtgraue of Heſſen, and their companions,
ſent letters the XI. of Auguſt, by the which according to the vſe and lawes of armes;
The Proteſtant Princes defie the Emperor. they gaue him to vnderſtand their reſolutions, and after they had informed him of
his duty, and how hee was bound to them and the Empire by his othe; and that it was
for relligions cauſe that hee made this warre againſt them: they concluded with theſe
„ words. Matters ſtanding in this ſort, and ſeeing we are allied, to the end that it may be
„ lawfull for vs to perſeuer in this relligion (though ſome would ſurmize other cauſes
„ of diſcontentment againſt vs) wee haue beene forced to put our ſelues in defence, the
„ which wee may lawfully doe, both by the lawes of GOD and nature. And although C
„ that through thy pernicious deſſeines we are not in any ſort bound vnto thee: and
„ therfore was needles to let thee vnderſtand our will. yet for the better aſſurance we
„ renownce the faith and duty we owe thee; not to diminiſhe the honour and good of the
„ Empire, but rather to preſerue and maintaine it. Wee doe therefore proteſt this pub-
„ lickly, and according to the ſollemne cuſtome, being reſolued to repell this warre
„ attempted by thee and by thine Allyes

This letter was ſent by a young Gentleman and a trumpet according to the cuſtome,
to the Emperours campeneere vnto Landſhupt; but hee was ſo farre from receiuing
it, as hee commanded them vppon paine of their heads to returne them backe againe
The Emperor refuſeth to receiue a letter. to their people. Hee ſaid moreouer that if hereafter any one came vnto him from
them, in ſteed of a chaine of gold, hee would preſent him a halter: then hee gaue them D
the proclamation of their baniſhment, charging them expreſly to deliuer it vnto their
Lords: whereof hee likewiſe ſent a coppy vnto Duke *Maurice* of Saxony, couſin to
Iohn Frederick Prince Elector, perſwading him to ſeaze vpon his country, before that an
other layed hold of it. To the accuſations and criminations contained in the ſaid
proclamation of baniſhment, the Proteſtant Princes publiſhed an ample anſwer in
print, the contents whereof was that the intention of the Pope and Emperour was to
roote out all them of the relligion, the which hee had declared vnto the French Kings
Ambaſſadour (from whoſe mouth all was knowne) and vanquiſh Germany, as hee had
long before diſſeigned &c. But from words and writings they fell to blowes. The two
The two armies beeing neere one vnto an other. armies beeing neere one vnto the other, the Landtgraue was of an opinion to charge E
the Emperors campe before the arriuall of the Earle of Buren with his ſupplies; who
brought with him 4000. horſe & 10000. choyce men out of the Netherlands; but the
deſtinies of theſe Princes would not ſuffer them to follow this good Councell: for the
Emperor was nothing ſo ſtrong as the Proteſtants; who ſeeing them ſo neere vnto
him, and hauing endured a whole day the thundring of their cannon, ſhewed a gallant
The Earle of Buren ioynes with the Emperor. reſolution; if they had come to aſſaile him: ſoone after the Earle of Buren arriued ſo
as the Emperour hauing all his forces together, thoſe of the Proteſtants began by little
and little to diſband: and in the meane time Duke *Maurice* (according to the Emperors
The Proteſtants armie diſperſed. aduiſe) moleſted the Prince Elector of Saxony in his Country. Where-vppon the F
Proteſtants armie being deuided, the Prince Elector went with his troopes againſt
Maurice, and recouered all that he had taken from him.

The Emperour ſeeing the Proteſtants army thus diſpearſed vppon no occaſion,
and that the Landtgraue was retyred to his owne home, he writte letters full of
threats

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A threates to the duke of Wirtembourg, who ſent to ſue for pardon by his Ambaſſadors, and ſo in a manner did all the Proteſtant townes, whome he did ranſom for money and many peeces of Artillery. The warre beeing thus inflamed betwixt the two Noble couzins of Saxony, and the Emperor hearing in what eſtate duke *Maurice* was, hee ſent *Albert* of Brandebourg vnto him with ſome troupes, who was taken at Rochlick and brought vnto the Prince Elector, and ſoone after the towne was alſo taken. *Ferdinand* the Emperors brother, King of Hungary & Bohemia, by the Lady *Anne* his wife, would haue forced the Bohemians to ſerue againſt the Prince Elector of Saxony, the which they refuzed to do, by reaſon of the old leagues betwixt the Saxons and Bohemians, and ſeeking to force them they riſe in armes againſt him. The Pro-

Albert of Brandebourg taken priſoner by the Prince Elector.

B teſtants had ſent their Ambaſſadors to the French King and to the King of England, to ſhewe the equitie of their cauſe: and that they had taken armes againſt the Emperor, for the defence of their liues, goods, religion and the liberty of Germany, who hauing had audience of the French King, paſt into England whereas they found King *Henry* the eight verie ſicke, ſo as hee died in the end of Ianuarie 1547. The French King had ſent by theſe Ambaſſadors two hundred thouſand crownes in lone to the Proteſtant Princes, to ayde them in this warre. And as the King of England died whileſt the Ambaſſadors were there: ſo at their returne into France, they found King *Francis* extreamely ſick, who died at Rambouillet. It was a happy chance for the Emperour (among many other good fortunes) that two ſo great and mighty Princes,

C which had the meanes, and (as manie thought) a deſire to croſſe the Emperor in his enterpriſes and high diſſeignes, died both in a manner at one time.

In the ſame yeare 1547. *Adolph* of Bourgongne Seignior of Chappelle and Wackene, *Ieroſme Sandelin* Seignior of Herentont, Receiuor of Beweſterſcheldt in Zeeland, and ſome priuate gentlemen, did recouer and wall in about Sheerenskerke and Heinkenſandt in the country of Zuydbeuelandt (otherwiſe called the Ile of Ter-Goes) the old incloſure or Polder, (which is a land wonne from the ſea) the which before the Inundation was vſually called Zeeſhuys, ſo as it remayned a long time vnprofitable: but ſince that it was recouered they call it Cray, at this preſent a moſt fertill country, whereby thoſe that haue thus defended it from the Sea with their bankes haue made great profit. The Emperor hauing an intent to ruine *Iohn Frederick*

1547. *Countries recouered from the ſea in Zeeland.*

D Prince Elector, paſt the riuer of Elbe with all ſpeed, to fight with him on the other ſide, which done, the Prince hauing not all his armie in one bodie, as the Emperor had, was there forced to make head againſt him, and to giue him battaile, in the which the duke beeing verie greatly wounded in the cheeke, was ledde by the duke of Alua (Lieutenant of the armie) to the Emperor. The duke *Erneſt* of Brunſwyck was taken with him. The Emperor and King *Ferdinand* vſed the Prince Elector very roughlie in wordes, giuing ſentence of death againſt him, the which hee bare verie patiently: but the Emperour durſt not proceede to the execution thereof: yet hee propounded heauie and rigorous conditions vnto him: taking from him the

E greateſt part of his Seigneuries, the which hee gaue to *Maurice* his couzine, with the dignity of the Electorſhip.

As for the Landtgraue of Heſſen, vpon the aſſurances which the duke *Maurice* and the Marquis *Albert* of Brandenbourg his ſonnes in lawe gaue him: he preſented himſelfe vpon his knees vnto the Emperor, crauing pardon for all that was paſt, wherevnto anſwere was made him in obſcure tearmes, which did not ſhew an abſolute pardon. Yet this Nobleman (thinking that all went well with him) thanked the Emperor, and for that he ſuffred him to kneele too long, he roſe of himſelf. He was led to ſupper with the duke of Alua, when after ſupper thinking to retire with the two Noblemen his ſons in lawe, he was ſtayed priſoner, the which miniſtred great matter of diſcontent, who

The Landtgraue ſubmits himſelfe vnto the Emperor.

F (not-with-ſtanding all the Proteſtation which duke *Maurice* and *Brandebourg* could make) was detained and put into the gard of Spaniardes. The two Noblemen charged the Emperour with his promiſe that hee would not keepe him in pryſon, his aunſwere was that hee had promiſed not to keepe him there in perpetuall pryſon, wherevpon the Duke of Alua ſayd vnto them, *that if in ſteede of foureteene*

1548. *The Lantgraue put in priſon contrary to promiſe.*

daies

daies the Emperor, ſhould reſtraine him 14. yeares he ſhould not breake his word: So A
the Landtgraue remained a priſoner being carried from place to place, alwayes garded
by the Spaniards of whom he receued a thouſand indignities, and he was not freed but
by conſtraint, no more then the Duke of Saxony, which was the cauſe that the Empe-
ror was chaſed out of Germany, as we ſhall here-after ſhew.

The death of the Earle of Buren.

The 23. of December in the ſaid yeare 1548. died that valiant Captaine *Maximilian* of Egmont Earle of Buren, (after that he had arriued ſo happely to ſerue the Emperor in his warre of Germany) of an extraordinary death, for being fower daies before his death abandoned by all his Phiſitions, who had foretold him the day of his death, hauing called all his houſhold ſeruants, and made them goodly exhortations, giuing to euery one ſome thing by his teſtament, he died ſpeaking, and appareled in his chaier. B

Prince phillip comes out of Spaine into the Netherlands.

Maximilian of Auſtria, eldeſt ſonne to *Ferdinand* hauing married the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt daughter to the Emperor; Prince *Phillip* 21. years old, being ſent for by his father, began his iorney to come into the Netherlands, leauing his coſin and Brother in law *Maximilian* to be Gouernor of Spaine in his abſence, and hauing ſet ſaile the 25. of Nouember with a goodly fleet of ſhippes and Galleis commanded by *Andrew Doria*, he landed at Genoa accompanied with many Princes of Spaine, among others by the Duke of Alua and the Cardinall of Trent: from thence hee came to Milan and paſſing by Mantoua and Trent hee came to Ausbourg and Spyer, ſo croſſing the Country of Luxembourg,

He arriued the 1. of Aprill, 1549. at Bruſſelles.

hee arriued at the Emperor his fathers court at Bruſſelles, Duke Maurice went to meet him intreating him to moue the Emperor for the Landtgraue of Heſſen his C
Father in law, who was Priſoner, the which he did. It were tedious to make particular relation of his ſtately entery into Bruſſelles: whereas the Lady *Elenor* the French Queene and the Lady *Mary* Queene of Hongary his Aunts receiued him, and conducted him to the Emperor his father.

The Prince takes poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Brabant.

The fourth of Iuly the Emperor with his two ſiſters and the Prince his ſonne, went to Louuaine, the moſt ancient and cheefe towne of the Duchy of Brabant to put his ſonne (according to the ancient cuſtomes and preuiledges of that towne) in poſſeſſion of the ſaide Duchy: and to take the oth required in that caſe: the which he did in the Emperors hands, as the like was done afterwards in the towne of Bruſſelles. The thirteene of the ſaide moneth it was done in Gand for the Country of Flanders: then in D
the citty of Arras for the Earledome of Arthois: and after that at Mons for the Conty of Henault; from thence they went to Bins in the ſame country, whereas the Queene of Hongary did vſualy keepe her Court: where were great feaſts, maskes, torneys and other ſports, the which continued from the third of Auguſt 1549. Vntill September and then hee departed to goe to Antwerp, to take poſſeſſion of the towne, and of the Marquiſate of the Holie Empire: whereas there wanted no pompe at his reception.

The Emperor returnes into Germany to ſeeke the Empier for his Sonne.

The laſt of May, 1550. the Emperor parted from Bruſelles with the Prince his ſonne, to returne into Germany, to an Imperiall Diet which ſhould be held at Ausbourg, leading the duke of Saxony priſoner with him, & leauing the Landtgraue in priſon at Mac- E
klin. The cheefe intent of his going was to labour to make his ſon Emperor after him as you ſhall heare. The 29. of Aprill this yeare, there was a moſt rigorous Edict publiſhed

A bloody Edict againſt them of the religion.

by the Emperor throughout al the Netherlands in the Dutch and French toungs, tending to bring in the Inquiſition of Spaine and other extraordinary matters. After the publicatiõ of this Edict many were much amazed, eſpecially the marchants of Germany & England which did traficke ordinarily in thoſe Prouinces eſpecially at Antwerp, whoſe reſolution was, that either they muſt moderate the ſaid Edict, or elſe they would ſeeke ſome other abode: and many to auoyd the danger, had reſolued to ſhut vp their ſhoppes, and to departe. The Senat of Antwerp, and eſpecialy the Bourgeſes, ſeeing the loſſe and preiudice that would come vnto them, were in great perplexity. And F

They murmur at Antwerp againſt it.

therefore when the Inquiſitors were ariued, they oppoſed them-ſelues with all their power, and going to the Queene of Hongary their Gouerneſſe, they layed open vnto her the loſſe and preiudice that not onely they, but the whole countrie ſhould receiue, if it were put in practiſe, for the tenor of the Inquiſition, conteined an ample power

ouer

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A ouer all Iudges and Magiſtrates what-ſoeuer. Where-vppon ſhe cauſed the execution thereof to be ſurceaſed in the ſaid Towne, the which was done in conſideration of forraine nations, which were ſtrong and mighty there. The Queene went vppon this occaſion to the Emperor her Brother into Germany, to moue him to moderate this Edict, that otherwiſe Andtwerp (which was a Towne of the greateſt trade in the world and moſt frequented) would looſe her trafficke and credit. Beſides there would bee a generall ſedition, if this Edict were put in execution. The Emperor in the end yeelded, but with great difficulty: and changing that which concerned marchants ſtrangers; hee razed out the word Inquiſition, ſo odious to all men, commanding that the reſt ſhould be obſerued and entertained. In the meane time the Emperor did
B much afflict them of Magdebourg, by reaſon of their relligion, cauſing Duke *Maurice* of Saxony to beſiege them. And for that the Princes of the Empire ſought to make their peace, he preſcribed them ſuch hard conditions, as they would by no meanes yeeld vnto them: but maintaind this ſiege valiantly, euen vnto the end being forced by a compoſition to ſuffer them in peace. Magdebourg valiantly defended.

The Arch-duke *Maximillian* of Auſtria ſonne to King *Ferdinand*, and ſonne in law to the Emperour, being choſen in his abſence King of Bohemia, came at that time out of Spaine to Ausbourg, being called by his father; who had then a great
C controuerſie with the Emperor touching the ſucceſſion of the Empire: for the deciding whereof, they ſaid the Emperor had cauſed his ſiſter the Queene of Hongary to come, for the Emperor knowing that the vniting of Germany was neceſſary for the augmentation of his eſtate, deſired to ſettle his ſonne (who after him ſhould rule and command ouer ſo great and diuers nations and countries) vppon ſo mighty and firme a ſupport. *Ferdinand* who tended to the ſame end, was reſolued not to ſuffer himſelfe to bee fruſtrate of this goodly expectation, as well for him-ſelfe as for his children. Prince *Maximillian* who was of a good diſpoſition, well ſeene in diuers languages, but eſpecially indued with a ſingular grace in his behauiour, was very pleaſing vnto the people. The Princes and States on the other ſide, conſidered well, that this great aduancement of the King of Spaine would not bee very profitable for them; and although they ſhewed them-ſelues ſomewhat inclyning vnto the Emperor, yet
D all was but for feare, obſeruing well his actions paſt, and the end wherevnto hee had alwaies tended, vnder a coullor of the Romiſh relligion which hee would ſo amplie maintaine: finally after that hee ſhould haue wonne and ſupplanted (by the meanes of the Ciuill warre which hee nouriſhed and entertained there) all the Princes and States of the one and the other relligion (the which hee had continued more and more by his ſonne) hee would make him-ſelfe and his ſucceſſors abſolute Monarcks; and all Germany ſlaues to his houſe. Theſe conſiderations made the Princes and States to incline more touching the ſucceſſion of the Empire to *Ferdinand* and to his ſonne *Maximillian*, who had their portions and all their ſucceſſions in Germany; then to the Emperor or to the Prince his ſonne. And the rather for that they had obſerued
E part of the humors of this Prince, beeing borne, nouriſhed and brought vp in Spaine, and wholy poſſeſt by the Spaniards, and by the Biſhoppe of Arras, ſonne to *Granuelle*; whoſe carriage (beeing a high Bourguignon) did nothing pleaſe the Germaines. Beeſides this Prince beeing ill inſtructed, vnderſtood no language but his naturall Spaniſh. What was concluded wee ſhall hereafter ſee.

A controuerſie betwixt the two brethren for the Empire.

why the Princes of the Empire preferred Ferdinand before Prince Phillip.

The Towne of Magdebourg freed from ſiege by a friendly compoſition with Duke *Maurice* hee beeing now receiued into the Towne, ſpake it openly, that it ſhould coſt him his life, or hee would ſet the Landtgraue his father in law at liberty. Hee had before ſent his Ambaſſadors with the King of Denmarke and many Princes of Germany to the Emperor, for his deliuerance, beeing reſolued vppon his deniall to attempt it by
F force, hee hauing already entred into ſome treaty with the French King. The ſeauenth of Iuly *William* of Naſſau Prince of Orange married the daughter and onely heire of *Maximillian* of Egmont Earle of Buren, the onely heire of the houſe of Launoy: the marriage (which was the firſt which the ſaid Prince had of foure) was celebrated in the Caſtell of Buren, by whome hee had *Phillip* of Naſſau, now Prince of Orange and

1551 The Prince of Orange firſt marriage.

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and the Lady *Mary* widow to *Philip* Earle of Hohenlo, brother and ſiſter by fathers A
ſide to Count *Maurice* of Naſſau, commanding at this day in Holland Zeeland &c.

This yeare the Emperor ſet a taxe of fiue florins throughout all the country of Liege, as a fee of the Empire vpon euery thouſand florins value of Inheritance, to helpe to defray the charges of the laſt warres of Germany. The Liegeois would haue oppoſed themſelues and fallen to mutiny, but hauing ſent their deputies to the Emperor, in the end they yeelded vpon certaine conditions. The Emperor at the ſame time did chaſe all the miniſters out of Ausbourg, *Iohn Frederic* duke of Saxony, (although hee were a priſoner) did not forbeare to comfort them, and to aſſiſt them with money. Some of them retired into Suiſſerland, and ſome elſe where. The newes of this baniſhment of Miniſters amazed many, for euery man feared that what had beene done there, would B
be alſo practiſed in other places, as it was afterwards, but for a ſhort time in reſpect of Germany.

The Miniſters chaſed away by the Emperor.

At ſuch time as all were in theſe alterations, the French King (hearing that duke *Maurice* attempted warre againſt the Emperor) fell vpon 22. ſhips of Zeeland, bound for Spaine, being worth aboue 200000. florins, the which hee tooke and ſpoiled and then carried them into his hauens: wherevpon the 17. day of September in the ſame yeare 1551. the French Ambaſſador was ſent away from Bruſſelles as an enemie, with all the French Nobility which had remained with the Lady *Elenor*, Queene Dowager of France, and warre was proclaimed the 21. of that month betwixt theſe two great Princes, both by land and ſea. Many wondred how the King durſt leaue the friendſhip C
of the Emperor, beeing then in ſo great proſperity, neither did the Emperor (as ſome ſayd) expect it. In Ianuary 1552. the generall States of the Netherlands aſſembled in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, whereas the Queene of Hungary Gouerneſſe of the ſayd countries, made a demand in the Emperors name, of an extraordinary aide or ſubuention of three millions of gold: wherevnto the Flemings would in no ſort yeeld, by reaſon of their ſmall traffick; but they offred to entertaine ſo many men at armes, as ſhould fall to their ſhares: wherewith the ſayd Lady was not well ſatiſfied. Afterwards the ſayd eſtats aſſembled at Bruſſelles, where vpon certaine conditions they did grant 400000. florins.

1552. An aſſembly of the ſtates of of the Netherlands.

Duke *Maurice* and the Marquis of Brandenbourg, ſonnes in lawe to the Landtgraue D
of Heſſen, ſent their Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, accompanied with the letters of the King of Denmarke, of Ferdinand King of Romaines, of *Albert* duke of Bauaria; of the brethren of Lunebourg: of the Elector *Frederic* Palatin, of *Wolfgang* duke of Deux Ponts, of *Iohn* Marquis of Brandenbourg, of *Erneſt* Marquis of Baden, of the dukes of Merklenbourg and of *Chriſtopher* duke of Wirtemberg, to ſue for the Landtgraues deliuery: But it ſeemed the Emperour reſpected all theſe Princes little, referring the anſwere of their requeſt to the comming of duke *Maurice*; who hee ſayd ſhould come to treate with him: *William* eldeſt ſonne to the Landtgraue did importune him, and *Maurice* more, both he and the Marquis of Brandenbourg putting him in minde of their bond and promiſe, ſpeaking ſomewhat bigge vnto him. In the meane E
time the horſemen that had lyen about Magdebourg and within it, wintred in Thuringen and the neighbour country, where they did much harme, eſpecially to the Clergy, and aboue all to the Archbiſhop of Mentz. Wherevpon hee and the other two of Collogne and Treues complayned to the Emperor, being reſolued to forſake the councell. To whome hee gaue good words intreating them to ſtay: whether the duke of Wirtemberg, thoſe of Strausbourg and other Proteſtants had ſent their Ambaſſadors, and the duke *Maurice* did alſo ſend his: the which did much reioyce the ſayd Archbiſhops, beleeuing that they had no more any cauſe to doubt of him. The chiefe differences of the Proteſtants Ambaſſadors, were vpon the ſafe conduit of their diuines, the which they were forced to alter three times, and vpon the other F
points which duke *Maurice* had propounded. Theſe Ambaſſadors hauing receiued their ſafe conduits in ſuch forme as they could obtaine them, ſent them to their Princes and Magiſtrates.

Many Princes mediate for the Landtgraues liberty.

Soone after many began to murmur that the councel ſhould be prolonged, and that

Maurice

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A *Maurice* beeing in league with the French, made his preparations to warre againſt the Emperor. This report increaſed daylie; and they ſent meſſengers from Trent to the Emperor to know his pleaſure: Afterwards an other came from the Emperor, but they vſed therein great diſcretion, to keep matters ſecret, leaſt they ſhould diſcontent the Councell: vntill that the firſt of Aprill Duke *Maurice* and his companions, beſieged the Towne of Ausbourg, the which three daies after was yeelded vnto him: Which was the cauſe of the diſſipation of the Councell. *Maurice* writte letters (the which were afterwards printed) to the States of the Empire, ſetting downe many liuely reaſons, which moued him to make warre againſt the Emperor, for the preſeruation of his relligion and the liberty of Germany, and withall for the deliuery of B the Landtgraue his father in law. Hee did greatly taxe the Emperor, ſeeking to bring Germany into ſeruitude, vnder his Monarchy, as hee had already oppreſſed it by diuers exactions and ſuppreſſions of their priuilidges. *Albert* Marquis of Brandenbourg, publiſhed a writing almoſt of the ſame ſubſtance, complayning that the libertie of Germany was oppreſt, euen by them that were bound to defend and inlarge it &c. The French King did alſo publiſh letters, by the which hee ſhewed that hee had no other end but the libertie of Germany, and of all Chriſtendome; complayning of the wrongs which the Emperor did and had done to him and to his friends, in whoſe ſuccors he had reſolued to imploy all his forces in that warre, yea euen his owne perſon, without any reſpect to his owne priuate Intereſt, how great ſoeuer it C might bee; But onely that Germany might bee reſtored, and *John Frederic* Duke of Saxony, and the Landtgraue of Heſſen deliuered &c.

Ausbourg won by Duke Maurice.

These letters of the Princes and of the French King diſperſed throughout Germany, gaue cauſe of hope to ſome, and to others of feare and care; *William* the Landtgraues ſonne, hauing put his men to field, went and ioyned with Duke *Maurice*: *Albert* of Brandenbourg did alſo ioyne with them, with his horſe and foote. In all places where they paſt they brought the Townes vnder their ſubiection, taking the Inhabitants into their ſafegard and protection, yet forcing them to furniſh both mony and Artillery. The Princes did alſo ſend to them of high Germany, and eſpecially to Nuremberg, that they ſhould not faile to bee at Ausbourg, in the end of Aprill, and did alſo preſſe them of Vlme to enter into league with them. Whilſt theſe things D were doing in Germany, the French King marched with a goodly army, and tooke Toule and Verdun Imperiall Townes vppon the Frontiers of France: Then marching into Lorraine, vnder coullor of demanding paſſage, hee tooke Metz, a Towne of the Empire alſo; He thought to haue done as much to Strasbourg, a faire, great, rich and mighty Towne, but the Senat excuſed them-ſelues, and kept him from entring, furniſhing ſome munition of corne, and oats for the Kings armie; Leauying fiue thouſand men for the guard of the Towne, if happely they ſhould offer to force them. The confederate princes came to Vlme, which refuſed to bee of their vnion; Beeing arriued there, they houered about the Towne: And for that the Inhabitants E were ſo inſolent to ſhoote at them, they demanded for reparation of this outrage three hundred thouſand Crownes; The which beeing refuſed, they ſpoiled them all they could. From thence Duke *Maurice* went to Lints in Auſtria, to vnderſtand from King *Ferdinand* the conditions of peace: For that *Ferdinand* deſired greatly to pacefie things with the Emperors conſent. After that hee had conferred with him, hee returned to the armie and the next day they marched towards the Alpes. Heere-vppon the Iudges of the Imperiall Chamber fledde from Spyer: For it was againſt them that both the French King and the Princes were inceníed, laying vppon them all the blame and cauſe of theſe troubles.

The French takes Metz, Toule and Verdun.

Duke Maurice conferrs with King Ferdinand touching a Peace.

In the meane time the Queene of Hongary the Emperors ſiſter, made an Aſſembly F at Aix la Chappelle, vpon the Confines of the Duchie of Iuilliers, to make a League with them; The Prince of Cleues and Iuilliers excuſed himſelfe by his Ambaſſadors: *Adolph* Biſhop of Cologne came, and ſo did *George* of Auſtria Biſhop of Liege. The French King being come to Weiſſenbourg, after that hee had left the territory of Strasbourg ſeeing that there was not any thing to bee gotten, the Ambaſſadors

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of the Prince Elector Palatin, of the Archbiſhops of Mentz and Treues, and of the A
the dukes of Cleues and wirtemberg, which were aſſembled at Wormes, for the good
of the Common-weale, went vnto the King, intreating him that hee would not waſt
and ſpoile the champion country, but take pittie of the poore commons and incline
his heart to peace. Duke *Maurice* for his part did alſo write vnto the King, in the
which was conteined what had beene treated at Lints with King *Ferdinand*, requiring
the King (whome *Maurice* would haue comprehended in the treaty of peace) to declare
with what conditions he would compound with the Emperour. The King found by
theſe letters that they were weary of him in Germany, (and to ſay the truth, the Prin-
The French King retiers into Germany. ces would not willingly haue ſeene him aduance) ſo as two daies after he retired with
his army againe into Lorraine & ſo into France. But before his departure he anſwered B
„ the ambaſſadors, ſaying that hee had obtained that for which hee came into Germany
„ with his army; ſeeing that the Princes Priſoners ſhould bee deliuered, which was the
„ chiefe cauſe of the warre, and therefore he had wonne honor ynough. That if it euer
„ chanced that Germany had neede of him, that hee would ſpare neither his labour,
„ purſe nor perſon; that hearing nowe that his enemies had aſſayled him within his
„ Realme, hee would returne. As for that which they writ of the Emperor, and of a
„ peace, he referred himſelfe to them &c. with ſome other complements.

The King was no ſooner gone out of France towardes Germany, but preſently the
Emperors armie of the Netherlandes, whereof *Martin van Roſſen* was Commander,
entred and burnt the frontiers of Champagne, and tooke Aſtenay a towne ſeated C
neere to the riuer of Meuze, of the Iuriſdiction of Lorraine, whereon the French
had but lately ſeized. Some ſay it was one of the cauſes that made the King retire
with his army: the ſecond was for that hee did not allowe of Duke *Maurice* his pro-
ceeding touching the peace: and the third was for that hee had beene deceiued of
his expectation vpon the towne of Strasbourg, the which hee would willingly haue
had as good cheape, as hee had gotten Metz, Toul and Verdun, but Strasbourg was
too great a morcell, the which if hee had ſwalloed, the Germaines might at leyſure
haue repented that euer they had called him.

Beeing retired out of Germanie, hee beganne to march the two and twenty of May,
The French King in Luxembourg. ſo as hauing paſt the Riuer of Moſella, hee entred into Luxembourg where hee waſ- D
ted, ſpoyled and burnt all, imitating (as hee ſayd) *Martin van Roſſen*, and recouered
the towne of Aſtenay, the which hee found without garriſon, the Borguignons and
Roſſen being retired vpon the firſt bruit of the Kings approch. Then he went with his
armie before Danuilliers, the which was yeelded vnto him, and then Yuois, the ſtrong-
Count Manſfeld priſoner. eſt place of the country, *Peeter Erneſt* Earle of Mansfeldt Gouernor of the countrie
was in it, with the floure of all the the youth of Luxembourg, who were all taken by
the French, and the towne ſpoyled through a mutiny among the ſoldiars, againſt the
Kings will, as they ſayd.

Duke *Maurice* after his returne from the treatie at Lints, to the Army of the con-
federate Princes, he beeing gone, King *Ferdinand* went preſently to Inſpruch to the E
Emperor his Brother, to let him vnderſtand what had beene treated betwixt them.
And that at *Maurice* his returne to the army hee marched with his companions to-
wards the Alpes: who being thruſt on by *du Freſne* the French Kings Ambaſſador, they
were reſolued to charge thoſe ſoldiars which the Emperor cauſed to be leuied in that
quarter. The 18. of May approching to *Fieſſe*, (which is a ſmal towne at the entry of the
Alpes) they ſent ſome troupes to diſcouer euen vnto the ſtraights which the Emperors
men held, whereof they tooke ſome priſoners, from whom they learned the eſtate of
that quarter. The next day they aduanced with their foote, and onely two hundred
The Princes winne the ſtraights of the Alpes. men at armes, and tooke the way to Fieſſe, nere vnto Rutte they came vnto the ſtraight
of the Mountaines, which ſome eight hundred of the Emperors men held with two F
field peeces, whom they aſſayled, won the paſſage, and chaſed the enemies, who flying
away, ſtrooke a feare into them that were nere vnto Rutte. The Princes followed them
at the heeles, and ſo charged the reſt, as they defeated them, where there were about a
1000. ſlaine and drowned. The next day they marched towards the fort of Ereberg,
where

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A where they happily tooke the fort vnder the Caſtell, and were maiſters of the entries of the paſſage, and tooke the great Canon which was ready mounted. This done, they crept vp the mountaine the which was very ſteepe euen vnto the Caſtell (although they played continually vpon them with their ſmall ſhotte.) There were within it thirteene companies of foote, whereof nine captaines were taken, and three Germaines with one Italian eſcaped: there were about 3000. priſoners, and the Princes loſt few of their men.

The 22. of May, two regiments were ſent to Inſpruck by the Alpes, which is but two dayes iourney from thence: all their Caualerie remained with one regiment about Fieſſe and Rutte, to garde the paſſages. *Maurice* and the confederate Princes
B followed the next day, and ioyned with their foote neere vnto Zirle, which is but two leagues from Inſpruck. The Emperor hearing newes that Eruberg was taken, departed haſtily in the night (and with great confuſion) from Inſpruck, with his brother *Ferdinand*, who was arriued a little before to mediate a peace, and bending on the left hand by the mountaines, which lead to Trent, hee retired to Villac, a towne of Carniola, vpon the riuer of Draue. Hee had a little before ſet *John Frederick* Duke of Saxonie at libertie, whome hee had kept fiue whole yeares languiſhing in priſon, and carried him a long time vp and downe with him, as in triumphe; whom he freed, for feare his enemies ſhould challenge it as a glory vnto them. The which the priſoner did alſo deſire, to the end that *Maurice* might not vaunt that hee had beene the
C cauſe of his liberty. Being at libertie, hee did yet accompany the Emperour whereſoeuer he went.

The Emperor flies from Inſpruch in haſt.

The duke of Saxony ſet at liberty.

Maurice being arriued at Inſpruck, all the baggage that was found belonging to the Emperor, the Spaniards, or the Cardinall of Ausbourg, was ſpoiled; but they touche nothing that belonged to King *Ferdinand*, or to the Inhabitants: and for that there remained but three dayes for the future treatie of the peace, as it had beene concluded at Lints, Duke *Maurice* went from them to Paſſau: but the Princes his confederates returned from whence they came, and came the twentie eight of May to Fieſſe. The Duke being come to the aſſignation at Paſſau, to treate a peace the firſt of Iune, that which had beene begun at Lints was repeated, and all propounded and
D expounded more at large by *Maurice*. There were as mediators, King *Ferdinand*, *Albert* Duke of Banaria, and the Biſhops of Strasbourg and Eiſtede, with the Ambaſſadors of the Dukes of Cleues and Wirtemberg. Thoſe for the Emperour came alſo. Before them all, *Maurice* made a long diſcourſe and great complaints of matters that had paſt in the Emperours name, and of the bad gouernement of the common-weale: and among other things, that forraine ſouldiers had vaunted, that they had vanquiſhed and ſubdued Germanie; the which they did aſſure themſelues to ioyne vnto the Emperours inheritance (as it was his principall deſſeine) in building of citadels in all the chiefe townes. That the Imperiall chamber was all gouerned, from the which they of the religion were excluded, and many other points which hee
E propounded, and required to be redreſt: and that they ſhould reſtore the Empire to her ancient dignitie; and that Strangers might not bee ſuffered to ſcorne or contemne them.

Duke Maurice his complaints.

The Princes and Noblemen that were mediators, hauing conferred together, thought that his demands contained nothing but what was iuſt: yet to preſerue the Emperors honour, and that he might bee the ſooner perſwaded, they were of opinion that many things which concerned the reformation of the State, might be referred to an Imperiall dyet. During theſe conferences of peace, the other confederate Princes marched ſtill on, eſpecially the Marquis *Albert* of Brandenbourg, who made warre apart, the which hee ſayd was in the French Kings name, againſt the Princes, Biſ-
F hops, and townes that were not of their league, ſpoyling and burning all that hee could not ranſome at his pleaſure; eſpecially the towne of Nuremberg, where hauing burnt about a hundred Villages of that iuriſdiction, and ſome three ſcore faire farmes, with the Towne and Caſtell of Lichtenau; hee went and beſieged Nuremberg, threatning it with extreame ruine: ſo as by the meanes of other Princes that

Albert of Brandenbourg makes warre apart.

Nuremberg compounds with him.

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were interceſſors for them, hee forced them to redeeme this ſiege, and to buy their peace, paying him a hundred thouſand crownes, with ſixe double Canons mounted, with all their furniture and prouiſion; and that they ſhould fauour the confederate Princes, like to them of Ausbourg. From thence hee went before Vlme, where hee preuailed nothing, after that hee had waſted and ſpoiled the Country there-abouts. He entred alſo into the territories of Mentz and Treues, where he did all the harme he could. In the meane time Duke *Maurice* being returned to his confederates to Mergentheim, declared vnto them what had beene done touching the peace: and that king *Ferdinand* was gone in all haſt to the Emperor, and that hee thought he would ſoone ſend ſome councellors with a finall anſwer. But leaſt in this doubtfull and vncertaine eſtate of their affaires, ſome inconuenience might happen vnto them, if they remained idle, they reſolued to goe to Francfort, where there were 17. Enſeignes of foote, and 1000. horſe in garriſon for the Emperor, vnder the command of *Conrard van Handtſteyn*, the which might be very preiudiciall for the country of Heſſen that lay neere it: wherevpon they went and camped before the towne the 17. of Iuly. During this ſiege *George* Duke of Mechelbourg, in league with *Maurice* (who had firſt made warre at Magdebourg) was ſlaine with a Canon. At the beginning when as they brought the ſiege before Francfort, the confederate Princes demanded of the prince Palatin a great number of Artillerie, the which hee refuſed once or twiſe, but ſeeing there was no meanes to auoyde it, and that they threatned to bring the whole armie, they gaue them eight of their biggeſt Canon, with all their furniture.

Francfort beſieged by the Princes.

The biſhops, Prelats and Prieſts, flie before Albert.

The Marquis *Albert* (who had ioyned with his confederates vpon the way) as they arriued before Francfort, left them at the ſiege, and marched towards the Rhine, whereas hee ſubiected Wormes and Spyer vnder his command, inioyning them to ſupply him both with money and Artillery. In all places where he came the Churchmen were fled, or had changed their habites to diſguiſe themſelues; and as hee approched neere vnto Franconia, the Biſhops and Prelates all fledde away. Hauing gotten theſe Townes, hee writte vnto the Senate of Strasbourg, commanding them that their Towne ſhould bee alwayes open for him and his companions, and ſhould receiue a garriſon for them, when need required, whereof they excuſed themſelues, beeing of the religion, and in league with the Princes. *Albert* beeing aduertiſed that Duke *Maurice* inclined vnto a peace, left a garriſon at Spyer, and returned vnto Francfort with his troupes: Hee beeing come, hee haſtened the ſiege, and planted his Campe on the other ſide of the riuer of Meyn in a place that was ſome-what high, where hee might play with his Canon at his pleaſure. Hee tooke the treatie of peace in very ill part, and ſpake wonderfull ill of *Maurice*, refuſing to bee comprehended therein.

The 15. of Iuly King *Ferdinand* ſent to the Campe of the confederate Princes, beeing before Francfort, *Henry* Vicont of Meiſſen, and Chancellor of Bohemia, who arriued after Duke *Maurice* the 24. of the ſaid moneth. After they had contended a little, the Chancellor terrifying him with Duke *Iohn Frederick*, whom the Emperour had ſet at libertie, and ſhewed vnto the Landtgraues ſonne the condition of his Father, and the danger of all his prouince; in the end hee perſwaded them vno peace, the which was concluded at Paſſau vppon certaine conditions. The chiefe Princes that were preſent, and the Ambaſſadors of them that were abſent, ſigned this treatie, the originall whereof was diſpatcht at Paſſau, which the Emperor himſelfe ſigned. A peace beeing concluded, the French Ambaſſador retired. The King diſliked of this compoſition; but hearing that the Landtgraue was in great danger if it were not concluded, hee yeelded, and ſent backe the hoſtages and pledges (which the Proteſtant Princes had giuen him,) ſafe and ſound into Germany.

A peace concluded betwixt the Emperor & the Princes.

The 13 of Auguſt Duke *Maurice* and the Landtgraues ſonne parted from Francfort and tooke contrary wayes; the Landtgraues ſonne toward Heſſen, and *Maurice* led his armie to Donauvert, downe the riuer of Danowe, ſending it into Hongary againſt the Turkes which came to aſſaile it, but the regiment of Ryffenberg paſt the riuer of Meyn, and ioyned with *Albert* of Brandebourg, which did much trouble the princes, fearing leaſt

A leaſt the Emperor ſhould take ſome occaſion thereby, not to releaſe the Landtgraue. The Marquis *Albert* went ſtill in his courſe after the concluſion of a peace, wherein he would not bee comprehended making warre apart, eſpecially againſt the Biſhoppe of Ments, Treues and Spyer, forcing the Inhabitants of theſe townes to ſweare vnto him, and to furniſh him with money. Throughout all their territories hee burnt Caſtells, Cloyſters, and Temples, yea euen within the Townes. About the end of Iuly the Emperor came from Villac to Inſpruch, and eight daies after, hee paſt by Bauaria, hauing with him ſome troopes of Germaines, Bohemians, Italians, and Spaniards, the which ariued at Genoa in the beginning of the ſaid moneth, vnder the command of the Duke of Alua. The Arch-biſhoppe of Ments after that he had runne vp and downe Suaube for ſome daies, being a fugitiue out of his countrie, hearing newes of the Emperor (who arriued at Ausbourg the twentith of Auguſt) hee went vnto him.

The Emperor comes to Ausbourg

Philip Landtgraue of Heſſen beeing freed from priſon, according to the Accord, and retiring home to his houſe, paſſing by Maeſtricht vppon the riuer of Meuze, hee was againe ſtayed by the Queene of Hongaries commandment, being there, and was againe giuen in guard to the Spaniards euen vnto them that had beene his keepers fiue yeares together. The cauſe was (which had troubled confederate Princes as wee haue ſaid) for that Ryffenberch who had beene entertained by the Landtgraues ſonne, had gon with all his men vnto Marquis *Albert*; whereby the Queene maintained that the peace was broken and that ſhee could not deliuer him, vntill ſhee vnderſtood the Emperours pleaſure. The ſame day that the Emperour parted from Ausbourg hee diſmiſſed *Iohn Frederic* Duke of Saxony, with louing words, promiſing to remaine alwaies his friend. (after that hee had inſulted ouer him; hee deprriued him of his Electorall dignity, and diſpoſſeſt him of a good part of his Countrie) who parted the next day and retyred into his Country. The fourth of September the Landtgraue was abſolutly diſcharged, and within ſix daies after came vnto his houſe.

The Landtgraue deliuered and ſtated againe.

The Duke of Saxony takes his leaue of of the Emperor.

The Emperor hauing paſt the Countrie of Wirtenberg, marched towards Strausbourg, before the which he cauſed his army to paſſe ouer the riuer of Rhine; and hee him-ſelfe with a ſmall traine entred into the Towne, the which hee had neuer ſeene, where hee was honourably and louingly receiued by the Senat. In the euening hee tooke the way of haguenau, and lay that night in the next village. Where as the army made an infinite ſpoile in few daies: whereof the Senat made their complaints vnto the Duke of Alua Lieutenant of the army, but it auaild them nothing. In the meane time the French fortified Metz and Nancy, vnder the commãde of the Duke of Guiſe drawing in all the corne and forrage of the Country: *Iohn* Marquis of Brandebourg, *Alphonſo* Duke of Holſteyn, brother to the King of Denmarke, and *Philibert* Prince of Piedmont were in the Emperors armie. Thoſe that were baniſhed out of Germany by the Emperor refuſed the conditions of peace and remained in France. The Ducheſſe of Lorraine the Emperors Neece, beeing chaſed out of Lorraine by the French King, conferred with her vncle neere vnto Strasbourg, and then retired into the Netherlands.

The Emperor enters into Strasbourg.

Shee was daughter to Chriſtierne King of Denmarke.

The Emperor parting from Haguenau came to Metz, where hee planted his ſiege, the two twenty day of October. Many Councellors of the law and Bourgeſes departed with leaue of the French, whereof ſome retired into Lorraine, and others to Strasbourg. The twenty eight of Auguſt thoſe of the Towne of Bruſſels, and of the ſeauen villages neereſt about it, made a muſter in armes without the Towne, on a goodly great plaine, vppon the way by Elſene vnder ſix Captaines of three diuers quarters, from thence they marched in Battel vnto the Towne, entring by the port of Couwenbourg, with thirteene field peeces in the midſt of them, with their Gunners and Pioners: paſſing before the Court, they were viewed by the Queene of Hongary Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands; beeing aboue ſeauen thouſand choiſe men (for if they had muſtred all that could haue borne armes vnder ſixty and eighteene they ſhould haue found aboue twenty thouſand) it was a kinde of a petty Camp, the which the Queene had cauſed to bee made to ſee what men ſhee might gather together

1552 Metz beſieged.

to defend the towne of Bruſſels, if happily (the which ſhe feared) the French ſhould A
enter through Henault into Brabant. *Albert* of Brandebourg was then vpon the
frontires of Lorraine with fiftye companies of foote, and great troopes of horſe,
Albert of Brandebourg reconciled to the Emperor. neere vnto Muſſipont. And for that hee had ſome difference with the French King,
touching the entertainement for his ſeruice, both for that which was paſt, and that
which was to come, hee was by the meanes of ſome reconciled to the Emperor, who
forgaue him all his faults, forbidding any to call him into queſtion, for the warres
paſt. The which being vnderſtood by the French, the Earle of Aumale brother to
the Duke of Guiſe, (whom the King had ſent into Lorraine with great troupes of
horſe,) hauing by ſecret practiſes debauched and with-drawne the regiment of *Ryf-*
fenberg, and thinking to beate *Albert*, was himſelfe beaten, wounded, and taken pri- B
ſoner, the which happened the fourth of Nouember. After this victorie the Marquis
Albert came to the Emperors campe before Metz, with Aumale his priſoner, and
camped vpon Moſella, then hauing cauſed his priſoner to bee dreſt, hee ſent him into
Germany to be well garded.

A furious battery at Metz. The Emperor came from Thionuille to his campe before Metz the twenty of No-
uember, then they battered the towne furiouſly with forty Canons, the report where-
of was heard eighteene leagues off. The beſieged made many gallant ſallies, eſpecially
vpon *Albert* of Brandenbourgs Campe, whome they hated moſt: and once among
the reſt, when as the Earles of Egmont, Aremberg, and other Noblemen of the
Netherlands were at ſupper with him, in the which *Lichtenberg* his Lieutenant was C
Metz valiantly defended. very ſore wounded. The Princes and greateſt Noblemen carried earth to repaire
their breaches, ſo as the beſiegers were no leſſe amazed to ſee their diligence and
labour, then their valour. The Winter was very ſharpe and full of Snowe: and al-
though the Emperor had a goodly Armie, yet hee neuer gaue any aſſault, but buſi-
ed himſelfe onely about vndermining of the towne, wherein hee preuailed little,
both by reaſon of the bad and vnſeaſonable wether which did hinder them, as alſo
for that the beſieged were aduertiſed thereof, and did countermine. The Towne was
valiantly defended by choiſe Captaines, Princes, and others of great houſes, and all
vnder the command of the Duke of Guiſe.

The Emperor ſeeing his armie ouer-toyled, and to disband and diminiſh dayly, D
The Emperor retires his ſiege from Metz. through hunger, colde, nakedneſſe, and want of all things: ſome Italians retiring into
the Towne to the Duke of Guiſe, being preſt by neceſſitie, about the end of De-
cember hee retired his Canon, reſoluing to make an honourable retreate, wherein
hee imployed Cont Egmont to diſcouer and aſſure the wayes: and the firſt of Ianuary
1553. the Emperor came to Thionuille, leauing all the charge to diſpoſe of the retreate of
the Armie, vnto the Duke of Alua his Lieutenant, the which he performed with great
diſhonor and ſhame, for ſo great a Captaine as hee would ſeeme to bee. Making the
ſayd retreate with the Earle of Aremberg; their reere-ward was charged by the Vi-
dame of Chartres; who defeated a Cornet of light horſe, burnt a good quantitie of
poulder, and tooke more priſoners then hee deſired, ſo weake and languiſhing were E
the poore ſouldiers, as they could not make any defence. Then was it generally ſpo-
ken, that the Duke of Alua had beene the cauſe, why the Emperor had not taken
Metz, for that hee would neuer hazard his Spaniards to giue a generall aſſault, not-
withſtanding that there were a ſufficient breach made; whereat they could not haue
loſt ſo many men, as there dyed afterwards through colde, plague, and pouertie:
for which cauſe the Emperour was forced with ſhame to raiſe his Campe, hauing
loſt ſo many men, ſpent ſo much money, and blemiſhed ſo much his reputation and
credit.

The Emperor hauing ſtayed ſome time at Thionuille, arriued the ſixt of February
at Bruſſells. Many would not beleeue that hee was yet liuing; wherefore hee was F
The Emperor returnes to Bruſſels. wonderfully welcome, and very honourably and gratiouſly receiued, eſpecially by
his two Siſters, the Queenes of France and Hongary. The people in generall were
wonderfull ioyfull of his comming, euerie one deſiring to ſee him often, for that
they

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A they could ſcarce beleeue that he was yet lyuing, hee was growne ſo pale and leane with continuall ſickneſſe. There was a ſubſedie graunted him by the States of ſixe hundred thouſand florins, during his aboade in the ſayd towne there fell out a great tumult betwixt the Spaniards and the Watermen, in the which there were two Spaniards ſlaine: two daies after they beganne againe, where there was a maker of Tapiſtrie ſlaine. Wherevpon the Officer of the towne tooke foure Spaniardes priſoners. The Magiſtrates complained vnto Prince *Phillip* the Emperors ſonne of the diſorder of the Spaniards, falling ten or twelue vpon one man to kill him, the Prince gaue them leaue to apprehend them and to doe Iuſtice. And whereas one of the chiefe Authors was fled into Saint *Nicholas* Church, they went and apprehended him in the Quier neere to the great Altar. The Spaniards did runne thether in armes, meaning to reſcue him, among the which there were ſome of their commanders that would haue inſulted ouer the Iuſtice: but the Seignior of Molembais arriued with his halbardiers, who made them retire, for otherwiſe it had gone hard, with them. If they had not ſuppreſt their Inſolencie in this manner, no Burgeſes of Bruſſelles nor any one borne in the countrie, durſt to haue walked in the ſtreetes, if they had not beene the ſtronger, and there had beene continually great fighting with them: but the Spaniards doe ſo much feare *la Horca*, that is the gallowes, as this commandement reſtrained them.

A tumult at Bruſſelles againſt the Spaniards.

B

In the end of the Spring, the Lord of Bignicourt, of the houſe of Montmorency, by the Emperors commandement did inueſt Teroane, lying in the mideſt of Arthois: for the defence whereof the French King ſent the Lords of Eſſe and Montmorency, with their companies of men at armes and many other Noblemen, and Gentlemen. *Adrien* of Croy Earle of Roeux lord Steward of the Emperours houſe, was generall of the army, the towne was furiouſly battered and they endured 3. charges at an aſſault, where there was great loſſe on eyther ſide, but of the French there were diuers of account ſlaine. In the end by ſappe they ouerthrew a Bulwarke, which filled vp the ditch: which the Lord of Montmorency and the reſt of the captaines ſeeing, demanded to capitulate. But whileſt they parled with Count Boſſu, who ſucceeded the Earle of Roeux, beeing dead during the ſiege, the Germaines and Bourguignons gaue a furious aſſault on an other ſide, and carried it by force, killing all they incountred. Onely the Spaniardes (who loue money) ſaued the liues of many Gentlemen to haue their ranſomes. The moſt cruell and pittileſſe were the Germaines and Landtſknechts reuenge; that during the ſiege they had ſet a ſheepe to feede vpon the rampart, who as his kinde is, fell a bleating, *Met*, *Met*, putting the Emperours men in minde of Metz, where they had loſt ſo many. The Lord of Montmorency being wounded was taken priſoner, with the Lords of Attigny, *Loches*, *Varennes*, *Fauernon*, *Montenay*, *la Barre* and many others, who beeing put in a ſafe place, the towne was all fiered and blowne vp with powlder: ſo as in the end it was quite raized and ouerthrowne, nothing remayning but one ſuburbe of the Iuriſdiction of Arthois, the circuit of the ground where the towne ſtood belonging to the Biſhoppe of Bologne, the which hee farmes out for paſture.

Teroan taken and razed.

C

D

E

Albert Marquis of Brandenbourg continued warre ſtill againſt the Biſhops, hauing ſpoyled the lands of *Henry* duke of Brunſwick, hee went into the territory of *Minde*. Duke *Maurice* fearing that he would march into the country of Heſſen to aſſayle Franconia againe, he went from Northuſe to Embec to be before him, and hauing gathered togither his troupes, he ſent to defie him by a gentleman, wherof followed a moſt greeuous and bloudie battaile. Both armies beeing neere vnto Saxony, the ninth of Iuly, *Albert* hauing paſt the riuer of Wexen, they ioyned Battaile with all their forces, and great fury and choller of eyther ſide: there was a bloudie fight which continued many houres, in the which duke *Maurice* who was the ſtronger in horſe, had the victorie but it coſt him his life, for hee was ſhot through the bodie, whereof hee died two daies after. *Albert* ſaued himſelfe in Honobrie, there were about foure thouſand men ſlaine vpon the place, moſt of them horſemen, with a great

Duke Maurice defies Albert of Brandenbourg.

F

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number of prisoners, *Henry* of Brunswick lost two Sonnes *Charles* and *Phillip*, Duke Maurice was not then much aboue 32. yeares old. He died without any sonnes, leauing two onely daughters. Duke *Augustus* his brother succeeded him in all his estates and electorall dignity. A

Heſdin taken by the Emperor and raſed.

The Prince of Piedmont Generall of the Emperors army in the place of the Earle of Roeux went after the ruine of *Teroane* to beseege Hesdin, whether the French King had sent a good number of his cheefe commanders: as the duke of Bouillon Gouernor of Normandy and Mareshall of France, Duke *Horatio Farneze*, the Earle of Villars, the marquis of Nesle, the Viscontes of Turene and Martigues, the Lord of Reoux and many other Gentlemen and Captaines which had beene beseeged within Mets, and, two thousand soldiars horse and foote. The towne was furiously battered and B in the end taken by assault, where all the said French Noblemen were taken prisoners except Duke *Horatio*, who was carried away with a Cannon, and some gentlemen about him. The towne was raized like to *Teroane*: The French King assembling his Army about Amiens and Picqueny, the nineteene of August some Noblemen of the Netherlands, among others were the Prince of Espynoy, the Duke of Arschot, the

The Incounter of Talma, where the Prince of Espynoy was slaine.

Earle of Egmont, the Earle of Bossu and others made a roade into Picardy to discouer the Kings campe, without any footemen, but only their bands of ordinance, aduancing vntill they came before Amiens, vnto the forward of the French, who hauing intelligence of their comming, layd an Ambuscado of foote, and charged them with their horse, who making their retreat, still fighting for the space C of a League, the Prince of Espynoy was slaine and the Duke of Arscot taken prisoner, and the rest put to flight, with the losse of about sixe hundred men and aboue

The Duke of Arschot a prisoner eschapeth.

three hundred prisoners. This defeat was called the Incounter of Talma. The Prince of Espynoy was carried to Bethune and intered in the Cloister of the Anonciadoe, founded by the house of Melun of the which he was. The Duke of Arschot being prisoner in the Castell of Bois de Vincennes, escaped with the helpe of a poore Preest, and a couerer of slate, by the vent or socket of a priuy, without paying any ransome.

The Magistrate of Brusselles made a stately banket to the Emperor and the two Queenes of France and Hongary his two Sisters, whether were inuited Cardinal Poole D an English man, and the Cardinall of Bourgos a Spaniard, the Prince of Piedmont, and many other Princes; marching to the state house where the Banket was prepared, there fell great contention for the precedence and place of honor betwixt the Ambassadors of England and Portugall, either of them striuing for the place; the which grew almost to a tumult, which Queene *Mary* the Gouernesse espying, being come into the great Market shee commanded them both to retyer, and soe neither of them was at the banket.

1554. In the Spring the French King made three Armies against the Emperor, the first in Vermandois vnder the Prince of la Roch sur yone. The second towards Crecy led by the Constable, and the third was commanded by the Duke of Neuers. The first E

Three French armies against the Emperor.

Army entred into Arthois, spoyling and burning without all mercy. The Duke of Neuers army entred the Ardennes, tooke the Castel of Orchimont, by composition & burnt a great number of Villages, and forced the garrison of the Castell of Fontaines to yeeld vpon composition: then he entred into the Country of Liege, hauing opened and assured the passage of the riuer of Meuze, by the taking of strong places and forts along the riuer of either side. The Constables army beseeged Mariembourg, the which was yeelded and he fortefied it with the Towne of Rocroy: comming out of the Ardennes those of Dinant, were somoned to declare if they wold not perseuer in neuerality: whervnto they made a proud answer, shooting at the Duke of Neuers herald and trompet who tooke the Castell of Agimont and the towne of Bouuines by force, F where almost all the Inhabitants were slaine or executed, for that they would defend a paltrie weake place against a royall armie. Dynant after some resistance yeelded; the Inhabitants had their lyues saued, the towne was not burnt like vnto Bouuines, but wholy spoyled: there was a cruell Combate of the French against the Germaines, who

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A who would haue rauiſhed certaine women and maides taken in a Church, the which the King did pacefie; The Caſtells was yeelded ſome fewe dayes after by compoſition.

During theſe executions in the Countries of Liege, Namur and Henault; the Prince of Roch-Sur-Yone, defeated two companies of Bourguignion horſe in Arthois, and ſent the Cornets vnto the King, who hearing that the Prince of Piedmont gathered together his army, with a reſolution to fight if the French did aduance; Hee paſt the riuer of Sambre, beeing followed by the Duke of Neuers, and entring into the Country of Henault, hee ſpoiled, waſted and burnt all where he came, ſome troops ranne to the ports of Niuelle, which is the firſt Towne of Bra- B bant, where they ſette them on fire, and burnt all the villages round about, carrying away great ſpoiles. The army marched afterwards to Bins a Towne in Henault, leauing behinde it nothing but fier, ſmoake, aſhes and miſerie in the Country. The French beeing camped beefore Bins, kindled greater fiers then before, burning all the Caſtells and houſes of pleaſure in the Country. The ſtately houſe of Mariemont belonging to the Queene of Hongary was not forgotten. Bins beeing aſſailed the two and twentith of Iuly, was yeelded to the Kings mercy the which hee cauſed to bee burnt in reuenge of the ruine of Folambray, and of the Townes and villages of Picardie, which the Emperors army burnt. They alſo fired Bauais and the Caſtell of Roeux. The army parting from thence, went and lay betwixt C Mons in Henault, Landrecy, Aueſines, Queſnoy, and Valenciennes and Cambray: The Prince of Piedmont did all hee could to haue his reuenge of ſo great a loſſe; But hee could not effect any thing, the French King beeing ſo ſtrong and ſo well ledde: Who in the end went and planted their Campe before the Caſtell of Renty, in the midſt of Arthois; The which hee batterd furiouſly day and night without ceaſe, hauing diſcharged eight thouſand Canon ſhot.

Defeat of ſome Bourguignons by the French.

The Kings reuenge for the fier in Picardy.

Thoſe within it (whereof the Seignior of Brias was Gouernor) anſwered them with the like; The King hauing battred downe almoſt all the Towers, cauſed them to bee ſummoned to yeeld, but they made no anſwer but with their ſhotte. The Emperor had ſent to them to bee of good courage, and to hold out but three daies longer, D within the which time hee would come in perſon to releeue them and to raiſe the ſiege: Wherein hee failed not, for comming with his army which was very faire and great, hee camped within a quarter of a League of the French, to ſee if hee might draw them to fight: But they kept them-ſelues quiet, and fortified more within their trenches: The two armies lying thus neere together, and prouoking one an other by diuers ſkirmiſhes, the French knowing that a gentle retreat, would be more ſafe for them, before the paſſage were ſtopt, they departed ſecretly in the night, without ſound of any Trumpet or Drummer, leauing their chiefeſt Artillery behinde them.

Renty beſieged by the French King.

The Emperour hearing of their flight purſued them with his Light horſmen, and E charged their reer-ward, beating them euen vnto the gates of Monstreuill; whereas they ſaued them-ſelues. Then the Emperour entred into Renty and thanked the Gouernor, Captaines and ſoldiars that had ſo valiantly defended the place: for hee ſaw well in what danger they had beene through the furious battery of the ennemy. There were fiue companies in the place; the Emperor made the fiue Captaines Kinghts, giuing vnto the ſoldiars (as hee had promiſed them) three monethes pay extraordinary, and all they that were baniſhed, or charged with murthers or other crymes, had their pardons. The Emperor hauing the yeare before razed the Towne and Caſtell of Heſdin, hauing obſerued a place fitte to bee fortified a League from thence, more towards France; hee reſolued to build a new fort and a Towne there, and for that F he would not be hindred in the xecution of this enterpriſe he entertained his armie, the the which in Nouember burnt all the country about Amiens, ſo as all the burthen of the warre fell vppon the poore Country men. After that hee retayned but two regiments, diſmiſſing the reſt of his Armie, and ſo he parted from Arras to come to Bruſſells

Renty releeued by the Emperor.

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Brusselles. And in the end of October hee caused King *Philip* his Sonne to bee put in possession of the duchie of Milan by deputies, the accustomed ceremonies therein obserued. A

A furious fight at sea betwixt the French, Hollanders and Zeelanders.

This yeare in August was a furious fight at sea, betwixt two and twenty Merchants ships of Holland, Zeeland and Westfriseland, which came out of Spaine, laden with sundry sorts of Merchandise, and nineteene French ships of warre and sixe carauells, appointed with Artillery, souldiars and marriners for the purpose, which attended for them, and seeing them come vpon the coast of England, neere Douer, they began to assaile them, and the others to defend themselues. The French who were better manned, made hast to boord them, to auoide the furie of the Hollanders Ordinance: and in the ende they grapeled, fifteene French shippes to fifteene others, thinking to vanquish them by force and the numbers of their men; but those Hollanders shippes that were free, shot continually at the French. There was a fearefull fight, for though the Dutch had fewer men, yet their shippes were greater and higher, and they knewe better howe to handle their Ordinance. The fight continued so long, that the French growing weary, demaunded a truce, but the noyse, cryes, and thunder of the Ordinance and small shot, was so great as they could not bee heard, and therefore they aduised for their surest remedie, (thinking that the Hollanders would let them goe) to set fire of their owne sayles, but the euent was not so as they looked for or expected. But as these shippes could not so easilie vngraple themselues, and the winde dryuing the fire from the sayles to the ships, they fell all on fire, so as they were forced to leaue the fight to quench the fire. But some were fiered in such sort, as there was no meanes to saue them, the men casting themselues into the sea to auoyde the flames, without respect to what shippes they went, were they friendes or enemies, seeking onelie to saue themselues in the first shippe they could get into, which proued a strange victory vnto the French; for there were so manie Frenchmen got into the Hollanders shippes before they perceiued it, as after some small fight, they mastred them and tooke both men and shippes. The end of this furious battaile (which had lasted sixe houres) was, there were sixe French shippes, burnt, and one sunke; and of the Hollanders and others sixe were burnt and fiue were taken by the French, with manie prisoners. The number of the dead was different, for the French lost aboue a thousand men and the others about three thousand men. B C D

1555 An assembly to treat of a peace.

The seauenth of May *Anthony Perronet* Bishop of Arras was sent by the the Emperor to Graueling to conferre about a treatie of peace with the French King. They met on both sides in a great plaine betwixt Ardres, Calais and Graueling, vnder pauilions, where there was a great circuit compassed in with cloath, in the which they assembled. The deputies had about it, euery one his quarter apart, and the English Cardinall assisted as mediator or vmpier betwixt them. The demandes of either side were so excessiue, as they could not agree; and so the assemblie proued fruitelesse. The ninth of the same month newes came to the Emperor of the death of the Lady *Jane*, Queene of Castille, his mother, at whose funeralls (which should bee made at Brusselles) King *Philip* would bee present; and therefore they were deferred vntill his comming. On Whitsonday died that great captaine *Martin van Rossem* Seignior of Puydroyen, who in his life time had serued many maisters: the duke *Charles* of Geldres, *William* duke of Cleues, the French King and the Emperor. The fifteene of July the French passing the fronters, came to victuall Mariemboing, without any cartes, but with horses laden onelie: and at their returne thinking to surprize all the souldiars that were in the new fort; whereof *William* of Nassau Prince of Orange was Generall, beeing discouered, there was a very hot skirmish, the which continued from noone vntill night, wherein there died many on eyther side. E F

The death of the Emperors mother.

A while after the Seignior of Aussimont Gouernor of Bapaulmes (the terror of the French) hearing that some garrisons of Picardie, ioyned with fifteene hundred horse of the Arrierban of France which they call the companies of the Nobles, and foure hundred foote, did roade vp and downe the countrie of Arthois, hauing spoyled the

A the ſuburbes of Lilliers and the burrow of Saint Venant, he went and charged them in their returne, being Laden with ſpoyles and hauing defeated them in an inſtant, made them abandon their pray, la Iaille their leader was hurt and a boue fiue hundred taken priſoners with him, ſome eſcaped, and the reſt were ſlaine vpon the place where of the Artheſiens made a Ieſt ſaying. *That the Bourguognons tooke the Nobles of France without waying them*; where-vpon it was called the Incounter of the Nobles. The eight of September King *Phillip* came after his marriage with Queene *Mary*, out of England to Bruſſelles, accompanied with *Emanuell Philibert* Duke of Sauoy and fower or fiue Engliſh Noblemen, Knights of the garter, and the ſixteen of the ſaid moneth the funeralles of the Emperors Mother were celebrated with great pompe and ſtate. In
B October there was order giuen by the Emperor and Gouerneſſe, vpon the complaint of the Bourgeſes of Bruſſelles, to the Alcaide Captain of the Court; to the ſteuard of the houſhould, to the Amptman and to the Magiſtrate of Bruſſelles to deuiſe ſome meanes to diſcharge the great and exceſſiue debts which the Spaniards, as well Courtiars as ſoldiars did owe throughout all the towne of Bruſſelles, as well to Inkeepers as to Marchants, to the end their might bee no tumult at their retreat ſeeing that the Bourgeſes ſtood in ſome feare that they would goe away without paying them, whereby ſome ſhould bee much impouriſhed, and others vtterly ruined, and therefore they muſt preuent an imminent danger before it falles. About the end of October, The Emperor
C the Emperor ſent his letters to the States and townes of the Netherlands, to aſſemble in the towne of Bruſſelles and there to heare matters that ſhould bee propounded vnto them in his behalfe: to which end there came into the ſaide towne, many gentlemen, Prelats, deputies and orators of townes to be at the aſſembly which ſhould bee the twenty fiue of Nouember. At what time there came to court *Maximilian* King of Bohemia, Sonne to King *Ferdinand*, and *William* Duke of Cleues his brother in law: to whome the Emperor before his departure gaue three goodly horſes out of his Quiry.

makes an Aſſembly of the ſtats to reſigne the Netherlands.

The two and twenty of Nouember in the after noone the Emperor had ſent for all the Knights of the Order of the goulden fleece, to come to Court, in whoſe preſence, hauing King *Phillip* his Sonne by him hee pulled the Coller of the ſaid order of the fleece from his owne necke, and put it about the King his Sonnes, ſaying. See
D my Sonne I doe now make you head and ſoueraigne of the Noble order of the golden fleece: keepe it and maintaine it in the like dignity and honor that I, my father and all my Prodeceſſors haue kept and maintained it. GOD giue you the grace withall happineſſe and increaſe, the which hee ſpake with teares in his eyes. Then turning to all the Knights of the order, hee ſaid; *Princepe hijo*. Prince my Sonne, doe you ſee all theſe Noblemen here preſent. Theſe are the cheefe and moſt faithfull ſeruants that I haue had, which haue beene the proppe and ſupport of mine Empire, and by them haue I vanquiſhed and ouergone ſo many perrilles and dangers, for which reſpect
E I haue alwaies loued them entierly, If you doe the like I aſſuer my ſelfe they will carry you the like affection and obedience, and will neuer abandon you at any need. But if you intreat them otherwiſe, they wil be the cauſe of the loſſe and ruine of your eſtate wherefore loue and honor them. This was done in the great Hall of the Pallace at Bruſſelles which was furniſhed and hanged with ancient Tapiſtrie of the houſe of Bourgongne, conteyning the Inſtitution of the order of the golden fleece, made in ſilke, gold and ſiluer, the which the Netherlands had in former times giuen vnto the Duke of Bourgongne. At the end of the Hall was a rich royall throne, with a low chaier with a backe and a cuiſſion of cloth of gold where the Emperor was ſet and a skreene behind him before the fire. The 25. of that month, being the day of the Aſſignation, all the deputies of the ſtates and townes of the Netherlands came to Court
F euery one armed withful power & authority as they had bin commanded to appeere, except they of the towne of Louuaine, who anſwered that they were not bound to go to any place, to receiue and giue poſſeſſion to a Duke of Brabant, but that according to their ancient preuiledges, (which they had held aboue 500. yeares,) the future duke muſt firſt come to the towne of Louuaine and there take his oth, then be receued there

The Emperor leaues the collor of his order to his ſonne.

The Emperors exhortation to his ſonne.

An exception of them of Louuaine vpon thier preuiledges.

which

which priuiledge they would mainteine should bee entertained and kept. Notwithstanding after many perswasions they appeared with the rest vpon protestation, and preseruation of their rights. The States, that is to say, the Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Nobles, Prelates, and Deputies of Townes, being assembled in the said great hall of the Pallace; the Queene caused all Spaniards, as well Officers as others, of what qualitie soeuer, to depart, so as there remained not any one, but those that had to doe, and were called to this sollemne Acte. The Emperor leaning vpon the prince of Oranges shoulder, king *Philip* going on the side of him, all the Princes of the order marching before him. Being set downe in his seat, King *Philip* did sit on his right hand, foure or fiue foote behinde him, and Queene *Mary* the Gouerneſſe on the left hand: then did the Princes, Noblemen, Prelates, and other deputies of States sit downe, euery one according to his degree. First they of Brabant, & so all the rest, euery one in his ranke. This done, the first vsher of his Maiesties councell, called all the States one by one in order, whom hee demanded if they had sufficient procurations, where-vnto was answered by the councellors or orators of euery one with a lowd voice, and a great reuerence, *that I.* Where-vpon *Philibert* of Brussels, Orator to the Emperor, made a long oration in the French tongue, in the name of his Imperiall Maiesty, as followeth.

A sollemne act of the Emperors resignation.

An Oration to the States in the Emperors name.

My Maisters, besides that the Emperor our Soueraigne Lord and gracious Prince, hath by his letters sent for you this day, whereby you may partly gesse, to what end this assembly doth tend: yet his Imperiall maiesty hath cõmanded me to say vnto you; That hauing had the charge and gouernment of these countries many yeares, the which fell vnto him by inheritance in his tender age: since which time he hath constantly persecuted to maintaine the publick quiet as much as he could possibly. Towards whom he hath made many painfull and dangerous voyages, abandoning his other countries and realmes. And as well absent as present, hath alwaies endeuored and beene carefull to haue you gouerned in all good order and iustice, entertainment of your rights and priuiledges, and all other things wher-vnto a good and louing prince is bound, according vnto the fatherly affection which he hath alwaies shewed you, the which he did inherit with the patrimonie of his predecessors, following therein the path which they had made him, in the loue and affection which you haue alwaies borne him, the which hee hath made manifest by so many toiles and labours, to entertaine you still in your duties, that he hath not spared the hazard of his owne person; the which hee holds well imploid, hauing done it for such faithfull, dutifull, and obedient subiects, as hee knoweth you to be; wherein he would desire to continue the remainder of his life, if he could possibly any longer beare the toiles and troubles which he hath past. And although his heart and will be still good, yet age and the weakneſſe of his person, (broken with fore-passed toiles) exceeds and maisters his good desires. By reason whereof; & considering the estate wherevnto you see his person now reduced, hee is resolued to abandon this burthen, and seeking some rest, to commit another in his place that may continue as he hath begone. And as it is now twelue yeares past, that his realmes of Spaine haue not seene him, and that they haue greatly desired his comming; whom he could not as yet so much gratifie as to visit them; that now hee desired to settle his affaires, and to prouide for his health, the which begins greatly to decay by reason of this cold climate, the ayre of Spaine being much more agreeable and healthfull for him: and therefore hee is resolued (with the helpe of GOD) to passe this next Winter into these countries, as well as he may. And to substitute his deere sonne his onely heire, and your Lord and lawfull Prince: for that in truth it would trouble him much, that after his retreate & in his absence (by reason of the tediousneſſe of the way, and length of time spent in occurrents, to receiue aduises and commandements from Spaine) these countries for want of preuoyance, should fall into some bad inconuenience. One thing there is that comforts him in this his departure from you: That hee leaues you vnder the gouernment of the King our Lord here present, his onely sonne and naturall heire, whom you haue accepted, and also giuen your oth, who is of ripe yeares, and allied the second time vnto the Queene of England (the which is an alliance very profitable for these countries) besides that hee hath long had the gouernment of many realmes and prouinces:

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A prouinces: wherefore he is the more capable of this charge, with the good helpe, counsell, and support of you my masters, his faithfull vassals and subiects, who may supply the place of his imperiall Maiestie, giuing thankes vnto God, who hath giuen him meanes so to prouide, and to preuent the inconueniences, which might otherwise haue happened to one that had beene young of yeares, and not capable of so great a gouernment; knowing the king not onely sufficient, but also enduced with a desire and affection to maintaine you, and to employ himselfe for the good of these countries, whom hee hath resolued to inuest in all his prouinces and realmes, one after another, as he hath, not long since, begun, that by little and little he may inure himselfe to beare this burthen; the which he shall doe more easily, than if at one instant so great a charge should fall vpon him, before that he had beene acquainted with it.

B According to this determination, his imperiall Maiestie trusting, that for these reasons you will like thereof, and that for the loue of him, you will willingly accept in his place the King, our Lord and Prince; his Maiestie doth now with ioy giue ouer these countries, resigning them generally into the hands of the king his sonne: leauing vnto him from this day forward the full and absolute possession thereof, as hereafter by his death should lawfully fall vnto him by succession, to administer, rule, and gouerne, as his owne proper and patrimoniall inheritance; entreating you earnestly to receiue him willingly and cheerefully. And according thereunto, he doth quit, free, and absolue you of your oath of fealtie and homage, which heretofore you haue made vnto his imperiall Maiestie, that you may take the same vnto the king at the reception of your estates and offices, holding him hereafter for your prince and so-

C ueraigne lord. His imperiall Maiestie doth also entreat you most louingly to take in good part the loue and affection, which by the effects he hath shewed you, hauing omitted no trauell nor care, belonging to his dutie, with the good aduice and assistance of those that haue beene seruiceable vnto him, and namely of my lady the queene his sister, who hath employed all her studie and paines therein, and vnder-gone many a long and painfull iourney, being sorry that he could not assist them as he desired; confessing, that hee hath had good and loyall subiects, who for their parts haue giuen him all faithfull assistance, and dutifull obedience. His imperiall Maiestie doth also thanke you for the succours which you haue giuen him in all his great and weightie affaires, as with your good counsels and meanes, hauing supplyed him at sundry times with many and great summes of money: the which with those of his other

D Prouinces and Realmes (which haue beene very great) you know haue beene employed for the good and preseruation of these countries: being exceeding sorry, that after so great toyle, trauell, and charge, hee hath not the meanes to free you from this warre: neyther are you ignorant of his endeauors therein, wherewith the queene his sister hath acquainted you in the last assembly, and what hath past at the ouertures of peace, and vpon what tearmes the French were resolued: notwithstanding, he hopeth, that God (who is a iust and righteous Iudge) will one day giue him meanes to bring them vnto reason: And that the king our prince will seeke all meanes to defend and maintaine you: hoping, that you will also ayde him, as you haue euer done his imperiall Maiestie vnto this day: seeing that all tendeth to your preseruation, to repell the danger, and to repaire the mischiefe which warre

E may breed. His imperiall Maiestie entreateth you, that you will shew your selues somewhat bountifull in your owne affaires and need: as for him, he will giue him meanes to entertaine him honestly in his estate, and to be able to arme against his enemies, how great and mighty soeuer they be: by whom (through want of succour and helpe) you may fall into great disasters, the which by your good assistance may be auoided, hee helping you therein all that he can. Moreouer, his Maiestie cannot otherwise doe, but before his departure, for your owne good and honour, admonish and recommend the holy seruice of God vnto you, vnder the obedience and reuerence due to our Mother, the holy Church; and to keepe and entertaine inuiolably the Edicts thereupon made by his imperiall Maiestie: it is the point which he doth commaund and especially recommend vnto the king, that hee may

F haue an especiall regard and care thereon: whereunto bee you also the more enclined, by the example of others that haue made the way: to the end, that doing your best endeauours towards him, he may striue to doe you good, and deliuer you from the oppression of your enemies. That you also beare all honor and reuerence vnto Iustice, that for want thereof

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„ humane ſocietie and the common profit be not loſt; but that thereby you may liue in peace G
„ and concord, with a carefull regard, that the countries be no otherwiſe ſeperated nor diuided;
„ than the members from the body, euery one helping and ſuccouring one another, according
„ to his office and function: by which vnion, not only the enemie ſhall be kept from annoying
„ you, but you ſhall liue together ioyfully in reſt & tranquilitie; experience hauing taught how
„ well theſe countries could defend themſelues vnto this day againſt all them that would offer
„ them violence. Finally, he recommends vnto you the honor, reſpect, reuerence and obedience
„ which you owe vnto the king our ſoueraigne prince, and ſo to carry your ſelues towards him
„ as you haue done hitherto to his imperiall Maieſtie, his affection to you being as ſincere as
„ can be defired, giuing him occaſion to continue ſo ſtill, and that he may bee a mild and gentle
„ prince to you, ſeeing that in viewing his life paſt, we may iudge of his inclination; to whom H
„ God giue his grace, and fortifie him, for the encreaſe of his eſtate, and your defence and pre-
„ ſeruation.

This ſpeech being ended, the Emperor began to ſpeake, as if he would confirme that which the Orator of Bruſſels had ſaid: whereupon the king roſe, & ſtood neere his father (who ſpake French) the better to vnderſtand what he would verbally declare.

The emperors ſpeech vnto the States.

The Emperor then ſaid, That he had forty yeares ſince in the ſame place been emancipated by the Emperour *Maximilian* his grandfather, and put in poſſeſſion of thoſe countries: ſince
„ which time, he had run through many fortunes, and endured great trauell, as well in Spaine,
„ to embrace the affaires of queene *Iane* his mother, and the gouernment of her kingdomes, as
„ of other Eſtates: and as the ſaid Emperor *Maximilian* died ſoone after, foreſeeing the diſſenti- I
„ on that might enſue, if the Empire ſhould fall into ſome rigorous ſtrangers hand, deſiring the
„ quiet and proſperitie of thoſe countries, he procured the imperiall dignitie, whereunto by the
„ grace of God he attained. He ſhewed alſo how many troubleſome, long, painefull, and dan-
„ gerous voiages he had made, in paſſing and repaſſing the ſea, as well into Spaine as into Italy,
„ to the great perill of his perſon; and namely in the voyages of Barbarie, to Tunis and Alger.
„ He ſhewed alſo into what danger he had willingly thruſt himſelfe, paſſing through Fraunce,
„ to preuent the inconueniences and troubles that were like to grow in the Netherlands; the
„ which he had alwayes in ſingular recommendation. And as they had alwayes beene to him,
„ and he had found them his good ſubiects, ſeruants, and faithfull vaſſals: ſo he entreated them
„ to be the like vnto his ſonne, into whoſe hands (conſidering his age and weakeneſſe) hee re- K
„ ſigned all thoſe countries. In ſpeaking thoſe words, hee ſhewed ſuch paſſion, as that ſighes
interrupted his ſpeech, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, the which were accompani-
ed with the like by ſome others: then hauing a little taken breath, hee tooke his ſpectacles,
„ and looking vpon a little remembrance which hee had in his hand, hee ſaid: That his ſight
„ and memorie were not ſo good as they had beene, and that he felt himſelfe to decline and to
„ grow weake hourely, vnable to endure the trauell that was requiſite for the preſeruation of
„ the countrey, and of them all; the which did moue him chiefely to returne into Spaine, and
„ not to prolong his life; the which he referred into the hands of God. In the end, he entrea-
„ ted them to continue in the Chriſtian Religion, as they had done vntill then, and likewiſe to
„ obſerue Iuſtice, remaining friends, and vnited together: Whereunto God the Father, the L
„ Sonne and the holy Ghoſt giue you his grace.

Theſe words of the Emperor did moue the hearts of many noblemen, which loued him; who ſeeing him in this anguiſh of mind, tooke pitie of him, that being ſo mighty a Monarch, hee could not ſhew the ſincere affection which hee bare vnto his ſubiects, but by effuſion of teares. After theſe words, king *Philip* went to his ſeat, and ſat him downe. Then ſtood vp doctor *Mars*, an eloquent Orator of the towne of Antuerpe, choſen to that end by the deputies of the States; who hauing made a great reuerence to the Emperor, King, and both Queenes, he made anſwer in the name of them all to the ſpeech which the Counſellor of Bruſſels had made in the Emperors name, and to that which his imperiall Maieſtie had deliuered with his owne mouth, ſaying as followeth: M

The anſwer of the ſtates of the Netherlands to the Emperor.

Moſt mightie Emperour, we know that your imperiall Maieſty hath ſo many yeares ruled and gouerned this Eſtate carefully and religiouſly, with the great and infinite toyles which your imperiall Maieſty hath endured in many accidents, as well in the countries & realmes of your

A your obedience, as others, as by your Orator and your owne diſcourſe hath beene related: " and how great, weightie, and vrgent affaires your Maieſtie hath had in what place ſoeuer, yet " the loue and fatherly affection which you haue alwaies borne to theſe your countries of inhe- " ritance, and to the ſubiects thereof, hath beene ſuch, as you haue neuer failed to giue them ſuc- " cours and comfort in time and ſeaſon: the which duly and exactly conſidered, we find, that " your Maieſty is wel and wiſely aduiſed, as proceeding from a good zeale and affection to that " you haue now propounded. Wherefore the nobles, prelates, and deputies of the towne here " preſent, repreſenting all the States in generall of theſe Netherlands (although it bee a ſword " which wounds them vnto the heart, to heare of your Maieſties departure, yet deſiring to con- " forme themſelues in all things to your good will and pleaſure) doe firſt humbly and heartely " B thanke your imperiall Maieſtie for the great honour, bounty, ſuccours, and defence, which by " the approued rule and gouernment of your imperiall Maieſtie they haue heretofore felt and " taſted, euery one being ready by the vertue and full power giuen him by his commiſſion, to " conſent irreuocably and with all obedience to the ſaid ceſſion, tranſport, or reſignation made " by your imperiall Maieſtie, in ſuch forme and manner as by right is requiſite, of all theſe Ne- " therlands, to the behoofe and profit of my lord the king here preſent, whom from henceforth " we doe aduow and acknowledge as our naturall prince and lord, the lawfull ſonne and onely " heire of your imperiall Maieſtie, being ready to renew the oth which heretofore in the yeare " 1549 we made vnto him, with all other neceſſarie duties vſuall in the like caſe, giuing immor- " tall thankes vnto God for this great fauour which he hath done vnto your imperiall Maieſtie " C and to vs, to haue giuen you ſuch a ſonne, the ſole and only heire of ſo many kingdomes and " prouinces, whileſt you are yet in good health; whom wee receiue generally and cheerefully, " acknowledging him for our prince and ſoueraigne lord of all theſe countries, giuing and ſub- " mitting all our perſons and goods vnder his royall protection, and fatherly care; promiſing to " obey him in all equitie, and to bee ſeruiceable vnto him for euer: praying the Almightie " God to maintaine him with all proſperity a long and a happy life, in the poſſeſſion of ſo many " kingdomes and ſeigniories; and to graunt vnto his imperiall Maieſty his holy, long, and per- " durable bleſſings, and after this life eternall reſt: The which God the Father, the Sonne, and " the holy Ghoſt graunt you. Amen.

The next day about nine of the clocke in the morning, the deputies of the dutchie of Bra- King Philip takes the oath as duke of Brabant.
D bant were ſent for, to come to Court: whereas king *Philip* before them of Antuerpe, Bruſ- ſels and Boiſleduc, together with the ſmall townes and boroughes, hauing the priuiledge of towns, made and renewed the oath which he had taken at his ioyfull entrie the eight of Iuly, in the yeare 1549, To keepe them, maintaine them, and preſerue them in their ancient rights, priuiledges, and cuſtomes, without breaking them, or ſuffering them to be broken in any ſort or manner. Whereupon the deputies of the three chiefe townes of the ſaid dutchie of Bra- bant, that is to ſay, Antuerpe, Bruſſels, and Boiſleduc (ſeeing that Louaine would not appeare as we haue ſaid but by proteſtation) did alſo take the oath of fealtie and homage vnto him, acknowledging him for their lord and duke of Brabant, with the ſolemnities and ceremo- nies vſuall in the like caſe, wiſhing him much happineſſe, encreaſe of his eſtates, and long
E life.

About that time ended the imperiall Diet held at Ausbourg, whereas king *Ferdinand* did A reſolution of the imperi- all Diet held at Ausbourg. preſide in the Emperours name: in the which after long ſtrife and debate, there was conclu- ded, That neither the Emperour, king *Ferdinand*, nor the other princes and ſtates ſhould doe wrong to any of the Empire in what ſort ſoeuer, by reaſon of the confeſſion of Ausbourg; that from thence forwards they ſhould not force by edicts or other meanes, the allies of this con- feſſion to abandon their religion, but ſhould ſuffer them to enioy it freely, with their goods, tributes, rights, and poſſeſſions, with many other priuiledges graunted in fauour of the religi- on. Some moneths after, there were bruites giuen out of enterpriſes and practiſes made by the Pope and his adherents againſt the allies of the confeſſion of Ausbourg. It was thought
F that the Pope was wonderfully diſcontented with this decree made at Ausbourg, by the which they did leaue the religion in peace and libertie, and that he did ſollicite the Emperour to diſanull it. Moreouer, vnder colour of going to the baths at Aix, the Archbiſhops and Ele- ctors of Ments, Treues and Cologne met together, the which was not without ſome cauſe, but it proued nothing; and the Cardinall of Ausbourg publiſhed a writing, to excuſe the em-

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perour and himselfe also, as if he had beene the conductor and manager of such practises: so G
Germanie began to breath after so many stormes, and the Emperor hauing (as we haue said)
giuen ouer the affaires of the Netherlands, & of his realmes, to leaue them to the charge of his
sonne king *Philip*, resigned also the Roman Empire into the Electors hands, by an embassage;
hauing held it seuen and thirtie yeares.

1556 The sixteenth of Ianuary 1556 were celebrated in Brussels the funerals of the king of Portugals brother; and the next day king *Philip*, accompanied with a great number of the nobilitie, departed from Brussels to goe to Antuerpe, to hold the feast and Chapter of the golden Fleece, whereof his father had lately made him chiefe.

A truce betwixt the French & the Bourguignons of small continuance.

King *Philip* following the counsell of his father, and follicited by *Mary* queene of England his wife, enclined vnto peace: for the effecting whereof, after many iourneyes, a truce was H
made the fifteenth of February for fiue yeres. The earle of Lalain went to Blois to see the king sweare it, and the Admirall of Chastillon came to Brussels to the Emperour and king *Philip* to the same effect: but it could not last long; for both the one and the other had sought nothing but cauilling, as it appeared presently, the most cunning thinking to deceiue his companion: whereupon the French (who are more stirring) began first, for that the Admirall of Fraunce thought by subtiltie to surprise Doway by Arthois: the which succeeding not, the warre continued as before, vntill that a peace was concluded by the mariage of king *Philip* and the duke of Sauoy, as we shall see hereafter.

After that the Emperour had resigned all his Netherlands vnto king *Philip* his sonne, and that he had setled a good order, and disposed of all his affaires in the Netherlands, being desi- I
rous to free himselfe from all temporall cares, and to spend the remainder of his dayes in rest and quietnesse, applying himselfe wholly to the seruice of God, he resolued to retire himselfe with his two sisters, the lady *Elenor*, queene of Fraunce, and the lady *Mary*, queene of Hungarie, into Spaine: but before his departure he would also dispose of the affaires and state of the Empire, the which he would yeeld and resigne vnto his brother *Ferdinand* king of Romanes: whereupon he writ his letters to the princes Electors, and to the States of the Empire, as followeth:

The Emperors letter to the princes Electors.

Charles by the grace of God Emperour of Romanes, alwaies *Augustus*, king of Castile &c. To all Princes Electors of the holy Empire, Princes as well Ecclesiasticall as temporall, Pre- K
lates, Earles, Barons, Knights, Nobles, Captaines, Prouosts, Iudges, Iustices, Bourgmasters,
„ Bourgesses, Comminalties, and other subiects of the Empire, of what estate, qualitie, or con-
„ dition soeuer they be, to whom these letters shall come, health and peace: Most famous and
„ most reuerent, our well beloued cosins, most noble, worthy, reuerent, and faithfull friends:
„ being moued by many pregnant and iust reasons, especially finding our selues surcharged
„ with the heauie burthen of old age, and with continuall infirmities, the which haue by little
„ and little disabled vs, and depriued vs of all strength requisite for the managing of affaires: ha-
„ uing long since resolued to resigne all our realmes of Spaine, to the famous prince our sonne,
„ king of England: hauing taken leaue of our court here, wee are readie to imbarke, attending
„ onely the first prosperous wind, that it shall please God to send: By reason whereof, seeing
„ that through my absence and departure, the rule and gouernement of the holy empire, doth L
„ of right belong vnto our deere and well beloued brother, *Ferdinand* king of Romanes, of
„ Hungarie, and Bohemia, as our lawfull successour in the said qualitie of king of Romanes, the
„ which gouernement he hath often many yeares since diligently deserued in our absence, sup-
„ porting the burthen with a brotherly loue and charitie, and discharging himselfe of this
„ charge: To the end therefore, that the Christian commonweale, especially of the holy em-
„ pire, during our absence, should not fall into some daungerous inconuenience; and that the
„ king of Romanes, our brother, may manage the affaires with greater authoritie, wee haue
„ aduised and resolued, that hee in qualitie of king of Romanes, hath absolute and irreuo-
„ cable power, to treat, negotiat, and commaund, in all things that hee shall find requisit and
„ necessarie, for the greatnesse, prosperitie, and increase of the empire, as absolutely, as wee our M
„ selues, being emperour of Romanes may doe. True it is, that we were resolued to assist in per-
„ son, at the imperiall diet at Ratisbone, there with your aduice to haue conducted the affairs of
„ the empire, to some desired end, and to haue resigned the gouernment of the said empire, into
„ the hands of the king of Romans, to haue substituted him in our place, & to haue recomended

vnto

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A vnto you the honour, respect and obedience, which in this qualitie you should be bound vn- "
to him: but our indisposition, apparent to all men, could not endure so long and tedious a "
iourney by land; and the rather, for that wee thought it conuenient to haue respect vnto the "
season of the yeare, for our voyage. Wherefore seeing that we haue not appeared at this im- "
periall Diet, as we would willingly, yet being come vnto the effects of our desires and resolu- "
tions, wee haue thought good by these presents to acquaint you and all others with our con- "
ceptions: enioyning and expressely commaunding you hereby, of our absolute power and "
imperiall authoritie, that you shew vnto your king of Romanes, vpon paine of our indignati- "
on, all loyaltie and obedience, honouring and respecting him in all his commaundements, de- "
crees and actions, without any contradiction, with all dutie, as you would doe vnto vs, if wee "
B were there in person: for such is our pleasure and last will. Giuen at Zuytbourg in Zeeland, "
vnder our seale the seuenth of September 1556. and of our Empire the 36. "

This done, the fleet being ready in Zeeland, he tooke his leaue of king *Philip* his sonne, and giuing him his last blessing, hee imbraced him and bad him farewell, as hee did all the princes and noblemen: then he imbarked with the two queenes his sisters, and sayled towards Spain, where they arriued in a short time, hauing a prosperous wind. Hauing rested some dayes in the citie of Valladolit, he made choice for his retreat of a Monasterie of S. *Ieroſme* the Hermit, situated in Estremadura, not farre from Placence, an vnfrequented place, and fit to meditate on heauenly things, being retired from all wordly cogitations: whither he caused himselfe to be conducted, to passe the rest of his daies there, which were not aboue two yeares, spending
C his time in holy and godly workes, and giuing himselfe wholly to a contemplatiue life. And for that he would bee the better able to spend his time in prayers and the seruice of God, hee would haue his sisters liue from him at Valladolit, that they might not trouble him: he reserued but 100000 crownes a yeare to himselfe, whereof he imployed only 4000 for his diet and entertainment, the rest he appointed to marry yong maids, to relieue widowes and orphanes, and for other workes of charitie, as befits a good and Christian prince.

The Emperors departure out of the Netherlands.

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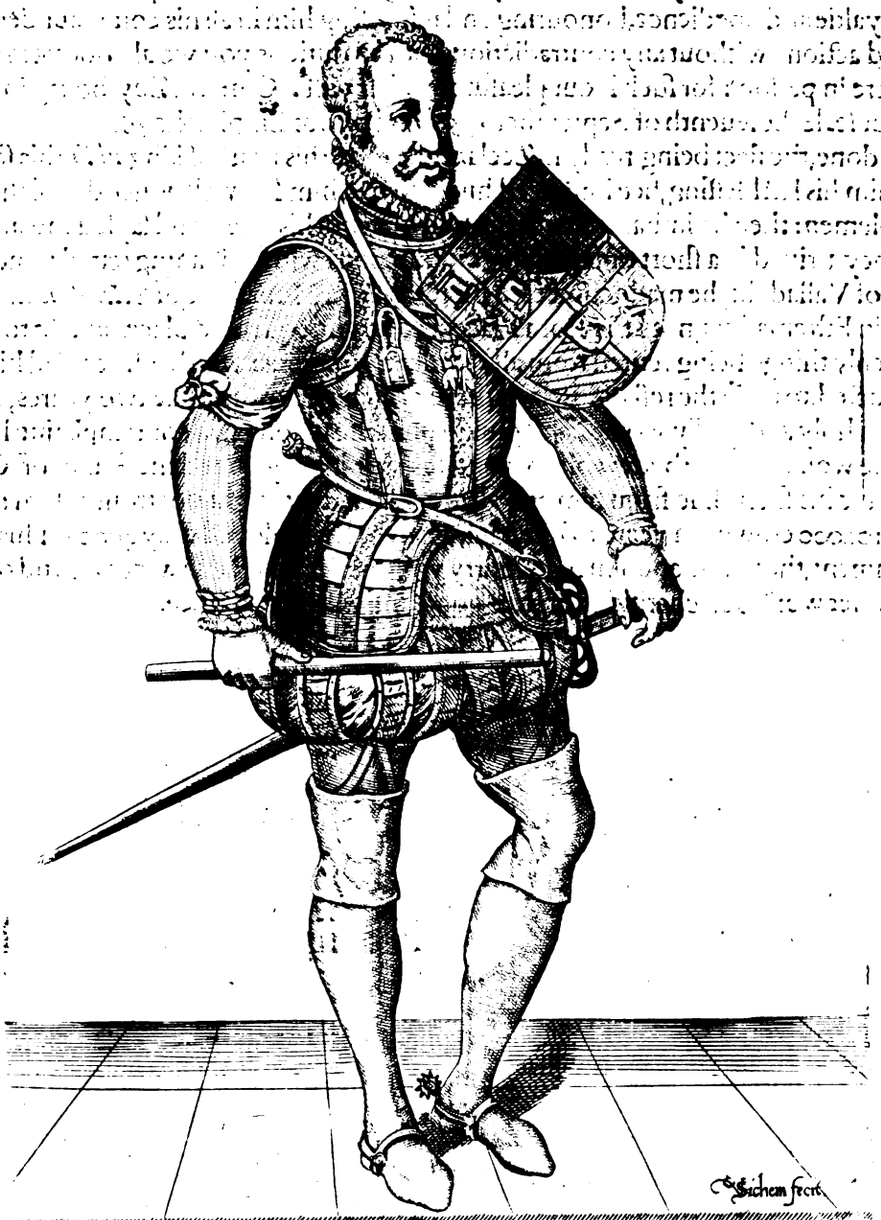
PHILIP OF AVSTRIA, THE SIX AND thirtieth Earle of Holland, Zeeland, &c. the second of that name, duke of Brabant, &c. Earle of Flanders, &c.



D. Philippus Rex Catholicus.

By true and right discent, of Holland I am Lord,
And of the wealthie Netherlands, united by accord:
But cruell counsell of th' Inquisition,
Was cause that did procure their woe and great destruction:
Loue burning in my brest, did me his subiect make,
And moued me foure seuerall wiues one after other take:
My cousin last of them, a sonne onely did leaue
Of tender yeares, when cruell death did her of life bereaue.

PHILIP

THE EIGHT BOOKE.

The Argument.

THE birth of Philip, *the second of that name, king of Spaine. Pope* Paul *the fourth seeks occasions to make war against him, who sends the duke of Alua for his generall. King* Philip *giues the order of the Golden Fleece at Brussels. A great famine in the Netherlands in the yere* 1536, *&* 1537. *S. Quintines besieged by the Bourguignons: the French, thinking to releene it, are defeated. The Constable of France, and many noble men, are prisoners, and in the end the towne is taken by assault. Ham and Chastelet yeelded. Calais besieged by the French, and yeelded by the English to the duke of Guise, with Guines, which was taken by assault, and the castle of Hames abandoned. Theouuille yeelded to the French: Aaclon taken and burnt by them, with the townes of Winox-Berghe, and Dunkerke. The same Frenchmen, vnder the marshall of Termes, are defeated in battaile neere vnto Graueling ne. The death of the emperour* Charles *the fifth, to whom his brother* Ferdinand *king of Romanes, and Hungarie succeeded. About the same time died the queens Dowagers of France, and of Hungarie, the emperours sisters, with* Marie *queene of England, to whom her sister* Elizabeth *succeeded. A peace betwixt France and Spaine, by mariages. The king of Spaines mariage turned into teares, by the death of* Henry *the second, the French king.* ¶ Marguerite *of Austria, bastard to the emperour* Charles *the fifth, duchesse of Parma, succeeds the duke of Sauoy in the gouernment of the Netherlands. The king of Spaines last departure out of the said countries. The death of* George *of Egmont, bishop of Vtrecht, to whom succeeded* Frederic Schenck *of Taulenburch, who was the last bishop. A subtill bringing in of the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands, by the creation of new bishops. An abstract of the life of cardinall* Granuellet. *A diuision betwixt the chiefe noblemen of the countrey. The earle of Egmont sent into Spaine, touching the troubles that were like to grow, and what answer he brought. Letters from the Gouernesse to the counsellors of the prouinces, touching the edicts and the Inquisition. The prince of Oranges answere to the Gouernesse. The first beginning, proceeding, and effects of the Inquisition. An enterview of the noblemen of the countrey. A discourse shewing the meanes to redresse the troubles. An assembly of the nobilitie, at the mariage of the prince of Parma, in Brussels, and afterwards at Saint Truden, to preuent the troubles: their compromise and confederation. A petition made by them of Brabant, to the king of Spaine, to preuent the troubles. A petition made by the nobilitie, against the bloudie edicts, and the Inquisition. The Duchesse answers thereunto: and all her practises to circumuent them, and disioine them, as she did. The first defeat of the Protestants in the Netherlands. Tournay made subiect by practise. Valenciennes besieged, battered, and yeelded. The defeat of* Austruel. *The negotiation of the lord of Brederode, in Amsterdam, who retires into Germanie, and so do the the prince of Orange. The death of the Marques of Berghen, in Spaine. An apologie made by the Protestants of the Netherlands, touching the cause and beginning of the troubles.*

PHILIP of Austria, the thirtie sixth Earle of Holland and Zeeland, the second of that name, Lord of Vtrecht, Friseland, Ouerissell, and Groningen; the onely sonne of *Charles* the fifth, Emperor of Romanes, and of the lady *Isabella*, daughter to king *Dom Emanuel* of Portugall. He was borne the 21 day of May, in the yere 1527, at Valiodolit in Spain, where he was nourished and bred vp, for the space of twentie two yeares; vntil that in the yeare 1549, the emperour, his father, sent for him, to come into the Netherlands, to haue made him aswel his successor in the empire (if it had been possible) as of all his other kingdoms and Belgicke prouinces, whereof the emperour (as we haue said in the former booke) disrobed himselfe, and put him in full possession thereof, in his life-time. 1556

King Philips age.

The emperour beeing retired into Spaine, to a solitarie and a contemplatiue life: king

Philip

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King Philips proceeding after the emperors departure

Philip his ſonne began to order and ſettle the gouernment of the Netherlands, making *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of Sauoy, lieutenant generall of his armie. And hauing ſent the marques of Peſquaire before, to take poſſeſſion of the realme of Naples, in his name, hee made choice of *Dom Fernando Aluares* of Toledo, duke of Alua, to be his viceroy there. And forasmuch as at that time the war againſt the French began to grow more violent, he commanded the duke to depart preſently out of the Netherlands, and to go into Italie, giuing him charge to ſtay ſome time at Milan, and to diſpoſe of matters concerning the warre. In the which the duke of Alua, as generall for the Spanyard, and *Francis* of Lorraine duke of Guiſe, for the French king, won ſmall honor and reputation. This war of Italie was attempted by king *Philip*, againſt the pope, in whoſe ſuccour *Henry* the 2, the French king, ſent the duke of Guiſe with an armie: which war, for that it doth not concerne our hyſtorie of the Netherlands, we will omit and refer the curious reader, to them that treat of that ſubiect.

King Philip makes an exceſſiue demād of the Netherlanders.

This Summer, in the yeare 1556, king *Philip*, pretending many goodly reaſons and colours, but the chiefeſt, was to free and ſatisfie thoſe debts, wherewith the emperour had left him charged, made an exceſſiue demaund, for the firſt aid and ſubuention which he required from his ſubiects of the Netherlands: but he could not obtaine a moitie of that which he pretended, neither would that be granted without a conuocation of the generall eſtates of the 17 Belgicke prouinces; the which was wonderfully ill taken by the Spaniſh counſell, and by thoſe that inriched themſelues with the treaſure, to the peoples ruine: ſo as ſome noblemen, and gouernors of prouinces and townes, were not only in diſgrace with the king and his counſel, but were alſo iudged guiltie of high treaſon, and the noblemen which had in any ſort contradicted this demand, were marked vnto death, vpon the firſt opportunitie that ſhould be offered, for that they would not inſtantly yeeld vnto the firſt demaund, without any conuocation of the ſtates. Notwithſtanding that which was granted him (being called the Nouenale ayde) amounted in all to fortie millions of florins of Brabant money. But this conuocation of the generall ſtates, was both to the king and his counſell (as it hath been euer ſince) moſt odious: as we ſhall ſee by the beginning of the trobles which happened in the ſaid Netherlands, whereof grew the wars, the which haue continued ſince the yeare 1566 vnto this day.

On S. *Andrewes* day the ſame yeare, king *Philip* held the feaſt and chapter of the order of the golden Fleece, in the towne of Bruſſels, where as theſe knights following were newly created; *William* of Naſſau, prince of Orange, *Philip* of Montmorency, earle of Horne, the earle of Lalaine, the earle *Amorall* of Egmont, the duke of Arſchot, the lord of Molembais, the lord of Glaiſon, and the lord of Barlamont. The 22 of December, the lady *Marguerite* of Auſtria, ducheſſe of Parma, baſtard ſiſter to king *Philip*, came to the court to Bruſſels, with her ſon *Alexander Farneſe* a goodly yong prince, and of great expectation, of whom wee ſhall haue ſufficient matter to ſpeake hereafter: the king went forth of the towne to receiue her.

A great famin in the Netherlands.

This Winter was wonderfully ſharpe and rigorous, as well by reaſon of the extreame cold weather, as through famine, which enſued, whereof died in the towne of Bruſſels (I omit other great townes) by the report of the maſters of hoſpitals, aboue 19000 poore creatures, of al ſorts, men, women, and children, which repaired thither from all places, for the great charitie & alms which the king and noblemen in court gaue. There was a drought continued from Iuly 1556, vnto the ſame moneth the yeare following: in which yere, not only corne, and all ſorts of pulce was exceeding deere, but all other things that were to be eaten, for that the vehement cold of the Winter paſt, had ſpoiled all, ſo as the poore ſoules knew not wherewithall to fill their bellies; and when they had gotten any ſtore of almes, through the deuotion of well diſpoſed people, they burſt themſelues with eating, or the meat being ſtronger than their weake ſtomacks would beare, made them die.

Emanuel

EMANVEL PHILIBERT DVKE OF SAuoy, Prince of Piemont, Gouernor and Lieutenant generall of the Netherlands, for King PHILIP.



EMANVEL PHILIBERT DVX SABAVDIÆ
GVBERNATOR BELGICÆ

I am EMANVEL PHILIBERT *Duke of Sauoy,*
That for long time did not one foot within the ſame enioy.
Mine vncle th'emperour maintain'd me in eſtate,
And of his ſonne the gouernment of Netherlands I gate;
Where hauing rul'd a while, at laſt did peace obtaine:
Which beeing made, my lands to me reſtored were againe.
Henry the French kings ſiſter to my ſpouſe I had,
And by that meanes aſſurance of the peace to me was made.
From thence I tooke my way to Piemont and Sauoy,
Whereas my ſubiects me receiu'd with great and extreame ioy.

King

The king comes out of England to Bruſſels.

KIng *Philip* hauing after the emperours retreat out of the Netherlands, appointed the duke of Sauoy, his coſin, to be gouernour and his lieutenant generall of the ſaid countries, he returned the ninth of December, the ſame yeare 1556, from England to Bruſſels: The Engliſh hauing before taken a fort neere vnto Boulogne vpon the ſea, & put all the French men they found in it to the ſword, they found in it about fiftie cart loads of corne, the which they did imbarke, and brought to Middlebourg in Zeeland. G

The queene of England, and cardinall *Poole*, by much means, and long ſolicitation, brought the matter of controuerſie betweene the kings of France and Spain, to ſuch effect, that ſhe got them to agree to a truce and abſtinence of warre, both by water and by land, for the ſpace of H
fiue yeares, that in the meane time they might draw to a good and continuall peace: and the better to procure the ſame, certaine mariages were propounded. And vpon the laſt of Ianuary 1556, the ſaid truce on the king of Spaines behalfe, was at Bruſſels ſworne vnto monſieur *Chaſtilion*, admirall of France, and at Blois on the French kings behalfe, vnto the earle of Lalaine. This truce was made wholy againſt the kings mind, but well knowne to the counſellor *Simon Renart*, and to the earle of Lalaine, whereby great hatred and enmitie enſued, and was after chiefe cauſe of the controuerſies and troubles, that enſued in the Low countries. This

A fight at ſea betweene the Hollanders & the Frenchmē.

yeare, in the moneth of Auguſt, there happened a great conflict betweene diuers Holland and French ſhips, betweene Douer and Calis: the Hollanders being twentie two marchants ſhips that came out of Spaine, and amongſt them had appointed one ſhip to be their admiral (as the I
manner is amongſt ſhips of warre) promiſing and ſwearing, not to forſake one the other, but valiantly to fight and defend themſelues: the French men intending to take them, had aſſembled nineteene ſhips of warre, and ſix or ſeuen pinnaces, and meeting them before Calis, they ſet vpon them, and in the end boorded them; making their ſhips faſt one vnto the other, with hookes and other meanes: the Hollanders, as much as they could, kept cloſe together, and defended themſelues valiantly, and lay ſo cloſe and thicke together, that they might fight almoſt as well as if they had beene on land: the Hollanders ſhips were higher and ſtronger than the French ſhips; but the French ſhips were both better appointed, and manned for the war: at the laſt, when they had fought ſix hours, beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, and continuing till three of the clocke in the afternoone, one of the ſhips was ſet on fire, which by K
reaſon of the wind, that began to riſe, was ſo ſpread abroad, that the fire tooke in moſt of the ſhips, before they could part aſunder, which made them to ceaſe the fight, euery man ſeeking to ſaue his life, in the ſhips that were not on fire, many of them leaping into the ſea, and ſwimming to the next ſhip they came at, whether it were friend or foe, were by that meanes taken priſoners; whereby the French men perceiuing themſelues to be ſtronger in ſome of the Hollanders ſhips, than the Hollanders themſelues were, tooke fiue of them, and brought them into Deepe. In this fight the Hollanders had ſixe ſhips burnt, and the French men ſixe, and one ſunke in the ſea. It was thought, that the French men loſt many thouſand men, their admirall being one; and the Hollanders about 300 men. This fight was eſteemed an honourable action for the Hollanders, becauſe they were but marchants ſhips, and the French men, ſhips of war, L
and better manned.

While they were buſied in the Netherlands, touching the ratifying and eſtabliſhing of a truce, there began a new warre in Italy, by meanes of pope *Paul* the fourth, the firſt inuenter of the Ieſuiticall ſect. This *Paul* was one of the familie and houſe of *Caraffa* in Naples, that alwayes held with the French men in their Nepolitane warres, and for that cauſe were moſt of them baniſhed out of Naples, and ſerued vnder the French men. This Ieſuiticall cardinall *Caraffa* being pope, began to fauour and aduance his owne family and kindred, thereby ſeeking meanes to be reuenged on the noblemen and cardinals, which in Italy (being their enemies) were ſuch as fauoured the emperour, and the houſe of Burgondie, as alſo vpon the houſes and families of *Columna*, Romanes, and others, charging them to be conſpirators againſt him; and M
for that cauſe perſecuted them to the vttermoſt of his power, whereby they were compelled to ſeeke aid of the viceroy of Naples, the duke of Alua, the duke of Florence, and others, who the willinglier granted thereunto, becauſe the pope refuſed to inueſt the king with the crown of Naples, which he holdeth as tributarie to the ſea of Rome, and ſeemed to threaten to excommunicat

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A communicat and curſe both the emperour and the king of Spaine: for which cauſe the duke of Alua came to aid the houſe of *Columna*, and ſore anoied the pope, taking many places from him, whereby he was conſtrained to craue aid of France, which alwayes held and maintained the ſea of Rome: For which cauſe, in the end of the yeare 1556, the duke of Guiſe was ſent into Italy, with eighteene or twentie thouſand horſe and foot men, which did the pope no great pleaſure, for that the duke of Alua, hauing beſieged Rome, and the king of Spaine hauing woon the battaile at S. Quintines (which the pope had heard of) the French men were ſent for, to returne againe into France; by which meanes a deuout peace was made, the duke of Alua firſt ſeeking it, and went into Rome, to kiſſe the popes foot, and by that meanes got the great priorſhip of Spaine, for his baſtard ſonne, *Don Ferdinando de Toledo*. The war in this ſort be-
B gun in Italy (notwithſtanding the truce made betweene both parties not long before) the French men and the Spanyards ſought to intrap one the other vpon the borders of the Netherlands; and to that end, vpon Twelfe eue, the admirall of France (then gouernor of Picardy) thought ſecretly to haue taken the towne of Boloway, thinking to deceiue the townes-men, when they were buſie drinking vnto their kings; but he failed of his purpoſe: after that hee tooke Leus in Artois, which he pilled and ſpoiled.

The ſame yeare, in the moneth of March, the king of Spaine went into England, to his wife, queene *Mary*, to haue ſome aid from her, who vpon the ſeuenth of Iune, by ſound of trumpet, openly proclaimed warre againſt France, both by water and by land; and by a booke put in print, charged the king of France to haue conſpired againſt her with the duke of Nor-
C thumberland, ſir *Thomas Wiat*, *Dudley*, *Aſhton*, and other Engliſh nobles, in regard that hee ſupported and prouoked them againſt her; as he had done the like to retaine rouers, and falſe coiners of her money, wholy againſt the promiſe by him made vnto her embaſſadors: as alſo that not long before, he had ſent *Thomas Stafford*, one of her rebellious ſubiects, to take the caſtle of Scarborow, and had ſecretly conſpired againſt the towne and countrey lying about Calis: and for that he made warre vpon the Netherlands, which the kings of England were by contract, long ſince made, alwayes bound to aid and aſſiſt: and that hee had little eſteemed of her interceſſion of peace, and deſired no friendly nor good neighbourhood: and for thoſe cauſes ſhe thought it conuenient, to declare and hold him for her open enemie; which ſhe cauſed to be ſignified vnto him by a herault, he being then at Reims, in Campaigne: which herault, be-
D ing rewarded by the king of France, was preſently returned backe againe, with this anſwere, ſaying, That ſeeing his lady and princeſſe would now become his vtter enemie, whereas hee had alwayes beene her friend, he hoped, by Gods helpe, that hee ſhould find meanes ynough againſt a woman, and to get the better hand of her, as his progenitors had alwayes done the like againſt their enemies. The warre in this ſort being proclaimed, the queene of England raiſed an armie of ſixe or eight thouſand horſe and foot-men, and ſome pioners, which were al apparelled in blew caſſocks, vnder the conduction of the earle of Pembrooke, with the lord *Clinton*, and the lord *Mountague*, and three lord *Dudleyes*, ſonnes of the duke of Northumberland, and many others, which went to Calis, and from thence marched to S. Quintines, and there ioyned with the king of Spaines armie, and holpe him to aſſault and win the ſaid town,
E where the lord *Henry Dudley* was ſlaine in the aſſault.

Mary queen of England, to-claimeth open war againſt France.

The king of Spaine being in England, vpon the ſixt of Iuly, *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of Sauoy, began to raiſe an armie, by aid of the prince of Orange, the duke of Aiſchot, the earle of Egmont, the earle of Megen, the earle of Mansfelt, the earle of Barlemont, and others, with whom were ioyned the Dutch horſe and foot, and with that armie marched towards Guiſe, making ſhew to beſiege the ſame, and incamped themſelues not farre from it; but their number daily increaſing, the duke of Sauoy ſodainly approached, and incloſed the towne of Saint Quintines with his light horſe-men: Within the towne there was a company of horſe-men, led by monſieur *Tiligny*, and captaine *Brudit*, as then gouernor of the towne; and not long after in the night time, *Iaſper Coligny*, earle of Chaſtilion, admirall of France, got into the towne.
F The ſiege being ſtrongly placed round about the ſame, the ordnance was planted, and diuers mines and ſconces made about it. The meane time *Henry* king of France ſent an armie of men vnder the leading of the conſtable of France, and the duke *de Montmarancy*, to put more men and victuals into the towne; which they thought to do by meanes of a marſh or poole of water, lying vpon the one ſide of the towne: and to that end the conſtable came with his armie,

S. Quintains beſieged by king Philip.

and

and lodging not far from the duke of Sauoyes campe, ſhot out of his armie into the Spaniſh G
armie, and to the duke of Sauoyes tent, whereby he was forced to diſlodge, and to go into the
earle of Egmonts quarter. With the conſtable of France there was diuers noblemen, as the
duke *de Nemours*, the prince of Conde, the marſhal of S. *Andrewes*, the duke *de Montpenſier*, the
earle of Vilelrs, the earle of Sancere, the baron of Daudelot, and the Riengraue, with diuers o-
ther great perſonages, vſing all the means they could to ſend more aid into the town, through
the ſaid water, vnder the leading of monſieur Daudelot, the admirals brother; but his boats
were badly ordered, for that by the weight of ouer many ſouldiers that were in them, which
diſorderly leapt into the ſame, they could not fleet aboue the water, whereby many of
them ſtuck faſt in the ground, and by that meanes they could not get all their men that were
ſhipped into the towne, onely monſieur Daudelot, with foure or fiue hundred, got in; vpon H
S. *Lawrence* day in the morning, being the tenth of Auguſt: vpon which day the counſell of
the duke of Sauoyes campe, aſſembled in the earle of Egmonts tent, to determine what they
were beſt to do; and thinking (as it was true) that the Frenchmen had put certaine ſouldiers
by night into the towne, and that they would come backe againe, they reſolued, by the coun-
ſell and courage of the earle of Egmont, to ſet vpon them with their light horſe-men; and to
ſecond them, they appointed the Dutch launciers, and ſome companies of foot-men. The
French men for their parts, thinking themſelues reaſonably well defended by the marſh
ground, and meaning not to ſtay long there, tooke no great regard to ſtop the paſſage: but per-
ceiuing the Bourguignons to make thither, the duke *de Nemours* rode forward with certaine
horſe-men, thinking to ſtop their paſſage: but when he came to it, he perceiued the ſame to be I
ouer ſtrongly guarded by the enemie, and 2000 horſe already paſt ouer, which he durſt not aſ-
ſaile, as knowing the king his maſters meaning, which was, onely to releeue the towne, and
not to hazard a battaile: and for that cauſe turned backe againe, and ioyned with the prince of
Conde, that ſtood ready in order of battaile with the light horſe-men, hard by a mil, who both
together behaued themſelues ſo well, that they got to the conſtables armie without hurt, who
as then was beginning to march away: but the Bourguignons followed them ſo faſt, that at
the laſt they ouertooke them about three miles from S. Quintines, & ſet vpon them with eight
The battaile of S. Quintines great troups of horſe-men; and firſt by the earle of Egmont, with the light horſe, *Henricke* and
Ericke, dukes of Brunſwicke, each with 1000 horſe, and after them followed the earle of Horne
with 1000 barbe horſe, to releeue them, if need were, accompanied with the duke of Holſt, & K
the earle of Mansfield; which ſo furiouſly aſſailed and charged the French men, that in ſhort
time they had ouerthrowne their vaward, conſtraining the reſt to breake their order of battail,
The names of the noble men of France, that were ſlaine & taken priſoners and to flie away as faſt as they could. The conſtable himſelfe was ſtrucken off his horſe, ſore
wounded, and taken priſoner, with two of his ſonnes, *Iohn* duke of Anion (brother to the duke
of Vandoſme and the prince of Conde) the vicont of Touraine, the ſon of *la Roche du maine*,
and many other great lords ſlaine. Beſides the conſtable, there were taken priſoners, the duke
de Montpenſier, the marſhall of S. *Andrewes*, the duke *de Longueuille*, *Lodwick* prince of Mantua,
the lord of Vaſſe, the lord of Corten, the lord *de la Roche du main*, the Riengraue, colonel of the
ducheſſe, all knights of the order; the earle of Rochefocault, the lord of Abigni, the lord of Ro-
chefort, *Brian de la chapelle*, *Brian de S. Heran*, and diuers others: the duke *de Neuers*, the prince L
of Conde, the earle of Sancere, the lord of Bredillion, and diuers other fled: and as the French
men themſelues write, there was of them ſlaine to the number of ten thouſand foot, and three
thouſand horſe-men, and yet they were not halfe ſo many: ſo there was not aboue 3000, or
thereabout, found dead in the field. All their cornets, enſignes, and ordnance were taken, and
with great triumph carried & preſented vnto king *Philip*, not long after, when hee came to the
campe before S. Quintines, with great pompe, accompanied with diuers Engliſh lords, where
likewiſe the priſoners were ſhewed vnto him. Amongſt the Burguignons there was not many
ſlaine, onely ſome few of name amongſt the which one was *Lodwick van Brederode*, that was
ſmothered in his armor, one of *Erneſt* duke of Brunſwicks brethren, two earls of Spiegelbergh,
and the earle of Waldeck. M

They within the towne of S. Quintines heard not of that ouerthrow, till it was two dayes
after, and yet were not diſcouraged therewith, but brauely defended themſelues, by the inco-
ragement of the admirall, and monſieur *Daudelot*, his brother, that ſhewed themſelues to bee
two braue and well experienced ſouldiers, and got in about two hundreth men more into the
towne,

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A towne, after the battaile, ſo that they were in all aboue eight hundred horſe and foot-men. The 21 of Auguſt the towne was firſt battered (for vntill then they had done nothing but made trenches and mines) and continued their batterie ſeuen dayes together. The 27 of Auguſt, hauing made eleuen breaches in the walls (which they within the towne were to defend, commaundement being giuen, not ſo ſpeake or make motion of any yeelding, hoping that the firſt aſſault being withſtood, they ſhould not readily be aſſaulted againe) the Bourguignons gaue an aſſault in foure places together: the firſt was made by captaine *Caziers*, a Spaniard, with *Lazarus Zwendies* ſouldiers; the ſecond by captaine *Nauaſſe*, with his Spaniards, and the earle of Megen, with his Walons; the third by captaine *Iulian Romero*, with three companies of Spaniards, and two thouſand Engliſhmen; the fourth by *Carondo*, with the Bour-

B guignons: and by that meanes the towne being ſo furiouſly aſſayled, was preſently entred and taken, and that very eaſily on the one ſide, by means of a tower, wherein they entred ſecretly, where the admirall himſelfe going to defend it, found the breach forſaken by his ſouldiers, and meeting with the enemie, was preſently taken priſoner, hauing but three men and a page with him. While in the reſt of the breaches they made great reſiſtance, the admirall was led along the breach, and conueyed out of the towne through a mine, where he found *Alonzo da Cazierres* and the duke of Sauoy, that cauſed the Spanyard that had taken him priſoner, to lead him into his tent, and from thence hee was ſent to Antuerpe, where hee lay ſixe weekes after ſicke of a feuer; and being healed, (to comfort himſelfe in his heauineſſe) hee began to read the Bible, whereby euer after he was inclined to the reformed religion. After that

C he was ſent vnto Scluys, and there paying fiftie thouſand crownes ranſome, hee was ſet at libertie againe. Monſieur *Daudelot* his brother, was likewiſe taken priſoner, but by night crept vnder a tent, and ſo eſcaping away got to Han. With him likewiſe were taken the lord of Iarnacke, the lord of Saint Remi, the lord of Humes, the lord de la Garde, and many others. And after that the towne was ranſackt, and great part of it burnt, from thence the king ſent the earle of Arenbergh, with three regiments of Dutch men, to beſiege Chaſtelet, which was ſoone yeelded vnto him, by the lord of Solignar: who afterward being in Paris, was for the ſame committed priſoner; who made anſwere for his owne excuſe, That hee had but three hundred men therein, whereof the one halfe was either dead, or ſore wounded, by the batterie of the canon, that brake the ſtones of the walls in ſuch ſort, about the ſouldiers eares, that they

D had no meanes to defend themſelues, and that the place was too little to hide the ſouldiers in. Theſe two places the king cauſed to be newly fortified, and vnderſtanding that the Frenchmen began to aſſemble new forces and to enter againe into the field, he reſolued to march no further into France, but to beſiege Han, which after ſixteene or twentie hundred canon ſhot, was alſo vpon the twelfth of September deliuered vp vnto him, which hee likewiſe fortified. The meane time alſo he tooke and burnt Noyon, Chandy, and other places. In Winter time the king returned vnto Bruſſels againe, and there diſcharged the greateſt part of his armie, from whence alſo the Engliſhmen departed into England. At that time *Don Ferdinando Gonſaga*, an Italian, died in Bruſſels, being come with the king out of the campe, an old experienced ſouldier, and eſteemed to be the beſt ſouldier in the king of Spaines armie, and one that had

E done great ſeruice for the emperor *Charles*. In the earldome of Burgondie, the lord of Poleville had aſſembled eight or nine thouſand men in the king of Spaines behalfe, to inuade the territories of Breſſe, and therewith beſieged Bourg in Breſſe: but finding it to be better prouided and fortified, than he ſuppoſed it had been, and hearing that the king of France had ſent for his French ſouldiers out of Italy, which were marching againſt him, wherof 2000 harquebuſiers, conducted by the Vidaſme de Chartres, were alreadie entred into the countrey, hee was forced diſorderly to breake vp his ſiege. The king of France in the meane time, after the loſſe of S. Quintines, and other places, cauſed another armie of men to be raiſed in Campeigne, by the duke de Neuers and to ioine with them had ſent for the duke of Guiſe with his ſouldiers, out of Italy, with charge to take order for all things there, in the beſt maner that he could. Where-

F upon pope *Paul* (doubting ſome further matter) began to hearken to an agreement, and to that end ſent his legat to the duke of Alua, with whom a peace was concluded, vpon condition, That the duke of Alua in the kings behalfe, ſhould do that homage and ſubmiſſion, that a deuout ſon is bound to do vnto his holy father, thereby to obtain grace & pardon from him, and ſo doing the pope ſhould receiue him into his fauour againe, and in regard thereof, the king

S. Quintins won: the admiral of France with monſieur Daudelot, his brother, taken priſoners.

Peace made with the pope.

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ſhould deliuer the pope all the towns he had taken from him, and the pope for his part ſhould G
recall his curſe, and receiue all the reſt of the princes and noble men, that he had aided to make
war againſt him, into fauor, *Anthony Columne*, and *Aſcanius de le Cornia*, only excepted.

The French army being newly gathered together vnder the duke of Guiſe, determined to
enterpriſe ſomething againſt Calis, which was once before ſought to haue beene done by the
admirall monſieur *Chaſtillion*, and then againe attempted by the marſhall *Stroſſy*: and to that
Calis taken by the French mē end, vpon the firſt of Ianuarie, the duke of Guiſe came before it, and preſently woon the fort
of Newlandbridge, a fort that ſtood in the way betweene Calis and Bullen, and lay in a marſh
ground: and likewiſe another fort, called Riſebanke; and being maſter of thoſe two forts (the
towne hauing but few ſouldiers within it, which by means of the taking of the two forts afore-
ſaid, was narrowly beſet, both by water and by land) vpon the fourth of Ianuarie they batte- H
red the water gate with a peece of ordnance, and the caſtle with 33 canons ſo furiouſly, that
the ſhot was heard to Antuerpe, being thirtie three Dutch miles from thence: whereby they
made a great breach, and a fit place to giue an aſſault; and at a low water gaue a fierce aſſault,
whereby they draue the Engliſh men out of the caſtle, that fled into the towne, where ſir *An-
thony Ager* captaine of the caſtle, was ſlaine: but the Engliſh men returning againe (when the
ſloud came, and that they within the caſtle could not be aided by them that were without, and
for that there were but a few French men within the caſtle) ſet valiantly vpon the caſtle again,
thinking to driue the French men out: but by the lord of Daudelot, the duke of Aumale, and
the marques Dalboeuf, they were expulſed: after that they ſought by placing two or three
great peeces of ordnance vpon the bridge of the caſtle, and by vndermining to win the caſtle I
againe: but many of them were burnt and blowne vp, and being driuen from thence, the gate
was ſtrongly fortified againſt them. At laſt the lord *Wentworth*, gouernor of the towne, with
others of the principall commanders, perceiuing what danger the towne was in, and that the
caſtle was already woon, and they very weake, being not aboue 300 fighting men, and hauing
want of many things, and wholy without any hope of reliefe, by meanes of a great ſtorme that
as then was at ſea, the wind being North-eaſt, whereby no man could come out of England,
whereby it ſeemed as if heauen and earth were againſt them, and held with the French men;
they thought good to parlie, and the rather for that they durſt not receiue any of the king of
Spaines ſouldiers out of Flanders into the towne (although ſuch an offer was made) for that
they were in ſuſpition, that king *Philip* by that meanes would make himſelfe maſter thereof: K
and for that cauſe the kings aduice (who at his laſt going out of England, paſſing along by it,
perceiued the weakeneſſe thereof) ſent into England, was not beleeued by the counſell there,
but rather was the cauſe of more ſuſpition. Cardinall *Poole*, and two or three biſhops more, of
the priuie counſell, being then in great authoritie in England (little knowing the ſcituation of
the place) making the queene and the reſt of her counſell beleeue that the king of Spaines re-
putation, the common opinion of the ſtrength of the place, and of the prouiſion therein, toge-
ther with the ſhort paſſage out of England thither to ſerue the ſame, ſpecially in regard that
they were maſters of the ſea, would keepe the French men well ynough from thence, as it
after plainely appeared at the lord *Wentworthes* arraignment, who being releaſed of his im-
priſonment in France, brauely cleared himſelf by law, which * I my ſelfe heard, ſhewing what L
aduertiſements he had ſent ouer from time to time, concerning the weakeneſſe of the place,
the want of men, and the enemies ſecret enterpriſes: which aduice the aforeſaid cardinal & the
biſhops (who then were the chief of the queenes counſell) had little regarded; making anſwer,
They would keepe the towne with their white ſtaues, and that if hee were afraid, hee might
come home into England againe; with ſuch like anſwers: and ſo the towne of Calis for want
of foreſight was ſoone woon, and by compoſition made by them within (when wanting ſuc-
cours they could no otherwiſe chuſe) vpon the eight day of Ianuarie, deliuered vnto the
French men, vpon condition of ſauing their liues, and no hurt to bee done vnto them, to car-
rie their money and goods out of the towne, at the diſcretion of the vanquiſhers, the inhabi-
tants to leaue the towne and goe where they would; whereof fiftie ſuch as they liked ſhould M
remaine priſoners. The ſouldiers ſhould depart for England, without ſpoyling, hiding, or bur-
ning the houſes, victuals, munition, or canon ſhot, but ſhould leaue it all behind them;
1558 which was likewiſe done. From thence the French men went to Guynes, wherein lay as go-
uernour my lord *Gray*, an old ſouldier, with twelue or fourteene hundred Engliſh men, Wa-
lons,

* *E. Demetrius.*

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A lons, and Spaniards, and *Montdragon* a valiant captaine sent thither by king *Philip*, where they planted fiue and thirtie canon shot, wherwith in short time they had giuen ten thousand shot, whereby they so battered the bulwarkes, and other places, that they were easie to bee assaulted, which vpon the twentieth of Ianuarie, with great slaughter of men on both sides, was done; at which time there was slaine at the least foure or fiue hundred men: whereby the bulwarkes being woon, the lord *Gray*, with the rest of the souldiers, got into the castle, where they began to parlie, and agreed, That the souldiers should depart with bag and baggage, leauing their ensignes, victuals, munition, and ordnance behind them, and the lord *Gray*, with the rest of the captaines, and gentlemen, to remaine prisoners; which beeing performed, the French men (finding the place to bee vnprofitable for them) rased the castle: at which time
B also the strong castle of Hans was forsaken by the English men. And by that meanes the English men in few dayes lost that little which rested in their powers, of their forefathers conquests, and all that they as then held in firme land of Fraunce, and for the space of two hundred and eleuen yeares before, had peaceably enioyed: the lord of Termes beeing made gouernour thereof, by the French men, that affirme to haue found therein two or three hundred great peeces, besides the victuals, munition for the warres, and the ransome that they had of those that were prisoners. At the first newes thereof brought into England, there was great preparation of men and ships made, for to releeue it, but by meanes of the great tempest at sea, they could not get ouer, before they heard of the losse thereof, which grieued queene *Mary* much at the heart, that it was after a great part of the cause of her death, which happened
C vpon the 17 of Nouember after.

Guynes woon by the Frenc men.

The French men also at the same time by force took the castle of Herbimont in Ardennes: And vpon the foure and twentieth of Aprill the Dolphin of France married *Mary Steward*, queene of Scotland, the onely daughter of *Iames* the fifth, king of Scotland: at which time the dutchesse of Lorraine first began to motion a peace between both the kings. This dutchesse of Lorraine was the daughter of *Christian* king of Denmarke, and of one of the emperour *Charles* sisters.

Mary queen of Scots maried to the Dolphin of France.

This yeare died duke *Maximilian* of Burgonie, baron of Beueren, of le Vere, lieutenant of Holland, Zeeland, Friseland, and Vtrecht, after whom succeeded *William van Nassau*, prince of Orange. This yeare in Summer, the king of France tooke vp foure or fiue thousand horse,
D and foureteene thousand foot-men, vnder the conduct of the duke of Lunenbourgh, the colonell of the horse-men being *Grombacke*, *Rissbergh*, and one of the Lantgraue of Hessens brethren, the foot-men being commaunded by the earle of Rocquedolf, Reycrogh, and others: who being mustered in Lorraine, ioyned with the dukes of Guise and Neuers, with their French men, and so besieged Theonuille, otherwise called Diettenhold in Lutsenbergh, lying vpon the riuer of Moselle, wherein *Peter Quarebbe* (a gentleman of Louen) was gouernour, with about eighteene hundred men: and vpon the fift of Iune began to batter it with 15 peeces of canons, the earle of Horne seeking by all the meanes hee could to get into it with a hundred men, but they were repulst. The mean time the French men continued their shooting and mining, vntill they saw conuenient time to giue an assault: whereby they within be-
E ing much weakened, and hauing no assurance of releefe to be sent them, were forced to enter into a parlie, and vpon the two and twentieth of Iune, deliuered vp the towne, vpon condition, That the souldiers should depart with their rapiers and poniards, the horse-men with their armes, and the townes men with as much of their goods as they could carrie. At this siege there were many French men slaine, and amongst other great commanders, the marshal *Pidue Strossy*, that was shot in his breast with a musket, as hee stood speaking with the duke of Guise, that leaned with his hand vpon his shoulder. And so the strong town of Theonuille was lost, which no lesse men ascribed to the small authoritie that the gouernour bare ouer the souldiers, as being but a meane gentleman of Brabant.

Theonuille woon by the French men.

While this was done in Lutsenburgh, the marshall de Termes gouernor of Calis, had assem-
F bled certaine souldiers out of diuers garrisons, and elswhere, to the number of 8000 foot, and 1500 horse-men, with certaine ordnance, and therewith marching into Flanders, passed ouer the riuer of *Ha*, where a number of country-men were slaine, that thought to haue intercepted his passage, & so went along by Graueling & Borborgh, and from thence to Duynkerke, a towne lying vpon the sea, where he planted his ordnance vpon the downes, and so battered

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Duynkerke woon by the French men.

the ſame: and while the burgeſſes were in parly about deliuering ouer of the towne, hauing G
no garriſon within it, they were by the French men aſſailed, and the towne woon, who
hauing ranſackt the ſame, at the laſt burnt it; which done, they went to Berghen S. Winox,
which they alſo ranſackt & burnt, and all the countrey as far as Newport. King *Philip* being in
Bruſſels, and hearing of the ſpoile that the French men made in Flanders, and in Lutſenburgh,
aſſembled his ſouldiers from al parts, and ſent the duke of Sauoy generall of his armie, into the
earldome of Namure, there to reſiſt the duke of Guiſe, and into Flanders the earle of Egmont,
with full power to take order for the ſafetie of the countrey, before more forces could ioyne
with the lord of Termes. With which charge the earle of Egmont drew al the garriſons out of
the places thereabouts, and with him had the lord of Bingincourt, marſhal of the field: and ha-
uing other forces ſent vnto him out of the duke of Sauoyes campe, hee had in all eight or ten H
thouſand foot, & aboue 2000 horſ men, beſides many country men, that fled from the places
where they dwelt, & with this army marched towards the enemie, who fearing his comming,
was already marching away, and lay incamped in a ſtrong place, about halfe a mile from Gra-
ueling, where the earle of Egmont found him. The lord of Termes perceiuing himſelfe to bee
too weak, determined to march out of Flanders towards Calis; which he did the next day, paſ-
ſing along by the ſea ſide, when it was low water, willing his men to ſet fire on Duynkerk, and
ſo to depart. And in that ſort paſſed he the ſmall riuer of Ha, beneath the towne of Graueling,
which the earle of Egmont, the barons of Bingincourt, the marques de Renti, the earle of
Reux, the barons of Moerbeke, Monichouſen, Fontaines, Mewerkeet, & others, perceiuing,
determined to intercept him, and firſt to ſet vpon his carriage, that they ſhould not any more I
ſeeke to enter into Flanders (cleane contrary to the prouerb, which is, That a man ſhould make
a golden bridge to an enemy that is going away) and to that end paſſed ouer the riuer of Ha,
ſomewhat aboue Graueling, without any ordnance. Monſier de Termes perceiuing that they
meant to ſet vpon him, ordained his battaile in as good order, and with as much aduantage as
he could, which was in this ſort: on the South ſide, where the ſandy downes lay, he placed his
wagons, baggage, and pillage; on the North ſide he had the ſea, and at his back the riuer of Ha,
whereby they could not aſſaile him on no part but before, and there he placed eight great cul-
uerins, and three falcons, his horſe-men ſtanding between them and him, and on each ſide of
them certaine numbers of Gaſcoin harquebuſiers; behind them he planted the pikes, be-
ing of French and Dutch men. The earle of Egmont on his ſide againſt them, ſet fiue troups of horſe- K
men, whereof three companies were light horſe, which were to giue the onſet, the troupes on
the right ſide being led by the earl of Pontenels, & thoſe on the left hand by *Don Henrico Hen-
riques*, and he himſelf in the middle; the fourth troup were the Dutch ſwart Ruyters, and the

The battaile of Graueling in Flanders.

fifth the Netherlanders, each vnder their owne leaders: after them followed the foot men,
being Netherlanders, high Dutche, and Spaniards, led by their colonels, *Bingincourt*, *Mar-
chuyſen*, *Don Lewis de Caruagial*, and others: and in this order the earle of Egmont, vpon the
thirteenth of Iuly, brauely ſet vpon the French men, firſt incouraging his ſouldiers, to make
them the willinger to fight.

The Frenchmen that ſtood reſolutely ready to defend themſelues, receiued them with great
courage, and at the firſt onſet diſcharged their ordnance, therewith doing verie great hurt L
amongſt them; and at that time the earle of Egmonts horſe was ſlaine vnder him, and yet
notwithſtanding hee ſet moſt courageouſly vpon them, and for that the place was broad
and euen, vpon the ſand, brauely fought hand to hand, man to man, horſe to horſe, and
wing againſt wing, which for a long time before had not beene ſeene: in which fight the
Bourguygnons had an vnexpected furtherance, by meanes of certaine ſhips of England,
that lay at ſea, and kept along the coaſt before the townes of Douer and Graueling; to
free the ſame, as alſo to hinder the French men from carrying the bootie that they had got-
ten from the towne of Duynkerke (when they ranſackt it) by water, which were moſt ſmall
ſhips, beeing led by the viceadmirall maſter *Malin*, who perceiuing the ſaid battaile from
out the ſea, went with his ſmalleſt ſhips as neere the ſtrand as hee could, and ſhot many bul- M
lets at the French men, but becauſe they were farre from the land, they could doe them no
great hurt, and ſo by that meanes oftentimes failed, and ſometimes by chance ſhot amongſt
the Bourguygnons; but that neuertheleſſe as much diſcouraged the French men, as it
incouraged the Bourguygnons. The meane time the earle of Egmont had ſent certaine

troupes

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A troupes of Dutch ruyters sideways, which went closely by the downes, and entred on the South side of the French horse-men, assailing them valiantly; whereby at the last the French horse-men (beeing for the most part gentlemen, and well mounted) perceiuing the danger they were in, began to giue backe, which caused the Bourguignons to set the more boldly vpon them, and thereby put the French men to flight; first the horse-men, and then the foot-men, to the great honour and commendation of the Bourguignons, specially of the light horse-men, and most of the earle of Egmont, who at that time shewed himselfe both to bee wise and circumspect, and also stout and valiant. The like did the rest of the commaunders, as *Burgincourt*, the marques de Renti, the earle of Reux, *Don Henrico Henriques*, the earle of Pontenels, the baron de Fontains, *Don Lewis de Caravagtal*, with his Spaniards, and *Manichuy-*
B *sen* with the Dutch men. The French men much blamed the marshall de Termes, because hee marched not away the night before, but it appeared, that hee had charge to stay at Duynkerke, there to strengthen himselfe, and to stay for more aid; as also for that hee stood vpon his aduantage, and was well prepared to make resistance, being scarce three Dutch miles from Calis, with a number of good souldiers, whereby hee was of opinion that no man could hinder his intent. It was thought that there were about fifteene hundred men slaine in the field, besides those that were drowned, and such as were slaine in the flight by the pesants: many were taken prisoners, as the marshall de Termes, gouernour of Calis, beeing sore hurt, the barons of Senerpont, Annibault, Villebon Morvilliers, Chaulis, and others. The ordnance, ensignes, and the bootie was all taken. Of the Bourguignons there was about three
C or foure hundred men slaine, and amongst the rest, the baron de Pelu. This victorie greatly increased the honour of king *Philip*, and the Bourguignons, shewing by experience, that they were too good for the French men in the field. And at that time Duynkerke and Winoxbergh were both taken againe from the French men. About this time *Mary* queene of England sent a great nauy of ships of warre to sea, conducted by the lord *Clinton*, admirall of England, and by reason of the contracts made betweene England and the Netherlands, as also for that the queene of England at that time held a regiment of Dutch men in the Netherlands, in her pay, vnder the conduct of an English gentleman, called sir *William Pickerin*: they of the Netherlands sent twentie or twentie two great ships of warre, well appointed and furnished of all things, whereof the admirall was monsieur *van Wackene*, and Capelle (viceadmirall to
D the earle of Horne) and with him the lord of Cruningen, and other Netherlanders, with many souldiers to ioyne with them: which two fleets sailed together vnto the coast of Britaigne, and vpon the nineteenth of Iuly at Conquet, landed their men, burning and wasting the countrey all about, and did them great hurt: but monsieur de Kersimont hauing assembled certaine gentlemen, and others thereabouts, set vpon foure companies of Netherlanders, that were entred too farre within the countrey, thinking to be seconded by the English men (that were gone into their ships, vpon the newes of the French mens comming) and slew and tooke many of them prisoners, whereupon they returned home againe with their ships, without any further enterprise, or that any man could certainely learne what their pretence was.

In the moneth of August both the kings of Spaine and France assembled their powers,
E notwithstanding that the prince of Orange secretly parlyed with the constable of Fraunce, and the marshall of Saint *Andrewes* (as then prisoners) concerning a peace. And vpon the one and twentieth of August, king *Philip* went vnto his armie, as then being about Dorlens, being thirtie thousand foot, and foureteene thousand horse-men, amongst the which were many high Dutch, vnder the conduct of *Ericke* and *Erneſt* dukes of Brunswicke, the duke of Holst, the earles of Wartstenbergh, Manffield, Rennenbergh, and others: and besides *Emanuel Philibert* duke of Sauoy, lieutenant generall for the king, there was the duke of Parma and Plaisance, the duke of Seminara, the prince of Sulmona, the duke of Arry, the earles of Palicastro, Bagin, and Landi, and the lord *Ascanio de Cornia*: and of Spanish noble men, there was the dukes of Alua, Arcos, Francauilla, and Vilhermosa, the marques of Balanga, and Aquillar,
F the earles of Fonsalida and Melito: of Netherlanders, there was *William van Nassau*, prince of Orange, *Lanioral* earle of Egmont, the duke of Arschot, the marques of Bergen, and Renti, the earles of Horne, Arenbergh, Bossu, Megen, Ligni, Teux, and Hooghstrate, the barons of Montigni, Batlaymont, Glayon, and others. The king of France also had assembled a mightie armie about Pierrepont, most consisting of Dutch men, Swissers, and some Italians;

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the Dutch men alone were 8000 horſe-men: to the which armie *Henry* king of France, vpon G
the eight of Auguſt, came thither in perſon, accompanied with the king of Nauarre, the duke *de Monſpenſier*, the duke of Guiſe, (the kings lieutenant generall) the duke of Lorraine, Neuers, Nemours, Aumale, and Boullion, all French men. The ſtrangers were *Hans William*, duke of Saxon, ſecond ſonne to *Hans Frederick* the elector, the duke of Lunenbourgh, one of the Lantgraue of Heſſens ſonnes, the princes of Ferrara and Salerne, the duke of Somnia, and diuers other marqueſſes, earles, and barons, which would bee ouer long to rehearſe: and with this armie marched to Amyens, and there paſt ouer the riuer of Some, and incamped themſelues not farre from the Burguignons, that lay ſtrongly incamped along by the riuer of Authie, where many skirmiſhes were giuen betweene both thoſe armies: but the French men ſtill remembring the two ouerthrowes that they had receiued not long before, lay ſtrongly in- H
trenched, and durſt not venter to the hazard of a battaile: for that the great power of thoſe two kings, on both ſides, that were there in perſon, made them both lye ſtill and to haue regard of their owne ſafeties; and conſidering the great hurt that they might do each vnto the other, if they had entred into battail: and that on the other ſide, their greateſt powers conſiſted moſt of ſtrange nations, it made both the kings the rather to hearken vnto a peace: and to that end by both their conſents there was a place appointed for to meet in, which was the abbey of Corcampe, not farre from thence. And to intreat of the ſaid peace, in October there appeared for the king of Spaine, the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, *Rigomes de Silua*, *Anthony Perrenot* biſhop of Arras, and doctor *Vigilius Swichem* preſident: and for the king of Fraunce, the cardinall of Lorraine, *Anna de Montmorancy* conſtable of France, *Iaques de Albon* marſhall I
of Saint *Andrewes* (that paying ranſome, were both releaſed of their impriſonment) *Iohn de Moruilliers* biſhop of Orleans, and *Claude de Aubeſpine* ſecretarie, and with thoſe deputies, as allied on both ſides, there ſat the ducheſſe of Lorraine, with her ſonne the young duke: the meane time, vpon hope of a peace, both the kings began to leſſen their armies, and to ſeperate them one from the other, and in the moneth of Nouember diſcharged diuers of their men. And while the deputies were in treatie, and had almoſt agreed vpon a mariage betweene the king of Fraunce his eldeſt daughter, and *Don Charles* prince of Spaine, and betweene the king of France his ſiſter, and the duke of Sauoy, and thought verily to fall to an agreement, nothing wanting, but to content the queene of England, who by her embaſſadours much preſſed them to haue Calis reſtored vnto her againe, without the which king *Philip* alſo K
Mary queen of England died. would hearken to no peace; it happened, that queene *Mary*, the kings wife, died without iſſue, vpon the ſeuenteenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1558, after that ſhee had raigned fiue yeares and odde monethes, whereby the ſaid peace was prolonged off, for the ſpace of two moneths after.

The death of queen Helenor and queen Mary, ſiſters to the emperour Charles the 5. This yeare, vpon the firſt of Februarie, queene *Elenor* Dowager of France and Portugal, died in Spaine. And vpon the 18 of October after, died *Mary* queene of Hongary, that had been regent in the Netherlands, and one that greatly eſteemed of that countrey, who vnwillingly departed from thence, but yet would not ſeeme to diſpleaſe the emperour her brother, that was in great care leaſt ſhe would haue taken too much vpon her in the Netherlands, which might diſlike the king his ſon, wherunto ſuch as were chiefe rulers vnder the king of Spaine, L
were great ſoliciters, leaſt they ſhould be troubled with any contradicters.

The death of the emperour Charles the 5. The emperour *Charles* the fifth likewiſe died the ſame yeare, vpon the 21 of September, being S. *Mathews* day, in the couent of S. *Iuſt*, of a hot burning feuer, in the eight and fiftieth yere of his age, after he had been thirtie ſix yeres emperour, and fortie yeares king of Spaine. Some write, that when hee lay in his death bed (by meanes of ſome admonition giuen him by the archbiſhop of Toledo, or by that which he before had heard in Germany) he acknowledged, that hee hoped for his ſaluation, onely by the death and paſſion of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and by no other meanes, according to the opinion of the reformed Church. This emperour *Charles* was a man of middle ſtature, well proportioned of bodie and limmes, faire faced, high foreheaded, friendly of countenance, ſomewhat browne eyed, high noſed, his mouth ſome- M
what gaping, which he tooke from the Bourguignon princes and kings of France, and a faire beard, his haire browne, both a good horſe and foot-man, familiar & friendly, ſpeaking many languages, in his youth ſound of body, of complexion ſanguine, which beeing mixed with melancholy bloud, made him wiſe and politique, but withall very ſuſpitious and griple;

and

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A and in his aged daies ſalt flegmaticke humors falling into his pores, cauſed him to be mild, that ſo tempered his bloud and choler within him, that he could maſter and ouercome his wrath and haſtineſſe. He was in truth a religious, deuout, mightie, wiſe, temperate, ſtout, and high minded prince, of great experience, and fortunate, but ſomewhat ſelfe-willed. Before his death he obtained the full power and gouernment of the dukedome of Guelderland, the earldome of Zutphen, the baronies of Vtrecht and Oueryſſel, the baronie of Groning, the towne of Cambricke, and the earledome of Linghen, all in the Netherlands: he had the earledome of Flanders, and other prouinces, that as yet were in a manner contributaries to the crowne of Fraunce, but freed from the ſame for euer, by contract: the kingdome of Tunes, the countries of America, Naples, Sicilia, and Myllan, which hee woon, and aſſured vnto himſelfe:
B his ſouldiers woon Rome: he tooke priſoners Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, the king of France, the king of Nauarre, and the elector of Saxon; the duke of Cleue, the Lantgraue of Heſſen and others ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. In his latter daies fortune was not ſo fauourable vnto him, by reaſon of his obſtinacie, bad counſell, and hard reſolution. Keeping the Lantgraue priſoner, he was by *Maurice*, elector of Saxon, and other princes (that had made a contract with the king of France) compelled not onely to ſet the Landtgraue free, but alſo to loſe the fruits of his victorie in Germanie, as many hyſtories ſufficiently declare the ſame. He left iſſue by lady *Iſabell* of Portugall, king *Philip* his onely ſonne: daughters, *Mary* married to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and *Ioanna* princeſſe of Portugall, with more naturall children, or baſtards, as Don *Iohn de Auſtria*, and *Marguerite* dutcheſſe of Parma. And ſo king *Philip* in one
C yeare loſt his father, his wife, and his two aunts. In December after he celebrated their funerals in Bruſſels: but aboue all the reſt, he made a moſt triumphant funerall for the Emperour his father, with a victorious ſhip, armes, ſtandards, and banners of all his honours, which was moſt triumphantly borne throughout the ſtreets.

In the ſame yeare and about that time there died two kings in Denmarke, as *Chriſtian* then king, and *Chriſtierne*, that had laine two and twentie yeares priſoner, becauſe of the tyrannie that he had ſhewed vnto his ſubiects, being neuertheleſſe a mightie king of three kingdomes, as Denmarke, Swethland, and Norway; but he fell into ſuch hatred of his people, that they forſooke him, and choſe another king, and in Anno 1532, when with a great armie, and by the aid of the Emperor *Charles*, he thought to win Denmarke againe, he was by them ouerthrown
D and taken priſoner: which was a wonderfull worke and puniſhment of God ſhewed vpon him for his vnmercifulneſſe and tyrannie, and an excellent example for princes in our time. Not long before he died, he was friendly viſited by king *Chriſtian*, where they forgaue each other from their hearts. This *Chriſtiern* married *Iſabella*, ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, by whom he had iſſue a ſonne, that died in the Netherlands at the ſame time that his father was taken priſoner; and two daughters, the one *Palſgraueni*, the other called *Chriſtiana*; that was dutcheſſe of Lorraine, and in Anno 1558 was a mediator of the peace betweene Fraunce and Spaine, whoſe ſonne being duke of Lorraine, maried *Claude*, ſecond daughter to the king of France, vpon the laſt of Ianuarie 1559.

As I ſaid before, the death of the queen of England prolonged the treatie of peace betweeh
E the kings of Fraunce and Spaine, but in Februarie after the Commiſſioners on both ſides aſſembled againe in the caſtle of Cambryſe, where alſo there came the queene of Englands embaſſadours, as the biſhop of Ely, the lord *Howard* baron of Effingham, Doctor *Wotton*, and the Deane of Canterburie: and for the duke of Sauoy two deputies, and with all thoſe the aforeſaid dutcheſſe, as mediator, with her ſonne: and after ſome delayes, at laſt they proceeded ſo farre, that there ſeemed nothing reſting to be done, but onely that the Engliſhmen deſired to haue Callis reſtored againe vnto the queene; wherein king *Philip* ſought to haue her ſatisfied and contented, or els he would accept of no peace, becauſe that during his warres, and by his meanes it had beene loſt: but the Frenchmen boldly alleadging, that queene *Elizabeth* was not lawfull queene of England, but the Scottiſh queene (as being right heire thereunto by
F diſcent from the grandmother, king *Henry* the eights eldeſt ſiſter) that as then had maried the Dolphin of Fraunce, they ſaid and affirmed, that ſhe had nothing to do therewith. Whereby the queen of England began to ſuſpect, that the peace which as then was entreating of, might be made, only to compell her to hold and obſerue the Catholicke Romiſh Religion, which as then ſhe began to alter and change within her kingdomes, to the diſhonour of king *Philip*, and

Treatie of peace betweeh France and Spaine.

and therefore thought it beſt for her to make an aſſured peace with France: wherein on both G
ſides, one *Guido Caualcanti*, a gentleman of Florence, was ſpecially employed; by whoſe meanes, vpon the ſecond of Aprill 1559, an agreement was made in the caſtle of Cambreſis: and after much debating of the cauſe, it was agreed, That Calis ſhould be vnwalled, and ſo deliuered ouer vnto the queene; but in the end they concluded, That Calis and the Earledome of Oyen ſhould continue eight yeres in the French kings hands, and then ſhould be reſtored to the queene againe, without any defacing, with all things that belonged therunto, only with ſixteene braſſe pieces of diuers greatneſſe, and for aſſurance thereof, the French king ſhould giue ſix or ſeuen ſufficient marchants for ſureties of the ſame, which ſhould be bound in the ſumme of fiue hundred thouſand crownes; and vntill ſuch time (that the peace might not be delayed) as thoſe marchants ſhould be commited priſoners in Bruges, there ſhould be H
fiue French gentlemen put into the queenes hands for hoſtages, which euery fiue months ſhe might change: but for that this contract concerned many matters touching Scotland, the queene of Scots then taking on her the title and armes of England and Ireland, for the which, after that, there grew ſome contention, part of the ſaid hoſtages got away, and others by new contracts were ſet at liberty, and diſcharged, and ſo the Frenchmen ſtill held Calis. The queen of England thus contented & ſatisfied, the peace betweene the two kings of France & Spaine was concluded at Cambreſis vpon the third of Aprill 1559, and proclaimed in Bruſſels vpon the fifth of April after. The old controuerſies that had continued for the ſpace of fiue & twentie yeares, were on both ſides wholly excluded out of the ſame: as the ſoueraignty that France pretended to haue ouer Flanders, Artois, Riſſel, Doway, Dornick, the kingdome of Naples, I
and the dutchie of Millan, &c. and the king of Spaines pretence ouer Burgundie, Prouence, the townes vpon the riuer of Some, and the earledome of Bolonois. The principall articles of the ſaid peace being as followeth: for the reſt I refer the Reader to diuers hyſtories, where they may ſee them at large; this ſeruing onely for a memoriall.

Articles of the peace made at Cambreſis.

Firſt, That a good peace ſhould be holden betweene the ſaid kings, their children and ſubiects, and that the one might traffique and trauell freely and peaceably in the others countries and kingdomes: all cuſtomes of repriſals ſhould be aboliſhed, all priuiledges confirmed, and either of them reſtored vnto his owne againe.

That all the old treaties and contracts of peace ſhould be renewed, and confirmed, as farre as that treatie did allow and permit. K

That both the kings ſhould with all earneſt zeale hold and maintaine the holy Catholicke Romiſh church and religion, and be a meanes that the generall counſell might be holden.

That the King of Spain ſhould deliuer S. Quintins, Han, and Chaſtelet to the French king, and the king of France ſhould deliuer him Theonuille, Marienbourgh, Iuois, Damuilliers, and Montmedi, & ſuch as they had taken one from the other, without breaking the fortifications, and each of them might take his owne Ordinance and munition out of the ſame againe.

That Terrowane ſhould be reſtored againe without wals as it was, and Iuois on the other ſide ſhould be defaced, and ſhould not be fortified againe, nor any fort made within a thouſand paces thereof.

Heſdin and his territories, as old patrimonie belonging to the king of Spaine, ſhould be his, L
and not claimed by France in any wiſe. Many queſtions touching the borders of Burgonie, Artois, &c. were put to deciding of certaine Commiſſioners on both ſides, with other ſuch like doubts.

The king of Spaine ſhould haue the earledome of Charlorys reſtored to him againe.

Whatſoeuer both the kings poſſeſſed and held in Montferrat, ſhould be reſtored againe to the duke of Mantua: Bouillon ſhould be yeelded to the biſhop of Luyck, the Iſland of Corſica to the Genouois, and Valencia in the dukedome of Millan, to the king of Spaine.

And as it was firſt propounded, that a marriage of the eldeſt daughter, lady *Elizabeth* of France, ſhould be made with *Charles* prince of Spaine, to the end that further friendſhip and vnitie might be had, it was agreed, That the king of Spaine himſelfe ſhould marry her (who as M
then was a widower) and to haue with her 400000 crownes, and ſhe to haue a dowry of 50000 crownes yearely, and that if he died before her, there ſhould be a third part of the 400000 crownes paid backe againe.

That the duke of Sauoy ſhould marry with lady *Marguerite* the king of France his ſiſter, and with

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A with her ſhould haue 300000 crownes, beſides the dutchy of Berry, wherof ſhe ſhould receiue the inheritance during her life.

That the king of Fraunce ſhould reſtore all the lands that hee then withheld from the ſaid duke of Sauoy, except the towne of Thierin, Pignoral, Chyras, Ouer, and the new towne of Aſti, which he ſhould hold in his hands for the ſpace of three yeares, vntill order ſhould be taken about the right that he pretended to haue therein.

That the duke of Sauoy ſhould remaine as neuter on both ſides. That the king of Spaine ſhould keepe Aſti and Vercelles in his hands, vntill the king of France did deliuer the 5 towns of Piemont aforeſaid vnto the duke. He that firſt ſhould make deliuery, ſhould chuſe four perſons out of the others for ſureties, and ſhould keepe them till the reſt be performed.

B That each king ſhould comprehend his friends in that treatie of peace, as the princes, potentates, and countries adiacent.

That the Dolphin of France, and *Don Charles* prince of Spaine, and the ſtates of France and the Netherlands ſhould confirme that peace; onely the king of Spaine would not conſent to comprehend the Earles of Eaſt-Friſeland in that peace, whether it were for any cauſe of actions that he pretended againſt them, or for the reformed religion.

That all the goods of the vaſſals of either king ſhould be reſtored vnto them againe, and amongſt the reſt, to *William* prince of Orange, to whom ſhould be freely deliuered his principalitie of Orange, according to the contract made in Anno 1551, and alſo his lands in Dauphinois, as Derpiere, Treſluys, Monbriſon, Curby, Parriewe, Nouois, Cay, Sauxcy, Vayrume,

C Beaurepair, and Auxonne, and that hee ſhould haue law for his pretence and title to the earledome of Eſcampes, Tonnere, and Chaury, with the foure baronies &c. alſo the duke of Arſchot, the earle of Egmont, and others, as you may read at large.

That the bailiwike of Heſden ſhould remaine to king *Philip*, and the earldome of S. *Paul* to the lady of Tonteuille, dutches of Longeuille, excepting the right of both the kings, the ſoueraignty remaining to the king of Spaine: touching the reſtitutions aforeſaid, the K. of France offered to be the firſt, chuſing for ſureties, the duke of Alua, the duke of Arcos, the prince of Orange, and the earle of Egmont, which preſently rid into France.

This peace was concluded as aforeſaid in April, 1559, & ſubſcribed by the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, as the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, the prince of Melito, *Antony Perrenot*, and

D preſident *Vigilius*; and on the other ſide, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Conſtable *Montmorency*, the marſhall of S. *Andrewes*, Moruilliers, and *Aubeſpina* ſecretarie to the king. In this peace the French king deliuered vp vnto the king of Spaine and the duke of Sauoy, 198 townes, caſtles, and forts, that were held with garriſon: whereupon *Monſieur Mouluc*, marſhall of France, writeth, That it was the moſt ſhamefull peace that France could euer haue made. It is to be noted that this lady *Iſabella*, eldeſt daughter to the king of France, was vpon the 19 of Iuly in an. 1551 contracted in mariage to *Edward* the ſixt, king of England, as then dead, vpon condition, that when ſhe was 12 yeres of age, within a month after ſhe ſhould be conueied into England, there to be openly & ſolemnly maried to the king, vpon forfeiture on both ſides of 500000 crownes, with 200000 crownes to her mariage, and that if ſhe out-liued him, to haue a dowry of 6666 l.

E 13 s. 4 d. yearely, as long as ſhe liued, and that if king *Edward* out-liued her, he ſhould keep her mariage money as his owne. This peace made many men to reioyce, and all the countries throughout made great triumphs for the ſame, ſpecially in Antuerpe, where, from the 9 to the 18 day of Aprill they made fires throughout the towne, ſhooting off their Ordinance, caſting fire bals, playing, and making diuers ſhewes in euery place of the ſame: the high tower of our lady church was hanged with 300 lanternes, burning with candles from the bottome to the top: all the ſtrangers reſident therein, as Florentines, Genouois, Lucans, Dutchmen, Eaſterlings, Spaniards, and Engliſhmen, made diuers triumphant arches, images, caſtles, & other ſorts of firing and fire-workes: wine was let run in the ſtreets, whole oxen roſted, hogges killed by men blinded, great maſtes ſet vpright that were greaſed, and coſtly prizes ſet thereon, for them

F to take that could fetch them downe: and prizes for women, that could run faſteſt; and euery one for the beſt and the faireſt.

For the accompliſhing of this contract of peace, the king of Spaine gaue the duke of Alua and others full power to fulfill the ceremonies of the contract of matrimonie in Paris, for him and in his name with the lady *Iſabella*, and at the ſame time the duke of Sauoy rid thither with a great traine to marry with the kings ſiſter, which was done with great triumphs, where there

was

was a great running at tilt appointed to be holden in Paris, wherin the king himſelfe, the duke G
of Guiſe, the prince of Serrare, and the duke *de Nemours* were chalengers againſt all commers.
The king in the firſt and ſecond daies ran brauely; and the third day, the queene fearing hee
would ouer-labor and heat himſelfe too much, or hauing a ſecret conceit of ſome misfortune
that might happen vnto him, deſired him to refrain from running that day; but he would not:
and the third day, when he had run two houres, and was about to giue ouer, he would needs
ſhew that he was not wearie, and calling *Monſieur Lorges*, earle of Montgomery, then captaine
of his guard, that was eſteemed to be one of the beſt runners at tilt in France, willed him to
breake one launce more with him; who excuſed himſelfe by the wearineſſe of his horſe, and
other things: but the king would not be denied; and ſo as they were running one againſt the
other, it fortuned, that *Montgomery* breaking his launce vpon the kings breaſt, the ſplinters H
thereof flew into the kings viſor of his helmet (which was forgotten to be cloſe ſhut) and by
Henry king of France ſlaine at a running at tilt. reaſon that the viſor gaue vp, one of the ſplinters ſtrucke the king in the right eye, and wound-
ded him deadly, and when he began to ſtagger, he was vpholden, and taken downe from his
horſe ſore bleeding, with great crying of all the court, and many of the people; and being vnar-
med, and his wound viſited by diuers expert ſurgeons (whereof one was *Andreas Veſalius*, ſent
thither by king *Philip*) it was found to be mortall, and altogether deadly; and yet by the great
experience and policie of the ſaid ſurgeons, he liued ten daies after, and died vpon the tenth of
Auguſt 1554, at the age of fortie yeres, and in the twelfth yere of his raigne, at his death com-
plaining of his owne lightnes, and alſo amongſt other things, that he had been ouer-rigorous
againſt thoſe of the reformed religion: but the Cardinall of Lorraine told him, that it was the I
diuell that troubled his mind ſo much, willing him to ſtriue and reſiſt againſt him. He was a
wiſe prince, and a right ſouldier, couetous of honour, and high minded. The earle of Montgo-
mery after the deed done, fell downe vpon his knees before him, acknowledging that hee had
well deſerued to die; but the king would not in any wiſe that it ſhould bee imputed vnto him,
but freely forgaue him, as hauing compelled him thereunto: but he preſently departed from
the court, keeping himſelfe ſolitarily, as a man deſolat & comfortleſſe: but being counſelled to
read the holy Scriptures for his conſolation (as the Frenchmen write) in the end it was the
meanes to cauſe him to alter his religion, and being before that a Romiſh Catholick, and one
that earneſtly perſecuted the reformed religion, after that became a great protector & defen-
dor thereof in Fraunce: and at the laſt being beſieged in a ſmall towne of Normandy, called K
Damfron, he was taken priſoner, & from thence caried to Paris, and there openly beheaded:
whoſe death was imputed vnto the queene & her children, to be a point of cruelty & reuenge.
King *Henry* left iſſue foure ſonnes and three daughters; *Iſabella* the eldeſt was then eſpouſed to
the king of Spaine, the ſecond was dutcheſſe of Lorraine, and the third queene of Nauarre:
Francis the eldeſt ſonne was maried to the queene of Scotland, and ſucceeded his father; after
him *Charles*, after him *Henry*, that was alſo king of Poland, *Francis* the fourth ſon in Ann. 1582
was made duke of Brabant, all which died without iſſue.

In K. *Henry* the ſeconds time two great ſinnes raigned much in France, as Atheiſme & Ni-
gromancie, which was much imputed to the Italians, that were attendants vpon Q. *Katherine*
de Medices, and thought to be they that brought it in; wherein many French poets and rymers L
were great helpers, which many wiſe and learned men aſcribe to be the cauſe of the deſerued
puniſhment that fell vpon the country of France. Thoſe of the reformed religion in Fraunce
write, that ſtrange death of the king to be iuſtly ſent vnto him, and a great fauour of God to-
wards them, as thereby ſhewing his church his great power, and a delinery from a great perſe-
cution, which the duke of Alua (being there at that time) ſought to put in practiſe by the ſaid
kings aid, according to the firſt article of the laſt peace concluded, tending to the deſtruction
of all thoſe of the reformed religion throughout the world: which it ſeemeth that the king
ſought to begin, with the lords of his parliament, & among the reſt committed *Anna du bourg*
priſoner, that openly ſpake vnto the king in the parliament houſe to be fauourable to thoſe of
the reformed religion: for which cauſe the K. being ſore moued, threatned him, that he would M
himſelf ſee him burnt: which God by the wound in his eie would not ſuffer him to do: but the
ſaid *du bourg* was afterward burnt, notwithſtading the kings death. This yere in Auguſt, Pope
Paule the fourth of the familie of *Caraffa*, that was the cauſe of breaking the peace, and had
The death of Pope Paule the fourth. made war againſt the king of Spaine, and the firſt founder of the Ieſuits, died in Rome, at ſuch
time as with all his kinred and ſect he had vndertaken and concluded to make a great perſecu-

tion

A tion (vnder pretence of religion) against all good persons. His death gaue many men cause to reioice, especially the inhabitants of Rome, in regard of the innumerable warres, taxations, & burthens that he & his practised & procured: so that the people of Rome arming themselues, ran vnto the Inquisition house, where they wounded the chiefe Inquisitor, the rest flying away to saue their liues: which done, they burnt the house, and released the prisoners, & would haue burnt the cloyster of *Minerua*, because they were addicted vnto the Inquisitors, if by meanes of *Marcus Antonius Columna* and *Iulius Cæsarino* it had not beene preuented: who by many faire words dissuaded them from it: whereby also the Popes nephewes and kindreds houses were likewise spared. The Popes image standing in the Capitoll, they beat downe, and drawing it through the streets, cast it into the riuer of Tyber, and commandement giuen
B in the name of the counsell and people of Rome, vpon paine of great punishment, that all the Popes and his familie of *Caraffes*, images, armes, shields, and titles, should be broken downe in euery place of Rome, as deadly enemies vnto mankind, whose memorie deserued not to bee kept in the world. Pope *Pius* the fourth, his successor, although hee had promised Cardinall *Caraffa*, and the duke of Paliano his cousin and their familie, to forgiue all offences fore-past, and assured them thereof by his hand writing, yet neuertheless he caused them all to be committed to prison, and put some of them to death.

Marguerite

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MARGVERITE OF AVSTRIA, DVTches of Parma, baſtard daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands for king *Philip*.



MARGARITA AVSTRIA DVCISSA PARMÆ
BELGI. DITI. P. HISPA. REGI. NOMINA GVBER.

Who ere he be that ſees this picture in this booke,
Vpon the baſtard daughter of th'Emperour Charles *doth looke:*
That firſt was macht with one of th'houſe of Medicis,
And afterward eſpouſed in the ſtocke of Farneſis:
And had a ſonne that was a man of worthineſſe.
This baſtard wholly gaue her mind to craft and ſubtilneſſe,
And with diſſembling face did vaile her bad and ſoule intent:
For while in Netherlands ſhe had the gouernment,
The gentlemen thereof ſhe knew how to deceaue,
And many men of good account in troubles great did leaue:
But ere ſhe ſaw the effect of her diſloyaltie,
Another had her gouernment, and did the place ſupply.

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A MARGVERITE of Austria, bastard daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, was first married to *Alexander Medicis*, the first duke of Florence, who was slaine by his owne cousin: then she married againe to *Octauio Farneſe*, duke of Parma and Placence. *Anthonie Perrenot*, Cardinall of Granuelle (before bishop of Arras) caused her to be preferred to the gouernment of the Netherlands, before all the princes of Austria, sonnes to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and the dutchesse of Lorraine, neece to the Emperour *Charles*, daughter to *Christierne* the second king of Denmarke, and to the lady *Isabella*, sister to these two Emperours, and so cousin germane to king *Philip*: The which the said Cardinall, a great counsellor and mignion, had laboured, to the end, that this lady *Marguerite*
B comming out of Italie, new and vnacquainted with the affaires and state of the Netherlands, might be wholly directed and gouerned by his counsell, and he by consequence haue the whole managing of the said countries: the which he obtained, as you may see by the progresse of our Hystorie: The which caused a great iealousie against him, and by his practise bred a diuision betwixt the noblemen, the knights of the Order, and other of the counsell of state of the said countries, who diuided themselues into partialities and factions one against the other, the one to supplant, and the other to maintaine the credit and authoritie of this Cardinall.

The lady Marguerite aduanced to the gouernment by the Cardinals meanes.

King *Philip* hauing now made peace with the king of France, determined to go into Spain, there to aid the Inquisition, being certified, that certaine noblemen there were great fauorers
C of the reformed Religion, and also from thence the better to further the generall counsell: which two causes had chiefely moued him to hearken vnto a peace. And therefore he caused all the states of the Netherlands to bee summoned to appeare in Gaunt, there to declare his mind vnto them, and to take his leaue, much recommending his sister vnto them; and vnder her (according to the auncient custome) he appointed a counsell of estate, for matters of great importance; as making of peace, or beginning of warre, intelligences with forraine princes and countries, and the defence of the Netherlands: and a priuie counsell for making of laws, giuing of pardons, ministring of iustice, and other publicke causes: and a third counsell for the Treasurie, and the gouernment of the kings demaines, and all receits of moneyes and incomes of reuenewes, belonging thereunto; those three seuerall counsels hauing seuerall as-
D semblies, so that one had not to doe with the other: they of the counsell of estate were, *Anthonie Perrenot*, bishop of Arras (who not long after was made Cardinall of Granuelle, *William van Naſſau*, prince of Orange, *Lamorale Degmont*, prince of Gauare, and earle of Egmont, *Philip de Staden* baron of Glayon, *Charles* baron *de Barlamont*, chiefe of the Treasurie, and doctor *Vigilius* president of the priuie counsell. After that *Philip de Montmorency*, earle of Horne, admirall, and *Charles de Croye* duke of Arschot were ioyned with them. He appointed further, That the knights of the order of the golden fleece being called thereunto by the lady regent, should also be admitted to sit with them, and those also of the priuie counsell and of the treasurie. He likewise gaue them secret instruction, whereby they had authority to sit in counsell, make enquiries, and heare causes, but should not resolue vpon any thing without the aduice
E of the Cardinall, the prince of Orange, the earle of Egmont, the baron of Barlamont, and the president *Vigilius*. The priuie counsell consisted of twelue more or lesse doctors of the lawes, and each counsell had their secretarie. He ordained a gouernour in euery prouince, that were knights of the order of the golden fleece: as in Brabant, the regent had the chiefe charge, as generall gouernor, being resident there: the prince of Orange was gouernour of Holland, Zeeland and Vtrecht, and after that also of the earledome of Burgundie: the earle of Egmont was gouernor of Flanders and Artois: *Iohn de Ligni* earle of Arenbergh was gouernor of Friseland, Ouerissel, Groning, and Lingen: *Charles de Bunen* earle of Megen, was gouernor of Guelderland and Zutphen: *Peter Daruſt* earle of Mansfield, was gouernour of Lutsenburg: *Iohn* marques of Berghen, was gouernour of Henault, Valencia, and the castle of Camericke. The ba-
F ron *de Barlamont* was gouernor of Namure: *Iohn de Montmorency* lord of Currieres, was gouernor of Rissel, Doway, and Orchiers: and *Florence de Montmorency*, brother to the earle of Horne, was gouernor of Dornicke and Tournesis. These were all the principall lords of the Netherlands, and had authority ouer the souldiers and execution of iustice. He also appointed the ordering and gouernment of the bands of ordinarie horsemen vnto those lords, that were

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three thouſand horſe wel mounted, and eſteemed to be the beſt & braueſt horſemen in Chri- G.
ſtendome, and were entertained and held in pay both in time of peace and warre: the colonels were, the prince of Orange, the duke of Arſchot, the earle of Egmont, the marques of Berghen, the earle of Horne, the earle of Mansfield, the earle of Megen, the earle of Rieulx, the earle of Boſſu, the earle of Hoogheſtrate, the baron de Brederode, the baron de Montigni, and the baron de Barlamont, each colonel hauing his lieutenant & his treaſurer. And at the ſame time the king held the order of the golden fleece in Gaunt, where amongſt others he inueſted certaine lords of the Netherlands therewith, as the baron of Aſſicourt, the lord *Florents* of Montigny, the marques of Renti, and the earle of Hoogheſtrate, of the houſe of Lalain.

The ſtates of the land hauing behaued themſelues ſo well towards their prince, wherby he had attained to ſo honourable a peace, and the gentlemen in his ſeruice hauing ventured both H
their liues and goods, the commons likewiſe willingly paying their nine yeares contribution,
A petition made by the ſtates to king Philip, to ſend the Spaniards out of the Netherlands. deliuered an earneſt petition vnto the king, to deſire his Maieſty, to ſend the Spaniſh & other forraine ſouldiers out of the Netherlands; ouer the which ſouldiers, the prince of Orange, the earle of Egmont, and the Earle of Horne were colonels. Which their requeſt he would gladly haue denied them, but for that they earneſtly alledged all their priuiledges, and ſhewed him the copy thereof, and what he had promiſed and ſworne, and to the contrary muſt haue beene forced to proteſt againſt him, he was content to grant, that they ſhould depart out of the countrey within three months after; but it fell not out in halfe a yere at the leaſt, when he had great need of them about the loſſe of the Iſland of Zerby in Barbary. The cauſe why the ſtates were ſo earneſt to haue the Spaniards out of the countrey, was, for that many courtiers (wholly de- I
pending vpon the king) in great credit with him, and as then ſtaying in the Netherlands, had made it knowne abroad; that they were much moued, and hoped for a reuenge, for that in the laſt of the nine yeares ſchating, they were denied the receiuing and diſtribution of the mony, and that the ſtates themſelues receiued it, and paid it vnto their owne countrimen by their ſeruants, whereby the ſaid courtiers nailes were pared; which they openly interpreted to bee a kind of diſobedience: as if they would preſcribe lawes vnto the prince, and not truſt him with the managing of the common mony. With them diuers that ſought gouernment and authoritie ioined themſelues, both ſtrangers, and others, that ſought to further and aduance the opinion of the king and the duke of Alua, and alſo the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and the Spaniards: which was, that it was not poſſible to driue the Lutherans or heretickes out of the Nether- K
lands, nor out of Spaine, but they muſt firſt find means to obtaine abſolute and ful obedience, authoritie, and commaund for the king, whereby they might then plant the Spaniſh Inquiſition therein; without the which two points, they were to account the Netherlands as loſt countries: which was to be brought to paſſe by ſtrange garriſons: which things being known and perceiued by the beſt experienced men amongſt the ſtates, cauſed them ſo earneſtly to deſire the departure of the Spaniards out of the Netherlands.

This pretence of theſe counſellors and the Spaniſh hatred was at the ſame time ſufficiently made knowne vnto the greateſt perſonages of the Netherlands; and that it was reſolued, that the authors of the petition (touching the departure and withdrawing of the Spaniards) ſhould be well puniſhed: and namely, a Spaniſh counſellor (that bare a good affection vnto the no- L
bilitie and gentlemen of the Netherlands) came to the prince of Orange, the earle of Egmont and others, playing at Cheſſe, and giuing them warning, asked them if they had ſo much time to play, and made no more account touching the requeſt made then vnto the king, with ſuch like words: which they (earneſt at their play) eſteemed to be ſpoken in ieaſt: but when they had made an end of their play, the prince of Orange ſaid to the earle of Egmont (as he was a very politicke prince) that thoſe words vttered by that counſellor, were not ſpoken in vaine, and therefore deſired the earle of Egmont (as being very familiar with the ſaid counſellor) to ſpeake more at large with him about the ſame; which he did: who made him anſwere, That they were to looke vnto themſelues, and eſteeme them to be forewarned by a friend, namely, that it was determined by the king and his counſell, That all thoſe that ſigned to the petition, M
to haue the Spaniards withdrawne out of the Netherlands, or once conſented thereunto, ſhould be puniſhed for the ſame at conuenienter time: whereof (as a friend) he gaue them warning. And ſo when all things were ordained and made readie for the kings iourney, hee tooke his leaue of the ſtates at Gaunt, aboue all things recommending vnto them the maintenance

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A nance of the Catholicke religion, and punishment of heretickes, and went to Zeeland, where there was a great fleet of ships ready to saile with him, exceeding well prouided of all things, and amongst the rest great store of capons and hennes, to the number of 15000 at the least; whereby you may esteeme what the rest of the prouision might be: and vpon the 26 of August 1559 he set saile and departed from Vlishing with 20 Spanish and Biscayne shippes, 30 hulkes, and 40 other shippes, and with a good wind in few daies landed at Lacedo in Biscaye, where presently the wind changed.

King Philip sayled from Vlishing into Spaine.

The counsell of Spaine thought his returne into those countries to be very necessary, in regard that the Lutherans began greatly to encrease within the land: for the which cause, presently vpon his arriuall in Spaine, he caused great and rigorous execution to be done, not only
B vpon men, but also vpon women, and with great and solemne pompe and ceremonies burnt diuers of them, and punished others with seuerall kinds of torments: and in the moneth of September, when he came to Valedolit, in October after (being personally present with all his court) he caused 28 gentlemen of great houses (and some of the best in Spaine) to bee burnt before him; and after that great persecution ensued.

This yeare in Ianuary, *Isabella* the French kings daughter was brought to the frontiers of France by the king of Nauarre and the Cardinall of Bourbon in great magnificence; where she was receiued at Rouceaulx by the Cardinal of Burgos and the duke of Infantasgo, and by them conueyed into Castilia to the king, and vpon the 31 of Ianuarie, with great pompe and solemnitie, she was maried vnto him; where it is said, that during the feast it cost the king two
C thousand duckets euery day: and not long after, prince *Charles* (the kings onely sonne) was openly proclaimed and declared to be heire apparent vnto all the kingdomes and dominions, then in his fathers possession, and oath of fidelitie made vnto him for the same. This yeare likewise the new riuer made from Antuerpe to Brussels was fully finished, which aboue thirtie yeares before had beene begun by them of Brussels, digging through many small hilles, fields, and wayes: for which purpose, they had bought all the grounds where the said riuer should passe thorow; vpon the which they made foure faire great sluces to keepe out the vpper water, and digged it so deepe, that great ships might passe along within the same. *Ammani van Brussels*, duke of Lockeghem (a great furtherer of this worthy worke) was for the same much commended, and praised of all the people.

D This yeare vpon the sixteenth of October king *Philip* erected an Vniuersitie in Doway, and endowed it with great reuenewes, wherein the Iesuites haue certaine colledges; which they of Louen much disliked, and in the time of the Emperor *Charles*, in Anno 1530, hindered and staied the erecting therof: but at this time (without the knowledge of Louen or of the townsmen of Doway it selfe, by the procurement of Cardinall *Granuelle*, president *Vigilius*, and the counsellor *Nigri*) it was by the king strongly granted, and confirmed by Pope *Paul* the fourth. The reasons the king had to moue him thereunto, were, That youth might there (to the furtherance of the Catholicke religion) be instructed and brought vp in learning, and there likewise learne the French tongue, without going to the Vniuersities of France, which were suspected and reported to be spotted and full of the Geneuan sect. The townes of Brabant mur-
E mured much against it; and generally all the Brabanders: the prince of Orange saying, That no Popish Seminaries ought to be erected in any of the frontier townes, as *Florentius vander Haer* writeth. The first rector thereof was Master *Walrant Hangouaert*, chancelor, prouost of S. *Annes*. The king about the same time also caused the great Bible, called *Complutensis*, to be printed by the famous Printer *Christopher Plantine*, to the printing whereof hee gaue thirtie thousand duckets; and for that cause it was called the kings Bible: wherof the learned doctor *Arias Montanus* had the charge to see it done; who much enriched the same by many annotations in the margent: a worthie, great, and an honourable worke, and a worthy action of so great a prince, beeing a Bible in foure languages, and mother (as it were) of all other Bibles.

The Bible called *Complutensis*, printed in Antuerpe at the costs and charges of K. Philip.

F For that our intent is to declare and set down the originall of the troubles that happened in the Netherlands, it is very requisit to vnderstand, That the Netherlands (although they be all vnder one princes command) haue had seueral contracts with their princes, the one more, the other lesse, which in many places are found in print, whereunto, for breuities sake, we refer the curious reader: they of Brabant, with the coūtries ouer the Wase, as Limburch, Valkenburgh,

A briefe declaration of the priuiledges of Brabant

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and Dalem (amongſt many other ioyfull entries, additions, charters, and golden buls) haue G
theſe ſpeciall priuiledges graunted vnto them.

Firſt, That the duke of Brabant ſhall be vnto them a good and faithfull lord, and ſhall not vſe any force nor violence againſt them, neither permit nor ſuffer the ſame to bee done vnto them by any meanes whatſoeuer.

That he ſhall not deale nor cauſe them to bee dealt withall, contrarie to the auncient cuſtomes, but ſhall vſe them according to the cuſtomes and priuiledges of their townes and territories; where the partie accuſed may by his counſell openly and freely plead and ſpeake for himſelfe.

That the inhabitants of the ſaid countrey ſhall not be ſubiect to any other Spirituall Iuriſdiction, than that of the two biſhops of Cambricke and Luyck, who, each man ſeuerally in H
his quarter, may take knowledge, and enquire onely of three ſeuerall things, as of contracts of mariage, and other ceremonies thereunto belonging, of Teſtaments and Wils, and of mortuaries or dead mens goods, &c.

That they may not raiſe nor augment the ſpirituall ſtate, without conſent of the nobilitie and the townes, and may not alter nor change the ſtate of the land.

That he may not ordaine nor appoint any officers in the countrey, but ſuch as are naturally borne Brabanders, and ſuch as are lawfully borne, and not baſtards, vnleſſe it be in ſome ſmall offices of little worth.

That thoſe officers muſt ſweare to be true and faithfull to the duke and the land.

That he muſt not vndertake nor make no warre, nor banding, nor cauſe the ſame to be done I
againſt any man, without the counſell, will and conſent of the townes and the countrey, and may not bring nor keepe any forrain ſoldiers in the land, without the conſent of the ſtates.

That he may not aſſemble the ſtates of the countrey out of their owne territories, neyther are they bound to determine any thing out of the ſame: and that they may aſſemble together at all times when they will.

That he may not cauſe any man to be committed to priſon, without information firſt had from the magiſtrate of the place, and no priſoner may be caried out of the countrey.

That he may ſtampe no money, but by the counſell, will, and conſent of the ſtates, and ſuch like things.

That he may not giue nor graunt any pardon for killing of a man, before the parties grieued K
be agreed withall. That he may not pardon any traitors to the land, nor any of their aſſiſtants, nor any that haue done any thing againſt the priuiledges and ioyfull entries of the land, without the conſent of the ſtates of the ſame.

And that if he doth or cauſeth any thing to bee done, contrary to the ſaid priuiledges or charters, that then the vaſſals and ſubiects of the ſame are and ſhalbe diſcharged of all othes of faith and fidelitie, and from all dutie and obedience, vnleſſe he make ſatisfaction and amends therein, and do recall and leaue off ſuch abuſe, and that they do accept of him and his gouernment againe: as you may read at large in the ſaid printed booke of priuiledges.

Many ſuch like priuiledges and charters the other prouinces do chalenge and claime to be giuen and granted them by contract made with *Maximilian* king of Romanes, vpon the 16 of L
May in Anno 1488, as it appeareth in the 24 article of the ſame, and other accords and agreements in like caſes made between the ſaid prouinces: ſo that the chiefe lords and heires of the ſame may not do what they will, but muſt gouerne themſelues according to the ſaid charters, which they in euery place (before they be accepted and acknowledged for their lords) muſt ſweare to keepe, obſerue, and maintaine: ſo that the accepting and acknowledging of them by the ſubiects, and their othes, makes them princes, whereunto their birth preferreth them, and the minting of mony which they make in their names, and caſt forth in the ſtreets, confirmeth them therein. Whereby it appeareth, that the Lords of the Netherlands are conditional by contracts, and like vnto a father and his children, and to a man and his wife: for betweene a man and his wife there are certain ceremonies vſed when they ioine together, and ſo is it with M
a prince that is conditionall, which ſweareth to hold & obſerue certain ceremonies, laws, and conditions, for the good and welfare of the country and the common people, whereof he as a man ouer his wife is the head; and although there be no holier, faſter, nor ſurer coniunction amongſt men than mariage is, yet it is both by God and mans law to be diſpenced withall.

By

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A By theſe freedomes and priuiledges, moſt part of the prouinces in the Netherlands haue bin ruled and gouerned for the ſpace of fiue hundred yeares together, and there is not almoſt any Nation in Europe to be found, that hath ruled ſo long and continually in one forme and manner of gouernment, vnleſſe it be the Commonwealth of Venice: and the freedome of the gouernment of the Netherlands, is the cauſe and meanes of the authoritie of the States; and conſequently of their proſperitie. And for that they haue not ſubiected themſelues vnder the commaund, power and authoritie of any abſolute king, therefore they acknowledge no other ſuperior ouer them, than dukes, earles, and barons, with limitted and preſcribed power, euery prouince after his owne priuiledges and conditions. For that they which in times paſt did valiantly ſerue, maintain, and vphold the ſaid prouinces, and ſtoutly and couragiouſly defended
B them in their warres, did moſt commonly deſerue and win the ciuill and politick gouernment thereof, and to honor them for the ſame, obtained the names and titles of dukes, earles, and barons, &c. In regard whereof they haue had no greater nor abſoluter authoritie ouer the ſubiects and inhabitants of the ſame, than ſuch as at their entries and coronations were ſpecified, declared, and ſet downe.

But as many heads or rulers cannot defend and preſerue that which belongeth vnto them, ſo well as one alone, that hath good, well deuiſed, and politicke meanes; therefore neceſſitie compelled them to chuſe and appoint amongſt them a certaine ſmall number of fit perſons, to whom they gaue the commiſſion, charge, and care to vphold and maintaine their priuiledges, and they in that behalfe were called by the names of the States, and by that means the people
C were diuided into three parts or members of the Commonwealth, as Spiritualtie, Nobilitie, and citizens or townesmen: and thoſe protectors of their ſaid priuiledges were called (being ſo diuided) the ſecond or third eſtates of the lands: as in Brabant, the foureteene Abbots repreſent the Spirituall ſtate; the eighteene barons and the gentlemen of their houſes repreſent the ſtate of the Nobilitie; and the deputies of the foure head townes of Brabant, with their appendances, make the third eſtate, repreſenting the whole commons of the Dutchie. The like doe they of Lutzenburgh, Henault, Artois, Namure, and Zeeland: Flanders repreſenteth her eſtates by the foure members of the ſaid Countie: Guelderland conſiſteth in barons, gentlemen, and townes: in Vtrecht the States are repreſented by the fiue Capitals, the gentlemen & townes: in Holland, Queryſſel, &c. the States conſiſt of the ancient nobilitie and the townes:
D and in Friſeland in another ſort. So that theſe prouinces at all times, when they haue had no lord, or ſuch lords or princes as were incapable of gouernmẽt, or els ſuch as were vnder yeres, or not receiued and inſtalled in their gouernment, were ruled and gouerned by the States aforeſaid; whereby their gouernment may well be called *Ariſtocratique*, or *paucorum potentia*; wherein notwithſtanding the ſuperior lords and princes gouerning wel and wiſely according to their priuiledges, may vſe great authoritie, and do whatſoeuer they will, ſo it be well done: but doing the contrary, they are to be ordered by the States, and the States by the commons, that are diuided into handicrafts, guilds, and fellowſhips, which are ruled by their maſters and wardens, whereby ſome men call it a mixed or compoſed gouernment.

The Netherlanders get their liuings moſt part by handiworks, marchandiſes, and ſeafaring,
E and that vprightlier and trulier than any other Nation, being compared together (as all Nations generally and vſually report of them) being a people much addicted to labor and getting of riches, and therefore greatly deſirous of peace, and haters of warre, patiently bearing any wrong or iniurie, and meeke in croſſes and aduerſities, but very icalous of their freedoms, and ſtubborne, hauing bin oftentimes deceiued: they are ſubtile, politicke and induſtrious in all things whereunto they apply their minds, hauing no prowd nor great conceit of themſelues, as other Nations haue, and by that meanes are diligent, ready, and fit to learne any things of others, that may benefit them: which maketh them (hauing learned an occupation) to be great and willing trauellers, to ſee and viſit other countries, to learne all kind of trades, and to ſpeake diuers kinds of languages, hauing many both great and indifferent learned men in all arts and
F ſciences within their countries, as alſo diuers godly, zealous, and religious perſons, as many things doe and will manifeſt the ſame. By theſe meanes aforeſaid, they are become a rich, populous, and mightie people, to withſtand ſo long and continuall a warre, and yet poſſeſſe but a ſmall circuit of land, which notwithſtanding is as full of great and mightie townes, as any land or countrey within Europe.

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For the meaner ſort of gentlemen, there are not many in the ſame: for that in regard that G
the countrey is not great, therefore much land is inherited therein by ſuch as haue beene
rich bourgers and citizens of townes, and by the Spiritualtie, which the great zeale of the
ſeruice of God hath cauſed: ſo that in diuers prouinces there hath beene order taken, that
the Spiritualtie may not buy any lands or inheritances. And this hath beene the cauſe, that
in ſome prouinces the number of the meaner ſort of gentlemen is much diminiſhed: and
yet there is a great many of good gentlemen of auncient houſes in euery prouince, which
poſſeſſe great, indifferent, and ſmaller liuings, as many as in any other countrey whatſoeuer,
yet more in one prouince than in another.

And for that there are no great number of meane gentlemen in the ſaid prouinces, their
lords or princes (tyrannouſly addicted) could not well brooke their ſubiects, but were for- H
ced to deale ciuilely. And it hath many times happened and fallen out, that the lords and
princes, by ouer-much prodigalitie, falling into great debt, ſold, pawned, and made away
all their lands, iuriſdictions, and domaines, which by their rich ſubiects haue been bought,
redeemed, and freed againe (wherein chiefely the common ſort of people and the townes
haue had the greateſt hand:) which done, they freely gaue them againe to their ſayd lords
and princes, vpon certaine conditions and contracts, which are called priuiledges and char-
ters, and were the cauſes to procure great and ſpeciall friendſhip betweene the ſayd princes
and their ſubiects: but their ſucceſſors forgetting thoſe former fauours and forepaſſed good
deeds, whereby thoſe conditions, charters, or priuiledges put in mind thereof, by the old or
chiefe magiſtrates, ſtates, counſellors, and officers, who euery man entering into their offices I
did likewiſe ſweare to obſerue and maintaine the ſaid priuiledges; and when they would not
hearken vnto them by want of means and aid of any great number of meane gentlemen, their
high minds, inſtabilitie, or tyrannies were cut off, ſhortened, and bridled, and yet notwithſtan-
ding did many times enter into armes, wherby alſo the tumultuous, diſordered, and vnbride-
led manners and behauiors of the common people haue beene cooled and abated: ſo that by
meanes of the priuiledges aforeſaid, the ſaid gouernment hath hitherto beene well maintay-
ned, or equally ballanced, and may rightly be called a mixed or compoſed gouernment, par-
ticipating with Monarchia, Ariſtocratia, and Democratia, contenting themſelues with meane
princes, as Dukes, Earles, and Barons, not abſolute, but bound vnto their ſubiects by
contract. K

The liberalitie of the Netherlanders to their lords and princes.

Theſe great authorities and priuiledges of the prouinces and ſtates, did commonly much
diſlike the great and mightieſt princes ruling ouer them; and amongſt the reſt, duke *Philip*
the Good, and his ſonne duke *Charles* the Valorous, which ſought and intended to haue cut
off and bridled the ſame: but to effect it, the goodneſſe of the one, and the great troubles and
buſineſſe of the other, hindered their intents. Whereunto there wanted no flatterers nor pro-
uokers, which told and made them belieue, that they were not bound to any ſuch priuiledges,
and that their predeceſſors could not ſo ſtrictly bind their ſucceſſours, and eſpecially to that,
which they pretended to ſhew might be hurtfull vnto the ſubiects themſelues. But to the con-
trary, there is a cuſtome vſed in the ſaid Netherlands, That they neuer acknowledge nor will
inſtall any of their ſuperior lords and princes, before he perſonally ſweareth, to hold and main- L
taine all their ſaid priuiledges: and vpon that condition they accept him, and ſwear to be true,
faithfull, and obedient vnto him, and ſo receiue him into their townes and prouinces with
great ioy and triumph. But how *Maximilian* of Auſtria ſped in his high minded enterpriſes
concerning this matter (vnder couerture and pretence of the protectorſhip of his ſon *Philip*)
we haue alreadie ſhewed.

The like diſcontentment did the Emperor *Charles* euidently ſhew in Anno 1539, touching
them of Gaunt, determining to cut off their priuiledges, which at that time fell not out as hee
deſired, by meanes of certaine perſons that withſtood him; for the which he puniſhed many
of them grieuouſly: and for that cauſe comming through France out of Spaine, hee intended
to reduce all the prouinces in the Netherlands vnder one kingdome (which is called an abſo- M
lute authoritie) that is, euery prouince which now hath ſeuerall and ſpeciall priuiledges and
authorities, to bring them all vnder the gouernment of one kingdome, law, meaſure, and au-
thoritie. But the Emperor being hindered herein by other buſines and affaires that then fell
out (as warres and ſuch like troubles) he was conſtrained to leaue that vnto the diſcretion
of

The emperour Charls thoght to haue reduced the Netherlands all into one kingdome.

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A of his ſonne king *Philip*, which he intending to do by the greedy and couetous deſires of his counſell (which vnderſtood not the manners and cuſtomes of the Netherlands) to that end firſt concluded a peace with the king of France, and yet meant to keepe the Spaniſh ſouldiers, and other garriſons in the Netherlands, notwithſtanding the peace agreed vpon throughout all their dominions: which garriſons the ſaid Netherlands (by power and authoritie of their ſaid priuiledges) not long after cauſed to retire and depart from thence. Secondly vnder pretence of furthering the Catholike religion, the Spaniards, and others the kings counſellors, being angry & offended, that they (by force of the ſaid priuiledges of the Netherlands) could not obtaine any offices in thoſe countries, thought it conuenient not to ſlacke any time to put the ſame in practiſe, and to make religion a cloake thereof, although by that which wee ſhall
B hereafter ſhew, manifeſt, and declare, it is eaſie and ſufficiently to bee knowne and perceiued, that they by breaking of the priuiledges, ſought nor intended any other things, than onely to procure full power & abſolute authoritie vnto themſelues, and no religion, which they commonly ſet aſide, when they perceiued it to be any hinderance vnto their pretended authoritie, whereby they (by raiſing a taxe of the tenth peny vpon euery mans goods and lands whatſoeuer, within the ſaid Netherlands) thought to haue gathered ſuch a treaſure and great ſumme of money (far ſurpaſſing the yearely value that cometh out of Peru) that they would therwith haue inriched the king and all his ſubiects: as it ſhall appeare by the kings ſentence, bearing date in *anno* 1576, whereby he declared all their freedomes and priuiledges, to be forfeited and loſt, troubling and moleſting the people thereby, to moue them to make certaine rebellions,
C and to riſe vp in armes, and ſo to haue iuſt cauſe to diſlike them, and by that meanes to enterpriſe that which he intended to do.

Vnder pretence of religion other meanes were ſought to take the priuiledges of the Netherlands from them.

The emperour *Charles* in *anno* 1521 (not reſpecting theſe priuiledges and freedoms of the Netherlands, and without the conſent of the ſtates of the ſaid countries) at ſuch time as *Martin Luther* firſt began to preach and teach againſt the pope and his doctrine, did for the aduancement of the Romiſh Catholike religion, and thereby to root vp and exterpe the ſaid *Luthers* doctrine out of the Netherlands, ſent forth moſt rigorous and cruell proclamations and commandements, generally againſt all ſects and kinds of Religion, which were almoſt yearely renewed, and to the end, that not only the ſtates of the land (that were not ſummoned nor called to the making thereof) but alſo the common people, ſhould not diſlike nor think amiſſe there-
D of, the ſaid proclamations were grounded vpon pretence of puniſhing the wicked practiſes & actions of ſectaries and hereticks (without any difference) as againſt men liuing without rule, order, or law: as alſo not acknowledging the magiſtrat, whoſe authority by their falſe learning they ſought to annihilat, & imbaſe, in containing in their doctrine al hereſies of times paſt, and ſuch like reaſons, as in the ſaid proclamations may at large be ſeene: ſo that they were in force and authoritie, before euer the ſtates did once confirm them, and the rather, for that they were greatly furthered, by the pope and the ſpiritualtie, as tending to the obedience of the mother church of Rome, and generally at the firſt there was no complaint made but of particular meane perſons.

By force of theſe proclamations, no man might haue, buy, giue, beare, read, communicate,
E nor diſpute of the doctrine, writings, or books, made by *Martin Luther*, *Wicklife*, *Swinglius*, *Melancthon*, and ſuch like, in any language whatſoeuer; nor yet confer nor diſpute with any man, touching the holy ſcriptures, nor to read them before others, vnleſſe they were diuines, or doctors, or ſuch as were thereunto lawfully permitted. No man might ſecretly receiue into his houſe, lodge, feed, victuall, apparell, nor furniſh with money, any ſuſpected perſons, but muſt preſently bring them forth, vpon paine of forfeiture of life and goods: The men to bee beheaded, and the women to be buried quicke within the ground, if they recanted their opinions, and denied the ſame: but if they would not, but remained firme and conſtant in their religion, then they were condemned to be burnt, and made incapable to diſpoſe their goods, either by gift, teſtament, or any otherwiſe.

F By force, power, and authoritie of theſe proclamationss, there were in *Charles* the emperors time, aboue fiftie thouſand people put to death, by ſeuerall torments, as beheaded, drowned, hanged, buried quicke, and burnt, as ſome men write: and at the firſt many were executed for ſmall matters, as for that they had ſimply eaten fleſh, vpon daies forbidden, as alſo that they had had, and read books, accounted heretical, although in their conſciences they condemned and diſal-

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diſallowed of the ſaid doctrine: and prieſts and monks which (to auoid fornication) had mari- G
ed wiues, and many for that they had beene in companie with ſome of the Anabaptiſts of Munſter, and yet knew them not to be ſuch; and ſuch like faults (ſo accounted by them) as by diuers books thereof made and printed, you may at large perceiue. Beſides this perſecution (yet not much auailing, becauſe the knowledge and inquirie thereof reſted in the temporall iudges) the emperor thought good, that the Inquiſition, after the maner of Spaine, ſhould be appointed to be kept and obſerued in the Netherlands, which was firſt brought into Spain, to be executed againſt the Moors, Saracens, & Iewes of Granada, after they were ſubdued by the Spaniards; without the which Inquiſition they perceiued, that many men (ſpecially ſuch as could behaue themſelues warily and cloſely) could not for religion be once touched nor hurt concerning body and goods, without witneſſes produced againſt them, to haue offended a- H
gainſt the proclamation, nor yet (contrary to the rights and cuſtomes of the land) might be put to torture, to make them confeſſe any thing againſt themſelues: and therefore in the end it was deuiſed, that the ſpiritualtie ſhould haue the charge thereof, and to haue power to examine men touching their faith, and what they knew of other men, thereby thinking to procure an abſolute power vnto the emperor, and to exalt the authoritie of the ſpiritualtie.

This maner of proceeding ſeemed ouer rigorous and cruell vnto the Netherlands, & cleane contrarie to the priuiledges, rights, and freedoms of the ſame, who in that point ought not to haue been ſubiect to any ſpirituall iuriſdiction: and the rather, becauſe the number of the ſaid Lutherans, Proteſtants, or reformed religious perſons (as then ſo termed) were much augmen- I
ted and increaſed in the Netherlands, becauſe their neighbors held and accounted them, and ſuch as they were, to be Chriſtians, and who ſo perſecuted them, they accounted & eſteemed to be their perſecutors and enemies; with which their neighbors & countries bordering vpon them, they did daily traffique and conuerſe: whereby it happened, that when the emperour *Charls* the 5, in *anno* 1550, would haue brought the Inquiſition into the Netherlands. The ſaid prouinces, and aboue all Brabant, and ſpecially the towne of Antuerpe, were againſt it, eſteeming it to be the only way to driue all forrein merchants from thence: and by meanes thereof they got *Mary* queen of Hungarie, the regent (in loue & fauor of the Netherlands) to ride perſonally (to the aſſembly of the princes of Germany at Ausburg) vnto the emperour her brother, ſhewing him by word of mouth the eſtate & maner of the land, and there obtained a kind of moderation of the proclamation for religion, and that the Inquiſition ſhould not proceed. K
Which great and good worke of the ſaid good queen, was taken in ſuch euil part of the Inquiſitors of Spaine, that they wrot out of Spaine to accuſe her for an heretick vnto the emperour her brother: whereas therby ſhe held the ſaid countries in ſuch good order and wel-liking of their prince, that they denied him no maner of taxes, nor other impoſitions whatſoeuer in his need, as alſo after vnto king *Philip* his ſon, to whom (although a certaine forme of Inquiſition was in his time vſed in Flanders) they contributed towards his warres in France (although the ſaid wars proceeded not vpon any occaſion concerning the Netherlands) many millions of gulderns, in the ſpace of 9 yeares. We haue before made mention in diuers places of the numbers of them that made profeſſion of the reformed religion, the which increaſed daily both in Germany & the Netherlands, notwithſtanding the kings rigorous edicts, made by the perſua- L
ſion of the clergy, who ſought by al means poſſible to ſuppreſſe & ruine them: for the effecting whereof, in the end, they found no better expedient, among all they could inuent, but for the putting of the ſaid edicts in execution, according to their forme, and with al rigor, they ſhould appoint & make choice of certaine Inquiſitors of the faith, who ſhould haue a carefull regard, that not any one ſhould read or keep in his houſe, any booke mentioned in the edict, containing a catalogue of all the forbidden books; and that no man ſhould diſpute of the Romiſh religion, to contradict it in any ſort. For the execution whereof they began to appoint throughout all the Netherlands, ſuch like Inquiſitors, with ample commiſſion & abſolute authority in that reſpect; notwithſtanding the promiſes which the king of Spaine had made, no to charge his ſubiects with any ſuch a burthen & intollerable yoke. The promiſe being vnderſtood by M
the Inquiſitors & other clergie men, they perſuaded the king, that his authoritie was contemned, & that there was no other means to preſerue & maintain it, but in eſtabliſhing the ful execution of the Inquiſition. But as they had wel ſeen, and experience had taught them, that notwithſtanding all their practiſes, for aboue 40 yeares, yet they could neuer put it in execution:

The Inquiſition not ſuffered to proceed in the Netherlads, by means of Mary queen of Hungarie.

Inquiſitors of the Faith made

they

A they reſolued therefore ſo to diſguiſe this buſineſſe, as they would not doubt to bring it to the ſame effect, but vnder another colour & pretext, the which ſhould be mannaged ſo cunningly, as the people ſhold be ingaged & ſnared in the Inquiſition, before they ſhould diſcouer it, ſeeing they could not attaine vnto it openly: the which came vnto the knowledge of the lords of the countrey, notwithſtanding all their ſecret practiſes. This was the deuiſe: Doctor *Francis Sonnius*, a diuine of Louuaine, at the inſtance of cardinal *Granuelle* and his miniſters of the Inquiſition, was ſent to pope *Paul* the 4, to giue him to vnderſtand, that the Netherlands were within theſe few yeres greatly augmented & inriched in people and wealth: and that the dioceſſes of biſhopricks, had ſuch large limits & ample iuriſdictions, as it was not poſſible for the biſhops, being ſo few, to haue a fit care of their flock, with other ſuch like informations: for the
B which the pope, as ſupreme paſtor, ſhould be intreated to prouide; after that he had repreſented vnto him the map & deſcription of al the ſaid countries, with a roll of the qualities, welth, and bounds of all the clergy, beſides the diuerſitie of tongs which were intermixt with them. Wherfore *Sonnius* being at Rome, furniſhed with inſtructions and directions from cardinall *Granuelle*, he intreated that it would pleaſe his holineſſe, to cut off that which did exceed in great & antient biſhopricks, and to diuide it among new, the which he ſhould erect in diuers places of the ſaid countries, whereas there had neuer been any, fitting euery one to the naturall language of the countrey: and to ſupply the want of entertainment of the new biſhops, hee ſhould appropriat & incorporat vnto their biſhopricks, not the leaſt, but the richeſt & moſt ſufficient abbies, priories, prouoſtſhips, & other good benefices. The pope conſented eaſily, the
C 19 of March 1559, and granted this requeſt of the Inquiſitors & priuat clergy men of the Netherlands, without calling or hearing of the antient biſhops, which were foure, Cambray, Atras, Tournay, and Vtrecht; ſo as beſides theſe foure, there were 14 new created, & among them three archbiſhops, of whom all the reſt ſhould depend, and be no more ſubiect vnto them, to whom in old time they were wont to reſort. So for the three ſeats of the three new archbiſhops were appointed Macklyn, Cambray, & Vtrecht. Macklyn a good & a goodly towne, ſcituated in the midſt of the duchy of Brabant, and as it were in the center of the 17 Belgicke prouinces, which was wont to be of the dioceſſe of Liege, ſhould be the Metropolitane of all, wherof the archbiſhop ſhould be called the Primat of Belgia. Cambray alſo a faire & a ſtrong town, ſeated betwixt the frontiers, Picardie, Arthois, and Henault, depending before vpon the archbiſhop-
D rick of Rheims in Champaign. Vtrecht lies betwixt Holland, the country of Geldres & Oueriſſel, was wont to be vnder the archbiſhop of Cologne. Of new biſhopricks in Brabant, were made Antuerpe and Boiſleduke, which were wont to reſort to Liege and to Cambray reſpectiuely. In Flanders Gand and Bruges, of the biſhopricke of Tournay, and Ypre (although Ypre had beene erected before, being iſſued from that of Teroane, raſed in France.) In Arthois, beſides Arras an antient biſhoprick, the towne of S. Omer, iſſued alſo from that of Teroane, with that of Bologne vpon the ſea, which is in France: of which onely biſhoprick of Teroane, were erected theſe 3 of S. Omer, Bologne, & Ypre, beſides the town of Namur, for that quarter & the countie of Namur, the which in former time depended vpon Liege. In Holland Harlem, in Zeeland Middelburg, before of the dioceſſe of Vtrecht. In Friſeland Leeuwarden.
E For the Groningois and countrey of Wedde, the towne of Groningen, before alſo vnder Vtrecht. In Geldres, Ruremonde, belonging vnto Liege. And in Oueriſſel Deuenter, the which was wont both for the temporal & ſpiritual iuriſdiction, to belong vnto the princes & biſhops of Vtrecht. Vnder which three archbiſhopricks, that is to ſay, vnder Macklyn, ſhould be ſubmitted, the biſhopricks of Antuerp, Boiſleduke, Ruremonde, Gand, Bruges, and Ypre. Vnder that of Cambray, Arras, S. Omer, Tournay, and Namur. And vnder Vtrecht, Deuenter, Harlem, Leeuwaerden, Middelbourg, & Groningen. The cardinall of Granuelle took the archbiſhoprick of Macklyn for his ſhare; wherunto was incorporat the abbey of Affleghem, the beſt in Brabant, the which was wont to be worth to his priuat prelat 50000 florins of yearely rent. *Vigilius Aitsa* of Zuychem, preſident of the counſell of ſtate, being a widower, retained for his
F part the biſhoprick of Gand, with the prouoſtſhip of S. Bauon. The chancellor *Nigry*, a high Burguignon (who could not ſpeake three words of the country language) had Antuerp, with the abby of S. *Bernard*. Doctor *Sonnius* had Boiſleduke, with the abbey of Tongrelo. *Martinus Rithonius* had Ypre, with the abbey of S. *Martin*. *Claude* of Americort, before abbot of S. *Bertin* had S. *Omer*, with the prouoſtſhip of Watenes. *Petrus Druthius*, had Bruges, with the prouoſtſhip of S. *Donas*. *Anthony Hanet*, a Iacobin of Arras, had Namur, with the tithes and Monaſte-

ries

ries of the ſame countie. *Nicholas van Nieulandt*, or *Noua terra*, had Harlem, with the abbey of Egmont. *Nicholas* of Caſtro, had Middelbourg, with the abbey of S. *Peter* in Zeeland. *Cunnerus Petri* had Leeuwaerden, with the abby of Mariengaerden & Lidden. *Iames Ruiff* had Groningen, with Golſwaert. *Gulielmus Damaſi Lindanus* had Ruremonde, with the regulers. Frier *Giles vander Bergh*, a Franciſcan, had Deuenter, with the Prouoſtſhip of S. *Lievin*. Behold how all theſe new biſhopricks were diſtributed, and enriched with the beſt ſpirituall liuings of the countrey; the collation & preſentation whereof, ſhould belong vnto the king of Spaine, & the confirmation vnto the pope. It was alſo decreed, that there ſhould be nine prebendaries, three for learned diuines, three for doctors of the ciuile law, and three for the canon, vpon condition, that they ſhould do their duties, and yeeld all aſſiſtance to the biſhops, in the execution of the Inquiſition. G

The life of cardinal Gráuelle

His grandfather.

His father.

Before we paſſe any farther, for that we haue much to ſpeake of cardinall *Granuelle*, whom many haue held to be the author, aduancer, and nouriſher of the troubles of the Netherlands, you muſt vnderſtand, that he was called *Anthony Perrenot*, his grandfather (for farther it is not knowne) was a ſmith at Nozeroy, a towne in Bourgoigne, whoſe name is ſuppreſt, for that it was of ſo baſe a ſtile. His father was *Nicholas Perrenot* (who firſt tooke vpon him the name of *Granuelle*, of a ſeigniorie which he had bought) hauing beene firſt a ſimple cleaike, and afterwards a ſubtill & craſty atturney, following the court of parliament at Dole, who for his quick wit, by the recommendation of the chancellor of Bourgoigne, was aduanced to be ſecretarie to the ladie *Marguerite* dowager of Sauoy, aunt to the emperor *Charls* the 5, whereas he carried himſelfe ſo well, as after the death of the ſaid chancellor, he came to ſerue the emperour, not only in qualitie of a ſecretarie, but as a chiefe councellor; and ſo by little & little he grew into ſuch credit, as in regard of him al the reſt were not eſteemed, as it may be wel ſeen in the raigne of the ſaid emperor: ſo as he had good meanes to gather together great treaſure, the which he left vnto his children, but the greateſt part, with his credit, came vnto the cardinall, whom he had bred vp from his youth at ſchoole, in many ſciences, wherein with his naturall wit he did ſo profit, as the father finding him capable of great affairs, preſented him to the emperor: but in ſteed of prouing a wiſe and vertuous man, ill applying his knowledge, he grew, through the corruption of his nature, cunning, craftie, peruerſe & counterfeit, hauing a foxes ſpirit, and the courage of a lion. This man, as he was ambitious beyond all meaſure, ſeeking onely his owne greatneſſe, with a diſordinat & tyranous appetite, hunting after honor and wealth, although it were to the great preiudice of his maſters & their ſubiects, yet could he cloke it with an hypocriticall ſhew & care of the commonweale, of his maſters ſeruice, and the preſeruation of the Romiſh religion. By the firſt he got into his hands the abſolute managing of the kings affaires and of his countries, yea euen of thoſe that were moſt ſecret, & of greateſt importance, poſſeſſing the kings perſon wholy, applying himſelfe ſo vnto his humors, as the king held nothing wel ſaid or done, if it came not out of the cardinals ſhop. As he vſed great art to inthroniſe himſelfe in the only managing of all affaires of importance, ſo did he vſe no leſſe ſubtiltie to maintaine himſelfe in this abſolute credit; for he had ſo managed the kings affaires, and with ſuch dexteritie, as he had alwayes great need of him, for the direction therof, the which he continued or ſurceaſed, aduanced or recoyled, as he thought good. And moreouer, he had a free power (by counterfeit deuiſes) to diſguiſe matters at his pleaſure. Such is the common rule of ſuch treacherous miniſters, be they in war or peace, to draw their princes to that neceſſitie, as they muſt alwayes ſtand in need of them, to the end they may be imployed, whereby they ſhal reap more credit and profit. He practiſed by the meanes of ſome of the chiefe of the Spaniſh counſell, whom he had corrupted by preſents, to haue the king call the ducheſſe of Parma, his baſe ſiſter, to the gouernment of the Netherlands, for that being a woman, a ſtranger & vnacquainted with thoſe affaires, he might rule more abſolutely: wherein he ſhewed his ſubtile wit, procuring the king to limit the ducheſſes power, when ſhe came into the Netherlands, *That ſhe ſhould grant no pardon, office, eſtate, benefice, nor any thing elſe, nor make any diſpatch nor reſolution in matters of ſtate, iuſtice, nor religion, but with the cardinals aduice and counſell, which ſhee ſhould wholy follow*: Hauing giuen the king ſecretly to vnderſtand, that yet ſhe had not knowledge of affaires, and therefore ſhe might be often abuſed and erre And. ſo he held the ducheſſe of Parma ſubiect to his will, who durſt not but gratifie him in any thing that hee pleaſed, ſo as ſhee would not meddle nor take knowledge of the quarrell the noblemen had againſt him a little before his departure. And he had ſo won her by his policies, as ſhe not only made wonderfull H I K L M

His practiſe to haue the king ſtand in need of his counſel.

great

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A great esteeme of him, but did also aduertise the king by her letters, of his deep knowledge, wisdome, dexteritie, diligence, & loyaltie, in all that did concerne the gouernment of those countries & seigniories. To auoid enuie in court, which might grow by his excessiue credit, being a man but of a base stock, his vse was, to aduance to the chiefe places of importance and credit in court, those only that were his creatures, and assured vnto him by long experience, to frustrat them that he desired not. And such as he aduanced, he knew to bee tractable, or rather simple and grosse witted: for they that were cunning, how wise and graue soeuer, must not attend any thing, fearing least they should discouer his policie. Being preferred, he drew them wholy by these meanes to be at his deuotion, and to bind them more strictly, he made them (as some said) to take an othe to be faithful and secret vnto him. Thus hee fashioned them to his owne

How he preuented the enuy of the court

B mould, some for hope of gaine, others through ambition to be great, or for feare to displease him. Among all others *Vigilius Aita* was the chiefe, whom he had aduanced to bee keeper of the seales (though they were at his disposition) so as al matters were resolued on & determined by them two. The gaine & spoiles of miserable suters, was diuided equally betwixt them, according to the register, which their carefull broker *Morillon* kept. The cardinall sent all matters to *Vigilius*, and he did nothing but what it pleased him to command, were it to answere petitions, to write vnto the king, or to moue the gouernesse, and therefore hee had made him president of the priuie counsell, that hee might haue him alwayes readie and obedient vnto him in that charge. Besides this league with *Vigilius*, he had intelligence with some of the chief of the treasure, of the chamber of accounts, of the great counsell at Macklyn, and of all other prouin-

C ces, yea with some magistrats of townes, to the end hee might leaue nothing out of his power. Yet was he not sufficiently assured, if he did not draw some of the noblemen & knights of the order, to his partie, to oppose them against the prince of Orange, and the earls of Egmont and Horne. The first was *Barlamont*, a counsellor of state, as himselfe, and besides chief of the treasure; who being by nature couetous & ambitious, had many children, whom hee desired also to aduance, wherein the cardinall might crosse him: so as the earle of Aremberg, his brother in law, consented with him, but yet so, as he would not loose the friendship of the other noble men of the contrarie faction. The duke of Arschot followed them in this ranke, & the marques of Renty, his brother, did accompany him. He had many prelats at his deuotion: *Francis Richardot*, bishop of Arras, was his creature, and all the new bishops which he had lately forged,

D but aboue all, the archbishop of Cambray. But omitting a long discourse of the subtilties and practises of this cardinall, to make himselfe and his creatures great, and to maintain himself, *per fas vel nefas*, without any respect, neither of his princes seruice, the commonweal, iustice, good order, no nor yet of religion, the which serued him as a cloke with a double lining, when as in heart he was a very Atheist. We will come to his priuat life, and consider in particular how dissolute, lasciuious, and detestable it hath been, euen to his old age, we shall find nothing but villanie, filthinesse, infamie, and the most polluted, stinking, & abhominable vices, that euer were written of any orher. His luxury, adulteries, insupportable pride, with his other goodly vertues and like perfections of bodie and mind, made him to be chased out of Milan, Rome, and Na-

The cardinals priuat life.

His adultery & luxury.

E ples, and yet it did nothing impaire his credit in the court of Spaine; so as whilest he laboured to torment the Netherlands by his letters & instructions, he purchased (to his great dishonor, and vnrecouerable losse to the king his master) this goodly prouerbe:

Du Cardinall la braguette,
A fait perdre la Golette.
The Cardinals codpisse,
Hath made the king Golette misse.

His life was so dissolute and so publick, as his house was a sinke of all filthinesse and villany. And as he was a great enemy to them that beat down images, it seemed he had some cause; for he made so great account of them, as in all parts of his house (vnder colour that hee was a great

F louer of the art of Statuary, or making of images, and of rare & antike peeces) there were to be seen many images & pictures, aswell cast as carued & printed, the most lasciuious and vnchast that euer were seen, both of men & women naked. Besides in his cabinet, or studie, vnder the figures of *Venus*, *Pallas*, *Iuno*, *Ceres*, &c. he had drawne naked, and to the life, the best qualified ladies, gentlewomen, and good bourgesses, which he had abused. Of the sumptuousnes of his lodging,

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lodging, his delicat meats and his prouocations to luxurie, there is nothing ſpoken, for that they were not knowne to euery one that haunted his houſe. Moreouer, in ſhewing himſelfe curious of the works of nature, and of the Mathematikes, he did honeſtly cloke his coniuring, wherein he was his crafts maſter, with the which hee mingled witchcraft, ſorcerie, and poyſoning, the which he could vſe cunningly, hauing giuen a dram of his drugs, by his maſters commandement, vnto that good prince *Maximilian* the 2, when as hee was but king of Romans, as the ſaid cardinall confeſt vnto his friends, but he durſt not publiſh it, fearing the crueltie of his maſter. And afterwards he poſted from Naples to Rome, to poiſon that young nobleman of great hope, *Charles* the prince of Cleues, onely for that hee made a little difficultie to kiſſe the popes pantofle. And this reuerent robber (I would ſay pillar) of the church, ſhewed himſelfe ſo zealous of the word of God, as ordinarily he made a ieſt of it; as when hee would proue that poore men ſhould eat groſſe meats, and the rich, as himſelfe, delicat & beaſts with ſmall feet, he proued it, ſaying that verſe of the *Magnificat*: *Eſurientes impleuit bonis, & diuites dimiſit inanes*, peruerting the words of *bonis* and *inanes*.

His inchantments and witchcraft.

His contempt of the word of God.

Behold what our cardinall of Granuelle was, what his life, and by what maner of man the Netherlands haue been gouerned, the nobilitie diſgraced, the ſubiects pilled and ruined, and the troubles raiſed, by whom the king ſuffered himſelfe to be abuſed and miſled, to the ſpoyle of his ſubiects, and the deſolation of his countries. Such an one was he, who called himſelf the prop and ſupporter of the Romiſh church. I proteſt here, that what I haue ſaid, is not to teare his bones out of his graue, nor in malice of his proſperitie and greatneſſe, and much leſſe to detract from him or his race, whoſe remainder I would wiſh they might hereafter grow in all vertue and better carriage, than the ſaid cardinall; but onely to let the world know, in whoſe hands theſe good people haue planted the health both of bodie and ſoule, and that by his example they ſhould take heed of the like, who by the like meanes would haply aſpire to the ſame end that he did. But let vs returne to the courſe of our hyſtorie.

Theſe creations of new biſhops, and incorporations of the beſt benefices, miniſtred matter of murmure and diſcontent to many of all qualities; as an innouation brought in without the conſent of the ſtates and townes, euery one ſpeaking according to his paſſions, yet truly. And although they did their beſt endeauours to inſtall them in their biſhoprickes, and to mortifie this feare and opinion of the people: yet could they neuer ſatisfie their minds, nor yet the Eſtates, Gouernours, Magiſtrates, and Officers of townes and prouinces in generall: who were the more incenſed, for that they ſaw them that were named, to be Inquiſitors, or Diuines of Louuaine, and the reſt, vnfit to preach the word of God (although they made a brag, that this point was the chiefe cauſe of this change) but accuſtomed to affaires of ſtate, and the gouernment of Princes, Countries, and Commonweales; as *Granuelle*, *Vigilius* and *Nigry*: ſo as they had reaſon to doubt that they would circumuent them, and couertly intrap them with the inquiſition of Spaine: And that which did the more encreaſe this feare and apprehenſion; in court they had no good audience giuen them, and ſmall hope of redreſſe for any griefes or complaints that they could make: but contrariwiſe they did perceiue that they meant to proceed, vſing all the practiſes they could.

Hereupon the earle of Horne, admirall of the Netherlands, thinking to do the king a gratefull ſeruice, writ vnto him the nineteenth of December 1561, aduertiſing him, That the ſtates of Brabant were reſolued to ſend certain deputies vnto him, in the name of their abbots, who would by no meanes conſent, that their abbeyes ſhould be incorporate to theſe new biſhoprickes, beſides other complaints, which the ſtates of other prouinces did for that time paſſe ouer with ſilence: That both the French and Germanes maintained, that it was not in the Popes power to take from them, or cut off their ſpirituall iuriſdictions; eſpecially when it is done without the conſent of the archbiſhop of Rheims and Cologne: That beſides the Germans did alledge, That although the emperour had conſented thereunto, yet might it not bee done without the liking and approbation of the princes electors, and the ſtates of the empire. The French ſaid alſo, That although the archbiſhop of Rheims (who was then the cardinall of Lorraine, a great ſupporter of the Inquiſition) had giuen his conſent, yet muſt they alſo haue a grant from the French king, as patron, protecter, and defender of the realme, and of the rights and priuiledges of the French church. That the reaſons which they produced made the people to murmure, ſeeing they attempted theſe things without the conſent of the Germane

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A mane and French nations, in the middest whereof the Netherlands did lie, who should not be able of themselues to make head against one of them. Behold the substance of the earle of Hornes aduertisement to the king, with diuers others that were sent from other places, to preuent it in time. Notwithstanding all which aduertisements and reasons, sent vnto the king and his counsell of Spaine, many of these new bishops were installed, and put in reall possession of the churches, appointed to them, not demanding the consent of the townes: but they promised the people wonders, to the end they should suffer them. In this manner (besides the bishop of Ypre) were installed and put in possession, the bishops of Bruges and Namur, of S. Omer, of Harlem, of Middelbourg, finally the archbishop of Macklyn, and, a long time after the rest, hee of Boisleduke, all with great danger of some reuolt and sedition of the inhabitants of townes,
B making publike demonstration, that they would not endure, that contrarie to their antient freedomes and priuiledges, they should be oppresst by such insupportable innouations of bishops, Inquisition, and ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. They would haue done the like in other townes, but they durst not attempt it, fearing these speaches of the people, who withall vsed some threats, to kill them the first day they should make their entries. Mens hearts being alreadie distracted and withdrawne from the clergy and their doctrine, were vpon this cause much more incensed, as well in townes, as generally ouer all; so as it was then to be feared, least the commons should wreake their spleene vpon the priests.

During this perplexitie of the people, for the innouation of new bishops (which made the clergie odious to all men) the prelats themselues, and other church-men, did not agree: for the
C antient archbishops & bishops, whose iurisdictions and preheminences they did restraine and cut off (whereof the most part are depending of the empire, and princes thereof, as Cologne, Liege, Vtrecht, and Cambray) with the chapters & parishes, which they erected into cathedral churches, as also those of the abbies & other prebendarie dignities, made great cõplaints: some grieuing that they tooke away the limits of the empire, others, that they sought to bring in a new and neuer heard of subiection, and to alter or take from them their antient foundations, possessions, and exemptions, without any cause or colour at al, but for the profit of some priuat men, who sought nothing but to inrich themselues. Among which discontentments of the clergie, the three chiefe abbies of Brabant, Tongrelo, S. *Bernard*, & Affleghem (whose abbots were lately deceased) did most repine: for notwithstanding all the pursute they made in court,
D they could not be admitted to chuse new abbots, according to the antient customs & priuiledges of the said abbies. And vpon their petition, which they did exhibit in Spain vnto the king himselfe, by their deputies (who had reserued such matters vnto himself, according to the practise of our cardinall) being sent back vnto the court of the Netherlands, answere was made them, by an apostile of the 27 of Februarie 1562, That they should be satisfied, that they had prouided them good prelats, & that they should thank God, that they did honour their prelat with the title of a bishop. And this was all they could obtaine at that time.

The clergie at debate for the new bishops.

The magistrat of Antuerpe was in the meane time in great perplexitie, by reason of the cessation of traffique, & other inconueniences which they feared, doubting also that the reception of a bishop, would bring in with it the Inquisition of Spain. On the one side they were im-
E portuned by the commons to maintaine them in their priuiledges, liberties, & rights: and on the other side they were prest by the court, to vse their best means to instal the bishop, without any inconuenience, as the rest had bin admitted in other townes. To satisfie both the one and the other, they gaue the court of Brussels to vnderstand at large, by writing, the dangers & inconueniences that were to be feared by this new episcopal election, in a town of so great traffique, so greatly peopled, and frequented by diuers forein nations, for that they feared chiefly, that the Inquisition was hidden vnder it, wherewith they had promised them they should neuer be troubled nor molested. To the which answer was made by an apostile, the 23 of Ianuary 1562, that they meant not to bring in the Inquisition, nor to preiudice them in any thing, but rather to fauor them: notwithstanding they would send their request into Spaine, to the
F king; whereunto answer was made by the king, conformable to the said apostile of the court at Brussels. But the magistrat finding that the merchants and burgesses were so troubled, as it seemed the apparent ruine of the towne was at hand, by some tumult and popular sedition; they addressed themselues againe to the Gouernesse, who sent them as before, vnto the king. Whereupon they sent the seignior *Godfrey Sterck Ampman* of the towne, and the seigniors

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of Vrſſel and Wezebeeck, into Spaine (vnder pretext of ſome other affaires, leaſt their paſſage G
ſhould be prohibited) deputies for them vnto the king, doing their beſt indeuors in the meane
time to contain the merchants, bourgeſſes & common people in their duties. Being arriued in
Deputies ſent from Antuerpe to the king of Spaine, touching the biſhops
Spaine, & hauing deliuered their charge by mouth vnto the K. himſelf, and preſented their in-
ſtructions by writing, the ſame anſwer was made vnto them, that before, as well by mouth, as
afterwards by writing. Wherupon the ſaid deputies ſhewed vnto the K. that the people mur-
mured, that by the popes buls the Inquiſition lay hidden vnder this epiſcopall introduction,
and that they could not otherwiſe perſuade the marchants, both naturall borne, and ſtrangers,
whereon vndoubtedly depended the totall ruine of this rich & floriſhing town; with many o-
ther reaſons to that purpoſe: beſeeching his Maieſtie to giue them leaue to ſtay ſo long in his
court, vntill they might vnderſtand their minds, to ſee if there were any meanes to ſatisfie his H
Maieſties intention, and to maintaine the towne in her eſtate, the which was granted them:
Whereupon they informed the magiſtrat & counſell of Antuerp: who hauing ſeen what their
deputies did write vnto them, did charge them with new inſtructions, according to the which
they ſhewed again the inconuenience, which by this introduction of a biſhop, might happen
in the ſaid towne, alledging ſome meanes, whereby it ſeemed they might ſatisfie the K. inten-
tion, & not put this innouation in effect. And for the laſt remedy, they beſought his Ma. that it
would pleaſe him to make one biſhop for all Brabant, holding his reſidence at Louuaine, who
ſhold haue no more iuriſdiction in Antuerp, than their dioceſan the biſhop of Cambray had
had: the which requeſt the deputies did alſo exhibit in writing: But hearing that, as in the for-
mer, they ſhould be ſent back vnto the Netherlands, to be ordered: according to their inſtru- I
ction they beſought his Maieſtie, that in that caſe it would pleaſe him to take the aduice of the
knights of the order, of the counſellors and ſtates of Brabant, with other prouinces. But not-
withſtanding any inſtance they could make in 5 moneths, they could haue no other anſwere.
In the meane time the Amptman, hauing bin ſome time ſick, & recouered againe, after that he
had receiued a verball aſſurance from the K. own mouth, That the town of Antuerpe ſhould
not be charged with the Inquiſition, he departed with his Maieſties leaue, & returned to An-
tuerpe. The like was ſaid long after vnto the two other deputies, & in the end they were diſmiſ-
ſed the 2 of Auguſt 1563, with an apoſtile, That his Maieſtie, for good reſpects, would for a
time ſurceaſe his matter of Antuerp, as in truth it was, vntil the yeare 1564. In the meane time
theſe great alterations and diſcontentments increaſed howerly in the Netherlands, as well a- K
gainſt the cruel perſecutions of them of the religion, as againſt the biſhops & the Inquiſition;
ſo as nothing could be expected, but extreame deſolation & pitifull maſſacres, if they were not
preuented in time. This buſineſſe was propounded in the counſel of ſtate at Bruſſels, whereas
the gouernors of prouinces, & the knights of the order, laid open plainly vnto the ducheſſe of
Parma, Gouerneſſe, & preſident of the counſel, al the difficulties & dangers that might enſue:
which they hauing well conſidered of, they found that all theſe inconueniences did partly
grow, for that the king was not duly informed of the eſtate of affairs, & that they in whom he
did moſt rely (that is to ſay the cardinall *Granuelle*) would haue all things paſſe according to
their own priuat paſſions, yeelding nothing to the counſel of others. It was therfore decreed in
the ſaid counſell, by the Gouerneſſe & noblemen, that one of the knights of the order ſhould L
The lord of Montigny ſent into Spain.
go vnto the king, & informe him amply of the ſtate, and all the occurrents of the country. Ac-
cording to which reſolution, the baron of Montigny, went into Spain in Auguſt 1562, where
hauing expoſed his charge vnto the king, & had diuers conferences with his Maieſtie, touch-
ing theſe affaires, ſome moneths after he returned, ful of hope, good words, and promiſes. But
1563 matters continued ſtill in theſe innouations, contrary to the aduice of the chiefe lords, who
Letters of complaint vnto the king, againſt the cardinall.
were alſo much diſcontented; ſo as in the end the prince of Orange, with the earls of Egmont
and Horne, writ vnto the king, the 11 of March 1563; That the chiefe cauſe of all the miſchief
was for the exceſſiue credit, & too great authoritie, which the cardinall *Granuelle* did arrogat
vnto himſelfe in the managing of the affairs of the Netherlands, the which ſhould neuer be to
his Maieſties content, & as he deſired, ſo long as the cardinal ſhould haue to do in it, for that he M
was therby growne odious to all the world; intreating his Ma. to preuent it ſpeedily, elſe they
did not ſee any other thing, but an entire ruine & deſolation of the countrey. And to the end
his Ma. by the ſuggeſtion or report of any other, ſhould not think that what they had ſaid, was
for ambition, or their own priuat intereſt, they beſought him to diſmiſſe them from the aſſem-
bly

A bly of the counſel of ſtate, if his Ma. thought it good, holding it neither fit nor conuenient for his Ma. ſeruice, nor for their reputations, to continue any longer there ſo diſcontented as they were, with the ſaid cardinall. And in the end they intreated, that their aduertiſment might bee taken in good part by his Ma. and that he would beleeue, that what they did, was for a true zeale they had to his ſeruice, and for the diſcharge of their duties.

Wherunto the king anſwered them the 6 of Iune; That he was well aſſured, that what they did aduertiſe him by their letters, proceeded from a good zeale and affection which they bare vnto his ſeruice, whereof hee had long ſince made good triall: but it was not his cuſtome to change his ſeruants without good reaſon, ſeeing that by their letters they did not ſet down any particular occaſions, &c. Wherunto the noblemen replied the 29 of Iune; That their intenti-
B on was not to frame any action before his Ma. againſt the cardinall, but they did hope that the ſimple aduertiſement which they gaue him, without any forme of charge or accuſation, ſhold be a ſufficient inducement to moue him to meditate of ſome honorable & good meanes of ſatisfaction to the iuſt complaints of his good ſubiects; imploying the cardinall in other affairs, whereas, according to his vocation and profeſſion, he might ſerue more profitably. They ſaid they had no intent to charge the cardinal, but rather to diſcharge him, yea of a burthen, which was not only extraordinarie and vnfit for him, but which could not long remaine in his hands without feare of trouble and great inconueniences. And if in their former letters they had not ſpecified any occaſions, it was not for want of matter, nor pregnant reaſons, but for that they held it not fit, to fall into more bitterneſſe againſt him: yet if it pleaſed his maieſtie to be better
C informed, they ſhould find matter ynough, and too much, whereon his faithfull ſubiects did ground their complaints. And their deſire was, that his Maieſtie would enquire more amply of others that were not ſuſpect, whereby his Maieſty might comprehend, that it was not without good and iuſt cauſe, that the commons did greeue, and if there were no other occaſion, but the generall murmuring of the countrey againſt him, it was a ſufficient teſtimonie, that his preſence & great authoritie was too dangerous, and therefore not to be imploied. Which conſidered, & ſeeing the ſmal ſeruice which they could do in the counſel of ſtate, with the wrongs diſgraces, and affronts, which they endured; they beſought his Maieſty to excuſe them, if they came no more there, vntill ſome other courſe were taken, that ſhould bee held moſt fit for his ſeruice, and the good of the commonweal: in the mean time they would not faile to diſcharge
D their duties faithfully in their gouernments, or in any thing that it ſhould pleaſe the Gouerneſſe to command, or ſhould haue need of their aduice out of the ſaid counſell of ſtate, &c.

Notwithſtanding al theſe admonitions, nothing followed: and as the practiſes of the clergy did grow more & more odious, ſo the number of the Proteſtants increaſed daily, notwithſtanding al their perſecutions, the which in the end were ſo abhorred of al the world, as they might eaſily perceiue, that this feare of biſhops and Inquiſition, nor the rigor of their edicts, was no longer to be endured. And then brake out openly the diuiſion betwixt the nobles (which had lyen long ſmothered) hauing the chiefe gouernment of the affaires of the countrey: for that they which would gouerne all alone (wherof the cardinall was chiefe) could not endure that the princes & knights of the order, being with them in the counſell of ſtate, ſhould propound
E any mildneſſe or moderation of affairs, to the kings content, and the preſeruation of the commonweale, without theſe rigors & innouations, which made them to abſent themſelues from the counſell of ſtate. And withal the cardinal did continually bite and iniure theſe noblemen, calling ſome fools, others Lutherans, with other reproches: in reuenge wherof, ſome attired their ſeruants in fools coats, and caps with coxcombs, others with quiuers of arrowes, importing ſome league, carrying their hats turned vp in deſpight of the cardinall, and of his faction. The cardinall informed the king of all this, and made his profit therof. This diſſention among the nobles, made the perplexitie of the commons greater, who began to bee much diſcontented, ſeeing that they did not imbrace this buſineſſe reſolutely as they ought. The Gouerneſſe priuie to this diuiſion, ſent her ſecretary *Armenteres* vnto the king; at whoſe returne the cardi-
F nal (being called away) went into Spaine; where being reſident, if he euer did bad office in the Netherlands, againſt the noblemen, and generally againſt the whole commonweale, hee did now much worſe, interpreting all things to the worſt conſtruction. In the meane time the perſecutions ceaſed not throughout all the countrey, againſt them of the religion, but were more violent than euer, not without great danger to the magiſtrats & officers of iuſtice, during the

The kings anſwer.

The noblemens reply.

The cardinal called back into Spaine.

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time they did their publike executions; at which times the people did commonly mutine, ca- G
The perſecution of Chriſtopher Fabri miniſter. ſting ſtones againſt the ſergeants & executioners: as it happened at that time, at the execution of *C. Fabri*, a miniſter in Antuerpe, hauing bin in former times a Carmelite, he was betraied by a certain woman, who made a ſhew to beare a great zeale vnto religion; hauing endured long impriſonment, & many miſeries, in the end he was condemned to be burnt aliue. And as the Marcgraue, with the bailife his lieutenant, hauing brought him to the place, went to execute him: the people hauing firſt ſong Pſalms, fell to caſting of ſtones againſt the executioner, and his ſeruant: neither was the Marcgraue nor his lieutenant free from touch, notwithſtanding any helpe they called for of the burgeſſes & the ſworne companies, who would not ſtir; ſo as the poore patient being bound, and fire beginning to be ſet to, the Marcgraue and his lieutenant, not daring to ſtay any longer, fled into the ſtate-houſe, and ſo did the executioner, who H
yet by the lieutenants commandement, before he leapt from the ſcaffold to ſaue himſelf, ſtroke *Fabri* on the head with a hammer, and beat out his braines, and ſtabd him in the backe with a dagger: ſo as the people running to preſerue him from the fire, found him dead, and there the dead bodie lay in the mire vntill 4 of the clock in the afternoone, that the Marcgraue with his guard, hauing put him into a tumbrell, ſeeing the great multitude of people which followed him, he cauſed a great ſtone to be tied about the dead bodies neck, and to be caſt into the riuer of Eſcaut. Afterwards, ſome being reſcued out of their hands by force, for a time they durſt not execute any one publikely, but in the priſons, either by the ſword, halter, water, or other torments, til after the comming of the duke of Alua; then the perſecutions began to be done publikely, and greater than euer. The Winter after Chriſtmas grew extreame cold, and the froſts I
1564 continued moſt bitter vntil mid March 1564, during the which they paſt with horſe and carts laden, from Antuerpe vnto Flanders ſide, vpon the riuer of Eſcaut; vpon the which they did ſet vp ſhops, tents, & pauilions, in the which they ſold meat and drink; yea there were hogs ſinged vpon the yce. The riuers of Rhin, Meuſe, Wahal, Leck, and others, were paſt ouer euerie where, both with horſe and cart, yea vpon the ſea, from the iſlands of Tolen and of Goes, vnto the ſaid riuer of Antuerpe. About the ſame ſeaſon there grew ſome queſtion & miſtaking betwixt the queen of England, and the ducheſſe of Parma, Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, from
Difference betwixt England and the Netherlands. the yere 1563, by reaſon whereof the commerce was interrupted, and the traffique did ceaſe for one whole yere, to the great preiudice of the poor people, the which did more increaſe the alterations & diſcontentments of the commons, being ſufficiently moued by the precedent oc- K
caſions. And that which incenſed them the more againſt the clergy, was that they did ſeeke to make them obſerue the definitions of the counſell of Trent, by the which was confirmed not only the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and the epiſcopal iuriſdiction, but alſo the Inquiſition & perſecutions; and many other points & articles allowed, which they knew plainly to be brought in abuſiuely, into the Chriſtian church, the which did directly contradict the liberties and freedoms of the countrey. And although at that inſtant the matter was no further preſt, yet theſe definitions & articles were found ſo odious, as they made many to forſake the Romiſh religion as ſoone as the counſel was publiſhed. And although in this publication the king had yeelded vnto certaine exceptions and reſeruations, yet in many places they were not added, when it
was publiſhed, at the leaſt they were not well vnderſtood. Neither could they worke ſo with L
the people, but there remained ſtill ſome apprehenſion and feare. This yeare they did all they could to perſuade them of Groningen, Leeuwaerden, Deuenter, & Ruremonde, to like of and receiue their new biſhops; but they would by no meanes yeeld thereunto: but contrariwiſe this hot purſute ſeeming ſuſpect vnto them, did incenſe them ſo much the more, conſidering that thoſe which had beene receiued in other townes, were in quarrell with their chapters, churches, monaſteries, and other goods, whereof they would haue full poſſeſſion, the others oppoſing themſelues, would not be depriued of their owne, nor of their liberties and accuſtomed rights.

The prelats of Brabant, and namely the 3 chiefe abbies aboue mentioned, appointed to incorporation, & being deſtitute of abbots, ſeeing that by no ſuit nor ſoliciting, neither in Spain, M
nor the Netherlands with the gouerneſſe, they could free themſelues from this feare of incorporation, nor attaine to the election of new prelats, they aduiſed to ſee if they might not obtaine that for money, which they could not redreſſe by their good right and priuiledge. Wherupon they made certaine offers of an annual penſion wherwith they would furniſh the

king

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A king, to the profit of the new bishops; so as not only the said three abbies, but the rest that were afterwards void, were furnished with new prelats, & freed from incorporation, vpon promise to procure them a cassation from the pope. The states of Brabant by many petitions, made great instance, to obtaine the like cassation, touching their new bishops, vnto the yeare 1566, but they could not preuaile. This deniall increased their discontent, and setled diuers imaginations in the heads of men; murmuring, that for money they could obtain the cassation of the incorporation of abbies: but as for them, it was visible and plain, that notwithstanding so many good reasons, priuiledges & promises from the king, they had resolued to torment them by this Inquisition, for that by no pursute they could not be freed from the feare of these new bishops (which were so many Inquisitors) so as the people continued their bitternesse more and
B more against the clergie, and fell from their doctrine to the reformed religion. And the more they did tyranize & persecute them, the more constant they were in their religion, & the more they increased. And withall the famine which followed the hard frosts of Winter, the which had killed all the graine throughout the countrey, did increase the peoples perplexities, and brought their minds (otherwise much altered) almost to dispaire: so as so many bad accidents concurring together, seemed to breed some strange and extraordinary alteration.

And at that time some theeues hauing spoiled the abbey of Ouwerghem, a league from Brussels, seeing they could not get the abbesse nor her nunnes, who had saued themselues in a strong dortoir, newly made: after they had let go the wine and beere in the caues, and burnt all the ornaments & books of the church, they set fire on the cloister; and hearing the bell ring
C out to cal in the countrey, they retired laden with the best goods they could carrie away. The brute was, that these theeues were set on by some, who would lay the blame vpon them of the religion: but it was the one or the other, either pouertie and want which forced them, or an inconsiderat zeale, or meere hatred against the clergie, which moued them to do it. Hereupon the gouernors of prouinces, and the knights of the order, continuing in their good affection to the kings seruice, and the preseruation of their country, hearing the perplexities of all in generall (likely to turne to some popular tumult, & the effusion of bloud, if it were not speedily preuented by some good means, for the which they did often beseech the gouernesse) they found that all these alterations & murmurings, sprong from these three points: from the cruelties of edicts & rigorous persecutions, the new introduction of bishops, & the feare of the Inquisition
D of Spaine. Wherefore euen the Gouernesse her self thought it expedient, that one of the chief among them, should go to the king, to informe him plainly of all these inconueniences, & apparent dangers, with some other occurrents hapned in the state, and in the treasure: And that if his Maiesties meaning was to redresse them, that it was most necessarie to proceed by mildnesse, & to yeeld some little to the humors of his subiects, so much altered. The earl of Egmont had this legation, wherin he discharged himself honestly, & was sent backe with good hope and promises, that his Maiestie, conformable to his instructions, would send dispatches after him. At his retume euerie man reioyced at so good an answer, expecting with great deuotion, that by the first packet that came from Spaine, the countrey should be quieted & assured: but there came not any thing, all were but promises & holy water of the court; and this hope was
E the occasion of a miserable dispaire. How could any good come, seeing the cardinall, a mortall enemie to the said earl of Egmont, to the prince of Orange, the earls of Horne & Hochstraten, to the lord of Brederode, & other chiefe noblemen of the said countries, and the prosperitie therof, was now in greater credit with the king, than euer before, being in the said countries, disguising the affaires, peruerting & persuading the king & his counsell, in such sort as he pleased? But contrarie to that good reformation which they hoped for & expected, in December 1565, the duchesse Gouernesse, receiued letters from the king, concerning his Maiesties pleasure, and what he would haue obserued in the Netherlands, touching religion: the copie of which letters she sent to all the counsellors of prouinces, to disperse them in their subalternall iurisdictions, containing in summe these three points.

F First touching the edicts, both old & new, made by his imperiall Maiesty, or by the king, for matter of religion, that it was not fit to alter any thing, but to haue them executed. And that he found that by the looseneſse of some iudges this mischief was increased: therfore if there were any iudge, that for feare of tumult durst not put thē in execution, that they shold aduertise him, to the end he might prouide others that were more coragious; & that in executing the edicts, it

1565

The abbey of Ouwerghem robd.

The earle of Egmont sent into Spaine.

The kings letters, other than were expected.

Execution of the edicts.

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Introduction of the Inquiſition.

was to be hoped, that all dangers ſhould be ſooner preuented, than by any other meanes. Secondly, touching the Inquiſition, his Maieſty did charge, that the Inquiſitors ſhold be fauored in the exerciſe of their charge, for the good of religion, being his intention, that the Inquiſition ſhould be put in practiſe by the Inquiſitors, as it had been vſed, & belonged vnto them by the lawes of God and man. Thirdly, in regard of the counſell of Trent, ſeeing there remained nothing, but to put it in effect by the biſhops; that the Gouerneſſe ſhould giue them all aſſiſtance and aid, for the effecting thereof, as it was fit, and the good of the countrey required, and that ſhe ſhould giue the like charge vnto the noblemen that were about her, to imploy themſelues therein, as his Maieſtie did hope. This was another ſong than that which was promiſed, and that they expected with ſo great deuotion.

To put the counſell of Trent in practiſe.

The Gouerneſſe did accompanie the kings letters (out of the which theſe three articles are drawne) with her owne, directed to the gouernors and conſuls of prouinces, as followeth.

The Gouerneſſes letters to the prouinciall conſuls.

Marguerite by the grace of God, ducheſſe of Parma and Placence, &c. Regent and Gouerneſſe, &c. Moſt deere and well beloued, although that from the beginning of the rule of the king my lord ouer theſe countries, as well by the renewing and publication of edicts, made by the deceaſed emperor *Charls*, my lord of famous memory, touching religion, ratified and confirmed by his roiall Maieſtie, as by thoſe which haue been ſince enacted by him, yea at his laſt departure out of theſe countries, for his realmes of Spaine; you might alwayes ſee his Maieſties good zeale and holy affection, to the preſeruation of our antient true faith, and Catholike Religion, and to the rooting out of all ſects and hereſies, in theſe his countries. Yet as it hath pleaſed his Maieſtie, for ſome certaine occaſions, to put vs in mind of his holy intention, by his laſt letters, we haue by his expreſſe charge thought it good, to repreſent vnto you what he hath written vnto vs: The which is in effect, That his Maieſtie deſiring nothing more than the preſeruation of the ſaid Religion, and the peace, vnion, and concord of his ſubiects in theſe parts, and to defend them from the inconueniences which we haue ſeen fall in many parts of Chriſtendome, by the change of the ſaid Religion; his Maieſties pleaſure is, that the edicts and ordinances made by the deceaſed emperor and himſelfe, ſhould bee wholy obſerued: As alſo his Maieſties intention is, to haue all well and duley obſerued, that is decreed by the holy counſell of Trent, and the prouinciall Synods, yea euen for the reformation of the clergy, without any contrauention, that puniſhing hereſies, maners may be alſo reformed. He commands alſo, that they giue all fauour and aſſiſtance to the Inquiſitors of the faith, in the execution of their offices; and that the Inquiſition be done by the ſaid Inquiſitors, as it hath beene vſed, and as it belongeth vnto them, both by diuine and humane lawes. And according to his Maieſties letters, and to obey him in ſo holy & fauourable a thing, we would not faile to write vnto you, to intreat, require, and in his Maieſties name to command you expreſly, to gouerne your ſelues herein, according to his Maieſties decree, not contradicting it in any point or article, and that you giue the like charge vnto your officers, and to them of the law in the chiefe townes of your gouernments, that they may gouerne themſelues accordingly, without diſſembling or partialitie, vpon penalties contained in the ſame edicts. And the better to attend it, you ſhal commit & depute a counſelor of your colledge (who notwithſtanding may be changed euery halfe yere, that one alone may not be alwaies in charge) who ſhal do no other thing but haue regard vnto the ſaid countrey, vpon the obſeruing of the decrees of the holy counſell, and to giue you aduertiſement of what were needfull to be done, according to his Maieſties intention. And to the end we may alwaies know the eſtate of the ſaid Religion, we deſire and command you, that euery three moneths you write the ſucceſſe thereof particularly vnto vs, hauing your recourſe vnto vs in all matters of difficultie, or to thoſe of his Maieſties priuie counſell, to make report vnto vs; whereas wee will alſo appoint ſome counſellor, to haue a particular care, and to keepe correſpondencie with you, and him that ſhall bee deputed by you. And to the end you may vnderſtand his Maieſties pleaſure therein, we haue ioyned hereunto the points of his Maieſties letters, & other writings concerning that matter, that you may gouerne your ſelues accordingly, &c. From Bruſſels the 18 of December 1565. Signed *Margareta*: and vnderneath Ouerlope.

The prince of Orange hauing receiued the like letters, to gouerne himſelfe accordingly in the towns and places of his gouernment of Holland, Zeeland, and Vtrecht, thought that this reſolution which the king had taken, to proceed with all rigor, would cauſe great troubles; and the

A the rather, for that all men should find themselues deceiued in their great expectation of a better change, which the earle of Egmont brought at his returne from Spaine, (whom they had fed onely with wind and words) thought it good to send his aduice vnto the Dutchesse Gouernesse, by letters written from Breda the foure and twentieth of Ianuarie 1565, as followeth.

Madame, I haue receiued the letters which it hath pleased your Higneſſe to write vnto me and to the Consuls of my gouernment: whereby I vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure vpon three chiefe points, enioyning me expressely, to cause them to bee executed throughout all the places of my gouernment. And although (Madame) they haue not demaunded mine aduice in a matter of so great weight and consequence, yet as a faithfull seruant and vassale to
B his Maiestie (moued with zeale and desire to discharge my dutie, whereunto I am bound by reason of my office and oath) I could not forbeare to speake mine opinion freely therein; desiring rather to be disliked for mine aduertisements, than for my silence and negligence (if the countrey should fall into any disaster) be blamed to haue beene a disloyall, negligent, & careleſſe gouernour. And first touching the obseruation of the counsell, although in the beginning they did murmure & were vnquiet, yet seeing that since they did adde some reseruations and restrictions, I did hope, that for this point there would grow no great difficultie. As for the reformation of Priests, and other Ecclesiasticall orders, as they be no matters of my vocation, I referre my selfe to them that haue the charge, and (if need be) I will therein satisfie his Maiesties will and commaundement.

The prince of Oranges letter to the dutches.

C Touching the second point, containing, That Gouernours, Consuls, and other Officers should with all their power assist the Inquisitors, and maintaine them in the authoritie which belongeth to them by diuine and humane lawes, the which they haue alwaies vsed vnto this day; your Highneſſe may remember, That the complaints, oppositions, and difficulties which haue growne throughout all the countrey for the reception of new bishops, haue proceeded onely from feare, that vnder this cloake they sought to bring in some kind of Inquisition, the execution whereof was not onely abhorred, but also the name therof was most odious. Your Highneſſe is not ignorant, and it is well knowne to most of the subiects and inhabitants of these prouinces, That the Emperour and Queene *Marie* haue often and diuers times assured the said countries, as wel by mouth, as writing, That the Inquisition should neuer be brought
D in, but that they should be maintained and gouerned as they had beene in former times; yea, that his Maiestie himselfe had often assured them, to free them from such bad suspitions and feares. Without doubt (Madame) these promises and assurances haue kept the subiects and inhabitants from any new change: and that many of good calling and abilitie haue spent their estates, without seeking any other places, whereas they might haue liued in libertie, without feare of the Inquisition; whereby the peace, vnion and traffique hath beene entertained, and the contribution of mony, requisit for the maintenance of the warres, paied: whereas otherwise, the countrey being destitute of such inhabitants, and of their means, should be in danger to be a prey to the first that would assaile it.

In regard of the third point, that the kings absolute resolution is, That the Edicts made as
E well by the Emperour as his Maiestie, should be duly executed in all points, with all rigour, without any moderation: Madame, this point seemeth very hard to digest; for that there are many and diuers Edicts, which haue beene heretofore moderated and restrained, and not alwaies literally obserued, and with rigour; yea, when as the publicke calamitie was not so vrgent as at this present; nor when as our people by the solicitation and practises of our neighbours were not so much giuen to innouations: and not to giue them cause with more rigour and vehemencie, and to resume the termes of the Inquisition, and to seeke to execute them with all bitternesse. I cannot (Madame) comprehend the mysterie, but that his Maiesty shall get no other benefit, but trouble himselfe, disquiet his country, and lose the hearts of his good subiects; giuing euery one cause to thinke and feare, that his Maiestie meanes to take another
F course than he hath alwaies promised and made shew of; and put his countrey in danger to fall into his neighbours hands; as well through the great multitude of them that will retyre themselues, as for the small assurance will be left for them that shall remaine, and all without any help or aduancement to religion. I will omit many other inconueniences for breuities sake, knowing well, that both his Maiestie and your Highneſſe haue beene heretofore sufficiently

Touching the execution of edicts.

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ently informed. Withall, in my opinion (vnder your correction) the time is not now fit to G
moue mens minds, which are but too much altered and diſtempered, through famine and the
drought of the ſeaſon: and in my conceit, it were better that matters were left in ſuſpence
vntill his Maieſties comming (who wee heare maketh his preparatiues to come into theſe
parts) which were to bee wiſhed, that hee would make haſt, that by his preſence matters
might be ſo ordered, as ſhould be thought fitteſt for the ſeruice of God and his Maieſty, and
for the quiet and proſperitie of theſe his countries and ſubiects: for, any trouble growing, the
remedie would be more ſpeedie by his preſence than otherwiſe.

Notwithſtanding, if his Maieſtie and your Highnes be ſo reſolued, to haue the ſaid points
The prince excuſeth himſelf frō this charge and articles preſently executed (the which I ſee cannot be put in practiſe, without putting the
countrey into a greater feare of a totall ruine, whereunto his Maieſtie, beeing here preſent, H
might take better regard) I had rather (if they will not ſurceaſe this worke till then, but will
proceed in the ſaid Inquiſition and execution) that his Maieſtie ſhould commit ſome other
in my place, that could better comprehend the inclinations of the people, and were more ca-
pable than my ſelfe, to keepe them in obedience and awe; rather than it ſhould come into the
mouthes of men (whereby I and mine might bee hereafter blamed) that in the countries of
my gouernment, and during my charge, there had happened any troubles or ſiniſter acci-
dent. Deſiring his Maieſtie and your Highneſſe to reſt aſſured, that what I ſay, is not for that
I am vnwilling to obey your commaundements, or to liue otherwiſe than a good Chriſtian,
as my fore-paſſed actions can well witneſſe, & I hope his Maieſtie hath found by experience,
hauing neuer ſpared neither bodie nor goods for his ſeruice, wherein I deſire to continue, I
whileſt I haue life to breath. Beſides, if the affaires of the countrey ſucceede not well, I
were in danger (beſides the bond I owe vnto his Maieſtie and his countries) to expoſe not
onely all that I haue in the world, but alſo my perſon, wife, and children, which nature it ſelfe
commaunds vs to preſerue. It may therefore pleaſe your Highneſſe (according to your ac-
cuſtomed wiſedome) to conſider hereof, and to interprete it in the beſt part, as proceeding
from one who ſpeakes with a ſyncere affection, which he beares to his Maieſties ſeruice, and
to preuent all inconueniences, whereof I call God to witneſſe &c. From Breda the foure and
twentieth of Ianuarie 1565.

The Gouerneſſe ſends for the prince of Orange to come to Bruſſels. Vpon the receit of theſe letters and others written afterwards by the prince of Orange, the
ſaid Gouerneſſe writ backe vnto him, requeſting him very earneſtly to come to Bruſſels, with K
the other noblemen and gouernours, there to conſult and determine what ſhould be thought
moſt fit and neceſſarie to preuent all inconueniences, aduance his Maieſties ſeruice, the quiet
and tranquilitie of the countrey, and the aſſurance of the inhabitants. The other Gouer-
nours and Conſuls of prouinces hauing receiued the firſt letters from the Gouerneſſe, with
an extract of the three chiefe points of the kings letter, they ſent the copie thereof preſently
vnto the townes of their prouinces, with expreſſe commaundement, to gouerne themſelues
according to the ſame. The ſending of theſe letters made it to be generally bruited, that the
king had expreſſely commaunded, That the Edict ſhould be obſerued with all rigor, and that
the Inquiſition, together with the counſell of Trent, ſhould be publiſhed and executed. This
rumor did abruſt the people into ſtrange alterations, greater than before. The marchant was L
amazed, eſpecially the ſtranger, that was reſident in Antuerpe, meditating nothing but of his
retreat.

And as theſe alterations did encreaſe dayly, there was found the three and twentieth
of December, at night, a certaine writing ſet vp in three or foure ſtreets of Antuerpe, contay-
ning a complaint and exhortation (in the name of the bourgeſſes to the magiſtrates) againſt
the Inquiſition, wherein conſiſted their ruine; alleadging, that in doing ſo they ſhould offer
them violence, and goe againſt their priuiledges, and the kings promiſes, made vnto that
towne, as well in the Netherlands, as in Spaine: requiring the magiſtrates to defend them,
and to cite the king (according to the priuiledges of the countrey) to the imperiall chāmber,
to haue thoſe violences diſannulled there; pretending, that Antuerpe (a town of Brabant) was M
comprehended vnder the fift circle of the holy empire, and contributarie to the charges ther-
of, and therefore ought to enioy the priuiledges of the empire; proteſting, that if by the in-
troduction of the ſaid Inquiſition any trouble did happen, that it could not be held for any
rebellion, &c.

The

A The magiſtrate of Antuerpe hauing recouered one of theſe writings, conſidering the apparent tumult by the continuation of this bruite, ſent one of their Colledge with all ſpeed vnto the Gouerneſſe, as well to ſhew her a copie of this writing, as to let her vnderſtand, what they feared. He being accompanied with two deputies of the towne, who before had beene ſent to Court, hauing had audience in the counſell of ſtate, in the preſence of the Gouerneſſe, and declared his charge, anſwere was made vnto him, That thoſe which had made ſuch reports, deſerued to be puniſhed: and that neyther his Maieſties intention, nor her Highneſſes was, to bring any Inquiſition into Antuerpe. Notwithſtanding, ſoone after in the ſame counſell, an querture was made vnto them in the Gouerneſſe name, of the kings letters come from Spaine, and there were propounded vnto them the ſaid three points, with B commanndement to gouerne themſelues in Antuerpe according to the ſame. Whereat the ſaid deputies being much amazed, anſwered, That they had no commiſſion to accept any ſuch commaundement and charge: but if it were giuen them in writing, they would informe their magiſtrate: The which was done; and although vpon the ſaid reſcriptions (after a generall aſſembly of the Bourgeſſes and Companies of occupations) the magiſtrate ſought to colour theſe propoſitions with diuers gloſſes, and counterfeit interpretations, to pacifie the common people: yet could hee not poſſibly free them from this preiudiciall feare and perplexitie: the which encreaſed; for that they ſaw them begin to viſit the quarters of the towne, and to informe if there were any ſuſpected of the contrary religion, which ſeemed to them a fore-runner or preamble to the Inquiſition: the name whereof was ſo C hatefull to all men (of what Religion ſoeuer) as they could not endure to heare ſpeake of it.

The magiſtrat of Antuerpe ſendeth to the Gouerneſſe.

About that time a peace beeing concluded and made in Fraunce, after the battaile of Dreux, the Queene mother led the king and the duke of Anjou, her ſonnes, vnto the frontiers of Spaine, whither came the Queene of Spaine their ſiſter. The king conducted her to Bayon, where they ſtayed long. During their abode there, the duke of Alua, with diuers others of the Counſell of Spaine, had very ſecret conſultation and conference with the Counſell of Fraunce. Their concluſion was, to root out them of the reformed Religion, as well in Fraunce, as in the Netherlands; and that they muſt begin with the heads, following the apothegme of the Spaniſh duke; the which he put in practiſe ſoone after D vpon the heads of the earles of Egmont, and Horne, and diuers others alſo at Bruſſels: *That it was but a follie to buſie themſelues for Frogges, they muſt firſt fiſh for the great Salmons.*

A bloudie reſolution.

Thoſe of the Netherlands (during ſo many cauillations, wherewith they ſought to bring them aſleepe, thinking to perſuade them, That the Edicts ſhould be moderated, that the Inquiſition of Spaine ſhould not bee planted there, and that nothing ſhould bee altered touching the biſhops) were more vehemently (yet more couertly) perſecuted than euer: for the king of Spaine cauſed wonderfull executions to bee done vpon them, that could bee knowne to be of the Religion, putting them to death in priſon by ſundry torments. Yet thoſe of the Religion did not forbeare (by a common conſent) to preſent a confeſſion of their E faith vnto the king of Spaine, and to publiſh it to the world: with a complaint vnto the king and to the magiſtrates of the ſaid countries; containing among other points: That it was a hard and an vniuſt thing, to iudge and condemne men before they were heard, being impoſſible to vnderſtand any mans right, to whom they denied audience: beſeeching his Maieſty and the magiſtrates for this cauſe to heare them, and in ſo doing, to receiue their confeſſion; which being well examined, would ſhew, that they were condemned wrongfully by an extraordinarie forme of iuſtice; with many other ſpeeches to the like purpoſe, the which I omit for breuitie ſake.

But notwithſtanding any endeauours, they were in ſo lamentable an eſtate, as any man of a meane capacitie and ſence might very eaſily conceiue, that the peoples mindes F being thus wonderfully perplexed and ſtrangely altered, could not bee long contained, nor continue in that ſort; but were very likely, in ſhort time, to breake out into ſome popular tumult againſt theſe foure poynts, ſo much decreed: As the Inquiſition of Spaine, the rigorous Edicts, the inſtitution of new biſhops, and the entertainment of the coun-

counſell of Trent: and that for that cauſe the commerce and accuſtomed traffique decayed dayly. G

It happened, that almoſt all the chiefe noblemen of the Netherlands met together both at Breda and Hochſtrate, to entertaine ſome noblemen ſtrangers; among the which were the prince of Orange, the marqueſſe of Berghen, the earles of Egmont, Horne, and Hochſtrate, the lord of Brederode, and others, that were well affected to the good of their countrey: who lamenting the miſerable eſtate thereof, which had beene ſo flouriſhing, conſidering the ſmall care was vſed to order things in time, and to apply conuenient remedies: after they had debated all things well, and found that the eminent perill proceeded from nothing, but from thoſe cruell and horrible perſecutions, from the new erection of biſhops, from the Inquiſition, and from the counſell: ſeeing they would giue no eare to that which H the townes and they had ſo often and ſo zealouſly propounded, and that they would not applie themſelues in any ſort to the humors of the inhabitants, but proceeded ſtill with all rigour; in the end, they concluded and promiſed one another to embrace this buſineſſe with affection, and to aſſiſt and ayd one another with their counſell, meanes, and perſons, as much as in them lay, to the aduauncement of the kings ſeruice, the preſeruation of the countrey, and tranquilitie of the people. Whereupon *Francis Baudwin* (who had beene baniſhed from Arras for the Religion) was ſent for out of Fraunce by the prince of Orange, to heare the difficulties that were there preſented: who after the reuocation of his baniſhment by the chamber of Arthois, at the inſtance of the Archbiſhop of Cambray he went to the prince, to Bruſſels; where, hauing conferred with him and the other noblemen, I hee drew a diſcourſe, in forme of an aduice, concerning the apparent troubles for matters of Religion; the which was ſent to the king of Spaine, and deliuered to his owne hands, wherein is ſet downe the true meanes to preuent all troubles, and to root out ſects and hereſies. Which diſcourſe although it be ſomewhat prolixe, yet to make them the more inexcuſable before God and men, which ſtopped their eares at ſo good & holeſome aduertiſements, I haue thought good to inſert it in this place.

A diſcourſe of Francis Baudwins, teaching the meanes to preuent the troubles.

As all wee which liue vnder one King, are bound to ſeeke the preſeruation of the publicke good and quiet, and the entertainement of the kings greatneſſe and proſperitie, who is the head of the bodie, whereof we are members; I haue thought, that I was not to be taxed of arrogancie, if (according to that ſmall talent which I haue receiued from the Lord) I endeuour to diſcourſe briefely of the meanes that might be held in theſe times, in the which there is ſuch great diuerſitie of opinions, to preuent all troubles and tumults that may riſe, as wee haue learned by the example of our neighbours; and withall ſatisfie (as much as is poſſible) the will and pleaſure of the king our lord, whom by Gods commaundement wee are bound to obey and ſerue to the vttermoſt of our powers. Seeing then, that as well here, as in Fraunce, England, Scotland, and Germanie (although there be ſome ſmall difference) a great part of the people are mooued by the exhortation and doctrine of thoſe, which they call Goſpellers (for that, as they ſay, they make profeſſion to receiue nothing, but what is expreſſely contained in the doctrine of the Goſpell, and of the Bible) reiecting the auncient and accuſtomed manner of ſeruing God, as to goe to Maſſe, to confeſſe, to receiue the Sacrament, faſt for certaine dayes, goe on pilgrimage, and other like exerciſes, to ioyne themſelues to a new doctrine and Religion, which they call Reformed: the queſtion is, how (according to the kings will and pleaſure) the people may bee maintayned in the auncient faith, without ſeeking any innouation: And if happily the meanes ſeeme ſomewhat difficult, or rather impoſſible, how wee may preuent and ſhun many inconueniences, which may ariſe or grow by the diuerſitie that is among the inhabitants of the countrey, K L

Definition of this word Religion.

Firſt, wee muſt conſider, That when any one ſpeaketh of a Religion, or Law, it is to be vnderſtood, that hee ſpeaketh of the faith and apprehenſion which men haue conceiued and imprinted in their hearts and minds, touching God and his ſeruice, and alſo M touching the doctrine of their ſaluation: or elſe they comprehend not by this word Religion but the exerciſe and outward profeſſion, by the which wee ſhewe outwardly what wee beleeue inwardly, or (at the leaſt) what wee ſhould beleeue in our hearts.

As

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A As for the first, it is most certaine, That they which follow the new religion, haue a constant perſuaſion and impreſſion in their hearts, that what they doe and beleeue, is conformable to the word and commaundement of God; and that they muſt aboue all things obey their creator, and rather endure death, and all the torments in the world, than willingly to go againſt his word and commaundement. Seeing then this Maxime is grauen in the hearts of men, it is more than reaſon, that God our Creator preſcribe vs what law hee pleaſe, and wee are bound to obey him, without any contradiction or exception whatſoeuer. Which Maxime it is not poſſible to root out of their hearts, neither were there any reaſon to attempt it. There muſt ſome other meanes then be ſought to diuert them from their faith. Many haue thought it beſt to proceed by force and terror, by fire, flames, and all ſorts of torments, to the end, that
B thoſe which haue not yet embraced this faith, might by this meanes be terrified to remaine in their auncient manner of doing: but doubtleſſe they are much abuſed, as reaſon and dayly experience doth teach: For how is it poſſible to force and commaund the conſcience and mind by corporall violence? How can any one perſuade mee, that that man hath a bad faith, whom I ſee die conſtantly and ioyfully, although I know not the ground of the one, nor the other? Euen as it is impoſſible for all the Monarchs of the world, to keepe the fire from exerciſing his heat, when it encounters an obiect fit to burne: in like ſort, it is as impoſſible for all men (how mightie ſoeuer) to reſtraine and hinder the ſpirit of man from diſcourſing and iudging as he pleaſeth, and not to apply himſelfe to that which he findeth beſt agreeing to his naturall impreſſion: the experience whereof is dayly ſeene. For what hath
C it auayled to haue put to death ſo many poore ſoules for the faith? Whereto haue ſerued the fires, gibbets, ſcaffolds, tortures, and torments which they haue vſed in Fraunce, in England, yea, and in theſe countries? Without doubt, neyther the power nor authoritie of men, nor the ſharpeneſſe of all the torments in the world, auayle any thing in this point.

The minds of men cannot be commanded by force.

The kings of Egypt were mightie, but they could neuer commaund the conſciences of the children of Iſrael. The Romane Emperours held all the world almoſt in ſubiection, who neyther ſpared fire, nor flames, croſſes, nor gibbets, cords, nor tortures, nor any kind of torments that could be deuiſed and inuented, to root out the Chriſtian faith, and to terrifie their ſubiects, to diuert them, and to retaine them in their auncient beliefe and Pagan
D Religion: and yet they preuayled nothing in their deſſeignes; but contrariwiſe, did much hinder their entents: So as the Chriſtians were wont to vſe a common prouerbe amongſt them: *That the blood of Martyrs was the ſeede of their Churches.* And indeed, *Iulian* the Apoſtate Emperour, a malicious and ſubtile man (ſeeing, that to root out the Chriſtian Religion, all his predeceſſours had aduanced nothing, but contrariwiſe, that it was much augmented by the meanes of the perſecutions; and that thoſe which died for their faith, tooke it as a glorie and honour) from that time forward he would no more perſecute them, neyther by fire nor ſword, nor by any corporall violence, although they hated him deadly; but ſought by gentleneſſe and perſuaſions to draw them from their faith; and forbearing all outward force, he ſought by all policie to hinder their encreaſe; wherein he preuailed much
E more: for that ſome through couetouſneſſe, others through ambition, ſuffered themſelues to be perſuaded to that, whereunto they could not be forced by any violence or threats. I will not compare here this new kind of doctrine (which is now in queſtion) with the Pagan Religion (for it is not my intention to interpoſe my cenſure) but I will onely conclude, That in that which conſiſteth in the perſuaſion of the heart, corporall violence preuailes no more than the vapour or wind that blowes, to hinder the heat of the fire, as dayly experience hath taught vs.

Couetouſnes and ambition doe more than torments.

The meanes then to diuert them from their opinions, is, to perſuade them, that their faith and beleefe is not conformable to the word of God: To effect the which, there is no other meanes, than to giue them free audience, to the end, that they may propound their reaſons
F and motiues with all libertie, and that they be confuted of errour and hereſie by the word of God: if they remaine obſtinate, yet when this diſputation and inſtruction ſhall be done in the eye of the world, thoſe that are weake ſhall by this meanes bee perſuaded, not to follow their errours. For as for the obſtinate, euen as inſtruction would auayle them little, or nothing, ſo much leſſe would fire or death turne them from their reſolued opinions.

They muſt giue audience to them of the religion.

But

But on the other ſide, thoſe which behold others to die with ſuch conſtancie, take a delight to G
ſeeke their opinions; and they which by this means come to fall into the like inconuenience,
ſhould be wholly preſerued, when they ſhould heare them vanquiſhed by the word of God,
and by reaſons which they cannot contradict. If then prelates and biſhops truſt in the boun-
tie of their cauſe (as with all reaſon they ought) there is not in the world a better means to at-
taine vnto the kings intention, and to preuent the multiplying of ſects, than to conferre toge-
ther publickly, that all the world may know, that the others do falſely brag, that they haue the
word of God on their ſide. For it is moſt certaine, that when truth is compared with falſhood,
ſhe muſt of neceſſitie ſhew her beautie, and obtaine the victorie, diſcouering to the eye of all
men what is falſe and counterfeit. And by this meanes a great good ſhall riſe: for that they
which know not now what to follow, in ſo great a diuerſitie of opinions, may ſettle a firme H
iudgement of the truth, after that they haue heard the grounds of either ſide: ſo as in confe-
rence all confuſion and diſorder, all noiſe and rayling be laid aſide: As wee haue ſeene in the
diſputations and conferences which S. *Paule* hath made, as well with the Iewes, as againſt the
Pagans: then preſently thoſe which ſought the truth, knew that he had reaſon, and that the
other were in error. So in the counſell of Nicene, the Arrians were admitted to propound
their reaſons and grounds with all libertie, and being conuicted by the word of God of error
and hereſie, were forced for a time to deſiſt from their enterpriſe: but preſently after when
they perſecuted them, they had ſuddenly many diſciples; ſome mooued by pitie, others by
their falſe perſuaſions, the which was the cauſe of great miſchiefes and inconueniences in the
Church: yea, in our times we haue ſeene in all places where the Anabaptiſts haue beene per- I
ſecuted, they haue encreaſed infinitly: and contrariwiſe, where they haue been heard in pub-
licke conference and diſputation, and conuicted of errour and hereſie by the word of God,
Mahumet forbids to diſpute of his religion. they haue had no more credit in the world. And therefore *Mahumet* hath ſo carefully forbid-
den, that they ſhould neuer diſpute vpon the points of religion brought in by him, knowing
well, that the truth being once confronted againſt his lies, his doctrine of neceſſitie muſt goe
to ſmoake.

It is a true marke and badge of truth, that it deſires to be knowne, made manifeſt, and deba-
ted, being like vnto the Palme-tree, the more it is depreſt and charged, the higher and ſtraiter
it growes. For this reaſon the auncients did appoint to hold free and generall counſels euery
yeare; although by the corruption of time many abuſes haue beene brought in, by the am- K
bition and couetouſneſſe of thoſe that ſhould giue their voices. So it is, that the hereticks and
ſectaries feare nothing in the world more, than to be made manifeſt, be it by a free and general
counſell, or in any other place, wheras matters may be freely debated on either ſide the which
we ſee at this day apparently in the Anabaptiſts, who flie all diſputations more than death. If
then ſuch as deſire to root out this new religion which multiplies ſo faſt, are aſſured of the
bountie and truth of their cauſe, and of the falſhood of their aduerſaries, there is no fitter
meanes than to come publickly to field, and to giue their aduerſaries free audience and leaue
to diſpute: without doubt if they maintaine hereſies, there ſhall need neither fire nor gib-
bets to hinder the courſe of their doctrine, for that the more manifeſt it is, the more it will
decay. L

They of the religion neuer heard with patience. It will be to no purpoſe to ſay, That they haue beene often heard and confuted: for admit
it were ſo, yet a great multitude of people, which are enclined thereunto, deſerue ſo much
paine, as to bee inſtructed in hearing and examining their reaſons. But when you haue ſayd
all, they were neuer heard with patience: For when as *Luther* began to preach this doctrine
in Germanie, it was preſently condemned by the Pope, and perſecuted by all the kings and
princes of Chriſtendome. He was once called to be heard, but it was to ſee if he would recant,
or maintaine his writings and his doctrine, and he on the other ſide proteſted nothing more
than the deſire which he had to be better taught and inſtructed by the holy Scripture. The
like proceeding was held againſt *Iohn Hus* at the counſell of Conſtance, who was neuer heard
in his owne defence: but as ſoone as he was arriued there, they laid before him certaine Arti- M
cles, drawne by ſome aduerſarie of his out of his bookes, asking him if hee would maintaine
thoſe articles which were reproued and condemned by the holy church, and thereupon they
gaue ſentence, that he was an hereticke and damned, the which the world ſees to be againſt all
right and reaſon. To ſay that thoſe were condemned by other counſels before, is nothing to
the

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A the purpoſe. For if it be ſo (as they ſay) it will bee the more eaſie to ouerthrow them now, for that the Auncients haue neuer condemned any doctrine, but that which they held contrarie to the word of God, the which they haue alledged to that effect, I ſay, to confute errors and hereſies: ſo as now the way ſhall be traced, and they ſhall need onely to quote the ſame Scriptures, to confute theſe, for that the word of God remaineth eternally, and the Scripture hath now as much force and vertue to confute hereſies, as euer. But to condemne them by the very name and authoritie of ſome counſell, without alledging the Scriptures and reaſons of the ſaid counſell, were out of reaſon: for they ſubmit themſelues to proue, that the counſels (by the which their doctrine hath beene condemned) were but petie counſels, aſſembled, and allowed by the tyrannie of ſome, who alone haue decreed what they pleaſed againſt the

The holy Scripture as powerful now as euer to confute hereſies.

B authoritie of the Scriptures, without hearing or admitting their aduerſe parties. And doubtleſſe, in the auncient primitiue Church, there were many biſhops, which haue reiected ſome counſels as ſuſpect and not lawfull, nor grounded vpon the authoritie of the word of God, but rather vpon the authoritie of men, as we read of *Maximus* biſhop of Ieruſalem, and of S. *Hillarie* biſhop of Poitiers, yea and of S. *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Photinus*. So as it is not without reaſon, if many ages after them there haue beene counſels ſuſpected to theſe men. But as for the moſt auncient, and receiued on eyther ſide, they are content to allow of them, ſo farre forth as they proue their ſayings by the word of God. There reſteth then nothing, but that their reaſons may be heard, that the truth may be knowne, and their errors and hereſies auoided, ſeeing there is no other meanes to procure a publicke peace, and

Counſels reiected by ſome biſhops.

C to draw all the ſubiects to one Religion: That if their aduerſaries (as if there were no controuerſie in this point) challenge the name of the Church, and without hearing their reaſons examined by the Scripture, will, that all which they ſhall ordaine, or decree, ſhall bee infallibly kept as an Ordinance of the Church, and ſo of God, as they haue done in the laſt Counſell of Trent, where the Pope was head, and the aduerſe partie not called, but to bee condemned and iudged, according to the Ordinances of the Church (that is to ſay, of the Pope and Prelates) or els to recant, and then to bee receiued into fauour; without doubt, there will neuer be any meanes to draw them from their beleefe, ſeeing that this Maxime will alwayes remaine grauen in their hearts: *That they muſt in all things follow the word of God, the which alone hath authoritie to iudge all controuerſies, and to define which is the true and the*

The word of God muſt determine of controuerſies.

D *falſe Church.* Which Maxime can neuer be wreſted away by the authoritie of any man, much leſſe that the Pope and Prelates haue any ſuch credit, not by fire nor ſword: ſo as if their aduerſaries would not giue them free audience (as it is ſaid) but vſe violence, they ſhould but impaire their owne cauſe, and make theirs better and more fauourable, whom they ſeeke to root out.

Seeing then it is a point reſolued among all men of iudgement, that touching the faith and inward beleefe, no corporall violence can commaund, and that men muſt be confuted of errour in their conſciences, wee muſt examine the ſecond point which wee haue propounded: which is, whether it were not poſſible to hinder the outward exerciſe of their Religion, forbidding them to aſſemble, preach, teach, nor to make any outward profeſſion of that

If it were fit to hinder the exerciſe of Religion.

E which they beleeue in heart. And firſt, in caſe it were feaſible, whether it were fit and conuenient to doe it: No Religion whatſoeuer can ſubſiſt, if it hath not ſome exerciſes and exteriour ceremonies, by the which it may be entertained: whereupon the Emperour *Gratian* was wont to ſay: *That it was neceſſarie the people ſhould be maintained in ſome outward diſcipline of ſome Religion, whatſoeuer it were, good or bad.* For as man by nature is enclined to reiect the yoke of God, it is neceſſarie he ſhould be kept in awe and diſcipline, elſe he will be like vnto an vntamed horſe, reiecting the feare of God and man. Being then impoſſible to root out the faith which they haue in their hearts; it were not conuenient (although it were poſſible) to hinder their exteriour diſcipline and exerciſes, by the which the people are maintained in their Religion, and in the feare of God, and of the magiſtrate: vnleſſe

F (whereas in their aſſemblies they are taught to be good men, and to feare God and honour the king and his officers) they will make them wicked Atheiſts, libertines, and ſeditious perturbers of all good order & policie, as we ſee plainly by daily experience: for we ſee a number which haue caſt off the yoke of the Romiſh church, mocking at the maſſe & prieſts, yet fearing

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to looſe their goods or honours, refuſing to apply themſelues to diſcipline and exerciſe of G
any other Religion, haue become very Atheiſts, without faith or law: yet there are no ſmall
numbers of villanous libertines, which make Sects of themſelues, teaching, that we muſt not
ſerue God outwardly with any exteriour forme or diſcipline, but onely in Spirit: and vnder
this pretext they giue themſelues to all villanie and abhomination, to murthers, rapes, in-
ceſts, and adulteries: holding, that the outward things ſerue to no end, ſo as the heart bee
Abuſe in the Church the cauſe of great miſchiefes. cleane, as they perſuade themſelues: yea, ſome haue beene ſo audacious, as to haue vaunted
themſelues to be Chriſt himſelfe; others, the Spirit of God; others, Charitie. To con-
clude, they are prophane people, and contemners of God and the magiſtrate, maintaining,
That there ought not to bee any ſword or ſuperioritie vſed among men, but that the Spirit
ſhould gouerne and guide the heart of man, as it pleaſeth. The which groweth through no H
other occaſion, but that ſeeing the great abuſes which haue raigned and doe ſtill raigne in the
Church, and not being ſuffered on the other ſide to ioyne themſelues to any diſcipline and
exerciſe of Religion, they are growne to that paſſe, as to thinke, that diſſimulation is not bad,
ſo as the heart be good; and ſo mocking at Religion (whereof they make a ſhew) they muſt
needs fall into wicked Atheiſme. And there are none in the world more ſeditious, and grea-
rer diſturbers of all good order, than theſe people; as hath beene ſeene in the Anabaptiſts of
Munſter, and their like: for the rooting out of which, there were no better meanes (who ſo
would duly conſider all things without paſſion) than to ſuffer them, yea, to commaund
them expreſſely, That all they which made profeſſion of the Religion (which they call Re-
formed) ſhould aſſemble in view of all the world, and keepe good diſcipline, fit for the obe- I
dience which they owe vnto God and the magiſtrate, correcting vices and exceſſe. For al-
though there were no other good, yet by this meanes they ſhould get thus much (which is
of great importance) for the preſeruation of the publicke quiet) That whereas wee dayly ſee
ſpring vp new and abhominable ſects, full of ſedition and mutinies, yea, and of horrible
blaſphemies againſt the Maieſtie of God, when as there ſhould be but two publicke kinds of
profeſſion in the view of all the world, either of them performing the obedience which they
owe vnto God and the king, when as any new one ſhould ſpring vp, it ſhould be eaſie to ſup-
preſſe it by the word of God. But for as much as this ſeemeth ſtrange to ſome, to giue here-
tickes leaue to ſowe their hereſies, let vs ſee if it be poſſible to preuent their aſſemblies: and
doubtleſſe, if we looke vnto experience (the perfect miſtreſſe of all things) we ſhall find it is as K
poſſible to hinder it, as it is impoſſible to keepe them from beleeuing of that which they think
fit and agreeing with the word of God. Haue we not (I pray you) ſeene the great power of the
moſt victorious Emperour *Charles* the fifth, of famous memory, who made all the world to
tremble? Haue we not ſeene his incredible diligence to ſuppreſſe this Religion? Haue we not
ſeene the rigorous Edicts which he made? And wherto tended it? but to hinder the preaching
of this new Religion, and that they which made profeſſion thereof, ſhould forbeare their aſ-
ſemblies; for he knew well their hearts could not be forced: and yet he preuayled nothing,
notwithſtanding all his prohibitions. It may be they aſſembled in ſome ſtrange countrey,
where they had greater libertie: no, no: but contrariwiſe, all the princes in Chriſtendome,
together with the Pope, were reſolued to root them out, and to giue them no place of retreat, L
but all was in vaine. How doe we then thinke, that the kings power (the which out of doubt
is not greater than the Emperors) can hinder it? ſeeing that now France, England, Germany,
Scotland, and all the countries about are open vnto them, to retire themſelues, and to vſe the
libertie that is here denied them? whereas they haue ſo many princes and kings on their ſide?
whereas the number is multiplied by infinite thouſands? Without doubt, they that gaue his
Maieſty this counſell, ſhew plainely, that either they want iudgement, or els they ſeeke to ſet-
tle their owne greatneſſe, to the preiudice of the king, and the ruine of the countrey. Let them
examine all the hyſtories of the world, and they ſhall find, That when any new Religion hath
beene grounded vpon the inward perſuaſion of the word of God, that all the ſtriuing in the
The chriſtians in old times aſſembled in the deſerts. world could neuer hinder, but the exterior diſcipline thereof would haue it courſe. The Ro- M
mane Emperors could neuer force the Iewes to receiue their ſtatutes into their Temples, nor
hinder the Chriſtians from their aſſemblies; who deſired rather to liue like ſauage beaſts, in
caues and rockes, than to abandon the exerciſe of their Religion. I will not examine, if their

quar-

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A quarrell be like vnto this: ſo it is, that they are as well perſuaded in their hearts, that they follow the word of God, and that they are commaunded to aſſemble and preach, as they were: which perſuaſion can neuer bee wrested from them by any violence: For they ſay among themſelues, That if they ſhould be allowed to beleeue what they would, ſo as they would forbeare to teach and aſſemble, were as much, as if they ſhould ſuffer a man to liue, ſo as he would take no refection and nouriſhment: for they maintaine, that Faith is entertained by the preaching of the word, euen as the life of the body is by the nouriſhment of meat. But admit it were poſſible to forbid their aſſemblies; they muſt proceed either by rigour and force, or by gentleneſſe and perſuaſions: that is, they muſt either corrupt them, or els force them to doe againſt the teſtimonie of their conſciences, and falſifie their faith which they owe vnto God.

B It is moſt certaine, that the conſtant and vertuous will rather chuſe a thouſand deaths, than to doe any thing againſt their conſciences, ſo as with them there were nothing to bee gotten. As for the reſt, who for feare or hope would denie their faith; firſt they ſhould grieuouſly offend the diuine Maieſtie, and damne their owne ſoules by this falſe-hood and diſſimulation, for that they ſhould ſinne doubly: firſt, to haue embraced the error, and afterwards more to haue falſified the faith and teſtimonie of their conſcience, and to haue dealt doubly, whereas God requireth ſyncerities and plaineneſſe: ſo as they that ſhould force them thereunto, ſhould be the cauſe of their more grieuous damnation. They then which counſell the king to force or corrupt his ſubiects, to the end they ſhould diſſemble and make ſhew of any other Religion, than that which they beleeue in their hearts, are the cauſe of the diſloyaltie

C which they commit againſt God and the king. For without doubt, he that ſhall carrie himſelfe diſloyally vnto God, eyther for feare or hope, it is to be preſumed, that by the ſame paſſions he will carry himſelfe as diſloyally vnto the king, when as time and occaſion ſhall be offered. *Conſtantius*, father to *Conſtantine* the great, although he were a Pagan, yet hee called Chriſtians into his Court, and admitted them to fauour, whom hee did ſee ready to abandon goods and honours, yea their owne liues, rather than to be diſloyall vnto the God whome they did worſhip: yea, hee held them worthie of his friendſhip, and did impart vnto them his moſt important affaires. And in truth the king hath no ſubiects more faithfull than thoſe which obey him for conſcience, that is to ſay, becauſe God hath ſo commaunded it. They which falſifie their conſcience to pleaſe the king, or for any other priuate reſpect, ſhew, that

D they doe not obey the king for conſcience onely, but for ſome other particular affection. And if they make no difficultie to falſifie their conſciences in the ſeruice of God, without doubt it is to bee feared, that when any paſſion or affection ſhould moue them, eyther the feare of death, or the loſſe of goods and credite, or ſome ſuch like things, they would make no greater difficultie to falſifie their faith which they owe vnto the king. So as they which giue this counſell vnto the king, ſhew their ignorance; for that they ſeeke to root out them, which in ſimplicitie and ſyncerities of heart, yeeld obedience vnto God and the king. And as for thoſe which proceed diſloyally, and againſt their conſciences, they are not onely content to ſuffer them, but alſo to aduaunce them vnto honours; as wee haue ſeene by ſome examples of thoſe, who (hauing before made profeſſion of this Religion)

E haue afterwards, without being condemned of errour, onely to aſpire to honour and credit, turned their coats. To conclude, although it were a thing poſſible to force or corrupt the Proteſtants, to abandon their Religion, and to doe againſt their conſciences, yet were it not expedient for the good of the Commonweale. But as I haue ſaid, it is not poſſible to hinder them, vnleſſe they will ruine them, and put them to death: The which were hard to compaſſe: for in the place of one they ſhould put to death, tenne others would riſe; and thoſe which die ſo conſtantly, rather than renounce their faith, are held for good men by the common people, who haue more regard to the conſtancie, than to the cauſe which they maintaine; whereupon they haue a deſire to examine the cauſe, and come to fall into the ſame opinions: ſo as this muſt needs cauſe them to multiplie and encreaſe. Where-

F fore they that aduiſe the king to vſe this meanes, are much abuſed: for beſides that they fruſtrate his Maieſties intention, they thruſt the countrey into great deſolation, and a moſt apparent danger of a ruine.

He that is diſloyall vnto God, wilbe alſo vnto the king.

Euſebius in the life of *Conſtantine* Emperor.

It is plainely to bee ſeene, That the Arts, Occupations, and Trades, by meanes where-

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of this countrey was wont to flouriſh aboue the reſt, doe now decay, and are tranſported to their neighbours, the auncient enemies of the houſe of Bourgoigne and Auſtria. It is almoſt incredible, what preiudice the perſecutions haue brought within theſe fortie yeares, to the making of cloth, ſayes, and tapiſtrie: which trades being (as it were) proper and peculiar to the Netherlands, they haue chaſed away by this meanes to the French, Engliſh, and other Nations. I forbeare to ſpeake of an infinite number of other good and profitable Trades, which are retyred into forraine countries, to enioy the liberrie of their conſciences. For in generall, the traffique of Marchandiſe hath bin wonderfully intereſſed (as many good men can witneſſe) in Antuerpe, Lille, Tournay, Valenciennes, and other ſuch townes. And this hath beene one of the chiefe occaſions, why of late yeares the Engliſh haue beene perſuaded to leaue Antuerpe to goe to Embden, that is to ſay, from the flower of all marchant townes, full of infinite commodities, to a petie towne, obſcure, and of no commoditie: yea, they are growne ſo prowd, by reaſon of this Draperie (the ſpoyles of his Maieſties Netherlands) as they ſeeme to haue no care to compound, thinking that wee haue more need of them, than they of vs. The French in like ſort brag, that they are clothed with our ſpoyles, by reaſon of the marchants that are fled for Religion: ſo as that which did ſerue them as a bridle, to bring them the ſooner vnto reaſon in time of warre, will now make them more proud and vntractable. Beſides, it is well knowne, that within the countrey there are many ſufficient marchants, which vpon this occaſion refuſe to contribute in time of neceſſitie, fearing that this queſtion of Religion will be a ſubiect vnto their enemies, to make them confiſcable.

A good conſideration touching the traffique of the Netherlands.

But aboue all it is to be conſidered, That the profeſſion of armes and warre, which hath beene flouriſhing in theſe parts, hath and will bee greatly intereſſed, if it bee not otherwiſe preuented. I will not ſpeake of many gentlemen, good and faithfull ſouldiers, which might doe good ſeruice to his Maieſtie, which are now retyred quietly to their houſes, fearing for this onely occaſion to employ themſelues in any action whatſoeuer. Neyther will I ſay, that many others, who deſired to doe the king good ſeruice (euen of thoſe which knew the ſeats and ſituations of countries) are forced to leaue their natiue ſoyle, and to retyre to their enemies, preferring the libertie of their conſciences before all thinges in the world. Without doubt there muſt a care be had: for if any warre ſhould happen eyther againſt the French, the Engliſh, or any other neighbour countrey, we know not whom to truſt. And without doubt, the enemies will not forget to make their profit vpon this occaſion, by all manner of practiſes, to the great preiudice of his Maieſtie, and all his countrey. And it is to be feared, that among ſo many men, there will be ſome, which (vnder colour to ſeeke their libertie) will be perſuaded to attempt ſome innouations. The deſire to liue and ſerue God in libertie of conſcience, is of ſo great force, as it maketh men forget all other affections and paſſions, how vehement ſoeuer: for it not onely maketh the ſubiect neglect the dutie which he oweth to his naturall king and prince, but it doth euen eſtrange and withdraw the hearts of fathers and mothers from their children; yea, it maketh them forget themſelues: ſo as they make no difficultie to expoſe their bodies to the burning flames, and to all ſorts of torments, and to abandon wife and children, leauing them nothing but pouertie and infamie, rather than to looſe this good, in regard whereof, there is nothing in this world that they eſteeme. So as it is no wonder which ſome report for a truth, That many among the Gaſcoines and Prouenſals (during the perſecutions in Fraunce, for matter of Religion) haue treated to yeeld themſelues tributarie to the Turke, hoping by that meanes they would ſuffer them to liue in libertie, which they valued aboue all things. And it may be they had put it in execution (to the great preiudice of all Chriſtendome) if one onely reſpect had not reſtrayned them: which was, that they held it too grieuous, to giue their firſt borne children to the great Turke, to be bred vp in *Mahomets* Religion: for this affection is incredible, and exceedeth all others. The which being well conſidered (with the great diuerſitie of humours and conditions of men, it were no ſtrange thing, if in ſo great a multitude of them that are perſecuted for their conſcience, ſome ſhould bee found more ſuddaine, or more reuengefull and impatient than the reſt, who would make no difficultie to attempt ſuch exploits; yea, if it were but to reuenge the grieuous wrongs and iniuries that were done

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A for that cauſe vnto their kinſfolkes and friends: Wherein it is greatly to be conſidered, That there are no forts nor caſtles that maintaine kings in their greatneſſe, ſo much as the faithfull loue of their ſubiects: So contrariwiſe, the king doth but prouoke their hatred againſt his Maieſtie, yea, of them who otherwiſe are good and well gouerned men, and liue without reproch. No forts maintaine kings so much as the loue of their subiects.

If the Inquiſitors and their adherents feare not the Huguenots, for that (as they ſay) they haue not the wit to reuenge themſelues, who maintaine that they muſt doe good for euill; yet they may well haue heard the common prouerbe, *That patience too much vrged, in the end turneth to furie:* And if they be not void of all ſence, they muſt thinke, that all the kinſfolkes, friends, and allies of them that they perſecute, are not all of one mind and equall pa-
B tience, that they can ſo eaſily paſſe ouer the wrong which they thinke they haue receyued: ſo as although there were no danger that they ſhould attempt any thing againſt his Maieſtie, or his eſtates; yet will they carry an irreconcileable hatred againſt his officers: whereby there will grow bad intelligence among the kings ſubiects, which is a matter (as euery man knowes) of very great importance, as we may well ſee by the troubles of Fraunce, the which partly tooke their beginning from ſuch occaſions. And it is moſt manifeſt, that if king *Henry*, or his father king *Francis*, had in their times graunted free exerciſe of Religion, reſtraining them with good lawes and ordinances; without doubt they had left their realme much more happie and flouriſhing, and had preuented ſo many calamities, which haue enſued. I know there are ſome which ſay, that the like is not to bee feared here, conſidering The cauſe of the troubles in France.
C the ſmall number there is, and therefore it were no reaſon, that for a handfull of men, and of the baſer ſort, they ſhould bring in any innouation. But they that vſe ſuch ſpeeches, diſcouer their groſſe ignorance, or their inſupportable malice. If there bee any queſtion to giue aſſiſtance to the Inquiſitors, to inſtall the new biſhops, or to ſend garriſons into any townes, then they can ſay, That if they vſe not extreame rigour, and great diligence, it will not bee poſſible to maintaine the auncient Religion; importuning the Court with their continuall complaints, how wonderfully the heretickes doe multiplie. But if there be any queſtion to find ſome mild and fit courſe, to ſettle the countries quiet, without any great effuſion of bloud, then they ſay, there are ſo few Huguenots, and of ſo baſe qualitie, as nothing ought to be altered for them. So as any man may eaſily ſee, that their entent is to maintaine them-
D ſelues onely in their greatneſſe, were it with the totall ruine of his Maieſties Countries. And they that doe earneſtly affect the kings greatneſſe, and the preſeruation of his Subiects, muſt reiect them as partiall, and ſuſpect; and make diligent information and ſearch of the number, qualitie, and ſufficiencie of them that deſire to bee the kings faithfull ſubiects, ſo as they may ſatisfie and enioy their conſciences: and without doubt, they ſhall finde a greater number than is generally beleeued. Let them looke to the multitude of thoſe that are retyred into England, where they haue their publicke aſſemblies in infinite numbers: then let them turne to thoſe that are gone into Fraunce, in as great numbers: from thence let them muſter vp them that are at Francfort, Strausbourg, Heidelberg, Franckendal, Co-
E logne, Aix, Dousbourg, Embden, Geneua, Hambourg, Breme, and other townes of the Eaſt countries: without doubt (in my opinion) they ſhall find an hundred thouſand. And as for thoſe that remaine yet in the countrey, it is moſt manifeſt there are many more. There haue beene ſometimes ſeene at an aſſembly or preaching at Tournay, foure or fiue thouſand perſons. The like hath beene knowne at Valenciennes, beſides thoſe that haue remained ſecretly in their houſes: elſe the garriſons had beene needleſſe, which haue beene ſent thither; if the multitude had not beene ſo great. It is thought, that Lille hath not many leſſe: who ſo will looke into the petie townes and neighbour villages, ſhall vndoubtedly find an infinite number. Come into Weſt-Flanders, the numbers are wonderfull great, notwithſtanding any ſearch or purſute, which the Deane of Renay hath made. Haue we not ſeene at Meſſines (as I remember) ſeuen or eight hundred countreymen force the priſon, and
F deliuer a priſoner, and they could neuer diſcouer who they were? I leaue Eand, Bruges, and Ypre, in which notwithſtanding are good numbers. What multitudes meet together at Antuerpe, is apparent, and at Bruſſels, where the Court remayneth: yet can they not by any meanes keepe them from aſſembling themſelues together in good numbers. What ſhall I ſpeake of the Countries of Holland, Zeeland, Gueldres, and Friſeland, Great numbers haue forſaken the Netherlands for Religion.

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where it ſeemeth they haue greater libertie? and in truth the officers dare make no more G
ſearches nor executions, by reaſon of the great numbers. Haue we not ſeene at Vtrecht (an
epiſcopall towne, and full of rich chanons) one called *Thys*, or *Steuen*, preach this doctrine
publickely for the ſpace of a whole yeare, in the view of the whole world, in deſpight of all
ſuch as did oppoſe themſelues; and notwithſtanding all their purſute, yet could they neuer
apprehend him, for that all the people did accompanie him both going in and comming out
of the church: ſo as ſometimes he was carried vpon their ſhoulders, and lodged ſometimes
in one houſe, ſometimes in another? Whereby we may ſee, that the number is not ſo ſmall,
as ſome maintaine; yea, they complaine, that they cannot furniſh them with miniſters and
preachers ynough. Without doubt, if they were gathered together in one place, as well
thoſe which are retired, as they which remaine, there would be found at the leaſt two or three H
hundred thouſand. If they will haue reſpect to them that are of the ſame opinion, and yet
diſſemble, attending ſome change or fitter oportunitie; I doe certainely beleeue, that all ioy-
ned together, would equall the number of the reſt. So as they which maintaine, that the
number is ſo ſmall, and that for them they ſhould not alter nor change any thing, ſhew, that
they haue no ſence nor iudgement, or elſe that they would raigne alone in the world.

That thoſe of the religion are not all of baſe condition

Whereas they ſay, That they be all people of baſe condition: The contrary hath beene
ſeene in Germanie, France, England, Scotland, and Denmarke; whereas not only the com-
mon people, but alſo princes and kings haue embraced this Religion: and doubtleſſe, if they
might diſcouer themſelues without danger of life and goods, they ſhould alſo find here a great
number of gentlemen, and others of good ſort, that would declare themſelues to be of their I
partie. But although the number were not ſo great, yea, if there were but very few, yet it were
befitting the clemencie of a king, to haue regard vnto the health of the meaneſt of his ſubiects.
The emperour *Traian* was wont to ſay, That he had rather ſaue one citizen and ſubiect, than
defeat a whole armie of his enemies: a ſpeech worthy of a Monarch and Emperor. Such then
as thinke they ſhould not ſpare to ruine (as much as in them lies) the bodies and ſoules of the
kings poore ſubiects, ſhew themſelues ignorant, what Chriſtianitie, humanitie, or the clemen-
cie of a king requires; the very name whereof makes his fame more glorious, than all the tro-
phies and victories that he could obtaine of his enemies.

But ſome will ſay, That theſe men are wicked and prophane, and that they corrupt the reſt.
Whereunto I anſwere, That the point of Religion onely excepted (whereon it is not my K
intent here to iudge) you ſhall find, that they are otherwiſe, good men, fearing God, yeel-
ding obedience to the king and magiſtrate, and doing wrong to no man: although there
bee ſome that couer themſelues with their name, and are not ſo; the which happeneth, for
that they are not ſuffered to haue the exerciſe of their Religion, as they would: and as for
the point of their Religion, let it be what they pleaſe: but ſo it is, they are not all perſecu-
ted ſo much, for that they follow hereſie and errour, but for that they are conſtant and faith-
full in that which they thinke conformable to the word of God: for they ſuffer them to be-
leeue what they pleaſe (which indeed they cannot hinder) ſo as they will be diſloyall, and hy-
pocrites. And ſeeing they ſubmit themſelues to be inſtructed by the word of God, there is no
reaſon to eſteeme them ſo wicked. L

Moſt of the greateſt ſcholers and beſt wits are of the religion.

Moreouer, we muſt in deſpight of our ſelues confeſſe, That the greateſt and beſt wits, and
the moſt learned men, maintaine their partie. I will not diſgrace the others. But if we will
lay aſide all fauour and affection, we ſhall find, that the moſt excellent wits haue beene and
are of their profeſſion; yea, the reſtauration of arts and ſciences (the which were buried in
darkeneſſe) is come from them: The knowledge of the Tongues, eſpecially of the Greeke
and Hebrew, hath beene beautified more by them than by any others. To conclude, their
aduerſaries themſelues are forced to confeſſe, that there are ſingular men among them in
all ſorts of ſciences: beſides that, the life of many of them is irreprehenſible. If then there
were not ſo great a number, as there is, yet they ſhould haue a reſpect, not to ruine, and
chaſe away thoſe whom God hath endued with ſuch excellent graces, and depriue the M
king and his countries of ſo great a good, in chaſing away, or murthering them, which
might haue ſerued eyther for counſell, learning, or ſome other way: ſeeing it is ordi-
narily found, that they deſire to yeeld all obedience and dutie vnto the king, and to ſerue
him with bodie and goods, ſo as they would leaue them the exerciſe of their Religion free.

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A To conclude then, if it pleased his Maiestie to graunt this libertie, he should not onely preuent troubles and inconueniences, which haue happened in France, and elswhere, through this occasion: but also it should be a meanes, by the which his subiects should be induced euery one to imploy himselfe in his vocation, to the seruice of his Maiestie, and the aduancement of the commonweale: seeing that in the end they shall be forced to come vnto it, were it after his decease, as in other countries where the like accidents haue happened.

In the end they shall be forced to grant libertie of religion.

It remaines now to consider the inconueniences that may arise, the which I find to be two principal. The first, that if the exercise of their religion were allowed them, they might multiply in such sort, as the antient religion would decay and come to nothing, the which the king would not endure by any meanes. The other is, That they hold commonly, that in one
B countrey there cannot be two diuers religions, without great trouble and disorder. As for the first, they must vnderstand, that all religions are grounded, either vpon the authoritie of God, or the authoritie of men: for a religion may be grounded vpon the authoritie of men, when hauing regard vnto that which our auncestors haue done and followed, or to that which our king commands, or to that which some great personage doth inioyne vs; we ground our religion vpon those respects, without any other firme reason, or feeling in our hearts, that we do well or ill: as the Turkes, Pagans, and idolaters haue alwayes done, yea and the greatest part of the world do at this day, changing their religion and maner of seruing God, in what sort, and as often as it shall please the king, or those to whom they deferre this credit. But for that those religions proceed not from a religious heart, fearing God, but rather from the respect
C and reuerence of men, it is easie to hinder the course, and to plant in other by humane meanes, as by armes and violence. So as it was no difficult thing for the Romanes, to bring their gods and religions into Greece, and other countries of their conquests, the which were grounded but vpon the authoritie of their princes and kings. But if the religion hath his foundation vpon the authority and word of God, or vpon the testimonie of their consciences, be it with reason, or therwise, force and outward violence cannot preuaile, as we haue shewed: and there is no meanes to hinder the course and progresse thereof, but in shewing that the foundation is il laid. If then the king will maintaine the old religion, and stop the course of the new, it is necessarie that he giue them libertie to be heard, to the end that they may be confuted: and that all the world knowing wherein the abuse doth consist, may flie their acquaintance. If it be heresie
D which they sow, you cannot but stop the course, in suffering them to publish their doctrine, so as their errours may be laid open vnto the people, by the truth of the word of God: else, the more you seeke to suppresse it, the more it will encrease. But contrariwise, if haply their doctrine be conformable to the word of God, it is not to bee presumed, that his Maiestie would oppresse it, wherefore that inconuenience alledged, is of no consequence.

Obiections against free exercise of religion.

Answer to the first obiection.

The second point seemes to be of great moment: for they say commonly, That to entertaine the publike quiet, we must haue but one Law, one Faith, and one King; a thing without doubt which were greatly to be desired, for that it should bring vs to that golden age. But seeing that religion and faith is a meere gift of God, ingrauen in the heart of man, ouer the which none can command but God onely, it were a great indiscretion to thinke it possible to reduce
E all the inhabitants of one countrey to one faith, by force and corporall violence. It is true that they say, That as in a family, the father ought to foresee, that all those of his house worship but one onely God, and be of one religion: so the king should prouide, that in his realme there should be but one faith and one law, the which were wonderfully good and healthfull: but it is not possible to attaine vnto it, if it bee not among those people whose religion is grounded vpon the kings simple authoritie, the which is no true religion, but a meere hypocrisie & counterfeiting, whereunto they haply may be drawne, that haue no feare of God. As it was seene among the Romanes, who receiued as many new gods as their emperors commanded them. But this shall neuer take place among them which haue any inward feeling grounded vpon any reason, be it vpon the word of God, or of their owne conscience: in which case you are so
F faire from reducing a whole nation to one religion, as you shall hardly reclaime one familie. The which was manifest among the Iewes, where there were three famous sects, more contrarie one vnto another, than those of the new religion, vnto them that maintaine themselues vnder the antient obedience of the pope. But, which is much more, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, it was neuer seene, that all were of one law, and one faith, no not according

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ding to the exterior exerciſe: for before the comming of Chriſt, the kings of Ægypt, Perſia, G
and Babilon, were forced to leaue the Iewes in their country, and to allow them the free exer-
ciſe of their religion, the which they held to be abhominable. And after his comming, the Ro-
mane emperours haue alſo ſuffered it, as *Antonius Pius* and *Marc Antonine*, not that they were
of an accord with them (for they had the name of a chriſtian in horror) but for that they found
they were not ſeditious, nor diſturbers of the publike quiet: and ſo of many other emperours
who haue ſuffered them, and forbidden that no iniurie ſhould be done them, although they
were of a meere contrarie opinion. True it is, that ſome one may ſay, That all theſe examples
ſerue but to aduance the Chriſtian Faith, which the king intends to maintaine; in rooting out
the new religion: yet it is moſt manifeſt, that it is no new thing to endure two religions in one
countrey; yea and that all wiſe kings and princes haue ſo done according to the neceſſitie of H
the time: for although the religion of thoſe emperours were bad, yet they held it good & ho-
ly, as the king holds his; and it was the religion which they had receiued from their anceſtors
aboue three thouſand yeares paſt. But wee find alſo that Chriſtian emperours haue endured
falſe religions, as it appeares by the examples of *Theodoſius*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, who gaue
temples to the Arrians, and Nouatians, ſometimes within, ſometimes without the citie, as the
neceſſitie of the time and place required. In the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtorie, it is reported for a re-
markable thing, that *Valentinianus* the emperour was Orthodoxe, and a good Chriſtian, yet he
ſuffered the Arrians, though he fauoured them not ſo much as the others. *Valens* his collegue,
or companion in the empire, was an Arrian, and would by no meanes ſuffer the Chriſtians in
his gouernment, but did perſecute them in all ſorts: whereby wee may eaſily gather, that in all I
well gouerned commonweales, to auoid ſeditions and tumults, it is ſometimes neceſſarie to
grant temples vnto hereticks, not to the intent they ſhould diſperſe their hereſies more, but that
the people hearing the truth confronted with falſhood, might (without mutines or tumults)
apply themſelues quietly vnto the true and right religion. But our Lord and Sauiour ſaith,
That he came to bring warre and not peace into the world, ſo as in one houſe there ſhall bee
diſſention betwixt the father and the ſonne, the brother and the brother, &c. How can we then
maintaine the religion of Ieſus Chriſt, if they will reduce all the world to one faith and one
law, ſeeing that for the ordering thereof, he doth not command the faithfull to kill the reſt? but
contrariwiſe he ſaith, That the Apoſtles and faithfull, ſhould bee betrayed, excommunicated,
and put to death for their faith and religion: and therefore hee will haue them win the field K
through patience, and the vertue of his word. So as I cannot wonder ſufficiently at the impu-
dencie of theſe men, who making a ſhew to be well read in all antient hyſtories, dare maintain
that there were neuer two diuers religions in one commonweale: For what will they anſwer
to the diuerſitie alreadie alledged, betwixt the Phariſes, Saduces, and Eſſees; without doubt
they ſhall neuer find, that by reaſon of theſe ſects there was any great difficultie in the gouern-
ment; nor that Ieſus Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, did euer command to burne them for their law.
What ſhall we ſay of the diuerſitie of religions that were among the Heathen, wherof one did
not know anothers gods, no not the names: and ſome alſo maintained publikely, That
God did not care for humane things; and yet wee find not that the gouernment of the Ro-
mans was troubled for this cauſe? But who doth not ſee at this day vnder the great Turke, a L
great diuerſitie of religions; ſo as among the Chriſtians alone, there are fifteene or twentie
ſects and ſundry religions, beſides the Iewes, Perſians, and Mahumetiſts, all ſubiects to his em-
pire, the which are more contrarie one vnto another, for matter of religion, than water is con-
trarie to fire? Without doubt, if theſe diuerſities were the true cauſe of ſeditions and tumults,
it were not poſſible that the Turkes power ſhould grow ſo great.

It is no new thing to endure two religions in one ſtate.

It is then a great ignorance, to thinke that ſubiects cannot bee maintained in quiet, when
they are of diuers religions; for who ſo will looke neerely to the ſpring and beginning of tu-
mults and ſeditions, hee ſhall find, that they proceed not ſo much from the diuerſitie of religi-
ons, as through priuat paſſions, as couetouſneſſe, ambition, reuenge, hatred, and ſuch like; from
the which ſmall quarrels may grow, and when the magiſtrat preuents it not in time, then by M
little and little they inflame, and are cauſe of tumults, and publike ſeditions. Witneſſe the trou-
bles and ſeditions in Italy, betwixt the Guelphes and Gibellins, the which continued foure
hundred yeares, and was the cauſe of infinit murthers, rapes, warre, and al ſorts of violence, and
yet there was no difference in the religion, but all did grow, for that the magiſtrat did feed the
priuat

Troubles grow not ſo much for the diuerſitie of religions as through priuat paſſions

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A priuat passions of their subiects, in steed of suppressing them by iustice. And as for controuersies touching religion, it is not two hundred yeares since that the controuersies betwixt the Franciscans and the Iacobins, for the conception of the virgine *Marie*, had caused great troubles throughout all Christendome; not that the controuersie was of any great importance, but through the negligence of the magistrats, who nourished these factions, and became partisans. Seeing then it appeareth, that whereas good order hath beene setled, people of diuers sects and religions haue beene quietly gouerned, without any sedition or tumult: and contrariwise whereas no order was, not onely diuersitie of religion, but euen smal quarrels haue bred horrible seditions and tumults; any man of iudgement may gather thereby, that seditions and tumults take not their increase from the importance of the quarrell, whereon they are
B grounded, but rather through the want of good order, for that the magistrats neglect to punish them that entertaine them; or else themselues maintaine one partie, the which is confirmed by many antient and moderne examples. And who so will examine strictly the last troubles of France, shall find, that the greatest part haue happened, for that some mightie men, or gouernors themselues, hauing no regard to the publike good, nor to the ordinances of the states, haue at their owne pleasures plaid the kings, and insulted of their owne authorities ouer them of the religion. I thinke no man is so ignorant, but knowes, that the murther committed at Vassy, by the duke of Guise, against the lawes of the king and state, hath beene the true and onely cause of the ciuile warres which followed, to the ruine of the whole realme: for whilest the kings proceeded by their authoritie, there was no newes of any sedition, how greeuous so-
C euer the persecutions were: But when as gouernors of their own authorities, offered violence to them of the religion, presently all these tumults grew, the which may serue vs for a good example, whereby wee may learne to auoid the like inconueniences, and take some good course for the benefit of the king, and the good of all his good subiects, which seeke onely to obey him.

It is then easie to resolue, that good order would be setled, if libertie should bee graunted to them of the religion to assemble, and exercise their discipline, restraining and bridling them with such lawes as shall be thought good: And that the kings magistrats and officers be carefull to execute his Maiesties intention, foreseeing aboue all things, that the people vsurpe not the authoritie of the sword, vnder colour of the factions of great men. So as aboue all things
D there must bea preuention, that all violence be forbidden of either side, and that those which proceed by any other vnlawfull meanes, as by taxing and slandering, shall bee well punished, which doubtlesse will be a most assured meanes, and the subiects shall liue in good vnitie and concord together, and will carrie a perfect obedience vnto his Maiestie. And in the meane time truth will lay open falshood in such sort, as the king shall not need to feare that heresies shall multiply by this meanes, to root out the truth: but contrariwise, wee shall see truth flourish, and al heresies and false sects decay, Gods glorie shalbe generally celebrated, and the kings greatnesse and prosperitie increase. The which God grant vs by his holy grace, to whom be all honour and glorie, for euer and euer, and euer, *Amen*.

Note this counsell.

Such was the discourse of M. *Francis Baudwin*, wherein he toucht the true point, concer-
E ning the remedie of the troubles, the which the king and his counsell might since haue known to be true, if they would haue confest it freely: or whether that the point of religion, and the great zeal which his counsellors did counterfeit, were the matters which toucht them neerest, as they made great shew of: or else couetousnesse and ambition, euerie one aiming at his priuat greatnesse, to the preiudice of the king and his countries: and if the king, who was then giuen to his pleasures, and without any knowledge of state (the which hee hath since learned to his owne cost) referring all wholy to his cardinall and counsell, had not beene so easie to suffer himselfe to be persuaded to the contrarie.

Whilest that both great and small in the Netherlands were thus distempered, for feare of the troubles which were at hand, by reason of the new bishops, Inquisition, bloudy edicts, and
F counsell of Trent; *Alexander Farneſe*, prince of Parma, sonne to duke *Octauio*, and the duchesse gouernesse of the Netherlands, maried the Infanta of Portugal in the towne of Brussels, whi-
ther most of the nobles and best qualified gentlemen of the countrey came, to honor the feast: during the which there were diuers conferences among them, all concurring in this opinion, That they held it an inestimable losse, and a miserable case, that a countrey so abounding in people

An assembly of the nobles at the mariage of the prince of Parma.

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people, and ſo flouriſhing in riches, ſhould for the aboue-named cauſes come to ruine and de- G
ſolation; and that ſo many faithfull and loyall ſubiects ſhould kill and murther one another ſo groſly, for that they would not yeeld a little to their inclinations, nor diſcharge them any thing of the violence that was offered them, ſeeing that the peoples requeſts were ſo reaſonable. Wherein (ſeeing that they which had the gouernment in hand, were abuſed or hindered by ſome bad ſpirits, to preuent the apparent miſchiefe) they thought themſelues bound, as wel in regard of their duties and othe, as of the ranke which they held, to imbrace this matter effectually, and to aduance it all they could. But they would firſt trie if by the generall complaints of the people, together with their praiers and interceſſions, they might obtaine any thing. Wher-

The noblemen aſsemble at S. Trudon, touching the troubles.

in many of them did imploy themſelues, the more earneſtly, for that they had of a long time been affected to the religion, and therefore hated the edicts and all other cruell innouations. H
The noblemen which were (as we haue ſaid) aſſembled at Hochſtrate, were dealt withall, but they would not hearken to it, but reuealed it to the ducheſſe, for that ſome feared the euent; yet notwithſtanding the noblemen and gentlemen aſſembled at S. Trudon in greater numbers, reſoluing to make a petition in the peoples name; they concluded of the order, and the day when they ſhould meet at Bruſſels, to make the ſaid petition vnto the gouerneſſe and the chiefe of the country, as well by mouth as by writing.

And to the end that through the perſuaſions of ſome ſeditious inſtruments, the matter might not be ſo diſguiſed, as their aſſembly and good intention ſhould be taken in ill part, and otherwiſe interpreted than was ſincerely intended, they thought it conuenient for their aſſurance, to make a confederation or league together, by the which they did promiſe to ſuccour one a- I
nother, and not to forſake it for any cauſe, but what ſhould bee done vnto the leaſt of them for that occaſion, ſhould be taken as done to them all in generall, and to euerie one in particular: and that they ſhould iointly defend themſelues with all their powers; whereof they made a compromiſe ſigned by euery one of them, the tenor whereof followeth.

A compromiſe of the nobles of the Netherlands.

Whereas wee haue beene lately duly informed, and it is moſt true, that certaine peruerſe creatures, cunning and malitious, making a counterfeit ſhew of great zeale, which they haue to the maintenance and increaſe of the religion, and Catholike faith, and of the vnion of the people; but indeuouring onely to ſatisfie their inſatiable couetouſneſſe, ambition, and inſupportable pride, haue by their ſugared words, and falſe ſuggeſtions, ſo perſuaded the king our lord (notwithſtanding any petitions to the contrarie, that haue beene made vnto him) that K
contrarie to the othe which his Maieſtie hath made vnto God, and to his faithfull ſubiects of the Netherlands, he would forcibly bring in and plant that pernitious Inquiſition; the which is not onely vnreaſonable, and contrarie to all diuine and humane lawes, but alſo exceeding all the rigours and cruelties that euer were put in practiſe by the moſt cruell tyrants, Infidels, and Heathens. The which alſo cannot but redound to the great diſhonour of the name of God, and the loſſe, deſolation, and totall ruine of the ſaid Netherlands; for that it doth ſubiect all authoritie and iuriſdiction vnder the power of the Inquiſitors, making all men perpetuall and miſerable ſlaues, expoſing all good men to continuall and apparent danger, both of bodie and goods, by their ſearches and viſitations: ſo as if a prieſt, a Spaniard of ſome wicked inſtrument, meanes to do a miſchiefe to any man, by meanes of the Inquiſition he may accuſe him, cauſe L
him to be apprehended, yea & put to death, be it iuſtly or vniuſtly, and confiſcat all his goods, were he the vprighteſt man in the world, without hearing of his cauſe, reaſons, and lawfull defence. Wherefore we that haue ſubſigned, hauing duely weighed and conſidered all theſe things, haue and do thinke it our dueties, according vnto reaſon, to preuent the ſaid apparent and intollerable inconueniences, and by all good meanes to prouide for the ſafeties of our goods and perſons, that we be not made a prey vnto them, who vnder colour of religion or Inquiſition, would inrich themſelues with the loſſe of our goods and liues. Wherupon we haue reſolued to make, and do make, a good, firme, and holy league and confederation, binding our ſelues, and promiſing one vnto another, by a ſolemne othe, to hinder with all our power, that the Inquiſition be not brought in in any publike ſort whatſoeuer, either openly or ſecretly, vn- M
der the name of Inquiſition, Viſitation, Edicts, Commandements, or any other pretexts whatſoeuer, but to aboliſh and root it out, as much as in vs lyeth; as the ſpring and fountaine of all diſorder and iniuſtice. Proteſting notwithſtanding before God and men, in the faith of a good conſcience, that wee haue no intent to attempt any thing that may turne to the diſhonour of God,

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A God, or the diminution of the kings greatneſſe, or his eſtates: but contrariwiſe, that our intention is to maintaine the king and his eſtate, and to preſerue all good order, reſiſting as much as we are able, all ſeditions, popular tumults and reuolts. Which confederation and league, wee haue promiſed and ſworne, and do now promiſe and ſweare, to entertaine it holily and inviolably. We call the almightie God for a witneſſe of our ſoules and conſciences, that neither in deed nor word, directly nor indirectly, we ſhall not willingly go againſt it. And to ratifie the ſaid league, and to make it firme and ſtable for euer, we promiſe all aſſiſtance of bodie & goods one vnto another, as brothers and faithfull companions, holding ioyntly together, that none of vs brethren & confederats, be not ſought after, tormented, nor perſecuted in bodie nor goods, in any ſort whatſoeuer, for any reſpect growing from the ſaid Inquiſition, or in any ſort
B grounded vpon the edicts, tending thereunto, or by reaſon of this our league. And in caſe that any moleſtation or perſecution happen to any of our ſaid brethren, confederats and allies, in any ſort whatſoeuer, we promiſe and ſweare vnto God, to aſſiſt in that caſe, in al places with bodie and goods, not ſparing any thing, without any delay or exception whatſoeuer, euen as if it were our owne proper perſons: meaning and ſpecifying expreſly, that it ſhall not auaile to exempt and abſolue vs from our league and duties, although the perſecutors would couer the perſecutions and moleſtations with any other colour and pretext, as if they ſhould intend only to puniſh rebellion, or any ſuch pretext whatſoeuer. So as it may appeare vnto vs, that occaſion growes from the aboue named cauſes; for as much as wee maintaine, that in ſuch caſes there can be no crime of rebellion pretended, ſeeing it growes from a holy zeale, and com-
C mendable deſire, to maintaine the glorie of God, the maieſtie of the king, and a publike quit, with an aſſurance of our bodies and goods, and the defence of our families, wiues, and children, to whom God and nature doth bind vs. Our meaning notwithſtanding is, and wee promiſe one vnto another, that euery one of vs in the like exploits, ſhall refer himſelfe to the common aduice of all his brethren and allies, or to ſome of them, which ſhall bee committed and deputed to that end, to the end, that this holy vnion may bee alwayes well and holily entertained, and that what ſhall be done by a common conſent, may be firme and vailable.

In witneſſe and aſſurance of our ſaid league and confederation, we inuocate the holy name of the liuing God, Creator of heauen and earth, and of all that is in them, as Iudge and ſearcher of our hearts, conſciences, and thoughts, who knoweth that ſuch is our deſire and reſolu-
D tion, beſeeching him humbly, that he will giue vs the grace of his holy ſpirit, to the end that all our enterpriſes may haue a good and happie ſucceſſe, to the honour of his moſt holy name, and the quiet publike tranquilitie, and health of our ſoules. *Amen.*

This aſſembly and confederation of the nobles, could not bee made ſo ſecretly, but it was diſcouered: and as no man in court could learne what their deſigne & intent was, but the confederats themſelues, ſo it bred a great feare and alteration in the gouerneſſe, and thoſe of her counſell: and as it commonly fals out in the like occurrents, many reports, and diuers aduertiſements were ſent touching the ſame. The more the brute of this league increaſed, the more their conceits and diuerſitie of opinions augmented; ſome tending to good, ſome to bad: ſome ſaid that all the countrey was reuolted; ſome that there was an aſſembly of many thou-
E ſands of men, which came armed towards the court: ſome gaue it out, that they had ſecret intelligences in certaine townes, of the which they would firſt ſeiſe: others reported, that they would change the gouernment at their pleaſures: ſome ſaid, that they would chaſe away the Romiſh religion, and plant the reformed: ſome others that were more mutinous, ſaid, that it was to driue away all the clergie men: others approching ſomewhat neerer, and hauing a more true feeling and apprehenſion, ſaid, that it was to aboliſh the Inquiſition and the edicts. To conclude, euery man ſpake according to his humor, and as he was affected. But all agreed in this, that the ſaid nobles ſhould meet in great numbers armed, whether it were at Bruſſels, or elſewhere, and then their deſigne ſhould be made manifeſt.

Diuers opinions of the confederation of the Netherlands.

All theſe brutes brought a terrible feare and perplexity to the court, eſpecially to them who
F were partly the cauſe, that theſe perſecutions, executions, and Inquiſition (from whence euerie man iudged the occaſion of this aſſembly to be taken) had beene ſo eagerly followed, and that they would not receiue any complaints or admonitions to the contrarie, by them of Brabant and Flanders, exhibited as well to the gouerneſſe, as to their magiſtrats and conſuls, who through diuerſitie and obſcuritie of anſwers, and apoſtiles, did but diſſemble, to pacifie the people,

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people. And in the meane time by prouiſion, and according to the kings letters to the du- G
cheſſe, and from her to the conſuls (as we haue before ſaid) there were certaine men deputed throughout all the prouinces, which ſhould haue a care euerie one in his quarter, ouer all the inhabitants, whether they went to maſſe or no, and if they did their accuſtomed duties in the Romiſh Church: which deputies were bound to make their report at the court at Bruſſels, euerie three monethes. Yea the Inquiſitors had full commiſſion to execute their deſignes, proiected long before, conformable to the inſtruction which was giuen them the eleuenth of May 1565: by the which, according to the verie words thereof, ample and full commiſſion is giuen them, to make Inquiſitions, proceedings, corrections, and puniſhments, degradations, deliuerances to the ſecular power, to vſe impriſonments, and apprehenſion of men, making of proceſſes without any ordinarie forme of iuſtice; chuſing only ſome one of the kings counſel, H
who ſhould be bound to giue ſentence as they ſhould require, according to the forme and tenor of the Apoſtolike letters, written touching that, without any attendance or requiſition of the ordinarie, judge, or dioceſan of the place, and that againſt thoſe that are ſuſpected of hereſie, or that ſhall read forbidden bookes, or ſhall make aſſemblies, diſpute or talke of the holy Scriptures. Item, to call before them, as often as they pleaſe, all his Maieſties ſubiects, of what authoritie, power, ſtate, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer, be they preſidents, counſellors, bourgmaſters, aldermen, or other officers, to ſweare them by othe, againſt all thoſe they ſhall name, vpon paine to be puniſhed as ſuſpect and fauourers of hereſies. In reſpect whereof all gouernours, magiſtrats, and officers, were inioyned to giue all aid, aſſiſtance, and fauour vnto the ſaid Inquiſitors, in the execution of their charge, whenſoeuer they ſhould be required, vpon the ſame I
paines, &c. Beſides many other things, directly repugnant to all right, and the antient priuiledges and cuſtomes of the countrey.

The verie words of the Inquiſitors commiſſion.

Morequer, the moſt apparent, as wel among the nobles, as marchants and artiſans, and eſpecially the richeſt, were alreadie inrolled in theſe Inquiſitors bookes, to proceed againſt them, as againſt men, ſubiect to confiſcation, both of body & goods at the leaſt in caſe of repentance to great pecuniarie fines. Thereupon was heard of all ſides the brags and threats of Inquiſitors, prieſts, and monks, daring to deſcribe, yea to name in their ſermons, the moſt apparent. Whereof not onely the people of Antuerpe, which heard it, and the magiſtrats, which had been daily informed, bare witneſſe, but alſo the townes of Lille, Tournay, Valenciennes, and others of the countries of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Arthois, whereas theſe threats haue beene K
publikely heard, from the mouthes of the prieſts and preachers. Beſides it was generally ſpoken, of a leuie of horſe and foot made by duke *Erick* of Brunſwick, to plant the Inquiſition (as it was giuen out) by force in the Netherlands, as they had before deſigned, yet could not effect it: and that all this did tend to put it in execution, that is, to make a conqueſt of theſe Netherlands, and by that meanes hauing aboliſhed the priuiledges, to conuert them to a realme, as I haue ſaid. This leuie of men was confirmed by the entertaining of captaines, to whom duke *Erick* had giuen in preſt. This did ſo amaze the people, that many merchants, yea of the moſt apparent, had alreadie packt vp all, to free themſelues from ſuch violence and oppreſſion, by a voluntarie exile: many were alreadie retired, and the trades were tranſported from all parts, namely from Flanders, Tournay, Valenciennes, and other neighbor places, in ſuch great L
troups, as it was not onely apparent to the eye, and they felt it in the decay of their impoſts and cuſtomes, but alſo it did plainly appeare, that many good borough townes and villages, were almoſt left deſolat: ſo as there was no good man, that ſeeing this calamitie and decay of the countrey, which had been ſo flouriſhing, but was wonderfully grieued: yea there were ſome officers and magiſtrats of great qualitie, who, conſidering of the one ſide the rigor of the commandement, by the which it was expreſſly ſaid, That if any one of them ſhould refuſe to his dutie, and aſſiſt the Inquiſitors in the execution of their charges, that they ſhould be diſcharged, and others put in their places; and on the other ſide, laying before their eyes the furie of an incenſed multitude, the which being moued by ſuch extremities, doe oftentimes fall into ſuch rages, as they neither ſpare officers nor magiſtrats, or els it may be, not able in conſcience to be- M
come prouoſts and executioners to the Inquiſition, in a cauſe ſo ill grounded, ſpake openly of leauing off their charges, and to reſigne them into the kings hands, in caſe he contiuued in this reſolution, rather than to purſue the ſaid executions with ſuch rigour.

The vaunts and threats of prieſts and preachers, incenſeth the people

On the other ſide the French, neighbours to theſe countries, who had long affected this eſtate,

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A eſtate, as if the better part had proceeded from them, were loth to let ſlip this occaſion, ſeeking by all meanes to ſound the hearts of the inhabitants of the countrey, giuing them to vnderſtand by men ſuborned, how inſupportable this ſeruitude ſhould bee vnto them, by the which they ſhould take from them their priuiledges, immunities, and liberties, and bring in other lawes, ordinances, and cuſtomes, after the Spaniſh manner: that the Spaniards would come and ſeize vpon their lands, houſes, wiues, and children, yea of all that was theirs, and ſubiect the king of Spaines owne perſon vnto their Inquiſition. They did not forget to deſcribe vnto them the great deſolation which would bee in the countrey, by reaſon of the retreat of the chiefe marchants, who would carrie away with them the workemen, artiſans and their arts. And (as it is true, that traffique is the nurſing mother of theſe countries) that being re-
B tired, the workemen muſt needs retire, or dye for hunger: beſides the ſubiection of conſciences, whereunto they would bring them; comparing with all theſe diſcommodities and ſeruitudes, the wealth, goodly commodities, and aboue all the libertie of other realmes and neighbour countries, as Fraunce is (the priuiledges of the French church beeing ſuch, as they doe not acknowledge the Pope for their ſuperiour, but as they pleaſe themſelues) England, Scotland, Denmarke, the greateſt part of Germanie, with Bohemia: And therefore it were an vnworthie thing, that theſe good countries of the Netherlands, lying in the middeſt of ſuch neighbours, ſo free, ſhould be made ſlaues, vnder the yoke of a ſtrange and farre-fet barbarous nation. Whereunto did alſo ſerue diuers and ſundrie brutes ſpred abroad here and there, as in the neighbour countries of Germanie, Gueldres, Oueryſſell, Friſeland, yea in Prouinces of the Netherlands confederats with the empire.
C Holland and Zeeland, where they ſaid, that they were confederats with the empire, and therefore ſhould enioy the priuiledges of the pacification, made and paſt in Germanie at Paſſau, and not endure the yoke of the Inquiſition of Spaine, repugnant to all antient lawes, cuſtoms, and priuiledges.

In Brabant and Flanders they obiected an accord made by the deceaſed emperour *Charles* the fifth, with the princes electors of the empire, making one circle, the which in the Germane tongue they call *Creyts*, by it ſelfe, contributable as much as two princes electors. Wherupon, and to ſhew that it was true, they pretended that they of Flanders had giuen a gratuitie vnto his imperiall Maieſtie, as an acknowledgement of the good which they pretended to haue receiued by the meanes of the ſaid accord; the which his Maieſtie had taken in good
D part: and that thereby hee was bound to the obſeruation of the ſaid treatie. Moreouer for the Brabanſons, they did alledge their contract of Ioyous entrie, the which they ſaid was mutuall and reciprocall, and could not be broken by the one, but preſently the other were freed and diſcharged from their othe.

Whereunto they added, that the duchie of Brabant was fallen to the king of Spaines predeceſſors, by right of election, the which depended vpon conditions ſworne of either ſide: all which conditions they ſaid, were broken, if they brought the Inquiſition of Spaine into that countrey. Thoſe of Brabant did alſo produce ſix principall articles among others of their priuiledges, whereof the firſt was: Six chiefe articles in the priuiledges of Brabant.

1 That the duke of Brabant might not augment the ſtate of the clergie, more than it had
E beene in old time, and ſo placed by the dukes, vnleſſe the two other eſtates of the nobilitie and commons ſhould conſent thereunto.

2 That the duke might not purſue ciuilely or criminally, any of his naturall ſubiects, or ſtrangers dwelling there, but by the ordinarie courſe of the iuſtice of the countrey, whereas the accuſed may defend and iuſtifie himſelfe by his counſell.

3 That the duke may not raiſe any tribute or other impoſition, nor any innouation, without the conſent of the ſtates of the countrey.

4 That the duke may not place any ſtrangers or forreiners in any offices of Brabant, except in certaine petie exceptions, namely in his court, where hee may haue two ſtrangers of his counſell, ſo as they bee of the ſame language; as alſo one that is not borne in Bra-
F bant, hauing for a time enioyed ſome free ſeigniorie there, may bee preſident in the ſaid Court.

5 When as the duke would aſſemble his eſtates, were it to demaund money, ayd ſubſidies, or any other thing of his ſubiects, that thoſe of Brabant, nor the other eſtates of the coun-

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treyſhould not bee bound to goe out of the limits of the countrey, nor to conclude any thing G
out of it.

6 If it ſhould happen that the duke would reſtraiue and infringe their priuiledges, were it by force, or otherwiſe; in that caſe his ſubiects of Brabant, hauing made a ſolemne proteſtation before, ſhould bee freed and diſcharged of their othe and homage, and as free men may prouide for themſelues as they ſhall thinke moſt conuenient.

Which priuiledges moſt part of the townes and prouinces did maintaine them to bee in like ſort giuen vnto them, by accord made with *Maximilian* king of Romanes, in the yeare 1488, the 16 of May, according to the 14 article of the ſaid treatie, and other accords made with the ſaid prouinces.

Beſides all theſe allegations and propoſitions, in the end they durſt ſay openly, that by H
the feodall lawes, the lord looſeth the right of his fee, by the ſame occaſion of felonie, that the vaſſall forfeits his fee vnto his lord; inferring thereby, that by reaſon of the Inquiſition, the which did attempt manifeſtly againſt the lands and goods of the kings vaſſals, they might iuſtly forget their duetie of fealtie. All which brutes, with many others, the which were ſpred abroad here and there, as well by writing as by mouth, with many paſquils ſet vp in diuers places, as well in Antuerpe, as in Bruſſels, and the libels printed, that were diſperſed abroad, did wonderfully mooue the people (beeing alreadie much altered) as it happens commonly, when as the heart of man is in feare or anguiſh, it is eaſily diſtempered, and mooued vpon all occaſions that are offered, conformable to that which it affects. The noblemen conſidering this, eſpecially they which had their houſes and reſidence in the countrey, fearing I
leaſt the people, thus mooued, falling into diſpaire, would ſet vpon them as well as vpon the reſt, would make haſt to preuent the miſchiefes that were readie to fall. And firſt they would trie if the emperours interceſſion would any thing auaile them, to mollifie the king of Spaines heart. Whereupon they ſent their deputies to an Imperiall diet, that ſhould be held at Ausbourg, with a petition vnto the emperour *Maximilian*, in the name of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, hauing left the Romiſh religion, and deſiring to adde hereunto the reformed: in the which was diſcourſed at large, of the Inquiſition of Spaine, and of the publication and obſeruation required of the counſell of Trent, which ſought to pull from them their priuiledges, freedomes, and the liberties of their conſciences. They therefore beſought his Imperiall Maieſtie, and the princes of the empire, to admoniſh the king, to forbeare the ſhed- K
ding of any more innocent bloud, and of men fearing God, leaſt the wrath of God ſhould fall vpon him, and vpon the houſe of Bourgoigne.

Deputies of the nobles with a petition at an imperiall Diet.

Matters ſtanding in this eſtate, the Gouerneſſe and her counſell thought it fit and expedient to ſend for all the noblemen that were abſent to court, as well gouernours of Prouinces, as knights of the order, and in the meane time to charge them to write vnto the noblemen of their quarters and iuriſdictions, not to deale any further in their confederation, but to giue it ouer; finally that they ſhould endeuour, that the ſaid nobles and their aſſembly might bee diſperſed, vpon hope that matters might bee pacified. They did alſo write vnto the ſaid noblemen, to the place whereas they thought they were aſſembled, and to the heads of them, That if they had any matter of grieuance or complaint, they ſhould ſend it in writiting by L
their deputies in a ſmall number. The Gouerneſſe in the meane time cauſing her guards to bee doubled, and the court to bee fortified, ſhee alſo writ vnto the king the twentieth of May, aduertiſing him of all that had paſt, of the murmure and diſcontentment of the people, of the apparent danger, if they did not relinquiſh the Inquiſition, and moderate the rigour of the edicts, of the confederation and compromiſe of the nobles, whereof ſhee ſent a copie, and generally of the complaints of the foure chiefe townes of Brabant, vpon the breach of their priuiledges, &c. The ſaid lady did alſo cauſe the three eſtates of Brabant to bee called together, to whom ſhee declared, That ſhee had beene well aduertiſed and informed, that there was a certaine conſpiracie plotted, and an enterpriſe made vpon the countrey, the which might cauſe great inconueniences, and therefore they muſt bee ſtopt and preuented by any M
meanes; intreating them to doe their duelies, and to informe her what they could learne more particularly thereof, as in like ſort ſhee would aduertiſe them of her knowledge. And whereas ſhee had vnderſtood, that the pretexts which they tooke, was againſt the Inquiſition,

The gouernors and knights of the order ſent for to court.

The Gouerneſſe writes to the king all the affaires of the Netherlands.

The Gouerneſſe pacifieth the eſtates of Brabant.

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A shee had the day before commanded the counsell of Brabant, to answere a petition presented by foure chiefe townes: assuring them, that it was neuer his Maiesties intention nor hers, to charge the countrey of Brabant with the said Inquisition: for the which the states did humbly thanke her. Afterwards shee caused the deputie of the towne of Antuerpe to bee called apart, aduertising them that some strangers beeing of the conspiracie, were lodged in the Innes of their towne, desiring to know what it was, and what order they held for the preseruation thereof, for that shee had beene aduertised, that some bourgesses and merchants, did adhere vnto the conspiratours. Whereupon the said deputies answered, That there was good order, and good watch, and a good guard day and night at the ports, and euerie part of the towne; that the ships were searched before they were suffered
B to enter into the hauen, and that the Inne-keepers did euerie night bring the names of them they lodged, but they had not heard of any strangers: notwithstanding they would write more amply vnto her of the whole. Whereupon the Ducheſſe said vnto them, That they had good reason to stand vpon their guard, for their honours, goods, and liues depended thereon: they might also assure the people, that they should haue no Inquisition, and therefore to admonish them that they should conteine themselues in peace and quietnesse. The like aduertisements and admonitions she gaue vnto them of Brussels, and almost in the same substance, as she had propounded it to the states of Brabant, touching the conspiracy and enterprises. The six and twentieth of March she writ vnto all the gouernors and particular officers of all the prouinces, admonishing them to stand vpon their
C guards, and to preuent all inconueniences.

A proiect to moderate the edicts.

The gouernours, knights of the order, and other noblemen, beeing assembled at Brussels vpon the Ducheſſe commaundement, with the kings counsell of state, it was propounded how they might moderate the rigour of the edicts, and the punishment of the offenders, so as they might still maintaine the auntient religion, and pacifie the troubles which began to arise: thereupon they concluded to write vnto the king, and to vnderstand his good pleasure. But as soone as the people vnderstood, that they would take no other course, but by moderation and changing of the accustomed rigour, this made them to enter into greater suspition than before; and the more, for that they sought to keepe that secret which they had resolued in the sayd counsell, touching the moderation, thinking they should
D haue small ease or reliefe thereby. And if before they had cast about pasquils, now they set vp protestations against the magistrats, taxing them, that they did winke and dissemble with the Gouerneſſe: the which was not done in the country of Brabant alone, but also in Flanders, vpon foure seuerall petitions, which they presented as well to the kings Maiestie in Spaine, as to the Gouerneſſe and to the counsell of state: to the which they answered doubtfully, to hold them in suspence, and lull them asleepe. And for that the said petitions of Flanders and Brabant were substanciall and full of pregnant reasons, to moone the king to yeeld vnto their humble supplications, I haue thought it good to insert one (to the which that of Flanders was conformable) sent by them of Brabant into Spain, the which was as followeth.

A petition sent by them of Brabant to the king of Spaine.

E Sir, although that all your obedient subiects, as well of your towne of Antuerpe, as of the rest of the duchie of Brabant, bee not ignorant of your Maiesties good affection to the preseruation of your countrey, and good of your subiects, which are there resident, being continued as it were by hereditarie succession, from your Maiesties most noble aunceſtours; yet notwithstanding for as much as wee feele, and haue for many yeares felt, that there are many about you, which do not with so good an intention as it were to be desired, seeke the aduancement of the countries and prouinces that are subiect to your Maiestie, but beeing oftentimes thrust on, some by enuie, others by priuat hatred, abuse your mildnesse and accustomed clemencie, to the great preiudice thereof, informing you of many accusations, which should rather bee troden vnder foot, than presented vnto your Maiestie. It
F is a thing not onely commendable and conuenient, but also profitable, and more than necessarie, to discouer in some sort, and lay open the slanders that haue beene layd vpon your most obedient subiects: to the end that hereafter the countrey of Brabant, and all the Netherlands, yeelding all duetie of loyaltie and obedience vnto your Maiestie, may bee ea-

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ſed and releeued, according to that which ſhall bee held expedient for the ſeruice of God, G
the preſeruation of your dignitie, and the tranquilitie of your faithfull ſubiects. And al-
though it bee not our intent to preſcribe you a law, for the gouerning of the things which
are committed vnto you by the grace of God, yet we doubt not but your Maieſtie is ſuffi-
ciently inſtructed what the duetie of the members are, ſhewing where their pain and griefe
doth moſt preſſe and trouble them, that they may bee releeued. As alſo it hath pleaſed you
to grant this grace vnto your faithfull ſubiects of the duchie of Brabant, promiſing them by
expreſſe priuiledges, to heare their petitions and complaints, and to prouide for them ac-
cording vnto reaſon. Wherefore relying as well vpon your clemencie, as vpon the promiſe
which it hath pleaſed your Maieſtie heretofore to make, wee hope that it ſhall not be trou-
bleſome vnto you, if wee firſt lay open the ſpring of theſe accuſations, with all the effects H
that would follow, if it ſhould not pleaſe your Maieſtie to preuent this miſchiefe preſently,
ſo as it may not enter into the countries of your ſubiection: then after, to ſhew the manner
how to entertaine this good of peace and quietneſſe among your ſubiects, the profit where-
of ſhall come vnto your cofers, and the honour vnto your Maieſtie. For the ſaying of *De-
mades* is alwayes true, *That it is more eaſie to gouerne the helme of a ſhip, when ſhee is whole and
vnder ſaile, than to gather the peeces together, when it is broken through the violence of the waues,
or againſt ſome dangerous rocke.* Whereof we muſt all haue a care to the greatneſſe and dig-
nitie of your Maieſtie, the quiet of all your ſubiects, and the priuat profit of euerie towne
and citie that is vnder your commaund. It doth not ſeeme fit nor reaſonable, that your
faithfull ſubiects, who are readie to imploy body and goods, yea and their verie liues for I
your Maieſties ſeruice, as much and more than euer they did heretofore, ſhould receiue
wrong by the ſuggeſtion of any one, who vnder ſome colourable pretext, practiſe that
which will be an irrepairable loſſe to you and to your obedient ſubiects. For we find, that
all the ſpeeches which are held againſt your countries, in your Maieſties preſence, proceed
to two principall parties; whereof the one ſeemes to be wholy ſupported by the hatred and
enuy which is inueterat, to the ruine and vtter deſolation of the countrey, were it not that
God prouides for it by his bountie, and you gouerne it by your wiſdome: the other puts
forth ſtill an infinit number of hereſies, the which ſerues many for a cloake to incenſe you
more and more, and had done it long ſince, without the wiſedome and moderation where-
with God hath endued you in ſuch matters, to their great good and comfort, who deſire K
nothing more, than to enioy a good and a happie peace, vnder your Maieſties gouernment
and commaund. And this is our comfort, the which makes vs to hope for better in the
middeſt of al our cares and croſſes, into the which we haue often fallen, for the maintenance
of your dignitie, and of the difficulties wherein we are at this preſent, through the enuy and
malice of ſome. And as for accuſations, they are not ſo receiued of your Maieſtie, but
there is ſtill a place reſerued by your clemencie, for the defence of the innocents: for that
which is ſpoken through hatred or enuie, chargeth the whole countrey, that is, an infinit
number of people, which proteſt to liue vnder your obedience, ſo long as God ſhall giue
them the grace: but in accuſations the danger muſt bee priuat, liable againſt them which
make ſects apart, and ſow hereſies and falſe doctrines, to the end that in iudgements, the L
faults that ſhall bee found, may bee puniſhed without enuie, and that enuie may bee
layd aſide, if there bee no offence found. True it is, that if theſe things were ſpoken na-
kedly and ſimply, without any proofe or demonſtration, it were a leane defence, and vn-
worthie to bee preſented to your Maieſtie: but if this enuie bee ſeene with the eye, and
felt with the hand, wee hope by the helpe of the almightie God, that your Maieſtie
will find want of iudgement in many of them, which ſeeke all the meanes they can to ef-
fect their bad affections, vnder your Maieſties authoritie: for without doubt, there ſhall
no enuie bee found in the world, if it appeare not in this action, where vnder a colour of a
priuat miſchiefe, they would ruine all, and reduce a populous countrey, to a waſt and ſoli-
tarie deſart. M

If a finger of the hand be intereſſed and feſtred, muſt wee therefore cut off all the arme,
and caſt it to the dogges? or if the foot bee greeued, muſt wee therefore abandon the
whole bodie, and giue it in prey to Lyons and ſauage beaſts? And it hath beene

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A one of the goodly and graue counsels, which of late dayes hath been giuen to your Maiestie, to hold Brabant for an enemie countrey, and a land of conquest, onely in regard of the priuiledges which it hath pleased your Maiestie to graunt them. If there had beene question of any crimes, of any rebellion and disobedience, of any practise of treason, as well against God as your Maiestie, or of any villanie whatsoeuer, it had beene much more tollerable. But that which they brought in question, was the entertainment of your gifts, of your promises, of your greatnesse, your othe, your honour, and your good fame, the which shall bee the more glorious, by the inuiolable maintaining of your word and promise, the which they seeke to blemish, labouring to dissolue that which you haue once confirmed by a solemne othe.

They would haue Brabant for an enemy by reason of their priuiledges.

What counsell then is this, can it proceed from pietie, seeing they would haue your Ma-
B iesties indignation fall generally vpon all, good and bad, without distinction? Can it proceed from any good zeale and affection to your Maiesties greatnesse and dignitie, seeing it tends to the ruine and destruction of your faithfull subiects, whose riches are your treasure, whose quiet is your glorie, and their prosperitie the happie increase of your Maiesties greatnesse? But rather their bad disposition is shewed, in that those which serue God and your Maiestie faithfully, are contained in one list with the wicked, by the opinion of such people, and made subiect to the same condemnation. Wherein wee acknowledge our selues so much the more bound to you, when as sinister censures beeing propounded, by some indirect meanes, and tending couertly to our ruine, they haue beene repelled by your Maiesties discretion and loue towards vs, so as they haue sodainely vanished away, to the great ioy and
C content of your subiects. The which giues vs more future hope, to expect all good things from your ordinances and commandements, and still to attend greater testimonies of your clemencie, to the end that we for our parts may endeuor to do you acceptable seruice, and worthy of your high and soueraigne Maiestie.

In the meane time, although that through your wisedome these mists haue beene dispersed for a time, yet is it not rooted out of the hearts of some, which persuade (at the least endeuour secretly to persuade) the same, all they can, as if they made mines vnder the earth, to compasse that which at the first they had incountred and maintained with all vehemencie: for whereas before they talked of exposing the countrey in prey, now they will finish the same worke begun, vnder colour of a remedie against sects, which rise in some of your Ma-
D iesties countries: so making the number sometimes double, and deuising other meanes to depriue vs of all accesse vnto you, and to hinder the peace, by the which we haue yeelded you all dutifull obedience, as well in fighting against your enemies, as in seeking the aduancement of your glorie.

They charge your countrey with infinit wickednesse, to plant hatred in your heart, which is alreadie grauen in theirs: to the end (if it were possible) that your edicts might bee cords to tye them that offer you all seruice, and your magistrats and officers, the inhumane executioners of their passions: not that wee will condemne of so damnable a mind, all those that make any bad report vnto your Maiestie of the Netherlands, for wee know many of them thinke by this meanes to root out the sects that grow, for the zeale they beare to the Romish
E Church. And others in like sort thinke, that two religions can neuer bee entertained together, contrarie to the testimonie of so many examples, which haue beene, and are at this day apparent to our eyes, although wee know in trueth, that there is but one onely seruice of God: but whatsoeuer it bee, they abuse themselues much in this: for first they thinke without any further search, that for one heresie there an hundred, and that mens minds are wholy inclined thereunto: moreouer, that the princes, noble men, and magistrats of the countrey, winke at them, and care not to preuent these growing errours: and hauing done this disgrace vnto your Maiesties well affected subiects, they giue you to vnderstand, that it is impossible to preuent heresies, but by rigorous courses, by murthers and cruell persecutions. Whereat many, euen of your Romish Church, are amazed, alledging the antient examples of the do-
F ctours of the Church, especially of Saint *Augustine* against the Pelagians, Donatists, and Circoncilians, who held townes and countries in their power by force, whereas now they haue not the hundred part of that power and authoritie.

And whereas they thinke, that the Inquisition is the true and only means to root out here-

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And whereas they thinke, that the Inquisition is the true and onely meanes to root out here- G
sies and errours, they consider not on the other side, that it is the way to impouerish your sub-
iects, to vnfurnish your countries of inhabitants, and euen to deprive you of an infinit trea-
sure, growing from the traffique of strangers: for it is common in the mouth of all men, that
whereas the Inquisition sets footing, the marchant flies away. The which wee speake the
more freely, to the end your Maiestie may vnderstand what inconuenience would grow by
such a decree, if our enemies and such as hate vs had preuailed so much with you, as to plant
and settle such an Inquisition in these countries, as wee doubt not but they haue imployed all
their meanes, and doe still make many practises to that end. It is not our intents to call the
Inquisition in question, whether it be receiuable, or no; or to dispute of the newnesse or vse
thereof: but onely to let you vnderstand, what is fit for your glorie, the preseruation of our H
country, and the increase of your power and greatnesse. For as these things bee annexed
and coupled together inseperably, in like sort we may easily shew, that this Inquisition (where-
of they talke so openly) is repugnant to all these things, and cannot stand but in ouerthrow-
ing them, dispersing and diuiding those things, whereof vnitie is more than necessarie in all
your Netherlands: the which is notorious to all men (without seeking of farre fet proofes
and arguments) as well by the nature of this inquisition (which they demaund to haue esta-
blished) as by the inclination of the inhabitants of the country, to whom mildnesse and gen-
tlenesse is much more agreeable and pleasing, than any force or constraint: for that it is often
seene, the said Inquisition, without conuicting, or shewing any reasons of abuse, condemnes
men of heresie, be it right or wrong (as we haue seene examples not long since.) They com- I
pare it to an ignorant physitian, who seeing any rupture or fluxe in a mans bodie, will not
touch the part that is greeued, but will busie himselfe about that which feeles no paine, pla-
stering it, and binding it vp, as if it were not well; and sometimes straying the parts that are
interessed and displaced with all force and violence: As also the greatest part of the Inquisi-
tors busie themselues onely about that which is sound and perfect in doctrine, seeking errour
where is none, vsing their authoritie and power to force mens consciences, where by liuely
reasons and good proofes, they should argue and confute all that did contradict them.

Moreouer as the people find this manner of proceeding verie strange, and that in a man-
ner there is not any one but hath compassion of them which are executed for the confession
of their faith; this hath hitherto bred such a hatred against the Inquisitors, as all men thinke K
that they are come to trouble the quiet of the country, and to hinder men from following of
their priuat affaires, for the maintenance of their estates, and by the same meanes the increase
of your Maiesties greatnesse. But for that it is not our intention to dispute of these points, nor
to interpose our censures against that which it shall please your Maiestie to resolue, in a mat-
ter of so great importance; we onely beseech your Maiestie, and implore your succour and
mercie, that you would not suffer your whole country to decay and goe to ruine, for a mat-
ter which is either false for the most part, or more curable by gentle and mild meanes, and
much more easie to beare, to the content of your subiects, the enriching of your country, and
the increase of your glorie. Remember, if it please you, how your Maiesties most noble pre-
decessors haue long since, yea two hundred yeares agoe, promised and sworne solemnely to L
the inhabitants of the country of Brabant (as in like sort your Maiestie hath done) to main-
taine and preserue them, yea and to cause them to be maintained in their antient priuiledges,
customes, and rights, the which they haue had, and haue at this present, which they could
not infringe. May it please you also, to set before your eyes the present estate of the country,
and then you may the better comprehend the miserable ruines which will remaine, planting
such an Inquisition there, by the retiring of merchant strangers, & the impouerishing of your
subiects, wherof a good part should be also constrained to keep company with strange nations
in this flight.

And such is the estate of your country, that although there be fertil places, rich and abound-
ding, some in corne, others in cattell and pasture, yet all is not sufficient to entertaine the rest of M
the country, three monethes in the yeare, as wel through the greatnesse of the country, which
is poore and barren of it selfe, as for the multitude of people that inhabit it: the which is eui-
dent by the duchie of Brabant; in which country, besides the seuen chiefe townes (as they
call them) which are mightie and greatly peopled, we find moreouer so great a multitude of
people

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A people in all places, as it is impossible to number and comprehend them. In the meane time, for that all that doe reside there, find not their liuing readie in the place where they are borne, but they must get it, and seeke it elsewhere; we see by experience, how God hath prouided for them of the said countrey, making them strong by nature, enduring trauaile, laborious, and industrious in all sorts of workes: so as employing themselues therein with all paine and diligence, they recompence by their hands the defect of their countrey: so as by their ordinarie labour the marchant stranger is drawne thither, wherewith your subiects entertaine themselues, and a great profit commeth vnto your Maiestie. It is most certaine, That if the Inquisition were planted in the dutchie of Brabant, especially in your towne of Antuerpe, it would be cause of the retreat of the marchants, to the great losse of your reuenues, and the
B ruine of your poore subiects. The which was manifest in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, your father of famous memorie, when as the deceased Queene *Marie*, dowager of Hungarie, his sister, at that time Gouernesse of these countries, gaue his imperiall Maiesty to vnderstand of the perplexitie and eminent danger of the towne of Antuerpe (and by consequence of the Netherlands) that he might preuent all mischiefes and inconueniences, and preserue it from a totall ruine and destruction: notwithstanding the persuasions of some, who sought to bring in the pragmaticke Sanction; partly for that they were ill affected to the said towne, and partly through want of iudgement and consideration. And since, when as they sought vnder your Maiesties name and authoritie to establish a new bishopricke in the towne of Antuerpe, the marchants fearing the said Inquisition, were resolued not to attend the
C end of this noueltie, but to make their retreat as soone as this new bishop should be receiued into the towne; whereof some had so layed their plots, as they were readie to dislodge, offering their houses and lands to sell, abating the prizes both in selling and letting. And now also making the same pursute of this fraudulent practise, which was begun long since, they would induce you to doe that which must needs bring desolation to your subiects, and a great losse, as well to your selfe, as to your Maiesties successors.

Wherefore it should not seeme strange nor troublesome vnto you, if now your obedient subiects addresse themselues vnto your Maiestie, to let you vnderstand the estate and condition of their cause, and to diuert you from hearing of them, who seeke no other thing but the hurt and preiudice of your Maiestie and your subiects; the which is sooner preuented in the
D beginning, than when the thing is aduanced: for our parts we desire it, hoping there will be no lesse in you, than it hath pleased you to shew in times past, especially at your last departure to goe into Spaine: for it will be too late to seeke a remedie for so great a wound, when as we are fallen into such inconueniences, and as it were beaten downe with so violent a storme; when as the marchants shall seeke elsewhere free exercise for their negotiation and traffique, as they may doe in Fraunce, England, and the East countries, whereas they should haue no feare of the Inquisition: of which losse the bourgesses of your towne of Antuerpe, and all the inhabitants of the dutchie of Brabant had good experience, in the yeare 1550, when as the publication of the said Inquisition was stayed; who by the onely brute thereof, and the marchants apprehension, receiued so great a losse, as it could not bee repaired in a yeare or
E two after. And who are they (my Liege) that receiue this losse? be they not those that haue serued you in your most important affaires? be they not those which haue employed themselues freely for the maintenance of your dignitie? which haue exposed their bodies against the enemie, that yours might be in safetie? When did they not promise, and giue willingly and chearefully all that was held needfull? When did they refuse to doe that which was commaunded them? If you will examine neerely the hystories of times past, and consider the present, you shall find that they haue not onely imployed their estates for your glorie; but that there is at this present a treasure readie prepared for your seruice, especially in your towne of Antuerpe. Of what value and estimation thinke you this is, hauing so many rich and wealthie bourgesses, so many faithfull seruants, and profitable for your Crowne, whose
F traffique bringeth great benefit and aduantage vnto you: whose patience, vertue, and frugalitie is so great, as we may see a great care and industrie in your publick affaires, and an incomparable diligence in their priuat businesse. Wherefore as we can coniecture, and dare assure your Maiestie, that as for them, who (with great paine) haue sought to reuenge the wrongs done vnto you, and constantly vndergone all dangers for your seruice, they expect nothing

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from you, but that you will haue this opinion, that the ſafetie and preſeruation of all their G
rights, liberties, goods, and whatſoeuer elſe conſiſteth in that the Inquiſition (which ſuch men
pretend) may not be allowed. For againſt whom is the Inquiſition brought in, but againſt
them that hold not the faith and Religion of the Romiſh Church? Who are they? They be
Germanes, Eaſterlings, Engliſh, Scottiſh, French, and infinit other Nations, wherewith your
Netherlands are (as it were) circled and enuironed. Theſe Nations then muſt bee chaſed
out of your territories, and the marchants muſt retire into their naturall countries, hauing a-
bandoned them that haue great need of their commerce, that is to ſay, your poore ſubiects,
vnfurniſhed of all things, without the helpe of other Nations. They doe therefore preſent
themſelues vnto you, and implore your faith and mercie, requiring aſſurance and conſtancie
in your promiſes. They ſigh after your good, which conſiſteth in the continuance of their H.
traffique. They long for the honour which was done them by your anceſtors, enioying their
rights, freedomes, and priuiledges: They ſue inſtantly, that their hands may not be tied, and
their meanes of liuing taken from them: They deſire, that hereafter they may let you vnder-
ſtand their loue by the effects, and that they may doyou ſome acceptable ſeruice, as they haue
done heretofore. This is that which they demaund, as they haue done heretofore both by
writing and mouth vnto your Maieſtie, that there ſhould bee no cauſe giuen vnto the mar-
chants and forraine nations, to retire themſelues out of your towne and countrey, for ſo many
miſeries which were like to fall, if it ſhould take effect, to the great preiudice of your Maieſties
reuenues, and of your ſucceſſors, the deſolation of the countrey, and the totall ruine and con-
fuſion of your moſt humble ſubiects. The which is not ſpoken in vaine; neither would wee I.
lay it open vnto your Maieſtie, if we were not acquainted with the weightines of the buſines,
and the apparent danger, vnder an vncertaine hope that is propounded vnto you.

Your Maieſtie knoweth well, that your towne of Antuerpe conſiſts only in the commerce
of forraine nations, and that by their retreat they ſhall decline from their flouriſhing eſtate, and
by the loſſe of thoſe great reuenues, which they receiue daily, it cannot long ſubſiſt, by reaſon
of an infinit number of debts wherwith they are now charged, being engaged heretofore for
many great ſeruices, which the towne and the inhabitants thereof haue done vnto your maie-
ſtie and your predeceſſors, and in like ſort in the fortification thereof, after that it had bin be-
ſieged by *Martin van Roſſem*. For all which things they beſeech your Maieſtie to prouide in
ſuch ſort, as the marchant ſtrangers be not forced to retire themſelues from the place, which K.
hath been ſo long vnto them as a ſafe port to vſe their trade and marchandiſe, whereof would
follow an infinite number of miſeries, the leaſt of which would cauſe an irreparable loſſe vn-
to the towne; and not onely vnto the whole bodie of the towne, but to euery one in particu-
lar. For although the greatneſſe and riches of the ſaid towne hath now the fame throughout
all Europe, as the flower of all marchant townes; yet the marchants hauing made triall in o-
ther places, may find as great profit elſewhere for their free commerce: whereof proofe was
made by the impoſition of the hundreth penny, when as many marchants & handicrafts men
retired themſelues to Hambourg in the Eaſt countries. But the frequenting of the ſaid towne
is more than neceſſary for all your poore ſubiects, as well thoſe that are reſident there, as in the
reſt of the dutchie of Brabant and neighbour countries: for it is Antuerpe that yeeldeth them L.
profit; it is Antuerpe that furniſheth them with worke; it is Antuerpe that doth in a manner
feed them, and relieueth them in their neceſſities, for that it is the ſtorehouſe of the country, as
they were wont to ſay of Sicily; it is your Maieſties treaſure, pouring foorth infinite riches,
which they preſent vnto you (if need ſhall require) for the maintenance of your authority, and
all by the meanes of ſtrangers, without whom all things would go miſerably to ruine. For the
negotiation and nauigation (which is the chiefe ſupport of theſe countries) would come to
nothing; the handicrafts which make this countrey ſo famous, would be ſcorned, and of no
eſteeme, vnleſſe that ſtrangers might haue free entercourſe of traffique. But what ſtrangers
would conſent to this Inquiſition? Who would ſubiect themſelues vnto it; abandoning the
libertie that was borne with them, the which they loue and eſteeme more than all the world- M
ly treaſure? Who would againſt their conſcience and doctrine (which they haue receiued in
their countries) yeeld vnto the Romiſh church? yet ſome aduiſe and perſuade you, ſeeing
the ſtranger will not liue vnder the Inquiſition, to expell them your countries; that is to ſay,
that your treaſure be taken from you, and the liues from your poore ſubiects. Seeing then it is
moſt

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A moſt apparent to your Maieſtie, that theſe two cannot concurre together, to haue the Inquiſition and ſtrangers in one place; how dare they then deliuer theſe things in your Maieſties preſence, regarding neither the eſtate of the countrey, your dignitie, nor the willing obedience of your ſubiects, iudging of things according to their owne paſſions? How can theſe things enter into their conceptions, but they muſt preſently apprehend the danger, which they would be loth to ſee? For although they brag of their bountie and zeale, yet the end will alwaies diſcouer what it is. But for that your wiſedome doth duly weigh and conſider all things, wee hope that your Maieſtie will iudge more fauourably of your ſubiects, than they doe by their wicked diſcourſes, which are void of all humanitie. We know, that ſome among them will ſay (as they haue done) that ſtrangers ſhall not be ſubiect to the Inquiſiti-
B on, but onely your naturall ſubiects, ſo as they be tied to certaine conditions: the which might bee eaſily done, and your ſubiects might as eaſily thereby eſcape the Inquiſitors hands, hiding themſelues, and colouring their goods by the names of ſtrangers. But it is not your ſubiects entent, who deſire alwaies to liue your ſubiects, as they haue done now ſo many yeres: for the which you haue often thanked the princes, noblemen, and officers which are there by your authoritie, as well at your departure, as by letters ſince your abſence.

If then they ſhall giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that they are readie to doe you all dutie and ſeruice, both with their liues and goods, and yet that they haue no entent to be ſubiect to Inquiſitors, who would vſe all rigour, crueltie, tyrannie, and inhumanitie ouer them and their families; we doubt not (if your accuſtomed mildneſſe and clemencie doth not abuſe
C vs) but you will yeeld that grace and fauour vnto your ſubiects, in regard of their continuall ſeruices, for the preſeruation of your greatneſſe and dignitie. But in the meane time it would ſeeme ſtrange at the firſt, that which they ſay, that they would not doe that which you command expreſſely; and in truth it were very likely: whereby ſome would ſeeke to incenſe you againſt vs, and iuſtly, in regard of the peoples fault.

But if the prince (regarding onely his owne aſſurance, and the keeping of his countries) draweth an enemie into them, who is a diſturber of the publicke quiet, hindering the courſe of traffique, his ſubiects profit, and the aduancement of his owne glorie; this people ſhould haue ſome reaſon, if it were made knowne vnto the prince. The which was apparent in a mat-
ter of much leſſe moment, when as *Antipater* at that time lord of Athens, which in former
D times had beene ſo famous and renowned, had put *Menillius* (a mild and tractable man) in garriſon in the fort of the citie, which they called Munichie; yet he called him from thence againe, at the requeſt of the Athenians, and the admonitions of *Phocion*. But theſe are no *Menilles*, no quiet ſpirits, entertaining peace, but ſeeking warre in the middeſt of peace, ſhedding of bloud where there is no wound, oppoſing themſelues by their troubles to the common quiet, pouring forth their rage vpon a number of poore men, vnworthie oftentimes of ſuch torments. This is not the complaint of one of your ſubiects alone, but of all in generall, to the end, that if the prayers and ſupplications of one be not able to confute the ſlaunders, diſperſe the hatred, and diuert your Maieſties heart from ſo great a miſchiefe, and make you taſt this great and excellent good which we attend of you: yet let the cries and common conſent
E of all in generall make you apprehend this pretended miſchiefe; for the which we hope your Maieſtie will prouide, when it ſhall be made knowne vnto you.

Beſides, when as al your well affected ſubiects come vnto your Maieſty for ſo great a good, which they deſire ſhould be entertained in the countries of your obedience, & the miſchiefe which they ſeeke to preuent, with your aid and ſuccours; it is not their authoritie which they bring, it is not their will they would haue ſerue for a law, it is not their owne pleaſures which they reſpect and follow: but it is your Maieſties authoritie, your will and pleaſure, whereon they relie, and the which you haue once promiſed them by a contract and an accord, which they haue made with your Maieſtie, the which you ſealed by a ſolemne oath, the firmneſſe whereof is well knowne vnto vs. For otherwiſe, if you ſhould haue any ſuch conceit if they
F ſhould ſeeke to make you apprehend it, and to put it in execution; where were then your Maieſties honour and grauitie? Where were the aſſurance of your ſubiects, when as for certaine vaine and idle conſiderations (yea preiudiciall to your ſubiects) theſe things are propounded againſt vs and our quiet, the which we haue long enioyed vnder your commaund and your predeceſſors? What is become of the honour of thoſe great and mightie Emperours, *Maximilian*,

milian, king *Philip*, and *Charles* the fifth, and the dukes which haue gone before them in theſe G
gouernments; if your honour bee confirmed by ſo contrary an act? They contracted with our fathers, as your Maieſtie hath done: they did alſo take a ſolemne oath; they gouerned their ſubiects in peace, as you haue done hetherto: and they maintained the rights and priuiledges of the country inuiolably, according to their promiſes. Theſe are the two points we expect from you, and we beleeue, that you alſo deſire it, and will ſhew it by experience with the helpe of God: if not, either the diſhonour of your auncestors ſhall be publiſhed by your honour (if it may be in ſuch an act) or els your diſhonour (which God forbid) ſhall be laid open by their honour, which ſhall continue, by reaſon of the integritie and equitie of their gouernment. But if any one would now ſay, that this honor (wherof we ſpeake) doth contradict the good, profit, and aduancement of your dignitie: it ſeemeth that he will vſe no other Armes, H
but a dagger of lead (as they ſay) which turneth againe on it ſelfe. For what man of iudgement doth preferre his wealth before his honour, for the which ſo many vertuous men haue ſo willingly ſpent their blouds, and abandoned their liues? Moreouer, is it not the true point of honour, when one is adorned with truth, conſtancie, and perſeuerance; the leaſt of which vertues exceedeth all the treaſure and poſſeſſions in the world? But let vs allow them that priuiledge, which couetous and wretched men do hold, That temporall goods ought to be preferred before honour, and that there is no diſhonour but ſhould be vndergone to get wealth. What haue they gotten by this thrift? let them ſhew how your Maieſties reuenues ſhall continue firme, putting their goodly deſignes in practiſe; the which we maintaine ſhall bee taken from you, ſeeking to force your ſubiects to follow this good counſell. But (ſay they) the faith- I
full ſubiects will remaine: yea, if they may haue the liberty & commodities before mentioned. Heretickes ſhalbe chaſed away: that were much, and more than the auncient emperors could euer doe. But I pray you what heretickes? the Goſpellers and Anabaptiſts. The modeſtie of the firſt hath been ſo well knowne in ſo many places, and their patience ſo well tryed in yout countries, as we are amazed. The furie and rage of the others hath been manifeſt in ſome places, but here it is vnknowne to vs, God be thanked. If you thinke to chaſe them away, it may haue ſome ſhew in the beginning, as if one would ſay, the fire is quēched, when it is couered. But the true meanes is, to root opinions out of their hearts, as they did in old time; and not to haue their bodies miſerably tortured and torne in pieces. By that meanes (ſay they) the countrey ſhall be in peace. It is certaine it ſhall be in peace, when it ſhall remaine ſolitarie and de- K
ſart; the which muſt needs follow this excellent counſell, which they ſo impudently preſent vnto your Maieſtie. It is true that they ſay, there ſhall be a peace, but they ſhould add the reſt: That the Inquiſition (which they ſeeke to bring in vnder your name) will bee the ouerthrow of the Inquiſition: For either it will ceaſe when they ſhall ſee the townes vnpeopled, and the countrey deſert; or els they muſt aboliſh it, when they ſhall ſeeke to repeople the country, and reſtore the traffique: the which can hardly or neuer be effected. But there appeares a foule error in theſe mens reaſons, when they ſay, that your power is much blemiſhed, in that which your ſubiects demaund, that they may enioy their rights and priuiledges, without any preiudice to your Maieſtie. For we ſee, that the king of Sparta hauing created the Ephores, and ſubiected himſelfe willingly to that they ſhould decree, anſwered his repining wife (who ſaid he L
had done wrong vnto his children) That the realme which he ſhould leaue to his ſucceſſors, ſhould be of leſſe ſhew, and more laſting. Euen ſo it fareth with your Maieſtie, if your ſubiects may hold their accord firme with you, as they haue alwaies done with your predeceſſors: And the power which is giuen you, is much more firme and durable, when according to the promiſe contained expreſſely in the firſt article of your ioyous entry, the eſtates of the country doe ſecond you, to haue a care of the profite thereof; all with the conſent and liking of your faithfull ſubiects. Wherefore now if the proſperity of your ſubiects, the good of your townes and cities, the encreaſe of your lands and ſeigniories, and the honour and greatneſſe of your Maieſtie haue any power with you (whereof we are aſſured) weigh a little the importance of this action, and conſider what the end will be of ſo miſerable a thing; ſet before your eies this M
noble and flouriſhing country, which ſhalbe ruined vpon an occaſion vnworthy to be preſented vnto you, and much leſſe to find any ſetled place in your heart; ſtrangers retiring & forſaking the place, the ſubiects ſeeking means elſewhere to entertain thēſelues & their families, the towns impoueriſhed & made naked of theſe goodly ornamēts, eſpecially Antuerp (the flower

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A of marchant townes, the ornament of the Netherlands, and of your crowne, a readie treasure in peace and warre) falling from her dignitie, the houses ruined and deformed in steed of her present beautie. What a hearts greefe, what a confusion, what a discomfort will these things bring vnto you? Heare then the cries of your subiects, who call instantly vnto you for pitie and compassion. Heare then the country, which seemeth to present it selfe vnto your Maiestie, and to speake these words vnto you with a generall consent.

I haue serued your predecessors long; I haue employed all my meanes for the preseruation of your dignitie; I haue giuen my selfe into your hands, and you haue receiued me with your mutuall and reciprocall promises: I demaund nothing as due by contract or promise; I demaund no requitall for that which I haue employed and spared for your Maiestie; I am
B silent of those things, I will renounce my right, least I should bee accused to haue vsed any reproch, that might be ignominious vnto you; I onely craue, that you will not disrobe me of mine ornaments and yours, chase not away strange Nations, oppresse not your subiects, whom I haue nourished in my bosome; estrange not your selfe from me, to the end that my riches be not withdrawne from you. Looke vnto the treasure which is readie for you, to supply all future necessities, that your enemies be not enriched with my wealth, of the which you shall be depriued by the flight of strange Nations; maintaine the good of your subiects, for my good is yours. The which if you seeme to desire and affect, for the entertayning of the dignitie which is common to you and mee, I hope so to discharge my dutie, as your Maiesties authoritie (such as it hath beene in your predecessors) shall bee continued for e-
C uer, and encreased by my best endeauours, to your great content, and the common ioy of your good and faithfull subiects, who shall bee the more bound to pray vnto God for your Maiesties happie aduancement.

This was the contents of their petition of Brabant; the which if the king had seene and read, as he ought, without doubt he would haue changed his opinion, if not wholly, yet in part. But the Cardinall of Granuelle, and those of his faction, who possessed the king, meant not so much good to the country, nor to their master, as to suffer him to consider of these reasons, set downe as well in this petition, as in the discourse of *Francis Baudwin*, and many other admonitions, wherewith the court was continually importuned: But it preuayled as much, as to crie vnto the deafe, or to sow vpon the sand, or in the waues of the sea, during
D their greatest violence, the which, in stead of bringing vs to a safe Port, sought to drowne vs. Finally, there was not any one that would once looke on it, or reade it: it was sufficient to know whence they came, and to what end they tended, and more they might not speake. So as they of Brabant could obtaine no other answere to all their petitions, as well in Spaine as in the Netherlands, but the Apostile before mentioned, giuen by the Gouernesse commaundement vnto one of their requests, on the foure and twentieth of May, by the counsell of Brabant, vnto the foure chiefe townes, assuring them, That the king had neuer any intention to charge his country of Brabant with the Inquisition: which was but an euasion for that time, to abuse the people.

The Cardinall hindereth the deliuerie of this petition.

Those of Flaunders, in the meane time, were nothing more graciously entreated: for
E the foure members seeing plainely, how the whole country was vnpeopled, the traffiques, handycrafts, and trades to cease in the chiefe townes and boroughes, as at Gand, Bruges, Ypre, Courtray, Armentiers, Poperinghe, Roullez, Hondtschooten, and other places, whereas clothing was wont to bee in great request; artisans retyring themselues by great troupes out of the country; sent their deputies to Court, in the yeare 1564, with declarations by mouth, and petitions in writing, challenging their priuiledges, and demaunding what they of Brabant had done: Whereupon answere was made vnto them the fourth of October, by a doubtfull answere, nothing tending to that which they demaunded: but contrariwise, charge was giuen to M. *Peter Titelman*, deane of Renay, In-
F quisitor generall of Flaunders, who (as a *Salus spirans minarum*) ranne from towne to towne, with foure Sergeants and other Officers, together with the Atturney generall, or his substitute, (persecuting, imprisoning, and offering violence to all those that hee suspected to be of the Religion) to carrie himselfe discreetly in the execution of his charge; and to the said suppliants, magistrates of townes, to giue him all assistance, aide and fauour in the execution of his charge, & the K. Edicts, according to his Ma. intention, and the good & quiet

An ambiguous and rigorous apostile to the petition of them of Flanders.

of

of the countrey: in doing ſo (ſaid the Gouerneſſe) there was hope, that the inconueniences G
repreſented vnto her by the Suppliants, ſhould be preuented by that meanes. By this aun-
ſwere, thoſe of Flanders vnderſtood ſufficiently the intention of the Court, and therfore durſt
not at that time preſſe it any further. In the meane time M. Inquiſitor triumphed through all
the villages of Flanders, ſeeking to augment his iuriſdiction and power. And ſo did the new
biſhops which had beene admitted. So as in the moneth of May 1566, hee of Bruges practi-
ſing dayly ſome innouation, hauing forbidden to burie certaine marchants ſtrangers, preſu-
med to offer to preſcribe a law vnto the magiſtrate, touching the entertainment of Religion,
and of the counſell of Trent, ſending them a certaine rule, by the which they ſhould gouern
themſelues; the which concerned meerely the policie of the towne. Whereunto the magi-
ſtrate making ſome difficultie (for that thereby the temporall iuriſdiction muſt depend vpon H
the Spirituall, and the bourgeſſes muſt be anſwerable to the biſhops court) refuſing to yeeld
vnto it, the ſaid biſhop and Inquiſitor made complaints againſt them to the counſell of Flan-
ders, as refuſing that rule and forme which they had propounded them; wherein, to ſpeake
truly, the magiſtrate had been but the beadle, officer, and executioner of the wils and paſſions
of the ſaid biſhop and Inquiſitor.

A ſecond petition made by them of Flanders againſt the Inquiſition

Whereupon the foure members of the countie of Flanders, together with the magiſtrate
of Bruges, ſent their deputies to court, to complaine of the attempts of the Clergie: and the
rather, for that they did ſee their neighbours of Brabant were not yet charged: requiring, to
be maintained in their auncient rights and priuiledges: that the Inquiſition (which did di-
rectly contradict them) might bee diſannulled, in regard of lay men; and that the Clergie I
might not deale with the temporall iuriſdiction, wherein they had neuer any thing to doe:
alſo that they might bee no more tyed than other prouinces to entertaine the Edicts and In-
quiſition. But to foure of theſe petitions exhibited by the Flemings, there was neuer any
prouiſion, no not in the leaſt point which they demaunded: but that after long purſute, and
a petition made by the Noblemen, the counſell of Flanders was reſtrained, vpon the preten-
ſions of the biſhop and Inquiſitor, who was alſo enioyned to ſurceaſe his perſecutions. For
vpon ſo many delaies giuen by the court vnto the petitions and complaints of diuers prouin-
ces of the Netherlands, the people were generally moued: And conſidering, that all the an-
ſweres and hopes they gaue, were but to abuſe them, the nobles reſolued ſpeedily to preuent
the miſchiefes which were readie to breake forth, after they had had the aduice of ſome lear- K
ned Diuines and Lawyers, for the drawing of their petition; the which they preſented vnto
the Gouerneſſe, as well in their names, as of all the people. For the preſenting whereof, there
met in the towne of Bruſſels, the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth day of April, many gentlemen
accompanying Cont *Lodouic* of Naſſau, and the Lord of Brederode; all without armes, and
very modeſtly, attending the Earles *vanden Bergh*, and of Culenbourg, who were not yet
come. The fourth day they demaunded audience. The next day they marched in goodly or-
der, fiue in a ranke, towards the court, being about foure hundred noblemen and gentlemen,
going out of Culenbourg place: whereof the laſt (as it were) ſhutting vp the company, were
the ſaid earle of Naſſau and the lord of Brederode; where they found the Gouerneſſe, the
counſell of ſtate, the knights of the Order, and the gouernours of prouinces, which attended L
them. When as the Dutcheſſe did ſee them comming from aboue, in ſuch good order, and ſo
many in number, ſhe was ſomewhat troubled. The lord of Barlamont (who had before been
of aduice, not to ſuffer them to enter into the towne, or if they entred, to draw ſouldiers ſe-
eretly into the Court, to murther them, when they ſhould come to preſent their petition) to
aſſure the ſaid lady, ſaid: *That they were but a rabble of Gueux, or beggers.*

The beginning of the Gueux, by the which the proteſtants in the Netherlands were called

Vpon which ſpeech, and for that *Barlamont* and his adherents did at that time accuſe them
of rebellion, they reſolued to ſhew, that their intentions tended to the contrarie, and to beare
a marke or badge among them, to let the world know, that they pretended to liue and die in
the kings ſeruice, taking the ſubiect of their deuice vpon a wallet and a diſh, fit for beggers,
and on the one ſide of the medailes (were they of gold or ſiluer) was grauen the kings pi- M
cture, with this inſcription; *Faithfull to God and the king, euen to beare the wallet*: inferring
thereby, and by their ſymbole of a diſh and a wallet, that they were better ſeruants vnto the
king than *Barlamont*, or his adherents: and retaining this epithite of Gueux, and their em-
bleme, they gaue the world to vnderſtand, That they did not refuſe to be Gueux, or beggers,

yea,

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A yea, if need were, to carry a wallet, that is to say, to suffer the losse of all their goods and possessions (as they protested in their petition) to doe the king faithfull seruice, preseruing the quiet and prosperitie of their countrey. The lord of Brederode tooke vpon him the charge to deliuer it; who aduancing for them all, presented it with great humilitie vnto the ducheſſe gouerneſſe, with a breefe ſpeech, as followeth.

The lord of Brederode h ſpeech, preſe ting the peti tion.

Madame, the gentlemen assembled here in this town, and others of the like quality, of a competent number (who for certain respects are not here present) haue resolued (for the K. seruice and the publike good of his Netherlands) to present this petition vnto your highnes: whereupon you may giue such order as you shall thinke fit and conuenient, beseeching your highneſſe to take it in good part. Moreouer (Madame) we are aduertised, that we haue bin charged
B before your highnes, the lords of the counsell, & others, that this our deliberation was chiefly taken in hand to moue tumults, seditions, and reuolts; and that which is much more abhominable, that we haue a desire to change our prince, hauing practised leagues & conspiracies with forraine princes and captaines, both French, Germans, and others; the which neuer entred into our thoughts, and is contrary to our loyaltie, and to that which your highneſſe shall find by this petition: beseeching your highneſſe to name and discouer vnto vs those that haue so vniustly blamed so noble and honourable a company. Moreouer (Madame) the noblemen here present haue vnderstood, that there are some of them particularly charged & accused, to haue bin actors, and to haue sought to put in execution that wicked enterprise, as well with Frenchmen, as other strangers, wherewith we find our selues much grieued. Wherefore we beseech
C your highnes to do vs so much fauor, as to name the accusers, and them that are accused, to the end that the wrong and wickednes being discouered, your highnes may do speedy and exemplarie iustice; and that to preuent the inconueniences and scandales which may grow, being well assured, that your highnes will neuer suffer so noble and honorable a company, to remain charged with such infamous & wicked acts. Whereunto the ducheſſe answered, that she knew nothing of all that he had said touching those accusations, neither had she euer had such an opinion of any one of them, whom she assured her selfe to be the K. faithful seruants: and as for their petition, she would looke into it, and impart it to the counsell, the tenor whereof was:

The petition of the nobles againſt the Inquiſition, &c.

Madame, it is well knowne, how highly renowned the loyaltie of the Netherlanders vnto their lords and naturall princes hath been and is yet throughout all Christendome: wherein
D the nobilitie hath alwaies held the first ranke, hauing neuer spared body nor goods for the preseruation and encrease of their greatneſſe: wherein we his Maiesties most humble vassals desiring to continue so still, are ready to employ both body and goods to do him humble seruice: and seeing in what termes the affaires stand at this present, we had rather incurre some dislike, than to conceale that from your highnes, which might proue preiudiciall to his Maiesty, and withall trouble the quiet and happineſſe of his countries, hoping that the effects will shew in time, that among all the seruices which we haue or may do vnto his maiesty, this is to be reputed the greatest & most seasonable: so as we assure our selues, that his maiesty cannot but take it in good part. Although (Madam) we doubt not, but that whatsoeuer his maiesty hath heretofore decreed of new, touching the Inquisition, and the strict obseruation of his Edicts, for
E matter of religion, hath some ground and iust title, and that to continue all that which the emperor *Charles* of famous memory had with a good intention decreed: Yet seeing that the diuersitie of times bringeth withall diuersitie of remedies, and that within few yeares the said edicts (notwithstanding that they haue bin executed with all rigor) haue yet giuen occasion of many grieuous inconueniences; Without doubt his maiesties last resolution, by the which he not only forbids to moderat any thing of the said edicts, but commands expresly, that the Inquisition should be obserued, and the edicts executed with all rigour, giues vs iust occasion to feare, that not only the said inconueniences wil encrease, but also in the end may follow a mutinie & generall sedition, tending to the miserable ruin of the whole country, according to the apparent shews of the peoples alteration, which are to be seen in euery place: wherfore know-
F ing the greatneſſe of the danger that doth threaten vs, we did hitherto hope, that either by the noblemen, or the states of the country, your highnes should be duly informed to preuent it, in taking away the cause of the euill: but seeing they haue not done any thing (for some causes vnknowne to vs) and that in the mean time the mischiefe encreaseth daily, so as the danger of a sedition is euen at hand, wee haue thought it our duties, according to our oath of fealtie, to-

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„ together with the zeale which we beare vnto his Maieſty and the countrey, to attend no lon- A
„ ger, but rather to offer our ſelues to performe this neceſſary dutie. And we do it the more wil-
„ lingly, for that we haue reaſon to hope, that his Maieſtie will take our aduertiſement in good
„ part, ſeeing this action doth concerne vs neerer than any other, being expoſed to thoſe calami-
„ ties, which do commonly grow from ſuch accidents, hauing for the moſt part our houſes and
„ goods in the countrey lying open as a prey to all the world: conſidering alſo, that by the ri-
„ gorous obſeruation of the ſaid Edicts (as his Maieſtie hath expreſſely commaunded) there is
„ not any man among vs, no, not in all the countrey (of what eſtate and condition ſoeuer) but
„ ſhall be found culpable of confiſcation of body and goods, and ſubiect to the ſlanders of any
„ enuious man; who to haue part of the confiſcation, would accuſe him vnder colour of the e-
„ dicts, hauing no refuge left him, but onely the diſſembling of the officer, vpon whoſe mercie B
„ his life & goods muſt wholly depend. In conſideration whereof, we haue ſo much the more
„ cauſe humbly to beſeech your Highneſſe (as we doe by this preſent petition) to take ſome
„ good order for it: and in regard of the importance of the cauſe, to make a ſpeedie diſpatch
„ vnto his Maieſtie, by ſome one fit for that employment, aduertiſing and humbly beſeeching
„ him in our behalfes, that it will pleaſe him ſo prouide as well for the preſent, as for the time to
„ come. And for that it can neuer be done, in leauing the ſaid Edicts in their vigour and force,
„ (ſeeing that thereon dependeth the ſpring of the ſaid inconueniences) that it will pleaſe him
„ to encline to the aboliſhing thereof: the which he ſhall not onely find very neceſſarie, to di-
„ uert the totall ruine and loſſe of theſe his countries, but alſo conformable to reaſon and iu- C
„ ſtice. And to the end he may not haue any occaſion to thinke, that we (which haue no other
„ pretence, but to doe him moſt humble ſeruice) would attempt to bridle him, or to preſcribe
„ him a law at our pleaſure (as wee doubt not but our aduerſaries will conſtrue it to our diſad-
„ uantage) it may pleaſe his Maieſtie to make ſome lawes by the aduice and conſent of all the
„ generall eſtates aſſembled, to prouide accordingly, by other more fit and conuenient meanes,
„ without ſuch apparent danger. We alſo beſeech your Highneſſe, that (vntill his Maieſtie
„ may be informed of our iuſt requeſt, and diſpoſe according to his good and iuſt pleaſure) you
„ will preuent theſe dangers by a generall ſurceaſing, as well of the Inquiſition, as of all man-
„ ner of executions, vntill that his Maieſtie hath otherwiſe decreed; proteſting, that we haue (as
„ much as in vs lyeth) diſcharged our ſelues of our duties by this preſent aduertiſement, wherof
„ we now diſcharge our ſelues before God and men; declaring, that if any inconuenience, diſ- D
„ order, ſedition, reuolt, or effuſion of bloud ſhould hereafter happen for want of a ſpeedie and
„ conuenient remedy, we are not to be taxed to haue concealed ſo apparent a miſchiefe. Wher-
„ in we take God, the king, your highneſſe, the lords of his counſell, and our conſciences to wit-
„ neſſe, that we haue therein proceeded as good and faithfull ſeruants and loyall vaſſales to the
„ king, not exceeding the limits of our dutie: wherfore we do the more earneſtly beſeech your
„ highneſſe to preuent it, leaſt ſome greater miſchiefe happen.

This was the petition preſented by the nobilitie; the which was both pregnant, iuſt, and conſcionable: the which the king ſhould haue acknowledged, as proceeding from his faithfull and loyall ſeruants, and grounded vpon right, iuſtice, and good policie. Yet by the ſiniſter interpretation which was made by the Cardinall and his adherents, it was imputed to rebellion, and a raiſing of innouations. So as it became a Troiane horſe; from whence, thoſe that were enemies to the king and the publicke good, haue drawne ſo many calamities and miſeries. For if the ducheſſe and the kings counſell would in any ſort haue foreſeene it, ſo many miſeries had not enſued, and the fire which was kindled, had not in a manner conſumed the whole countrey: whereof wee muſt onely blame the inſatiable crueltie of ſome counſellors, who were not ſatisfied with the rigour of the Edicts, but they muſt ſecond the Cardinals ambition, whom they ſee in danger by this petition to receiue a great diſgrace, & they themſelues to fall from their credit and authority; and it may be worſe, when as all their practiſes had bin diſcouered by a conuocation of the generall eſtates, which they demaunded. This was the anuile whereon were forged all the miſeries which enſued, for that they did not ſatisfie the de- F
maunds of the nobilitie, as was fit and expedient: whereas contrariwiſe, the ſaid counſellors tooke occaſion to purſue and perſecute thoſe that had ſigned this petition, as guiltie of high treaſon: and this terror was greater than the former. To which petition, the next day after the preſentation, the Gouerneſſe made anſwere as followeth.

The petition of the nobles interpreted to rebellion.

Her

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A Her highneſſe vnderſtanding what is demanded by the contents of this petition, is reſolued to ſend vnto his Maieſty, to repreſent it vnto him, and to do all good offices, to make his Maieſty yeeld to the demaunds of the petitioners, who muſt hope for all things worthie of their demands, according to his Maieſties accuſtomed bounty and clemencie. The Gouerneſſe hauing before the comming of the ſaid petition (by the aduice of the gouernours of prouinces, knights of the order, and counſellors of ſtate) laboured to make a moderation of the edicts, touching Religion, and to preſent it vnto his Maieſty, the which her highneſſe hopes ſhal be to all mens content. And for that her highneſſe authority (as the petitioners may well conceiue) is not ſo abſolute, as to ſurceaſe the Inquiſition and the Edicts (as they demand) and that it is not conuenient to leaue the country without a law concerning Religion, ſhe hopes that they will B reſt ſatisfied with that ſhe ſends vnto his Ma. to that end: and that in the mean time attending his anſwer, her highnes will giue order, that as well the Inquiſitors (whereas any haue been) as other officers reſpectiuely ſhal proceed modeſtly and diſcreetly in their charges, ſo as there ſhal be no cauſe to complaine. Her highneſſe expecting alſo, that the petitioners for their parts will gouerne themſelues accordingly: and it is to be hoped, that by her highneſſe good endeuours his Ma. will be pleaſed to diſcharge thoſe counties of the Inquiſition wheras now it is, and as it may be vnderſtood by his anſwer to the chiefe towns of Brabant, that they ſhal not be charged. And her highnes will the more willingly employ her ſelfe to do all good offices with his Maieſty to that effect, for that ſhe is aſſured the petitioners haue no intention to alter any thing concerning the ancient religion obſerued in theſe countries, but to maintaine it with all their C powers. Made by her highneſſe at Bruſſels the 6 of April 1566, ſigned *Margareta*.

The Gouerneſſe anſwere to the petition of the nobles.

Who ſo doth well conſider of this apoſtile or anſwer, may eaſily gather the profit that ſhold follow and what fruits the nobles might expect: for this delay to aduertiſe the king, was only to win time, and ſo to be better inſtructed of the moſt expedient meanes to auoid this danger. Vpon this, on the 8 of April the gentlemen deſired another time of audience, where they thanked the Regent for her gracious fauor, wiſhing that her anſwer had bin ſomewhat cleerer and larger, ſaying, that it grieued them, that ſhe had not the authority to diſannul the proclamatiõ, deſiring her notwithſtanding to forbid the officers to proceed any further therein; and as they were content to ſubmit themſelues in all things to that which his Maieſty ſhould ordaine and appoint to be done cõcerning religion, they hoped likewiſe ſo to behaue themſelues, that no D thing but good report ſhould be giuen of them, proteſting once again to haue done their duties, if there ſhould after enſue any further trouble, for want of better order to be taken therein, beſeeching her to take it in good part: and for that their aduerſaries ſought to put their requeſt in print, they deſired that the K. printer might do it in ſuch ſort as it was deliuered, without falſifying the ſame. After counſell taken, the Regent made anſwer, That ſhe hoped to take ſuch order with the Inquiſitors, that no diſorder nor ſcandale ſhould therby enſue; and that if any ſhould ſo fall out, it ſhould rather proceed from them than others, willing them to be carefull, that no ſcandale ſhould riſe amongſt them, withall praying them, not to proceed any further, to draw any more company vnto them. Whereunto the gentlemen replied, That they thanked her for her gracious anſwere, but they ſhould be better pleaſed, if ſhe would vouchſafe to declare, in preſence of all the lords there aſſembled, that ſhe took their aſſembly in good part, and E all to be done for the ſeruice of his Maieſty, aſſuring her, that they would behaue themſelues in all things peaceably and quietly. Whereunto the Regent anſwered, That ſhe beleeued no leſſe. But for that ſhe made no further ſpeech to ſhew her entent, the gentlemen once againe craued, That ſhe would openly declare, what ſhe thought of their proceedings: Whereunto ſhe made anſwere in few words, That for that time ſhe could not tell what ſhe might ſay therunto. And with that it being perceiued at the gentlemens departure, that they ſeemed to be diſcontented, diuers of the counſell, and others, as *Monſieur Daſſonuille*, entreated the Regent, that ſhe (for more quietnes) would ſend the gentlemen away with better ſatisfaction. Whereupon to giue ſome content vnto the gentlemen (fearing, that an abſolute denyall, or the long F expectance of a voyage into Spaine, ſhould alter them, by ſome new iealouſies) the eight day of the ſame moneth a promiſe was made vnto them by the knights of the Order, touching ſome points of the ſaid petition, whereof an act was made as followeth:

The Gouerneſſe policie.

The noblemen here preſent, promiſe vpon their faith, and the oath of their Order, to the deputies of this noble and honourable companie, hauing ſufficient authoritie to receiue the

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promises of the said noblemen, That from this day forward the magistrates and Inquisitors A
shall not proceed for matter of Religion, by apprehension of bodies, confiscation of goods,
nor banishments, for that which is past, or to come, vnlesse that by some seditious act, or foule
scandale, tending to trouble the Common weale, any be found culpable. In which case, your
(my Masters) shall take knowledge, as is fit: and that by way of prouision, vntill that his Ma-
iestie (by the aduice and consent of the generall estates assembled) shall otherwise decree. Made
at Brussels the eight of April 1566. And the more to delude the said gentlemen, the ninth of
the said moneth she writ her letters to some chiefe gouernours and counsellors of prouinces,
conformable to the answere giuen vnto the petition, the tenour whereof was:

The Regents letters to the Gouernours.

Cousin, most deere and welbeloued, whereas many gentlemen of these parts of the coun-
trey haue presented a petition vnto vs, to abolish the Inquisition and the Edicts of the king my B
lord, touching matters of Religion, and to make a new Edict with the consent of the generall
estates: whereunto we haue made them answere by an apostile, That we will send and repre-
sent vnto his Maiesty the contents of their request, and do all good offices therein; hauing al-
ready somewhat moderated the Edicts: and for that our authority doth not extend so far, as to
surcease the Inquisition & the said Edicts, as they require, & that it is not fit to leaue the coun-
trey without a law, that attending his Maiesties answer, we would giue order, that the Inquisi-
tors should proceed discreetly and modestly in their charges. Desiring to effect the said apo-
stile, we thought good to aduise you by these presents, and to commaund you to write & giue
charge in his Maiesties behalf, to al officers of your gouernment, that in the execution of their
charges for matter of Religion, they should proceed with all modesty and discretion, yet not C
suffering any innouation or change in the ancient Catholicke Religion, which is now obser-
ued in these parts, nor any scandalous or seditious act. And in case any such matter should
happen, to aduertise vs thereof, that all informations being viewed by vs and his Ma. counsell,
we may giue such order as we shall thinke fit: whereof we will them not to faile, least some in-
conuenience should arise, &c. Written at Brussels the ninth of April 1566, signed *Margaret*,
and beneath Ouerloepe.

By these letters, whereas she vseth these words: *That for matters of Religion they should proceed with all modesty, discretion & wisdome*. She confessed that the Inquisitors and their officers had before vsed too great cruelty, indiscretion and brutishnesse: and that for the present, in steed of D
roasting & burning them, they should be contented to cut off their heads & hang them, as they did soone after: and that (as they said) in doing the grace, if the parties condemned did not abiure & renounce their religion. In the meane time the gentlemen were like *Tantalus*, fed with vaine hopes, for they perswaded themselues, that the libertie of their consciences hung ouer their lips, and that they were ready to taste of it; and yet the more they thought to embrace it, the further off it was from them.

The regent and her counsell determined to send certaine lords into Spaine, to certifie the king of their proceedings, and to desire and beseech him, to grant some fauourable protection and order vnto the Netherlands, who she knew would be much moued at the assembling and proceedings of the gentlemen of the countries, which was written and sent vnto him in the worst manner, as expecting a worse euent. To which end (many promises and persuasions B
being made vnto them) the marquesse of Bergen, and the baron of Montigny were moued to take that charge vpon them, being two wise and politike lords, both knights of the order of the Golden Fleece; by whose wisedoms and discretions, all men were in good hope, that the kings wrath would be pacified, which notwithstanding fell out cleane contrarie, to the great and hard fortune of both those noble personages, for that in time it cost them both their liues: and to that end they went into Spaine, with full instruction, as also with a draught of a moderation of the proclamation for religion. This moderation which as then was framed, contained thus much, That all fauourers of religion, harbourers of heretikes, scandalous persons, and such like, shold in steed of burning be punished with hanging: but if they recanted their opinions, they
The contents of the moderation of the proclamation for Religion. should but lose their heads, and the common people should be banished. F

This moderation (so called by the common people) the court and the counsell sought to haue ratified by the states of the land (vpon whom the common people so much called) and to that end first sent for the smallest prouinces, as Artois, Henault, and Namure, &c. and none but they, who being so called, were sent with full commission, to do whatsoeuer shold be requisit,

without

A without further inſtruction from their maſters, townes, or counſels, and withal were charged to keepe it ſecret from the common people. When thoſe prouinces had giuen their conſents (as it was reported) the like was propounded vnto them of Brabant and Flanders: but they of Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland, Gudderland, &c. were not ſummoned, becauſe they had many and greater priuiledges. But this manner of proceeding, to get the ſaid moderation conſented vnto by the ſtates, without knowledge of the common people, was at the laſt by certain libels and verſes made knowne and publiſhed amongſt them: whereupon great tumults and ſuſpitions began to ariſe, becauſe the generall ſtates might not be ſuffered to aſſemble together according to their old and auncient cuſtomes. This ſuſpition more and more encreaſed, for that many men that had fled out of the land for their Religion, being returned againe, were com-

B mitted to priſon, and that in Oudenard one *Hans Tuiſtaen*, a tapiſtry weauer, was put to death for Religion in Iuly after.

At which time the baron of Montigni went alone into Spaine, becauſe the marqueſſe of Berghen had hurt one of his legges, but not long after followed him; who being come into Spaine in the month of Iune, were oftentimes heard both by the king and his counſel, who as then lay at Segobia, his counſell being *Don Aluares de Toledo*, duke *Dalua*, &c. *Don Gomes de Figuera*, *Don Anthonio de Toledo*, great maſter of the Order of S. *Iohn*, *Don Mauriques de Lara*, high ſteward of the kings houſe, *Ruygomes de Silua* prince of Euoli, and earle of Melito, *Lois de Quixada*, chiefe eſquire of the princes body; all men of great authoritie, wiſdome, and experience in Spaine: but no more Netherlanders than *Monſieur Tiſnack*, preſident of the coun-

C ſell of eſtate in the Netherlands, the counſellor *Happerius*, keeper of the kings ſeale, and Secretarie *Carteuille*.

Before the king and this his counſell the embaſſadors of the Netherlands oftentimes ſhewed, That the alterations in the ſaid countries happened onely vpon the kings letters, touching the planting of the Inquiſition, executing of the proclamation for Religion, and ſuch like, and that there was no other nor better meanes to remedie the ſame, than vtterly to aboliſh the Inquiſition, and to conſent vnto a moderation of the proclamation, as they deſired, and to grant a generall pardon, without contradiction, if the gentlemen confederates would bee content therewith, for that they deſired, that all might be done by the conſent, counſell, and aduice of the generall ſtates: yet they ſaid, in behalfe of the lords of the Order of the golden Fleece, and

D others of the principaleſt of the nobilitie, that they had all reſolued and agreed together, That if it pleaſed the king to graunt vnto theſe three points, to do their endeuors to pacifie the ſtate of the Netherlands (then ſo troubled and diſordered) and to be a meanes to plant peace and vnitie amongſt them, by ſecret practiſes of good men (whereof there were yet a great number within the land, and well addicted vnto them) and ſo to compell the bad by force to line in peace and ſubiection. Which they were charged to deſire at his Maieſties hands, and had fully determined to put the ſame in practiſe, ſo they might haue the kings good will and conſent thereunto (vnleſſe it pleaſed his Maieſty to make great haſt to come into the Netherlands) and yet not without conuenient and fit oportunitie. Much being argued and diſputed hereupon, both the embaſſadors ſaid plainly and flatly (as the Spaniards reported, and after inſerted the

E ſame in the proceſſe made againſt the ſaid lords) that the noblemen and gentlemen of the Netherlands had no intent, meaning, nor purpoſe to riſe vp in armes, if it pleaſed the king to grant vnto the points of their embaſſage propounded, but were fully determined euery man to keepe at home in his owne houſe: making further complaint, That they were ſcorned and deſpiſed of the Spaniards, which preſumed, that they ought to haue the commaund and rule ouer the lords and knights of the Netherlands (as they haue in Millaine, Naples, and Sicilia) which the Netherlanders could not endure, with many ſuch like ſpeeches, as they report. While they proceeded in this manner, and that the counſell in Spaine were buſied about this matter, the Regents letters were brought from Bruſſels into Spaine, to certifie of the peoples aſſemblies and gatherings together in many places of the countrey, and of their open preа-

F chings, which were done about Dornick, Riſſel, S. *Omers*, and Ypre, and that certaine French preachers were among them, and that the like was done in Antuerpe: For which cauſe ſhee deſired the king to ſend a good and a ſhort reſolution, and to conſent vnto the three points before alledged, for that ſhe, nor the lords of the Order of the golden Fleece, neither yet her counſell, could find no other meanes to preuent the apparent troubles.

The commiſſion of the embaſſadors of the Netherlands declared vnto the king.

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The kings resolution vpon the Netherlands embassage.

Whereupon the king resolued vpon the aforesaid three points (which notwithstanding was no resolution) That commaundement should be giuen throughout all Spaine and the Netherlands, to make a publicke procession, and that he was resolued to make a voyage into the Netherlands, but as yet he had not determined whether he would doe it by sea or by land through Italy, and that hee would write vnto the Emperour about it. Touching the three points, his Maiestie said by word of mouth, That he was content, that the Inquisition vsed in the old time by the bishops themselues, and not the forme of the new Inquisition vsed in Spaine should be obserued in the Netherlands. Secondly, That a forme of moderation should bee drawne touching the proclamation for Religion, with such clauses, that the Catholicke Romish faith and the kings authoritie should be holden and maintained, in their full force and authoritie, that so his Maiesty might with all speed proceed to the said moderation. Thirdly, he gaue authoritie vnto the Regent, That she should giue pardon vnto the confederated gentlemen, as also vnto some others, being not as yet found faultie, as she should thinke good, but all these three conditionally graunted, That the Regent should first be well assured of the aforesaid Netherland gentlemen, that they would employ themselues with all their endeuours for the good seruice of his Maiestie, the peace and quietnesse of the countrey, and the maintenance of Religion: also, That all leagues and confederations should be broken and left off, and all assemblies, preachings, scandales, and such like abuses to be staied: otherwise, if the rebels rose vp in armes, then the Regent should vse forcible proceedings against them, with the souldiers in the garrisons, and the horsemen; and if need were, should take vp more souldiers, and chuse captaines and commaunders, as she thought good: besides this, the king wrote friendly letters vnto the Lords, the Counsell, and the States, willing them to maintaine good peace and vnitie, vntill his comming thither.

This was the full resolution that was made and giuen vpon the embassage of the two lords aforesaid, and they kept there for a while, with faire words and speeches, and not suffered to depart. But in the meane time the affaires of the Netherlands waxed worse and worse, for that the lords of the order of the golden Fleece, and the gouernours of the prouinces, with the counsell, seeking to take some order in the countrey, either by faire or foule meanes, vpon hope that the king would graunt vnto the three points of the embassage sent vnto him, it was by the people perceiued and seene, that the court shewed all disliking and euill will vnto the confederated gentlemen, making knowne by word of mouth, and otherwise, that their actions were hardly censured in the court, for that there was no good to bee expected out of Spaine, as it appeared by diuers particular letters, as also by the K. owne letters, sent vnto certaine townes, bearing date in Madril the 16 of May 1566, wherin he wished them to be true & faithfull, with generall termes, promising them all loue and fauor, as if that he meant to make a voyage into the Netherlands. To which end (as it was reported) certaine ships of warre were made ready to meet and conuey him at sea; as also that certain Spaniards had bought four or 5000 long pieces, to send into Spaine. There was likewise a rumor, That *Ericke* duke of Brunswicke tooke vp great store of souldiers, to bring the new bishops and the Inquisition forcibly into the Netherlands. Some new bishops & Inquisitors spake openly, That the K. shewed no countenance vnto the 2 lords that were sent embassadors into Spaine, saying, that whatsoeuer had bin past, was done only of policy to delay the time, till mony and men were prepared, & so to come with a great power, and therwith to punish the gentlemen and such as were faln from the catholicke religion; and that the cardinal would come with him, & would reuenge himself of his enemies, and many such speeches. And in the meane time the Dutchesse fed them still with hope, and making shew to haue a will to gratifie them, shee seemed more hardie than at the time of the deliuerie of the petition, making them certaine offers to that which they pretended. For the gentlemen during all these dissimulations, & expectations of the kings answer, seeing all the countrey in combustion, the people armed in many places, and all things tending to a generall sedition, and readie to come to blowes one against another, if matters continued in that estate; on the one side at the assemblies and publike preachings of the Protestant religion, and on the other side they seeking to hinder them by force; and that they did not cease to make one edict vpon another, without calling the generall estates as they had promised: considering also, that for the good and faithfull seruice which they thought to haue done vnto the king and his countries, they were in disgrace with many, they thought it good to

A to looke vnto their affaires, and to prouide for their ſafeties, and alſo to preſerue the countrey from a further inconuenience. Wherefore they appointed a generall aſſembly among themſelues, for the ordering of all things. And as it is verie difficult, that in ſo great a company of gentlemen (the moſt part yong and fiery) but there ſhould be ſome rude and vnciuile, ſo ſome of them ſhewed countenances and behauiours vnworthy an aſſembly for ſuch ſerious matters; ſome attiring themſelues in friers gray, other carrying foxes tayles in their hats; ſome carrying diſhes and goords like beggers, their ſeruants crying often out, *God ſaue the beggers*, with other petie inſolencies, which might well haue beene forborne. Whereupon they were much troubled in court, fearing that this aſſembly would end with armes, if they did not yeeld ſomewhat more to their petitions, complaining, that what was promiſed them, had beene di-
B uerſly infringed. And to the end they ſhould not aſſemble a ſecond time in court, or that they ſhould take ſome violent reſolution, the which would haue beene hard to redreſſe; they ſent vnto them, to deſire them to ſend their deputies, to enter into conference with certaine noble men which the Gouerneſſe would ſend: the which being granted, the place of their aſſembly was firſt appointed at Arſchot, ſixe leagues from Antuerp, then at Duffel, which is diſtant but three leagues, to the end the prince of Orange (who could not well be abſent from Antuerpe, by reaſon of the alterations that were among the inhabitants) might aſſiſt with his preſence, with the earle of Egmont, as they were appointed for the lady Gouerneſſe. During this aſſembly there came vnto them ſome deputies, as well from them of the reformed religion, as from thoſe of the confeſſion of Ausbourg, both requiring to be aſſiſted by the nobilitie, to haue li-
C bertie of their conſciences, and free exerciſe of their doctrine and religion. Moreouer, there was a petition preſented vnto them in the name of all the Netherlanders of the religion, as followeth.

A petition of the Proteſtants to the nobles.

My Lords, the marchants and commons cannot giue you ſufficient thanks, that conſidering the intollerable yoake of the Inquiſition and edicts, you haue beene readie rather to incur diſgrace, than to endure any longer the oppreſſion of the people, too much ſubiect to the Inquiſitors, and to their deputies: Yet the petitioners conſidering that an entrance beeing made, they haue beene reſolued by counſell not to attend, but to proceed: ſo as a moneth ſince they haue aſſembled publikely to ſatisfie their conſciences, and the zeale of the people, whom it was impoſſible to conteine. And for that they did find, that by diuers meanes they
D did ſeeke to diſperſe and ouerthrow the preaching of the goſpell (the which was ſetled in the peoples hearts) and that the magiſtrats are verie oppoſit; they haue aduiſed to whom they might flie for refuge, after the confidence which they haue in God, touching the equitie of their cauſe: ſo as caſting their eyes of all ſides, they ſee nothing but threats and ſecret practiſes to diſperſe the Lords troupe. You my lords are they on whom they relie, and whoſe fauour and aſſiſtance they onely implore: ſo as they haue conceiued this holy and good hope of you, that you will not ſuffer that any force or violence ſhall be done vnto them for the exerciſe of the goſpell. And to giue them the greater aſſurance of your loue vnto the countrey, and to the preſeruation of the peace and publike quiet, that certaine gentlemen may be deputed in euery quarter, to prouide for the apparent troubles, vntill they may bee otherwiſe preuented by the
E generall eſtates, lawfully aſſembled. In ſo doing the petitioners ſhal be euer bound to pray vnto God for your proſperities, and to imploy both body and goods for the preſeruation of their countries peace.

The Gouerneſſe excuſeth her ſelfe to the Gentlemen.

This petition was ſent by the confederat gentlemen vnto the Gouerneſſe, and to the prince of Orange, and earle of Egmont deputed by her; yet nothing was reſolued thereon. The ducheſſe had giuen them to vnderſtand by the ſaid princes, That ſhee had ſent the marqueſſe of Bergen, and the baron of Montigny, knight of the order, vnto the king in Spaine, to acquaint him with their petition; ſince the preſentation whereof, ſhe maintained, there had beene nothing altered touching the Inquiſition and edicts, according to their demands, the which was ſatisfied. That they ſhould not doubt nor diſtruſt the king, who had neuer vſed any tyranny
F but all lenitie and gentleneſſe towards his ſubiects: and that ſhe doubted not but his Maieſtie would forget al things, and that ſhe had written often to the king in their fauour: putting them in mind of their offer to die at her feet, for his Maieſties ſeruice, wiſhing them to ſuppreſſe the inſolencie of ſectaries, for that things ſeemed to tend to a popular ſedition, and that it was apparent that ſtrangers and antient enemies to the houſe of Bourgoigne, would be dealers in it:

and

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and the rather (as ſhe ſaid) for that the ſecretarie gaue it out, That it was by their conſent and commandement, which they ſhould preuent and make known by the effects, that their intentions had beene and was good, elſe the world might thinke that their petition (which they ſaid was preſented for the preſeruation of the countrey) had beene the onely cauſe of theſe preachings: and if any one among them had incited the people thereunto, hee had exceeded the bounds of their compromiſe and petition. A

Whereupon the nobles anſwered by writing punctually to euery article, in the forme that followeth.

An anſwer of the nobles to the ducheſſe excuſe.

Madame, We cannot giue your highneſſe ſufficient thanks for the good offers which were propounded vnto vs at Duffel, the 18 of this moneth, by the prince of Orange, and the earle of Egmont, on your highneſſe behalfe, who left it vs in writing as followeth, the which ſeems to B
» containe nine articles, whereof the firſt is:

1 » *That your highneſſe hath ſent the marqueſſe of Bergen, and the baron of Montigny vnto the king,* » *to acquaint his Maieſtie with our petition:* For the which, Madame, wee moſt humbly thanke » your highneſſe, and we hope that thoſe noble men being ſo ſufficient, will doe all good offices » with his Maieſtie, whereby hee may vnderſtand our iuſt intentions to be conformable to our » petition.

2 » Secondly, *We are put in mind of the promiſe which we made, to die in his Maieſties ſeruice, and at* » *your highneſſe feet*: Wherein Madame, we deſire to continue alwayes, neither had we euer any » other will.

3 » For the third, *That we know, that ſince our petition there hath beene no innouation, touching the* C
» *Inquiſition and edicts, according to our demaund, and that therein your highneſſe hath ſatisfied vs.*
» We beleeue that your highneſſe hath altered nothing ſince our petition; but the magiſtrats » haue not duely obeyed your highneſſe letters, but haue continued ſtill in the apprehenſion » and impriſonment of people, by vertue of the Inquiſition and edicts. That which we perſuade » our ſelues, is directly contrarie to your highneſſe intention and command.

4 » Fourthly, *That as good and loyall ſubiects, according to our promiſes, we ſhould reſtraine and ſup-* » *preſſe the inſolencie of ſectaries.* As for our promiſes, Madame, wee hold, that we haue wholly » ſatisfied them both in generall and particular; yea wee haue done our beſt endeuours to con- » taine the people in all modeſtie, and to hinder the preaching, from whom wee cannot take a- » way the perſuaſions which they haue conceiued vpon the ſtay of his Maieſties reſolution: for D
» that it was ſaid vnto vs, That within two monethes after the preſenting of our petition to your » highneſſe, we ſhould haue a direct anſwer. And alſo the manner of aſſembling the prouincial » ſtates, which haue beene held in ſome places, contrarie to the vſuall cuſtome: and the threats » which are vſed daily both againſt vs and the people, namely by the church-men; all which » reaſons haue drawne the people together to their publike preachings, the which they haue » continued vnto this day, as they themſelues haue told vs plainly. And wee deſire your high- » neſſe ſhould know, that had not beene the preſentation of our petition, and the good offices » which we haue done both before and ſince, they had not ſo long conteined themſelues, being » preſt by their conſcences, as they ſay.

5 » Fiftly, *That matters tend to a popular ſedition, and that ſtrangers are dealers in it, and thoſe which* E
» *are our antient enemies.* To that Madame, we anſwere, that whenſoeuer any ſtrangers ſhall bee » dealers in it, we will be the firſt that ſhall goe to horſebacke to hinder them: but that we or any » others ought not to oppoſe our ſelues againſt the kings vaſſals and ſubiects, wee find it not for » his Maieſties ſeruice; but contrariwiſe, the ruine and ouerthrow of al the Netherlands, for that » they ſubmit themſelues to the reſolution of the generall eſtates, as ſhall be related more amply » hereafter.

6 » The ſixth article, *That the ſectaries giue it out, That it is by our conſent and commandement, ſo* » *as it may well be iudged, that our petition, which wee ſay wee had preſented for the preſeruation of the* » *countrey, is the onely cauſe of their publike preaching.* We anſwer, Madame, that neither in general, » nor yet in particular, euer any one of vs, did incite, mooue, or perſuade the people to make the F
» ſaid preachings; but contrariwiſe, haue endeuoured to hinder them by all meanes, by reaſon » of the troubles and diſorders, which we did feare might grow: but ſeeing that wee could not » perſuade nor diuert the people, we haue ſuffered them to do as they thought good; and ſo » farre as it may touch vs, or any of vs, we offer to purge our innocencies, by ſufficient proofes.

But

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A But that there are some of our company, which do allow of them, for that they are of the same religion, we denie not: notwithstanding wee know that their religion doth not hinder their deuotion to his Maiesties seruice, as they haue assured both in generall and particular.

As for the seuenth point, *That we ought in diuerse to hinder them, and make knowne our good intention by the effects, And that it tends to a good end, and that our petition was presented for the kings seruice, and the good of the countrey.* We say, Madame, that herein wee haue done our vttermost endeuours: but seeing that the people would in no sort yeeld vnto our persuasions, for the reasons aboue mentioned, we beseech your highnesse, that it may please you to find out some good meanes, wherein we wil willingly imploy our selues. 7

The eight, *That we should not distrust the king, who hath neuer vsed any tyrannie towards his subiects, but all gentlenesse and fauour.* We answer, Madame, that we haue no distrust of the king, knowing him to be so mild and iust a prince, as if he were here present (which wee do greatly desire) to heare both parties, we assure our selues he would soone settle a good order. 8

B The ninth and last, *That your highnesse doth not doubt but his Maiestie will forget all things, and that your highnesse hath often written fauourably to his Maiestie.* We say, Madame, that as for his Maiesties forgetting, wee doe not thinke that we haue done any thing contrarie to his seruice, nor giuen any occasion for our parts, why he should forget any thing: But contrariwise it wil be found, that the aduertisement which we haue giuen, by the presentation of our petition, hath alreadie taken effect, if not all, yet at the least in part: wherefore the said aduertisement ought to be taken as a most acceptable seruice done vnto his Maiestie. And for that your highnesse hath written so fauourably and so timely vnto his Maiestie, we most humbly thanke you: yet, Madame, you wil pardon vs if we speak freely, and discouer the secrets of our hearts vnto you: It doth seeme vnto our company, that your highnesse doth hold vs in great iealousie, by the open demonstration which you haue made vnto vs, vntill that we were giuen to vnderstand the contrarie, by the lords at Duffel, on your highnesse behalfe: By which precedent distrust, wee haue purchased many enemies, and some of them haue spoken with such spleen, as they haue dared to vse speeches publikely against vs, tending to sedition: saying, That they were ready to breake our heads, if they were commaunded. And moreouer, bruting it out among the people (to make vs odious) That the king comming into these parts, hee would intreat vs as rebels and seditious persons, with many other wrongs, which were too long to relate in particular: the which we haue for a time past ouer with silence, without making complaints or demonstration thereof, although we had iust occasion. But the long delayes, and the secret practises which wee haue and doe daily discouer, haue reduced vs to those extremities, for the apparent dangers which we see may happen thereby vnto vs, as wee haue beene forced to seeke the meanes to make friends in other countries, to aid and assist vs, in case they should seeke to proceed against vs and the kings subiects & vassals by force, and not to any other end: Which meanes are most necessarie for vs, by reason of the distrust which your highnesse hath had of vs, as it is said. Wherefore we beseech you, that you will not take this assurance but in good part, for that it tends but to a good and iust end, which is, the assurance of our persons and goods. And as our intent was neuer to any other effect, but to the kings seruice, and the preseruation of the countrey, we desire that order may be taken by other meanes lesse dangerous: and we find no other meanes for our safetie and quiet, but humbly to beseech your highnesse, to giue vs assurance, and to command all the noblemen and knights of the order in these parts to doe the like, that nothing may be attempted against vs, nor any other of the kings vassals and subiects, directly or indirectly, by force, or any other meanes whatsoeuer, touching our petition & compromise. And for that the prince of Orange, and the earles of Egmont and Horne, haue beene best acquainted with our affaires, since the presenting of our petition, with whom we must yet treat of many things which may auaile vs; we beseech your highnesse to commaund them, that they wil hereafter assist vs with their counsel, and take vs into their protection: And that your highnesse charge vnto them may bee of such authoritie, as they may absolutely prouide and giue order, for all that shall concerne the guard and preseruation of the countrey, both within and without, being the only meanes whereby we may assure our selues and the kings vassals and subiects: Knowing them to be such worthy and vertuous noblemen as they would mannage all to the seruice of his Maiestie, and the quiet of the country: neither would they promise any thing, but what they would keepe. And knowing well that your highnesse

9

The earle of Megen and others.

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highnesse cannot do it but by prouision, we beseech you that at the same instant, you will bee A
pleased to dispatch a post vnto the king, that his Maiestie would bee pleased to giue the like
commaundement vnto the said lords, with the like authoritie, that by their meanes wee may
imploy our selues the more freely in his Maiesties seruice, vntill that by the consent and reso-
lution of the generall estates, his Maiestie shall haue otherwise decreed. Moreouer, Madame,
and lastly, we cannot conceale from your highnesse, that being assembled at S. Trudon, there
was a petition presented vnto vs, on the behalfe of a great part of the people here adioyned,
who haue offered to lay downe armes, and to submit themselues to that which should be de-
creed and commaunded by the generall estates, so as your highnesse will commaund vs to
giue them such assurance and promise to ioyne with them, and not to suffer any violence to
bee offered vnto them, attending the resolution of the generall estates. Desiring that your B
highnesse will disperse some of vs that deliuered the petition, into the townes and prouinces,
to containe them in all modestie, to whom they will deliuer their armes: else, Madame, they
haue giuen vs to vnderstand (for the feare which they haue that some violence should be offe-
red them) that they shall be constrained to haue recourse to others for their support, which
makes vs to feare that they would bring the French our antient enemies into the country.

We haue thought good to aduertise your highnesse freely of these things, to the end you
may dispose thereof according to the necessitie of the time, and as you shall find it most con-
uenient for the good of the country; protesting, Madame, that we haue discharged our selues
in all these things. And if hereafter any other inconueniences happen, that wee are absolutely
discharged by this our present aduertisement. Moreouer, Madame, we offer our selues againe C
his Maiesties faithfull seruants, to imploy our selues in all things, when we shall be commaun-
ded, and withall to die for your highnesse seruice.

The duchesse perplexed for the answer of the nobles.

If this answer pleased the Gouernesse, I leaue it to them to iudge, who know the feares and doubts wherein she was; so as from that time, secretly and vnder hand, she leuied men of all sides, vnder the commands of the earles of Megen and Arembergh, and the lords of Beauuoir, Noircarmes, and others. Which feare she made more apparent, when as hearing that there were certaine souldiers about Villevoorde, she packt vp her baggage to flie from Brussels, and to retire towards Mons in Henault, the which she had done, if the prince of Orange had not assured her, and vowed and sworne vnto her, with other noblemen, that they would rather loose their liues, than the least displeasure in the world should be done vnto her. D

The nobles and gentlemen confederats, stood also vpon their guards, hauing for their assu-
rance both within and without the countrey, souldiers inrolled, to haue them ready vpon the
first occasion: but the Gouernesse (who wanted no intelligence, to keep them stil in breath vn-
till she were ready, to the end they should not proceed any further in that which she feared so
much) framed many doubts vpon their answers, wherof she said she would be better satisfied,
sending the earle of Egmont to them to that end, who hauing deliuered his charge, was requi-
red to carrie their solution vnto her, of the said ambiguities, and to satisfie her of that which
she said she could not well comprehend.

In the meane time Antuerpe was in combustion, through the earle of Megens arriuall,
who it was well knowne had charge from the Duchesse to leuy men, as hee had done, and E
they were not farre off in Campeigne, with whome the earle of Arembergh should ioyne
with other troupes, and both together fall vpon Antuerpe, and punish the people that were
mutined: By reason whereof the magistrate fearing a generall tumult of the people, who
tooke armes (and whereas the lord of Brederode, one of the chiefe confederats was then in
the towne) sent *Iames vander Heyde* bourgmaster, *Thierry vander Werue*, *Nicholas Rockox*, al-
dermen, and the orator *Wesenbeek*, to court, to acquaint the duchesse with the apparent dan-

Two factions in Antuerpe.

ger, that was within the towne, by the long stay of the earle of Megen, of the one side, and the
lord of Brederode on the other; and that one of them beginning to stirre, the other would take
the contrarie part, which whould bee cause of a great disaster and effusion of bloud on either
side within the towne. Wherefore they desired her highnesse to commaund the lords of Me- F
gen and Brederode to depart the towne, and that the earle of Arembergh with his troups
should also retire. The Bourgmaster and the Aldermen were intreated by the people
to excuse themselues of this troublesome ambassage, and not to abandon the towne in
this dangerous time, so many calamities being feared on all sides. Wherefore the orator *We-*

senbeek

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A *ſenbeek* was ſent alone, with good inſtructions for his diſcharge: who being arriued at Bruſſels, and hauing deliuered his letters of credit, with his charge vnto the ducheſſe, ſhee tooke this aduertiſement in ill part, asking him ſomewhat bitterly, If that which hee had ſpoken were his charge? Who anſwered that yea, and that he had an act for it, the which he forthwith offered vnto her: ſhe kept it, ſaying, That ſhe would peruſe it with the noblemen there preſent, and decree what ſhould be moſt conuenient for the kings ſeruice; adding withall, That the magiſtrat might command the lord of Brederode to retire, ſeeing he had nothing to doe there. The magiſtrat ſent a new charge the next day, by letters vnto their deputies, to make greater inſtance vnto the ducheſſe. But notwithſtanding any ſuit they could make, as well for her highneſſe comming vnto the towne (the which they did earneſtly deſire) or for the finding
B of ſome man of authoritie, to keepe all things in good order, they could neuer obtaine any thing, vntill the fifteenth of Iuly, after that the magiſtrat had ſent againe to aduertiſe the Gouerneſſe, that al the maſters of the quarters, and aboue three hundred marchants of good qualitie, were come vnto them, to haue ſome one of authoritie (ſeeing that her highneſſe would not come) naming the prince of Orange, who (as a neighbour well affected and pleaſing to the inhabitants, and moreouer vicont of the towne, and therefore bound to it, and the ſworne bourgeſſes to him) would doe all good offices, and that his comming would giue great contentment to euerie man. Whereupon in the end the ducheſſe gaue the charge thereof to the ſaid prince, who was requeſted by the magiſtrat to come ſpeedily with his traine onely, and without any armes, the which was verie neceſſarie: and ſo hee did, after that the earle of
C Megen and the lord of Brederode were retired by the Gouerneſſe commaundement.

At the ſame ſeaſon there was a petition made by them of the reformed religion, of the ſaid towne, in French and Dutch, and directed vnto the maſters of the quarters, for to preſent it on their behalfes (as it was) vnto the magiſtrat and ſuperintendents of the towne, the ſumme whereof was:

A petition made by the reformed churches, to the magiſtrat of Antuerpe.

That ſome dayes paſt they had expected and hoped for a good anſwer to their former petition, by the which they deſired to haue ſome publike place granted them for the free exerciſe of their religion: and yet notwithſtanding they had vnderſtood, that the magiſtrat blamed their aſſemblies, as heretical, ſeditious, and preiudicial to the towne, ſo as it ſeemed they would hinder their holy congregations by armes, which made them in like ſort to goe thither armed:
D the which they did not to any other end, but to defend themſelues, their wiues and children, not againſt the magiſtrats, but againſt the practiſes of their aduerſaries: beeing content, that if any one thruſting himſelfe into their aſſemblies, did commit any ſeditious or ſcandalous act, that they ſhould be puniſhed to the example of others. Alſo a place being granted, it was no more to be feared that the marchants would retire: but contrariwiſe, the concourſe would be greater. That the reaſon which had mooued them to make their preachings publike, was the great number of auditors, ſo as it was not poſſible to contain them any longer in a ſecret place; and the rather, for that their aduerſaries had alwaies reproached them, That they durſt not deliuer their doctrine publikely, the which (they maintained) gaue no occaſion of ſedition, but rather hindered it; offering to lay downe armes as ſoone as any place was appointed them:
E or elſe that vnder the magiſtrats protection, and without feare to be oppreſt, they might aſſemble for the exercise of their religion, grounded vpon the doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles: intreating them to conſider of this buſineſſe, without paſſion, according to equitie and right, to the aduancement of the townes good, graunting them a fit and conueuient place, to that end, offering to ſigne this petition by as many men as they ſhould thinke good to appoint.

On the other ſide the magiſtrat of Antuerpe ſeeing how they of the reformed religion increaſed daily, and the auditors of Romiſh Catholikes decreaſed viſibly, conſidering alſo that the people murmured, by reaſon that they had depoſed two curats of the pariſh of Kyel by the towne, preaching to the great content of the people, one being chaſed away, and the other
F impriſoned: It was therefore reſolued by the ſaid magiſtrat, that it was their beſt courſe to allow them ſome eccleſiaſticall preacher, that was pleaſing vnto them, to draw them from ſtrange preachers, to whom they were wholly inclined. Whereupon they called home the curat that had beene chaſed away, charging him to preach as he had done before in his pariſh, but with modeſtie: who beeing held to be of the confeſſion of Ausbourg, the multitude increaſed

creaſed wonderfully, yea more than of thoſe of the reformed religion; who hauing a greater A
reſpect to the generall tranquilitie and quiet, went not to their preachings armed, with ſuch li-
bertie, knowing that it was againſt the will of the magiſtrat, and that in the beginning their mi-
niſters were forbidden.

The prince of Orange ſeekes to order things in Antuerpe.

The prince of Orange according to the charge which he had from the ducheſſe, at the ſuit of
the burgeſſes of Antuerpe, beeing come into the towne, he conferred preſently with the ma-
giſtrat, from whom he vnderſtood the pitiful eſtate of the towne, and peruſed certaine articles
which they had drawne for the ordering thereof, and to maintaine it in the kings obedience,
and its antient beautie and proſperitie, where he promiſed them al fauour and aſſiſtance. Then
hauing called together the other members of the bodie of the towne, as the old aldermen, the
maſters of the quarters, the deanes of trades, the ſworne companies, the nations of merchants, B
the clergie, and ſome priuat perſons (after that he had heard them) hee found, that the diſtruſt

Diſtruſt the cauſe of troubles in Antuerpe.

which was among them, was one of the principall cauſes which put the towne into that com-
buſtion: for the magiſtrat did put no truſt in the bourgeſſes, and much leſſe in them of the re-
ligion. On the other ſide, the inhabitants in generall (of what doctrine ſoeuer) diſtruſted the
court (fearing the garriſon which they wold giue them) and much more their magiſtrat, who
ſeemed to incline thereunto, all whoſe actions were ſuſpected. Then they of the religion fea-
red and diſtruſted, not onely the court and magiſtrat, but alſo all the members of the towne,
and which is more, they were in iealouſie one of another, they of the confeſſion of Ausbourg
of the one ſide, and thoſe of the reformed religion of the other. Hee found alſo, that thoſe of
the religion were in wonderfull great numbers, and armed, who according to the weake go- G
uernment that was in the towne, might haue made themſelues maſters thereof, if they had li-
ſted, or if their deſignes had beene other than good. The which made him to thinke, that for
the ſeruice of the king, and the ſafetie of the towne, it was neceſſary to take from them theſe di-
ſtruſts, as much as might be, and that they ſhould worke by all good meanes, ſo as they of the
religion ſhould carrie no more armes to their preachings.

And as the prince gaue the magiſtrat to vnderſtand, that it were too great a toyle for him,
and for them, to go for the ſmalleſt occurrents, ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another; as to
the members, the nations of merchants, the conſiſtories, yea to ſome priuat perſons, to confer
with them: It were therefore requiſit to haue ſome man of qualitie appointed, that were ac-
quainted with affaires, & ſworne vnto the towne. Whereupon the magiſtrat named *Weſenbeek* D
their orator vnto him, whom he accepted. To begin then to ſettle an order in Antuerpe, and
to ſuppreſſe all growing troubles, the prince cauſed it to be deliuered to them of the religion,
to their miniſters and conſiſtories, That it was not ſeemely nor fit, that their ſermons ſhould be
held and maintained by armes, vſing many reaſons to that purpoſe, and therefore they ſhould
lay downe armes. Whereupon they anſwered, That they were readie to lay them downe, ha-
uing the princes word, the promiſe of their magiſtrat, and the aſſurance of the court, that no
force nor violence ſhould be offered them in their preachings. On the other ſide to aſſure the
towne from all inconueniences, and from any ſodaine inuaſion, the prince thought it good,

The prince requires a leuie of 1200 men in Antuerpe.

that with the conſent of the members of the towne, there ſhould bee ſome twelue hundred
men choſen out of the bourgeſſes, which ſhould be armed, entertained, and placed vnder cap- E
taines, like men of warre: the which the magiſtrat did alſo find requiſit. And to take all di-
ſtruſt from the commons, which might hinder their conſent, the prince cauſed the great coun-
ſell, and all the members of the towne to aſſemble, to conſult with them, what courſe were fit-
teſt to be taken for euerie mans ſecuritie: At which aſſembly he laid open vnto them the chief
cauſe of the merchants feare and retreat, and of the richeſt of the towne, whereof ſome were
alreadie retired, and others had packt vp all to be gone; the which proceeded, for that in their
opinions the towne was not ſufficiently guarded and aſſured againſt all oppreſſions and ſo-
daine inuaſions, as in truth it ſeemed not to bee, with many other allegations, which were ex-
hibited in writing. And comming to touch the point of the leuie and inrolment of twelue
hundred men, drawne out of the bourgeſſes, and of the ſurceaſing of the preaching and aſſem- F
blies of them of the religion, ſeeing that as wel the members as magiſtrat, and the prince him-
ſelfe, had found the mildeſt way to be the moſt expedient; it was ſaid, that they ſhould inquire
of them of the religion, with what aſſurance they might perſuade them to ſurceaſe their prea-
ching, vntill that his Maieſtie with the aduice of the generall eſtates, ſhould otherwiſe prouide.

Whereupon

A Whereupon there was a day of aduice and deliberation demanded by the commons, and a copie giuen of the writing that was exhibited.

Whereunto they anſwered, That the leuie of thoſe ſouldiers was not fit in a towne of ſuch traffique, but that they were readie to ſubiect themſelues, to thoſe duties which ſuch ſouldiers or bourgeſſes inrolled ſhould obſerue; ſo as they ſhould haue the like ſeruice from them, and with leſſe trouble and charge. And as for the preachings, they would do their beſt endeuours to diuert euery one, and that the mildeſt way ſeemed the moſt ſafe vnto them, ſo as in their opinions a generall pardon for them that had been at theſe preachings, ſhould be verie neceſſarie. But aboue all they did inſiſt, that as the aſſembly of the generall eſtates was the true remedie, they ſhould preſſe to haue them preſently called, to apply a generall remedie to a generall
B ſore: and that in the meane time the ſaid prince would aduiſe of ſome gentle meanes, fit for the preſent, which they required to be communicated vnto them. And as euery member gaue his anſwer and his meanes in writing, whereof the copies were ſent to court, the offer was accepted of by prouiſion, which they made, to ſubiect themſelues to the guard of the town. And as for the preaching, that they would make report thereof vnto the court: intreating them in the meane time to diuert and retire them as much as was poſſible. As for the conuocation of the generall eſtates, they cauſed it to be required by their deputies, but that point was referred to the kings reſolution.

The anſwer of the great counſell and the members of Antuerpe, to the princes propoſition.

And as during theſe actions they had ſo wel laboured with them of the religion, as they began to forbeare the carrying of armes, and that it was to be hoped that ſoon it would be whol-
C ly left; it happened that the Droſſard of Brabant (which is as much as a Prouoſt Marſhall) hauing ſome horſe and foot, and a commiſſion (as the brute was) to fall vpon their aſſembly, to apprehend the miniſters, antients, and deacons, and by that meanes to diſperſe the preaching, paſſing the 19 of Iuly at night along the ditches and before the towne gate, he was diſcouered and knowne: the which put all the commons preſently into ſuſpition, that hee came expreſly into thoſe quarters, with other people which he had in the village of Mercxhem (where his dwelling was, not far from Antuerpe) to fall the next day vpon their aſſemblies, which were made without the towne. Wherefore the people being moued more than before, tooke their armes againe, reſoluing to reſiſt the Droſſards attempts by force. The prince of Orange fearing this diſaſter, ſent preſently to court, requiring, that before the next day morning (which was
D Sonday) commandement might be giuen to the Droſſard, not to attempt any thing, but to retire himſelfe from thence; ſeeing that one of theſe two points was to be feared; either they of the religion would make themſelues ſo ſtrong, and ſo well armed, as they ſhould haue no occaſion to feare the Droſſard, who ſhould get nothing but blowes; or if they found not themſelues ſtrong ynough, it was to bee feared that they would ſeize vpon ſome place within the towne, to keepe their preachings, without being in danger of him: wherein there was ſuch diligence vſed, as the ſame night the gouerneſſe writ vnto the Droſſard, commanding him to retire, which letters were deliuered him early on the Sonday morning, wherewith the people were ſomewhat pacified: but from that time the preachings were more carefully guarded, and with greater ſtrength than before, the which they continued, for that the Droſſard was many
E times ſeene on the Saterday about Antuerpe.

About that time came certaine aduertiſements, that duke *Erick* of Brunſwick continued ſtil to leuie men by the kings commandement, and that about Linghen there were ſome readie to enter into the countrey, the which bred new alterations. And wheras moreouer vpon the purſutes made in court by the deputies of Brabant, the Gouerneſſe had the 23 of Auguſt giuen a reſolution vpon certaine points, the commons receiued contentment by the one part, and diſcontentment by the other: for whether it were that ſhee had pardoned ſome repenting Anabaptiſt, except his abiuration and accompliſhment of penance (at the ſuit of ſome of the town made vnto the prince and the magiſtrat, who were interceſſors for him vnto the ſaid lady) this did ſomewhat content the people, as alſo for that the ſaid lady was content to pardon by pro-
F clamation, all thoſe that had beene at their preachings and aſſemblies: but to the conuocation of the generall eſtates, which was required, ſhe made no other anſwer, but that they muſt attend his Maieſties anſwer, to whom ſhe ſaid ſhe had written: and for that ſhe had refuſed to inlarge one of the reformed religion, which was apprehended in his houſe, againſt the priuiledges, notwithſtanding that in other places, ſome of the like had beene ſet at libertie: the peo-

Another occaſion of trouble in Antuerpe.

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It ſeemes the ducheſſe deſires to animat the people for ſmall matters.

ple tooke it ill, and were greatly moued, ſeeing that all the merchants, & they of the religion in generall, yea the prince himſelfe and the magiſtrat, to auoid ſome greater ſcandall, had beene interceſſors for him to the Gouerneſſe, yet would ſhe neuer yeeld to his deliuerie, vntill that afterwards he was freed in deſpight of her, by a mutinie, all which ſerued as prouocations to incenſe the people more, conſidering how the ſaid lady contemned the earneſt requeſts of thoſe that were ſuters for the priſoner.

We haue ſaid before, that the nobles confederat intreated the earle of Egmont, who ſent vnto them from the Gouerneſſe, to carrie her their anſwer, vpon the ambiguities which ſhee deſired to be explained, the which they promiſed to doe. The ſaid anſwere and explanation was as followeth.

An explanation of the noblemens anſwer to the ducheſſe.

Madame, the earle of Egmont hath giuen vs to vnderſtand, That your highneſſe deſired to be ſatisfied of ſome points ſet downe in certaine articles preſented by vs vnto your highneſſe, the which in our opinions are plaine ynough, and that the reſt will be but tedious: yet Madame, to ſatisfie your commaundement, wee haue thought good to make this declaration which followes, to the end that our iuſt intentions may be thereby the better vnderſtood, and that hereafter they may haue no cauſe to interpret them ſiniſterly.

And to anſwer firſt vnto the third article of our anſwer, Whereas your highneſſe requires that we ſhould ſet downe in particular in what townes the priſoners bee, and the occaſions wherefore, and that your highneſſe pretends that it is not come to your knowledge. Wee ſay, Madame, that in Tournay, Lille, Mons, Aire, Bethune, Ath, Bruges, Gand, and other places there haue beene many priſoners apprehended for religion, by vertue of the edicts, as will appeare vnto your highneſſe by the informations, which you may call for. As for the 4, 5, and 6 articles, that we ſhould make apparent how wee haue diſcharged our dueties, conteining the people, and hindering the preaching. Wee ſay, that your highneſſe may ſend into euerie prouince, to the conſiſtories and miniſters of the religion, to vnderſtand our endeuours, both in generall and in particular, and your highneſſe ſhall find that all will bee conformable to that which wee haue giuen you to vnderſtand. As for the point of the fourth article, where there is a queſtion of the manner that hath beene held at the aſſembly of the prouincial ſtates, in ſome parts, againſt the ordinarie cuſtome. Wee anſwere, That it doth not concerne vs any thing to prooue it, for that they bee the peoples allegations, who ſay that they haue been accuſtomed to aſſemble the ſtates of Flanders before them of Arthois: and that in the proceeding of moſt of the other eſtates, they haue ſent for ſome that were not accuſtomed to be there, and others, who were woont and ought to aſſiſt, were not ſent for; or at the leaſt they ſent the letters ſo late, as the ſtates were aſſembled before they receiued them. And they haue told vs moreouer, that the deputies of townes could haue no reſpite giuen them to ſend backe, to make their relation, as they had beene accuſtomed, but were conſtrained to aunſwer preſently, refuſing to giue them a copie of the moderation of the edicts, nor time to aduiſe according vnto cuſtome: ſaying, that ſuch was your highneſſe commaundement. That letters had beene ſent to the priuat gouernours of townes, to win the deputies thereof, and the gentlemen of their iuriſdiction, to haue them at their deuotion. Of all which your highneſſe could not bee ignorant, the which wee would not inſert in our anſwere, to auoid tediouſneſſe.

And touching the article of our greeuances, wheras we ſay, that we haue heard threats, and diſcouered ſecret practiſes: we ſay, Madame, that preſently after the deliuerie of our petition, we haue found plainly, that many noblemen, yea and knights of order, haue deſtracted and ſeperated themſelues from vs, flying our companie, as if wee were guiltie of rebellion and high treaſon, treating many affaires ſecretly among themſelues, the which they were not accuſtomed to do: yea they haue aduertiſed ſome of their kinsfolkes and friends not to ione with vs, and that they ſhould haue reſpect vnto their honours, laying before them the dangers would fall vpon vs, if the king ſhould come into theſe parts, obiecting the like vnto them which had alreadie ſigned our compromiſe, promiſing to procure them a pardon from his Maieſtie, if they would ſeperat themſelues from vs.

And as they are noblemen which aſſiſt and giue their voyces in counſell, it is to bee preſumed, that according to the impreſſion which they haue of vs, they informe his Maieſtie, and giue ſuch aduice as muſt needs bee to our preiudice and ruine. Diuers poſts are alſo come at ſundry

A ſundry times from Spaine, without bringing any reſolution from his Maieſtie, concerning vs, being expreſly forbidden not to carrie any priuat letters: beſide the aduertiſements which we haue had from France, that his Maieſtie deſired paſſage for a certaine number of Spaniſh ſouldiers, and demanded from the king, the queene mother, and the counſell, the like ſuccours as he had giuen them during their ciuile warres. We are alſo aduertiſed, that the duke of Sauoy hath promiſed aid vnto his Maieſtie, to come into theſe parts with forces, and to that end hee went to the emperor to an imperiall diet, to acquaint him with the deſignes which he had vpon theſe Netherlands. And we haue intelligence, that the clergie hath furniſhed an extraordinarie ſum of 500000 florins, the which we haue alwaies preſumed to be againſt vs, as ſome among themſelues haue vaunted. Alſo, that neuer any of the noblemen nor knights of the order would aſſure vs vnto this day, that neither the king nor your highneſſe would proceed B againſt vs by fact. All which reaſons, with many other coniectures, haue reduced vs to this extremitie, as to aſſure our ſelues, as it is ſaid in our firſt writing, and that to our great griefe. And to the end your highneſſe ſhall not thinke, whereas we ſay, that we haue made friends in a certaine countrey, that we meane the French, aſſuring your highneſſe, that it is no where elſe but in this countrey and in Germany.

Whereas your highneſſe deſires to know what people we meane, whereas we make mention of the kings ſubiects and vaſſals: We anſwer, Madame, that they be the inhabitants of theſe parts, allowing and conſenting to our petition and compromiſe.

And for the laſt, Madame, which concernes our aſſurance, according vnto that which is The noblemen inſiſt vpon their aſsurance.
C contained in our writing, we find no meanes to giue contentment & aſſurance to all thoſe of our compromiſe, but by the aſſurance which your highneſſe (if it pleaſe you) ſhall giue vs, together with all the noblemen and knights of the order, and namely the three noblemen (of The prince of Orange, and the earles of Egmont and Horne, whom we haue made mentiõ) to the end they may be mediators betwixt the king, your highneſſe, and vs; we intend not notwithſtanding, that the charge which we deſire ſhould be giuen them, ſhold in any ſort diminiſh your highneſſe authoritie, but that al which they ſhal do, may be by your commandement. We doubt not but ſome gouerners of prouinces may take it ill, for that we demand, that from henceforth no leuies of ſouldiers ſhould be made, neither within nor without the countrey, but vnder the charge and conduct of the ſaid three noblemen: and that the ſaid three noblemen (after that your highneſſe h ith appointed them what num-
D bers of men they ſhall leuie, for the guard of the country) may diuide the charges to ſuch captaines, as they ſhall thinke fit for his Maieſties ſeruice. W hich diſcontent of the prouinciall gouernors, we would willingly excuſe, but we hope that this aſſurance is leſſe dangerous, than that which we haue formerly taken, and that they will willingly beare a little diſcontent, rather than to leaue vs in thoſe termes we are.

And to the end your highneſſe may vnderſtand this more particularly, our meaning is not to bind your highneſſe, nor all theſe noblemen, any further by the promiſes which ſhall bee made vnto vs, but by prouiſion, and vntill that his Maieſtie hath allowed or refuſed it. Prouided alwayes, that your highneſſe and theſe noblemen ſhall promiſe vs, that in caſe his Maieſtie ſhall refuſe it, we ſhall continue ſtill vnder their protection, for the ſpace of three weekes, from
E the day that we ſhall be aduertiſed of his Maieſties refuſall. And that during the ſaid three weekes, your highneſſe and all the noblemen ſhall remaine tied according to the former bond, to the end that during the ſaid time, we may ſeeke for ſome other remedie, ſuch as we ſhal find neceſſarie for our ſafeties.

As for the aſſurance which your highneſſe demands of our companie, wee aſsure and promiſe you, that from henceforth we wil neuer treat any thing, without the counſell and aduiſe of the ſaid three noblemen. And touching the forces which we haue without the country, we offer to imploy them for his Ma. ſeruice, and the good of the country, whenſoeuer we ſhall be commanded, remitting and ſubmitting our ſelues to all that it ſhal pleaſe his Ma; to command vs, by the aduice and conſent of the generall eſtates. Moſt humbly beſeeching your highneſſe,
F to take this our declaration in good part, and to giue vs a good and ſhort anſwer.

You may ſee into what termes the affairs of the confederat noblemen and gentlemen were brought, by the faintneſſe of ſome, and the falling away of others: whereas in the beginning, and at the preſenting of their petition they thought to carrie it cleere, ſo much they preſumed of their forces, and thought themſelues to bee ſo ſtrictly vnited in league

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together, as nothing ſhould breake or diſſolue them. Now by the tedious practiſes and diſſi- A
mulations of the Gouerneſſe, which bred a coldneſſe in ſome, they are forced to prouide for
their ſafeties, as if they were guiltie of ſome crime, whereas they had ſo often proteſted it to be
The Gouerneſſe diſſembling. their duties. The Gouerneſſe and thoſe of her counſell laught within themſelues, and their
hearts leapt for ioy, to ſee the confederats thus altered: and although ſhe had long before (from
the moneth of May) receiued letters from the king (as we ſhall preſently ſee) quite contrarie to
that which ſhe ſaid vnto them, and cauſed the ſaid prince and earle of Egmont to deliuer (to
whom nothing was imparted of theſe letters) that they might take the more taſt thereof, and
be the better aſſured, fearing to marre all if ſhee had beene too haſtie, or that her practiſes had
beene diſcouered (wherein ſhe was more politike than the counſell of Spaine) ſhee left them
in ſuſpence of their laſt petition, vntill ſhe had diſcouered whereto all the miſchief tended, and B
that the apoſtume of the people (which ſhe ſaid was ſupported by the nobilitie) came to break
and to ſhew the effects. After that ſhee had ſent for the ſaid gentlemen the 20 of Auguſt, to
make the promiſe which ſhee required of them, according to the contents of their petition,
holding her ſelfe then a conquereſſe, and to haue preuailed ouer that which before ſhe had ſo
much doubted, yet ſhewing them ſtill a good countenance, ſhe gaue them letters of aſſurance,
whereof we will hereafter ſpeak, and ſhe writ her letters to all the townes and prouinces of the
Netherlands, as followeth.

The Gouerneſſe letters to the townes of the Netherlands. Moſt deare and well beloued, As we do viſibly ſee the apparent and inſtant ruine and gene-
rall deſolation of our antient Catholike religion, and of the common eſtate of theſe countries,
if it be not ſpeedily preuented by fit & conuenient means: and the greater, more apparent, and C
neerer that the danger is, the greater care and diligence ſhould you vſe, to anſwer before God,
» the king our lord, and all the world, of your duties, fidelities, and executions of your charges
» and othes. Wherefore we require you, and in his Maieſties name expreſly command you, that
» preſently you confer with the principall and chiefe men of the towne, of honor & reſpect, the
» beſt affected to the preſeruation & maintenance of the antient Catholike religion, ſeruice and
» obedience to his Maieſtie, and the quiet and proſperitie of the country, and aduiſe together of
» all fit meanes and remedies, by the which the ſaid perils and dangers may be preuented and a-
» uoided, and that aboue all, your towne, your perſons, your wiues, children, and goods, may be
» aſſured, and preſerued from all ſedition, oppreſſion, and ſpoile, as well within as without, kee-
» ping good guard in all places day & night, diuiding your men into ſquadrons and quarters, as D
» in ſuch dangerous times you are accuſtomed to do for your preſeruation, and as the neceſſitie
» and importance of the caſe ſhal require: ſo as the commonweale may not incur any inconue-
» nience nor danger, doing your beſt deuoirs to retire and diuert the people from their prea-
» chings, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, be it by mild and amiable exhortations, or by force and con-
» ſtraint, ſhewing them the danger wherinto they run, incenſing thereby the king their naturall
» prince, and their lords & ſuperiors, magiſtrats and gouernors, beſides the plagues and puniſh-
» ments which God doth commonly ſend in thoſe places where there is change of religion,
» whereof doth follow the deſolation and ruine of the commonweale & ſtate. Aſſuring moreo-
» uer, fortifying and comforting the commons as much as you can, vntil his Ma. comming, who
» hath promiſed to be here ſhortly in perſon, to ſettle an order in all things, and to defend & pre- E
» ſerue all his good ſubiects, & countrey. And to the end this may be the better effected and ac-
» compliſhed, you ſhall confer in like ſort with your gouernour, and the prouinciall counſell,
» entertaining good & mutuall correſpondencie with them in that reſpect: ſo as in all caſes his
» Ma. ſhal retaine the ſupreme authoritie, & command the forces. And in caſe you ſhould haue
» need of our ſuccors & aſſiſtance, of of the ſaid gouernor, you are preſently to aduertiſe vs and
» the gouernor, with a declaration of what you ſhall ſtand in need of, to aſſiſt and ſuccour you:
» or to aduance & put in execution the means which you haue thought fit, & that with as much
» ſpeed as may be: whereof we wholly truſt in you, who for the faith you owe vnto his Ma. and
» the preſeruation of the countrey, would not faile in any thing that ſhal be thought requiſit for
» the aduancement of Gods glory, his Ma. ſeruice, and the preſeruation of his countries, &c. F

In this ſort the ducheſſe entertained both the one and the other: the nobles by a promiſe of
their aſſurance, and the towns to confirme them in their duties, for their diſcharge vnto the
king, although it were difficult, yea impoſſible to ſatisfie both parties equally. For on the one
ſide ſhe was priuy to his Ma. intent, touching the noblemen, & on the other ſide ſhe could not
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A keepe the people in awe, by the magiſtrats and gouernors of prouinces, vnleſſe ſhee cut off the the right arme from the nobles: as alſo ſhe could not fruſtrat and diſappoint the intention of the noblemen, but ſhe muſt preſently quench the heat & fury of the commons, who in the beginning depended onely vpon the hope of good that ſhould come vnto them, by the preſentation of the noblemens petition, whereon they did ground all aſſurance of their conſciences, and libertie of their religion.

Troubles in Antuerpe.

Whileſt that all this paſt betwixt the noblemen and the ducheſſe, the prince of Orange was much troubled in Antuerpe, to conteine the people, who were greatly moued, for many reaſons, according vnto the complaints which they made daily, the which were ſatisfied but by halues, and (as they ſaid) for a faſhions ſake. Among others the 10 day of Auguſt, there was
B a great tumult, for that one *Peter Rythou*, a diuine and paſtor of the pariſh of S. *Peter* at Louuaine, came in a diſguiſed habit, to reprehend the miniſter which preached at Kyel, ioyning to the towne of Antuerpe, comming out of the pulpit: and as the miniſter or preacher anſwered him, That they ſhould go into ſome neere houſe, out of the preſſe of the people, to confer together. This doctor perſiſting in his loud clamors, with ſuch allegations as came in his head, a great number came running thither; and ſeeing that their miniſter by many arguments and texts out of the holy Scripture, had made the doctor mute, the people gaue ſuch a ſhout and crie, as he was forced to retire: ſome incenſed againſt him, purſuing and would haue maſſacred him, if certaine burgeſſes had not preſerued him with the hazard of their liues, drawing him into a houſe, where they hid him in a ſeller; the common people remaining before the ſaid
C houſe, and offering to draw him out by force. The brute hereof being come vnto the towne, moued the reſt of the people, and this had turned to a bad conſequence, if the prince had not ſent the officer of iuſtice thither in time, who apprehended the doctor, and put him in priſon, the which pacified the people: but he was ſoone after ſent out of the towne by the riuer. And for that the prince was forced vpon vrgent cauſes to be ſometimes abſent out of the towne, as well to goe to court, as to Duffel, to the confederat noblemen, on the behalfe of the Gouerneſſe. The maſters of the quarters, and deanes of trades of the towne of Antuerpe, intreated the prince, that he would be a ſutor vnto the Gouerneſſe, that during his abſence ſhee would ſubſtitute the earle of Hochſtraten, fearing leaſt for want of a commander, thoſe that were mutinous might attempt ſomething which would bee preiudiciall to the good of the towne, and
D publike aſſurance. Moreouer, they required him to take a lieutenant to aſſiſt him to beare the toyle of the gouernement, ſeeing that the bourgmaſters and other officers were ſufficiently charged, recommending the ſeigniour of Straelen vnto him, a gentleman that was verie pleaſing vnto them of the towne. Whereof the prince aduertiſed the Gouerneſſe, but ſhe delaied to grant it.

In the meane time the prince did inſiſt all he could, to the end that they of the religion ſhould forbeare carrying of armes to the preaching, at the leaſt within the towne, going and returning: ſending to the miniſters and conſiſtories to that end, who promiſed to gouerne themſelues accordingly, ſo as they might be aſſured, that neither the Droſſard, nor any other, ſhould offer them outrage: the which was promiſed them, and notice giuen to the Droſſard,
E in his houſe. But this hope and aſſurance which they expected, continued not long, turning into diſtruſt, and ſo great bitterneſſe, as they were much troubled to pacifie it: yea it proceeded ſo farre, as they of the religion tooke an occaſion (grounded vpon foure occurrents, happening at one inſtant) to hold their preachings from that time forward within the towne of Antuerp.

Foure reaſons why they kept their preaching in Antuerp

The firſt occurrent was, That the maſters of quarters receiued letters of aduertiſement from Bruſſels, of the thirteenth of Auguſt, of a certaine reſolution concluded betwixt the Gouerneſſe and the deputies of the towne, being in court, to maſſacre all thoſe that they ſhould find at the preaching. The ſecond, That the Droſſard (of whom they were alwayes in feare) cauſed about that time certaine wagons laden with armes, to paſſe through the towne to goe to his houſe, one of the which beeing ſtayed by the people, and releaſed by the magiſtrat,
E who fauoured the Droſſard, did much diſtemper the commons. Thirdly, for that they were aduertiſed, That the Droſſard was neere vnto the town with 1000 horſe, lodged here & there, and a good number of foot in the neighbor monaſteries, attending but the ringing of a bell, to fall vpon the aſſembly, and to murther them: during which exploit the lawyers ſhould keepe the towne gates ſhut, that no man might enter in, ſo as not any one ſhould eſcape.

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The fourth reaſon was, That they were aduertiſed by one of their aſſembly, whom his companion perſuaded to inroll himſelfe to bee readie againſt them of the religion, when as the great bell ſhould ſound, and would haue led him to the Arcenall of the towne; to chuſe what armes he could beſt vſe: ſaying, That the ſame day there had beene foureſcore inrolled in that quarter. A

Theſe foure points bred a terrible alteration, and put the towne in danger: and although the greateſt trouble were pacified, yet they of the religion reſolued to haue their preaching in the towne. The prince of Orange being deſirous to hinder them, ſent the orator *Weſenbeek* vnto the miniſters, and two gentlemen of his houſhold to the chiefe merchants of the religion, to aduiſe them to forbeare this preſumption, or elſe he would ſeeke to hinder them by all meanes, yea if it were by force; and that they ſhould attend the regents reſolution, the which B ſhe ſhould giue to the confederats petition. Although the princes gentlemen vſed al the means they could to perſuade them, yet they of the religion perſiſted in their reſolution: notwithſtanding the ſame night late, they ſent certaine merchants vnto the prince, with a writing, containing a iuſtification of their reſolution, which they ſaid they had taken to auoid greater miſ-

Iuſtification of the commons ſent vnto the prince, touching the preaching.

chiefs, conſidering the foure occurrents, the doubts and fears, and other occaſions, which cauſed the people to murmure, promiſing to make them forbeare carrying of armes at their aſſemblies, as they had been often preſt by him: beſeeching the prince, that hee would not take it in ill part, proteſting in all things elſe to be obedient vnto him, and to keepe good guard, that for their parts no inſolencie ſhould be committed: and if hee were not pleaſed to accept of their excuſes and iuſtifications, they had rather (though to their great griefe) to haue his ill wil, than C to incurre the indignation of the people, who feared that many things were practiſed by the magiſtrat of the towne without his priuitie. The prince not ſatisfied with theſe excuſes, & the deputies of the merchants perſiſting in their reſolution, offering notwithſtanding to doe their beſt to diuert the ſaid preachings, he ſent vnto the magiſtrat to put all the ſworne companies in armes the next day, by fiue of the clocke in the morning, with an intent to hinder the beginning of their aſſemblies by policie. But in the morning the deputies returned vnto the prince, declaring vnto him, That for his onely reſpect they had forborne their preaching within the towne, yet by reaſon of their doubts & feare of danger, and the time of Winter drawing on, it ſhould not be poſſible to conteine themſelues long, if they were not aſſured that no outrage ſhould be done them abroad: whereof the prince aduertiſed the court by his letters of the 15 D of Auguſt. The earle of Egmont in the meane time, was for his part much troubled in his gouernment of Flanders, to containe the people, who began to be much moued, and the more, for that they heard of no anſwers to the confederats petition, whereby they thought that the nobilitie had abandoned them, and that they had bin won by the regent. And wheras in ſtead of moderation of the edicts, which had been ſo often promiſed, they found that they were daily augmented (but vnder another pretext) and vnderſtanding that the gouerneſſe & the court, tooke the petition, and the actions of the nobles in ill part, the people were generally much altered, and the Proteſtants of the religion went to armes, fearing (as they ſaid) to be oppreſt, and that the officers would diſturbe their aſſemblies: for there was no meanes now to make them leaue their preaching, and the exerciſe of their religion, being thus armed and well fortified to E defend their miniſters, and their wiues and children, being at the ſermon, and to reſiſt all violence. In the end it happened, that ſome of the baſer ſort, meaning to ſhew an inconſiderat zeal vnto their religion, and that they were deadly enemies to al that did impugne it, aduanced and incouraged one another to beat downe images and croſſes, ſet vp in the high waies: then they went to out chappels, and ſo to churches and monaſteries in the countrey, and in the end to townes, the beginning of all which was in the quarter of Ypre in Flanders: ſo as the inſolencie

The breaking of images begun in Flanders

of this baſe people, and of ſome women and children, exceeding all temper & modeſtie, brake and beat downe all Images, crucifixes, altars, tables (how rare and exquiſit ſoeuer) ornaments, and generally all that was diſpleaſing vnto their eyes, and that ſeemed to bee contrarie to the F profeſſion of their religion: The which was ſo ſodainly executed in all places, as well in Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, and other prouinces, as if it had been a thunder clap, or a flaſh of lightning, which had paſt ouer all at one inſtant, ſo as there was no prouince in all the Netherlands, which did not feele of it, no not the townes, but ſuch as were kept by force, or ſuch as (to auoid this ſtorme) had prouided in time, hiding away their images, and other pretious things.

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A things. Wherein there was one thing admirable, that it could neuer be knowne who was the first author, or that had bragged of it, no, not any one that approued it, being of any authoritie among the people, no, not the ministers, who contrariwise did blame those actions committed by boies and girles, amongst the which there were some theeues, who sought for bootie; yet notwithstanding a part of it was restored to the magistrates of those places where it happened. An admirable thing in the breaking of Images.

It were too tedious to describe here the particularities of the beating downe of Images in euery towne and prouince of the Netherlands: wee will speake onely of that which happened at Antuerpe, being the chiefe and most renowned, whereby wee may iudge of all the rest.

B Ordinarily on the eighteenth of August falleth out a feast or solemne procession in that towne, in the which they carry a great Image, richly adorned with cloth of gold, and other precious ornaments, representing the virgine *Marie*; wherewith were charged one after one, in their turnes, some of the magistrats, the deanes of the occupations, and the chiefe of the sworne companies of the towne, with great ceremonies, as well in lifting, carrying, as setting it in the place. On the eue of this feast, the prince of Orange, gouernour of the towne, was sent for (all excuses set aside) to come to court, for matters of great importance, and especially to conclude with the confederats: yet at the great instance of the magistrate he stayed all the day of the feast, the most dangerous day (according to the time and the disposition of the state of the towne) of all the yeare; partly by reason of the publicke ceremonies which were Breaking of Images in Antuerpe.

C vsed both before and after dinner, and for the multitude of people of all humours, that came thither; as also for the drunkennesse and dissolutenes which were ordinarie at that feast. The procession being ended, the Image was carried to her place, and the next day the prince went to Brussels.

The same day certaine young fellowes standing at the Quier dore, asked, if the maid (meaning the Image of the virgine *Marie*) was afraid, because she went so soone into the Quier againe, and such like speeches. On the other side, certaine youths playing in the great church, about the pulpit, their heads being full of proclamations, would needs counterfeit the preachers, and to that end a great knaue got vp into the pulpit, and there began to vtter many vaine and friuolous speeches. The rest of his companions mocking him, some threw things at him;

D others would haue pulled him downe: but he spurned and kicked at them with his feet, and in the end they began to play the cats, and to scratch and fight one with the other: for a young sayler got vp into the pulpit on the other side, and forcibly thrust the counterfeit knaue down the steps: wherewith, some that stood to gape vpon them, and diuers men that were in companie, busied themselues with the matter, so that there had like to haue beene a great fray: in the end the sayler being somewhat hurt, got out of the church, which was full of people, all ready to goe together by the eares, and being found without, was taken, and caried before the magistrate, to whom he shewed the matter as it fell out; whereupon the officers got the people to goe out of the church, and so shut vp the dores. The next day, being Tuesday, the twentith of August, about euening, a companie of youths and some men being assembled together in the

E church, according to their manner walked in the church, staying till they went to euening prayer; where they began to mocke and ieast at the Image of the virgine *Marie*: whereat an old woman that sate before the Quier dore to sell candles, and to receiue almes, being offended, cast dust, ashes, and other filth in the youths faces, and their eyes; whereupon they began to quarrell: for which cause the Marckgraue with his sergeants and halberdiers came thither, and willed them to depart out of the church; which some of them did: the rest sayd, they would stay and heare euening prayer: whereupon the Marckgraue bad his officers tell them, that there should be no euening prayer said there that night: which made some of them vnwilling to goe, and to say one to the other, that they themselues would sing euensong: and at the last some in one place, some in another, began to sing, others played and rouled stones and

F bowles in the church; and with that noise there came more and more people together. The Marckgraue perceiuing that he could not get the people out, nor make them be quiet, shut all the dores of the church, except one, and so in great feare went away: by which meanes the companie began to be the bolder, and it beginning to be late, the cloeke striking sixe, they agreed to throw downe the Image of the virgine *Marie*, and presently began to breake open

the

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the quier, crying *viue le Gueux*: which being once begun, they ran together with ſuch furie, A
and with ſo many hands, that before midnight all the quier and chappell dores were broken open, the altars pulled downe, and all the Images broken in pieces, there being in the church at that time at the leaſt ſeuentie altars, all moſt richly and ſumptuouſly adorned and beautified with great ſtore of coſtly pictures and tables, whereof the like were not elſewhere to be found.

The Images in this ſort being caſt downe and broken in the great church, a great multitude of the youths, and ſome men, with whores and knaues, al mingled together, ran throughout the towne, to other churches, to do the like, as to the Franciſcan friers, S *Clares*, S. *Ieames*, S. *Andrewes*, S. *Georges*, S. *Michaels*, the *Peter* pots, the Borcht, the Fakens, the White ſiſters, the Blacke ſiſters, the third Order, the Nunnes, the Bogarden, the preaching Friers, and to all the B
churches and chappels in the towne, and had caſt downe and broken all their Images & other ornaments whatſoeuer, before it was morning, burning and lighting vp all the candles that they found within the ſame, wherewith they lighted themſelues: which was a great and wonderfull piece of worke, conſidering all the circumſtances thereof, for that they could neuer know who were the doers thereof, no man was euer heard to brag or boaſt thereof, no quarrel nor ſtrife was amongſt them, nor any man hurt: which was a great wonder aboue all the reſt, conſidering, that it was done in the night time, and ſo many ſtones, wood, and other ſtuffe broken and rent in pieces.

Meane time the magiſtrates and the townes-men ſtood abaſhed and amazed, all night in their armes, as if they had beene bewitched, and knew not what they were beſt to doe, euery C
man hauing ſeuerall conceits, thoughts, feares, and ſuſpitions in his head. The Romiſh catholickes thought, that it was done by them of the reformed Religion, and that they ioining with ſuch companions, might be too ſtrong for them, and therefore were in feare to be aſſailed and ſet vpon. The reformed church thinking that the doing therof would be imputed vnto them, thought it their beſt way to looke vnto themſelues, that they might not bee ſurpriſed on the ſudden. And while on both ſides the one thus feared the other, they were both in one common doubt and opinion, That the Image-breakers hauing begun to ranſacke the churches, would not ſo content themſelues, but would fall vpon the rich marchants and townes-mens houſes, and ſearch for the Idols in their purſes and their cheſts, vnder pretence of breaking downe of Images, or els worke ſome other vilanie or treaſon. D

Thus the magiſtrates and the townes-men being in great perplexitie, ſtood with heauie hearts and hands, and yet in armes, and in good order, one counſelling and admoniſhing the other to a vnitie, and to be carefull, that no murther nor bloud ſhedding might enſue, wherin they all agreed (as the Spaniards ſay) being carefuller and readier to defend their owne liues and goods, than the holy Romiſh reliques and ſeruice of God: and although in the ſaid breaking of Images, and ranſacking of the churches, many things of great worth were ſtollen and ſecretly conueyed away, neuertheleſſe great ſtore of iewels, ſiluer workes, and other things were brought into the towne-houſe, and other places: and ſome handy crafts and guilds did likewiſe intreat the people to giue them diuers faire, coſtly, and cunning pictures, in regard and loue of the great art and workmanſhips therein ſhewed, which they tooke and bare away with B
them.

In the morning as ſoone as the gates of the towne were opened, a great part of the Image-breakers got out and went to S. *Bernards*, a cloyſter about a mile and a halfe from Antuerp, and from thence to all the villages round about the town, with great boldnes and fiercenes pulling downe and breaking all their Images: the reſt that remained within the towne, ceaſed not all that day, and two daies after to run about the towne into euery church, breaking downe and ſpoiling all the relicks whatſoeuer they found ſtanding whole therein, no man daring once ſo much as ſay or do any thing vnto them. But at the laſt, when they began to breake downe a faire crucifix that ſtood in the great church ouer the great quier dore, it falling vpon the armes of the knights of the order of the golde fleece, which were painted round about ouer the ſeats F
in the quier, being the armes of all thoſe that were then liuing, when the ſaid feaſt was holden in Antuerpe in Anno 1555, the magiſtrats and the townes-men began to be moued therat, and being ſomewhat better encouraged, repulſed thoſe that ſought to haue done the like, taking ten or twelue of them priſoners, & three that were found doing the deed, vpon the eighteenth

of

A of August were hanged in the market place, and three others banished out of the towne, the rest punished in other sort. Presently thereupon the magistrate vsed all the diligence he could, to keepe those of the reformed Religion frō preaching in the churches, which they had alreadie begun, to admonish and withdraw the people from spoyling and robbing the church, and to moove and incite them to peace, submissiveness, and obedience: but at the last they left off in regard of the honour and reuerence of the magistrates, who (vpon paine of hanging) commaunded, That all the things that had beene taken out of the churches, should within foure and twentie houres after be brought vnto the Wickemasters, and that no man should meddle with breaking downe of any more Images: which they likewise caused to bee certified vnto them of the reformed Religion, by their pentionary M. *Iacob Wesenbeek*, who for that cause vp-
B on the 24 of August tooke occasion both by writing and by word of mouth to shew the magistrate *Iacob vander Heyden*, bourgmaster, that they in truth would and might protest before God, that the breaking down of the Images was done without their knowledge and consents, and that they allowed not of the manner of doing the same, if it were not done by order and authority of the magistrate (although the great idolatrie vsed in that towne had well deserued no lesse) and that they blamed and detested the theeuerie, ransacking, and other insolencies vsed therein, and that their preachers in their sermons should admonish the people to restore the stolne things into the magistrats hands: That they of the reformed Religion were ready to be obedient vnto the magistrat in all things, touching the resisting and with-holding of all insolencies and forcible actions: That they acknowledged the lords and magistrats of the towne
C to be their lawfull magistrats, appointed by God to rule and gouerne them, and that therefore they were bound to be obedient vnto them, according to the word of God, & so consequently bound, and would willingly pay al assesses, impost, taxes, and other burthens, as duty required. And to that end they said, that the preachers & rulers of their churches were ready to take their oaths of faith and obedience vnto them, in al causes, next after God and his word, for the conseruation, welfare, and furtherance of the inhabitants of the towne, that therby the people might be maintained in peace and vnitie, desiring, that vnder the name and authoritie of the magistrats they might be suffered to preach in some conuenient churches, and to vse the exercise of their Religion, excusing themselues, that they vntill some order were taken therein, did vse some churches for their aduantage. Lastly, That they pretended not to compell any man
D by force vnto their Religion, being well content to liue in peace, and to thanke God for the meanes they had to serue him, according to their consciences, craving, that it might be ordained, that no man should molest, iniure, nor disquiet one the other for Religion.

By meanes of this declaration, request, & admonition, in the end the matter was so brought to passe, that they of the reformed Religion were suffered to preach in the new towne by authority of the magistrats, to hinder them from preaching in the holied churches: but the preacher of Kiel (which preached after the confession of Ausbourg) was suffered to preach in S. *George* church, as being the chiefe church of the Kiel, therby to auoid many inconueniences, and to set strife and contention betweene them of the reformed Religion.

While this was done in the towne of Antuerpe, the like breaking of Images was done in o-
E ther places. In Mechelen certaine of the people began to doe it in the Friers church, and other cloysters, but it was soone stayed.

Throwing downe and breaking of Images in other places of the Netherlands.

In Lier the people going about to doe it, the magistrates of the towne (to shun the same, and to hinder the ransacking of the churches) commaunded all the Images and other things to be pulled downe, and the church to be emptied of such trash: which done, they shewed it vnto the deputies of the Image-breakers. The like was done in many other places of Brabant. At Hertoghenbosch, Breda, and Berghen vp Zoome, they indured the like destruction of Images, and other things, that they in Antuerp did. The same did they in Gaunt, Ypre, Oudenard, and many other towns in Flanders: as also at Valentia, Dornick, and other towns in Waesland, and at Vtrecht, Amsterdam, Leyden, Delft, the Hage, Briel, and other places in Holland. At
F Middleburg, Campuere, Vlishing, and other places in Zeeland, at Groning, Leenwerden, and other towns in Friseland, at Campen, Deuenter, Swol, and Ouerissel, at Arnhem, Ruremond, Nimmeghen, Veulo, Harderwike, and other places in Guelderland, and all abouts in the small townes and villages without number. At Middleburg, notwithstanding that both the magistrates and the shot of the towne stood two daies together (but all in vaine) to stay the furie of

the

the people, when all the Images and altars were pulled downe, they were not content there- A
with, but made meanes both vnto the biſhop and the magiſtrates (beeing aſſembled in great multitudes) that ſuch as were impriſoned for religion, ſhould be deliuered out of priſon, and giuen vnto them: for which cauſe (to ſhun the danger of great tumults and ſheding of bloud) they were compelled to ſet one and twenty perſons freely out of priſon, otherwiſe they wold haue broken downe the priſon, and beſides all that, they were forced to ſuffer them to preach within the church. At Delft they were not content that the magiſtrat had pulled down al the Images, but they would proceed further, and went and brake down all the altars, notwithſtanding the great watch holden by the townef-men, & tooke the friers cloiſter for them to preach in. In the Hage a goldſmith went vnto the counſell and the magiſtrats, requeſting thē to haue leaue to pull downe the Images, who being asked, where his commiſſion was, he ſtrucke his B
hand vpon his breſt, and told them that it was there: The magiſtrats thereat beeing abaſhed, deſired M. *Hippolitus Perſin*, preſident of Vtrecht (being as then with them) to giue them his aduice: and finding that the requeſt was not well to be refuſed nor denied (the trouble being ſo great in euery place) they appointed certaine ſerieants of the towne to goe with the ſayd goldſmith, to keepe the church dores, that no tumult ſhould ariſe, and the Images ſhould bee taken down without any hurt or trouble. They compelled likewiſe all ſuch as had any Images in their houſes, either to deliuer them vnto them, or els to breake them. At Dorcht, Tergone, Harlem, and Rotterdam, the Images were preſerued and kept from breaking by means of the magiſtrats, as alſo in other townes, when at the laſt they ſaw and perceiued, that theeues, vagabonds, ſouldiers, ruffians, whores, and knaues were mixed with the actors therein, and in the C
end the greateſt doers, and not many of them of the reformed Religion, although at the firſt they were very zealous and earneſt therein. But thoſe raſcals emboldened themſelues vpon thoſe of the religion, who rather wondered at the action (as being a wonderful work of God) than praiſed or commended, and in the end did themſelues let and hinder the breaking down of the Images both by force, and with their ſermons.

The newes of this breaking downe and deſtroying of Images comming to the eares of the
The Regent in great feare. Regent and the counſell in Bruſſels, ſtrucke a great feare and doubt in their hearts, ſo that both the court and all the towne were vp in armes, to keepe them from doing the like within that place. This notwithſtanding, the Regent would goe to Bergen Henegowe, fearing to bee in danger of her perſon, and to that end deſired the gouernors of the prouinces, and the knights D
of the order of the golden fleece, to conuey her thither: who ſought by all the meanes they could to diſſuade her from it, alledging many great and weightie reaſons to the contrary. But when word was brought her by the preſident *Vigilius*, That the townef-men had ſeized vpon all the gates therof, and would not ſuffer her to goe out, ſhe was content to ſtay there that day, vpon promiſe made vnto her by the lords, that they would helpe to get her out of the towne, if need were, or els die for it. Ther-upon ſhe willed *Peter Erneſt*, earle of Mansfield, to take the charge of the gouernment of the towne vpon him, who the next day ſummoned all the townef-men, to aſſemble together into the towne-houſe, and going thither, took with him the prince of Orange, the earles of Egmont, Horne, and Hoochſtrate, which ſhewed them, That the Regent ſtayed there in the towne vpon their words and promiſes, vpon condition, That E
they ſhould be carefull, that no preaching nor breaking downe of Images ſhould bee done within the towne; which they likewiſe deſired them to be carefull of, and to be obedient vnto the earle of Mansfield, as gouernor appointed ouer them, and to aid and aſſiſt him in al things whatſoeuer, Whereunto they of Bruſſels made anſwere, That they would liue and die with the lords, and not ſuffer any preaching nor breaking of Images within the towne, and likewiſe to be obedient vnto the earle of Mansfield. Which made the Regent ſomewhat quieter, vntil euening, that news was brought her, That the ſame night the Images ſhold be broken down, the barons of Arenbergh and Barlamont ſlaine, and her ſelfe taken priſoner. Whereupon the
The Regent being in feare, accuſeth the lords vnto the king. lords had worke ynough to doe to diſſuade her from that opinion, alledging, That they of Bruſſels had not the power to doe it, as long as ſo many noblemen and gentlemen were in the F
towne. This feare cauſed the Regent to write vnto the king, ſaying, That ſhe was betrayed by the prince of Orange, the earles of Egmont, Hoochſtrate, and that his Maieſty ſhould eyther come thither, or els ſend an army of Spaniards into the Netherlands. The like alſo was written by the lords of Barlamont, Norcarmes, and the preſident *Vigilius*.

The

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A The next day the Regent perceiuing the great troubles and apparent generall reuolting and ouerthrow of the Netherlands, at the laſt, by aduice of the gouernours of the prouinces, the knights of the order of the golden fleece, the counſell of eſtate, and the priuie counſell, was reſolued, as touching the preaching after the reformed manner, to be content partly to permit it in ſuch places, where it had bin at other times, giuing the lords that by her commandement were appointed to deale with the gentlemen about the ſame, this commiſſion enſuing:

That they ſhould hold and obſerue the points contained in the letters of protection, and for that ſhe perceiued the great and imminent neceſſitie then raigning, ſhe was content, that the ſaid lords ſhould enter into an accord with the confederated gentlemen, and certifie them, that the common people laying downe their armes, in ſuch places where as the preaching was
B then preſently exerciſed, and keeping themſelues from giuing any cauſe of ſcandale, or diſordered actions, there ſhould no wrong nor iniurie be done vnto them, nor to any others that ſhould for that purpoſe trauell to and from them, vntill ſuch time as his Maieſty, with the aduice of the counſell of eſtate ſhould take other order therein, vpon condition, that they ſhould not in any wiſe hinder the proceedings of the Catholicke religion, but ſhould ſuffer the Catholickes freely to enioy their churches in manner as they had them before. Giuen in Bruſſels the thirteenth of Auguſt 1566, with this charge, to deale and conferre with the confederated gentlemen, ſhe ſent the prince of Orange, the earle of Egmont, the earle of Horne, the baron de Hachecourt, and the counſellor *Daſſonuille*: which met and conſulted with the deputies of the gentlemen, being *Lodowicke* earle of Naſſau, *Euſtace de frenes*, baron D'eſquer-
C des, *Charles de Reuel*, baron Dandreguyes, *Bernard de Merode*, baron de Ruinen, *Charles vander Noot*, baron de Riſoire, *George de Montigni*, baron de Noyles, *Martin de Serlues* baron de Sterbeeke, *Philip van Marbays*, baron de Lounerual, *Iohn de Montigni*, baron de Villers, *Charles de Lieuin*, baron de Famars, *Frauncis de Haeſten*, *Iohn le Sauage*, baron de Deſcouberque. Theſe after long conference, at the laſt drew vnto a concluſion, agreement, and accord in his Ma. behalfe: which, for that it is of ſo great importance and conſequence, and that all the troubles and warres that after enſued, had their foundation from the ſame, I thought good to ſet downe the true copie, both of the proclamation and act, made in manner of a ſecuritie or protection.

Marguerite by the grace of God, Ducheſſe of Parma and Plaiſance, Regent and Gouer- Letters of aſ-
D neſſe for the king my lord in theſe his countries, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, ſurance from greeting: Whereas many gentlemen of theſe countries haue preſented in Aprill laſt a pe- the gouerneſſe to the nobles.
tition, to the end, that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to take away and aboliſh the Inquiſition, "
and both the old and new Edicts, which they ſaid were too rigorous, and therefore might "
not be put in execution: and to make others in their places, by the aduice and conſent of the "
generall eſtates of the countrey; requiring, that the ſaid petition might be ſent by vs vnto "
his Maieſtie, to prouide accordingly. Whereupon wee held many great conſultations "
with the gouernours of prouinces, knights of the Order, and counſellors of State to his "
Maieſtie. And after that wee had repreſented all with our aduice vnto the king, for that "
wee thought it good, that by reaſon the ſaid gentlemen might haue ſome doubt or ſcru- "
E ple, that his Maieſtie would not take in good part the ſaid petition, together with the com- "
promiſe which they had thereupon made together, nor that which followed after; and "
that ſuch doubt might be the cauſe of greater miſchiefe and trouble in the countrey, wee "
by the ſame aduice haue alſo entreated, That his Maieſtie would be pleaſed to giue them let- "
ters of aſſurance, that hereafter nothing ſhall bee imputed vnto them vpon that occaſion; "
whereupon his Maieſtie had aduertiſed vs of his good will and pleaſure. According vnto In the moneth
the which, we deſiring the good, quiet, and tranquilitie of the ſaid countries, and to make of May before the nobles had
the gentlemen petitioners more willing to yeeld all obedience and ſeruice vnto his Maie- demanded a-
ſtie, according vnto that whereunto they are bound both by nature and oath, and as they ny aſſurance.
haue alwayes offered themſelues: wee haue at their requeſt, and according to the power "
F and authoritie giuen vs by his Maieſtie, and as Regent and Gouerneſſe generall of the ſaid "
countries, and by the aduice of the knights of the Order, gouernours and counſellors of "
State, being with vs, giuen for their aſſurance, this writing ſigned with our hand, in forme "
as followeth.

Her

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„ Her highneſſe hath cauſed the gentlemen petitioners to returne the twentieth of Auguſt, A
„ for anſwer of their petition, during the which time ſhe hath happily receiued letters from his
„ Maieſty, whereby ſhe ſhall haue the better meanes to giue them a certaine and abſolute an-
„ ſwere. And firſt ſhe lets them know, that his Maieſty hauing regard to her highnes informati-
„ ons (ſeeing that they which are at this day altered for Religion, or otherwiſe, offer to ſubmit
„ themſelues vnto that which ſhall be decreed by his Maieſty, with the aduice of the generall e-
„ ſtates, for the good of Religion, and the quiet and tranquilitie thereof) with the aduice of the
„ lords, knights of the Order, and counſellors of ſtate, is content, that the Inquiſition (whereof
„ they haue complained) ſhall ceaſe. Secondly, his Maieſty hath conſented, That there ſhall be
„ a new Edict made, but it was not fully reſolued, if it ſhould be done by the generall Eſtates, or
„ otherwiſe: yet her highneſſe hopes, that by the firſt ſhe ſhall haue a reſolution, according vnto B
„ that which his Maieſty hath written vnto her: wherein ſhe will alwaies do her beſt endeuour,
„ that his Maieſty may graunt it, as ſhe hath already done by ſundry letters. And in regard of aſ-
„ ſurances, whereof they make mention in their laſt petition, that her highnes was well aduiſed
„ to giue it them, ſo farre forth as lay in her: as preſently ſhe can aſſure them, ſeeing his Ma. hath
„ conſented, giuing her full authoritie to do it in what forme and manner ſhee ſhall thinke fit.
„ Wherefore ſhe lets them vnderſtand, That his Maieſty deſiring to free them of all ſuſpition,
„ who might thinke, that he were ill informed of them, and to take away all diſtruſt, which was
„ the cauſe of theſe troubles, meaning to ſhew his accuſtomed clemencie, abhorring nothing
„ more than bitternes, is content, that her highnes (for the auoiding of al diffidence and diſtruſt)
„ ſhall giue them ſuch letters of aſſurance, as ſhe ſhall thinke fit and requiſite, for their greater ſe- C
„ curitie, and for that which is paſt, ſo as they carry themſelues like good and faithfull vaſſals &
„ ſubiects to his Maieſty, hoping they will not faile in the duties which they owe him. The
„ which her highnes is preſently ready to effect. And as they haue full ſatisfaction in this point,
„ her highneſſe will not refuſe the offer which they haue often made, to employ themſelues in
„ the ſeruice of his Maieſty and her highneſſe, for the peace & quiet of the countrey, as they are
„ bound by nature and their allegeance; according to the which, her meaning is, they ſhould
„ giue their Faith. Firſt, That they ſhall not do nor procure directly nor indirectly any thing a-
„ gainſt his Maieſty, his eſtates, nor ſubiects, but ſhall employ themſelues to doe all things that
„ good and loyall vaſſales and ſubiects owe vnto their ſoueraigne lord and naturall prince: and
„ in doing ſo, ſhall with all their meanes ſeeke to preuent theſe preſent troubles, ſeditions, and tu- D
„ mults, and reſtraine the mutinous multitude: and that all ſpoyling and ruining of Temples,
„ Churches, Cloyſters, and Monaſteries may ceaſe: yea, they ſhall helpe to puniſh them which
„ haue committed theſe ſacriledges, outrages, and abhominations. That no wrong nor violence
„ may be offered to any ſpirituall perſons, officers of Iuſtice, gentlemen, or other his Maieſties
„ ſubiects and vaſſales. That they ſhall do their beſt endeuours, that the multitude which is now
„ armed (whereby ſo many miſchiefes haue beene committed, and daily may be more) may lay
„ aſide armes. They ſhall do all good offices, to hinder that the preaching be not vſed, but in ſuch
„ places where it hath beene accuſtomed, and that without carrying of armes, or committing a-
„ ny ſcandale or publicke diſorder. Moreouer, they ſhall giue all aid and aſſiſtance (as they are
„ bound by their oath and allegeance vnto his Maieſty) to repell all ſtrangers, enemies, and re- E
„ bels to him and the countrey. Finally, they ſhall employ all the credit they haue without the
„ countrey, in his Maieſties ſeruice, and the good of the country, whenſoeuer they ſhal be com-
„ maunded: ſubmitting themſelues to all that it ſhall pleaſe his Maieſty to commaund them, by
„ the aduice and conſent of the generall Eſtates. Made at Bruſſels the 23 of Auguſt 1566. We
„ make it knowne, That all theſe things conſidered, and according to his Maieſties liking and
„ good pleaſure, and the authoritie which he hath giuen vs; wee in his name, and by vertue of
„ his commaund, haue promiſed and doe promiſe by theſe preſents, That by reaſon of the ſaid
„ compromiſe and petition, and for that which hath followed vnto this preſent, there ſhall not
„ be any thing imputed vnto them by his Maieſty, nor vs, in regard of the oath which the ſayd
„ gentlemen haue taken, as well for themſelues, as their other confederates, conformable to the F
„ articles aboue mentioned, and for the which they ſhall giue their bond: requiring and in his
„ Maieſties name commaunding all gouernors, knights of the order, chiefe preſident and coun-
„ ſellors of ſtate, and all other Iuſticers and officers whom it ſhall concerne, to entertain this pre-

ſent

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A ſent aſſurance, and to cauſe it to bee entertained inuiolably for euer, ſuffering the gentlemen " and confederates to vſe and enioy for euer, without doing or giuing, or ſuffering to bee done " or giuen to them, now, nor hereafter, directly, or indirectly, any trouble, moleſtation, or let to " the contrarie; nor attempt any thing againſt the ſaid ſuppliants, for the aboue rehearſed oc- " caſions, in any ſort or manner whatſoeuer. For ſuch is his Maieſties pleaſure, and ours. In " witneſſe whereof we haue ſigned theſe preſents, and ſet to our ſeale. Giuen at Bruſſels the 25 " of Auguſt, Signed *Margareta*. "

The gentlemen confederats holding them aſſured by theſe letters, gaue reciprocally an act in writing to the Gouerneſſe, of their promiſe, whereof mention is made in the letters of aſſurance, ſigned by the deputies, as followeth:

B We *Lewis* earle of Naſſau, *Euſtace* of Fiennes, lord of Deſquerdes, *Charles* of Reuel, lord of Andrignies, *Bernard* of Merode, lord of Rumen, *Charles vander Noote*, Seignior of Riſoir, *George* of Montigni, Seignior of Noyelles, *Martin* of Tſerclaes, Seignior of Tylly, *Philip van-der Mere*, Seignior of Sterbeke, *Philip* of Marbais, Seignior of Louuerual, *Iohn* of Montigni, Seignior of Villers, *Charles* of Lieuin, Seignior of Famas, *Francis van Haeften*, *Iohn* the ſauage, Seignior of Eſcaubeque, and *Iohn* of Caſenbroot, Seignior of Bacquerſeel, as wel in their own names, as deputies for the other noblemen and gentlemen confederats, hauing preſented a petition vnto his Maieſty in Aprill laſt paſt, touching the Inquiſition and Edicts for matter of hereſie: Whereas we haue this day receiued from the high and excellent princeſſe, the ducheſſe of Parma and Plaiſance, Regent and Gouerneſſe for the king in theſe countries, certaine letters patents, hauing authoritie from the king, our ſoueraigne lord and naturall prince, in the manner and forme that followeth: *The letters of aſſurance aboue mentioned being inſerted at length, with their bonds and promiſes, this was the concluſion.* " " "

An extract of the kings letter to the duches after the petition.

Firſt, that it was not fit to alter any thing touching the Edicts, but that they ſhould be duly executed. As for that which concerned the Inquiſition, his Maieſties pleaſure was, that it ſhould ſtand in force, and that her highneſſe ſhould fauor and aſſiſt the Inquiſitors in the execution of their charge, for that it concerned the good and maintenance of religion: ordaining moreouer, That the counſell of Trent (which had beene already publiſhed) ſhould be put in execution. And as for that which concerned the biſhops, that the ſaid lady ſhould giue them all direction and poſſible aſſiſtance, that it might be effected, as was fit: concluding, that what he had written was for the good of Religion, and of the Netherlands, the which elſe would goe to ruine: And that ſhee ſhould giue charge vnto the noblemen that did aſſiſt her to doe the like; whereby they ſhould diſcharge their duties which they owe to God, his Maieſty, the generall good of the Netherlands, and to themſelues in particular.

This charge from the king vnto the ducheſſe, is nothing elſe, but what he had written in December 1565, and after the preſenting of the confederats petition, by his letters written in May following: In all which letters there is not any mention made of the petition, exhibited by the confederat gentlemen, nor of his intention to redreſſe thoſe alterations by any milde or moderat courſe, as the ducheſſe had ſo often promiſed. Whereby it appeared, that they did not acquaint the king truly with the eſtate and affaires of the Netherlands: and that the counſell of Spaine (being too violent) not conſidering the ſeaſon, the eſtate of the countrey, nor in what tearmes the Romiſh Religion then ſtood (being without doubt greatly ſhaken) ſought onely by this latter charge vnto the Gouerneſſe, to ruine the nobilitie & the commons of the Netherlands. But ſhe proceeded more modeſtly and diſcreetly, than the ſaid counſell of Spaine. For if in ſteed of giuing of the ſaid letters of aſſurance vnto the nobles confederat, (which came onely from her owne inuention) ſhee would vpon the receit of this laſt commiſſion and charge (wherewith ſhe was much perplexed) haue put it preſently in execution, with all rigour and violence, as ſhe was expreſſely commaunded and recommaunded: without doubt ſhe had ruined her ſelfe, and all the kings eſtate in the Netherlands, through the furie of the people; who being ſet in a rage with the pulling down of Images, were ſtill armed, and by the diſpaire which the nobles might haue conceiued, hauing no aſſurance from the king, who happily might haue accepted of the ſuccors which the prince of Conde and other Proteſtants of France had offered them. But ſhe, who knew better the eſtate of affaires (as hauing them ſtill before her eyes, producing dayly new effects) than the counſell of Spaine did, ſuppreſſing for a time theſe letters and commiſſion, ſhe would not breake the ele with her knee, as they ſay, but turning her coat as the wind did blow, ſhee ſtrucke ſayle (ſo as her delayes and ſhifts from the day of the preſentation of the petition, with her goodly practiſes, had withdrawne many of the confederats) hoping, that by little and little they would grow more cold, conſidering the impreſſion they had put into their heads of the kings indignation: and that vpon the ſaid aſſurance (as they had promiſed) they would temper the violence of the people, who were greatly mooued and incenſed, whileſt that ſhe prouided for things, embracing the beſt occaſions to produce the ſaid letters and charge, when as ſhee ſhould ſee the commons diſarmed, and the gentlemen aſſured and retired to their houſes, attending the comming of the duke of Alua. If this came from the dexteritie and induſtrie of the ducheſſe, or of her counſell, I referre it to the cenſure of others, but they were too ſubtile for the confederats, who could not diſcouer them.

On the other ſide, if the Gouerneſſe would haue enclined willingly to ſome tollerable moderation and good order, touching that which the gentlemen demaunded in their petition, and not to haue fed them with ſo many delayes, excuſing her ſelfe abſolutely, that ſhee had no credit nor authoritie to diſpence with the Edicts and Inquiſition, ſhee had quenched the fire which lay ſmothering in the aſhes, the which had not flamed out, being vncouered, as we haue ſeene; and euery one had beene contented to liue (with the libertie of his conſcience) quiet in his houſe, ſeeing themſelues free from feare of ſearch by the Inquiſitors, touching their faith and beleefe. But contrariwiſe, many haue beleeued, that both the ducheſſe and the counſell of Spaine, meaning to ruine and root out the nobilitie of the Netherlands (as it hath beene alwayes the practiſe of the Spaniards) and to bring the people into perpetuall ſlauerie, according vnto the twelue articles, drawne by the Inquiſition of Spaine (the which were found among the writings of *Ieams van Heſſel*, Attorney generall of Flanders)

A Flanders) ſought all occaſions how to effect it. Beſides, the retreat of the Spaniards, required by the noblemen, and the refuſing of money, without a conuocation of the generall Eſtates, were reputed by the Spaniards for a hainous crime. But now (in their opinions) a fit oportunity was offered, by the preſentation of the ſaid petition, which they made the groundworke of all their deſignes. Yet in the beginning (if they did not diſſemble) it was allowed and commended, as well by the Gouerneſſe, as by the chiefe noblemen and knights of the Order, as a good and faithfull ſeruice done vnto the king; promiſing them (in reſpect thereof) to doe all good offices vnto his Maieſtie, to effect the contents thereof; thanking them for the good aduice and counſell they had giuen to his Maieſtie, vntill that the impoſtume of the Spaniſh hatred againſt the ſaid countries comming to breake, ſuch as did hate them, and
B others of the like qualitie, thruſt on by ambition, and their owne priuate profit, ſeeking to fiſh in a troubled water, and ſome of the cardinall of Granuelles creatures (who was a capitall enemie to the princes and the chiefe noblemen of the countrey) began to detract openly the authors and preſenters thereof, and to accuſe them of ſeditious rebellion to all kings, princes, potentates, and forraine nations: who being then filled with thoſe reports, had no other conceit, but that all the nobilitie, or the greateſt part, with the whole people, were reuolted from their prince. Moreouer, the cardinall being in Spaine, did aggrauate the matter all hee could, making the ſaid petition to be the motiue and efficient cauſe of popular tumults, of publicke preaching, of the taking of armes, of the beating downe of Images, and other diſorders: ſo as the eight and twentieth day of Februarie 1568, a criminall ſentence was pronounced a-
C gainſt the ſaid Netherlands, by the office of the Inquiſition, and ratified by the king, as wee ſhall hereafter ſee.

And although that after this aſſurance giuen by the Gouerneſſe, and the promiſes made by the confederats, it ſeemed that all troubles ſhould ceaſe: yet notwithſtanding, although the ducheſſe ſought by all meanes to hinder the preaching without the townes, yet the people hauing gotten this libertie ſince the breaking downe of Images, leauing the fields, did appropriate vnto themſelues certaine churches within the townes: ſo as they were forced (with the Gouerneſſe conſent) to ſuffer them to build new Temples in Antuerpe for their exerciſe, with ſome rules and ordinances ouer all, to auoid ſcandales and diſorders: after that thoſe of the Conſiſtories of the Religion, and the Miniſters, *Iohn Taffin*, *Herman Modet*, and *George Silſain*,
D for the French & Dutch churches, had made their excuſes by writing vnto the magiſtrat of Antuerpe, in manner as followeth:

A inſtification of the Proteſtant miniſters at Antuerpe.

My maſters, we proteſt in truth, as before God, that what hath beene done touching the beating downe of Images, was without our priuitie or conſent. As for the ſpoyles, robberies, drunkenneſſe, and other diſſoluteneſſe and inſolencies, we both blame them, and deteſt them. Wherfore the Miniſters of the Word ſhall exhort (as they haue already done) their auditors in their ſermons to abſtaine, and to deliuer into your hands what hath bin ſtolne away. Thoſe of our Church are ready to yeeld you all obedience, and to oppoſe themſelues vnder your command, againſt all violences, thefts, and other inſolencies. We will acknowledge you to be eſtabliſhed by the lord in the office of magiſtrat, and therfore we are bound to obey you, not only
E for feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake: and by conſequence we ought and will faithfully pay all taxes, impoſts, cuſtomes, ſubſidies, tithes, and other duties, ordinarie and extraordinarie, that ſhall be impoſed vpon vs. We confeſſe, that ſuch as ſhall refuſe, ſhall deale fraudulently, offend God, and are to be puniſhed by you. For the better aſſurance whereof, the Miniſters of the Word, and others committed for the gouernment of the church, are ready, if need be, to take an oath, to be faithful and obedient vnto you in all things (except againſt God and his Word) for the good and profit of the towne and of the inhabitants: beſeeching you, that vnder your authoritie and protection we may be ſuffred to aſſemble in ſome Temples fit and capable for the exerciſe of our Religion; and not to take it in ill part, if wee make vſe of ſome, according to the preſent neceſſitie, vntill you haue otherwiſe prouided. In the meane
F time, we pretend not to force any one in his conſcience, nor conſtraine him to our Religion; contenting our ſelues, and praying God, that wee haue meanes to ſerue him, according vnto ours; hoping that you will prouide ſo, as both the one and the other may haue cauſe of content, giuing charge, that they ſhall not doe any iniurie or outrage one vnto another for matter of Religion.

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Vpon which requeſt, there was a certaine accord made in Antuerpe, betwixt the one and A
the other Religion, whom the magiſtrat tooke equally into his protection the ſecond of September, the ſaid accord containing ſeuenteene articles. Signed by the prince of Orange, and vnderneath *Ex mandato Dominorum, Polites.* The like in a manner were made in Vtrecht and Amſterdam, then at Gaunt, Tournay, and other places, to entertaine the inhabitants in concord and loue one with another, and to aſſure the townes from all eminent danger, vntill the king had otherwiſe prouided, by the aduice of the generall eſtates: the which was done by the particular gouernours and magiſtrates of townes, as well in Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, Friſeland, Gueldres, as other prouinces of the Netherlands: whereby the reformed Religion did wonderfully encreaſe, and the Proteſtants had for a time ſome cauſe of content, ſeeing themſelues freed from that odious Inquiſition, from the new bithops, B
bloudie Edicts, perſecutions, and obſeruation of the counſell of Trent, enioying the libertie of their conſciences, and the preaching of their doctrine. The confederate gentlemen holding themſelues well aſſured by the letters which the Gouerneſſe had giuen them; after that they had written vnto the Conſiſtories, to carry themſelues modeſtly in their aſſemblies, they retyred euery one to his owne houſe. And ſoone after there followed an Edict, by the which (to giue the people the better ſatisfaction) the Inquiſition and the Edicts againſt them of the Religion, were ſurceaſed, by the authoritie of the court, commaunding notwithſtanding to puniſh both in body and goods the breakers of Images, cauſers of tumults, robbers, and diſturbers of the publicke quiet, vpon paine of the loſſe of their priuiledges, for ſuch as ſhould not doe their duties: forbidding expreſſely the carrying of armes to the preaching. C

Yet the people did not altogether forbeare carrying of armes, but in many places did aſſemble like men of warre: for which cauſe, the Seignior of Backerzeel, a chiefe counſellour to the earle of Egmont (who had beene one of the deputies for the nobilitie, and had ſigned the compromiſe) iſſuing out of the Audenarde with ſome bourgeſſes and peſants, fell vpon a troupe of theſe armed men, neere vnto Gramont, whom he ſurpriſed ſuddenly, not fearing any ſuch encounter, defeated them, and put them to rout, whereof hee ſlew twelue, and tooke one and twentie priſoners, the which were afterwards hanged.

This was the firſt exploit that was done by armes againſt them of the Religion: and afterwards they began by little and little, by vertue of letters and ſecret commaundements from the Gouerneſſe, to purſue them in diuers places: whereof ſome ſeeing this change, and that D
the confederate gentlemen had thus abandoned them; and withall, that the earle of Egmont (notwithſtanding his permiſſion to preach within his gouernment of Flanders) was the firſt that did perſecute them, began to retyre out of the countrey, ſome here, ſome there, and they had at the firſt retyred in greater numbers, if the ducheſſe had not giuen them a new aſſurance, that his Maieſtie (comming into thoſe parts) would heare their complaints, and entreat them as a good and mercifull prince: aſſuring them, that he had no entent to vſe rigor againſt his ſubiects, with the which and many other goodly reaſons ſhee ſought to perſuade them. And in the meane time ſhe ſent ſecret inſtructions to the gouernors and particular magiſtrats, to puniſh ſuch as were culpable: whereby thoſe that were not the moſt rigorous, nor forward in the execution of her ſecret inſtructions, found, that all the ducheſſes perſuaſions did not tend E
ſo much to grace, in retaining them that would retire, as to puniſhment. Wherupon the magiſtrat of Alcmar in Weſt-Friſeland, writ vnto the Gouerneſſe, in what perplexitie they were in by theſe latter letters, written in ſecret, directly contradicting the letters of aſſurance, and the kings bountie, whereof ſhe made ſo great brags, deſiring to haue a more ample reſolution therupon. Wherunto ſhe anſwered, that notwithſtanding any obiections made by them of Weſt-Friſeland (which are the townes of Alcmar, Horne, Enchuyſen, and Medenblyc) they ſhould gouern themſelues according vnto the inſtructions ſent to the officers & particular magiſtrats.

Thoſe of Alcmar complain of the ſecret inſtructions

This paſſing in this ſort in the Netherlands, and the contract aforeſaid being ſent into Spain to the king, he was not a little grieued and offended thereat, being as then at Segobia, ſick of an ague. This matter being brought before his counſel, was by them much & long debated: many F
of them taking it in the worſt ſence: but at the laſt they all generally agreed, that the Netherlands had great need of his Maieſties preſence therin, and for that cauſe began to conſult vpon the beſt way for his trauell and voyage thither; and that in the meane time the Regents letters ſhould be anſwered, in ſuch manner, that the king ſhould ſeeme to ſay nothing touching the

The kings reſolution in Spaine.

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A the Regents dealing with the confederated gentlemen, and the ſectaries, nor once ſpeake thereof, that he might not thereby make any ſhew, to like or diſlike thereof, leaſt it ſhould be occaſion of new vprore or ſuſpition. And touching the aſſembly of the States generall, that might not by any meanes be tollerated (as it had beene oftentimes before determined) without burthening the kings conſcience. Laſtly, That the Regent ſhould be once againe put in mind to entertain and pay the dutch princes and pentionaries to the king, and that his commaundements might be fully kept and obſerued.

According to this reſolution, in the moneth of October, the king writ two ſorts of letters, the one to be ſhewed to the counſell and the lords, and the other to be kept ſecret: in the firſt he wrote, That for that the Queene his wife was then brought in bed of her firſt child, being
B a daughter, borne vpon S *Clares* day, and for that cauſe named *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, he was as then going from Segobia to Madril, to make preparation for his voyage into the Netherlands, and that he was not perſuaded, that the troubles in the Netherlands could be pacified, by aſſembling of the generall States, eſpecially in his abſence, with other ſuch like doubts. He wrote likewiſe vnto the Emperour *Maximilian*, much complaining of the troubles in the Netherlands. Whereunto the Emperour, as a wiſe, experienced, and politicke prince, returned him an anſwere in the moneth of September, ſatisfying him in euery point of his letter particularly, deſiring to hold and maintaine all loue and friendſhip with him, as brethren are bound to doe, one vnto the other; amongſt other things ſaying and by many reaſons and arguments prooving, that hee, after due, ripe, and good deliberation and aduice taken, con-
C ſidering the ground and depth of the ſame, found it to be a matter of exceeding great conſequence, weight, and trouble; principally, becauſe the matter of the Catholicke Religion was become ſo hatefull and odious vnto many of the Germane princes, allies, and of affinitie with the noblemen and gentlemen of the Netherlands, which might eaſily bee procured and induced to mount vpon their horſes, and to aid them; whereby the Netherlands ſhould not only endure and ſuffer great hurt, hinderance, charges and burthens, but alſo no ſmall doubt might be made, how the ſame would be well holden and kept: and therfore he ſaid, he thoght it the beſt meanes, and wherein leaſt danger conſiſted, to end and pacifie the controuerſie, if it were poſſible, by good and peaceable meanes, and not by force and rigor. Which to effect, his Maieſty offered, ſo the king would be content to be a mediator betweene him and his ſubiects,
D with many ſuch reaſons more. He wrote likewiſe to that end vnto the Regent the ducheſſe of Parma, and therewith ſent her certain letters, to be giuen to the lords of the Netherlands, as to the prince of Orange, the earle of Egmont, the earle of Horne, the earle of Mansfield, & others, but referred the deliuering of them to the diſcretion of the Regent, and the kings pleaſure: which the king did after forbid her to deliuer vnto them.

The emperour Maximilians anſwere to a letter ſent him by the king of Spaine.

About this time many of the noblemen in the Netherlands wrot their ſeuerall letters vnto the king, as the earls of Egmont, Mansfield, Meghen, and Arenbergh, the baron of Barlamont, Noircarmes, and Raſſinghem, the Burghgraue of Gaunt, the Vniuerſitie of Louen, and diuers others, euery man according to his affairs, ſhewing in generall and particular what had paſſed, eſpecially in euery one of their ſeuerall gouernments. Whereunto the king made them anſwer
E in moſt friendly wiſe, thanking them for their good ſeruice in his behalfe, and willing them to continue in the ſame, commending them ſeuerally for their particular ſeruice, with many and good ſpeeches, and wrot a very friendly letter vnto the preſident *Vigilius* with his owne hand, thanking him for his great paines and good endeuor done in his ſeruice, and deſiring him (not reſpecting his age, feebleneſſe, and indiſpoſition of body) to continue therein till his comming thither. And for that about this time the prince of Orange & the earle of Egmont made complaint vnto the king and certaine lords in Spaine that were their friends, that ſome complained of them behind their backs, and had a bad and ſiniſter conceit and opinion of them, againſt all truth, as time and oportunitie ſhould well declare, with ſuch like ſpeeches, they were anſwered by the third hand of certaine counſellors of Spaine, that the beſt meanes for them (to ceaſe all
F bad ſpeeches and conceits) was to ſhew and proue the contrary by their actions, conforming themſelues in all things to the good will of his Maieſty, which was alwaies cleare, allowable, & anſwerable, and from the which there was no bad conſequence to be feared; for that the righteſt and trueſt point of the duty of a vaſſale or ſubiect, is, that knowing the reſolute intent and purpoſe of his prince, to endeuour himſelfe by all means to effect, fulfill, and execute the ſame

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with all celeritie and promptneſſe, although hee had ſome particular feeling to the contrarie: for that a particular member (as all vaſſals are vnto their lords) ought not to thinke or eſteeme himſelfe wiſer than his ſoueraigne prince, to whom onely belonged the gouernment and generall commaund, and not to the particular vaſſale. They wrote them likewiſe, that in Spaine the common opinion was, That if they (namely the prince of Orange, and the earle of Egmont) or any of them both, would haue behaued themſelues ſtoutly and couragiouſly, the troubles in the Netherlands had not proceeded to ſuch an iſſue: which notwithſtanding, if from thence forward they would doe their endeauours, to doe good and vpright ſeruice for the State, without diſſimulation, as dutie bound them, they might thereby reforme all cauſes, or at the leaſt maintain them in *eſſe*, vntill the comming of the king into the Netherlands; with diuers ſuch inſtructions. A B

The Gouerneſſe by her manifeſt demonſtrations of mildneſſe, and by ſo many goodly aſſurances, which ſhe promiſed, did not onely labour to retaine the people and marchants from retyring out of the countrey, but alſo the nobilitie; who, notwithſtanding any aſſurance ſhee could giue them, were not without diſtruſt: but aboue al (hauing diſappointed the league and compromiſe of the gentlemen, which made her hardie, and yet diſſembling) ſhee ſtudied to entertaine by all kinds of fauour and courteſie, the prince of Orange, with the earles of Egmont, Horne, and Hochſtraten. The king hauing ſent her word, that ſhe ſhould be very carefull, not to giue them any cauſe of iealouſie or diſtruſt, but to aſſure them of his loue, both to all his ſubiects in generall, and to them in particular, to take from them all deſire, to retyre out of the countrey. The king himſelfe did write vnto the prince of Orange, to teſtifie the loue which hee bare him, and the good liking hee had of his ſeruices, as followeth. C

The kings letter to the prince of Orange.

I haue receiued your letters of the ſeuen and twentieth of May with great affection, and ſince of the foureteenth of Iune: and by that which I haue written vnto my ſiſter, you may conceiue not onely what ſmall occaſion you haue to thinke that which you writ in your letters of the ſeuen and twentieth of May, but alſo the contrarie. It is certaine, that you ſhould be much deceiued to thinke, that I had not great confidence in you. And admit, that any one ſhould ſeeke to doe bad offices, yet am I not ſo light and credulous, as to beleeue them, hauing had ſo great experience of your loyaltie and ſeruices: whereby you may therein ſatisfie your ſelfe, and relye vpon the letters which I haue heretofore written vnto you in that behalfe, and D to your owne deſeruings; but in no ſort to that which ſome (it may be enemies to my ſeruice and your good) haue giuen you to vnderſtand. Touching the leaue which you demaund to giue ouer your charge and gouernments, I am diſpleaſed, that your priuate affaires ſtand in thoſe termes you ſay; and the eſtate of the countrey being as it is, I cannot but let you vnderſtand, that it is no reaſon, that ſuch perſons as you are (in whom I relye and truſt) ſhould abandon it, eſpecially when I my ſelfe am ſo farre off: Nay, it were reaſon, that ſuch as are retyred to their houſes, ſhould run to helpe in this neceſſitie, and employ themſelues to that whereunto they are bound, as you haue preſently done, going into Antuerpe; whereof I haue receiued great content, and am well aſſured, that you will doe all things there that ſhall be moſt befitting my ſeruice, and the quiet and tranquilitie of the towne and countrey, and for the preE uenting of diſorders; whereof I truſt in you, and commaund you expreſly, knowing that you will not ſhew your ſelfe otherwiſe, than you haue done all your life. And to the end you may ſee how freely I treat with you, I will not forbeare to let you vnderſtand, that they ſpeake much here, for that your brother hath beene an actor in thoſe actions: and for that I cannot but diſlike thereof, I charge and commaund you, that you ſee how it may bee preuented, that he proceed no further, as (if you thinke it ſo good) that you retyre him for a time from you. From the Wood of Segouia the firſt of Auguſt 1566, Signed *Philip*.

This letter would haue lulled a very ſufficient man aſleepe, if the prince of Orange had not receiued aduertiſements of a contrarie tenor, yea, euen from Spaine; and if there had not F come vnto his hands the copies of two letters, written by *Franciſco d'Allana*, embaſſadour for the king of Spaine, at the French court, to the ducheſſe of Parma: which we haue thought good to inſert, ſhewing how the ſaid lady ſhould entertaine all theſe noblemen: the firſt was of this tenor.

Madame,

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Franciſco d' Allanas firſt letters to the ducheſſe of Parma.

A Madame, Although I haue written vnto you at large fifteene dayes ſince, and by the poſt which came from Spaine, yet hauing receiued a packet two dayes ſince out of Spaine, I would not but preſently aduertiſe your highneſſe, and ſend you the copies of two letters which were written vnto me, whereby you may ſee many particularities, which in my opinion will giue you contentment: and to vnderſtand the good order which his Maieſtie hath taken, and the great preparations which he daily makes, as wel to reſiſt the Turkiſh armie, if it ſhould attempt any thing vpon that coaſt, as to reduce his ſubiects to Gods obedience and his. Your highneſſe ſhall alſo vnderſtand, how much they are ſatisfied with your manner of proceeding ſince the ſtirres which haue happened in thoſe parts where you are: and aboue all they haue commended the laſt point of intelligences, and places of ſtrength, whereby his Maieſtie doth now

B pretend to effect his * deſignes, with little paine and reſiſtance, contrarie to the doubt which he had in the beginning, ſo as ſtrangers dealt no more in it; and alſo by the wiſedome and dexteritie, wherewith your highneſſe hath begun to manage this action. Whereunto I can aſſure you Madam, his Maieſtie doth attribute the preſeruation of his Netherlands, next vnder God, who by his grace, from this miſchiefe which hath happened, will cauſe his Maieſty to reape ſo great a benefit, as to ſee them reduced wholly to his obedience, and to that eſtate and gouernment, whereunto his predeceſſors could neuer attaine, and the which hee hath ſo long deſigned and deſired, and withall to haue the meanes (the which no good ſeruant will counſell his Maieſtie to let ſlip) to ſubdue one by another, whom he pleaſed, and that might hereafter oppoſe themſelues to the good of his affaires in thoſe countries. And for that, Madame, the point

C which ſeemes to me of greateſt importance in this action, is to aſſure more and more the diſguiſed ſeruants whom you know: your highneſſe I hope will not take it ill, if I do againe aduertiſe you to temporize with them, and to force your ſelfe as much as you can to aſſure them as wel by others ſuborned, of the great good opinion and ſatisfaction which his Maieſtie hath of their actions, and of the loue he beareth them: that hee beleeueth and ſaith, that they haue done him ſo notable a ſeruice, as he thinks himſelfe bound vnto them, that the Netherlands are yet vnder his obedience: and that without their preſence and wiſedomes, they had either beene a prey to ſtrangers, or bathed with the bloud of his owne ſubiects. For although, Madame, they be cunning and counterfeit, as we know, yet the time & occaſions do require, that for his Maieſties ſeruice they ſhould vſe theſe artificiall ſpeeches. And I beleeue that your

D highneſſe ſhall find by experience, that they will ſerue ſomething to entertaine them, at the leaſt to containe them; as we haue alreadie found, not onely by them, but alſo by thoſe * two which are gone to his Maieſty, with whom they haue carried themſelues ſo cunningly, giuing them ſuch entertainment, as they do not ſweare but by the faith which they owe vnto their maſter: and beſides they haue made ſuch practiſes in their families, as they cannot do nor ſay any thing, but it is preſently aduertiſed. In the meane time they are reſolued to make them keepe good reſidence by his Maieſtie, and not ſuffer them to depart, no more than the ſeignior of Ibermont, who thought to returne preſently. But I muſt tell you, Madame, that the greateſt miſchiefe I know for the preſent in this buſineſſe, is, that thoſe which haue the greateſt power and credit with his Maieſtie, and namely the duke and the prince, agree well vpon the

E puniſhment, but not about the meanes: for the one preſſeth his Maieſties paſſage all hee can, and the other ſeekes to hinder it, propounding new meanes. For my part I did alwayes hold, That the maſters preſence did import much, and that aboue all, diligence and celeritie was neceſſarie: and that in vnexpected diſeaſes, they muſt applie ſpeedie remedies, yea violent: in which opinion, they ſend me word, that his Maieſtie is now firme and conſtant. And the day of his arriuall at Madrill, after his recouerie, he ſware in the preſence of thoſe noblemen, *That he knew that what had beene done in his Netherlands, not onely concerned his reputation, but alſo the ſeruice of God: and that he did ſo much apprehend it, as hee would rather hazard the reſt of his eſtates, than not to puniſh ſuch a rebellion exemplarly, and in the view of all Chriſtendome.* And to that end, euen in the ſame place, his Maieſtie reſolued to part out of Spaine, as ſoone as poſſible hee

F could, and to lead with him the prince his ſonne, and the queene, who notwithſtanding they thinke ſhall paſſe into Fraunce, leauing his ſiſter gouerneſſe of the countrey, and his two nephewes the emperours ſonnes with her, although that the emperour doth inſiſt much to haue his eldeſt ſonne. That ſome dayes before, the duke ſhal paſſe to refreſh the garriſons of Italie, and ſhall draw forth all the old ſouldiers and captaines, to place others that goe with him out

of

* To turn the Netherlands into a royaltie.

Thinke of this both French & Engliſh.

The nobles aboue mentioned

* The marquis of Bergh, & the baron of Montigny.

D' Alua and Rigomes.

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„ of Spaine. That his Maiestie arriuing soone after in Italie, he would treat with some princes A
„ and potentats, conferre with the pope, and afterwards with the emperour, if it were possible to
„ vnite their counsels and forces together, from whom hee hath demaunded two regiments.
„ Which done, hauing giuen order for his designe, his Maiestie is resolued to stay in the French
„ countrey, and afterwards to discend into the Netherlands, with such forces as shall bee need-
„ full, according to the carriage of his subiects. Madame, I may not omit to aduertise you, that
„ the cont Palatin, the Landtgraue of Hessen, and other princes Lutherans, haue sent two em-
„ bassadors to this court, the one called *Iunius*, the other *Dauid*, to demand certain money which
„ the said princes did lend during the troubles of this realme, to the chiefe of the Protestants fa-
„ ction; and withall to recommend them which hold their goodly religion vnto the French
„ king: But in truth it is (as farre as I can discouer) to make some practises with the said Hugue- B
„ nots, and to giue new meanes to enterprise against the estate and countrey of his Catholike
„ Maiestie. And for that I haue vnderstood for certaine, and from good place, that some of the
„ king and queenes counsell, yea of the greatest and most antient (although they terme them-
„ selues Catholikes) were of opinion to make vse of this legation, to make a league with the said
„ princes, and to fortifie themselues with their friendship; I was for some dayes troubled to find
* Of Lorraine meanes to preuent it: but the cardinall * being happily arriued in the towne (who in truth
„ hath done a world of good offices, and would do more if he had the meanes) I haue conferred
„ long with him of the importance of this businesse, and of the consequence thereof, for the
„ ruine of the Catholike religion in this realme; making him to vnderstand, that it did not one-
„ ly concerne the interest of the king my master, but also his owne; giuing him thereby meanes C
„ to quarrell with *Iunius*, for that he was a subiect, and borne in the Netherlands: so as the next
„ day he went to a house of the queenes, called Moncheaux, whereas the court then was, where-
„ as he wrought in such sort, as presently after the king and queene sent a letter to the prouost of
„ their houshold, to commit the said embassadours of the Lutherans to prison, seizing vpon
„ their letters, papers, and instructions: the which had beene executed, but that during the
„ contestation there arriued one of the counsell, who was of opinion, that they should surcease
„ the execution, vntill they had a new commandement: So as although they haue since sought
„ to repaire this errour, yet the said embassadours hold themselues to haue receiued such an e-
„ scorne, and their masters so great an iniurie, as I see all the practise is thereby broken, and not
„ to bee repaired: besides they find themselues newly agreeued, for that they haue had but cold D
„ reception and entertainment at their audience in court, and were not greatly pleasing to the
„ king, queene, nor counsell, and that after their audience they did mocke at them; which
„ must needs turne to the great good of his Maisties affaires, and make them bare of friends
The queene mother. and alliances. The lady (you know who) I thinke is one of the most cunning dissemblers
„ in the world, the more I negotiat here, the more constantly I beleeue what I haue often writ-
„ ten vnto your highnesse, that there is neither trust, assurance, friendship, nor resolution in her.
And so hee ends his letter with a discourse of the queene mother, and of matters of Fraunce,
the which I omit for breuitie sake, for that they concerne not our subiect. It was written at Pa-
ris the 18 of August 1566.

And by a second letter hee writes vnto the Gouernesse, as followeth. E

Another letter from the embassador to the regent. Orange, Egmont, and Horne. Madame, The aduertisement which your highnesse hath giuen mee touching the af-
faires of the Netherlands, confirmes mee in the opinion which I alwayes had, That this tu-
mult could not bee without the intelligence and support of some great men, and namely of
those three which carrie so good a shew: for as your highnesse hath carefully and with great
discretion weighed all things, so you must beleeue, that from those three all the mischiefe
„ comes. I haue not failed to aduertise his Maiestie of all things, touching this action: and am
„ assured, that as your highnesse hath recommended it vnto his Maiestie, hee will not forget to
„ intreat them as they deserue, and according vnto your recommendation: and they may
„ be assured that they shall bee the first, whom his Maiestie will vndertake, not to grace them
„ (for they haue not deserued it) but to punish them as their rebellion doth merit: yet your F
„ highnesse must in no sort disfauour them, nor make any shew of discontentment, least it im-
„ paire the affaires; but to keepe them still in hope to bee held by his Maiestie for his faithfull
„ seruants, and that will auaile much; for suffering themselues to bee so persuaded, they will
„ bee the sooner circumuented; but when the time shall come, they shall talke to them in ano-

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A ther manner. And your highneſſe muſt reſt aſſured, that if you haue a deſire to make them re- "
ceiue the paiment which they haue merited, his Maieſtie will haue no leſſe affection to doe "
therein what ſhall be held neceſſarie. "

Alſo, Madame, whereas you deſire to be aduertiſed, in what aſſurance wee are of the ſuc- "
cours of France, I am forced to ſay, that they make vs many promiſes, but I feare they wil ſerue "
vs but to little purpoſe, and in the end all will bee but words, they hauing neither will nor "
meanes to ſuccour vs, as they promiſe. Beſides the Huguenots here are ſtrong and looke big: "
I will not omit any thing that is poſſible to be done, whereof I will aduertiſe your highneſſe, "
vpon all occaſions. But aboue all, I beſeech you gouerne your ſelfe with great dexteritie in "
the behalfe of thoſe three that I haue named. From Paris the nine and twentieth of Au- "
B guſt 1566. "

Theſe letters ſhew ſufficiently in what ſort they would entertaine theſe noblemen, name-
ly, the prince of Orange, and the earles of Egmont and Horne, ſeeing that they held them-
ſelues aſſured in Spaine of the marqueſſe of Berghes, and the baron of Montignie, and that in
their opinions (after they had diſpatched theſe) they would eaſily preuaile ouer the earles of
Hoochſtraten, Culenbourg, and Berghen, the lord of Brederode, and other of the chiefe
nobles of the confederats, vſing as their inſtruments therein other noblemen, as the earles of
Megen, Barlamont, and his fiue or ſixe ſonnes, *Noircarmes*, *Beaumoir*, and others, whom
they had at their deuotion, hating and enuying the other three noblemen, and all the con-
federats.

C The reſolution then beeing taken in the counſell of Spaine, that there was no meanes more
expedient to pacifie the troubles of the Netherlands, than to reduce the people and all the
nobilitie, to their antient (yea to an entire and abſolute) obedience, by force of armes; the
queſtion was to chuſe a commaunder for this action, which was weightie and of ſo great im-
portance. Some were of opinion, That if thoſe of the countrey did ſee prince *Charles* the kings
ſonne, and their naturall prince, they would preſently yeeld him all obedience. But thoſe that
bare an inueterat hatred vnto the countrey, as the cardinall of Granuelle and his like, excuſed
him of ſo heauie a burthen, by reaſon of his youth: then the duke of Medina-Celi was na-
med, but the Duke of Alua was preferred before him (notwithſtanding the priuiledges
of the countrey, which admit no ſtrange gouernour, but one that is borne in the countrey)
D as an antient captaine, of good experience, and fortunat in warre, to whom this charge was
giuen. Whereat prince *Charles* beeing much diſcontented, could not containe himſelfe, but
burſt forth in ſome words of diſlike againſt the duke; whereby hee diſcouered the loue hee
bare vnto theſe countries, being his inheritance, and the feare hee had that the duke would
oppreſſe them too much: ſaying vnto him, *Beware that thou doeſt not oppreſſe my people, leaſt* The prince of
I bee reuenged. To whom the duke anſwered, *I thanke God I haue a maſter for the remainder of* Spaines ſpeech
my life, and am not to be commanded by you. to the duke of
Alua.

Theſe noblemen, the prince of Orange, the earles of Egmont, Horne, Hoochſtrate, and
Lodewike of Naſſau, hauing ſeene theſe letters, and well conſidered of thoſe which the baron
of Montigny had written out of Spaine to the earle of Horne, his brother, containing the
E kings diſcontentment, touching the troubles happened in the Netherlands, aduertiſing them
to doe their beſt endeuour to redreſſe it, to the end that the king beeing in time pacified, hee
ſhould haue no occaſion to come into the countrey, or to remedie it by armes. All which
aduertiſements hauing put the noblemen in great perplexitie and doubt, they aſſembled the
third of October in the towne of Deuremonde, to reſolue what ſhould bee moſt fit and
conuenient for their aſſurance and preſeruation: wherein they were of diuers opinions, ſome
ſaying, That they ſhould not feare that the king would be ſo rigorous; ſome were of opinion,
to retire out of the country, and to giue place to the kings furie, if he came into the countrey
with an armie; others ſaid, That if they would remaine well vnited together, that there was
meanes to reſiſt his forces, wherein they ſhould neither want friends nor ſtrength. The earle
F of Egmont (who had more credit than any with the ſouldiers of the country) ſaid, That they The earle of
ſhould endeuour by all good dueties and offices to pacifie his Maieſtie, and not be ſo much a- Egmōts ſpeech
mazed at *Francis d' Allanas* letters, that they ought not to oppoſe themſelues to any thing that
it ſhould pleaſe the king to command, the which hee ſaid, he did not find tollerable in conſci-
ence,

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ence, but that they ought to acquaint him with all affaires, that being better informed, hee A
may prouide for them: That euerie one ſhould doe his beſt endeuour to appeaſe the troubles and to pacifie the people, as well as the nobilitie, to the end his Maieſtie might know them that haue beſt diſcharged themſelues in his ſeruice. And whereas ſome were of opinion to retire rather out of the countrey, that hee could not doe it, hauing no meanes to liue in a ſtrange countrey, with his wife, children, and family, in his eſtate and qualitie, from his lands and liuing, being needfull for him to depend wholy vpon the kings fauor, without the which he could not do any thing. This reſolution of the earle of Egmont (whereunto the earl of Horn did partly conforme himſelfe) did ſo amaze the other noblemen, as after they had been fiue or ſix houres together in conference, they retired without any other concluſion, but that euerie one ſhould ſtand vpon his guard, holding from that time forward the earle of Egmont for ſuſ- B
pect; who went from thence to Bruſſels, where hee complained to the ducheſſe of *Francis d'Allanas* letters, the which ſhe denied conſtantly, vntil that being vanquiſhed by his own hand, ſhe ſaid, That they muſt not take it, nor interpret it in that ſence they did.

The earle of Horne ſoone after the conference at Deuremonde, went likewiſe to Bruſſels, where (for that he vnderſtood that all his actions were ill taken) hee gaue an account of all his dealings in Tournay and Tourneſis, vnto the Gouerneſſe, the which hee left in her hands in writing: And for that he found that they diſtruſted him, he retired from Bruſſels, and went to his caſtle of Waert, from whence he writ vnto the king, dated the twentieth of Nouember, all the eſtate of his actions, iuſtifying himſelfe of many things wherewith they charged him to his Maieſtie, ſetting downe the reaſons why hee had abſented himſelfe from court, and reti- C
red to his houſe. Hee writ alſo to the baron of Montigny, his brother, being in Spaine, complaining among other things, That they had called his loyaltie in queſtion, and that they did interpret all his good ſeruices for ill deſeruings: ſaying, That he held his brother happie to be in Spaine, farre from ſo great troubles, diſcontentments and diſgraces. But ſoone after theſe two poore brethren were paid with one kind of coine, as we ſhall ſee by the kings letters of the three and twentieth of Auguſt, ſent vnto the ducheſſe. The confederat gentlemen might eaſily conceiue whereto tended the great preparation for warre in Spaine, and the threats which the king vſed againſt them. Wherefore euerie one was of opinion to prouide for his ſafetie, and thoſe that were of the religion, and truſted leaſt to the ducheſſe letters of aſſurance, reſol- D
ued to ſeiſe vpon ſome townes and forts, and to defend themſelues, and to liue out of feare: wherin ſome ſhewed their valour and vertue: for being in armes with ſuch men as they could gather together, they ſurpriſed ſome townes in diuers parts. On the other ſide the ducheſſe ha-
The ducheſſe armes, and forbids all exerciſe of the religion. uing diſſolued the vnion and compromiſe of the nobles, holding her ſelfe halfe a conquereſſe, did alſo arme, making a diligent ſearch, and puniſhing all thoſe that had aſſiſted at the breaking downe of images, forbidding the preaching abſolutely, and all exerciſe as well publike as ſe-
cret of the religion; commaunding generally that the edicts concerning it, and the Inquiſition, ſhould be put in execution, according vnto the kings letters, the which ſhee durſt not attempt before, fearing to ſpoyle all, vntill that the noblemen were ſeperated from their confederation, and retired to their houſes, being pacified by her letters of aſſurance.

Among other towns of the Netherlands, which had taken vnto them the free exerciſe of the E
religion, that of Valenciennes of Henault (a ſtrong and a renowned town, as wel for her greatneſſe and beauty, as for the traffique of merchandiſe, being ſerued by two goodly riuers, whereof the Eſcaut is chiefly nauigable, the which doth ſerue many good townes euen vnto Antuerpe, where as it runnes into the ſea) was one of the firſt and moſt zealous to religion. The ducheſſe to hinder the ſaid exerciſe, and to haue his Maieſties pleaſure put in execution, touching the Inquiſition and the edicts, ſent the ſeignior of Noircarmes thither, being lieutenant to the marqueſſe of Berghes, who was gouernor and great bailife of Henault, with fiue companies of foot, and foure of horſe, to bee there in garriſon: Where hee arriued the two and twentieth of December, the ſame yeare 1566. The Valenciennois knowing the ſtrength and F
ſtate of their towne, being able to defend and maintaine themſelues without garriſon, excuſed themſelues. The Gouerneſſe moued with this refuſall, ſent the duke of Arſchot, & the earl of Egmont, to let them vnderſtand, that for his Maieſties ſeruice they ſhould not refuſe to keep their gates open at all ſeaſons, vpon any commaundement they ſhould receiue from him.

But

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A But they knowing that this garriſon was onely to ſuppreſſe them, excuſed themſelues, offering a good ſumme of money for his Maieſties profit, to bee freed from the ſouldiers they would haue brought in, alledging certaine priuiledges and exemption of garriſons of the ſaid towne. The report of this refuſall made by the noblemen vnto the ducheſſe, ſhe commanded *Noircarmes* to beſiege the towne, with thoſe troups of horſe and foot which ſhee had gathered together long before.

For the effecting of which charge *Noircarmes* approached with his forces, ſpoyles the countrey round about, and brings them thoſe diſcommodities, which are incident to warre: Hee takes the Borough and the Abbey of S. Amand, betwixt Valenciennes and Tournay, whereof the Proteſtants were ſeiſed, and there ſhewed how hee would vſe them whom hee
B afterwards beſieged. The towne beeing of all parts inueſted, hee preſt it all he could, and kept them in that were accuſtomed to ſally forth. The beſieged prepared for their defence what they could, and to withſtand the attempts of *Noircarmes*, they ſent to intreat the other neighbour townes, not to faile them at their need, and namely the gentlemen, vnder whoſe aſſurance they had taken armes. But the nobilitie fainting in their extremitie, ſome of the people aſſemble to aid them, eſpecially they of Weſt-Flanders goe to field, but wanting commaunders, they marched not like ſouldiers, buſying themſelues in ſpoyling of churches, and running after prieſts; they had not marched farre, but they were diſcouered by the ſeignior of Raſſinghem, gouernour of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, who ſent ſome horſe with a troupe of harguebuſiers, drawne out of the neighbour garriſons, who eaſily brake them, being
C all foot, and charged them in an open champion: Some thought to ſaue themſelues in the village church of Waterloos, the which was ſet on fire, and all of them burnt or ſmothered. Thoſe of Tournay hearing of this enterpriſe of the Weſt-Flemings, were gone to field to ſuccour them, that beeing ioyned together, they might by that meanes put themſelues into Valenciennes. But Raſſinghem, who had all night aduertiſed the commons (the which were inrolled for ſuch accidents) and the garriſons of the countrey, hee had by ſix of the clocke in the morning, neere two thouſand men of the ſaid commons, and three hundred harguebuſiers, and a hundred horſe together, who notwithſtanding were not troubled to hazard any thing in the combat: for *Noircarmes* was in front with ten enſignes of foot, and ſix hundred horſe, who charged them in ſuch ſort, as a third part remained vpon the place. The nim-
D bleſt foot-men were the happieſt, for they ſaued themſelues in Tournay: whereas afterwards by meanes of the caſtle, he cauſed nine companies to enter in garriſon, and after that hee had taken a number of the chiefeſt burgeſſes, and ſome miniſters, he made the towne obedient vnto the king.

Valenciennes beſieged.

1567

Noircarmes ſeeing that their neighbours miſerie did not moue the Valenciennois, hee drew out of Douay, Arras, Tournay, and other places, all the canon hee could, the which hee planted before the ſaid towne of Valenciennes, and in a ſhort ſpace made ſuch a breach, as the poore beſieged, ſeeing themſelues without commaunders, and without ſouldiers, but ſome light French foot, beeing abandoned by the nobilitie, and without all hope of any helpe or ſuccours, together with the threatning letters which the Ducheſſe had againe ſent
E vnto them, hauing endured three monethes ſiege, vpon many goodly promiſes, they yeelded vnto *Noircarmes* the fourth of March (againſt the opinion of the French and ſome others) by compoſition, the which was not kept: For as ſoone as *Noircarmes* was entred into the towne with his troupes (as he was a cruell man, and exceeding couetous) he kept the gates of the towne ſhut for ſome dayes, that hee might with more eaſe ſee the French ſouldiers hanged, with the miniſters, and the richeſt Proteſtant merchants, confiſking their goods: among which the two *Michels Herlin*, father and ſonne, were of the chiefe; reading whoſe iudgement, as the clauſe of confiſcation of their goods was the concluſion, the father anſwered, *This is the ſauce*: and ſo thoſe two notable perſons, and of the richeſt of the town loſt their heads, whoſe goods, eſpecially their gold, ſiluer, plate, iewels, and the richeſt moueables *Noircarmes* did ap-
F propriat vnto himſelfe.

Valenciennes yeelded.

Noircarmes breaks his faith with them of Valenciennes.

The taking of this towne did much amaze the other places, for Cambreſis was abandoned, Maſtricht yeelded, and in a manner all the other towns receiued the kings garriſons. *Anthony* of Bomberghen, who had ſeiſed vpon Boiſleduke, & detained priſoners there the ſeignors of Merode & Peretheim, with M. *Aſchyff*, chancellor of Brabant, being ſent by the duches thither

to

to ſettle things in good order, after that he had cauſed his ſouldiers to be paid, he retired, hea- A
ring that the earle of Megen came to beſiege him. The towne of Haſſelt in the countrie of Liege hauing beene ſurpriſed by the Proteſtants, who had chaſed away the Romiſh religion, being beſieged by the biſhop, yeelded by compoſition, vpon condition, to pay the charges of the ſiege, to repaire that which had been taken out of the churches and monaſteries, and from thenceforth to entertaine the Romiſh religion, receiuing ſuch garriſon as the biſhop ſhould place there.

The ſeignior of Thoulouſe with ſome other gentlemen Proteſtants, by the intelligence of *Peter Haek*, bailif of Middlebourg in Zeeland, had an enterpriſe vpon the iſland of Walchren, being imbarked at Antuerpe: but the marchants ſhip of Antuerpe hauing ſeen them imbark, departed before them, and arriued firſt in Zeeland, giuing aduertiſement of the ſaid enterpriſe, B
the which by this meanes failed: and withall the prince had forbidden them of Zeeland before, to receiue any garriſon; of which defence wee ſhall haue cauſe to ſpeake hereafter.

In the meane time the people ſeeing the hot purſuits of the clergie to increaſe daily, to their great loſſe and preiudice, and that the Gouerneſſe (ſeeing that ſhee had woon the game by the diſiunction of the nobles) made no account of their ſighes and complaints, they reſolued to appeale to the king, ſending him a ſupplication full of teares, to mooue him to take pitie of his people, who demaunded nothing but to bee maintained in the libertie of their conſciences. And to make it knowne vnto his Maieſty, how much they deſired to aduance his affaires, they offer him three millions of florins, ſo as it would pleaſe him to entertaine the tranſaction in his full force. And withall they imployed certaine princes of Germany to bee ſuiters in their fa- C
uour. But this offer and demaund being imparted to the counſell of Spaine, was held for a preſumptuous oſtentation of their riches, and bred iealouſie in many, that by this ouerture they would ſeeke to win the hearts, and draw in the forces of ſtrangers, to come to ſuccour them. Yet the people left not to trie other meanes, as well with the Gouerneſſe (whom they found rough and inexorable) as with the confederat noblemen, who being ſummoned (as being in the like ſort intereſſed, and partakers of the like perill and danger, of the doubtfull iſſue which this tragedie ſeemed to promiſe) to keepe their faith, othe, and promiſe, ſo often reiterated vnto them, that they ſhould not be moleſted for their conſciences, but ſhould haue free exerciſe of their religion, with preaching: they proteſted to impute all the fault vnto them, and the occaſion of the miſeries that might fal vpon the Netherlands. The 2 princes of Orange and D
Gauere, or Egmont, being, as before is ſaid, of ſeuerall opinions, the other lords alſo did likewiſe participat with the one or the other: and as they diuided themſelues, ſo did the confederat gentlemen, ſo that a third part of them held not with the confederats: but thoſe that were of the reformed religion, ſought all the meanes they could to confirme and vphold that confederacie, and to procure ſome great lords to reſolue to hold with them, to preſerue and maintaine the countries in their freedomes, and to keepe all ſtrangers out of the ſame, hauing moſt regard and reſpect to the prince of Orange, in regard of his wiſedome and experience, as alſo becauſe of his power, friends and allies in Germanie, who they knew ſhould bee ſeconded by the earle of Hoochſtrate, and many others. But the prince in his great diſcretion, marking and conſidering the kings great power and force, whom he knew both of his owne nature, and by the E
prouocation of his Spaniſh counſell, to beare a grudge vnto the countrey, not onely for the religion, but alſo for their priuiledges: thereunto adding that the zeale of the common people, that were addicted to the reformed religion, at the firſt would be great, but not certaine, to make a full account or reckoning thereof: and laſtly, ſeeing that within the Netherlands hee ſhould haue the aforeſaid earl of Egmont, with the principalleſt and moſt part of the old ſouldiers, noblemen, and implacable ſpiritualtie, enemies againſt him, would by no meanes bee induced nor perſuaded to attempt any thing. For which cauſe the baron of Brederode, and others of the principalleſt confederats, determined to ſeeke all the meanes they could, before they would enter into any extremities; and for that cauſe wrot a letter vnto the regent, to craue F
leaue to be admitted to come vnto the court, to ſhew her what wrong was vnto them, contrarie to the ſecuritie by her giuen vnto them: but the regent returned them an anſwere, ſaying, That they ſhould not come within Bruſſels, for that their comming thither vpon the fifth of Aprill laſt paſt, had cauſed all the trobles and buſineſſe in the land: And hauing certain ſoldiers within Bruſſels, ſhe gaue them charge, not to ſuffer any of the confederated gentlemen to come

The people of the Netherlands complaine vnto the king of Spaine

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A come within the towne. For which cause the baron of Brederode wrot another letter out of Antuerpe, vnto the regent, bearing date the 2 of Februarie: saying, That not their petition, but the Inquisition, and new deuises, that men sought to bring into the country, together with the long delay made to answer their request, were the true and onely causes of the troubles in the countrey: and that she might know that his intent and meaning was no other, than onely to propound some meanes of peace and vnitie, and for that she would not suffer him to come at the court, he sent her two requests from the confederated gentlemen: wherein they shewed, how that in August before, the countrey being full of troubles, and the people in euerie place readie to rise vp in armes, by meanes of the good resolution then taken, all was pacified, wherein they well and truely acquited themselues. And although it fell not out so well in

The confederated gentlemens requests.

B some places, it was the fault of those that were not well addicted vnto the seruice of his Maiestie; and that when as an assured amendment and reformation was in euerie place expected, attending the good resolution of the king, with the aduice of the states generall, sodainely against all hope and expectation, letters were sent out by her, to forbid the preaching and exercise of the reformed religion, who for that cause as then blamed them (as appeared by a petition sent vnto her, and thereunto annexed) besides that they perceiued by the letters aforesaid, as also by other her proceedings, that shee sought by force to forbid the preaching vnto the people, imprisoning and vsing other kind of rigour vnto the preachers, contrarie to the agreement, and without order taken by the king, with the aduice of the generall states. Besides, that they saw the bad entertainment that had beene, and as yet was giuen vnto the confede-

C rated gentlemen, together with the distrust that men had in them, without cause or reason. That the lords were counselled and aduised not to bee conuersant with them, willing them to keepe out of his Ma. towns, without any cause, pursuing and following after to take them, as if they were enemies to the king and their natiue country, which they had not by any means deserued. They perceiued likewise the taking vp of souldiers, both within and without the lands, which gaue them al cause to thinke, that the same were to be imploied against them and those of the religion, to whom shee had giuen contrarie securitie, vntill his Maiestie, with aduice of the generall states should take further order therein. For which cause they (perceiuing the generall ouerthrow and destruction of the Netherlands to be prepared, and at hand, and power and force to be daily more and more vsed against them, contrarie to all promises and assuran-

D ces) thought good to mooue her once againe (as they had done before) to doe them the fauour, to shew them, if it were her pleasure, that the contract made with them should be obserued and kept, and to suffer the preaching and the exercises thereon depending to bee done, as they in her and the lords names had shewed and declared vnto the people: and whether shee meant not to hold and obserue the securitie by her granted vnto the said confederated gentlemen: but to the contrarie, that the good fauour that shee bare vnto them, and the common people might the better be seene and perceiued, they desired her to vouchsafe them the fauor, to discharge all her souldiers, and recall her commissions, not long since sent forth into the Netherlands: which doing, they would assure her, that the countrey should liue in peace and quietnesse, and they themselues be readie to venture liues & goods, in the seruice of his Maie-

E stie and her: the which if it were not presently done, it was to be feared that much greater hurt and inconueniences would ensue, with great bloud-shedding amongst the common people, who vpon her and her word, now reposed their securitie: And therefore they thought good to shew her so much to discharge their duties, wherein they stand bounden vnto his Maiestie and their natiue countrey: desiring her to giue them a good, short, and resolute answer.

The request sent by those of the reformed religion, vnto the gentlemen, which they sent with theirs vnto the regent, held in effect a great complaint of the miserable persecution and wrongs done vnto them in euerie place, contrarie to the promises and securities made vnto them: wherin also they said, That the said gentlemen had sought to beguile and deceiue them, vnlesse they could shew them, that they had such expresse charge and commission from the

F regent, and the lords of the order of the Golden Fleece, and if that no promise would bee holden with them, they desired that it might be plainly told them, that euery man might know to gouerne himselfe, thereby to shun the persecution.

Whereunto the regent answered with a more proud and haughtie stile, than shee had formerly done: That she could not conceiue what noblemen, nor what people they were, that

The Gouernesse answer.

had presented this petition, for that many noblemen confederats held themselues satisfied, as A
well for that they had caused the Inquisition and the edicts to cease, as by reason of the as-
surance which was promised them: and that for this cause they did present themselues daily,
to doe such seruice as it should please his Maiestie. But she could not sufficiently wonder, how
they could haue any conceit, that she would euer suffer the exercise of the religion, consider-
ing that contrariwise she had sufficiently declared how much she was offended, for that after
the conclusion of the treatie, some noblemen had assured the people of these exercises, contra-
rie to her will and meaning: seeing that the promise which the noblemen made to take away
all armes, troubles, and scandals, did inferre withall, that the exercise of their religion should
cease, whereunto she had not consented. Moreouer, they well remember with what griefe of
mind she had suffered the preaching in accustomed places, without armes or scandall; they B
may thereby easily know the small affection which she had to allow them any other exercise.
As for libertie, she had onely granted it so farre forth as the petition of the fifth of May should
not be imputed vnto them, but not touching religion, although against her owne conscience
they had wrested so much from her: and therefore had iust cause to be offended that they did
attribute it vnto her, and that his Maiestie was iustly incensed, notwithstanding that the peo-
ple had vsurped al exercise, & that by the new magistrat they ouer-ruled his officers, the which
his Maiestie was resolued to reuenge.

And for answer to that which they said, That she had not kept that which she had accorded,
she said, That all that was grounded vpon a false and too large interpretation of her words, and
that rightly many magistrats had neuer allowed it: but that she had not gone against her pro- C
mise in any thing, if after it was giuen, they had apprehended some for their offences, as the
breakers of images, and robbers of churches, the which happened since the accord, yea by
some gentlemen confederats. That they had caused the preaching to be vsed in townes, whereas
it had been before in the field. Besides, they had seized vpon churches, monasteries, noblemens
houses, &c. chased away the religious, threatned the clergie, and preached in vnaccustomed
places. The people animated by them, had seized vpon some townes and royall places, carried
away the artilerie & munition, chased away the kings officers, kept the field in martiall maner,
threatning all the Catholikes, yea comprehending her highnesse. So as by letters surprised,
which their souldiers had written to them of Valenciennes, it might bee sufficiently gathered,
whereto all these tumults tended; that is (if God had not otherwise prouided) to haue depri- D
ued the king of all his countries. And in that they intreat to haue all the souldiers discharged,
they seeke thereby to take the sword from him to whom God hath giuen it. Finally, she aduis-
eth them (if they be so much deuoted to the kings seruice as they say) that they should here-
after shew themselues more conformable to his Maiesties will and pleasure, and to satisfie the
people touching the sufferance of religion, the which brought but a contempt of his Maiestie
and of iustice: and that they should carrie themselues in such sort, as they might turne away
his Maiesties wrath and indignation, that it might not bee forced to exceed the limits of his
bountie and clemencie. Also, that they should forbeare such threats as they seeme to vse in
their petition; wherein if they persist, she leaues them to thinke what a dishonor and infamie
it will be to them for euer, aduising them to retire euery man to his owne home, and not to E
trouble themselues with the affairs of the country, but to carry themselues in such sort, as his
Maiestie might receiue contentment: aduertising them, that if they did otherwise, shee would
prouide as she should thinke fit and conuenient for the publike quiet, without any need of a
more ample answer to the said petition, vntill she may know which be the noblemen and the
people which desire it, whereof the lord of Brederode hath taken the charge.

A reply and distrust of the Protestants.

To this answer of the duchesse there was a certaine replie diuulged, by the which, among o-
thers, the nobles laid all the blame of that whereof the duchesse accused them by her answere,
vpon the secret instructions which she had sent vnto the priuat magistrats, touching the obser-
uation of the kings intention: whilest on the other side, shee caused the assurance giuen vnto
the nobles, and the Protestants, to be published: who notwithstanding knew well by the said F
answer, that the gouernesse (who was now armed) would no longer dissemble, but proceed
by force of armes to the execution of that which she had for a long time kept secret in her bo-
some. Besides, they found that many of the nobilitie disbanded, and that many, for their grea-
ter assurance, sought to mannage their affairs apart, wherof they were aduertised from al parts:

Among

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A Among others, that cont *vander Berghen* had written vnto preſident *Vigilius*, letters full of excuſes, with proteſtations to remaine a loyal and faithfull ſeruant vnto the king: as alſo the ſeignior of Eſtambruges, brother to the earle of Lygni had done the like, and that many others ſought to make friends in court, to returne into fauour.

As theſe complaints of the nobles anſwers, replies, cares, and diſtruſts, continued among them, they ſought to prouide for their affaires as well as they could, eſpecially the Catholikes, who made themſelues to be feared by the forces they had leuied, and by the kings authoritie. The earle of Egmont running throughout all the townes of Flanders, laboured to make the preaching to ceaſe. The earle of Megen being at the requeſt of the Catholikes, and by the gouerneſſe command, entred into Vtrecht with his regiment of foot, the next day hee fortified
B the garriſon of the caſtle with three hundred men. And to ſtop the courſes of them of Vianen, belonging to the lord of Brederode, he built a fort vpon the riuer, in a village called Vaert, right oppoſite againſt it: then he went to Nymeghen, Harderwic, and Elburch, where he ſuppreſt the preaching, cauſed the churches to be repaired, and the armes to be brought into the ſtate-houſe, and in the end he chaſed away all the Proteſtants. The earle of Arembergh did the like in the countries of Friſeland, Queriſſel, and Groninghen, as well by ſurpriſes of townes and places, as perſuaſions, and diuers accords paſt betwixt him the conſuls and townes. But the prince of Orange beeing in his gouernments of Holland and Zeeland, going from towne to towne, ſought to pacifie the troubles by gentle meanes, to the content of the eſtates of the ſaid countries (yet appointing the exerciſe of the religion to be without the townes) eſpecially in
C thoſe of Holland, who for a thankfull gratuitie for the paines which hee had taken to pacifie their troubles, offered him a preſent of 55000 florins, which hee honeſtly refuſed, leaſt it ſhould haue been ſome blemiſh to his reputation, to haue ſuffered himſelfe to haue beene corrupted by them with money in his gouernment.

In the meane time the Gouerneſſe was counſelled to propound a new othe to al gouernors of prouinces, knights of the order, counſellors of ſtate, and other noblemen; by the which among other things they did promiſe & ſwear, to remain faithful & obedient ſeruants vnto the king, and with all their power and meanes to maintaine, defend, and preſerue the Catholike, Apoſtolike, and Romiſh religion, and to root out, and helpe to root out, all new doctrine and religion: to puniſh and chaſtiſe all breakers of images, and robbers of churches. Which othe
D was taken before the ducheſſe, by the duke of Arſchot, the earles of Egmont, Mansfield, Megen, the lords of Barlamont, Noircarmes, and many others. But the prince of Orange, and the earle of Hoochſtraten refuſed to take that othe, ſaying, That the othe of their order, and of their gouernment was ſufficient, finding themſelues much grieued, that the ducheſſe ſhould doubt of their loyalties. The like was required of the lord of Brederode, who made the like refuſall to the ſecretarie *Torre*, who was ſent expreſly vnto him, to perſuade him by many reaſons: Whereunto he anſwered modeſtly, That the Gouerneſſe had no cauſe to doubt of his faith and loialtie, and that he was content to go vnto her highneſſe, to demaund the cauſes of her diſtruſt, and to iuſtifie himſelfe of all matters wherewith hee might bee charged. This new othe was not offered for any other cauſe, but to diſcouer who would refuſe it, who thereby ſhould
E be taken for fauorers and ſupporters of the Proteſtants. And alſo to curbe them, that either for loue, force, or diſſimulation had taken it, and thereby to put a conceit in them, that they were held for good Catholikes, and the kings faithfull ſeruants. The earle of Horne was at that time retired to his caſtle of Waert, being reſolued to return no more to court, vnleſſe the king commanded him expreſly, and therefore he was not required to take this new othe.

A new othe propounded by the ducheſſe.

The ducheſſe being thus aſſured by this new othe, and hauing all the townes of the Netherlands reduced by their gouernors vnder the kings obedience, and the publike preaching aboliſhed, except in Antuerpe, then ſhe vnmasked her ſelfe, and began to play her part openly. All that could be taken and conuicted to haue carried armes, broken images, and ſpoiled churches were hanged. Thoſe that were abſent were adiomed to appeare within a ſhort time, if not they
F were declared rebels, and their goods forfeited: the which made an infinit number retire into forrein countries, and eſpecially into England: thoſe that were moſt couragious kept the fields in great troups. The ſeignior of Thoulouſe hauing failed in his enterpriſe of the iſland of Walchren, retiring into the riuer of Antuerpe, he went and lodged halfe a league from the towne, in the village of Auſtreweel, whither men came to him from all parts, who made no gentler

The ducheſſe plais her part.

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warto the prieſts and monks, than the Papiſts did to their companions. The prince of Orange A
was then returned to Antuerpe, with the earle of Hoochſtraten (who during the princes ab-
ſence in Holland and Zeeland, had done his beſt endeuour to conteine the people of An-
tuerp:) theſe two noblemen ſent a gentleman to the ſeigniour of Thoulouſe and his troups,
to will them to retire from thence: the which they did, paſſing into Flanders, but the next
day they returned to the ſame place: whereupon hee had a ſecond charge to retire, and the
ſeigniour of Thoulouſe anſwered, That hee was ready to obey, yet he remoued not, yea his
people grew the more inſolent, ſeeing themſelues fortified by two ſhips ful of ſouldiers, which
arriued that night from baſe Flanders, and that howerly their numbers increaſed. The magi-
ſtrats of the towne ſeeing this, came vnto the prince, where they conferred together, with the
earle of Hoochſtraten, how they might make theſe troups diſlodge, being of opinion to ſend B
their ſworne companies, with ſuch ſouldiers as they had in the towne, to fight with them: but
the prince and the earle of Hoochſtraten did not like thereof, fearing that in ſeeking to prouide
for their affaires without, they ſhould fall into ſome greater inconuenience within, as it was to
be doubted, that thoſe troups were not come thither ſo boldly, but they had ſome adherents
and good intelligence in the towne. Whereupon the magiſtrats aduertiſed the Gouerneſſe,
who with all ſpeed ſent *Philip* of Launoy, lord of Beauvoir, with foure hundred men of her
guards, accompanied with *la Motte-par Dieu*, who had two companies of the earle of Egmonts
regiment, beſides foure hundred men drawne out of the garriſons, and *Haus* of Graue, prouoſt
marſhall of Brabant, with fiue hundred horſe, to ſurpriſe them before they were ſtronger; who
finding them ſcattered and out of order, defeated them ſoone: many caſt themſelues into the C
riuer of Eſchaut, but they were ſlaine with the ſhot: many were burnt in barnes, whereinto
The Proteſtants defeated at Auſterweel. they retired. To conclude, there died about fifteene hundred men, few eſcaped, ſuch as were
taken, were afterwards hanged, or otherwiſe executed. The ſeigniour of Thoulouſe their
leader, was ſlaine there, and they tooke one which carried a liſt of ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt at cer-
taine enterpriſes, whereby they diſcouered ſome practiſes.

The magiſtrat of Antuerpe hearing that the Ducheſſe troupes marched againſt them of
Auſterweel, fearing leaſt their bourgeſſes ſhould ſallie forth, and receiue ſome harme, they
cauſed the bridges at the port of Auſterweel, and at the red gate, to bee broken; which gates
they kept ſhut, placing the three companies which they had raiſed for the guard of the towne,
along the rampars of that quarter, doubling the watch, and hauing lantarnes and lampes light D
all night in the ſtreets. The newes of this aſſembly at Auſterweel, and that there was an intent
to charge them, was no ſooner come to the knowledge of the inhabitants of Antuerpe, but
they preſently went to armes the fourteenth of March, marching towards the gate, to iſſue
forth, and to ſuccour their friends: but the prince of Orange, and the earle of Hoochſtraten,
told them, That it was impoſſible to ſuccour them, and not bee defeated as ſoone as they
A tumult in Antuerpe. were ſallied forth, they beeing vnable to withſtand the prouoſt of Brabants horſemen, and
therefore they intreated them not to ſtirre. But this people beeing halfe madde, intending to
go, brake downe the red gate, threatning the prince and the earle, if they ſuffered them not to
goe, calling them traytors, yea there was a Clothworker ſo raſh, as to offer his harquebuſe to
the princes breaſt: ſo as theſe two noblemen in this tumult, were in great danger of their liues, E
yet diſgeſting all theſe indignities, they retained them ſo long, as this firſt furie beeing paſt, it
was agreed, That onely fiue hundred of them ſhould iſſue forth, with proteſtation that it was
granted vnto them by force: but they ſeeing that they would not ſuffer them to goe foorth in
greater numbers, returned, and continued in armes till noone, hauing ſeiſed vpon the
Meeres bridge, and the Tanners ſtreet, then the three companies of the towne came vnto the
market place. The people had alreadie drawne certaine peeces of artilerie out of the arcenall
(which they call *Eerchof*) the which they brought vnto the Meer, and planted them vpon all
the approches, to withſtand all force that ſhould come againſt them: The prince fearing ſome
great inconuenience, cauſed euerie one to retire to his houſe, and commaunded the artillerie
ſhould be carried back to the accuſtomed place, ſo as by his good reaſons and perſuaſions the F
people were ſomewhat pacified. But the next day being the 15 of March, the reformed Pro-
teſtants finding that the Proteſtants of the confeſſion of Ausbourg were ioyned with the Ca-
tholike Romanes, with whom the Spaniſh, Italian, and Portugall merchants had alſo taken
armes, ſome hauing ſeized vpon the horſe market, other on S. *Michaels* place, the ſaid refor-
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A med did alſo aſſemble together in armes: and to make the Catholikes and the ſtrange nations retire, there was a brute giuen out, That thoſe of the confeſſion were ioyned with them: Whereupon one of the bourgmaſters cauſed the contrarie to bee publiſhed, and that this tumult was not for any queſtion of religion, but that ſome licentious and diſordered people among the reformed, ſought onely to rob and ſpoyle the houſes of the Catholikes, Confeſſionaries, and Nations: which was the cauſe that (either ſeeking to preſerue themſelues) the tumult was greater than euer, beeing inflamed, and readie to charge one another, the which continued two dayes, ſo as it was greatly to be feared that it would not haue paſt without effuſion of bloud, and that the houſes would bee in the end ſpoyled by them that were victors, if they were ſuffered to come to blowes, ſo as the citie was full of feare, crying out and teares of
B women and children; ſo neere the danger was: yet by the prouidence of the prince, the earl of Hoochſtraten, and the magiſtrat, all in the end was pacified, by good exhortations giuen to either partie, who agreed together vpon articles concluded betwixt them, for the gouernment of the towne, and the aſſurance & preſeruation of all the burgeſſes, inhabitants, and merchants of what religion ſoeuer. The next day being Sunday, either partie gaue thanks vnto God in their ſermons, for that he had preſerued them from ſhedding one anothers bloud.

The 17 of the moneth the magiſtrat hauing giuen thanks vnto the principal merchants, and to the nations, to euerie one in particular, for their good endeuours, he ſent deputies to the gouerneſſe, to informe her of all that had paſt, beſeeching her to interpret in good part the accord which had been made and concluded among them, the which they ſaid they had found
C expedient, not to diminiſh any thing of the kings authoritie, but for the preſeruation of the towne and the inhabitants thereof, as well ſpirituall as temporall, making withall many excuſes, touching ſome articles of the ſaid accord, which the Gouerneſſe diſliked, as to haue placed the artillerie vpon the rampars, anſwering thereunto, That what they had done, was to retire it out of the peoples hands. Item, touching the leuying of horſe-men, and preparation of ſhips, they ſaid they would not do any thing without her highneſſe conſent. And for that they did not receiue any garriſon without the conſent of all the members of the towne: that they of the reformed religion had required it, for that they held the gouernors (that is the prince of Orange, the earle of Hoochſtraten, and the magiſtrat) for ſuſpect, and that they feared they would put in a garriſon to ſacke and ſpoyle them, as they had done their brethren at Auſter-
D weel, and as it had happened in the towne of Tournay. Finally they ſaid that they had beene forced to paſſe this accord, yeelding to neceſſitie and the time, for the preſeruation of the ſaid towne.

The magiſtrat excuſeth himſelfe to the Gouerneſſe.

This tumult in Antuerpe heartened and much incouraged the regent and the Catholikes, together with the victorie gotten at Auſterweel, and to the contrarie brake and diſannulled all the proceedings and pretences of the confederated gentlemen, and the Gueux, who perceiuing themſelues to be void of meanes to become maſters of Antuerpe, and conſequently of diuers other townes, marking the ſtrength of the Catholikes within Antuerpe, and therby geſſing their ſtrength in other places, the moſt part and the chiefeſt of them reſolued, as alſo the conſiſtories to yeeld vnto the time and Gods ſecret iudgement. At that time the lord of Bre-
E derode was in the towne of Amſterdam in Holland, wherewith the magiſtrat beeing diſcontented, and ill aſſured (for that the chiefe of the reformed religion were continually with him, and many came to him daily diſguiſed) he aduertiſed the gouerneſſe, who writ preſently to ſecretary *Torre*) being then at Vtrecht with the earle of Megen, whoſe men he had cauſed to be furniſhed with victuals and munition, by the ducheſſe commandement, as alſo he had furniſhed duke *Erick* of Brunſwick with certaine ſhips of war, to come into the Netherlands) commanding the ſaid *Torre* to charge them in the behalfe of his Maieſtie, and her highneſſe, to cauſe the ſaid lord of Brederode to depart out of their towne, the which was in trouble by his preſence: and in caſe they were not ſtrong enough to effect it, that his Maieſtie and her highneſſe would aſſiſt them with forces & means. And for that this buſineſſe might not admit of a
F delay, that by prouiſion they ſhould employ the perſon and ſoldiers of the earle of Megen. That the ſecretarie ſhould go vnto the lord of Brederode, and admoniſh him by ſuch perſuaſions as he ſhould think fit, that within foure and twenty houres he depart the ſaid towne, and haue it in quiet, without giuing his Mai. and her highneſſe any further cauſe of diſcontentment. And in caſe hee will not obey, to proteſt againſt him of all the miſeries that may befall

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the ſaid towne, and to remaine therein, obſeruing all that ſhal paſſe carefully, and eſpecially the A
actions of the lord of Brederode, whereof he ſhould howerly aduertiſe her highneſſe.

According to which commiſſion, the ſecretarie being come to Amſterdam, and hauing acquainted the magiſtrat with his charge, anſwer was made him, That they would in all things obey his Maieſtie and her highneſſe, but that they found great difficultie in her highneſſe letters, whereas ſhe made mention of the earle of Megen, for that he doubted not but the lord of Brederode would call for a copie before he would reſolue to retire, the which would incenſe him the more. They muſt alſo impart it firſt vnto the aſſébly of their great coũſell (which they call *Vroetſchap*) conſiſting of 36 perſons, whereof ſome were Proteſtants, who might make report therof vnto their brethren, yea vnto the lord of Brederode. Whereupon, after much conſultation, it was reſolued to impart it vnto the counſell, and preſently to go vnto the ſaid lord. B
The which was done, and about eleuen of the clocke ſome of the chiefe of the magiſtrats went vnto him, intreating perſuading, and aduiſing him to depart the towne, for ſuch was his Maieſties and her highneſſe pleaſure. Whereunto he anſwered inſtantly, That hee deſired to ſee the copie of the ſaid letters, to conſider thereon: the which beeing flatly denied him, ſaying, That they could not giue it him, without her highneſſe expreſſe commandement; he anſwered, That neither would he depart the towne without ſeeing it. The next day the ſecretarie *Torre*, being accompanied by two aldermen, went vnto the lord of Brederode: beeing entred into the chamber, whereas he was accompanied with ſeuen or eight gentlemen, among others were *William* of Blois, called *Treſlon*, and *Roſeberg* his Droſſard of Vianen: after the complements were done, *la Torre* being well aduanced in his ſpeech, the lord of Brederode in- C
terrupted him, and began to complaine of the ducheſſe, for that ſhee had refuſed to heare his iuſtifications in iuſtice, vpon the ſiniſter impreſſions which her highneſſe had of him: moreouer, that the ſaid lady had commaunded to ruine the bulwarkes and fortifications which hee had begun to his great charge in his towne of Vianen, to expoſe it in prey to all commers: ſhe had alſo cauſed his ſaid towne to be beſieged, and the duke of Brunſwick had ſpoyled ſome of his villages: to conclude, he ſaid, That *Torre* had no need to vſe any long ſpeech, beeing ſufficient to ſhew him his commiſſion: the which *Torre* hauing refuſed, ſaying, That he had no ſuch charge; the lord of Brederode ſaid vnto him, after ſome other ſpeeches touching his credit, That he was not ſo honeſt a man as he made himſelfe, to bee ſo lightly beleeued without ſeeing of his commiſſion. Which words did ſo moue *la Torre*, as after that he had maintained D
his honeſty, ſeeing the ſaid lord to continue firme, he entreated him, exhorted, and in the end commaunded him, That to obey his Maieſtie and her highneſſe, he ſhould depart the towne within foure and twentie houres, and vpon his refuſall, he proteſted againſt him, of all the miſeries that might thereby happen vnto the towne; requiring an act thereof from the aldermen that were his aſſiſtants. Wherupon the lord of Brederode proteſted in like ſort, that he was not bound to beleeue him, if he did not ſhew his commiſſion and letters of credit; requiring alſo an act, and repeating often, that he was ſeruant to her highnes, and humble ſubiect to his Maieſty, and that he was ready to go to horſeback, to helpe to puniſh the rebels: complaining of the great wrong which the ducheſſe did him, refuſing to heare him in his iuſtifications: ſo as after many ſpeeches and proteſtations on either ſide, *Torre* retired. E

The ſecretarie Torre goes to the lord of Brederode.

The lord of Brederode complaines of the ducheſſe.

The chiefe among the Proteſtants could not diſgeſt this commaundement giuen to the lord of Brederode, and feared that *la Torres* charge was to expell him by force; ſo as they kept a guard of aboue a hundred men before his lodging, hauing moſt of the bourgeſſes at his deuotion; and beſides, many arriued out of Friſeland and from Vtrecht, attired like marchants, mariners and peſants: ſo as the magiſtrat feared, that the Proteſtants would grow ſo ſtrong, as they would become maſters of the towne. Whereupon they ſent vnto the ducheſſe, to entreat her to ſend ſome man of countenance and authoritie, who might moderate matters: for that they found it not conuenient to attempt any thing by force. *La Torre* was in no leſſe perplexitie, and durſt ſcarce ſhew himſelfe, fearing to incenſe the Proteſtants, and to giue them occaſion of ſome tumult: but ſet ſpies to obſerue what men haunted the ſaid lord; whereof he did F
informe the ducheſſe. And as the bourgomaſter and the Recorder *Sandelin* went and came often to the Secretarie *Torre*, the Proteſtants entred in to ielouſie, that they practiſed ſome matter againſt them: by reaſon whereof, ſome gentlemen Friſons belonging to the ſaid lord and the Seignior of Treſlon, went with the conſent of their lord, the ſeuenteenth of March to

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A *la Torre* his chamber, where they ſeized vpon all his papers; among the which they found his inſtructions, his verball or memoriall of what he had done and treated in Amſterdam, many letters of credit ſigned by the ducheſſe, without ſuperſcription, to direct them to ſuch perſons as *la Torre* ſhould thinke fit; and among others, the letter which the ducheſſe had written vnto him, whereas ſhe made mention of the earle of Megen, to force the ſaid lord to retire. All which papers were brought vnto the lord of Brederode, and preſently ſpread abroad among the people. *La Torre* was for ſome daies ſtayed in his lodging; and there had happened ſome great alteration, if ſome of the chiefe bourgeſſes, that were Proteſtants, had not promiſed to go vnto the magiſtrat to preuent it; the which they did: requiring, that the accord made betwixt them the eighteenth of Ianuarie, by the prince of Orange, might bee entertained in all
B points: That by their aduice two captaines and two lieutenants might be ouer and aboue appointed in the towne, with foure hundred men, all bourgeſſes, who with the other captaines ſhould take an oath to preſerue and defend the towne and the inhabitants againſt all men. And as there was no man in the towne of authority, that had experience in matters of warre, but the lord of Brederode, who was borne in the countrey, and vaſſale to the king, being then within the towne, might be appointed commaunder and colonell of all the men of warre, for the preſeruation of the towne, the citizens, and his Ma. ſeruice: and all by prouiſion, vntil that ſome one committed by the magiſtrate and them, had bin allowed & confirmed by the prince of Orange, gouernor of the county of Holland: and that the magiſtrat in the maner of an oath ſhold promiſe, not to attempt anything directly nor indirectly, openly nor couertly, by them-
C ſelues, nor by any other, againſt that which is aboue required, without the aduice of three of the brethren of the ſaid towne.

The magiſtrat was much troubled at this requeſt, knowing well, that the duches would neuer ſuffer, that the lord of Brederode ſhould haue any authority within the towne: wherfore they knew not what to determine vpon theſe demands. In the end they themſelues drew fiue articles: the firſt was, That two on the magiſtrats behalfe, two in the name of the Proteſtants, and two for the ſworne companies, ſhould go at the towns charge, vnto the prince of Orange, to haue his aduice touching that which was required. Secondly, That at the ſame inſtant there ſhould be at euery port a barre or trauers made with a new locke, whereof one of the nine deputies of the companies being in guard, ſhould haue the keyes, the which at noone & at night
D ſhould be brought vnto the town cofer, whereas the keies of the town gates are kept, to which cofer ſhould a new locke be alſo put, whereof the ſaid deputy ſhould haue the key. Thirdly, That they ſhould ſuffer (vntill it were otherwiſe decreed by the prince) that there ſhold be two ſhips of war with men & munition at the towne charge, ſet, the one vpon the riuer of Amſtel, and the other vpon the Ye, the ſouldiers whereof ſhould bee appointed by the ſaid deputies. Fourthly, That the ſaid nine deputies ſhold chuſe out of their bourgeſſes 100 men, ouer whom they ſhould appoint a captaine, who ſhould ſweare to be faithful to the bourgomaſters and to the towne. Fifthly, That the ſaid bourgomaſters ſhold preſently caſſiere *Baldwin Reyerſz*, lieutenant to captain *William Pouwelſz*, in whoſe place they ſhold appoint another, that were pleaſing to the commons, at the diſcretion of the captaine, the bourgomaſters, and the ſaid nine
E deputies.

What the magiſtrat of Amſterdam granted to the Proteſtants.

The deputies of the bourgomaſters of the Proteſtants, and of the ſworne companies, went vnto the prince of Orange, who anſwered them by an apoſtile on the 26 of March, that for the quiet of the town of Amſterdam, he thought it good, that the accord made the 18 of Ianuary ſhould be entertained: and as the ducheſſe conſent was very requiſit therein, that the deputies ſhould do well (for their greater ſecuritie) to ſue for her highnes agreation: That he alſo found it good, that the ſaid 400 mē were leuied, as it was required: That he would ſend one expreſſly vnto the lord of Brederode, to let him vnderſtand his will: That promiſes and othes ſhould be reciprocally made, as it was required, to auoid all diſtruſt: That in like ſort he found it conuenient, that the lockes and keies ſhould be made, and gouerned as the magiſtrat had ſet downe:
F That he found it not vnfitting, that the ſhips of warre ſhould be ſo placed and entertained, if it may be found expedient by a common conſent. And finally, That the lieutenant *Baldwin* ſhould be diſplaced, and another choſen at the diſcretion of the bourgomaſters, captaine, and deputies.

This anſwere of the prince touching the affaires of Amſterdam, was receiued by both parties

ties for a law, and confirmed reciprocally by oath: according to the which, a new captain, two lieutenants, and 400 men were leuied for the ſeruice of the towne. And as they of Amſterdam vnderſtood, that the Proteſtants were euery where purſued with all rigour, and that they had generally taken the preaching from them: thoſe of the ſaid towne being aſſembled, to conſult what were fitteſt to be done in this great perplexitie, they concluded, That for no feare they would not giue ouer their preaching, but they would perſeuere ſo long, as by his Maieſties publike Edict it were not forbidden; ſending ſome among them to Antuerpe, to confer with the Proteſtants of the ſaid towne, and to aduiſe how they ſhould gouerne themſelues in theſe affaires. Thoſe of Antuerpe conſidering alſo of theſe perſecutions, and fearing that this ſtorme would in the end fall vpon their heads, they preſented a petition vnto the Gouerneſſe the 22 of the month, tending to a conuocation of the generall eſtates, to remedy the troubles. And in caſe the eſtates could not be called, that her highnes would giue order, to the end that the publike preaching (which they ſaid was the only cauſe of the troubles) might ceaſe, granting a generall pardon for all that which was paſt, and wherewith his Ma. found himſelfe grieued, except murthers, robberies, thefts, & ſpoiles, ſeeing they could not puniſh the other without the totall ruine and deſolation of the towne and of the countrey it ſelfe. To preuent the which, and to bring them that are gone aſtray into the right way, and to the true religion, that it wold pleaſe his Maieſty to vſe his accuſtomed clemencie & naturall bountie. Which pardon might be ſpeedily granted by her highnes, with his Maieſties good liking; and if ſhe cannot grant it, that it would pleaſe her to giue them reſpite for three or foure moneths, during the which they might retire out of the countrey with their goods, wiues, children and families: and that they might ſell and alienate their lands and poſſeſſions; or elſe in retaining them, to haue libertie to gouerne them by another: which freedome from this day forward might bee graunted to all them that would retire themſelues: That no man remaining in the ſaid towne and countrey, hauing left the preaching, and abandoned the exerciſe of his religion, ſhold be hereafter troubled or moleſted in his perſon or goods, by reaſon of his conſcience & religion. For aſſurance whereof her highnes ſhould promiſe in his Maieſties name, That the ſaid towne, nor the inhabitants thereof ſhould not be charged with any garriſon of ſoldiers, neither within it, nor without and about it; and that vntill his Ma. (by the aduice of the generall eſtates) ſhall diſpoſe of matters concerning religion, how euery one ſhould gouern himſelfe; or that within 3 months he may retyre out of the countrey with his familie and goods, or retaine them vnder the gouernment of another; and hereof to graunt out letters patents in his Maieſties name.

A petition frō them of Antuerpe to the Gouerneſſe.

To which petition the Gouerneſſe anſwered, That ſhe had receiued letters from the king, by the which ſhe was expreſſely forbidden to enter into any capitulation or treatie with any townes of the countrey, although it were with his Ma. good liking, yet ſhe would conſider of their petition. But aboue all (to preuent his Ma. indignation) it was neceſſary that they ſhould receiue the garriſon which ſhe would ſend them, to ſhew their obedience therby vnto his maieſty. Whereupon the deputies made a more ample declaration the 5 of April, with many allegations, for the iuſtification of the ſaid towne, but chiefly to excuſe the receiuing of a garriſon propounded by her, for fear of a greater inconuenience. Yet the ducheſſe perſiſted by another long apoſtile, ſauoring of nothing but extream rigor, ſhadowed with many ſhifts, which were eaſily diſcouered. Thoſe of the magiſtracie of the ſaid towne, called the miniſters of both the Proteſtant religions (*viz.* of the reformed, & of the confeſſion of Ausbourg) before them, who they gaue to vnderſtand, That for the preſeruation of the towne, and not to incurre the K. indignation, and to preuent all other inconueniences, it was neceſſary to surceaſe the preaching, and the exerciſe of their religion, vntill that by his Maieſty, with the aduice of his counſell, and the ſtates of the countrey, it ſhould be otherwiſe decreed: and therfore that the ſaid miniſters ſhould retire out of the towne, giuing them a good paſport. Wherein they were ſo fully perſuaded, as well by good reaſons as by threats, as in the end they declared, that they were ready to obey, giuing them a good and an aſſured ſafe conduct to retire out of the town & country: according to the which, ſome of the miniſters departed the ſame day, and others the next: and notwithſtanding any declarations or excuſes which they of Antuerpe could make, to auoid a garriſon, yet in the end they were forced to yeeld: ſo as the 26 of April the earle of Mansfield entred with 16 companies of foot; the ducheſſe followed him two daies after with 500 horſe, and preſently the churches & monaſteries were repaired in ſhort time, and the new temples

The ducheſſe anſwer.

which

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A which the Proteſtants had cauſed to be built, razed by their owne conſent, & their magiſtrats, al exerciſe of their religion frō that time ceaſing. Then were the Proteſtants generally throghout all the Netherlands purſued with all rigor, apprehended and executed as well for breaking downe of Images, and carying of armes, as for being of the Conſiſtorie, or bearing any other charge in the reformed church. The ducheſſe beginning her ſelfe to make worke for the duke of Alua, when he ſhould arriue: or that ſhe might haue cauſe to ſay, That by her rigorous proceeding and puniſhments ſhe had ſetled the affaires, and ended al the troubles before his comming, as ſhe had done in part, and without the dukes comming might haue brought to perfection, if at the leaſt ſhe had forborne the cruelty which the duke vſed to great perſons. At the ſame time ſome princes of Germany ſent their embaſſadours to the ducheſſe of Parma, to be
B interceſſors for the Proteſtants of the confeſſion of Ausbourg, & for their miniſters, that they might inioy the exercise of their religion in the towne of Antuerp: to whom ſhe made a ſhort anſwer, That ſhe could do nothing therein without the conſent of the king of Spaine.

The bourgomaſters and ſuperintendants of Amſterdam hearing, that the preaching ceaſed throughout all Brabant & Flanders, the 17 of April gaue them of the reformed religion to vnderſtand, That it was likewiſe expedient to ſurceaſe all preaching and exerciſe of their religion in the ſaid towne, vntill the king had otherwiſe decreed, to auoid his Ma. indignation, & other inconueniences that might happen vnto the ſaid town. The Proteſtants contradicted the magiſtrats for a while, alledging their former agreements: but in the end they muſt of force obey, and receiued the garriſon which the Seignior of Noircarmes brought them. The prince of O-
C range ſeeing the retreat of the miniſters out of Antuerpe, hauing tried the inconſtancie of the earle of Egmont, and of ſome of the nobles, and of the people, being willed to yeeld vnto the iniurie of the time, and the miſerable eſtate of the country, parted from Antuerpe the 11 of April, accompanied with a great troupe of gentlemen, and went to his town of Breda, where hauing ſetled an order for his priuat affaires, he retired into his county of Naſſau, aduiſing the cō-federat noblemen to do the like, for their better ſafety, or elſe to prepare theſelues in good earneſt to reſiſt the preparations that were made in Spain againſt the Netherlands, hauing aduertiſed the earle of Egmont, being at Willebrouck (who was come to meet him, and to take his leaue of him) *Seeing he would not reſolue with him and others to ſtop the entry of the duke of Alua into the Netherlands (who was now in Italy) as it had bin propounded in their aſſembly at Deuremonde,*
D *that he ſhold be the bridge wheron the Spaniards would firſt march, to plant their tyrānie in theſe parts.* The Regent ſent the yong earle *Charles* of Mansfield with 1500 Walons ſoldiers to Antuerp, who in a morning betimes entred therein, like enemies, with their pieces charged, bullets in their mouths, and matches burning, as though they ſuſpected ſome reſiſtance, and within two daies after the regent her ſelfe followed, & entred the town with 500 horſe, furthering the Romiſh religion both by counſell and action, & appointing orders touching the church gouernment, and honored the proceſſion in the towne with her own perſon and the lords of the order of the golden fleece. Soone after her entry ſhe cauſed diuers to be executed, becauſe of the ſedition: ſhee renued the old proclamation, cauſed the children to be baptized againe, and at the laſt commanded the reformed churches to be broken downe, which were very faire buil-
E dings: ſhe cauſed all the townesmens armes to be regiſtred, & an inuentorie kept of the ſame.

The prince of Oráges ſpeech to the earle of Egmont, bidding him farewell.

The lord of Brederode being in the towne of Amſterdam, was alſo aduertiſed by the prince to ſtand vpon his guard, and to looke to his affaires. Whereupon he alſo reſolued to depart, and to leaue the ſaid towne and his places. The Proteſtants would gladly haue retained him for their head and commander, with the troupes which he had in his town of Vianen, and therabouts, but he would not truſt to it, ſeeing that the prince himſelfe did not truſt, but had aduertiſed him. Wherfore the ſuperintendants of the towne hauing furniſhed him with ſhips, victuals & mony in loane, he retired the 27 of April about midnight, being accompanied by many gentlemen and other confederats. He went towards Embden, and from thence into the country of Cont *Ioos* of Schouwenburch, whereas the 15 of February the yeare following 1568 he
F died in the caſtle of Haſemburch, of the iuriſdiction of Reeckelinghuyſen, and lieth buried at Gemme. He and his predeceſſors haue alwaies bin of great reputation, as well for their nobilitie (being iſſued from the moſt noble earles of Holland and Zeeland) as for their great poſſeſſions and alliances. His father was *Reinold*, lord of Brederode, of Vianen, Almeyden, &c. knight of the order of the golden Fleece, and one of the braueſt men at armes in his time.

And

And as for him, enioying the ſame poſſeſſions, hee was captaine of one of the kings bands A
of Ordnance, a man of a tall ſtature and a cheerefull countenance, ſomewhat reddiſh, with
curled haire, valiant as might be, ſuddaine, cholericke, and reſolute in that which he de-
ſigned, yet liberall and courteous. In his youth he carried for his deuice, *Peut eſtre*: And
after his retreat out of the countrey, he would vſually ſay, *Lord preſerue my ſoule and mine ho-
nour*. He had to wife the lady *Emilia*, conteſſe of Nieuwenar, who a yeare after his death mar-
ried againe with the Palatine *Frederic*, prince elector.

His ſouldiers, which were at Vianen, and the forts thereabouts, went forth with their co-
lours flying the eight and twentieth of Aprill, before day, paſſing by Amſterdam, where they
ſpoyled and ruined the cloyſter of the Chartrons Monkes: then taking their way along the
dike of Sparendam, they went to Egmont, where they ſpoyled the abbey; and paſſing B
through Weſt-Friſeland, they imbarked at Medenblyck. The earle of Meghen purſuing
them with his Regiment, and approching neere to Amſterdam, terrified the bourgeſſes, eſpe-
cially the Proteſtants, who feared leaſt the Catholickes ſhould ſuffer them to enter; where-
fore they were all night in armes: and their feare encreaſed the more, for that they heard that
the lord of Noircarmes aduanced thitherwards with other troupes and artillerie. *Meghen* not
able to ouertake *Bredervodes* men, retyred towards Vtrecht, ſpoyling the countreymen, vnder
colour that they had lodged them as they paſſed.

There were yet remayning in the towne of Vianen three companies, vnder the Seignior
of Vchtenbroec, Nyuelt, and Reneſſe: on the ſix and twentieth of Aprill they went forth
to skirmiſh with them of the fort of Vaert; but they were well encountred, and ſome of them C
were taken priſoners; among others, the Seignior of Reneſſe; who was carried to the caſtle
of Vredenburch in Vtrecht, where afterwards hee was beheaded. Duke *Erick* of Brunſ-
Vianen abandoned. wicke was about Vianen, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey; wherewith the garriſon
and bourgeſſes were ſo terrified, as vpon the third of May they did abandon it, and fled
ſome here, ſome there: The duke entred it vpon the fifth of the moneth, his ſouldiers com-
mitting all the inſolencies that might be: he cauſed the gates to be taken downe, and left the
place open.

Some gentlemen thinking to retyre by ſea out of Holland, to goe to Embden, were by
the diſloyaltie of their marriner (beeing caſt vpon a banke of ſand betwixt Harlingen and
Staueren) betrayed and deliuered to captaine *Muyers* of Cont *Arenberghs* regiment, who cari- D
ed them priſoners to the caſtle of Harlingen; among the which were two brethren, *Thierry* and
Ghisbrecht, barons of Batenbourch, *Siurd* of Beyma, and *Hartman Galama*, gentlemen of Friſe-
land, the which were afterwards ſent to Bruſſels by the ducheſſe commandement.

The 28 of May the Gouerneſſe ſeeing her affaires ſo ſucceſſefull in the townes of Antuerpe
and Amſterdam, cauſed a moſt rigorous proclamation to be made, the which chaſed many
Proteſtants out of the countrey; and the 13 of Iune following ſhe cauſed an inſtruction to be
made for all the prouinciall courts, containing, how they ſhould proceed againſt the Prote-
ſtants. She did alſo write vnto all the townes, how the magiſtrats ſhould gouern themſelues, to
reſtraine the people from retiring out of the country; and did alſo make an Edict to that end.

As the perſecutions began now to grow more violent againſt the Proteſtants, and that there E
was no more hope of mercie in the king nor ducheſſe, and that their only refuge was a retreat
and exile out of the countrey. To the end that after ages might not iudge lightly of all that
had paſſed, nor of the beginning of theſe troubles (whereof ſo many miſeries haue followed)
the ſaid Proteſtants cauſed a little booke to be printed, in forme of an apologie, to iuſtifie both
An apologie made by the Proteſtants. the nobility and the people. And whereas their aduerſaries had grounded all their accuſations
of Rebellion & high Treaſon, vpon the deliuerie of the noblemens petition, the publike prea-
ching, the carrying of armes, and vpon the breaking of Images, they did anſwere pertinent-
ly to euery point, as well by liuely reaſons as examples, both out of the holy Scriptures,
and prophane hyſtories, both ancient and moderne. Whereby they concluded, that the
nobilitie cannot be iuſtly taxed for their behauiour and proceeding in the preſenting of the F
ſaid petition, nor yet the people charged for their aſſemblies, publicke preaching, bea-
ring of armes, and beating and pulling downe of Images, of any ſedition, tumult, mu-
tinie, or rebellion, as their calumniators would then haue vniuſtly accuſed them: and
that vpon the ſaid accuſations, the Inquiſition and Counſell of Spaine had concluded

ſo

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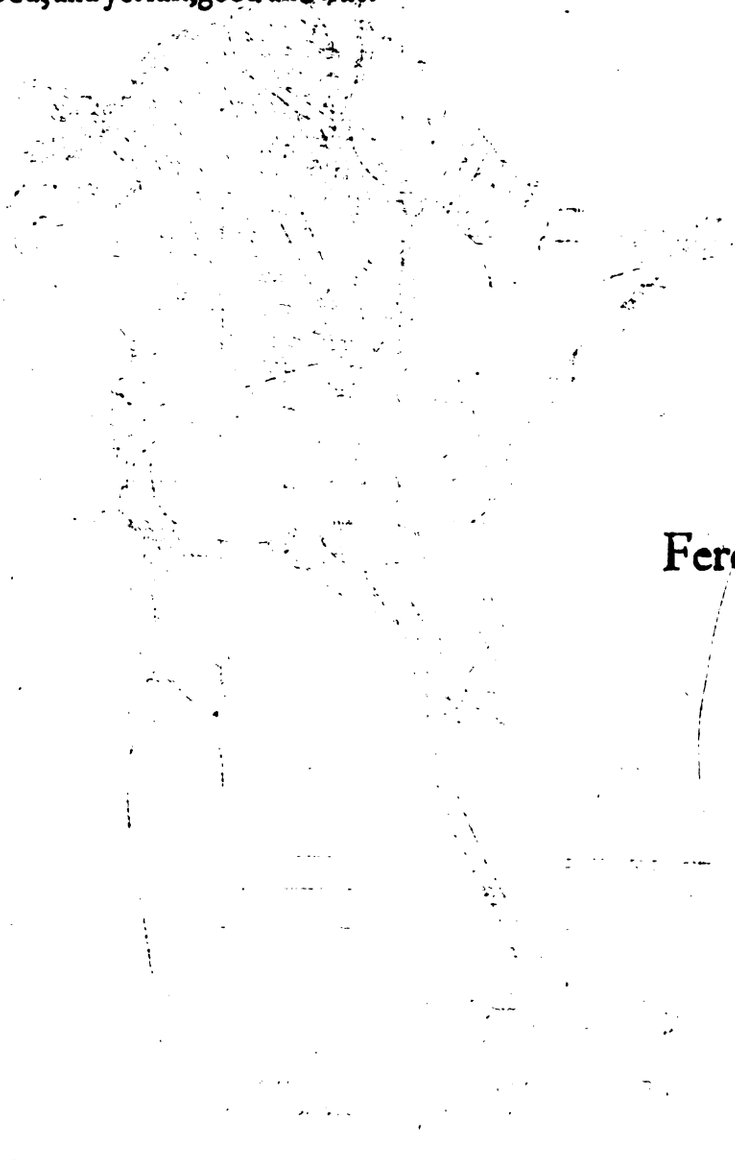
A so tyrannously and barbarously against them, and by their aduice was so iudged by the king himselfe.

By these meanes the Regent got the matter ouer the Netherlands. So that in all the seuenteene Prouinces there was no resistance made against her, and the gentlemen truly called Gueux (that is, beggers) were with diuers other men of good qualitie and reputation (that had meanes to liue in good sort within their owne countries) forced to be beggers and strangers in forraine nations, being many thousands in number, and yet (during their absence) they neuer left off their manner of Netherlands apparell: which they vsed there, in hope one day to returne home againe. They that stayed in the Netherlands, were imprisoned, hanged, and put to death; others liued in miserable and continuall feare and sorrow; and
B most of them driuen to pouertie, as in the hystorie ensuing shall be declared. Such are the iudgements of God, and yet iust, good and true.



Ferdinando

FERDINANDO ALVARES, OF TOLE-
do, duke of Alua, Lieutenant Gouernor and Captaine Generall of the Netherlands for *Philip* the second, K. of Spaine.



FERDINANDVS A TOLEDO DVX ALVA MAR: CORIÆ
GVBERNAT: ET CAPITA: GENER BELGICÆ.

To bring the Belgians (that heretickes were thought
And rebels) in ſubiection, all practiſes I ſought
To put in vre, and rul'd by force and crueltie:
Conſtraining them by meere deceit, by fraud, and ſubtiltie,
To build vp caſtles great, and make ſtrong citadels,
That ſerued for to bridle them, becauſe they were rebels.
The earles of Horne and Egmont I in Bruſſels did behead,
And no man durſt appeare to aid them in their need.
Of each mans moueables the tenth part I did craue,
And not content, the twentieth and the hundreth part would haue.
And when I had the Netherlands turmoyled and toſt,
Through my default, the king my maſter in the end them loſt.

The

THE NINTH BOOKE.

The Argument.

THe duke of Alua arriues in the Netherlands. He creates a Counsell of the troubles, to whom hee giueth absolute power, reducing the Netherlands into a pitifull estate. Hee assureth himselfe of Gand. Cont Horne *abused by Cont* Egmont, *are both prisoners. He buildeth vp the castle of Antuerpe, where he setteth vp his proud statue. The duke of Alua proceedeth by commission to apprehend the prince of Orange, whereunto the prince answeres. Articles set downe by the Inquisition of Spaine to ruine the Netherlands, and confirmed by the king. An enterprise to surprise the duke of Alua. The prince of Oranges first apologie against the dukes citation. Cont* Lodowic *the princes brother enters with an armie into Friseland. The prince of Oranges petition to the Emperour. Cont* Arembergh *slaine, and the Spaniards defeated in Friseland by Cont* Lodowic. *The sonnes of* Batenbourg *and others executed at Brussels, and soone after the earles of Egmont and Horne. Cont* Lodowic *besiegeth Groningen, is defeated, and saues himselfe. The prince of Oranges armie to come into the Netherlands. The duke of Alua meaning to hinder him, encampes by Maestricht. The princes armie is dispersed, without doing any thing. The duke of Aluaes generall pardon. He brags to haue conquered the Netherlands, and prints a booke of it. The collection of the tenth peny, where Brussels opposeth, and in the meane time the Isle of Briel is surprised, whence grew the second troubles in the Netherlands. Mons in Henault surprised by Cont* Lodowic. *The prince of Oranges second armie. Cruell warres betwixt the Protestants of Holland and Zeeland, and the Spaniards.* Genlis *defeated, comming to succour Mons. The prince and the duke of Alua front one another with their armies, neere vnto Mons, and do nothing. The prince hauing dismissed his armie, comes into Holland, being called by the States of the country. Mons yeelded to the duke of Alua. He makes cruell warres throughout all the Netherlands. He sackes Macklyn, Zutphen, Naerden, and other townes. He besiegeth Harlem, which in the end yeeldeth to the mercie of the barbarous Spaniard. The Zeelanders make sharpe warre at sea against the Spaniard. Middlebourg besieged. The baron of Batenbourg defeated and slaine. The duke besiegeth Alcmar: The Spaniard forced to leaue the siege with shame. Ramekin besieged and yeelded to the prince of Orange. Gertruydenberg surprised by the prince. The duke of Alua seeketh to be reuenged of the West-Frisons. His armie at sea is defeated. Cont* Bossu *his Admirall taken prisoner. The duke seeking to vanquish by temporising, besiegeth Leyden. The prince comes into Zeeland. Cruell warre against the Spaniard. The duke seeing his vnfortunate successe, laboureth to be called home, and retyreth with* Dom Frederic *his sonne.*

THe king of Spaine fearing least the Protestants Religion in the Netherlands should encrease too much, imagining, that the duchesse of Parma, his bastard sister, gouernesse of the said coūtries, was not rigorous inough to persecute them (although by her dissembling and cunning practises they were in a manner all subdued) and so the Inquisition of Spaine, yea, the Romish Religion should not only proue contemptible, but also come to ruine, as in Germanie, England, Scotland, and elsewhere: for the preuenting whereof, and that the reformed Religion should take no deeper footing (meaning to proceed by fire and sword, according to the proiect which was laied at the enterview of Bayon, hauing no respect to the priuiledges of the countrey, so solemnely sworne by him at his ioyous entrie, which admit no strange gouernour, of which oath he had procured a dispensation from the Pope) he sent for Gouernour of those countries, *Dom Ferdinando Aluares* of Toledo, duke of Alua, knight of the Order, a Spaniard, and a mortall enemie to the nobilitie of those countries, whereof he made him his lieutenant, gouernour, and captaine generall; giuing

The duke of Alua sent Gouernour into the Netherlands.

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giuing him for marshall of his armie, *Chiapin Vitelli*, a gentleman of Rome, and *Gabriel Serbellon*, was master of his artillerie. A

For this cause, as if it had beene for some holy warre, by means of the Inquisition, and spiritualtie of Spaine, a great summe of money was giuen vnto the king: and presently letters were dispatched and sent vnto the gouernours of Naples, Sicilia, Sardinia, and Milleine, to commaund them to send their old garrisons of souldiers into Lumbardie, that they might be ready to march with the duke of Alua into the Netherlands: which duke (accompanied with diuers noblemen and gentlemen of Spaine, and other Spanish souldiers, as also with his two sonnes, *Dom Frederico*, and *Dom Ferdinando de Toledo*) tooke shipping at Barcelona, and with his gallies arriued at Genua vpon the 17 of May, where he fell sicke of a tertian feauer, and a pluriſie. From thence he went to Alexandria de la Paillia, where *Dom Gabriel della Cueua*, duke B of Alburquerke, gouernor of Millain, met him, and there he tooke order, that all the souldiers should assemble together in Piemont, at a place called S. *Ambroſe*, lying in the Alpes between Germanie, France, and Italy, which is called the Rethees. The number of souldiers that were mustered there to goe into the Netherlands, were first the regiment of Naples, or the third part of all the garrisons there, being 19 companies of Spaniards, in all 3230 men, their colonel being *Alonzo de Vlloa*; the regiment of Sicilia, being 10 companies, in all 1520 men, conducted by *Iulian Romero*, an old souldier, well knowne in the Low countries, as also in England; the regiment of Lumbardie, of 10 companies, in all 2200 men, their colonell *Dom Zauzio de Londogue*; the regiment of Sardinia, being 10 companies, whereof foure were new souldiers, by them called Bisoignos, which came out of Spaine with the duke, were 1728 men, their C colonel being *Dom Gonsale de Braccamonte*: their number all together making 8678 men, besides their boyes, which were many, as also diuers voluntarie souldiers. The duke tooke order, that euery companie of souldiers should haue 15 musketiers all Spaniards, which as then were more vsed than euer they had beene before. Their horsemen were fiue companies of light horse, all Spaniards, each 100 apeece, three companies of Italians, and two of Albanois, a kind of people dwelling in Naples, which came out of Albania in Grecia, driuen from thence by the Turke, and as yet speake the Greekish Tongue. With these there were two companies of Spanish petronels on horseback, altogether 12 companies, making 1200 horse. This muster was taken the second of Iune 1567, and to these, being in Burgundie, there ioyned foure companies more, which made 400 horse. D

This muster thus made at S. *Ambroſe* vpon the third of Iune, were diuided into three battailes, that they might be the better prouided of victuals, order being taken, that where the auantguard lodged and departed in the morning, there the maine battaile should lodge at night, & that being gone from thence, the rereward came thither: after them followed a great number of wiues, whores, and boyes, being by good order diuided into seuerall parts, as into the gentlewomen and captaines whores, the rich whores, and the souldiers poore wiues and whores, with good and conuenient discipline amongst them, for the which the duke was much commended.

While the kings army marched along, the king of Fraunce assembled a great number of souldiers in France, and 6000 Switzers, to withstand the danger that might fall out. The like E did the Switzers and those of Geneua, standing vpon their guards. The chiefe commaunder of the army vnder the duke of Alua, was *Chiapin Vitelli*, marqueſſe de Cetone, the master of the Ordnance *Gabriel Serbellon*, the enginour to deuise castles and forts, captaine *Pachiotto*, and others. The duke being in Sauoy, stayed there vntill the beginning of Iuly, by means of letters sent by the Regent, the ducheſſe of Parma, out of the Netherlands, vnto the king, being as then sorry, that shee had made so great complaint of the nobilitie and people thereof, and for that cause wrote vnto the king, to certifie him, that all was done and pacified in the Netherlands, the offendors partly punished, partly imprisoned, and the rest driuen away, and banished out of the countrey, and most of the townes planted with garrisons, and that it was to be feared, that the customes and manners of the Spaniards in F the Netherlands, would cause new vprores, for that vpon her promise vnto them, that they should not come into the Netherlands, the inhabitants (both noblemen, gentlemen, and commons) had behaued themselues so well, that all was brought to good effect.

These

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A Theſe and the like perſuaſions were by her vſed, to cauſe the king, to call the duke of Alua backe againe, and it was verely thought by many men, that without doubt, vnleſſe the Regent had made ſuch promiſes vnto the lords, gentlemen, and townes, the matter ſhould not haue beene ſo well ended as it was; and that there was meanes ynough to bee vſed, to impeach and hinder the entrance of the Spaniards into the Netherlands, euery man thinking and perſuading himſelfe, that the king would not ſuffer another to reape the honour and reward of his ſiſters great labours and dangers, and that her highneſſe ſhould not ſuffer ſo great an impeachment and imbaſing of her honour and authoritie. But the king would not hearken thereunto, but for that cauſe the duke once againe receiued commiſſion, to proceed and goe forward, thereby confirmining the opinion, which till then men would
B not be perſuaded vnto, that the occaſion giuen by the Netherlands ſhould bee layed hold on, that ſo the ſaid countries might be in a manner newly woon and conquered, and in that ſort holden and gouerned after the kings pleaſure, when it appeared, that they were not content with the puniſhment alreadie paſt, and that which as then was yet to be done in the ſaid Netherlands.

Thus the duke paſſed forward, and marched within ſeuen myles of Geneua, which was likewiſe in feare to be aſſayled by him: but for that they were ſo well prouided of ſouldiers, and had the Switzers to friend, he let them alone. From thence he paſſed through Burgundie and Lorraine, and entred into Lutzenbourg, where the earles of Lodron, Ouerſtein, and Schouwenbourg met him with their regiments of Dutch ſouldiers of footmen, and ſome
C horſemen. There likewiſe came vnto him twelue thouſand Ruyters, that had long beene in a readineſſe, whereof he tooke ſome. Being at Lutzenbourg, the Regent, the ducheſſe of Parma, ſent vnto him the barons of Barlamont and Noircarmes, to ſee his charge, commiſſion, and letters patents, which he partly ſhewed: and there the earle of Egmont and ſome other noblemen, to ſhew their dutifulneſſe, went forth to receiue him, and to bid him welcome. The duke ſeeing the earle come, ſayd vnto them that were about him, ſo loud as euery man might heare him: *Behold that great Lutheran*: The which the earle himſelfe might very well vnderſtand, but hee diſſembled it, and preſented him with two goodly horſes of great price, whereof the duke made no great eſteeme, entertaining the earle and the reſt but coldly, carrying a ſad countenance, and more than a royall grauitie: Which
D ſhould haue made the noblemen, eſpecially the earle of Egmont, to bethinke themſelues, if hee had not beene blinded with the kings goodly promiſes, and the ducheſſes entertainement; when as neyther remorſe of his conſcience, nor the good aduertiſements which were giuen him dayly (eſpecially that of the prince of Orange, when he tooke his leaue of him) nor ſome ſiniſter preſages which happened before, and haue ſince beene exactly noted, among others, by a fall which he had vnder his horſe, which bruſed his ſhoulder, before the Mynt at Antuerpe (which grew through two great maſtiues (the which they interpreted to be the duke of Alua and his ſonne) which playing together, came betwixt his horſes legges, and made him fall, could euer make him ballance the meaſure of that which was ſeruice and merit, with the counterpoiſe of that which the Spaniards held not onely
E for a diſſeruice or demerite, but alſo for a great crime, yea, for high Treaſon. And although that ſince his abandoning of the other princes and noblemen, at their laſt aſſembly in Deuremonde, he had ſeene himſelfe diſdainefully looked on, by his enemies of the Spaniſh faction, the which ſlaundered the proceedings of the noblemen; nor that he had not had any good countenance of the ducheſſe and her minions, of whom he had wont to be ſo much feared, honoured, and reſpected, and that hee knew well, that his authoritie and credit was decayed ſince the retreat of the prince of Orange and his brethren, of the earle of Hoochſtraten, the lord of Brederode, and ſo many others. And that if after the taking of Valenciennes (at which ſiege he had neyther credite nor commaund) hee had well conſidered of his affaires, there had beene yet time ynough to preuent the miſerie
F which threatened him, if hee had reuiued the vnion, and called backe the noblemen (which the ducheſſe, the preſident *Vigilius*, and the cardinall *Granuelle* feared exceedingly, for that *Egmonts* forſaking of them had beene the onely cauſe of their victorie and triumph ouer the nobles and the people) that with their common forces they might haue repulſed the duke of Alua at his firſt entry: the which had bin eaſie to effect, for that they ſhould

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haue beene ſeconded from all parts; beſides, *Egmont* was generall of all the foot in the Netherlands, gouernour of Flanders and Arthois, hauing more credit with the ſouldiers than all the reſt, neyther could they haue wanted ſuccours from Germanie, or the Proteſtants of Fraunce. Yet whether the fatall deſtinies (which I know to bee no other but the prouidence of God) did thruſt him on by a blind and brutiſh ſtupiditie to his owne perdition, and the totall ruine and deſolation of his houſe; or that God (the puniſher of our offences) being iuſtly incenſed againſt theſe prouinces, for their diſordered libertie, being giuen to all vices, voluptuouſneſſe, and wickedneſſe, after that they had once begun to taſt the fruits of peace, which he had giuen them, after ſuch long and bloudie warres againſt the French; or that *Egmont* had not yeelded the onely honour vnto God of thoſe two goodly victories of S. Quintines and Grauelingues, hauing often braued it more than was fit, to the contempt and diſgrace of them that loſt them, not acknowledging, that it was God onely that gaue him power to win thoſe victories, and that men are but his inſtruments: they could neuer perſuade him to thinke otherwiſe of his affaires, eyther by a retreat (as the prince and others had done) or by oppoſing himſelfe, and redreſſing the vnion, to encounter and repulſe the duke. Neither could he euer diſcouer any thing, vntill that he was taken in the toyle, as we will preſently ſhew.

The duke of Alua being arriued at Bruſſels the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, was honourably receiued of the Regent, which informed him of all thinges at large, and ſhewed him by what meanes and how (according vnto her opinion) hee ſhould pacifie the countrey, and bring the prince of Orange, and other noblemen and gentlemen that were fled, to become well deuoted, willing, and readie to doe the king ſeruice: and that (if there were but a meane vſed therein, there ſhould be no cauſe to feare, but that all things would bee peaceably and quietly ended. But the duke (ſuppoſing and preſuming, that the moſt part of the troubles in the Netherlands were procured and continued by the ſayd Regents lenitie and ſlackeneſſe) thought to rule the matter in other ſort, and at that time ſhewed his commiſſion vnto the Regent and the States (but not altogether) for his was greater, and extended further than that of the Regents, as hauing authoritie to place and diſplace all gouernours of prouinces and townes, and all other officers, beeing made captaine generall of the kings forts, holds, and ſouldiers, hauing full power and authoritie ouer the counſels of eſtate, and the Treaſurers. He cauſed as much of his commiſſion as hee thought good, to be put in print, that euery man might know it, and yet he had a further and more abſolute commiſſion, to giue iudgement and take order in all cauſes of crimes and rebellion, to puniſh and pardon all offences, and to recompence and reward men for their good ſeruices; as it appeared by a particular inſtruction made and giuen vnto him by the king himſelfe, bearing date in Madril the laſt of Ianuarie 1566. Which when the Regent ſaw, and perceiued that the duke tooke all authoritie vpon himſelfe, and that he made ſhew to take an other courſe, ſuffering her to keepe the court, but without traine, and that hee lodged in the houſe of Culenburgh, and had all the company following him, ſhe thought that ſhe had nothing to do there, and for that cauſe ſent vnto the king, to craue leaue to depart from thence, that ſhe might go into Italie to the duke of Parma her husband.

The beginning of the duke of Alua's gouernment is tyrannous.

The duke being in the gouernment, he cauſed all his ſouldiers to lodge round about him in the neereſt townes; as the regiment of Naples in Bruſſels, all Spaniards; the regiment of the earle of Lodron in Antuerpe, diſcharging many of the Wallons, whom he miſtruſted. He tooke the keyes of the gates from the townes-men, whereof they of Gand, by a requeſt preſented vnto him by the earle of Egmont, made complaint, which put the duke in a great rage, and ſaid, That he would doe what he thought beſt to be done for the kings ſeruice, and not otherwiſe. And preſently as ſoone as he ſaw himſelfe eſtabliſhed in the gouernment, in ſteed of moderating the proclamation, and other things requeſted and ſought by the lords and gentlemen of the Netherlands, he ratified, confirmed, and ordained the old proclamation and the Inquiſition to be vſed and executed in the ſame, and in ſteed of aſſembling the generall ſtates, hee appointed a counſell of twelue men, that had full power to deale in all things, that in any ſort touched or concerned the aforeſaid troubles, and to take order therein, which was called the bloudy counſell, and in French the counſell of troubles. This counſel conſiſted of Netherlanders, mixed with ſtrãgers, as the barons *de Barlamont*, & *Noircarmes*, the preſidẽts of Flãders and

The bloudy counſell, or counſell of the troubles.

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A and Artois, but the chiefe and principallest of them were the Licentiat *Iohn Vergas*, doctor *Beis del Rio*, the Fiscale of Burgundy, *Iohn de la Porta* aduocat Fiscale, the counsellor *Iacob Hessel*, the counsellor *Belin Brese*, aduocate Fiscale of Mechlin, and *du Bois*, attourney generall, wherof the duke himselfe was president, but in his absence *Vergas* sat as president in his place: of whom it is reported, That for rauishing an orphane child committed to his custody, he was banished out of Spaine; a man aboue all others most sterne and cruell, seeking nothing but riches and bloud: But the Spaniards said, That the cankered wounds of the Netherlands had need of so sharpe a knife (as *Vergas* was) to cut away their dead flesh. The secretaries were *Vlierden*, *la Torre*, *Praets* and *Mesdagh*. The first two or three moneths the duke and the lords assembled and sat in counsell euery forenoone and afternoone, all being directed by the duke
B himselfe, whose meaning was, that the opinion of the counsell should be but consultiue, as counsell giuers, and not absolute, as giuing iudgement in any cause, and so intended to haue all things depend vpon him alone, and they to stand to the iudgement that hee should giue. For which cause, the said counsell, for that many of them could not endure the crueltie therin propounded, sought meanes to be discharged thereof: others being ashamed, stayed at home: whereby the said counsell, being twelue, was oftentimes but fiue, foure, and sometimes but three persons, as it appeareth by diuers iudgements and sentences of life and death, giuen out by them, and particularly by that of *Anthonie van Straten*, which was signed onely by the aforesayd president *Vergas*, doctor *Beys del Rio*, and Secretarie *de la Torre*.

C And by this counsell, and by the duke himselfe, all power and authoritie was taken from the prouinciall counsels of the land, and the inhabitants robbed and dispoyled of all their ordinances, iurisdictions, appeales, and resorts, cleane contrarie to the priuiledges of the land, with an expresse prohibition sent forth vnto all iudges and officers, not to take any knowledge of any thing touching the last vprores, yea, and the counsels themselues, both high and low, were forced to stand to the iudgement of the said counsell, which had commaund ouerall, noble and vnnoble, spirituall and temporall: so that the dukes will was an absolute law, without suffering or allowing any appeale, reformation, or reuiewing of their sentence, once giuen and pronounced by the duke, hauing full and soueraigne authoritie from the king, not tied nor limitted to any instructions, but inuested with liberty, fully and freely to giue sentence in any
D thing, without denial or gainesaying. This counsell likewise sought to haue all the customes, old priuiledges, and laws of the Netherlands brought to be perused by them, that they might reforme and amend them, according to their wils and pleasures: but perceiuing the matter to be of so great consequence, they durst not deale therewith. Besides that, they sought to haue all the charters that belonged vnto his Maiesty and the lords of the Netherlands, giuen to euery particular prouince: which had beene done, but that certaine old counsellors tooke courage vpon them, and aduentured to shew the duke the danger and great hinderance that thereby was to be expected, and might fall out; for that the secrets both of the king and the Netherlands should so be opened and made knowne, whereby great inconuenience might arise betweene the neighbour potentates, and others, if they should bee broken or altered.
E And to conclude, they left nothing vntouched, but brought it all to their arbitrement and perusing (being most strangers, borne out of the Netherlands) all tending to this end, That at the last they might haue meanes to dominiere ouer all mens riches and treasures, to make the king rich, seeking to cause the Netherlands to yeeld him more yerely reuenue than his Indies; in the end proceeding to that point, besides all the confiscations, to demand taxes and tallages, not only for a time, but to continue for euer, as the hundreth and the twentieth penny of all moueable and immoueable goods, and the tenth penny of all marchandize bought and sold, as hereafter when time serues it shalbe shewed.

The tyrannie of the duke of Alua and his bloudy counsell

By meanes of this bloudie counsell, the authoritie of the counsell of estate was likewise wholly diminished and put downe, which had scarce a place permitted them in the court
F to assemble together: but sometimes the sayd counsell of estate were sent for into the dukes chamber, vnto whom he communicated as much as hee thought good and conuenient to shew them, without any forme of holding a counsell, after their auncient manner. But after that, when the duke *de Medinaceli* came into the Netherlands, they began againe to assemble in their accustomed chamber, and to consult together: So that

All authoritie taken from the generall states by the bloudy counsell

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during this new manner of counſell, the ordinances of the counſell of eſtate were not once vſed, but commaundement giuen, That all men ſhould hold and account the duke to bee abſolute ruler, and all men diſpenced withall, not to hold nor obſerue any ordinance nor inſtruction made by any others, than by him, and that all ſhould be referred to his diſcretion: which cauſed a great diſliking in the people towards the king, and hatred vnto the duke. A

Hauing layed this foundation, he began to impriſon all ſorts of people, by reaſon of the troubles paſt, much more than the Gouerneſſe had done, cauſing them to be executed with all ſorts of torments and puniſhments, according to the tenour of the Edicts. The which many ſeeing, being terrified with ſuch cruelties, they retyred out of the countrey, chuſing a voluntarie exile: the which hee cauſed to bee called by proclamation, and if they did not appeare to anſwere to their accuſations, and to iuſtifie themſelues, hee did generally confiſcate all their goods; although at his firſt comming he cauſed it to be bruited abroad, That the king would ſend a generall pardon for all that had paſſed during the troubles, to the prejudice of his Maieſtie and the Romiſh Religion: but that was but a bait to ſtay them, that had a mind to retyre. B

The pitifull eſtate of the Netherlands.

The counſell of the troubles being once eſtabliſhed, it was not long idle, but began to proceed preſently by apprehenſions, executions, confiſcations, and baniſhment of perſons, the which were neuer conuicted, no not accuſed, nor once ſuſpected for the troubles or Religion: he cauſed the children to be rebaptized, which had beene baptized at the preaching, and remarried them at the Romiſh church, which had beene ioyned together by the Miniſters, but not without abiuration, and great penalties, both corporall and pecuniarie. Such as vpon this vaine hope of pardon and generall abolition, returned to their houſes, were apprehended and executed by fire, by water, by gibbets, by ditches, by the ſword, & by diuers other kinds of deaths and torments. To conclude, there was nothing to be ſeene throughout all the Netherlands but gibbets, wheeles, ſtakes, and pitifull ſpectacles, accompanied with the teares and lamentations of poore widowes and orphanes; who being depriued of their fathers and husbands, after the confiſcation of all their goods, were chaſed away at all aduentures, the widowes in deſpaire, the ſonnes to keepe in the woods, and to rob, and the daughters to become ſtrumpets, and to lead a miſerable life. C

This counſell of the troubles made a proclamation in the kings name, That all that pretended any right or intereſt to the goods of ſuch as had beene executed or baniſhed, ſhould come in and demaund them within halfe a yeare, by petition or libell conuentionall, or elſe to looſe the benefit of their right, forbidding all debtors to pay any thing either to priſoners, to ſuch as were abſent and fled, or to their widowes and children, vpon paine to pay it twice: And that all ſhould be anſwerable to the ſaid counſell, whereof no Iudges of the countrey might take knowledge in that reſpect: the ſayd counſell hauing their Commiſſioners and Receiuers in euery quarter of the countrey, to keepe a Regiſter of the goods that were confiſcated and ſeized by their decrees, and to receiue them, hauing alſo erected a chamber of confiſcations. At that time there was borne in Brabant a child with two heads, foure armes, foure legs, but with one onely belly and one nauell. D

The duke of Alua for his greater aſſurance, in the beginning of September, tooke away the keyes from the magiſtrate of the towne of Gand, putting the towne in guard to Colonel *Alphonſo*, a Spaniard. The Gantois complayned to the earle of Egmont, gouernour of Flaunders, who acquainted the duke therewith, and hee made him no other anſwere, but what had beene done, was for his Maieſties ſeruice. E

The duke aſſures himſelfe of Gand.

The generall Eſtates of the Netherlands being aſſembled the foureteenth of September, in the towne of Bruſſels, at the earle of Culenbourgs place (where the yeare before the banquet of the confederate noblemen was made, at the deliuerie of their petition) to ſee the dukes authoritie and commiſſion, he ſent for the earles of Egmont and Horne to come to court, to conferre with them of ſome matters concerning his Maieſties ſeruice, for the making of ſome newe forts which hee had deſigned, for the preſeruation of the countrey. The earle of Horne went not willingly; but vpon that, that the earle of Egmont had ſent him word, That he ſhould not feare to come, aſſuring him, that he ſhould haue no worſe vſage than himſelfe, he went. F

Theſe

A These two noblemen being come to court the nineteenth of the moneth, they caused them to retire into a chamber apart, saying that the duke would come speake with them; whither *Don Frederic* of Toledo, and many Spaniards entred armed, and they were commaunded to deliuer their swords, and to yeeld themselues prisoners in the kings name: and notwithstanding all their protestations, that they were not bound to yeeld them vnto any one but to the king himselfe, yet they were taken from them, and they giuen in guard to captaine *Iulian Romero*. Afterwards the duke sent them both prisoners with a guard of three thousand horse and foot, to the castle of Gand. Count *Charles* of Mansfield was then also in court, when as these two noblemen were committed prisoners, but his father sent to aduise him to retire, fearing least the like should happen vnto him, for that hee had been one of them that had signed the petiti-
B on of the noblemen.

The earls of Egmont and Horne prisoners.

At the verie same time *Anthony* of Stralen, bourgmaster of Antuerpe, was taken prisoner by the earle of Lodron, who presently caused all his goods to be seised, inuentaried and sealed vp. The like was done to *Iohn* of Casenbroot, seignour of Backerseel, chiefe counsellor to the earle of Egmont, by the prouost of Spelle, and put in prison at the port of Couwenbergh at Brussels, but his secretarie found meanes to saue him.

The duke of Alua commaunded the earle of Egmont, being prisoner, to write vnto him that was his lieutenant, and gouernour of the castle of Gand, That vpon the sight of the letter he should go forth with his garrison and mortpaies, and suffer captaine *Salinas* to enter with his Spaniards, the which was done. So many imprisonments of great and small (the bruit
C whereof did flie sodainly ouer all the Netherlands) executions and cruelties, made many (although they were not guiltie of any crime) to retire into England, Germany, the East countries, and other places, where they thought good, abandoning their houses and countrey, to liue with the libertie of their consciences, free from the feare of tyrans. As after all these exploits and imprisonments the duke of Alua was vpon the way going from Brussels to Antuerpe, passing by Mackin, fire fell into the tower where the gunpowder lay, the which did very much harme, both within and without the towne; for the violence thereof was so great, as Louvaine beeing foure leagues off, did all shake, and yet the duke was nothing mooued thereat.

The 24 of December he laid the first foundation of the proudest citadell in Europe, in the
D towne of Antuerpe, on the side of the suburbe called Kyel, along the riuer, which was the de- The castle of Antuerp built.
signe and inuention of his enginour *Pachiotto* a Sauoyard, compassed in with fiue mightie bulwarkes, and euerie one defended by a caualier or mount, to the which he gaue names drawne from himselfe and his familie: for the first was called the Dukes bulwarke, the second Toledo, the third Ferdinando, the fourth Toledano, and the fifth by his enginours name Pachiotto: wherein he entertained two thousand workemen, as well masons as ditchers, vntill it was finished, with the counterscarps and parapets, all being laid with free stone and bricke: For the building of which citadell the duke obtained of the great counsell of Antuerpe the summe of foure hundred thousand Florins, and more, the which was raysed vpon a certaine imposition of the hundreth peny, of the two twentieths, and of two tenthes, of all possessions and immo-
E uable goods within the territorie and iurisdiction of the towne of Antuerpe. This citadell being finished, the duke of Alua caused to be set vp in the middest of the place of armes, his image cast into brasse, treading with his foot vpon certaine men, as representing the nobles and states The duke of Aluaes proud image.
of the countrey, verie curiously wrought by one *Hames Iongelinck* an excellent Statuarie: at the foot whereof was grauen, *Ferdinando Aluares de Toledo, Albæ Duci, Philippi secundi Hispan. Regis apud Belgas præfecto, quòd extincta seditione, rebellibus pulsis, Religione procurata, Iustitia culta, Prouincias pace firmauit, Regis optimi fidelissimo Ministro positum.* And lower was grauen, *Iongelingi opus ex ære captiuo.* For that this image had beene cast of the metall of certaine artilerie which had beene woon from his enemies.

This proud peece of worke was not set vp vntill the yeare 1571: and afterwards as too pro-
F phane) it was taken downe by the great commaunder of Castile, Gouernour of the said countries after the duke of Alua, as we shall set downe more at large hereafter.

After the duke of Alua had so well setled his affaires, as he thought there was no enemie to be feared within the countrey, and therefore had no need of so great forces, hee sent by the commandement of the king his master, to succour them of the house of Guise in Fraunce,

against

against the princes and Protestants of the realme, the earle of Arembergh with twelue hundred launces, and two thousand foot, among the which there were many gentlemen which had signed the petition of the nobles in the yeare 1566, that went at their owne charge. A

The duke of Alua thinking that he had now surmounted all difficulties, beeing not content with the fleece of such as were retired out of the countrey, but he would haue the skin withal, yea and all the flesh: he caused *Iulian Romero* to seize vpon the eaule of Buren, eldest sonne to the prince of Orange, being at schoole in the Vniuersitie of Louvaine, against the priuiledges of the duchie of Brabant, and of the said Vniuersitie, notwithstanding the protestations of the rector, and of doctor *Elbert Leon* a lawyer, schoole-master to the said earle, who was carried from thence into Spaine, and there kept prisoner vnto the yere 1595, that the king sent him into the Netherlands, with cardinall *Albert* of Austria. B

After that this yong earle had beene thus carried away, the duke of Alua required by the Atturney generall of the great counsell, that the prince of Orange, and cont *Lodwic* his brother, the earles of Hoochstraten, Vander Berge, Culembourch, the lord of Brederode, and others, should be called to answere personally to such things as should be propounded on his Maiesties behalfe, touching the troubles, by vertue of a commission granted in that respect, touching the prince of Orange, whereof the copie followes.

1568 *Philip* by the grace of God king of Castile, &c. To our first vsher or sergeant at armes hereupon required, greeting. Wee haue beene giuen to vnderstand by our louing and faithfull counsellour and atturney generall, how that *William* of Nassau, prince of Orange, who had receiued from the deceased emperour *Charles* the fifth, our lord and father, of famous memorie, C
A commission to apprehend the prince of Orange.
„ and from vs at our comming to these estates, many honours and fauours, as to haue been chosen a brother of our order, named and appointed a counsellor of our counsell of state, and aduanced to many goodly estates, gouernments, and offices, that is to say, to the gouernments of
„ Bourgoigne, Holland, Zeeland, and Vtrecht, together with an ordinarie companie of our men
„ at armes, besides many other notable rewards; whereby hee might see the great confidence
„ and estimation we haue alwayes had of him. Yet the said prince, hauing had small regard vn-
„ to his honour, and to the othe of fidelitie and loyaltie which hee hath sworne vnto vs, as to his
„ Soueraigne Prince; and by reason of the said estates and offices, hath made himselfe the head,
„ author, aduancer, fauourer, and receiuer of rebels, conspirators, seditious practisers, and distur-
„ bers of the publike good and quiet: As also presently after our departure from these coun- D
„ tries towards our realmes of Spaine, his designe with some others, was to vsurpe the whole
„ administration and gouernment of these countries; and to that end had many pernitious prac-
„ tises, hauing forgotten himselfe so much, as to take armes against vs, and to exclude vs out of
„ those countries, from the which hee had not desisted, but for want of meanes: doing all offi-
„ ces vnder hand with our subiects, to diuert them from the affection and fealtie which they
„ haue alwaies shewed to vs and our predecessours: yea which is much more detestable and ab-
„ hominable, vnder the colour and cloake of religion, and by false persuasions, that our intenti-
„ on was (the which was neuer) to bring in the Inquisition of Spaine into those our countries:
„ so as by his seductions and false impressions, many of our said subiects, haue risen & rebelled a-
„ gainst vs. And namely, that the said prince had first seduced, corrupted, and incited a great part E
„ of the nobilitie, so as they haue made leagues and conspiracies, and sworne by the same to de-
„ fend and fortifie themselues against vs, and our ordinances, the which haue beene alwaies kept
„ and obserued in the said countrey: the assemblies being made to that end in his owne house,
„ as well at Breda, as in this our towne of Brussels. And that since hee had receiued the said re-
„ bels into his protection and safeguard, with promise of all assistance, who also haue gone ar-
„ med to field against vs in diuers places. And that the said prince had counselled and assisted
„ the lord of Brederode, chiefe of the said rebels, to fortifie the towne of Vianen against vs, ha-
„ uing suffered him to inroll souldiers in our towne of Antuerpe, in the view of all the world, a-
„ gainst our expresse lawes, then newly made and published, imbarking them for the towne of
„ Vianen, with all munition of warre: furnishing also the said Brederode with some peeces of F
„ ordnance. Besides the said prince had forbidden any of our townes and forts to receiue
„ any garrison in our name, and among others in our countrey of Zeeland whither he had sent
„ men expresly to surprise it, and thereby to stop vp our passage by sea. And the said prince be-
„ ing sent vnto our towne of Antuerpe, to pacifie the troubles and popular tumults, had of his

owne

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A owne priuat authoritie, and beyond the charge giuen him in that towne, ſuffered and allowed the free exerciſe of al ſects indifferently, giuing them leaue to build many temples and conſiſtories for the ſectaries, whereof haue followed the dangers and inconueniences that euerie man knowes: Suffering leuies, taxations, and collections of money to be made, which ſhould be afterwards imployed in the entertainment of the ſaid ſouldiers. Doing moreouer many other acts, which our ſaid Atturney will declare more at large in time and place, all tending to his deſigne, thereby to vſurpe vpon our ſaid countries: the which is not tollerable, but deſerues puniſhment and exemplarie iuſtice, requiring that it would pleaſe vs to grant him a commiſſion for the apprehending and taking of the ſaid prince of Orange. All which things conſidered (at the requeſt of our ſaid counſellor and atturney generall) wee giue you com-
B miſſion and authoritie, that with ſuch aid and aſſiſtance as you ſhall thinke fit, you ſhall take and apprehend the bodie of the ſaid prince of Orange, in what part ſoeuer you ſhall find him in theſe our countries, and ſhall bring and conduct him vnder a good guard, to our towne of Bruſſels, to bee iuſtified before our well beloued couſin the Duke of Alua, Knight of our order, Gouernour and Captaine generall for vs in theſe our countries, &c. appointed by vs eſpecially to that end, and to receiue ſuch puniſhment for the ſaid crimes and conſpiracies, as ſhall be thought fit and conuenient. And if you cannot apprehend him, you may adiourne him. Giuen at Bruſſels the 18 of Ianuarie 1568.

This commiſſion was proclaimed by a ſergeant and ſix trompets, and the relation of the adiournement was ſet vp in the court at Bruſſels: whereunto the prince of Orange, after that
C hee had beene aduertiſed, anſwered the atturney generall by his letters, as followeth.

The prince of Orange's anſwer to the commiſſion.

Maſter Atturney, I haue receiued the copie of an adiournement the which you haue cauſed to be executed by a publike proclamation, finding my ſelfe grieued with the accuſations contained therein, as a noble man of my qualitie ought to doe, deſiring nothing ſo much (as I hope I ſhall make it appeare) than to haue meanes to conteſt and anſwere for my ſelfe: hauing no intent to leaue an impreſſion in the hearts of the ignorant, that I haue not diſcharged mine honour, and the duetie which I owe vnto the king, and that I haue acquited my ſelfe ill and vndutifully of thoſe charges, eſtates, and offices, wherewith it hath pleaſed his Maieſtie heretofore to grace mee: but rather I hope by the diſcourſe and relation of my defences, to ſhew, that the good, long, and loyall ſeruices, expence and loſſes which I haue incurred
D by reaſon thereof, ſhall much exceed my bonds and rewards: Hauing therefore cauſe to deſire no leſſe, that they ſhould enter into this calculation, than hee that attends a relieſe in his affaires, by the concluſion and end of his account. But as that which wee deſire moſt is oftentimes the laſt put in execution (proceeding duely and orderly as it is fit:) For as the Phyſitian or Surgeon doth not ſeeke to heale and cloſe vp a wound, before he hath ſearched the bottome, and diſpoſed the humor: neither doth the Architect build a houſe, before he hath laid a good foundation; I am by the qualitie of your adiournement forced to deferre the allegation and explication of my ſaid defences, vntill that your accuſation may bee made before a competent judge, and not ſuſpect, and in whom there may bee hope that there ſhall bee ſuch regard had to that which ſhall bee propounded, as ſhall bee fit: and that they will proceed to
E abſolution, or condemnation, according to the exigence and merit of the cauſe: And in the meane time I muſt comfort my ſelfe with the examples (whereof the hyſtories are full) of ſuch as hauing with the hazard of their liues, & expence of their goods, preſerued and amplified the eſtates, countries, and reuenewes of their princes and lords, haue not onely beene infamouſly adiourned, and proclaimed, but in ſtead of reward, haue receiued corporall and exemplarie puniſhment, haue beene chaſed away, baniſhed, ſlaine and executed, ſeeing the fruits and recompences of their ſeruice attributed to them that leaſt deſerued it. I find it no leſſe ſtrange in our times, ſeeing that the moſt innocent may not onely be brought into ſuſpition, but alſo made odious and abhominable, cauſing him by ſome ſuborned people to bee reputed and accuſed for an heretike: For this point beeing gained, hee ſhall not onely find
F himſelfe fruſtrat of all his good deeds, ſeruices, and merits, but beeing depriued of all good preſumptions, hee ſhall remaine ſuſpected and accuſable of rebellion and ſedition, and in generall of all kinds of crimes and offences, that are comprehended vnder the title of high treaſon.

And

„ And the pretended accuſation of hereſie being at this time odious, and in a maner neceſſarie A
„ for the puniſhing therof (without incurring the indignation and diuerſion of the hearts which
„ we will keepe in obedience) to couer it with the cloake of the ſaid crimes of treaſon, whereof
„ the accuſed pretends in vaine to purge and diſcharge himſelfe before him to whom hee ſees
„ himſelfe to be ſuſpect of hereſie: for thoſe being not the finall cauſes for the which he is purſu-
„ ed, taken, arreſted, and accuſed, although he make good proofe of his innocencie, yet can hee
„ not hope to be abſolued, and ſet free, but either he muſt vnder the colour of the ſaid crimes be
„ condemned, or els his innocencie beeing too apparent, hee muſt by their delayes and tedious
„ proceeding, attend a perpetuall and miſerable detention. The which might ſuffice to excuſe
„ my not appearing before the Duke of Alua, Gouernour and Captaine generall of the Ne-
„ lands; were it not that for many reaſons, your ſuing for a commiſſion to apprehend and ad- B
„ iourne, were not void in law, and ſuch a one as I am not bound to obey: for beſides that your
„ ſergeant hath made no ſignification, ſummation, or inſinuation of his exploit to mee, who
„ after aduertiſement giuen to the Ducheſſe of Parma, then regent, by reaſon of my vrgent af-
„ faires, was retired into this my countie of Naſſau, as alſo I had ſignified vnto his Maieſty long
„ ſince, that it was my intention ſo to doe, and not to flie or hide my head, as your commiſſion
„ conteines: The times of delay, and the dayes of appearance are ſo ſhort, as it is impoſſible to
„ bee aduertiſed of the publication made at Bruſſels, and to appeare there within that time, and
„ much leſſe in ſome more remote parts, whither the duke of Alua might in the meane time
„ tranſport himſelfe: for euerie terme and delay hauing his effect, it is manifeſt what reſpect
„ ſhall bee had to euerie one of them, and not to all three delayes ioyned together. And to C
„ prefixe ſo many termes of fifteene dayes, in ſuch a diſtance as is betwixt this and Bruſſels, is
„ no other thing, but to make proclamations, adiornments, and citations, the which it is impoſſi-
„ ble to obey: and heaping the ſaid delayes, and taking the three for one, it will appeare that
„ in a caſe of ſo great importance, and againſt one of my qualitie, they pretend to proceed by
„ one citation onely, againſt all order of iuſtice: Seeing that in the like caſe, according vnto
„ law, they proceed ſummarily, obſeruing the accuſtomed order, which is, after three di-
„ ſtinct citations obtained, at the leaſt after ten dayes reſpite to either of them, they cite him
„ peremptorily; and that the judge beeing duely informed of the places, whereas the ab-
„ ſent (whom they will adiourne) remaines, giue delayes according to the diſtance of the
„ places: the which not beeing done by your adiournement, it muſt neceſſarily follow that it D
„ is void and of no force. The which nullitie is comprehended in all iudiciall acts, vnduely and
„ incompetently done: and the rather, for that your pretended citation & adiornment can haue
„ no place in effect; as being made vnto him that is without the kings territories and iuriſdicti-
„ on, in the limits of the empire, and beeing a member and a ſtate of the empire, from whom
„ by right you ſhould require them that are retired thither, not beeing ſufferable to call them
„ out by a citation made without the empire, by a pretended publication: the which hath
„ beene heretofore ſo regarded, as for this reaſon chiefly, the ſentence giuen by the empe-
„ rour *Henry* againſt *Robert* king of Sicilie, was declared void, and of no force, together that
„ the ſaid emperour was accompanied with a mightie armie, ſuſpected vnto king *Robert*, as
„ at this preſent the duke of Alua is with a Spaniſh armie, carrying vs the affection, which eue- E
„ rie man knowes. The which may ſuffice to diſcouer the nullitie of your citation and ad-
„ iournement, ſeeing that the Duke, a more incompetent judge in my triall, than the ſaid em-
„ perour was in regard of *Robert* king of Sicilie; for as much as the Knights of the Or-
„ der, according to the acts and conſtitutions of the ſaid Order, cannot bee adiourned,
„ but before the chiefe of the Knights of the Order and their brethren, for any fact (how
„ fowle ſoeuer) that they ſhall commit: Neither can they proceed to the apprehenſion, ſei-
„ zure, nor detention of the ſaid Knights of the Order, before it bee firſt decreed by the aduice
„ of his companions and brethren: and in that caſe they muſt be preſently put into the guard
„ of the colledge and companie of the ſaid Order, and not rigorouſly intreated, as they haue
„ done our couſins and brethren, the earles of Egmont and Horne, whome they haue impri- F
„ ſoned: the which doth alſo confirme the nullitie of your impetration, yea euen the rigorous
„ clauſe of corporall apprehenſion there inſerted. For man being by nature mooued to preſerue
„ himſelfe, there were no colour to make vs appeare among men, and before judges that bee

ſuſpect,

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A ſuſpect, and not to bee allowed, yea and to a more ſtrict and rigorous priſon, than wee are ty-
ed vnto, or that is fit by law, by the which the priſon ſerues onely to keepe the priſoner ſafe,
and not to debarre and ſequeſter him from all conuerſation, conference, counſell and aduice,
without the which it is impoſſible that a cauſe of ſuch importance can bee well and duely
managed and defended: which notwithſtanding wee heare is vſed to our ſaid couſins and
brethren, whom wee ſee led out of the duchie of Brabant, notwithſtanding the expreſſe con-
uentions, lawes, and contracts, vnder the which the ſaid countrey is bound to obey his Ma-
ieſtie: And the like hath happened to our ſonne, the earle of Buren, without any reſpect to
his young yeares, and his knowne innocencie; the which ſerue vs for an aduertiſement, that
the Duke of Alua meanes not to ſubiect himſelfe to any contracts, bonds, lawes, priuiled-
B ges and cuſtomes, and therefore it ſhould bee impoſſible to obtaine abolition from him, al-
though wee did ſufficiently proue our innocencie by the like allegations. By reaſon where-
of, and that as well by law, as by the conuention mentioned by the Ioyous entrie, conte-
ining the lawes vnder the which the duchie of Brabant owes obedience; wee which haue
had our dwelling in the ſaid duchie, are grounded to ſuſpend all obedience which wee owe
vnto the king, vntill that his Maieſtie (beeing better informed) ſhall repaire that which hath
beene done and attempted, contrarie to the ſaid Ioyous entrie. Wee haue thought it there-
fore good to aduertiſe you by theſe preſents, that for the reaſons aboue mentioned, we hold
your adiournement to bee void and of no force, proteſting expreſly of the ſaid nullitie, and a-
gainſt all that ſhall bee done and decreed by vertue thereof, conſidering the apparent incom-
C petencie of the Duke of Alua, to whom the commiſſion of this cauſe, in qualitie of Gouer-
nour and Captaine generall of the Netherlands, is directed: meaning in regard of him, and
as farre as need ſhall require, that this ſhall ſerue vs for an excuſe and recuſation; for that we
find by experience, that from him (for the cauſes aboue mentioned) wee may not hope to
obtaine that right which our cauſe may merit: offering to preſent our ſelues before the Empe-
rour, the Electors, Princes, States, and others of the empire, or any other competent iudges,
that are not ſuſpect, and that will iudge truely of our merits, without partialitie or affection.
Proteſting againe of nullitie, of all that by the ſaid Duke of Alua, a iudge (as wee haue ſaid)
incompetent, ſuſpect and recuſed, or thoſe that ſhall bee deputed by him, may bee done, ſaid,
ordained, iudged, or decreed, to our preiudice. And this ſeruing to no other effect, but to
D inſinuat vnto you the ſaid declarations, offers and proteſtations, that you and others may take
ſuch knowledge thereof as is fitting, &c. At Dilembourg the 3 of March 1568. Signed, *Willi-
am* of Naſſau.

This anſwere made by the prince to the atturney generall, was accompanied with a letter to the Duke of Alua, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

My Lord, As my actions may well teſtifie, that ſince my youth I haue deſired nothing more, than to imploy my ſelfe in the ſeruice of the emperour of famous memorie, and ſince of the king my maſter, I did hope that his Maieſtie beeing aduertiſed by mee (as alſo the Du-cheſſe of Parma then Gouerneſſe was) that I was come into this my countie of Naſſau, for certaine vrgent affaires of mine, reſpecting my faith and loyaltie, would haue done mee the
E fauour to commaund mee wherein I might haue done him ſeruice, as I had alwayes offered by my letters: or at the leaſt, that I ſhould haue vnderſtood from you, what his Maieſties pleaſure had beene, that laying aſide all my priuat affaires, I ſhould preſently repaire into theſe parts, as you haue aduertiſed his Maieſties intention to all other noblemen, ſtates, and townes.

And as I haue beene alwayes expecting his Maieſties commaundements, I haue beene aduertiſed, That they began to proceed againſt mee, by ſeizure of my ſeigniories, lands and goods, and which is worſe, by proclamation in the name of the Atturney generall, full of falſe and inſupportable ſlanders; and afterwards by the apprehenſion of my ſonne, whom I had left at Louvaine, that hee might bee hereafter the better able to ſerue the king and com-
F monweale: wherat I was much amazed, and it ſeemed ſtrange to me, that they ſhould proceed in that ſort againſt one of my qualitie, forgetting ſo ſoone the great and notable ſeruices as wel of my predeceſſors as mine owne, and namely in theſe laſt troubles: wherefore hauing reaſons and iuſtifications ſufficient to prooue mine innocencie, and the wrong that hath beene done me in this behalfe (the which I reſerue for a fit time and place) I haue thought it good to an-

ſwer

„ ſwere in haſt to the ſaid Atturney generall, and before the expiration of the haſtie time limited A
„ me, to ſhew him the nullitie and other reaſons I haue againſt his adiournement, to the end the
„ world may not thinke, that I feele my ſelfe guiltie, or that I intend not to purſue my right, as
„ I ſhall find it grounded vpon reaſon: which I thought good to inſinuat vnto your lordſhip,
„ ſending you a copie of the letter which I haue written vnto the ſaid Atturney, to the end that
„ through ignorance there may be no further proceeding againſt me or mine, than may be iuſti-
„ fiable by law, &c. Signed, Your brother of the order *William* of Naſſau.

During all the duke of Aluaes proceedings, and according to the twelue articles concluded in the yeare 1556 by the inquiſition of Spaine; the ſaid Inquiſition pronounced in forme of aduice generally againſt all the Netherlands, the ſixteenth of Februarie 1568, and confirmed by the king the ſix and twentieth following: which articles we haue thought good to inſert B
in this place.

The moſt ſacred office of the Inquiſition, ſo often attempted in the Netherlands by his maieſtie, and hindered vntill this time, ſhall be inſtituted and aduanced by this manner, which is moſt expedient.

Articles concluded by the Inquiſition of Spaine againſt the Netherlands.

1 They muſt perſuade the emperour, being gone aſtray, and wickedly confederated with heretikes, that he reſigne his kingdomes vnto his ſonne, with the whole adminiſtration of the Netherlands.

2 That the emperour with his two ſiſters, hauing giuen ouer al affairs, leauing the Netherlands, ſhall retire into Spaine to vs, beeing aſſured that they ſhall neuer returne more to doe any harme. C

3 Theſe being diſpatcht, we muſt alſo draw the king to vs, and keepe him for euer, that hee part not, and not ſuffer any Flemings to haue acceſſe or conference with him.

4 That the king write vnto and command the clergie of the Netherlands, that with the Inquiſition they ſhould accept of 15 new biſhops, the which ſhould be free from all ſecular iuriſdiction, yea in caſes of treaſon.

5 The ſubiects of the Netherlands through their malice and waywardneſſe, will reuolt, and moue ſeditions and tumults pleaſing to all, but to our companie.

6 The princes and noblemen, heads and authors of theſe factions, with the ſubiects, muſt be taken away, and the others reduced vnto reaſon.

7 They ſhall hire at our charge theeues and ſpoylers of churches and images, whoſe offen- D
ces ſhall be by all the world imputed to the rebels, by ſome ſubtile meanes, and ſo we ſhal vanquiſh them.

8 That all commerce, negotiation, liberties, and priuiledges, ſhall bee rooted out, and that all bee reduced to extreame pouertie, whereby the realme ſhall be permanent for vs.

9 No man of all thoſe countries (except he be of our faction) ſhall be held worthie to liue, and finally all to be rooted out, and all goods, poſſeſſions, arts and trades, and all order to be taken away, vntill there may be a new realme and a new people.

10 In this action the wiſe and valiant Duke of Alua ſhall be imployed in perſon, whereas any other, were he of the bloud royal, or a prince, ſhould be of no eſteeme: ſo as being ſuſpect, yea in the ſmalleſt matters, they muſt be diſpatcht. E

11 No contracts, rights, promiſes, donations, othes, priuiledges, and ſolemne aſſertions of the Netherlands ſhall bee of any force for the inhabitants, as beeing guiltie of high treaſon.

12 But aboue all, they muſt be carefull, that in ſuch graue matters, of ſo great importance, they proceed not ſodainly, and with violence, but moderatly and with good order: to the end that the princes, nobles, and ſubiects, may mutine, and that one may perſecute another, ſo as the executioner may fall into the ſnare, for there is not in Chriſtendome a more fooliſh and indiſcreet nation, nor that is more eaſily abuſed, than is the Flemiſh, God puniſhing their infidelitie by this meanes.

Theſe articles were ſent out of Spaine in Latine to *Iames Heſſel*, Atturney generall of Flan- F
ders, and afterward councellor of the troubles, and found (written by his hand, and tranſlated into French) among his papers in Gand, when hee was taken priſoner, and afterwards hanged without the towne in the yeare 1578. And as for the ſentence of the ſaid Inquiſition, this it was.

The

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A The office of the moſt holy and moſt ſacred Inquiſition, required by the preſence of his royall Maieſtie, to reſolue vpon the moſt abhominable defection, Apoſtaſie, and hereſie, committed by his Maieſties ſubiects of the Netherlands, hauing viewed and diligently examined his Maieſties information thereupon, hauing alſo ſeene the letters, muniments, and documents, autenticall and worthy of credit, added to the ſaid information, by the officers of the holy Inquiſition ſent into the Netherlands. They ſay and reſolue ſo far as their Theologicall profeſſion and conſcience can aduiſe them: That all and euery ſubiect of the Netherlands and the whole bodie thereof (except ſuch as are eſpecially noted in the information) as well in reſpect of thoſe that are publike and manifeſt Apoſtats, hetetikes, and fallen from God and our holy church, and the commandement of the Catholike king, and their obedience, as of ſuch as B counterfeiting themſelues to be Catholikes, haue not done their dueties, whereunto, and to God and to his Maieſtie, for the reſpect of the Catholike religion, and the othe taken by them, they are bound, to reſiſt with al their force and might, the publike and apparent Apoſtats, heretikes, and ſeditious perſons, and to hinder their wicked and damnable factions, the which in the beginning of the troubles and tumults, had beene eaſily done, without any great difficultie: but contrariwiſe haue forborne from that godly and holy reſiſtance, and therfore deſerue to be reputed and eſteemed fauourers and adherents to thoſe publike and manifeſt Apoſtats, heretikes and ſeditious. Such alſo as among the nobilitie, and in the ſubiects names, preſenting petitions and admonitions againſt the moſt holy Inquiſition, haue cunningly inflamed & incenſed the heretikes, Apoſtats, and ſeditious, and therfore al guiltie of high treaſon in the high- C eſt degree. So ſaid and reſolued in the citie of Madril, the 16 of Februarie 1568.

The ſentence of the Inquiſition of Spaine againſt the Netherlands.

His royall Maieſtie hauing ſeene the information made by his commandement, vpon the execrable crime of Apoſtaſies, hereſies, and ſeditions committed by his ſubiects of the Netherlands: Hauing alſo ſeene the muniments and documents autenticall and worthy of credit, added to the ſaid information, by the officers of the holy Inquiſition ſent into the Netherlands: Hauing alſo ſeene the holy aduice and reſolution of the moſt holy & ſacred Inquiſition here, with the pregnant reaſons inſerted thereunto, adminiſtring, and doing right and iuſtice in this behalfe, vſing his royall and abſolute power, ſaies and decrees: That all and euerie ſubiect of the ſaid Netherlands, and the whole bodie thereof (thoſe onely excepted, which are noted in the ſaid informations, whoſe names we will ſend in time to be kept in the records of our Ne- D therlands) as well for their publike and manifeſt Apoſtaſies, hereſies & defections from God, and our mother the holy church, and his Catholike commandement & the obedience thereof: As alſo for ſuch as counterfeit themſelues Catholikes, haue not done their duties wherunto notwithſtanding, and to God and his Maieſtie, for the reſpect of the Catholike religion, and the othe which they haue taken, they are bound, to reſiſt the publike & manifeſt Apoſtats, heretikes, and ſeditious perſons, with all their power and force, and to hinder their wickedneſſe, the which in the beginning of the troubles and tumults, had been eaſie to do, without any difficultie: but contrariwiſe haue abſtained from this holy reſiſtance, yea haue reioyced thereat, and therefore are rightly to be reputed fauourers, and procurers of the ſaid manifeſt Apoſtats, heretikes, and ſeditious. Such alſo as vnder the name of the nobility and the ſubiects ha- E uing preſented petitions and admonitions againſt the moſt holy Inquiſition, haue inflamed and incenſed the parts of the Apoſtats, heretikes, and ſeditious, vnder colour of pietie, haue committed the crime of high treaſon, condemning them all without reſpect of ſexe or age, to the paines and puniſhments appointed by the law for ſuch offendors. His Maieſtie willing and commaunding (who pretends by this ſeuere ſentence to giue example, and to terrifie poſteritie to come) that the puniſhments of this ſentence ſhall bee duely executed, and take full effect, without reſpect of grace or fauour, in ſuch order and maner notwithſtanding, as ſhalbe preſcribed to our Regiſters of the Netherlands. So iudged in the citie of Madrill, the 26 of Februarie 1568.

The kings confirmation of the ſentence

Behold in truth a moſt cruell and rigorous ſentence. We read of an emperor that wiſhed al F the people of Rome to haue but one head, the which hee might cut off at one blow. What doth the king of Spain leſſe by this ſentence? The greateſt perſecutors of the Primitiue church haue ſometimes giuen ſuch ſentences againſt the Chriſtians, yet they would neuer put them in execution, but ſeeing their conſtancie, patience, and perſeuerance in their faith, they did in the end ſurceaſe the perſecutions, ſome did moderat them, others did quite forbid them, al-

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though they had no feeling of their religion, nor knowledge of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ. But the king of Spaine who knowes Iesus Christ, is a Christian, and termes himselfe Catholike king, by this sentence doth not only persecute, but seekes to ruine all his subiects as well Catholikes as other good and true Christians, for the profession of their faith: wherefore we may not wonder at the duke of Aluaes cruel gouernment, but we may think it strange that he hath not done more, considering the charge he had, as appeareth by this sentence. A

These cruell proceedings caused daily more and more feare and terror in the people, & forced many to flie out of the country, and diuers wild headed fellowes forsaking all their goods, and some their wiues and children, went and kept in the woods in West-Friseland and other places, and there set vpon priests and monks, which they got by night, and hauing taken them tooke all they had from them, and cutting off their ears and noses, let them go, for which cause they were called wild Gueux, who being increased to a great number, the duke of Alua was forced to send certaine souldiers out against them, but to no great purpose, as not finding many of them, which made him send out proclamations against them, commanding the country villages to watch and guard their priests and pastors, and to be carefull to defend them, as also to restore them that which they had lost, or that might bee stolne from them, to the vttermost peny, by estimation and award of the judges and magistrats: and further to answere and warrant the liues and goods of their pastors, notwithstanding any priuiledges whatsoeuer. There was likewise a proclamation made against those that fled out of the Netherlands, That such as fled should be taken and brought backe againe, and all those that were so determined, or that made any preparation thereunto, and their goods to be arrested at the custom houses, places of passages, and frontiers of the land, vpon pain to those that did it not, to be holden as suspect persons, and fauorers of the crimes imputed vnto them that fled, and for the same to be punished with confiscation of the ships, scutes, wagons, and carts, of all those that carried and conueyed the said fugitiue persons goods, as also that no man should harbor, lodge, furnish with money, any fugitiue or banished persons, nor write letters, nor receiue any to and from them, and such like orders. At that time the counsell of the troubles (for that the duke of Alua could not take the earle of Culembourg) gaue a sentence against the house of the said earle, ioining to that of the earle of Egmont, behind the sand hill in the towne of Brussels, condemning it to be pulled downe and rased to the ground, and neuer to be built againe, with an inscription grauen in a square stone of marble, set vpon a piller in the middest of the place, written in foure languages, and this was the Latin. *Regnante Philippo 2. Catho. Hispan. Rege, in his suis inferioribus Germaniæ regionibus, gubernante vero Ferdinando Aluares de Toledo Albæ duce, &c. Florentij de Palant quondam domum solo æquari sancitum est, ob execrandam memoriam repetitæ in ea coniurationis aduersus religionem ecclesiæ Catho. Rom. Regiam Maiestatem, & ipsas regiones, Anno salute 1568, 5 Calend. Iunij.* B C D

A sentence for the rasing of Culembourgs place in Brussels.

Meane time the regent the duchesse of Parma, had wrought such meanes, that shee had obtained leaue of the king to depart out of the Netherlands, and for her good seruice was by the king rewarded with gifts, as a great summe of money, and a yerely pention during her life: and for that cause preparing her selfe to trauell vnto her husband into Italy, did by writing take her leaue of the states and the whole Netherlands; in her letters, shewing how shee was receiued and installed into the gouernment of the Netherlands, in the presence of the generall states assembled in the towne of Gand in *anno* 1559, and for that cause she said shee could haue beene content to haue yeelded vp the same in the like assembly of the general states, as the gouernors and regents before her had done: but for that the king had expresly forbidden the assembly of the generall states, during that troublesome time, vnlesse he himself were personally present, that could not be done according to her desire: whereby she was constrained to do it by writing, praying them to take in good part, and judge the best of her labour, industrie, care and diligence vsed in the said gouernment, much complaining of the trobles and vprores happened in the two last yeares of her gouernement, yet by Gods grace, and by the aid and assistance of a great number of the good subiects of the Netherlands, before the end of April she said she had brought all the towns & prouinces once again to a ful obedience vnto the king, and in the beginning of May garrisons were put into euery place, so that there rested nothing to be done but onely to punish the offendors, and to take order therein, as it should please the kings Maiestie, whereby she hoped that in short time the Netherlands would be reduced to their former happy

The regent duchesse of Parma departs out of the Netherlands. E F

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A happy and flouriſhing eſtate, which ſhe with all her heart deſired: once againe praying them to take her proceedings in good part, withall wiſhing and counſelling them, to keepe and obſerue the Romiſh Catholike religion, and obedience vnto the king. After that, vpon the 30 of December ſhe departed out of Bruſſels, and trauelled towards Italie, accompanied by diuers of the nobilitie of the Netherlands, the duke of Alua himſelfe conducting her ſome part of the way.

About this time there was a certaine enterpriſe taken in hand by the fugitiue gentlemen, againſt the perſon of the duke of Alua, at ſuch time as he in Lent meant to go in deuotion from Bruſſels to the cloyſter of Groenendale, in Somen wood: the principall doers thereof beeing the lord of Ryſoire, and his brother the lord of Carloo, of the houſe of Noot, and others (this B lord of Carloo kept in the ſaid cloiſter, in habit of a monke, for feare of the duke, as hee ſaid) they had gotten readie fixe or ſeuen hundred horſe-men, moſt part of them keeping in the houſe of *Dohan* not far from thence; within and about Bruſſels they had about 500 foot-men, whereof a ſouldier, that ſometime had ſerued the lord of Likes, told the ſaid lord, who preſently gaue the duke intelligence thereof, at ſuch time as he was fully purpoſed to goe to performe his deuotion, which the duke would ſcarce beleeue, and for that cauſe was hardly to bee perſuaded not to goe: but the ſouldier naming his captaine to bee one of the earle of Egmonts horſe-men, the ſaid captaine was preſently apprehended and committed to priſon, and being ſharply examined, would not diſcloſe any thing touching the ſaid conſpiracie, and for that cauſe was with varietie of rigorous and bloudy inuention cruelly tortured, and put to death: C and ſo the ſaid enterpriſe went not forward, and yet no more men troubled nor moleſted for the ſame.

An enterpriſe to take the duke of Alua

In the meane time as the prince of Oranges proceſſe was handled before the duke of Alua by incapable commiſſioners, without any lawfull forme of proceeding, by the inſtruction and deduction of which proceſſe, the princes iuſtifications did not appeare. To the end that poſteritie might know by what reaſons he could iuſtifie and purge himſelfe from the falſe and ſlanderous accuſations of the duke of Alua, vnder the name of the Atturney generall (who was then but a ſimple man, and a drunkard, called *Iohn du Bois*, a peaſants ſonne) and alſo to ſhew the grounds of the alterations, which haue happened in the Netherlands, the ſaid prince ſet forth a diſcourſe for an aduertiſement to all the world of his innocencie, and of the wrong D which the duke of Alua did him: which diſcourſe was intitled, *A Iuſtification of the Prince of Orange, againſt his ſlanderers*: the which for that it was publiſhed in print, I forbeare to relate here.

The earle of Hoochſtraten being cited in like maner by the atturney generall, and accuſed almoſt of the like crimes that the prince of Orange was, anſwered thereunto after that he was retired, firſt by letters vnto the duke of Alua, and then by an anſwer vnto the atturney general, and in the end by an ample diſcourſe of his actions in the ſeruice of the king and countrey, to ſerue him for a iuſtification: where among other things to confirme his declinatorie exceptions, ſet downe in his anſwer, he produceth foure articles, drawne out of the laws and ordinances of the good duke *Philip*, the firſt inſtituter and ſoueraign of the order of the golden Fleece. E Where he ſets downe in what caſes a knight cannot be depriued of his order, and why hee may leaue it without forfeiting. And that the head and ſoueraigne onely of the ſaid order, together with the knights ioyntly, and no others, can take knowledge of the crimes wherewith any of their fellow knights are charged. The ſaid earle of Hoochſtraten, as borne in the countrey of Brabant, did alſo produce fiue articles drawne out of the antient priuiledges, called the *Ioyous entrie of the Prince to the Duchie of Brabant*, concluded in old time by a perpetuall contract betwixt the duke and the three eſtates of the ſaid country, and ſolemnly ſworne by them for an inuiolable law.

Production of fiue articles of the priuiledges of Brabant

Firſt, that wee ſhall be to them, that is, to all our vaſſals and ſubiects of our countrey of Brabant, hereafter ſpecified, good and vpright iuſticers, and loyall lords, and not ſuffer any force F or violence whatſoeuer to bee done vnto them: nor intreat them, nor ſuffer them to bee intreated otherwiſe than by lawfull ſentences and proceedings: yea we ſhal inioyne that all our prelats, hoſpitals, barons, nobles, and the good ſubiects of our townes and liberties, as well within the countrey of Brabant, as beyond the Meuſe, ſhal proceed in all things to obtain ſentence and iuſtice, according to the law of thoſe places where it doth appertaine: and that the judges in our ſaid countries, ſhall be bound to determine of cauſes without any delay, that

Art. 1.

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„ ſhall grow through their fault or negligence, onely the judges may prorogue the day of plea- A
„ ding once and no more.

Art. 3. *Item*, that we ſhall neuer bind our ſelues as duke of Brabant and Limbourg, for cauſes tou-
„ ching the iuriſdiction and ſeigniories of the ſaid countries, to make warre with any one, or to
„ make or cauſe to be made againſt any one, repriſals or ſeizures, but with the aduice, will, and
„ conſent of our townes and countrie of Brabant: and that we ſhall not ſuffer any other cauſes,
„ nor ſhall not ſeale any, whereby our countries, limits, and towns, nor any of the ſaid countries,
„ or their rights, liberties, and priuiledges, may be violated or diminiſhed, or our countries and
„ ſubiects damnified in any ſort.

Art. 5. By the which ſeuen (the chancellor and the counſellors of the counſel of Brabant) or others
„ preſently added vnto them, or that by ſucceſſion of time it ſhall pleaſe vs to adde vnto them: B
„ we our gouernor or gouerneſſe general, ſhal make knowne and determine all cauſes of the ſaid
„ countries concerning iuſtice, and all that ſhal depend thereon, be it by prouiſion, ordinarie iu-
„ ſtice, ſtatutes, proclamations, edicts, ordinances, commandements, or otherwiſe: that is, by the
„ aduice of our gouernor and counſell of Brabant aboue mentioned, without any hinderance
„ or moleſtation that may be done vnto the inhabitants, or that they ſhall bee ſubiect vnto the
„ ordinances of any other, but of vs, our gouernor or gouerneſſe generall.

Art. 17. *Item*, Whoſoeuer ſhall be taken in our ſaid countries of Brabant, and beyond the Meuſe,
„ we ſhall not our ſelues lead, nor ſuffer them to be led priſoners out of our ſaid countries.

Art. 10. of the ſecond additiõ *Item*, That hereafter the officers, by themſelues or by their ſergeant, ſhall not in our townes,
liberties, and villages of our countrey of Brabant, draw any one out of his houſe, nor take him C
„ there, or make any ſearch for any cauſe whatſoeuer, no further than the cuſtomes, priuiledges,
„ and vſe of the place, where it ſhall happen, or ſhall bee needfull, and alſo that ſhall bee lawfull
„ will allow, except our townes of Louuaine, Antuerpe, and Boiſleduke, where their ample pri-
„ uiledges and cuſtomes are to be obſerued.

The ſaid earle of Hoochſtraten did alſo produce an extract of three articles drawne out of the Ioyous entrie of king *Philip* in the yeare 1549.

The articles of king Ph. ioious entry. Hauing heard, read, ſeene, and vnderſtood, all the Ioious entry of our lord and father, with the letters of adiunctions and additions thereof, together with other adiunctions, letters and conceſſions of our great grandfather, touching the laſt article thereof, with the alterations and
„ moderations thereof; and what is added thereunto, according to the contents of the act, and D
Art. 1. all faithfully tranſlated into the Spaniſh tongue, deſiring (according to the loue which our
„ lord and father bare to all the countrey of Brabant, and to the inhabitants, vaſſals and good
„ ſubiects thereof) to entertaine and obſerue their rights, priuiledges and liberties, cuſtomes,
„ vſes, and alſo preſcriptions, in reſpect of the many great and faithfull ſeruices and fauours,
„ done to the duke and ducheſſe of Brabant, our predeceſſors, and many others to our lord and
„ father the emperour, as good ſubiects are bound to do vnto their naturall lord, and as wee truſt
„ they will hereafter do to vs: We haue in this our reception and inueſtiture vnto the ſeigniory
„ of the ſaid countrey, giuen and granted in the towne of Louuaine, with the priuitie and con-
„ ſent of our ſaid lord and father, and of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, doe giue,
„ grant, and conſent vnto the priuiledges, articles, cautions, and aſſurances of law which follow. E

Art. 57 *Item*, We confirme and ratifie to all our prelats, hoſpitals, cloyſters, barons, knights,
„ townes, and liberties, and to all other our good ſubiects of our countrey of Brabant, and be-
„ yond the Meuſe, all their rights, liberties priuiledges, charters, cuſtomes, vſes and preſcriptions,
„ as well thoſe which haue beene giuen, granted, and ſealed vnto them by our predeceſſours
„ dukes and ducheſſes, as alſo thoſe which they haue enioyed, kept, and preſcribed. Yea that
„ which was granted to the three eſtates by duke *Philip* our great grandfather, at the time of his
„ entrie. In like ſort two other letters of our ſaid great grandfather, the one in the yeare 1451, the
„ 20 of Septemb. and the other in the yere 1457, the 18 of Nouemb. And moreouer the two ad-
„ ditions of our lord & father the emperor, the one giuen at Gand the 12 of April 1515, and the
„ other at Bruſſels the 26 of the ſame moneth & yere. Promiſing them all in generall, and euerie F
„ one in particular, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, to obſerue and keepe them inuiolably for e-
„ uer, without breaking them in any ſort whatſoeuer.

Art. 58. *Item*, We do promiſe them for vs, our heirs and ſucceſſors, that we ſhall not alledge nor pre-
„ tend, nor cauſe to be alledged, that we are not bound to entertaine the ſaid liberties, rights, pri-
„ uiledges, charters, cuſtoms, vſes & preſcriptions, the which we haue heretofore confirmed and
ratified

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A ratified, vnder colour that we haue not giuen and granted them, or promiſed them by ſome «
eſpeciall article. The which we will ſhall be no let, moleſtation, or preiudice vnto them. «
And for that we wil and deſire that all the points, articles, gifts, and promiſes, confirmations «
and ratifications, aboue mentioned, may remaine firme and ſtable, without any breach, wee «
haue faithfully promiſed, and haue ſworne vpon the holy Euangile, perſonally for vs, our heirs «
and ſucceſſors, to hold them to all in generall; that is, to the prelats, monaſteries, hoſpitals, ba- «
rons, knights, townes, and liberties, and to al our good ſubiects of the ſaid countries of Brabant «
and beyond the Meuſe, and to their ſucceſſors firm and ſtable after the deceaſe of our lord and «
father, and neuer to do, nor ſuffer to be done, any thing contrarie whatſoeuer. And in caſe that «
we, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhould or would do any thing to the contrary, by our ſelues or by «
B any other, in all or in part, in any ſort whatſoeuer; in that caſe we conſent and grant to our «
ſaid prelats barons, knights, townes and liberties, & to all our other ſubiects, that to vs, our heirs «
and ſucceſſors, they ſhall yeeld no ſeruice, duetie, nor obedience, in any matter whatſoeuer, «
wherein we ſhould haue need, and would require them, vntil the fault be repaired, and that we «
haue fully deſiſted: *For the effecting whereof, wee will, command, and declare, that all officers that* «
ſhall be made contrarie to this our Ioyous entry ſhalbe preſently diſplaced: and moreouer that all that «
ſhalbe hereafter attempted contrarie to that which is aboue ſaid, ſhall bee of no force. And all with- «
out fraud. In witneſſe and perpetuall confirmation wherof, we Emperor and Prince haue cau- «
ſed our ſeals to be ſet to theſe preſents. Giuen in our towne of Louvain the 5 of Iuly in the yere «
1549. Of the empire of vs *Charls* the 30, and of the realms of Caſtile & others 34. Signed, *Charls* «
C and *Philip*, and vnderneath, By the audiencier and chiefe Secretarie, *Verreyken*. «

The earle of Hoochſtraten produced all thoſe articles of the order of the Golden Fleece, & of the Ioyous entry, and priuiledges of Brabant, to iuſtifie his declinatory exceptions, againſt the citation and vnlawfull proceeding of the atturney generall, and to ſhew what wrong the duke of Alua did vnto the honour and reputation of the king his maſter, and to his owne (as knight of the ſaid order, hauing ſworne the articles) to ſuffer and to command the atturney generall, to vſe ſuch kind of proceeding, as well to his perſon and the prince of Orange, as to the earls of Egmont & Horne, priſoners, and carried directly againſt the ſaid priuiledges out of the countrey of Brabant, to the caſtle of Gand in Flanders. At that time certain Italian merchants ſent towards the Netherlands from Francfort mait certaine balles of ſilke, in the which there
D was a hundred & fiftie thouſand crownes in money, appointed for the duke of Alua. This was diſcouered to *Frederic* prince elector, Palatin of Rhin, who ſtaied them, vnder colour that the cuſtoms vpon the riuer were not duly paid: the merchandiſe was reſtored, but the money kept whereof complaints came vnto the emperour, yet hee was glad to agree with the ſaid prince Palatine.

The duke of Aluaes money ſtaid in Germany.

The prince of Orange and the earle of Hoochſtraten, hauing (as we haue ſaid) publiſhed their iuſtifications, the which were neither publikely anſwered by the ſaid atturney generall, nor yet produced in their proceſſe, but they proceeded againſt them and their goods by contempt, hauing no other meanes of defence, but to go and ſubmit them vnto the mercie of the duke of Alua: the ſaid prince vnderſtanding alſo in what manner his ſonne had beene taken
E from the Vniuerſitie of Louvaine, and tranſported into Spaine, contrarie to the priuiledges, and notwithſtanding the proteſtations of the ſaid Vniuerſitie: He aduiſed what was beſt to be done for the recouerie of his goods and ſonne: And by the aduice of his kinſmen in Germany, he would ſeek the mildeſt way, if haply by the interceſſion of the emperor and princes electors, he might obtaine any thing. Hee therefore preſented a petition to his imperial Maieſtie, by the which hee laid open at large the wrong that was done him by the duke of Alua, in his extraordinarie maner of proceeding, againſt the ſtatutes of the order of the Golden Fleece, the priuiledges of the country, and by indirect waies, contrarie to all equitie and true courſe of iuſtice, as wel in his behalfe, as of the earle of Buren his ſonne. He beſought his Maieſtie, that he would be an interceſſor for him to the king of Spaine, that at the leaſt he might be heard in his
F defences & iuſtifications, according to the ſaid ſtatutes & priuiledges, and not to ſuffer his proceſſe to be ſo made, by men ſo il qualified and inſufficient, as was the ſaid atturney general and his adiuncts. Or els, that the king would grant that his proceſſe might be made by judges that were not ſuſpect, princes of the empire, and other noblemen and commiſſioners in Germany.

The emperor, who would gladly haue ſeene affairs managed after another ſort, writ verie

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honourably to the king and the duke of Alua, and ſo did the princes electors in like manner: A
but neither intreaties nor admonitions could preuaile, the duke alwayes inſiſting, that hee
ſhould come and purge himſelfe in perſon. The prince ſeeing there was no other meanes,
and that it was his head they ſought for, beeing loth to expoſe it ſo good cheape, to the will
of the duke of Alua, and of his new erected counſel: and ſeeing that he muſt needs hazard it,
hauing taken the aduice of his kinsfolkes, he was reſolued to hazard it with more honour, re-
pelling force with force, and oppoſing himſelfe couragiouſly againſt the dukes attempts. Ha-
uing therefore demaunded ſuccours from all his friends, both in Germanie, the Netherlands,
and in France, ſhewing them the force and violence that was done him; hee commaunded
cont *Lodowic* his brother to leuie men in all parts, and to frame a goodly body of an armie, and
ſo to enter ioyntly together into the Netherlands, for to recouer that by force which was B
wrongfully detained from them: ſo as in May men came vnto them, as well out of France, as
of thoſe that were fled out of the Netherlands, in great numbers (beſides the bodie of the ar-
mie which was leuied in Germany) the which cont *Lodowic* led into Friſeland, carrying in
their enſignes this deuice, *Recuperare aut mori.*

The lord of Villers of the houſe of Longueuille, brought him 3000 French foot, which the
Proteſtants of France ſent to his ſuccours, who went to make an attempt vpon the towne of
Ruremonde in Gelderland, ſcituated vpon the riuer of Meuſe, thinking to ſurpriſe it, and to
take it without any reſiſtance. But finding them within vpon their guards, they fired the ports,
thinking to haue it by force: but they defended themſelues ſo well, as the lord of Villers (fea-
ring that if hee ſtaid longer, he might be compaſſed in behind) was forced to leaue it, retiring C
towards Dalem. The duke of Alua hearing that the priuce was in armes, and that his forces
increaſed daily, ſent the earle of Lodron, and the colonel *Sancho d' Auila*, with a ſmall armie,
to keep the lord of Villers from attempting any thing vpon that quarter of the riuer of Meuſe,
and to keepe him from ioyning with the reſt of the princes troups: who meeting him betwixt
The lord of Villers defeated Dalem and Erckelens with his troups, they charged and defeated him. Villers and the ſeignior of Dhuy were taken priſoners, a great number of their men were ſlaine, and the reſt were
put to rout, the 25 of Aprill. The furie of the victors was ſo great, as without any reſpect they
ſlew the gouernour of Heynsberg and his lieutenant, being come to Dalem, to ſummon theſe
French troups to retire out of the limits of the duke of Iuilliers his prince. The prince of Oran-
ges intention was to aſſaile the duke of Alua in diuers parts at one inſtant, and to make him ſo D
much worke, as he ſhould not know which way to turne him.

The ſeignior of Coqueuille a Norman gentleman of the religion, being vpon the frontiers of Arthois, with the captains *Vaillant*, and *S. Amand*, and ſome 600 foot and 200 horſe, moſt
Coqueuille defeated at S. Valery. part of them being come out of England, hauing fled out of the Netherlands, and others that
they had gathered together, and were ioyned at S. Valery, at the mouth of the riuer of Some:
the duke of Alua writ vnto the French king, That the prince of Condes men ſought to trou-
ble him in his gouernment of the Netherlands. Whom the prince diſauowing, the king ſent
the marſhall *Coſſe*, who beſieged S. Valerie, and tooke it by aſſault. Coqueuille was taken with
ſome others, but the moſt part ſlaine, ſuch as could ſaue themſelues, were taken by the prouoſt
marſhall, ſent into the Netherlands, and executed by diuers puniſhments. Coqueuille loſt his E
head at Dourlans.

Valentin de par Dieu, ſeigniour of *la* Motte, ſergeant maior of the regiment of the earle of
Roeux, purſued the Proteſtants with all violence in baſe Flanders, and tooke the ſeigniour of
Haneſcampe, a gentleman of Bethune in Arthois, who was afterwards excuted by the ſword
in Bruſſels. In the meane time cont *Lodowic*, accompanied with cont *Adolph* of Naſſau, his
brother, with cont *Ioos* of Schouwenburch and others, being in Friſeland in the countrey of
Groningen, tooke the fort of Dam neere to Delfziel, and the great caſtle of Wedde, with ma-
ny other places, which gaue a good incouragement to the princes armie. The duke of Alua
(after a peace concluded in Fraunce) had called home the earle of Aremberg with the bands
of ordnance, which hee had ſent to ſuccour the king againſt the Proteſtants: beeing re- F
tired, hee ſent two captaines ſpeedily into France, to entertaine the German horſe-men, which
were diſmiſt vpon the treatie of peace: and for the fortifying of the frontiers he ſent the ſeigni-
or of Hierges eldeſt ſon to the lord of Barlamont (who as then was not created earle) to leuie
2000 Wallons.

The

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A The duke of Alua hauing gathered all the forces he could together, to make head againſt the prince of Oranges armie, which was in Friſeland, vnder the commaund of Cont *Lodowicke*, ſent Cont *Arembergh*, who being come into the countrey of Groningen, was aduiſed not to charge the Proteſtants, vntill that the earle of Meghen were arriued with his troupes, that hauing ioyned their forces, they might charge them together: Some Spaniſh captaines being impatient and diſcontent with this delay, began to murmure againſt him and to braue him, yea, to taxe him of cowardiſe, calling him Lutheran; for that they found themſelues (ſo ſaid they, not knowing the paſſages of the countrey) ſtrong ynough, and the more vehement they were, for that they vnderſtood Cont *Lodewicke* was retyred: but it was to haue more ground to put his armie in battaile; and that to goe and charge him in his campe, they
B muſt march cloſe and in a long ranke, by reaſon of the mariſhes that were on eyther ſide. Whereupon *Arembergh* anſwered them, That ſeeing they had a deſire to fight, hee would make them ſee their enemies, and let them know that hee was a faithfull ſeruant to the king, and no Lutheran, the which he would maintaine vnto the laſt drop of his bloud. Cont *Lodewicke* had cauſed a ſquadron of a thouſand harquebuſiers to aduance, with the which the Spaniards went brauely to skirmiſh; but the approching night parted them, Cont *Lodewicke* retyring a little further backe. The Spaniards thinking that he fled, made haſt to follow him: but the earle turning head, charged *Arembergh's* ſquadron, and then all their troups, whereof he defeated tenne companies of Spaniards, and fiue of Germanes. *Arembergh* hauing defended himſelfe valiantly a long time, was in the end beaten from his horſe, crying
C out, that they ſhould ſaue his life, but he was not vnderſtood, being ſhot through the bodie, whereof hee died preſently: the remainder of his troupes were put to rout: Such as could ſaue themſelues from the battaile, retyred to Heylegerlee, thinking to defend it, but they were preſently aſſayled, where at the firſt approch, Cont *Adolph* of Naſſau, brother to Cont *Lodowicke* and the prince of Orange, was ſlaine. The Germanes that could eſcape, ſaued themſelues in Groninghe. The duke of Alua loſt in this defeat a thouſand ſix hundred men, ſix pieces of artillerie, with the munition, and a great ſumme of mony, appointed for the payment of this armie, the which he eſteemed a greater loſſe than the death of the earle of Arembergh.

Cont Arembergh defeated and ſlaine.

¶ This defeat happened on the foure and twentieth of May 1568, betwixt the abbey of
D Heylegerlee and the village of Wynſchote, in the countrey of Groningen. The earle of Arembergh, of the houſe of *Barbanſon*, gouernour of Friſeland and Oueryſſel, knight of the Order of the golden Fleece, a braue knight, was interred in the church of the ſame abbey; and Cont *Adolph* of Naſſau, a young nobleman of great hope, in the chappell of the caſtle of Wedde.

The loſſe of this battaile did wonderfully incenſe the duke of Alua, whereof hee would reuenge himſelfe vpon many gentlemen that were priſoners in the warre, and other noblemen. And to draw more into his power, he made a proclamation vpon the twentieth of May in the towne of Bruſſels, againſt all thoſe that were retyred out of the countrey by reaſon of the troubles, commaunding them to appeare at a certaine day prefixed, vpon paine of con-
E fiſcation of bodie and goods: few returned, and they ſped ill: but the greateſt part remayned behind, hoping for a day that ſhould bring them home with greater aſſurance. The duke ſeeing the ſmall number of them that were returned, vpon whom he vngorged his rage, the firſt of Iune hee cauſed the heads of eighteene gentlemen and captaines to be cut off vpon the ſand hill at Bruſſels; and among others, *Ghisbrecht* and *Thierry*, barons of Batenbourg, young men, brethren, when as neither the empetors letters, nor the interceſſion of ſome princes of Germany, nor the great expences of the lady of Batenbourg their mother, to redeeme them from death, could not preuaile any thing.

Whileſt they executed ſuch as died conſtantly in their Religion, the drummes ſounded continually, to the end they might not heare what they ſaid: but if any of the Romiſh Re-
F ligion died, they were ſilent. The next day, being the ſecond of the moneth, he alſo put to death the Seigniors of Villers and Dhuy priſoners, taken at the defeat of Dalem, with *Quentin Benoit*, baylife of Engien, and *Cornelis* of Mee miniſter. Afterwards he cauſed to be executed in the caſtle of Viluoarden, the Seigniors *Anthonie van Stralen*, bourgomaſter of Antuerpe, and *Iohn* of Caſenbroot, Seignior of Backerzeel, after that they had tortured him

Executions done by the duke of Alua.

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him almoſt in pieces, to vnderſtand the ſecrets of the earle of Egmont, whoſe chiefe counſellor he was, with the receiuer of *Macklin* and ſome others. A

Then he cauſed the criminall proceſſe, begun by *Iohn du Bois*, atturney generall againſt the earles of Egmont and Horne, to be ended: whom he cauſed to be brought in waggons from Gand to Bruſſels, vnder a ſure guard of three thouſand Spaniards, where they were lodged that night in the Bakers hall, vpon the market place, and the next day their ſentence of death was pronounced vnto them: whereof that of the earle of Egmonts, was thus in ſubſtance: The duke of Aluaes excellencie, marqueſſe of Coria, gouernour, lieutenant and captaine generall for his Maieſty &c. hauing ſeene the informations and purſutes of the atturney generall, the teſtimonies, depoſitions, and letters miſſiue exhibited by the ſaid atturney againſt the admirall earle of Egmont, the confeſſions, denegations, allegations and documents, ſeruing B for his iuſtification, the ſaid atturney charging him with periurie, mutinie, and diſobedience to his Maieſty, and to be linked to the confederats, and an aſſociat (ſo ſaid the text) to the curſed prince of Orange and others of the ſtates and nobilitie of the Netherlands conſpired together: conſidering alſo the faults and bad behauiour of the ſaid earle of Egmont in his gouernment of Flanders, for the maintenance of the faith and catholicke Religion, againſt the heretickes, rebels, mutinies and ſeditions. After good deliberation, hauing therein the aduice of the counſellors of ſtate and prince, and viewed the concluſions of the ſaid atturney generall, his excellencie hath ſaid and declared, that the ſaid earle of Egmont is guiltie of high treaſon, for his diſobedience and rebellion againſt his prince: by reaſon whereof, hee hath deſerued to be puniſhed exemplarily, for the which he doth condemne him to be executed by the C ſword, and his head to be ſet vpon a pole, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe his excellencie, and that no man preſume to take it from thence, vpon paine of confiſcation of body and goods: declaring moreouer all his goods, moueable and immoueable lands, ſeigniories, rights, priuiledges, and actions forfeited to the king. This ſentence was decreed the fift of Iune 1568, ſigned, Duke of Alua.

The ſentence againſt the earle of Horne was almoſt of the ſame ſubſtance, onely certaine points excepted. And the two ſentences were ſent vnto the two earles to priſon by the Secretarie *Miſdach*, at one of the clocke after midnight, being both of them in their beds.

The earle of Egmont would neuer haue beleeued they would haue giuen ſo cruell a ſentence againſt him: for hearing it read, he ſaid: *Behold a very rigorous ſentence. I doe not thinke* D *that in all my life I haue ſo offended his Maieſtie, to deſerue this vſage: yet I will take it patiently, and pray vnto God, that my death may be an expiation of all my ſinnes: and that thereby my deere wife and children may incurre no blame nor confiſcation: for my ſeruices deſerue ſo much fauour: ſeeing it ſo pleaſeth God and the king, I will take my death patiently.* Afterwards he writ a letter vnto the king, the which he deliuered to doctor *Rythouen* biſhop of Ypre, entreating him to ſend it vnto his Maieſty, the which he promiſed: the contents whereof were as followeth.

The earle of Egmonts letter to the king of Spaine.

My liege, I haue heard the ſentence which it pleaſed your Maieſty to giue againſt me, pronounced: although I haue neuer pretended nor thought to doe any thing that was againſt your Maieſties ſeruice and the catholicke religion. But I take all that it ſhall pleaſe God to
» ſend me, in good part. And if (during theſe troubles of the Netherlands) I haue any way er- E
» red, or tollerated the errors of other men, it happened by my loyaltie to the honour of God
» and your Maieſtie as the time required. Wherefore I beſeech your Maieſtie to pardon me, if
» I haue offended in any thing, and to take pitie of my poore wife, children and ſeruants, recom-
» mending my ſelfe for the reſt to the mercy of God. From Bruſſels the 5. of Iune 1568, ſigned,
» Being ready to die, the admirall of Egmont.

The earle of Horne hearing his ſentence, cried out vpon the earle of Egmont, ſaying: O my couſin, you are the cauſe of all this miſchiefe: but there is no remedie but patience. At the firſt he would not confeſſe himſelfe to the ſaid biſhop of Ypre, ſaying that he had confeſſed himſelfe vnto God long ſince: but the biſhop importuned him ſo much, as in the end hee did it for a faſhion. F

The earle of Egmont being aſſured to die (whereof at the firſt he could not perſuade himſelfe) and had written vnto the king, he deſired them not to ſuffer him to languiſh long in the diſtreſſe and apprehenſion of death. So the fifth of Iune, on Whitſon eue, he was led by *Iulian Romero*, maſter of the campe, and captaine *Salinas* with nineteene enſignes of foot, he hauing

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A uing the biſhop of Ypre on the one ſide of him, went willingly (without being held) vnto the market place at Bruſſels, where there was a ſcaffold couered with blacke cloth, and two cuſhions of blacke veluet, the companies were in battaile vpon the market place, and about the ſcaffold, their drummes ſounding continually. Beneath the ſcaffold was the prouoſt of the court with a red ſtaffe in his hand, hauing the executioner of iuſtice by him. The earle went vp alone with the biſhop vnto the ſcaffold, where (after that he had conferred a little with the biſhop) he kneeled downe, and ſaid his prayers; then riſing vp againe, he himſelfe put off his night gowne, and then kneeling downe againe, he couered his owne face with a night kerchiefe which he had, and ioyning his hands together, attended the ſtroke, the which was ſuddenly giuen him by the executioner (who they ſaid had beene ſometimes his footman) yet
B he neuer touched neither the bodies nor the apparell of theſe two noblemen, nor once ſhewed himſelfe vpon the ſcaffold, vntill they deliuered him the ſword, wherewith hauing giuen the blow, he preſently retired himſelfe, and deliuered it backe againe: the head being ſtrucke off, was laied with the body vnder a blacke cloth, and the bloud was alſo couered with blacke, that the earle of Horne might not perceiue it; who was preſently brought, as the earle of Egmont had beene: paſſing through the ſtreet, he ſaluted and bid euery one farewell, mouing all the world to pitie and teares. Being mounted vpon the ſcaffold, he demaunded if the earle were executed (for that from the day that they were committed, they did neuer ſee one another) and when they anſwered him yea, he ſaid alowd in Spaniſh: *Eſemplo os eſte Senores, para che cada vno aprende como deue ſeruir y contentar a ſus maiores: y os ruego mucho che tomeys de*
C *chado en nueſtras muertes: y nos pardoneys, ſi algo con nueſtra paſſada vita, os hemos eſcandaliza dos; pues ſomos mortales y caducos, y nos adiudeys con vueſtras Oraciones*: and ſo he preſently diſpoſed himſelfe to death, and was ſoone executed. Their heads were ſet vp oppoſite one to another vpon two poles, tied to the ſide of the ſcaffold, where they continued vntill three of the clocke in the afternoone; a pitifull and fearefull ſpectacle: and therein the earle of Egmonts words were verified, when as he ſent for the earle of Horne to come to court, aſſuring him, that hee ſhould haue no worſe vſage than hee himſelfe. The bodies hauing the heads ſowed to them againe, were put into hearſes, and embalmed: that of Egmont was caried to S. *Clares* church, and that of Horne to S. *Guydules*, and afterwards interred in the town of Wert, and Egmonts in his borough of Sottingham. The earle of Egmonts ſeruants ſet his armes in mourning
D manner (according to the cuſtome) ouer the porch of his houſe, but the duke of Alua cauſed them to be taken downe.

The death of the earles of Egmont and Horne.

The emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond, before the death of theſe noblemen ſent a gentleman to the conteſſe of Egmont, to comfort her, and to aſſure her, that her husband ſhold haue no harme, for that he would entreat for him. But the duke being aduertiſed thereof, made haſt of his execution, and the ſame night that the gentleman arriued, ſent to inſinuate the ſentence vnto them, and the next day cauſed them to be executed.

The death of theſe noblemen did perplexe many, being the more terrified, euery one iudging, that their bloud which was ſhed, would not be ſtanched by their death, but that it threatened greater calamities vnto the countrey: So as ſome pricked by their owne conſciences;
E others diſtruſting their innocencie, fearing through the frauds and treaſons of their enemies to fall into the hands of the counſell of troubles, and to bee forced through tortures and torments to confeſſe that which they had neuer done nor thought, fled out of the country, abandoning their goods, wiues and children; and many more had retyred, had not the hope been of a generall pardon. Many wondered, how in ſo dangerous a time (hauing now warres in hand, the euent whereof was doubtfull and vncertaine) he ſhould ſo precipitate the death of theſe two noblemen, for the which there are two reaſons pretended; the firſt was, for that by the affront which he had receiued in Friſeland, his ſouldiers began to wauer, not ſo much for the loſſe, as for that it ſeemed a ſiniſter preſage of the future, by ſo bad a beginning: for which conſideration, he would himſelfe goe in perſon to the army, to aſſure it, and to containe his
F men in their duties: the which he could not doe, vnleſſe he gathered all his troupes together in one body: if he had done it in the life time of theſe noblemen, he feared a ſedition of the people, who would haue deliuered them by force, and made them their heads to be reuenged of him, knowing well how hatefull that both he and all his Spaniards were growne, by reaſon

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reaſon of their tyrannie: of which feare he would free himſelfe, before he would frame the body of an army. The ſecond reaſon (they ſay) was, to be reuenged of the death of his Spaniards, defeated at Winſchote, whereas moſt of the priſoners were hanged. A

It ſhall not be amiſſe in this place to declare the deaths of the baron de Montigni, brother to the earle of Horne, and of the marqueſſe of Berghen, both knights of the order of the golden Fleece; which two lords were thought to be the fitteſt and wiſeſt perſons in the Netherlands, to bee ſent into Spaine, there to certifie the king particularly touching the ſtate of the countrey; and for that cauſe were ſent by the Regent, the ducheſſe of Parma, and the Netherlands, as embaſſadours vnto the king, as it hath already beene declared: who being in Spaine, and hauing informed the king of all things at large, were well receiued and entertayned of him. But after that, when newes was brought into Spaine of the breaking downe of the Images, and other troubles in the Low countries, the king much mooued thereat, and being incited and ſtirred vp by the enemies of the Netherlands, ſuch as were wholly vnexperienced in the affaires, qualities, and natures of the countrey and the people, tooke another courſe than the ſaid lords thought well of, which by their enemies was well perceiued. Hereupon the marqueſſe of Berghen fell ſicke, and deſired the king to haue licence to depart, and to returne againe into the Netherlands; which the king with faire words refuſed him: but at the laſt, when he became ſicker, and like to die, he had leaue to depart when it was too late; and being at the point of death he ſent for *Rigomes*, prince of Eboli, his old friend, and one that was very great with the king, to whom he made complaint, That his good and faithfull ſeruice was not onely little or nought eſteemed, but that it was ſuſpected, proteſting that he had not done, neither ſought to do any thing, other than that he thought and eſteemed to be moſt for the furtherance and aduancement of the kings ſeruice, not doubting, but that in time his good counſell and aduice would be found to be true; and with that hee deſired God to haue mercie on his ſoule, as truly as he thought and vttered that from the bottome of his heart: deſiring him in friendly wiſe to tell the ſame vnto the king by word of mouth, and ſo died vpon the 22 of May 1567. But this his confeſſion was of no weight, to repreſſe nor withdraw his enemies, more than a yeare after, to ſummon, charge, and condemne him by the duke of Alua and his bloudy counſels meanes, to be a traitor, and all his goods confiſcated to the king. B C

The death of the marqueſſe of Berghen in Spaine.

The lord de Montmorency, baron de Leuzi and Montigni, gouernour of Turwin and Tournay, knight of the order of the golden Fleece, and brother to the earle of Horne, a wiſe, politicke and well experienced nobleman, hauing loſt his fellow embaſſador in Spaine, deſired leaue of the king to returne vnto his gouernment of Turwin: but the king (as it was then reported throughout Spaine, that hee would in perſon goe into the Netherlands) told him hee ſhould go with him: but when the kings mind was altered, and his voyage ſtayed, and that he ſaw the duke of Alua was appointed to go into the Netherlands, the baron de Montigni perceiued, that the king began to be eſtranged from him: for which cauſe he ſpake vnto him, and complaining, told him, that he wel ſaw and perceiued that his Ma. ſhewed not the accuſtomed fauor and grace towards him that he vſed to do, which he thought to proceed of ſome kind of iealouſie by his grace vniuſtly cõceiued againſt him, beſeeching his Ma. if there were any ſuch bad opinion or ſuſpition in his mind againſt him, that it would pleaſe him to tell it him, praying him to commit him to priſon and that ſo he might cleare himſelfe by law. Wherunto the king gaue him a good and a friendly anſwer, but yet ſubtilly and craftily, ſaying, that it was far both from him and his nature, to haue a bad opinion of one that had bin ſo good and truſtie a ſeruitor both to his father and him; and that the cauſe why he denied him his paſport, was, for that he would haue him to goe with himſelfe into the Netherlands, or els to vſe his counſell, with many ſuch like words: but in the meane time order was taken in all places, that no man ſhould let nor ſell him nor his ſeruants any horſes; which was diſcouered and perceiued, when as before, he and the marques of Berghen rode vpon a time to confeſſion, to our lady of Guadalupo, when as there were forty horſes ſent after them, which ſecretly attended and watched them. After that, when newes came into Spaine of the impriſonment of the earles of Egmont and Horne his brother, the baron de Selles, lieutenant of the kings guard of Netherland archers, was commaunded to enter his houſe, and to commit him priſoner, with a Netherland gentleman, called *Neſſe*, being the kings chamberlain, and both caried to the caſtle of Segobia, where D E F

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A where the baron de Montigni was put into a ſmall high tower, with one of his ſeruants called *Arthur de Munter*, a Luycknaer, and eight ſouldiers appointed to guard him, which vſed him moſt ſhamefully: being thus committed to priſon, he deſired diuers times, that he might haue law and iuſtice, as belonged vnto a lord of his qualitie: vpon which his requeſt, receiuing no anſwere nor reſolution, he ſought meanes to breake and eſcape out of priſon, whereunto he had woon a Spaniard (one of his guard) to conſent, and ſome of his owne ſeruants, as his Secretarie *Anthony vander Becque*, and another gentleman of Pruſeland, called *Iohn Hanowe*, his ſteward *Iohn le Moyne*, and his cooke, that baked his bread after the Netherland manner: thoſe he wrote vnto by letters ſent them by meanes of the ſaid Spaniard of his guard, and they anſwered his letters againe, which they baked in his bread, and ſo conueyed them vnto
B him: meane time he got files, wherewith he filed certaine yron barres, and in a cofer had ladders ſent him, that ſhut and folded one within the other; beſides that, hee had poſt horſes made ready for him, and all other things neceſſarie and fit for ſuch a purpoſe, to ride away, all beeing well and politickely deuiſed and foreſeene: but when it came to the point, and that the horſes ſtood ready, the ſteward *Iohn le Moine* neglecting his time to deliuer the laſt bread, being ouer buſie and earneſt to take his leaue or laſt farewell of his whore; whereby the bread that had the letter in it, was not deliuered as it ſhould be, but came to the hands of the captaine of his guard, which brake or cut it vp, and found the letter in it, whereby the whole enterpriſe was diſcouered: for which cauſe all his ſeruants were committed to priſon, and condemned to die, and to that end had their confeſſors often ſent vnto them, expecting
C nothing but death. But many men tooke compaſſion on them; ſo that the Spaniard of the guard onely was hanged, and the cooke condemned to haue two hundred blowes with a broad thicke peece of leather; which was done with wonderfull compaſſion of the ſtanders by, that cried out and ſaid, That they as ſeruants had done nothing but that which was commendable, ſeeking their lord and maſters deliuerie, that had long ſought and deſired to haue law and iuſtice; whereby they were not put to death, but the foure ſeruants were committed priſoners into a caſtle called Valaſco; where they continued, and liued a long time in great miſerie, till in Nouember 1567, at which time it happened, that the princes of Portugall, the kings ſiſter, and mother to *Dom Sebaſtian*, king of Portugall paſſing by the priſon, the ſaid priſoners making a great noiſe both with their chaines and cries, ſhe asked what they were, and
D was certified, that they were Flemings, impriſoned onely, becauſe they ſought to haue gotten their lord and maſter out of priſon, that had long ſought for iuſtice, but could not obtaine it. Whereupon ſhe promiſed, for the lord of Montignies ſake, and the innocencie of their ſmall offence, earneſtly to ſolicite for their deliuerance vnto the king, which ſhe obtained, for the which they moſt heartily thanked God and the princes. The baron de Montigni vnderſtanding thereof, vſed ſuch meanes by ſecret friends, that hee got a certaine ſumme of money, and gaue it them, for to beare their charges into the Netherlands, giuing them letters to his wife the lady *Montigni* (daughter and ſiſter to the prince of Eſpinoy and Dauitourgh, of the houſe of *Melun*) that ſhe ſhould allow them euery one according to his place, a certaine yearely pention out of his lands during their liues, in recompence of their ſeruice and
E troubles endured for his ſake. They being ſo diſcharged, and come into the Netherlands, ſeeking to obtaine their ſaid reward, and to that end making meanes vnto the baron de Noircarmes, to bee an interceſſour for them, not onely to the lady *Montigni*, but alſo to the duke of Alua, that had forbidden her to giue them any thing, at the laſt got nothing, but were vpon paine of hanging baniſhed out of Bruſſels.

After that, the duke of Alua cauſed the ſaid lord de Montignies proceſſe of life and goods to be made, as he had done againſt the other lords, wholly without his knowledge, appointing a counſellor to anſwere for him, that neuer ſpake with the ſaid lord de Montigni, nor yet could get any inſtruction or information out of Spaine from him, he himſelfe not once vnderſtanding thereof. And when *Anna van Auſtria*, the emperour *Maximilians* daughter,
F paſſed through the Netherlands to goe into Spaine, to marry with the king, the Conteſſe of Horne, mother vnto the ſaid lord de Montigni, and his wife, with diuers others, kneeling downe before her, deſired her to be a meanes vnto the king, that his proceſſe might be made, and he deliuered out of priſon: which the ſaid eſpouſed queene promiſed in moſt friendly manner, that it ſhould be the firſt requeſt that ſhe would make vnto the king her husband.

Which

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Which the duke of Alua vnderſtanding, preſently ſent letters into Spaine, and procured the meanes, that the ſaid baron de Montigni was remooued from Segobia, vnto the caſtle of Simancas, and before the queene got out of the ſhip, to ſet foot on land, he was poyſoned by a young page, that put poyſon into certaine broth wherewith he ſerued him (which page was expreſſely charged to doe it, vpon paine of death, as he after confeſſed vnto his ſecret friends) by meanes of the which broth, he fell into a burning feauer, whereof hee died in the beginning of October in Anno 1570, his ſentence being by the ſaid duke of Alua firſt publiſhed in the Netherlands in March after in Anno 1571, and all his goods confiſcate. He left iſſue by his wife, whom he had newly married, before his departure in Spaine, but one daughter, that died very young. After his death his wife maried the lord of *Floyon*, of the houſe of *Barlamont*, and after earle of Barlamont; who after her death maried with the onely daughter and heire of the earle of Lalaine. Theſe lords manner of life and Religion could not eſcape the Spaniſh furie, although they were moſt earneſt and good catholickes: the marqueſſe of Berghen being ſo earneſt therein, that he commaunded all catholicke offices to be performed within his gouernment, and cauſed the children of thoſe of the reformed Religion to be baptiſed againe; neither yet could the interceſſion of the emperour, the princes of Germany and others preuaile any thing therein.

The baron de Montigni poyſoned in Spain

Touching the liues, actions, and ſeruices of theſe lords, done for the king and the benefite of the Netherlands, many men in other countries round about were of opinion, that they onely were the principalleſt inſtruments, both by counſell and action, of the kings good and proſperous proceedings, victories, and greatneſſe, and that his affaires (through his father the emperours croſſes in Germanie, and his weakeneſſe of bodie, being at an ebbe) were by theirs and other Netherlanders means ſo much furthered and aduanced, that thereby they brought Fraunce to graunt to ſo good and an honourable peace in his behalfe. But it was their euill fortunes, that they were too well beloued and fauoured of the common people, and by their vpright and good ſeruices, together with other Netherlanders, had gotten ouer-great credite and report in euery place: whereby they had not onely mooued and enticed the people to yeeld great tributes, taxes, tallages and honours vnto the king, but alſo procured great ſeruices to be done for him in other countries, as in Germany &c. And when the king with his counſell in Spaine had fully reſolued to bring the Netherlands vnder full obedience and ſubiection, by the Inquiſition, and other ſtrange deuiſes brought into it and other countries, whether it were of zeale vnto the Romiſh catholicke Religion, or that he ouer-much deſired his owne profite and greatneſſe, hee ſought and expected from thoſe lords, that they ſhould and would vſe and put in practiſe their authoritie and power aforeſaid among the common people, as they had done before, wherein they did not acquite themſelues ſo well, as the vnexperienced counſellors in Spaine concerning the affaires of the Netherlands, deſired and expected they ſhould haue done; which the ſaid lords eſteemed to bee cleane contrarie vnto the kings ſeruice, and the profit of the Netherlands: as alſo thinking it to bee a thing vnreaſonable for them to withſtand, and contrary their owne friends, kindred, countrey, lawes, and priuiledges, knowing better than they of Spaine wherein the profit and commoditie of the Netherlands, and conſequently, the aduancement of the kings honour and ſeruice chiefely conſiſted; eſteeming it vnpoſſible, to hold and maintaine a people (that had alwaies liued in freedome) in peace and quietneſſe, by ſuch odious kind of rigour, as the proclamations and the Inquiſition brought in and inflicted vpon them. For which cauſe, they ſeeing the proceedings of their neighbour countries, ſought to procure and induce the king to a neceſſarie kind of altering, or moderating of his pretended courſe, by diuers and ſeuerall meanes, for the maintenance and preſeruation of the catholicke Romiſh Religion, which otherwiſe ſtood in great danger to be ouerthrowne: which diſliked and much diſpleaſed the king and his counſell, and was the matter of Treaſon (as the Spaniards ſuppoſed) for the which they muſt die: others, meaſuring their actions by another way, eſteemed and iudged them both by God and mans law to haue iuſtly deſerued to die; for that in ſo good a cauſe, wherein ſo much conſiſted the honour of God, Religion, the countries welfare, and the kings profit, they were not more vigilant, carefull, prouident, and earneſt, than they had beene, but through feare, and ſuſpition of the kings careleſneſſe, beeing badly informed by the enemies of the countrey, ſuffered themſelues to be eaſily carried away, and to let ſuch caſes of importance, as the aboliſhing

of

A of the proclamations for the assembling of the States, and such like priuiledges graunted in times past, to be taken away from the Netherlands by prouiso, whereby they made the other lords and gentlemen become faint hearted, and partly holpe and assisted to persecute them, contrarie to their owne promises, wils and consciences; seeing and knowing wherein the honour of God, the Religion, the countries welfare, and the profite of the king most consisted, better than any other counsellors about him did, as time it selfe hath sufficiently made manifest, and declared. Some others argued to the contrarie, excusing them, That they thereby hoped to pacifie the kings wrath, when he should see and perceiue the obedience of his subiects, and the weightinesse of the cause, together with the daungers therein consisting, and so might be moued to a softer and more conuenient remedie. Wherein also
B they were much deceiued: which the prince of Orange, and others, had sufficiently foretold them, as that they would bee the bridge and onely instrument, vpon the which, and wherewith the Spaniards would enter into the Netherlands, counselling and aduising them rather to kepe all strangers out of the land, vntill the king, by aduice of the generall States, should be better counselled. Generally, euery man esteemed, that the king could reape no good nor profit by the rigor and cruelties that he had vsed against those earles, and other noblemen and gentlemen, but be a meanes to breed much hatred, euill will, and desperation among the people towards him, which since hath cost many mens liues, and consumed a great masse of treasure. These were the common and generall opinions of all well experienced persons in matters concerning estate (in other princes countries and courts) touching their
C deaths.

Cost Lodowic besiegeth Groningen.

Cont *Lodowic* of Nassau hauing gotten the victorie against Cont *Arembergh* and the Spaniards, diuided his armie into two, with the which he went to besiege Groningen, a great and mighty towne in the countrey of Friseland, not without great admiration of all men, how hee durst with so few men and so little munition, attempt such a towne, whereas the earle of Meghen was with eighteene ensignes of Germanes, and a thousand Spaniards, and *Curio Martinengus* with three hundred horsemen. The besieged made many braue sallies, and among others, one on the two and twentieth of Iune, in the which the earle of Nassau lost aboue two hundred men, seeking to hinder them from building of a fort betwixt two riuers. In the meane time *Chiapin Vitelli*, marshal of the campe to the duke of Alua, gathered together
D what men he could, with the which he aduanced, whilest that the duke prepared to rayse the siege. *Chiapin* camped on the one side of the towne, not farre from Cont *Lodowics* Protestants, who sent to offer him battaile, but he excused himselfe.

The duke of Alua sent to entreat the emperour in the king his masters name, that he would commaund the earle of Nassau to leaue the siege of Groningen, and to annoy the Netherlands no more, vpon paine to incurre the indignation of his imperiall Maiestie, and the proscription of the empire: the which the emperour did graunt him; commaunding the earle expressely to forbeare, and to retyre out of the territories of the king of Spaine: the earle answered the herauld, That he could not doe it, before he had aduertised the prince of Orange his brother, and other noblemen, their confederates; and being certified of their resolutions, he would answere his imperiall Maiestie. Which summation beeing heard, and notwithstanding his answere, many Seigniors of Germanie being terrified with this commaundement, returned with their troupes into Germanie. Yet the earle continued his siege, vntill the comming of the duke of Alua; who passing by Boisle duke with seuenteene companies of foot, and some peeces of artillerie, which he had drawne out of Macklyn, he approched to Groningen the foureteenth of Iuly, where hee went to counter-campe. Before his comming, the earle of Meghen hauing sallied foorth, receiued a shot, whereof hee dyed soone after.

E

The siege of Groningen raised.

The earle of Nassau knowing him so neere him, and finding himselfe too weake to make head against him, raysed his campe, and retyred into the countrey of Embden, in the
F countie of East-Friseland, breaking the bridges, and spoyling the countrey where hee passed, to take all commoditie and meanes from the enemie to pursue him, yet not without often skirmishing.

The duke of Alua put duke *Erick* of Brunswicke with all his Reistres in garrison into the

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towne: for that beeing a marish countrey, the horsemen could doe him but small seruice, A
The duke of Alua pursues Cõt Lodowic. following the earle with his footmen, who by his spies vnderstood he was encamped at Iemminghen, a very commodious place, hauing on the one side the riuer of Ems and the towne of Embden at his backe, from whence he might draw all things necessarie for the entertainment of his armie, being resolued to keepe himselfe there, vntill that his brother, the prince of Orange, had entred with the body of his armie into some other part of the Netherlands, which would cause the duke of Alua to retyre out of Frisland, to goe against him, for to stoppe his entrie. But the duke hauing recouered the castle of Wede, made a bridge at Reyden vpon Ems, and sent *Sancho* d'Auila to view the earles campe, and to draw him foorth to skirmish; then followed *Iulian Romero* with eight hundred musketiers, to make him quit his lodging, *Sancho* de Lodogno with a thousand Spanish shot, *Cæsar Gonsague* B
and *Curio Martinengue* with two companies of horsemen: And for the arereguard, fifteene companies of Wallons, vnder *George* of Lalaine, baron of Ville, brother vnto the earle of Hoochstraten (who was with Cont *Lodowic*) and sixe ensignes of Germanes: after the which followed *Alonzo* d'Vlloa, and *Gonsalue* of Bracamont, with sixe hundred launces; the which could not march but one at once, by reason of the streightnesse of the way, hauing water on eyther side. Cont *Lodowic* would willingly haue cut a dike, to haue drowned his enemies, before they should haue come vnto his trenches, hauing himselfe, with the earle of Schouwenberch, and other commaunders, taken shouels and pickaxes in their hands to worke. But his Germanes (who were about seuen thousand men) seeing the Spaniards march resolutely towards them, began (after their accustomed manner) to cry for C
Gelt, and demaunded their pay, saying, that the money was come vnto the campe. The earle (who would gladly haue fought) sought to persuade them, saying, That hee had no leysure to count it, but that the enemie beeing so neere, they must fight, promising them their pay as soone as the enemie were repulsed and vanquished: But neyther his persuasions, nor those of the earle of Schouwenberch, preuayled any thing, to dispose them vnto battaile. The Spaniards (who had begun the skirmish by tenne of the clocke in the morning, and entertayned it vntill two in the afternoone) hauing discouered the Germanes countenances, came resolutely vnto their trenches, the which they forced with small losse, and put them to rout, whereof many were slaine vpon the place for their payment, receiuing a worthie reward for their trecherie vnto the earle: a great number of the souldiors D
saued themselues, as well by swimming, as in their small barkes. Cont *Lodowic* and many gentlemen, and others, saued themselues also in little skiffes, after that they had made re-
Cont Lodowic saues himself. sistance euen to the extremitie. The earle of Hoochstraten was two dayes before retyred from the campe, to goe vnto the prince. And the earle of Schouwenberch, seeing vpon the first approch of the enemie, that the Landtsknechts demaunded siluer, and would not bee contented with promises, but refused to fight, dislodged betimes, with most of the horsemen.

The duke of Alua after this victorie, writ to *Iohn*, bishop of Munster, the eight and twentieth of Iuly, complayning greatly of Cont *Lodowic* of Nassau, who (he said) would yeeld to no reason, breaking the commaundements of the emperour and the empire, hauing spoy- E
led all the countie of Embden; yea, he accused the earle of East-Friseland and lord of Embden, that he had assisted him with victuals and munition, whereby he did shew, that hee was a friend to Cont *Lodowic*, and an enemie vnto the king of Spaine: and the rather, for that during this battaile, they had made certaine shot of great Ordnance from the towne vpon the kings troupes. Yet these letters were of small effect, the bishop not daring to stirre, fearing the prince of Orange, who was in Germanie, prouiding of an armie, appointing his Rendes-vous in the countrey of Treues, neere vnto the abbey of Romersdorffe; whereas staying a moneth, he made a generall muster. His chiefe Colonels and Reytmasters were, *Frederic Rollenheim*, marshall of Hessen (very famous for the seruice which he had done the Protestats in France) *Diederich* of Schouwenberch, Cont *Albert* of Nassau, the earl *Richard* of Barby F
colonels: among the Reytmasters, *Otto* of Malsburg, *Herman Rydesal*, *Adam Welsen*, & others, with seuen thousand Reyters. The colonels of the foot were, *Nicholas* of Hadtstate, a gentlemã of ancient nobility, and a man of great experience in warre, *Feyt Schoemer* and *Balthazar Woolfe* with

A with foure and fortie enſignes of Landtsknechts. Of the French were the lords of Genlis, Moruilliers, the barons of Renty, Mouy, Antricourt, Eſternay, Fongieres, la Perſonne and others commaunding twelue cornets of horſe, and two thouſand harquebuſiers. The Netherlanders and Wallons were commaunded by the baron of Batenbourg and the Seigniors of Waroux, Baxtell, Riſoir, Carlo, Marbais, Louverval, d'Ohain, and many others: among the which was the Seignior of Launoy, earle of March (a mad head) hauing ſworne neuer to cut his haire nor beard, nor to cut his nailes, vntill he were reuenged for the death of the earle of Egmont his couſin; with whom Cont *Lodowic* alſo ioyned, with thoſe troupes hee could ſaue at the rout at Iemminghen. Some captaines carried in their colours this deuice, *Prolege, Rege & Grege*; others carried Pelicans; others, Roſes painted vpon their morrions; which is
B the auncient marke of the Engliſh, giuing to vnderſtand, that the Queene of England would be fauourable vnto them. The prince had alſo tenne peeces of artillerie, foure canons of batterie, and ſixe culuerins.

With this armie the prince marched, in the beginning of September, towards the countrey of Luxembourg, to S. Vyt, a towne of his owne patrimonie. The duke of Alua hearing of his deſcent, went and encamped by Maeſtricht, at Viſe, vpon the Meuſe, with the regiments of the earles of Lodron and Ouerſteyn, fortie enſignes of Spaniards, fortie of Wallons, and foure thouſand horſe, Spaniards, Italians, Germanes, and the bands of Ordnance of the Low countries, with great ſtore of artillerie. The prince marching in field, tooke Aremberch, and the ſtrong caſtle of Carpen, betwixt Cologne and Duyren, then Hormſteyn be-
C longing to the king of Spaine, putting all to the ſword that made reſiſtance: as alſo the duke of Alua for his part ſpared not any. So the prince went along the riuer of Meuſe, towards Stockem, where, notwithſtanding the vigilancie of the duke of Alua (who had cauſed galthropes to be caſt into the riuer at many foords) hee paſſed with his armie, to offer battaile vnto the duke: approching neere vnto Maeſtricht the ſeuenth of October, his men had a little before taken eighteene boats vpon the Rhyn, laden with ſilkes, cloth, and other marchandize, going towards Francfort. The Liegeois would willingly haue ſtopped his paſſage, if they could; but he paſſed where as they did not expect him: ſo as the fifteenth of the month he defeated ſome of the dukes troupes; who to incommodate the prince, had broken all the milles, and ſtopped his victuals all he could. The prince (to ioyne with the French troupes
D of the lord of Genlis, and the reſt) paſſed a little riuer called la Gheer, the which diuideth the countrey of Liege from Brabant, leauing Tillemont vpon the right hand, to ſeeke all occaſions to giue battaile vnto the duke; who being loath to hazard any thing, kept himſelfe cloſe in his trenches before Maeſtricht: yet the duke ſent his ſonne *Dom Frederic* with foure thouſand harquebuſiers, Wallons, and Spaniards, with ſome horſemen, to cut off his paſſage, as if he meant to fight with him. But it paſſed in skirmiſhes, with ſmall loſſe on eyther ſide, whereas the Seignior of Louerual was taken priſoner, whom the duke cauſed to bee afterwards beheaded at Bruſſels. The prince might eaſily haue defeated this ſmall troupe of *Dom Frederics*; but beeing ready to fight, the Landtsknechts (as before) demaunding ſiluer, would not hearken vnto it. So as the prince being fruſtrate of his expectation, hauing pre-
E ſented battaile once againe vnto the duke, who would not accept it, ſeeing that he ſought onely to diſſolue his armie for want of victuals and other commodities; paſſing with his troupes through Brabant into Henault, he was followed by the duke of Alua, who euery night retrenched himſelfe, beeing loath to hazard any thing, following him from lodging to lodging, vntill he was entred into Fraunce; yet the prince beeing neere to Queſnoy le Comte, hauing encountred ſome of the dukes troupes, which were too farre aduanced, he defeated tenne companies of Landtsknechts, eight of Spaniards, and three companies of light horſemen, where there were many gentlemen ſlaine; and amongſt thoſe of account or marke, the marqueſſe of Omares ſonne, *Dom Ioan* of Cales, *Dom Ruffin Henriques*, and others. Being come to the caſtle of Cambreſis, his Germanes burned and ſpoyled all that
F they left behind them. And there the duke of Alua left purſuing them. Being entred into Fraunce, the marſhall of Coſſe (at the requeſt of the duke of Alua) coaſted him with two thouſand harquebuſiers and two hundred horſe: but he could not annoy him: there the prince, Cont *Lodowic*, and the French nobilitie went to counſell what they ſhould doe;

The duke of Alua campes by Maeſtricht.

Dom Frederic skirmiſheth with the prince.

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whether to paſſe further into the Realme (being amazed at ſo great forces) or to returne to- A
wards Germanie, to ioyne with the armie of Wolfgang, duke of Deux Ponts, the which
he prepared to ſuccour the Proteſtants of Fraunce: which ſecond aduice was followed: ſo
marching through Campaigne and Lorraine, approching neere Strausbourg, the prince ſent
to make his excuſe to the French king. But before the meſſage was done vnto his Maieſtie,
the king ſent the lord *Gaſpar Schomberg*, to let him vnderſtand, that he wondered much, how
the ſaid prince (without any quarrell or cauſe) ſhould enter ſo into his Realme with an ar-
mie: but if he demaunded paſſage, onely to returne into Germanie, it ſhould not be deny-
ed him, ſo as he committed no act of hoſtilitie. Whereunto the prince anſwered from Soiſ-
ſons the fourth of December, as he had before ſent his intention vnto his Maieſty, That al-
though he had many reaſons mouing him thereunto, yet he was not ſo indiſcreet to addreſſe B
his armes againſt ſo mightie a king. And therefore he proteſted, that he was ready to doe his
Maieſtie that honour, reſpect, and ſeruice that was fit. But for that the aduancement of the
true Religion is a point which aboue all doth moue the hearts of men: the which he vnder-
ſtandeth they meane to root out in Fraunce; although his Maieſtie had giuen him to vnder-
ſtand, that his intention was not to force any one in his conſcience: but that the Proteſtants
were ill affected to him, and that he held them for his enemies. But if hee found, that the
ſaid Proteſtants did ſeeke any other thing than the aduancement of the true Religion, the li-
bertie of their conſciences, and the ſuretie of their perſons and goods: That neyther he nor
his armie would be friends vnto them, but mortall enemies: But hearing, that the Prote-
ſtants ſought no other thing, but the honour of God, the aſſurance of their liues, and the C
ſeruice of God and his Maieſtie, he deſired his Maieſtie not to take it in ill part, if he were
affected vnto them: and that if he deſired, that his Maieſties publicke Edicts, made tou-
ching Religion, were entertayned and kept; the which proceeded from a Chriſtian zeale
which he bare to his Maieſty and his ſubiects, the which hee deſired to ſee preſerued from ex-
treame ruine and deſolation.

The king hearing this anſwere, offered him a good ſumme of money for the payment of
his armie, whereof he had great need: and by the ſame meanes cauſed *Schomberg* (who was
well knowne among the colonels and Rytmaſters) to ſound the minds of his ſouldiers, wher-
of ſome through pouertie were weary of the warres, and others were content to enter into the
kings ſeruice. The prince, his brother, and the French nobilitie had propounded to march D
further into Fraunce: whereupon there grew a great difficultie, the troupes refuſing to march
any further, but would returne into Germanie, and bee payed there, ſaying, that their leuie
was not made to goe into Fraunce, but into the Netherlands againſt the duke of Alua. So
as hauing no money ready, no perſuaſions nor entreaties could ſerue to make them aduance,
vntill that the money which the French king had offered was come. But the king vnderſtan-
ding of this diuiſion in the princes armie, would not ſend it. Wherefore they were forced to
conduct the armie through Lorraine, neere vnto Strausbourg, where it was diſperſed with
ſmall payment, but what the prince could make, ſelling his artillerie and equipage.

And thus this warre of the prince of Orange againſt the duke of Alua paſſed without any
fruit, with the loſſe of many good men and of qualitie, which died in this voyage: among the E
The death of the earle of Hoochſtraten. which, the earle of Hoochſtraten hauing hurt himſelfe in the legge with his own piſtoll, died:
beſides many gentlemen who hauing drunke together in a banquet of wine that was poyſo-
ned, as it was thought, dyed ſoone one after another, few eſcaping. The prince and Conte
Lodowic hauing retained about twelue hundred horſe of ſeruice, ioyned with the duke of
Deux Ponts, with whom they entred into Fraunce. And hauing exploited nothing in the
Netherlands, the duke of Alua (bragging that he had chaſed him away) ſtayed with all his
armie at Cambreſis, where he diuided his troupes into the frontier garriſons, caſſiering a part
which he held not neceſſarie, moſt of them Germanes, except the Regiment of the earle of
Lodron, who was put into Valenciennes, and three hundred Spaniards into Breda; the reſt af-
ter that the frontiers were well fortified, were ſent into Holland. Which done, the duke retur- F
ned to Bruſſels, where he cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung, and an Oration was made in his prayſe
by the deane of the church, the which was commended by all the auditors. From thence the
duke retired to the pallace to take his eaſe.

The

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A The prince of Orange, with his brethren, *Lodowic* and *Henry*, earles of Naſſau, retayning tenne or twelue hundred horſe in their pay, ſtayed and ioyned themſelues with the duke of Swayeburg, that gathered an armie in the behalfe of the prince of Conde, and thoſe of the religion, with whom in Anno 1569 they went into Fraunce.

The duke of Alua hauing with ſmall loſſe had the victorie ouer his enemies in all places, and cauſed them to forſake the countrey, vpon the twentieth of December came to Bruſſels with his ſonne, and placed his ſouldiers in diuers garriſons; as his Spaniards vnder *Alonzo de Vtoa* in Maſtrich, Hertogenbuſh, and Graue; the regiment of *Iulian Romero* in Bruſſels and Mechelen; the regiment of *Don Zantio de Londogno* in Vtrecht and Bommel; the regiment of *Billi* or *Robles* in Groninge; the regiment of colonel *Mondragon* in Deuenter; the regi-
B ment of high Dutches vnder the earle of Lodron in Valenciennes and Antuerpe, diſcharging certaine Dutch horſemen, and ſome regiments of Wallons. And at Bruſſels he aſſembled the generall ſtates after a certaine manner; where he demaunded a reaſonable ſumme of money for the king, towards the great charges hee had beene at for the defence of the land, the Chriſtian faith, and the Catholicke Romiſh Religion: which they moſt willingly graunted vnto, and withall gaue vnto the duke himſelfe a preſent of one hundred and twenty thouſand duckets, for the good ſeruice that the Netherlands had receiued at his hands; which at firſt he refuſed, but after tooke it, and from that time forth was in good hope of a peaceable gouernment, intending to begin to effect his charge; which was, to reduce and bring the countrey vnder one abſolute gouernment: to which end hee brought in the new biſhops,
C and eſtabliſhed the Inquiſition in euery place (for the which there was ſo much contention before in the countrey, and from whence all the troubles firſt had their originall) and proceeded with his bloudie counſell to perſecute and execute all thoſe that in any wiſe were found, or knowne to be conſenting vnto, or partakers of the forepaſſed tumults, or that had any bad opinion of the Romiſh Church: and to that end vpon the two and twentieth of Ianuarie 1569 he ſent forth a proclamation, That no man ſhould aid or aſſiſt the fugitiue people in any ſort whatſoeuer, and that no woman might depart out of the countrey to follow her husband, nor that any man might viſite thoſe that were fled or baniſhed for the troubles aforeſaid, and further cauſed many to be executed in euery place of the Netherlands: Some he cauſed to be hanged and beheaded; others to bee burnt: which once againe cauſed great
D numbers of the people to flye out of the countrey, hauing loſt all hope of liuing quietly in their owne countries to get their liuings, and with their houſeholds and families ſought to liue in other places: whereby they caried diuers kinds of handy crafts, that were only knowne and vſed in the Netherlands, into other countries: as for example, the Flemings went by ſo great numbers into England, lying next vnto them, that they there reſtored and peopled many townes not well inhabited, and partly decayed, as Norwich, Sandwich, Colcheſter, Maydſton, Hampton, and others; where, by the gracious fauour of the Queene they were permitted to vſe the exerciſe of their Religion in the Dutch and French languages, and there got their liuings by making of Bayes, Sayes, changeable Stuffes, Moccadoes, Fuſtian, Grograine, and all other Stuffes wherein any wooll is vſed, and brought the trade thereof in-
E to England: ſo that thoſe kinds of Stuffes are now onely made there; and much of the ſtuffe that ſerueth for the making thereof, brought out of the Netherlands thither; which wares the Engliſhmen themſelues haue ſince learned to make: and alſo about two hundred yeares paſſed, by meanes of great inundations in Flaunders, and the Netherlands, the people being forced to leaue the countrey, and to flye into England, brought the trade of making Cloth into England, which as then was a new and a ſtrange thing with them, they at that time getting their liuings by paſturing of ſheepe, tylling of the land, and following the warres: but before that time, Flaunders and the Netherlands onely ſerued all the world with cloth, as it appeareth by the priuate contracts made betweene England and the Netherlands. And as the Flemings brought the making of Bayes, Sayes, &c. into England, and greatly peopled the ſaid
F countrey; ſo did the Hollanders, Zeelanders, Brabanders, and others, bring their cunning of fiſhing and other trades into England, as alſo into Germany, and other countries, where they haue built townes, and made them very populous and ful of great trades, as need and pouerty conſtrained this induſtrious people to ſeek for their liuings, as it is in many coũtries to be ſeen.

The duke of Alua bringeth in the new biſhops and the Inquiſition.

1569

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The number of the people that fled out of the Netherlands at that time, was not leſſe than an hundred thouſand houſeholds; which in ſtrange countries, whereſoeuer they became, vſed ſtill their language, and manner of apparell, as hoping once againe to returne into their natiue countries. A

The duke of Alua pickes a quarell againſt the Queene of England.

Whileſt the prince of Orange was in Germanie, there grew ſome queſtion betwixt the Queene of England and the duke of Alua: the duke complayning, That the Queene had arreſted a certaine ſhippe, and ſtayed in her hands a great ſumme of money belonging to the king of Spaine his maſter, with whom (he ſaid) ſhe ſhould entertaine all brotherly loue, and not commit ſuch acts of hoſtilitie. Whereunto the Queene anſwered, That ſhee was well informed by ſome gentlemen of Genoa, that the ſaid money belonged vnto certaine priuate marchants; and as ſhe had then need for her priuate ſeruice, ſhe would retaine it, paying reaſonable intereſt for a time. Whereupon the duke ſtayed the perſons, ſhippes, and goods of all the Engliſh marchants in the Netherlands. Whereat the Queene complayned by a publicke proclamation, maintaining, that the duke proceeded againſt her and her ſubiects, againſt equitie and iuſtice. The duke the better to diſcouer the Engliſhmens goods, and to arreſt them, appointed one *William Parker*, and Doctor *Storie* his ſubſtitute, an auncient man, and an Inquiſitor in England, in the time of Queene *Mary*, to ſearch the ſhippes, and to arreſt all that he found belonging to the Engliſh. This doctor going one day to ſearch the ſhippe of *Cornellis van Eyck*, a mariner of Berghen vpon Soom, whileſt that he was buſie ſearching vnder the hatches, the maſter hoyſed ſayles, and went directly for England, where he deliuered this buſie doctor, who as traytor to his Queene and countrey was hanged and quartered. B C

The Queene hearing of the arreſt and ſtay of her ſubiects, as well in the Netherlands as in Spaine, graunted the like arreſt and letters of repriſall againſt the ſubiects and marchants of the Netherlands and Spaine, to take them, their ſhips and goods whereſoeuer they could; whereby the Engliſh were well ſatisfied for their loſſes: whereof great complaints were made at the court at Bruſſels.

The duke of Alua meaning to repaire the fault which he had committed, ſent *Chriſtopher d' Aſſonuille*, a counſellor of State, into England, to the Queene, to reconcile this difference. But her Maieſtie being diſcontented, ſeeing that he brought no letters of credit from the king of Spaine, would not heare him, nor acknowledge him as an embaſſadour, ſeeing that he came but from the duke of Alua, ſending him to treat with her counſell: the which *d' Aſſonuille* refuſed to doe, for that he had no ſuch commiſſion, and ſo departed without audience: yet the Queene ſent him word, That although ſhe found her ſelfe greatly intereſſed, yet ſhe would not begin the warre, except the duke of Alua began firſt. Shee did alſo write the like into Spaine, complayning of the duke of Aluaes preſumption: who afterwards ſent *Chiapin Vitelli*, marqueſſe of Cetone, with the counſellor *Frincket*, and the Secretarie *Torre*, to demaund the money that was ſtayed, and to free all arreſts on either ſide. After them were ſent the Seignlors, *Francis* of Halewin, the Seignior of Swegem, and *Thomas Fieſco*, a marchant of Genoa: but they preuailed no more than the reſt. Whereupon the duke of Alua cauſed all the marchants cloth which he had arreſted, to be ſold: So as the traffique betwixt England and the Netherlands ceaſed; and the Engliſh marchants tranſported their cloth to Hambourg, whereas they held their Staple. D E

The duke of Alua fearing leaſt the Queene ſhould attempt ſomething vpon Zeeland, ſent *Chiapin Vitelli*, and *Gabriel Serbellon* his enginour, to fortifie ſuch places as lay moſt open vpon the ſea; for that hee had vnderſtood, that the Engliſh had taken a Flemiſh ſhippe vpon the coaſt of Zeeland: wherefore he made himſelfe ſtrong in men and ſhipping, to reſiſt all thoſe that would hinder his deſignes, fearing leaſt the Engliſh ſhould take him vnprouided.

The ſame yeare (in May) Pope *Pius* the fifth ſent vnto the duke of Alua a ſword and an hatte, which hee had bleſſed with great ſolemnities. They were brought and deliuered vnto him by his Nuncio, with great ceremonies, as to the true defendor of the Romiſh Church; whereat all the Spaniards made great feaſts of ioy, and publicke Tourneyes in Bruſſels. F

The

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A The emperor *Maximilian* being daily importuned by the noblemen & gentlemen that were fled out of the Netherlands, to be an intercessor for them to the K. of Spain, & to auoid greater effusion of bloud, which was verie apparent by a long and continual war: being also intreated therunto by many princes of the empire, that were louers of peace, he sent *Charles* his brother into Spaine, with ample instructions to the king, to persuade him to pardon his exiled subiects, and to giue them peace and quietnesse in his countries: but all preuailed not: the king answered him by writing, and that was all the fruit of his legation.

The duke of Alua knowing that the prince of Orange and cont *Lodowic* his brother were ioyned with some troups of horse vnto the duke of Deux Ponts, marching to succor the Protestants in France, he also sent in the name of the king his master, *Peter Ernest* earle of Mans- 1569
B field, with 25 companies of foot, Spaniards and Wallons, and 2000 horse of the bands of ordnance of the Netherlands, to succour the French king, who ioyned with his armie vnder the duke of Aniou.

The duke of Alua hauing made the prince of Oranges great armie vnprofitable, as we haue said, and by that meanes made the Netherlands reasonably quiet vnder his gouernment, hee began to build many citadels, as at Valenciennes, Groningen, Graue, Vtrecht, Flessingue, and aboue all hee finished that of Antuerpe: in the which for an eternal memorie of his prowesse he caused to be set vp a stately, sumptuous and proud trophie, in signe of victorie, cast in brasse, representing his person, all armed, but bare headed, the right arme stretched out vnarmed, holding in the left, being armed, the troncheon of a great commander, treading vnder his feet a A description of the duke of Aluaes image.
C body with two heads, and six arms, one of them holding a paper, the second a toarch, the third a broken hammer, the fourth a mace with pointed nailes, the fifth a purse, & the sixt a hatchet; betwixt his legs was a maske or false visage: behind this monstrous bodie was seene a fowld, 1570
from out of the which came serpents: at the eares of one of these heads hung little dishes and gourds, such as beggers carrie about. All this worke being fifteene foot high, was set with a plate of brasse on a great square stone of marble, answerable to the greatnesse and proportion of the figure. On the front before were grauen these letters, *F. A. A. T. A. D. P. H. 2. H. A. B. P. Q. E. S. K. R. I. C. P. P. F. R. O M. F. P.* The signification whereof in Latine you may read before, in the yeare 1567, whereas mention is made of the building of the citadell of Antuerpe: The sence of it in English is, *To Ferdinando Aluares of Toledo, Gouernour of Belgia for Philip the*
D *second king of Spaine, for that the sedition being pacified, the rebels chased away, religion restored, iustice maintained, hauing setled the Prouinces in peace, as a most faithfull seruant to the King.* On the right side of this square stone was grauen the breake of day, alluding to his name *Alba*, at the comming whereof all the enemies of the night hide themselues, and men begin their worke, the which was signified by the shepheards, leading forth their sheepe to feed: the superscription was, ΑΛΕΞΙΚΑΚΟΣΗΜΕΡΑΣ, that is to say, *The break of day chaseth away euill.* On the left hand was an altar with the fire of sacrifice kindled, and there was written *Deo Patrum nostrorum*, as if hee would say, To the God of our Fathers, to whom we sacrifice for the deliuerie of the country, and victorie ouer our enemies. This figure was interpreted after diuers manners, some said these two heads were the earles of Egmont and Horne, others, the prince of Orange and cont
E *Lodowic* his brother. But *Aries Montanus* had alluded this bodie beaten downe to the Netherlands, which was gouerned by the three estates, whereof the duke had subdued two, leaning the clergie in his full power: the two heads represented the nobilitie and the people: of the six armes three were applied to the nobles, holding the paper, which was the petition presented to the dutchesse, the toarch the counsell, and the mace their force: the other three agreed with the people, holding the hammer and the hatchet (instruments wherewith they had beaten downe the images) and the purse the support of money which the people furnished: the maske is vnderstood of himselfe. Others may interpret it after their owne fancies.

The earle of Lodron being in garrison at Valenciennes with his regiment of Landsknechts, The earle of Lodron taken prisoner by his own souldiers.
the most part Grisons, and of the countrey of Tyrolle, was kept prisoner by his souldiers mut-
F ning for their pay, whom he pacified with good words and solemne othes, in receiuing the sacrament of the altar, that nothing should be imputed vnto them. Hauing found meanes to pay them, he required a new othe of them: some of the captaines would not yeeld to it, saying, That there was no trust in an Italian, but they should rather carrie him with them into their countrey, and there breake their colours: such as were of this opinion retired, the rest suffered them-

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themſelues to be perſuaded, alledging their pay, which did bind them to ſerue the king. They A
were drawne out of Valenciennes with good words to Bourgerhout neere vnto Antuerpe,
there to be muſtered: but they were preſently enuironed by the Spaniſh horſemen, who ſlew
a good number of them, & kept many priſoners, who were afterwards executed by the ſword,
and hanged both within and without Antuerp. Such as could eſcape this furie fled into Ger-
many, and ſo into their owne countrey, who were afterwards reuenged for this treachetie
vpon the lands and ſubiects of the earle of Lodron, beeing neere neighbours to the Griſons
countrey.

We haue formerly ſpoken of the prouoſt *Spelle*, named *Iohn Cronels*, which was one of the
cruelleſt inſtruments that the duke of Alua could haue imployed: this tyrant was conuicted
of many concuſſions, and to haue put many innocents to death vnder counterfeit names, and B
to haue releaſed ſome for great ſummes of money; and alſo to haue taken money of the kinſ-
folkes of ſome, and yet afterwards to haue put them to death, reſtoring nothing of that which
he had receiued: for which crimes the duke of Alua cauſed him to be hanged at Bruſſels, with
The great cru- two of his inſtruments: ſo as that which he had done wrongfully to many, was done rightful-
elnie of the ly to him, & according vnto iuſtice. He had without any reſpect or diſcretion put many thou-
duke of Alua. ſands to death, as alſo the duke of Alua had ſometimes vanted, that he had cauſed aboue 18000
by good account to paſſe through the hands of his executioners, the which he termed by the
name of Iuſtice.

A general par- At that time the duke was at reſt, fearing no enemie, imagining that hee had ſubdued
don by the and expelled all, hee therefore now dreamed of new meanes to oppreſſe to Netherlands, C
duke of Alua, and to draw home and get into his clawes thoſe that were fled into the neighbor countries, as
with many re- into France, England, Germanie, the Eaſt countries, and elſewhere: hee cals them home by a
ſtrictions. generall pardon, publiſhed in Iuly: but they were not ſo fooliſh nor ſimple to truſt vnto it, on-
ly ſome artiſans and poore creatures did hazard themſelues, for whom (beeing ſo few in num-
ber, and the purchaſe ſo ſmall) the duke would not violat his faith, but left them in peace, go-
uerning themſelues according to his pardon. And withall the ſaid pardon was ſo reſtrained, as
it was not in a manner but for the innocents: for ſuch as had in any ſort offended during the
troubles, were not comprehended. As after the defeats of the Proteſtants in the Netherlands
at Waterloo, Auſterweel, Valenciennes, and S. Valerie, many which had then eſcaped, had
not the means to get out of the country, fearing leaſt they ſhold be incountred in the way vpō D
their retreat by the Prouoſts marſhals, who purſued them, and had charge to put as many to
death as they could take, that had carried armes againſt the king his lieutenants and officers:
they put themſelues in troups into the woods and forreſts, as at Nieppes in Flanders, Rich-
bourg, Olhain, and Verdres in Arthois, Mourmal, and others in Henault, and carrying them-
ſelues vnder the name of the prince of Orange, they made warre apart againſt the prieſts and
officers of iuſtice, who they ſaid were their enemies, killing, ſpoyling, and ranſoming them,
without doing any wrong to farmers or countreymen, who in the night furniſhed them with
victuals. One day they tooke the prouoſt marſhall of Arthois, named *Denſelin Gondeblen*,
their great perſecuter, whom they did miſerably ſpoyle, with all his men, in a farme belong-
ing to one *Iſrael* of Eſcluſe, a baniſhed man. They tooke foure and twentie horſe, which they E
carried in the night (hauing in the day time their retreat into the woods) to ſell in France. Of
all the prouoſts men, there eſcaped none but the hangman, verie ſore wounded, and left for
dead vpon the dunghill. They called theſe men Boskets, or Boſquillons, for that they kept in
the woods and forreſts. They kept a certaine diſcipline among them, not to hurt any mar-
chants, or other paſſengers, if they were not of the iuſtice, whom they put to death, or church
men, whom they drew into the woods and ranſomed, deteining them there vntill the money
were come. If they found that there were any theeues in the ſaid woods, which vnder their
names did rob the paſſengers, they purſued them, and hauing taken them, they deliuered
them to the Prouoſts men, at the entrie of the wood, not ſuffering them to approach within
harguebuſe ſhot, neither durſt the others come any neerer. Their armes were a harguebuſe F
hanged at their backes in a ſcarfe, a hanger at their girdles, and a halfe pike on their ſhoul-
ders, with the which they leaped ouer ditches, were they twentie foot broad; men actiue and
reſolute in great numbers. When as the prouoſt could take any of them, he burnt them, or ro-
ſted them with a ſmall fire.

On

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A On the other ſide thoſe that were fled out of the realme, as into England, Germanie, the Eaſt countries, and to Rochell, went to ſea vnder the princes name (and it may bee vnder his commiſſion) making warre againſt all ſhips of the Netherlands that came or went into Spain, whom they did take and ſpoile, making their retreats to ſell their goods at Rochel (whereas the Proteſtant princes of France did the like) Emden, and in England: whereof the chief were *Iohn* of Berghes a knight, ſeignior of Olhain, who for a time carried the title of the prince of Oranges viceadmirall, *William* of Fiennes, lord of Lumbres, *Barthol Entes* a gentleman Friſon, a baſtard of Brederode, and one of the houſe of Egmont, a Hollander, *Embiſe* a Fleming, ſonne to the bourgmaſter of Gand, and one *Iohn Broek* of Amſterdam, with ſome others, who hauing good ſhips, got many rich booties: to whom in the end ioined the ſeignior of Lumay, earle of
B la Marke. The king of Spaine complained of them to the queene of England, who to pleaſe him, commanded them to retire out of her ports: So as to haue a place of retreat, and a ſafe harbour, there followed as we ſhall ſhew the taking of the towne and iſland of Bryele in Holland, which made worke for the duke of Alua.

The firſt of Auguſt, whileſt that the emperour and the eſtates of the empire were at an imperiall diet at Spier, the emperour ſent his daughter *Anne* to the king of Spaine, accompanied with the archdukes *Albert* & *Wenceſlas*, her two brethren, being yet verie yong, the great commander of Pruſia, and the biſhop of Munſter, who did accompanie them vnto Bruſſels, whereas ſhe arriued the 22 of the moneth, and from thence went to Middelburg in Zeeland, where ſhe imbarked with her two brethren the 25 of September, and the 24 of Nouember following
C was married to the king of Spaine at Segouia in Arragon: But ſome did miſlike that the king of Spaine ſhould marie his owne neece, by whom at nine monethes end hee had a ſonne called *Charles Laurens*, for that hee was borne on that day which was dedicated to the memorie of the Saint.

The king of Spaine maries his neece the emperours daughter.

This yeare there happened great flouds in the Netherlands, about the time of a new Moon with ſpring tides: for that vpon all Saints day the water flowed ſo high in Antuerpe, about 9 of the clock in the euening, that it flowed a foot higher than it did in the floud in *anno* 1530, when there was 70 pariſhes drowned, and two foot higher than it was in *anno* 1552, and would as it ſeemed haue riſen higher, if it had not broken into the new towne and other places, whereby it filled all the ſellers and vaults, both within and without the towne, and euerie emptie place,
D where an innumerable number of men and cattell were drowned, Auſterweel, Kiel, and Hoboken lay vnder water, laden ſhips, and a hulke of 300 tunnes were borne vp to the Engliſh key. This floud did vnſpeakable hurt within the towne of Antuerpe, the damage receiued by merchandiſe that was as then wet, being eſteemed to be more than 100000 gulderns in value. The hurt that was done in the houſes, ſluces, keyes, and towne walls, was likewiſe eſteemed to be aboue a hundred thouſand gulderns. This high water was the meanes that two houſes were burnt not far from the Eaſterlings houſe, but the benefit of the great water ſoone quenched them: This fire happened by meanes that a maid going with a lanterne in her hand, to open a ſheep coat, thereby to ſaue 150 ſheep from drowning, the water outcomming the maid, drowned her, and her lanterne driuing amongſt the ſtraw, ſet it and the houſes on fire. In Zee-
E land the ſame floud did great hurt in many places, as at Rommerſwale, Berghen, Saftinghen, where many were drowned, where they were conſtrained to ſend out ſhips to fetch men, and to giue them meat which ſat vpon high trees and ditches. The iſland of Walchren held out well but the ſalt keeles were all borne away. South Beuerland endured more hurt. In Holland whole villages were almoſt borne away, as at Katwicke and other places; but in Friſeland moſt of all. This high floud is notably deſcribed in high Dutch verſe, by one *Iohn Fruytiers*, wherein is ſet downe all the hurt done in euerie ſeuerall prouince, certifying the number of the people that were drowned that time to be four hundred thouſand at the leaſt, beſides an innumerable number of cattell. The Spaniards ſaid that it was a iuſt iudgement ſent vpon that countrey by the holy Saints, thereby to reuenge themſelues, for breaking downe their Images: but
F the Netherlanders iudged otherwiſe thereof, eſteeming the Saints not to bee deſirous of reuenge. You muſt vnderſtand that the Netherlands lye vpon the Spaniſh ſeas, and are much ſubiect to high flouds, happening commonly in Winter, at a full and new Moon, with North-weſt winds, which in many ages happened therein, as our hiſtories make mention, whereof I will rehearſe ſome of the greateſt.

Great flouds in the Netherlands.

In

In the yeare of our Lord 850 the riuer of Rhin that was woont to haue his recourse by Cat- A
wicke, and so ran into the sea, beneath the Flie, brake out by Dort, and so past forward: which high floud was the greatest that our hystories make any mention of, although there are no great particularities thereof to be seene.

Anno 1176 in Holland almost all men and beasts that saued not themselues vpon high places, were drowned.

Anno 1230 in the time of the emperour *Otto* the 4, the most part of Friseland was vnder water, and it is said that there was 100000 men drowned.

Anno 1374 in the moneth of October, there was great hurt done in Flanders by a high floud.

Anno 1400 there happened a great floud, called the Fresh floud. B

Anno 1420 there was 16 villages drowned by Dort, and many men and cattell: some say they were 72 villages.

Anno 1508 happened the high floud, called S. Galens floud, when they tooke Cods and Whitings before Groning.

Anno 1509 there was a great floud, called *Cosmus* and *Damians* floud, which brake through many ditches, and drowned a great number of people.

Anno 1530 happened the Michaelmas high floud.

Anno 1552 there was a great floud called S. *Ponrians* floud.

And this last in anno 1570, called all Saints floud, which was in 6 or 7 prouinces, as far as to Denmarke. C

The electors, princes, noblemen, and townes of the confession of Ausbourg in Germanie, hauing presented a petition vnto the emperour at the diet at Spier, tending to the quiet of Christendome, and the reformation of some abuses, it was not imputed vnto them to rebellion, factions, and innouations, as that of the noblemen and gentlemen, and the Netherlands, was in the yeare 1566, by the king of Spaine: but contrariwise the emperour knowing well that what they required tended to the good and quiet of Germanie, and their neighbours, not only accepted it in good part, but also tooke such order as was most needful, specially for those of Cologne (who had driuen out all them of the confession) although they did verie vnwillingly obey. As for the Netherlands, as he feared much the practises of the Spaniards (which had long before sought occasions to get some footing in some corner of Germany, and especially in the diocesse of Cologne) hee could settle no other order, but to write to the king of Spaine, and the duke of Alua, his lieutenant, to cease their persecutions. But the duke made no account of it, continuing his course as before, so as after he had put an infinit number to death, of all qualities and sexes, and that he had in his conceit subdued al the Netherlands (of which conquest *Alonso d'Vlloa* hath written the hystorie, to the honor of the duke, as the greatest conqueror in the world) holding himselfe after the retreat of the prince of Oranges armie, to be a conquerour, finding himselfe now quiet without any enemies, that had experience in war, hauing a conceit that he had restored the countrey to their former peace, he began to study how he might at the peoples charge entertaine a great number of souldiers, both Spaniards, Italians and Germans: To which end there were sundry impositions, exactions, and extraordinarie taxes inuented; among others the tenth and the twentieth part of all marchandise, generally throughout the Netherlands for euer: meaning therein to imitat princes or tyrants, who by force and violence haue gotten estates, realmes, and seigniories, who after their conquests, impose vpon the vanquished nations some tribute, impost, or some extraordinarie custome, in signe of their victories: So the duke of Alua in witnesse of his conquest (for it was his vsuall speech that the Netherlands did not belong any more vnto the king by title of inheritance, but as hauing conquered it by his armes) of the successe of which imposition we will hereafter speake. D E

The duke of Alua inuents new impositions.

1571 In the beginning of this yeare 1571, there was erected in the Netherlands, by the commandement of the duke of Alua (who had propounded to settle a new order both in the iustice and the gouernment after his owne inuention) a manner of proceeding in criminall causes, which was extraordinarie, the which he would haue obserued for a law and perpetuall edict, notwithstanding all vses, statutes, customes, priuiledges, and ordinances to the contrarie: with a new forme of othe for all judges and other chiefe officers of the kings gift, F

A new stile in criminall causes erected by the duke.

About

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A About that time *Herman* of Ruyter, a valiant and an aduenturous man belonging to the prince of Orange, & borne in Boisleduke, found meanes with a few men to surprise the strong castle of Louestein, right against Wadrichom, in the corner of an island which makes the seperation of the riuers of Wahal and Mense, ioyning vnto Gorricom; the which hee resolued to hold for the prince, expecting succours which the earle vanden Berghe had promised to bring him. The duke of Alua caused him to be summoned to yeeld, which he would not do, so as the castle was besieged, battered, and taken by assault: he being retired into a hall, defended himselfe long with a two handed sword, but the number of his enemies increasing, in the end he was ouerthrowne, & valiantly slaine, euery man wondering at his great resolution and valour. His head was caried to Boisleduke, and in contempt set vpon a gibet to vexe & greeue
B his kinsfolks and friends: seuenteen of his men were taken, and afterwards hanged, except two which were broken vpon the wheele.

The duke hauing *in anno* 1568 ouercome and driuen the prince of Orange, and the earle *Lodwicke* his brother, out of the Netherlands, and hauing need to pay his souldiers, and to keepe a great garrison, besides the yearely pentions in Germany, hee thought it conuenient, to reape the fruits of his victories, and to imploy all his wits, power, and authoritie to get and gather money, and that by a continuall taxe, perceiuing that by reason of the great number of fugitiue and banished persons, together with the hatred conceiued against him within the land, that he was to expect diuers troubles and vproares, and for that cause hee determined to send for the generall states of the Netherlands to Brussels, and to moone them to consent to
C giue the king the hundreth penie of all their mouable and immouable goods, and besides that the tenth peny of all their mouable goods that should be bought and sold, with the twentieth peny of their immouable goods: without nominating any time how long those taxes and exactions should continue. The 10, 20, & 100 peny demanded by the duke of Alua.

Whereunto the generall states and the officers of the treasorie, vnder them made answere, and shewed what troubles rose in *anno* 1556, vpon the raising of the hundreth penie, for that the common people would not consent that it should be known what money euery man had in his chest, and how much they were worth. Touching the tenth and twentieth penie (in Spaine called *Alcoual*) they shewed him what difficultie would thereby arise, not only for the newnesse therof, but for the burthen that would thereby fall vpon the people, as also the trou-
D ble that would ensue about the collection thereof, in regard of the great deceit that would bee vsed by the buyers and sellers, to the great costs and charges of the collectors and officers therunto appointed: and that the same would bee a great hurt and hinderance vnto the Netherlands (getting their liuings most part by trade of merchandise) for that thereby all kind of handiworkes would be very deere, and by that meanes must of force bee sold deerer in other forreine countries: and that therefore the inhabitants would leaue the Netherlands, and seeke worke in other countries, and so all handicrafts and occupations would cease and bee left off: shewing by examples how euerie thing would thereby be made deerer, as namely that many things, before they could be brought to full perfection, should thereby pay the tenth peny in the verie material substance thereof, at the least 5, 6, or seuen times, as clothes, saies, mockadoes,
E tapistries, and such like wares: as first in buying of the wooll, then the yarne, then the weauing, the dying, and lastly selling and buying, and so forth, as there should bee occasion to vse diuers kinds of stuffe, and the same to be oftentimes sold, and brought to the market: and that the forreine merchants bringing their wares into the Netherlands, would sell them the deerer, who for that cause would much complaine, and some confederated princes and potentates would alledge the said inhauncing of the prices of wares, to bee contrarie to the contracts and intercourses made with them, pretending to bee free to deale and traffique in the Netherlands, as they were accustomed to be, paying their antient customes and charges. The states answere.

Whereunto the duke alledged, That it was a small matter for the seller to pay the king the tenth penie, as long as he kept nine for himselfe: and that if that summe did amount to a great
F yearely value, the townes and the prouinces might therby receiue all their debts and dammages, and be vnburdened of all interests paid for money, transportations, poundages, heard monies, and such like burthens: as also that it would be a means to vnburthen the kings rents and reuenues, for that without due and conuenient contributions the king should not haue the meanes to pay his souldiers, nor yet to defend the countrey. Hee said, that hee had heard the emperour The dukes replie.

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emperour *Charles* often complaine of the vnwillingnesse of the Netherlands to contribute a- A
nything towards his charges: and that the prince diminished his authoritie, when as he, to ob-
taine their consents to certaine taxes for money to be leuied, was oftentimes constrained to
consent vnto diuers vnfit liberties and priuiledges. Alledging further, That hee had new ca-
stles and forts to make, and that the kings demeans were spent and consumed: That it was ne-
cessarie and requisit that a continuall contribution or taxe should bee raised, that thereby the
states might not alwaies be troubled, and that so the country people in the villages might bee
eased, the spiritualtie and gentlemen not much burthened, onely the merchant and the handi-
crafts man: promising to ease them of diuers other heauie burthens, as the imposts vpon foure
kinds of victuals, as corne, flesh, wine, and beere, and that hee thought the said taxe of the tenth
penie, to be the least burthen vnto them, and that in his town of Alua, in Spaine, where he had B
the like taxe, he receiued 40 or 50 thousand duckets yerely rent.

The states duplication to the duke of Alua ues reply.

Whereunto the states, by the president *Vigilius Swichemus*, made answer, That therein each
countries condition, prosperitie, and nature was to be considered, saying, that the wealth of
Spaine consisted not in trade of merchandise, and handicrafts, but in the fruitfulnesse and pa-
sturage of the land: that the Netherlands were lesse, and narrower, and were maintained by
traffique, trade of merchandise, and handicrafts: that Spaine had no neighbours but the hills
and the sea, whereas the Netherlands had neighbours round about them, that would draw
the traffique and handiworkes into their countries, if they were charged with any great im-
posts, or heauie impositions: and for that cause *Philip* duke of Burgondie (the first originall of
the prosperitie of the Netherlands) did wisely foresee, that all merchants should bee priuiled- C
ged, and haue many liberties in the country, and that the customes and charges should not be
raised verie high, and that victuals, as much as possible might be, should be good cheape, which
was easily to be seene and perceiued by the contracts of intercourses, and trades of merchan-
dises, made by him, with the Englishmen, and other his neighbours, and the priuiledges by
him giuen vnto forreine merchants, whereby they were intised and prouoked to trade and
traffique in those countries: whereas to the contrarie new taxes and impositions would driue
away the merchant stranger, and compell the inhabitants of the Netherlands to seeke to inha-
bit in other countries. As touching the building of new castles and forts, they said, That might
be done with lesse cost and charges, when there was more store of money: and that there was
not so great need to build new, as to repaire and fortifie the old, in the frontier townes. As tou- D
ching the yearely or continuall taxe, whereof he spake, they said, it was a common custome in
the Netherlands, that they were woont to graunt taxes vnto their princes, when any need re-
quired, and as the subiects were of abilitie: and that it was not necessarie to milke them so bare
in the time of peace, that when occasions of warre fell out, they should not bee able to beare it
out. Touching the easing of the country people in the villages, they made answere, That it
was not requisit to ease them so much, that the burthen should bee laid onely vpon the mer-
chants and the townes, saying, that they must not rob Saint *Peter* to pay Saint *Paul*. And that
whereas he collected so much yerely by the *alcoual*, or tenth penie, in his town of Alua (which
neuertheless seemed strange vnto them) they could doe no lesse than wish him good fortune
and prosperitie therewith. E

Whereunto the duke said, That his intent was to haue the said taxes to be raised, before he
came into the country, being at Theonuille, where hee made the barons of Barlamont and
Noircarmes acquainted therewith; and that therefore they must of force grant vnto him ther-
in, and seeke by all meanes to get the states to consent thereunto.

Whereupon the states assembling at Brussels, and other places, and the same being moued
vnto euerie particular prouince, they made no great matter to grant to giue the hundreth pe-
ny, but desired that they might not be burthened with the tenth peny, alledging the danger
and trouble that might thereby ensue. But the duke not content with that answer, but giuing
them leaue to depart, willed them to bring him a more better and resolute answer, and that
without any conditions, limitations and moderations. But the prouinces hauing by their de- F
puties declared the dukes request, still found more difficultie. Whereupon the duke wrot vn-
to the gouernors of the prouinces, to will them to seeke the meanes to procure the grant of his
demand, promising to vse such moderation therein, that it should take all difficulties away, as
long as it was in his power: and that if any hurt or hinderance (touching trade of merchan-
dise)

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A diſe) did in any wiſe happen, hee would withdraw the ſaid taxe againe: ſome prouinces hee threatned, That if they would not conſent thereunto, hee would then vſe kingly authoritie, with all extremitie, for that his Maieſties meaning was to haue the ſame granted without exception: therewith letting them know, that they had not done their duties in their offices as they ought to haue done, concerning the laſt troubles, and that their ſaid fault was to bee redeemed and quit, by the giuing of the tenth penie. To others of the ſtates, as thoſe of Henault, Arthois, and Namure, whom hee could not charge with any ſuch thing, hee cauſed the lords of Barlamont and Noircarmes to ſpeake friendly vnto them, That they ſhould make no difficultie therein, and to ſhew them, that hee did not ſo much deſire to haue the ſaid taxe of the tenth penie to bee leuied, as to ſee the obedient minds and forwardneſſe of
B the Netherlands, and to maintaine the kings Maieſties honor: and to that end hee had ſent certaine perſons vnto Louvaine, who by earneſt requeſt and interceſſion of many men (ſhewing the great fidelitie and conſtantneſſe of the towne, and the vniuerſities decay) were recalled.

By theſe and ſuch like practiſes, there was halfe a conſent wrung out of ſome of the ſtates (ſuch as they were) for that the duke ſaid, That hee would moderat all the particular difficulties, commaunding that euerie man ſhould ſend their opinion and conſent in writing, which they did, ſhewing many reaſons, that the rayſing of the tenth penie would be the ouerthrow of all traffique, and finally the deſtruction and ouerthrow of the Netherlands: declaring neuertheleſſe, that they conſented thereunto, in regard that it was alledged, That the king him-
C ſelfe would expreſly haue it ſo; and vpon promiſe made vnto them (confidently alledging it) that the duke would ſo moderat the matter, that the common cauſe concerning trade, traffique, and handie working, ſhould not thereby receiue any wrong.

Conditions how the ſtates did conſent vnto the 10 peny.

Generally the prouinces would by no meanes conſent thereunto, offering in ſteed thereof to contribute other great ſummes of money vnto the king. They of Brabant likewiſe were not all of one mind: but the duke vpon his promiſe tooke it for a conſent. They of Henault, Arthois, and Namure, had giuen their conſent, but with condition not to be burthened therewith, but conſented onely to induce the others thereunto, as they did after openly declare. Thereupon the duke commaunded the hundreth penie to be gathered, while an order ſhould be taken how the tenth penie might be collected: and perceiuing the difficulty therin, thought
D it conuenient to ſtay it for a while, til the diſordred kind and forme of conſent were ſomewhat forgotten, and the magiſtrats in all places altered and changed: and for that cauſe ſaid, That in ſteed of the tenth and twentieth penie, he would be content with the ſumme of two millions yearely to be paid for the ſpace of ſix yeares, according to the old taxe: and for that he had well hoped by collection of the tenth penie to haue had the meanes to haue laid vp a great ſumme of money, againſt time of need, hee deſired that one hundreth penie might bee giuen therewithall, which amounted vnto foure millions of guldens: but when hee could get no full conſent thereunto, hee would not accept of the two millions yearely taxe to bee paid, but for the ſpace of two yeares onely to make the people the willinger to pay the tenth penie, for that it was troubleſome vnto them to pay it after the old taxes: whereby it was well perceiued,
E that at the end of two yeares he meant to raiſe the tenth penie, whereby hee knew hee ſhould receiue great thankes and commendations of the king, and great honor in Spaine, hauing rayſed the kings demeanes and incomes in the Netherlands to ſuch a rate: to which end all thoſe two yeares he ſought all the meanes he could to bring the manner of collection after the old taxe into diſliking: for that thereby the people knew what they paid vnto the king, and therfore deuiſed what meanes he could to increaſe the difficultie and diſlike of the ſaid taxe, both by words and actions: and while for certaine yeares he was inuenting and deuiſing to bring in and raiſe the taxe of the tenth penie, from *anno* 1569 hee had begun to practiſe with them of Vtrecht, to get them to conſent to the giuing of the tenth and twentieth penie: but they excuſed themſelues, deſiring him to haue conſideration of them, and to remember that it was not
F yet aboue 40 yeares from *anno* 1528, ſince they had granted by contract to yeeld ſubiection vnto the emperor, as alſo that their country was verie ſmall, & that a man might paſſe through the broadeſt part thereof in an houres ſpace, and that the one halfe thereof was but a barren iſland, and that as much thereof as was fruitful, was maintained and preſerued by ditches, mils

and Sluces, and ſuch like coſtly induſtrious workes: and that they in the forepaſſed troubles were forced to raiſe a hundred thouſand gulderns for the preſeruation and defence of their countrey, and ſuch like excuſes, neuertheleſſe they were content to graunt him a taxe of 112 thouſand gulderns, to be diſcharged and vnburthened of the paiment of the tenth penie. A

The prelats and the fiue churches in Vtrecht, ſhewed likewiſe, That their ſpirituall goods belong to the churches, were priuiledged, and that they could not fall (without expreſſe conſent of the pope) *Sub commercium laicorum*, for that in the bull, *quæ legitur in cæna Domini*, all thoſe are excommunicated that did conſent to giue any thing out of the ſpirituall goods towards the lay mens taxes, and they likewiſe that receiued any ſuch taxe or collection, without expreſſe conſent, as aforeſaid: alledging many ſuch like priuiledges more, and that therefore they could by no meanes conſent to his Maieſties requeſt of the tenth and twentieth penie, *Salua conſcientia & iuramento.* B

This anſwer much moued and offended the duke, ſpecially becauſe the ſpiritualtie alledged *Bullam de cæna Domini*, which he vnderſtood to extend onely againſt the oppreſſors of the catholikes, and the church of Rome, and not againſt the defenders and protectors thereof, whereof he accounted himſelfe to be one: withall chafing againſt the Printer that had laſt printed the ſaid bull, as alſo againſt the priuie counſell, for granting licence to do it, and namely againſt ſecretarie la *Torre*, for ſigning it, for which cauſe he kept him priſoner in his houſe, and diſcharged him of his office, for the ſpace of a yeare after.

And further to compell them of Vtrecht, to grant to his deſire, vpon the one and twentieth of Auguſt 1569, he ſent the whole regiment of Lombardie, being tenne companies to lye in garriſon in the towne, and cauſed them to bee lodged as well in the ſpirituall as temporall mens houſes, thereby much burthening and incombering the townes men, compelling them to giue thē ſeruice mony (as they call it) for two thouſand & foure hundred men (which they ſaid their regiment contained) euerie man a gulderne a weeke, which amounted vnto foure and twentie hundred gulderns the weeke, and notwithſtanding all this, compelled them to prouide them all their neceſſaries: and perceiuing that he could not thereby compell them of Vtrecht with that great charge, to conſent vnto the ſaid taxe, vpon the fifteenth of December hee cauſed the kings atturney generall to ſummon the whole bodie of the towne to appeare before him and his bloudie counſell, vpon the nine and twentieth of December then next after enſuing: where they appearing, hee charged them with high treaſon, and for that cauſe ſaid they had forfeited all their priuiledges, charters and freedoms, and that they had deſerued to be puniſhed in ſuch ſort as he in his diſcretion ſhould thinke good. C D

Whereupon enſued many anſwers, replies, duplications, and writings, betweene them of Vtrecht and the kings atturney generall, with great partakings on the dukes behalfe, whereby their writings could hardly be read or heard: and for that cauſe vpon the foureteenth of July in *anno* 1570, hee cauſed ſentence to bee giuen out againſt the ſtates of the countrey of Vtrecht, as namely againſt the fiue Metropolitane Colledges of the towne, repreſenting the firſt member of that ſtate, and againſt the gentlemen as well within as without Vtrecht, repreſenting the ſecond member: and for the third member the townes of Vtrecht, Amersfort, Wicke, and Rheuen: charging them to haue contracted and agreed with the confederated gentlemen and their adherents, winked at the abuſes of the image breakers, and ſuffered the heretikes to preach in their hallowed churches, and forbidden the monks; and that therefore both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie had committed high treaſon: for which cauſe the ſaid fiue churches were depriued from the aforeſaid prioritie: and that from thenceforward they ſhould haue no place nor voyce, nor once bee called to appeare amongſt the generall ſtates: that the gentlemen likewiſe ſhould no more bee the ſecond member of their ſtate: and touching the bodie of the towne of Vtrecht, hee declared them to haue forfeited all their priuiledges, &c. as alſo the rents and reuchewes of the ſaid towne, and the guilds thereof, declaring them to be confiſcated to the kings vſe, depriuing them likewiſe of their voyce in the aſſembly of the ſtates, together with the aforeſaid townes of Amersfort, Wicke, and Rheuen, whom he likewiſe depriued of their part of voice, with the ſame towne of Vtrecht, vntill ſuch time that his Maieſtie ſhould take other order therein, &c. E F

The ſtates of Vtrecht vpon the nine and twentieth of July, appealed againſt this cruel ſentence

A tence of the duke vnto the kings Maiestie, complaining of great wrong offered vnto them, sending their deputies (not without great danger of their liues) into Spaine, whereat the duke was much mooued, notwithstanding hee charged the magistrats to continue still in the administration of iustice, and all other officers in their offices, by prouiso, vntill hee should otherwise ordaine.

The matter standing at this point, they of Vtrecht made friends vnto the duke, offering to giue one hundred and eighteene thousand guilders for a taxe, and other presents to himselfe: but all in vain, and therefore their suit in Spain, not only to be discharged of their Spanish garrison, but also of their said sentence, was driuen off from day to day: In the yeare 1571, vpon feare of some inuasion to bee made in the land by the prince of Oranges ships of warre, they

B were for a time discharged of their Spanish souldiers, hauing endured the burthen thereof for the space of twentie monethes together: but not long after they were sent thither againe, when the watergeuers were gone from the sea coast, and so left the sea coast without garrison, as namely the towne of Bryele, which had beene better to haue beene kept by those Spaniards.

The said garison being receiued againe into Vtrecht, began to vse all extremities and rigours as they did before, not sparing *Iohn Tuetsen* of Amerongen, the bourgmaster, entring into his house with their rapiers drawne, and compelled the towne to lend them eight hundred dollers (the grant of the lending thereof being by the duke himselfe refused them to be lent by the bourgers) notwithstanding all humble complaints. The duke not content with this, bee

C caused the president of the court of Vtrecht, to demaund and to deliuer vnto him all the originall charters, priuiledges and statutes, &c. of the said towne and territories, which they of the towne refused to doe, writing verie humbly vpon the eighteenth of Ianuarie 1572. vnto the duke, withall alledging their appeale vnto the king, with diuers other lawfull excuses, but it being all in vaine, and the Spanish colonell being charged with his garison to assist the president, to execute the dukes commaundement by force, and threatning to commit all the magistrats to prison, they were constrained with all conuenient and lawfull protestations to deliuer vp all their charters, priuiledges and statutes, &c. into the hands of the president of the court aforesaid, which carried them into the castle of Wedenbourg, where they were kept, vntill by commaundement from the king himselfe, they were deliuered vnto the towne a-

D gaine, in the time of *Don Loys de Requisens*, the next Gouernour that succeed the duke of Alua in the countries of the Netherlands, & yet though their priuiledges were so deliuered againe, the Spanish garrison still remained therein, the sea townes lying still without souldiers, vntill such time as that six weekes after, vpon the first of April the towne of Bryele was taken by the prince of Oranges ships of warre, whereby those souldiers were to be sent thither, as hereafter you shall heare.

These affaires passing in this sort, and the two yeares drawing to an end, vpon the last of July the duke of Alua caused the taxes of the tenth and twentieth penie to bee openly published, with a certaine moderation, sufficient, as hee thought, to cease all the complaints aforesaids declaring thereby, that the merchant bringing in any wares and merchandises from other countries, should bee free thereof at his first buying, and that hee might

E carrie the same freely out againe, not hauing altered the propertie, and passing it alone without any other wares or merchandise amongst it: and that all wares that were to bee worne, should pay but once: that the corne which was vpon the ground, and fruits within the land, as also the beasts feeding vpon the ground, that they should bee free from the first sale, for the increasing of buildings in the land, and that onely to make a proofe and triall thereof.

This publication with the moderation would by no meanes content the Netherlands, but esteemed and held it for a point of most extreame tyrannie, whereby meanes was sought to bereaue the countrey of all their wealth, and so the people being impouerished, to driue them

F out of the land, in regard that the benefit and commoditie of the land consisted in trade of merchandise, that is, to deale in all kind of wares, to worke, buy, and make them, and againe to carrie them out and bring them into the countrey, whereby the common people, both by water and by land, both poore and rich, liue and earne their bread: whereof to giue the tenth

The duke commandeth the 10 peny to be taxed all the land through.

penie, it would amount vnto an vnspeakable summe of money, to the vtter ouerthrow of the A
Netherlands, the inhabitants thereof beeing people that bestow their money vpon houshold stuffe, apparell, linen, and iewels, and aboue all other nations loue to beautifie and adorne their houses with diuers kinds of pictures and other ornaments: which vnprofitable things are esteemed to surpasse the value of the necessarie houshold stuffe of other nations. The generall vnwillingnesse of the land being shewed vnto the duke, and that they thought that the taxe of two millions of gulderns by the yeare, should serue in steed of the tenth penie: hee said, That he was much blamed in Spaine, that he had not gotten the consent of the tenth penie, without so long solicitation of the states, and that that kind of taxe pleased the king best, and that therefore hee would haue it, either willingly or vnwillingly: whereunto no dissuasion whatsoeuer vsed vnto him by his counsell, principally by *Vigilius*, *Schets*, and others (to their great B
commendation) would serue, alledging that the states had not giuen absolute consent thereunto, and that thereby he would lose his second hundreth penie, which amounted vnto foure millions of gulderns. The duke in great rage made answer, That they spake not well or truely therein, to say that the states had not consented thereunto, oftentimes swearing, That hee would haue the said taxe of the tenth penie paid, although all the Netherlands should thereby bee lost, fall out what would, or else it should cost him his life: saying that such counsellors, as heartened the land in such things, ought to bee accounted rebels, with many such like cruell and threatning words: saying, That it concerned his Maiesties honour and reputation, and that it was an ill example to suffer the subiects so to mocke with their prince, and to goe from their promises, and that hee would by his bloudie counsell, punish such breach of C
promise, as rebellion, and lay their heads at their feet, with all such as vpheld and maintained the same: and that generally (specially to the states of Flanders) great fauour had been shewed vnto all the states, hauing all deserued no lesse rigour at the kings hands, than the earles of Egmont and the prince of Orange had, and that in recompence and redemption thereof, the king was content to accept the said taxe of the tenth penie: but hee might haue gotten a great deale more for the king by confiscations, if hee would haue vsed that meanes, as hee might well haue done, than by the tenth penie, caring not for the pretended priuiledges of the particular prouinces and townes, specially the Ioyous entrie of Brabant, which hee, said they (as well as those of Vtrecht) had forfeited and lost. Whereupon some made him answer, That the declaration and sentence of depriuation or forfeiture, must first bee published, and that D
the attempting thereof would bee dangerous. He made answer, That hee would rather suffer himselfe to bee cut and hewed in peeces, than to endure that the countrey should not hold their promise, and that the Sunne and Moone should first loose their light, before hee would faile of the tenth penie.

The states perceiuing the dukes resolution and intent, at the last thought it requisit, in the beginning of the yeare 1572, each prouince to send one into Spaine in their behalfes vnto the king, which he neuerthelesse commanded to come backe again, threatning them with death; but yet they got through into Spaine: but before any resolution was taken therein, there happened an alteration in the Netherlands, by the taking of the Bryele, Flessingue, and other places, as hereafter shall bee shewed: without the which alteration, the messengers in Spaine E
had surely beene in great danger of their liues.

The duke notwithstanding in the meane time sought to raise the tenth penie in some particular townes, appointing his officers to receiue the same, and first in Brussels, where he thought best to begin: but they of Brussels shut vp all their shops, and would sell nothing, that they might not bee compelled to pay the tenth penie. The Bakers nor Brewers would neither bake nor brew, whereby there grew a great confusion and desperation amongst th people, which to preuent the duke intended to deale by force, resoluing in March 1572 to hang seuenteene of the chiefe townes men in Brussels, that were against him (whose names hee had alreadie written in a scroll) in the night time before their doores, or else hee would make them graunt to sell their wares, and to pay him thereafter: the which to effect, hee F
had giuen charge vnto the executioners to bee readie with ladders and cords to execute them the next night, after the newes came into Brussels, that the earle *Vander Marke* had taken the towne of Bryele, which losse of the said towne of Bryle, made him see, that hee had

The duke seeketh by force to constraine them of Brussels to pay the 10 penie.

A had done better to haue put garrisons into the hauen townes, and to haue dealt in milder sort with the people, rather than to haue sought to haue his owne will so much, and to taxe the land at his pleasure; whereas the Netherlands offered such great summes, as that the state of the land could hardly raise. Thus by meanes of the taking of the Bryese, the rayssing of the tenth and twentieth penie was stayed, although it hath since beene sought and required. They of Amsterdam, because they would not absolutely consent to his demaund of the tenth penie, were fined to pay the summe of fiue and twentie thousand guilderns, towards the buylding of the castle at Flessingue: but they excused themselues, by their great losse endured by the great flouds, and the mending and making of their ditches, and aboue all, that they dayly indured so great losse by the water Gueux, that tooke their fleets comming from the East and West
B Indies.

The case that the 10 peny was not taxed.

As I said before, a great number of banished and fugitiue persons of the Netherlands, hauing prepared ships, kept at sea, and were conducted by certaine gentlemen and others, who most by pouertie were driuen to seeke some recompence of their losses and hinderance by force and extremities. After that, other ioyned with them, hauing a further intent to do something tending to the deliuerance and good of their natiue countrey. This number daily increasing, and doing great hurt vnto their enemies round about Holland, as in the Vlie, Texel, and the Ems, harbouring most commonly vnder England, in the downes and at Douer and thereabouts, amongst the which the prince of Orange, as admirall by force of his letters of Mart, had his officers that receiued the tenth penie of their prizes. The duke of Alua made
C meanes to the queene of England, to intreat her not to suffer them to harbor there: alledging that she ought not, according to the contracts made betweene England and the Netherlands, to suffer the kings rebels to haue so open passage to and from her hauens. The queene, although shee had cause ynough to dislike of the duke, in March 1572, made proclamation, That they should all depart out of her hauens, forbidding her subiects to sell them any victuals, neuertheless with this condition, That her English rebels should bee driuen out of the king of Spaines dominions: Whereby they were constrained to depart, and to enterprise something in the countries of the Netherlands, whereunto they knew themselues not to bee strong ynough.

This necessitie compelled them to vse order and discipline amongst them, and to that end
D they all put themselues vnder the commaund of *William* earle *Vander Marke*, free heire to Lumey, lord of Serrain, Borset, and Minderleyt, and heire of *Franchimont*, &c. eldest sonne of *Iohn* lord of Lumey, and of *Marguerite* youngest daughter of *Iohn* lord of Wassenare. This earle *Vander Marke* made himselfe admirall, and his lieutenant *Bartel Entes van Meutheda*, viceadmirall, hauing with him captaine *William de Bloys*, called *Threlon*, the lord of Sweten, *Lancelot van Brederode*, *Iacob Cabilleau*, one of Egmont, *Iaques Schooneual*, *Antonis Wenthoue*, *Antonis van Rhine*, *William de Graue van Egmont*, *Iaques Metens*, *Nicholas Ruythauer*, captaine *Eloy*, *Iock* and *Iohn Abels*, *Marinus Brandt*, *Roybol*, *Iaques Hennebert*, *Iohn Clauson*, *Spiegel*, *Iohn Simonson*, *Merten Merous*, *Walter Franson*, captaine *Ielande*, and diuers others: All these together hauing about fortie ships, most flie-boats, in the moneth of March put
E out of England, and tooke a great ship of Antuerpe laden with Spanish wares, and another ship of Biskaie. Their meaning was to saile to North-Holland, although their enterprise there was as then not fully readie, but determined in the meane time to spoyle certaine ships of war belonging to the duke, that lay at Amsterdam and Enchuysen, but the wind beeing against them, they put into the Bryel, the island being called Voorn, and the town Bryel, there to take certaine ships lying in the Meuse, readie to sayle to Spaine: but they perceiuing them to enter the Meuse, hoysed sayle, and went vp to Rotterdam, whereby the earle *Vander Marke* failed of his enterprise, and for that the wind fell contrarie, whereby they could not get out of the Meuse, they stayed there not without feare, and there began first to consult, to take some place or other for their owne securitie, whereupon *Threlon* counselled them to take the
F Bryele.

The ships entring into the Meuse, put them of the Bryele & Meuseland sluce in great feare, not knowing what ships they were, & for that cause sent out one *Iohn Peterson* Coppenstock, who perceiuing them to be Gueux, asked for captaine *Threlon*, for that his father had alwayes

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beene bailife of the Bryele, and being brought vnto him, the earle perceiued him to bee a fit A
man to carrie their meſſage into the town: and to that end gaue him captaine *Threlons* ſignet, with commiſſion in the name of the earle *Vander Marke*, to ſummon them to yeeld vp the towne, for the prince of Orange, as the kings lieutenant, who was comming into the Netherlands with a great power, to free the ſame from the tyrannie of the duke of Alua, and from the tenth penie. The ſignet was ſent into the towne, for the bourgmaſters ſecuritie, which deſired the ſame vntill the earle *Vander Marke* came forth. This Coppenſtocke was let into the towne, which as then was ſhut, and being queſtioned withall, did his meſſage ſo well, that the townes-men were much abaſhed, hauing a weake towne, and without garriſon, whereby the the richeſt, and the beſt of them, yea and the greateſt part fled out of the towne, before they gaue him any anſwer. Vntill that time there had two companies of Spaniards lyen in garri- B.
ſon within the towne, which not long before were ſent to Vtrecht, amongſt others to plague and puniſh them of Vtrecht, for that they had obtained grace in Spaine, to haue their ſpiritualtie reſtored againe to their place and voyce amongſt the ſtates, and to force them to pay
The towne of Bryele taken. the tenth and twentieth penie. They of the towne of Bryele beeing (wanting counſell and aduice) fled out of the ſame without any reſolution, and therewith the Gueux in all haſt went on land, diuiding themſelues into two parts, *Threlon* going with one companie to the South gate, and *Roybol* to the North gate: where with fagots, pitch, and ſtraw, they thought to fire the gate; but taking a maſt and running forcibly againſt it, broke it open, and ſo vpon Palme Sunday in the euening, being the firſt day of Aprill, *anno* 1572, they entred into the towne, without bloud ſhedding, the earle *Vander Marke* with many Walons entring C
therein: the next day they ranſacked the churches, brake downe the images, and draue out the prieſts and the monkes: and for that they perceiued the towne not to be verie ſtrong, to hold it againſt the enemie, they thought to haue left it, if it had not beene by the perſuaſion of *Threlon*, and *Iaques Cabilleaw*, and others, that counſelled the earle to ſtay there, for the good ſcituation of the hauen: and for that cauſe promiſed each other to keepe and defend the ſame to the vttermoſt, and ſo wrot vnto the prince of Orange for more ayd: and taking ſome of the ordnance out of their ſhips, fortified the towne therewith.

Theſe news being brought vnto Bruſſels, made the towns men glad, for that they were then vpon the point to bee forced to pay the tenth penie, and from thence forth to continue the ſame, or els part of their townes men ſhould haue beene hanged vp before their doores. D
The duke of Alua ſeemed to make ſmall account of the taking of the ſaid towne, neuertheleſſe hee ſent to Vtrecht to the earle of Boſſu, to will him with all his force to driue the Gueux from thence, which was no ſmall ioy to them of Vtrecht, for that the Spaniards had conſpired ſome miſchiefe againſt them of Vtrecht, which they meant to haue executed vpon Maundy Thurſday, vpon which day the Spaniards vſe to whip themſelues, and vnder colour thereof thought to haue wrought their villanie vpon the inhabitants of the ſaid towne of Vtrecht.

The earle of Boſſu driuen from the Bryel *Maximilian* earle of Boſſu bieng gouernor of Holland, hauing before receiued intelligence that the earle *Vander Marke* was at ſea, went to the Hage, and from thence had ſent for two companies of Spaniards, vnder the leading of *Don Ferdinando de Toledo*; and vpon the newes E
and commiſſion ſent vnto him by the duke of Alua, hee marched with ten companies of Spaniards to Meuſeland Sluce, and Schiedam, from whence with ſhips and boats they went ouer to Heeuliet, and Swartwale, and being got into the iſland wherein the Bryele ſtood, marched towards the towne, where the Gueux lay without the towne, and ſhot fiercely againſt them: at the laſt one *Rochus Meuſsen*, the towne carpenter, leapt into the water, and with great ſpeed opened the new Sluce, whereby preſently there entred ſo much water into the land, that no man could goe in the iſland, but onely vpon the ditch, vpon the which the Spaniards went along vnto the South gate, where they found ſo much ſhot placed againſt them, that they began to be both out of hope and courage.

Meane time, it being Eaſter eue, *Threlon* and *Roybol* went with certaine ſouldiers to aſſaile F
the ſhips and boats wherein the Spaniards came ouer, whereof ſome they ſunke, others they burnt, and let ſome driue away: which the Spaniards perceiuing, as alſo that the water ſtil began to riſe higher within the iſland, they were in feare to be all drowned, for which cauſe euerie

A rieman fled disorderly away, seeking to saue themselues, some swimming, others running through the water, and some hanging vpon the scutes, and so got ouer Beuerland in the durt and myre, whereby many of them were drowned and smothered in the water. The earle *vander Marke* durst not send many of his men out, being too weake. In this sort the Spaniards came before Dorcht, all wet, durtie, and wearie, where they of the towne (in friendly maner) refused to let them in: for which cause, the earle of Bossu went with them to Rotterdam, hauing left sixteene of his men behind him in the Island, and two captaines, which the Gueux hanged vp at a myle. The Graue *vander Marke* sought meanes to strengthen himselfe in the Island, causing the countrey people therein to be mustered, swearing and protesting to stand one by the other, and prepared shippes and boates to make warre vpon the
B water.

The prince of Orange disliked much of the taking of the Briel, fearing, that his other enterprises (as then not readie to be effected) would be discouered, and that thereby the duke of Alua might bee too soone awaked: but in regard of the good situation of the place, hee sought all the meanes that hee could possibly to ayde and helpe the earle from all places.

The ninth of Aprill the duke fearing the like accident in the Isle of Walchren in Zeeland, that had happened at the Bryel, especially at Flessingue, and for the better execution of the citadell, which he had designed vpon the sea side, whereof the foundations were layed, and to hinder the nauigation of strangers, hee resolued to send a garrison: but doubting they
C would not willingly receiue any, especially Spaniards, fearing some mutinie, the six and twentieth of March he sent *Scipio Campi*, an Italian, to enter into the towne vnder colour of friendship, and to seize and assure himselfe thereon, hauing an intention to cause the magistrates and the deputies (for the collection of the tenth penny) to be executed, for that they had also refused to put it in practise. *Scipio* beeing entred the towne the eight and twentieth day, caused the commons to assemble, to whom he declared, that he had greatly recommended the towne to the duke of Alua, so as he had graunted them in his Maiesties name a good summe of money to be employed in the fortification of the towne, and that for his part he was desirous and ready to employ himselfe therein, and to assist them: for the which the bourgesses gaue him great thankes. Some dayes after he did impart his intention and charge to some
D of the towne, his adherents: and as he had put this good impression into the peoples minds, the third and fourth of Aprill following he made fiue breaches in the wall at one time, vnder colour that he would fortifie it, as he had giuen it out. He stopped a sluce, and made a proclamation in the towne, That if any one would vndertake the workes which he had designed, they should come vnto the towne-house at the day and houre appointed: and presently he caused a bridge to be made ouer the ditch, right against one of these breaches, hee caused the keyes of the towne gates to be counterfeited, and the artillerie to be secretly cloyed. The fifth of the said moneth, being Easter eue, hee set double guards in euery place, aduertising the inhabitants not to stirre, if they heard any noyse in the night. And as seuenteene ships departed from Berghen vpon Soome, laden with Spaniards, thought to enter that night
E into Flessingue, without any let, the calmenesse of the weather, and a Northwest winde hindered them, so as they were constrayned to deferre the enterprise vnto the next day, which was Easter.

The duke of Alua seekes to assure himselfe of Flessingue.

In the meane time, the quarter masters of these Spanish companies being landed at Arnemuyden, came to Flessingue, where they called the magistrates together, and importuned them with threats, to make lodgings for the Spaniards. The magistrates and these harbengers beeing busie in the towne-house about it, the people began to troupe together in the streets, much troubled, for that they heard they would lodge the Spaniards: they entred into the towne-house, and began to crie out confusedly, That they would haue no Spaniards, and that they would rather die than receiue them, encouraging one another to armes. The bour-
F gomasters seeing it, sought to stay them, and to appease this mutinie: but one of them saying vnaduisedly vnto the multitude, *If wee would receiue the Spaniards, can you hinder vs?* At which words, the people (incensed more than before) ran vnto the towne wals, to seize vpon the artillerie, and finding it cloyed, they discouered, that they were sold and betrayed: Those

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that were the authors, seeing the bourgesses thus moued, slipped quietly out of the town, and were neuer seene afterwards, during this trouble. A

The bourgesses hauing freed their artillerie, seeing the Spaniards aduance to enter into the hauen, they demaunded powder; the which being refused them, they forced the Magasin of munition, where it was, from whence they drew as much powder and bullets as they pleased, wherewith they charged the artillerie, crying out, That they would not suffer the Spaniards to enter, so long as there was a man of them aliue, making some shot through this fleet of shippes. Whereat the Spaniards being much perplexed, strucke sayle, so as they durst not approch any neerer, being within an arrow shoot of the head of the hauen, and not able to retyre, by reason of the tyde and the wind, that was contrarie; one among them leaping into the sea, came swimming to land: beeing come into the towne, hee entreated the inhabitants, with his hands ioyned together, not to shoot any more, and that they would not fayle to retyre at the full sea: the which, through the pitie of some, considering, that at that time they knew no place, whether to retyre, was graunted them, vpon condition, That if at the first full sea they did not depart from thence, they would sinke them with their Canon. B

In the meane time, the baylife of the towne seeing the people thus moued, ranne speedily to Middlebourg, to informe the Seignior of Wacken, Vice-admirall for the king of Spaine, of all that had passed: and in the meane time, many of the magistrates which had fauoured the Spaniards, retyred secretly out of the towne. After dinner, the Seignior of Wacken being come, and hauing demaunded of the people, *If all that which they did were well done*; C one among them answered him resolutely, *That he himselfe was the cause thereof*: which amazed him so, as he retyred to the towne-house, to some of the aldermen that were yet remayning: then afterwards he went and spake againe vnto the people, but somewhat more modestly, entreating them, that at the least they would suffer a hundred Spanish souldiors to enter; which they refused: Then he demaunded them, if they had rather haue Wallons: whereunto answere was made him, *That neyther the one nor the other*. Being full sea at three of the clocke in the afternoone, the Spaniards were commaunded to retyre, and two peeces of Ordnance were discharged, which made them presently to depart. The burgesses being much incensed against the Seignior of Wacken, would haue slayed him, accusing him to bee the cause of all the mischiefe, and that returning to the duke of Alua, he would bee their mortall D enemie, yet he found meanes to escape, and to retyre to Middlebourg.

The duke of Alua hearing how matters went at Flessingue, and that it was lost for him, setting a good face on it, said, *Pisti lunge no es nada*: for which cause, the Protestants of Zeeland carried afterwards in their colours, *No es nada*; others carried nine pieces of money, shewing, that they made warre to preserue the tenth.

The Spaniards being refused at Ter-Goes, surprise Berghen.

These shippes, laden with Spaniards, being retyred from Flessingue, arriued in the Island of Zuydbeuelandt, thinking to enter into the town of Ter-Goes, but they would not receiue them; so as the thirteenth of Aprill they arriued before Berghen vpon Soom, where the entrie was in like sort denied them: but the sixteenth following they surprised it by night, and entreated the inhabitants, by reason of this refusall, as you may imagine, and as they accustomed to doe vnto such as obey not their wils. The ninth of the said moneth, three Spanish captaines seeing the colours flying vpon the rampars of Flessingue, thinking to find their Spanish troupes there, which were retyred, notwithstanding the aduice of the master of the shippe, entred into the towne, where they were presently taken and put in prison. The eleuenth of the said moneth some countreymen brought two Spanish souldiers into the towne, which were deliuered vnto them, to doe their pleasures with them: these pesants led them out of the towne, to the place where they had begun to build the citadell, and there they massacred them, and buried them in the place. The furie of the bourgesses, mariners, and pesants, was then so great in Zeeland against the Spaniards, as few escaped that fell into their hands. E F

Those of Flessingue went vnto the village of Coukerke, to require them to ioyne with them; but at the first they refused them, giuing too much credite to *Streyen*, to the baylife, and to the bishop of Middlebourg; yet the thirteenth of the moneth, being returned againe with

A with a good number of peſants, they agreed, and ſo did Weſtcappel, Soeteland, Dombourg, Eaſtcappel, and others: thoſe of la Vere and Arnemuyden did alſo ioyne: and the twentieth day of Aprill the Fleſſinguers and their allies Proteſtants of Zeeland, went to beſiege the towne of Middlebourg, they beat downe the port of Dam towards Arnemuyden with their Canon; and the ſame day with captain *Threlons* men woon the caſtle of Ter-Hooghen. And as there came ſouldiers vnto them dayly from England, and other places; ſo the ſeuen and twentieth of the moneth there arriued ſeuen ſhippes laden with ſouldiers on the prince of Orranges behalfe, from the Breyle, and the ſame day the Spaniards came neere vnto the Polder, which is before Arnemuyden (the which is a piece of drowned land recouered from the ſea) where they landed, and the next day woon the towne of Arnemuyden, which was yet compaſſed in with wals and rampiers. *Arnemuyden taken by the Spaniards.*

B The Proteſtants of Fleſſingue and la Vere to be reuenged of this loſſe, cauſed two Spaniards to be hanged, and the next day captaine *Pachieco*, who (they ſayd) was couſin to the duke of Alua. This *Pachieco* had done much miſchiefe to the towne of Deuenter: he offered a great ſumme of money to haue his life ſaued, being very louth to dye, eſpecially to be hanged, the which he would gladly haue had exchanged with the ſword for a good round ſumme: but the inhabitants and mariners were ſo incenſed, as they had rather ſee him hanged, than to haue his money in their purſes. The ſame day captaine *Worſt* of Fleſſingue, with ſeuen ſhippes, defeated thirtie of the Spaniſh partie, among the which there were ſeuen ſhippes of warre, whereof ſome were taken, and ſome burned; as for the men, ſome were ſlaine, the reſt drowned, and few eſcaped. All this warre was ma-

C haged by the Proteſtants of Zeeland, vnder the authoritie of the prince of Orange, from whom they receiued ſuccours from all parts, as well from France and England, as other parts: whereof part entred the fourth of May into la Vere; which the Spaniards ſayled to ſurpriſe ſixe dayes after: but beeing diſcouered, they were diſappointed, and *Rowland* and *William Taſſe* (who meant to betray and deliuer the towne) were taken and executed, by reaſon whereof ſupplies were ſent vnto them, as alſo vnto Fleſſingue. The ſixteenth of the ſaid moneth, the chaloupes or pinnaces of la Vere chaſed and cauſed ſeuen Spaniſh ſhippes to returne to Ter-Goes, whereof one being caſt vpon a banke of ſand (the men being fled to land) was burned. The nineteenth of the ſayd moneth ſixe Boyers (which is a kind of

D ſhippes) of Middlebourg ſhewed themſelues vpon the Hont, thinking to goe foorth: but captaine *Philip Grenu*, alone with his pinnace, made them returne into their hauen. The ſame day the magiſtrate was renewed, vnder the authoritie of the prince of Orange, as Gouernour of Holland and Zeeland, in the towne of Fleſſingue. The one and twentieth of the moneth threeſcore harquebuſiers going out of Fleſſingue, hauing burned the Sas (which is a Scluſe, by the which the channell comming from Gand, ranneth into the ſea) returned by Byer-Vlyet. The two and twentieth of the ſaid moneth ſeuen ſhippes of warre of Fleſſingue ſayled towards the Lemre, which is betwixt the Iſlands of Zuydbeuelandt and Schouwen, to ſuccour captaine *Worſt* againſt ſome Spaniards and ſhippes of Middlebourg: departing from Fleſſingue, they paſſed by a ſtreight of the ſea, called Iocker Frans-ghat: Thoſe of the caſtle of Rameken (otherwiſe called Zeebourg) where there were ſome Spaniards, made

E five or ſixe ſhot at them, but to no purpoſe: Beeing the ſame night ioyned with captaine *Worſt*, they had a furious fight with the ſhippes of Middlebourg: in which fight, *Baſtien* of Langhe, admirall of la Vere, being in fight with foure of the enemies ſhippes, fell aground with his ſhippe, whereas the Spaniards boorded him; but one of his men ſeeing that they were all loſt, ſet fire on the powder, and blew both Spaniards and Zeelanders into the aire; which made this victorie fatall and mournefull vnto the Spaniards.

The foure and twentith of May Cont *Lodowic* of Naſſau, brother to the prince of Orange, hauing made a new partie with the Proteſtants of Fraunce, to enter into the Netherlands, and to ſurpriſe the towne of Mons in Henault; the enterpriſe was made in this ſort. The two and twentieth of May, at night, there came into the towne twelue aduenturers, attyred *Mons in Henault ſurpriſed by Cont Lodowic.*

F like marchants; being at ſupper, they informed themſelues of their hoſt, at what a clocke in the morning the towne gates did vſually open: the hoſt anſwered them, that at foure of the clocke; but if they would depart ſooner, giuing a piece of ſilver to the porter, hee would open them the gate. Theſe companions roſe before day, went to horſeback, and comming

to

to the gate, they promiſed the porter a piece of money to open the gate; the which he did: being open, they ſlew the porter, and pulled the keyes from him. Conte *Ledouic*, who was attending at the port, entred with fortie horſes onely, with the which he planted himſelfe at the corners of the chiefe ſtreets in the towne, and if any one did open a dore or a window, they ſhot at them with their piſtols, crying out as loud as they could, *Libertis, Libertie is giuen you by the prince of Orange, to free you from the tenth penny, and from all the duke of Alues exactions*. Theſe cries continued ſome three quarters of an houre, making as great a noyſe in the towne, as if they had beene a thouſand men. The earle hauing long expected his troupes, ſeeing that none aduaunced, he went out of the towne, to ſee where they ſtayed ſo long, and where his horſemen were, the which had ſtrayed in the wood, whome the earle guided vnto the towne, to the number of fiue hundred horſe, hauing euery one a harquebuſier behind him: the which being entred, ſeized preſently vpon the State-houſe, putting themſelues in battaile vpon the market place, and making themſelues maſters of the inhabitants, who eyther through amazement, or through fauour which ſome bare vnto the earle, were quiet, without taking armes: ſo as with ſmall toyle, and without any effuſion of bloud, but of the poore porter, this mightie and ſtrong towne was woon, by the dexteritie and courage of Conte *Ladowic*.

At the ſame time Valenciennes was alſo ſurpriſed, but ſoone after it was recouered againe by the duke of Alua. For hauing ſent *Dom Iohn* de Mendoza with ſome horſemen to man the caſtle (in the which there were Spaniards) being vnfurniſhed of victuals and powder, he that had made this ſurpriſe in Conte *Ladowics* name, fearing to be beſieged, and to be forced for want of munition to yeeld vp the place, with little honour, he made choice rather to abandon it, and to retire himſelf, without attending the enemie, who did not hope to enter ſo good cheape, nor without a ſiege.

The duke of Alua knowing well of what importance the towne of Fleſſingue was, as being the entrance into the ſea and the riuer of Eſcaut, where their victuals came from all parts to feed the Iſle of Walchren, and that it was eaſie to fortifie it, he ſent *Sancho d' Auila* with men, artillerie and munition to beſiege it, and by the ſame meanes to prouide for the townes of Middlebourg and Ter-Goes. The Proteſtants did no leſſe for their parts, doing their vttermoſt endeuors to fortifie the places which they held, but aboue all, Fleſſingue, where, after they had chaſed away captaine *Threlan* and his men, by reaſon of their inſolencies, they receiued ſome 600 ſouldiers, Engliſh, Wallons and Flemings, come from London, and about 140 French, which came from Diepe to their ſuccours.

Sancho d' Auila ſent to beſiege Fleſſingue.

The prince of Orange on the other ſide hauing an intent to ſecond Conte *Ladowic* his brother, being in Monsior Henaude, leuied what men he could both in Germany, England, Scotland and France. The duke of Alua to fruſtrate his deſignes, ſent for duke *Erick* of Brunſwick, and other commanders and colonels of horſe and foot, Germanes, to ioine with his army, and to attend the prince, if he aduanced to enter into the countrey.

Theſe troupes of ſtrangers being entred into Fleſſingue, the inhabitants began to take courage, and to make great deſignes: they iſſued forth of their towne to goe and burne the ports of Middlebourg: they ſhot off their Ordnance at randon through the towne, and prepared to force it. They within reſiſted them valiantly, ſo as the Fleſſinguers being aduertiſed of *Dom Sancho* d' Auila's army, comming to ſuccour Middlebourg (who being forced through tempeſt to land, ſeized vpon the caſtle of Rameken) they retyred home. Yet after they had conſulted in what manner they might moſt annoy the enemie, where they ſhould haue meanes to defray the charges of the warre, and to entertaine their ſouldiers, and to ſupply all other neceſſities: they reſolued to goe to field, to attempt ſome places, and to arme a good number of ſhippes, to keepe Middlebourg not onely from victuals and munition of warre, but alſo to cut off the paſſage for the ſuccours which the king of Spaine might ſend them by ſea: ſo as in a ſhort time they had rigged out a hundred and fiftie ſayle, and put to field ſome three thouſand men. Yet could they not doe it ſo ſpeedily, but the duke of Alua had furniſhed Middlebourg by *Sancho* d' Auila. After this reſolution, the fourth of Iune, tenne ſhippes of Zeeland, ſayling towards Antuerpe, being come to Boom-Creeke, tooke there thirtie boates of diuers places, ſome going to Antuerpe, others returning.

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A The garriſon of Middlebourg meaning to be reuenged for their loſſes vpon them of Fleſſingue, layed an ambuſh for them at the caſtle of Weſt-Soubourg, diſtant but halfe a league from Fleſſingue, where there were two hundred Wallons in garriſon; the Spaniards being lodged couertly in the houſes of the village, neere vnto the caſtle, attending day light, that ſome might iſſue forth to ſurpriſe it. Thoſe of the caſtle knowing them to be ſo neere, ſallied forth vpon them; but they were ſharpely repulſed, and forced to retyre to their fort: The Spaniards had brought ſome Ordnance with them, wherewith they made ſome ſhot againſt the caſtle. The Fleſſinguers ſent them a ſupply of three hundred men: but they were ſo receiued, as without the helpe of an Engliſh captaine, and a hundred and fiftie ſouldiors, captaine *Barnard* had beene in danger to haue miſcarried; and although it was well fought on
B eyther ſide, yet the Fleſſinguers finding themſelues too weake to vanquiſh ſuch great Spaniſh forces hauing Canon, they retyred to their towne with the loſſe of twentie men. The Wallons of the caſtle hauing ſeene theſe skirmiſhes, and that their men could not ſuccour them, going forth at a backe gate, abandoned the place to the enemies, and retyred to Fleſſingue, where they excuſed themſelues, for the want of powder. Afterwards, the Zeelanders meaning to goe to field (as they had reſolued) and to ſuccour Cont *Lodowic*, thinking themſelues ſtrong ynough to fight with all the Spaniards, entred into Flaunders, and marched directly to Oudenbourg, Eckloo, and Ardenbourg, three great boroughes, where they found ſome of the chiefe bourgeſſes of Bruges, who were ſent to declare vnto captaine *Saras* (gouernour of Fleſſingue, and chiefe of thoſe troupes) the good affection which they of Bruges
C bare vnto the prince of Orange, and the deſire they had to be of their allies. After that hee had heard them, they were ſent backe to confirme the reſt of the bourgeſſes in this deuotion, and that cauſing the gate to be opened in the night, and entring, hee (with his troupes) would follow them; but they preuailed nothing: for the duke of Alua had too many friends there, among the marchant ſtrangers of Spaine and Genoa, which make their ordinarie abode there. They alſo made a tryall vpon the towne of Gand, but it was in vaine: ſo as *Saras* ſeeing it impoſſible to get to Cont *Lodowic*, without putting himſelfe in danger to haue all paſſages ſtopped, and to be compaſſed in on all ſides, without any meanes to retyre, changed his reſolution, and retyred to Fleſſingue the ſame way hee came, thinking to doe better vpon the towne of Ter-Goes; where he framed to himſelfe aſſured deſignes, by the
D intelligences which he preſumed to haue: but it was all in vaine, beeing no more fortunate there than elſewhere; which made him to be ſuſpected of cowardiſe or treaſon: ſo as at his returne to Fleſſingue, they refuſed him the entrie into the towne. Yet a while after the Zeelanders hoping to find ſome of their partie in Ter-Goes, ſent the ſame captaine *Saras* againe. Comming vnto the Iſland of Zuytbeuelandt, he found at his landing place a fort manned with two hundred ſouldiers; the which hee tooke by force with his Engliſhmen: ſuch as could ſaue themſelues, fled vnto the towne, and gaue warning, that the Zeelanders had entred the Iſland: *Saras* purſuing them, aduanced with his troupes towards the towne, the which he ſummoned to yeeld, and to haue their liues and goods ſaued: but his hardie demaund had a bardie deniall: for thoſe of the towne entertained them ſo courteouſly with
E Canon and Muſket ſhot, as ſome being hurt, they retyred a little backe: yet afterwards hee cauſed them to aduance againe euen vnto the ditch, to ſee if there were not any of their partie that would ſhew themſelues, whereby hee might get ſome aduantage: But ſeeing that no man made any ſhew, he retyred a league off, and there encamped, thinking that the towne was not to be woon, without greater force, and ſome artillerie, whereof he was then vnprouided. This retreat of *Saras* (as deſpairing to winne it) gaue courage vnto the Spaniards, who made a ſally foorth to charge them in the rereward, as he made his retreat; but they marched in ſuch good order, as they could not annoy them. *Saras* hearing of the comming of the Spaniards from Antuerpe and Berghen vpon Soom, rayſed his campe, and returned into the Iſle of Walchren. But the Fleſſinguers accuſing him of cowardiſe and of treaſon in all his enterpriſes of Bruges, Gand, and Ter-Goes (where they preſumed to haue many friends) would not receiue him nor any one of his men into the towne, but ſent them to the village of Soeteland; where they intrenched themſelues ſleightly, to defend them from all ſurpriſes of the enemie.

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The Spaniards of Middlebourg, Ter-Goes, and other places thereabouts, came in the A
morning by the breake of day, and charged them with ſuch furie in this fort, halfe finiſhed,
as at the firſt they ouerthrew fiftie, and forced into the middeſt of the place: The Engliſh
and Wallons fighting notwithſtanding like lyons, made them recoyle, and chaſed them out
of their trenches. The Spaniards (madde with diſdaine, to ſee themſelues thus repulſed) re-
ſuming new courage, and animating one another, returned to the charge, the which was
much more ſuddaine and furious than the firſt. On the other ſide, the Proteſtants ſeeing,
that to flye would bee both dangerous and diſhonourable, preferring an honourable death,
fought like deſperate men: The Spaniards did ſtriue the more, vpon hope of victory; and the
others deſired rather to die in the bed of honour, than to flie or yeeld: ſo as the incounter was
furious on eyther ſide, vntill that the Wallons diſcharging a field peece among the thickeſt B
of the Spaniards, made ſome to flye in pieces, and the reſt to recoyle, who thought it no rea-
ſon to runne headlong againſt the canon; and that it was againſt all warlike diſcipline to fight
againſt a deſperate enemie. The Wallons and French, eſpecially thoſe of Diepe ſeeing this,
grew more couragious than before, and purſued them in their retreat, being followed by the
Engliſh and Zeelanders, who altogether charged their enemies with ſuch furie, as they made
them all flye on a heape, whereof they ſlew a part, and had many priſoners. There was a ſqua-
dron of thoſe that fled, got into a barne, where they were all roaſted. In this charge there dy-
ed ſome hundred and fiftie Spaniards. Of the French Proteſtants, beſides the ſouldiors,
captaine la Riuiere was ſlaine there; for whoſe loſſe they were ſo incenſed, as they cauſed all
the priſoners to be hanged: the which made foule warres, and cauſed the Spaniards to hang C
all the Proteſtants they could take. After this victorie, *Saras* returned to Fleſſingue, where
the entry was againe denied him; yet after that he had wandered vp and downe fifteene daies,
at the requeſt of the French captaines he was receiued.

The Proteſtants of Zeeland beſiege Ter-Goes.

Soone after, there were new preparations made to go againe into the Iſland of Suytbeue-
landt, and to beſiege Ter-Goes, ſituated in the middeſt of a fertile countrey, which yeelded
many good commodities of victuals to the towne of Antuerpe. It had a ſtrong wall, and
deepe ditches, but no counterſcarpe nor parapet vpon the rampier. They ſent nine double
Canons thither, which were drawne out of Fleſſingue. The Proteſtants armie lodged at the
firſt in the ſuburbes of the towne, whereas there were but two companies, one of Spaniards,
and another of Flemings in garriſon. The Canon was planted in two batteries; the one at D
the port, the other within the land: that at the port had ſoone made a breach of fiftie foote
wide, where the French and the Engliſh vndertooke to giue an aſſault about midnight with a
camiſado and ſcalado: The firſt aſſaylants were ſharpely repulſed; beſides, the ladders which
Saras had giuen them, were too ſhort: ſo as this aſſault was very preiudicial vnto them, being
forced to leaue it with ſhame and loſſe.

About that time, the fiue and twentieth of Auguſt, all the ſouldiors within Fleſſingue (ex-
cept the companies of captaine *Barnard*, *Eloy*, *Morcant*, and ſome few others) imbarked with
them of the garriſon of la Vere, with a great number of boats, hauing a deſigne vpon the
towne of Antuerpe, where they had intelligence with ſome bourgeſſes: the which was done
vnder the commaund and authoritie of the prince of Orange: but as they were vpon the E
way about Doel, they were aduiſed, by letters from Antuerpe, to ſtay ſome three or foure
dayes, by reaſon of ſome difficulties, and to attend vntill they had other aduertiſement: wher-
upon they returned the next day to Byezelingen, in the land of Ter-Goes, ſo as this de-
ſigne prooued fruitleſſe: for the which ſome of the ſaid bourgeſſes were accuſed, conuicted,
and executed.

The eight and twentieth of Auguſt captaine *Claes Claeſz* with his ſhip, and *Broubier* with
his flie-boat, went out of Fleſſingue, and going along the Weſterne coaſt, they met with foure
pinnaces come out of Scluſe to ſeeke their aduentures vpon the Zeelanders and their allies: two
of which were chaſed backe into their hole, called the Swyn: the third was abandoned by the
Spaniards, who leaped into the ſea, whereof ſome were ſaued, and the reſt drowned: but before F
they abandoned it, they left a match light, which ſet fire on the pouder, as they were carying it
to Fleſſingue, ſo as foure men were burnt: the fourth was taken fighting, and all the priſoners
brought to Fleſſingue, whereas inſtantly there were tenne hanged.

The

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A The duke of Alua fearing leaſt the towne of Ter-Goes would be loſt (by reaſon of the ſmall garriſon that was within it) by a long ſiege of the Zeelanders, he ſent *Sancho* d'Auila, gouernour of the citadell of Antuerpe, to ſuccour it with three thouſand men, cauſing part of them to be imbarked in good ſhippes of warre, which might force through them of Zeeland, who were at ſea to ſtop the paſſage to Ter-Goes: and to prepare them worke of another ſide, he himſelfe went by land with the reſt, and two field-peeces; whereof the one was myred, by reaſon of the great raine that fell: Thoſe that were imbarked, were defeated by the Zeelanders ſhippes, and not one could paſſe that way. Yet *d'Auila* fainted not; but hauing enquired of the beſt experienced mariners, if there might be no way to paſſe ouer at a low water; being told him, that there was good meanes, yet he would not truſt them, before
B he had ſent ſome of his people with them to ſound the paſſage; who hauing made their report, that it was eaſie to doe, but with great diligence and trauell, for that there was about two leagues of paſſage, and ſome chanels in the way that were good and deepe at a low water. *D'Auila* being glad to haue found this way, would make a triall with all his troupe, accompanied by colonel *Mondragon* his aſſiſtant; who marching firſt on foot, led them both Spaniards, Wallons, and Germanes, two thouſand paces, or thereabouts, into the drowned land, not knowing whither they went: the which they paſſed in fiue houres, and arriued ſafely (though with great toyle) in the Iſland of Zuytbeuelandt, where they made them to reſt, before they would haue them fight with their enemie, being aboue foure leagues from them. And although that theſe ſouldiers were ſo wet and tyred, as they could not march
C farre, and that the Proteſtants (beſieging Ter-Goes) were fiue thouſand men, and might eaſily haue defeated them, by reaſon of the great aduantages they had ouer them, had they beene all freſh and luſtie: yet there fell ſo great an amazement amongſt them in their campe, as to their great ſhame and confuſion they rayſed the ſiege, and fled, retyring vnto their ſhippes, as if the enemies had beene at their heeles, when as they did ſcarce ſee them. *Bartel Entens*, lieutenant to the earle of Marche, was one of the ring-leaders in this flight: who arriued the two and twentieth of October with his men, and the French, before la Vere, and the Engliſh before Fleſſingue. They had left ſome Engliſh and French in the ſuburbes for the rereward, that they might the more eaſily imbarke the artillerie. But the feare and apprehenſion was ſo great among them, as they abandoned all, and fled in ſuch diſorder to
D their ſhippes, as many ſeeking to enter in the preaſe, were drowned, and the artillerie abandoned and loſt. Captaine *Sarat*, vnfortunate in all his exploits, was againe taxed with treaſon; ſo as to iuſtifie himſelfe, he went to the prince of Orange (who had made him gouernour of Fleſſingue) to whome hee made a declaration of his innocencie, deſiring him to giue him leaue to call any man by proclamation vnto the combate, that ſhould ſay, that he were other than a faithfull and a loyall gentleman, hauing in all things diſcharged himſelfe of his dutie and allegeance. Whereupon ſome of his friends aduiſed him to haue patience, and that time would iuſtifie him ſufficiently, if that his actions were ſyncere and iuſt.

Bartel Entens being returned with his men into the Iſle of Walchren, made an enterpriſe
E vpon Arnemuyden, thinking to ſurpriſe it, but he fayled; for that one of his ſouldiers hauing ſhot off his peece indiſcreetly, and without cauſe, cauſed an alarum; for the which he was hanged: then burning ſome countrey houſes about the towne, they ran towards Weſthouen, a caſtle belonging vnto the biſhop of Middlebourg, the which they tooke, and burned the next day.

The duke of Medina Cœli ſent to gouern the Netherlands.

The king of Spaine hearing, that the too ſharpe and rigorous gouernment of the duke of Alua had beene the cauſe of all the troubles in the Netherlands, whereof hee had dayly many complaints, and that through his negligence the Zeelanders and others had taken armes, meant to call him home, and to ſend the duke of Medina Cœli in his place: a nobleman of a milder diſpoſition, to gouerne the ſaid countries of the Netherlands after the
F duke of Alua. And to that end, there was a good fleet of ſhippes of warre appointed, with two thouſand Spaniards, with whom there ioyned fiue and twentie other marchants ſhippes, Spaniards, Portugeſes, and Italians, laden with wooll, ſpice, and other good marchandiſe.

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With all this fleet the duke of Medina ſayled happily, vntill hee came vnto the coaſt of A
Flaunders. But the eleuenth of Iune newes being come to Fleſſingue, That there were forty
ſhippes gone towards Oſtend; euery man poſted to arme and put forth his ſhippe, to ſet
vpon them. Captaine *Worſt*, with other captaines, went foorth to find them, with twelue
ſhippes and hoyes; but before they could come, ſixe and twentie carauels of this fleet had
caſt themſelues into the Swyn of Scluſe, whereas the duke of Medina ſaued himſelfe with
twelue more in a ſhippe-boat. The Zeelanders burned three which were runne a ground;
and two others being taken, were carried to Fleſſingue, laden with marchandiſe. The Spa-
niards that were found in theſe fiue, were caſt ouer-boord, and about threeſcore caried pri-
ſoners to Fleſſingue: from whence the twelfth day of the ſame moneth went foorth eight
other ſhippes, well manned with ſouldiers, mariners and bourgeſſes, gaping after nothing B
but bootie, encouraged with the good ſucceſſe of the day before, and to ſecond thoſe
twelue ſhippes that went forth with captaine *Worſt*, to fight with thoſe twelue great ſhippes,
laden with Spaniſh ſouldiers, the which for their greatneſſe could not enter into Scluſe: but
theſe great carackes ſeeing them come, kept ſo cloſe together, as the Zeelanders could not
annoy them, ſo as they returned without any effect, being hindered by a Weſterly winde,
which was contrarie vnto them. Yet the ſame day they rigged forth certaine great ſhippes,
to viſit them the next day, if happily the wind would ſerue; but the tempeſt encreaſing,
they could not doe any thing, and ſo for ſpight they hung vp eleuen Spaniards, which they
had taken priſoners. The next day they diſcouered many ſayles at ſea, comming from the
Weſt, yet could they not ſuddenly diſcerne what they were, and therefore at Fleſſingue C
they held their artillerie readie, and their rampars well manned. The twelue great Spaniſh
carackes were forced by a Southweſt wind to ioyne with all theſe ſayles that were diſcoue-
red. The firſt ſhippe of this fleet was of Antuerpe, at whom they of Fleſſingue ſhot, which
made them to ſtrike ſayle, as likewiſe all the fleet did. But the twelue carackes, laden with
Spaniards, which followed them (although they ſhot much at them) paſſed on; ſtill
coaſting Flaunders, vntill that all twelue came vnder the lee of the caſtle of Rameken;
but all the reſt of the fleet of Lisbonne (which were one and twentie ſayles) were all ta-
ken, except three, which weyghed anchor in time, and aduentured by the Hont towards
Antuerpe.

The Zeelanders had a wonderfull rich bootie in all theſe ſhippes, beſides that which D
they had before of the duke of Medinas: for beſides the ſpices, wooll, wines, and other
marchandiſe, they had in one of them, in gold and ſiluer coyned, and to coyne, two hun-
dred thouſand duckets: ſo as if all this bootie had bin well gouerned, and applied to the good
of the common cauſe, it had beene ſufficient to make warre a whole yeare againſt the king of
Spaine. But leauing Zeeland a little, wee will ſhew what paſſed in the meane time in Holland
and other prouinces of the Netherlands.

I thinke it conuenient to ſhew how the towne of Enchuyſen obtained her freedome;
which I will in briefe declare, that the Reader may thereby conceiue how other townes like-
wiſe proceeded in their actions: for that the taking of the Briel, Fleſſingue, and Enchuyſen
were the onely foundation and firſt originall of the recouering of the freedome of the Ne- E
therlands, and ſhaking off the Spaniſh yoke.

Enchuyſen reuolteth.

Enchuyſen is a good towne, belonging vnto North Holland, or Weſt-Friſeland, and ly-
ing vpon the South ſea: a towne well peopled, and well ſtored with ſhippes; but in times
paſt but little eſteemed, inhabited by rich ſea-faring men, and fiſhers; which being
ſtrongly ſituated (together with the great ſtore of ſea-faring men, and ſhippes belonging
vnto the ſame) was the foundation, backe, and ground of the aſſuring of the neighbour
townes about it; as Briel in South Holland, and Fleſſingue in Zeeland were vnto thoſe
about them.

The towne of Briel being taken by the earle *Lander Merke* in Aprill 1572, whereupon F
enſued the reuolt of Fleſſingue, with other townes: the duke of Alua hauing before com-
maunded them of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland to ſend an armie of ſhippes of warre to
keepe the ſea, did at that time will them in all haſt to ſend them forth againſt thoſe of the
Briel, thereby to recouer the paſſage of the Meuſe out of their hands; and while they of

Amſter-

A Amſterdam, Enchuyſen, and other places were buſied about the ſame, diuers ſouldiers were likewiſe ſent thither, not onely for the ſhippes, but alſo vnder pretence thereof ſecretly to put a garriſon into Enchuyſen, as being a towne, by reaſon of the ſituation, of great importance for the keeping of the Southerne ſea.

This pretence was partly perceiued by the vnaduiſed words of one captaine *Schuylenburgh*, by him ſpoken in anger vnto a bourger of Enchuyſen, that asked him ſome money that he ought him, threatening him and the reſt of the towneſ-men with further inconueniences, than they as yet had felt: which being made knowne amongſt the bourgers, they promiſed and ſwore each vnto other, not to ſuffer any ſouldiers to enter into the towne. After that, it happened, as the ſhippes of warre were almoſt readie, one captaine *Quickel*
B came vnto the gate of Enchuyſen, with certaine ſouldiers, deſiring to enter in; which hee was ſuffered to doe onely with one of his gentlemen, ſo they would leaue their armes in the court of guard; which ſouldiers eſteeming for an indignitie and deſpight, they could not refraine to tell them of it: which made the bourgers to conceiue a greater ſuſpition; the ſame encreaſing more by meanes of certaine fugitiue bourgers, that were newly returned home againe, vtter enemies to the Spaniards. The foure bourgomaſters which were then in office, being *Cornelis Peterſon*, *Iohn Reynarſon*, *Volckar Harrickſon*, and *William Iohnſon*, ſought and agreed all together, vnder pretence of a muſter, to bring the ſayd captaine *Quickel* his ſouldiers into the towne: but the towneſ men aſſembling together, to withſtand the ſame, an old bourger, called *Reymer Stemingh*, told the old bourgomaſter
C *Walter Symonſon*, That it was beſt for them to muſter the ſouldiers without the towne, and let them take ſhipping without, ſo to put the bourgers out of all ſuſpition. Whereunto the old bourgomaſter made anſwere and ſayd, Hold thy tongue thou beaſt, ſeekeſt thou to make an vprore amongſt the towneſ-men? Thou wert well ſerued, if thou wert hanged, that others might take example by thee; with other ſuch like chollericke ſpeeches. And when the reſt of the towneſ-men (that commended their fellow bourgers ſpeech) thought to make anſwere thereunto, he ſnapped them ſhortly vp, and commaunded them all to bee ſilent, ſaying, That the gouernment of the towne was committed vnto their charge: ſo that no man durſt ſpeake one word more, onely a bourger of good account called *Cornelis Peterſon Reitlutz*, one well eſteemed of amongſt all the towneſ-men, and that
D after ſerued in many offices of the towne, anſwered him, ſaying, If the towne bee committed vnto your charge, then rule it as you ought to doe; but if you ſeeke to charge vs with a garriſon, the bourgers will not like of it, they hauing beene without trade or traffique theſe fiue yeares, and therefore now they had no need to be charged with ſouldiers. Whereupon the bourgomaſter ſpake in flouting manner, and asked him, how he would haue it, and whether that they muſt aske him, what were beſt to bee done. Whereunto *Cornelis Peterſon* ſpake boldly, ſaying, We deſire to haue no ſouldiers enter into the towne, though it coſt me this blacke head of mine: and of whome ſhould you aske the queſtion, but of vs, that are inhabitants of the towne? Or haue not we to doe therewith? you alone cannot maintaine vs. But when the bourgomaſter ſaw more of them to aſſemble toge-
E ther, hee ſayd vnto them; Bee of good cheere, there ſhall no ſouldiers come in here: wherewith the bourgers were content, and better pleaſed, thinking, hee had meant as hee ſayd.

The next day the lord of Boſhuyſen, admirall of Holland, came vnto the towne with his officers and his halberdiers, attending on him, who by his authoritie, together with the bourgomaſters, cauſed captaine *Quickel* with his colours and companie to come vnto the towne; but the bourgers running vnto the gates, made them retyre: by which meanes their purpoſe fayling, part of the ſaid ſouldiers got their paſports, fayning, not to be willing to ſerue in the ſhippes, ſaying, That they were taken vp and appointed onely to lye in garriſon in the towne. By this fained kind of diſcharging, they thought to get into the
F towne without armes, and by meanes of *Claus Rem*, hoſt of the Paradice, where captaine *Quickel* aforeſaid then lay, they thought to get their armes to bee brought ſecretly into the towne vnder ſome womens long huyckes; and hauing partly effected the ſame, and gotten part of them in, the captaine cauſed a drumme to be ſounded (to put the bourgers

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in feare, as if all his ſouldiers had beene entered) to will them all to aſſemble at his lodging: Whereupon ſome of them gathering together, the bourgers, eſpecially the fiſhermen, that as then were newly come from fiſhing, ranne in heapes together vnto the Inne, and forcibly draue captaine *Quickel*, with his ſouldiers, out of the towne, and yet no man hurt on both ſides. The ſayd captaine *Quickel* beeing out, the bourgers went vnto the houſe of *Fredericke Simonſon*, hard by the towne-houſe, where the admirall *Boſhuyſen* lay, to ſpeake with him; but the hoſt ſwearing that hee was not there, they would not leaue vntill they had found him, and for that he had deceiued them before, they put him into the towne-houſe, and there kept him, with certaine bourgers to watch him, and thereupon went and fetcht the Ordnance that lay at the hauen, and out of two ſhippes of warre, and brought them into the towne, giuing order, and cauſing the Paſſage Hoye of Amſterdam (that came thither laden with powder and ſhot) to bee ſafely kept, and ſufficiently guarded.

The next day, being the third of May, the bourgers beeing ſomewhat better encouraged, went in great heapes vnto the towne-houſe, where the bourgomaſters ſought to perſuade the chiefeſt of them to bee quiet, ſaying, That all that while there had nothing beene done, but that which might bee eaſily anſwered before the king, and imputed vnto ſome light young fellowes and ſtrangers in the towne, and ſuch like reaſons. But *Iohn Frederickeſon* and *Cornelis Peterſon* aforeſaid ſtanding by, *Cornelis* bad the bourgomaſters not to make the matter any fayrer than it was, ſaying, That the bringing in of the ſouldiers was nothing elſe but villanie, whereby they ſought to bring many bourgers (eſpecially thoſe that loued and fauoured the prince of Orange, their right Gouernour; and ſuch as were of the true Religion) vnto their ends, and that therefore it were better (ſeeing how things fell out) to ioyne with the reſt, and to bring the ſhippes of warre into the hauen, and to plant the Ordnance vpon their wals, and ſo to defend themſelues againſt their enemies. But the bourgomaſters would by no meanes heare thereof: and as one *Diericke Iohnſon*, a brewer, came thither, the ſayd *Cornelis* ſpake in this manner: There is a man, which you baniſhed out of the towne without any cauſe, and without law or right ſeized vpon all his goods, who, with diuers others, were compelled to abandon and forſake the countrey: Therefore (ſayd he) it were time for vs to loſe and vnburthen our ſelues from the Aluaniſh tyrannie, and the exaction of the tenth penny, and to receiue the prince of Orange, that ſeeketh nothing elſe, but the welfare and freedome of the Netherlands. Whereunto *Volckar Harrickſon*, and another bourgomaſter making anſwere, ſayd, That they would (for a great ſumme of money) that it were come vnto that paſſe, that the prince of Orange were in the gouernment, and they diſcharged of their offices. Whereunto *Cornelis* ſayd, That they were in no danger, nor had any cauſe to feare, that any innocent bloud ſhould bee ſpilt, for that God had taken care both for them and his Religion, and that therefore they were to expect and attend nothing but friendly vſage and good dealing, behauing themſelues in good ſort, and truly and faithfully aiding and aſſiſting one the other.

Certaine dayes after, *Paulus vander Leo*, Droſſart of Muyden, came thither, with a caruel laden full of ſouldiers, which he thought to conuey ſecretly into the towne, and lay with it vpon the ditch by the brewers houſe. Whereof the bourgers vnderſtanding, amongſt the reſt, one *Peter Buyskens* met the Droſſart comming to the gate, and roughly asked him, What he made there, and whither he would goe with his ſouldiers. The Droſſart abaſhed at his rough ſpeech, knew not what to ſay: whereupon they bad him to bee gone from thence, or elſe (they ſayd) they would make him ſhorter by the two legges. Meane time, the bourgomaſter *William Iohnſon* came thither, to fetch the Droſſart into the towne; whom *Diericke Iohnſon*, brewer, asked, Whither thoſe ſouldiers ſhould goe, ſaying, that they perceiued all their doings to be nothing but villanie, and that they muſt bee forced to cauſe the bourgers to riſe; whereby great trouble began to enſue: the bourgomaſter made anſwere, That he knew not thereof, perceiuing, that ſome of the bourgers alreadie began to goe vnto the ſhippe, and to fall vpon the ſouldiers, and that one *Cornelis Iohnſon*, brewer, placed a peece of Ordnance, and hauing a match readie lighted in his hand, was about

A about to ſhoot at the ſhippe; but *Harman Entiſon*, the towne carpenter, by good fortune ſtayed him; whereupon the Droſſart went backe againe with his ſouldiers. With that, the bourgomaſters and the other officers of the towne being abaſhed, vnderſtanding likewiſe, that *Peter Luytkiſon Buyskens* had commiſſion from the prince of Orange, bearing date in Dillenbourg the twentieth of April 1572, to aſſure the towne of Enchuyſen with the ſhips of warre, againſt the duke of Alua, the which vpon the ſucceſſe of the Brie and Fleſſingue had cauſed him and others to be ſo bold, as to come into the towne, and that the bourgers were therewith imboldened, they ſought to make a deceitfull and fained agreement; wherunto the bourgers all with one voice conſented; which was, That the ſhippes lying in the ſtreame ſhould be let paſſe, but that all the ſhippes and goods that were within the towne, ſhold be kept there, which
B were the ſhips of warre, with munition, powder, and ſhot: That the watch in the towne ſhould be increaſed: That they ſhould let no ſouldiers nor Gueux on either ſide enter into the town, but ſhould themſelues keepe the towne for the king: to which end they choſe foure captains amongſt themſelues, to commaund the bourgers, whoſe names were, *Siewaers Iohnſon*, *Crommendike*, old *Fredericke Simonſon*, *Peter Hendrickſon*, and *Fredericke Peterſon*, alias *Maekſchoon*; chuſing twelue bourgers to ſit in counſell with the magiſtrats, and ſo as they thought the matter was ended. This notwithſtanding, the bourgomaſters ſecretly ſought to aſſure the towne for the duke of Alua, and for that cauſe deuiſed, that certain bourgers that were affected to the Spaniards, and the earle of Boſſu their gouernour, ſhould make requeſt vnto them, to haue licence for the ſpace of three dayes to ſhippe, lade, and carry all their goods out of the town whi-
C ther they would: which being granted them, they ſubtilly got all the corne into their hands, and caried it away, together with their beſt moueables and houſehold ſtuffe; which being gone, and but ſmall ſtore left, they diſcouraged the bourgers, telling them, that there was no corne, nor other prouiſion in the towne, and had not ſtrengthened the watch (being but ſixtie men) as they ſaid they would. Vpon this, much ſuſpition roſe amongſt the bourgers, & to that end they aſſembled vpon the South hauen, in *Dierick Brewers* wood yard, where they determined to ſend *Cornelis Peterſon*, and yong *Fredericke Simonſon*, to the bourgomaſters in the towne-houſe, to certifie them, That the bourgers were diſcontented, and found fault, that the watch was not ſtrengthened as it ſhould be, with other complaints. The bourgomaſters made anſwere, That they were then in hand with the captaines, about prouiding cer-
D taine ſhot, and that they ſhould ſtay till the next morning, and they would fulfill their minds: but anſwere being made, That the danger was great, and that therefore they would haue the watch made ſtronger that night; the bourgomaſters thereupon, after many delayes, were content. But the bourgers, moued with the long detraction of their anſwere, ſuſpecting the admirall *Boſhuyſen* bad counſell, who as then was kept in the towne-houſe, went all together thither, and ſeemed to be much out of quiet. Whereupon *Cornelis Peterſon* thinking to doe for the beſt, and ſeeking to appeaſe them, they cryed out, and were angry with him, ſaying, That he diſſembled as well as the reſt: wherewith he preſently excuſed himſelfe, willing them to kill him, whenſoeuer they found him with that fault. After that, one *Peter Potbacker* cryed out, and ſayd, That they would haue the admirall *Ba-*
E *ſhuyſen* out of the towne-houſe, and put him into a ſtraighter priſon; which was done (diſorderly ynough) for that one of his ſeruants was hurt; the bourgomaſters praying the people to be quiet, that no bloud might be ſhed: and ſo they drew him, and one *Iohn Veſterman*, that ſpake in his behalfe, becauſe hee was an old man, to another place, and kept him priſoner in the Keet gate, where they willed him to write vnto the captaines of the ſhippes of warre that lay before the Veen, that they ſhould bring the ſhippes, and lay them in the roade before the towne, and put themſelues into the hands of the bourgers of Enchuyſen: but they not agreeing amongſt themſelues, whether it ſhould bee done in the name of the admirall, or in the bourgers name, they ſent particular letters, whereby there grew diuiſion among the fleet, which as then began to be ſtronger. And for that cauſe, the ſhips
F of Amſterdam ſayled home againe, and they of Enchuyſen came the next day, and lay in the roade before the towne. After that, the bourgomaſters got the admirall *Boſhuyſen* and *Veſterman* to be ſet at liberte, and with good ſtore of ſhot to be conueyed to Amſterdam.

Thereupon the bourgers and the bourgomaſters tooke order together, That the ſhippes of A
warre ſhould bee brought into the hauen, and the Ordnance placed vpon the walls, and to that end that the gates ſhould be kept ſhut, that the towneſ-men might bee kept together, till it were done. But *Fredericke Simonſon*, the elder, one of the captaines of the towne, hauing the commaund of the watch that night, did nothing all that night, but labour with the bourgers, to perſuade them to deſiſt from their pretence, telling them, That they were to expect no better iſſue, than they of Valenciennes and Berghen in Henault had: That they ſhould haue no free paſſage (through any tolle) neyther at Amſterdam, nor in any other place: and that the troubles that had happened in the towne, were to be imputed vnto the admirall *Boſhuyſen*, that ſought to haue brought captaine *Quickel*, with his companie, forcibly into the towne, hauing to that end cauſed their armes to bee ſecretly brought in, and B
that *Boſhuyſens* ſhippes had taken two of their bourgers Dogh-boates; for which cauſe they had driuen the ſouldiers out of the towne, excuſing euery thing in the beſt manner, and that the ſame ſhould not be layed vnto their charges, neither yet be accounted for treaſon: which to aſſure them, he offered to giue himſelfe, his wife and his children in pawne; in ſuch ſort, that he (many being perſuaded) was ſo bold vpon the fifteenth of May in the morning, contrarie to the determination aforeſaid, to open both the gates and the boome, and to let the fiſhermen goe out. Whereupon *Cornelis Peterſon* ſpake boldly vnto him, and asked him, why the boomes were open, contrarie to the order taken touching the ſame, and that the bringing in of the ſhippes, and the placing of the Ordnance on the wals was ſtayed. The captaine ſeeking peaceably to excuſe the matter, and to bring him to conſent and agree to C
his perſuaſions, ſayed, That it was his office appointed him by the towne: And with that, proceeding to more words, *Cornelis Peterſon* ſayd, That he had nothing to doe with their offices, and that all was in vaine, and that the ſhippes muſt bee brought into the hauen, and the Ordnance layed vpon the wals: and certaine bourgers being aſſembled at North Spuye, they both went thither, each to perſuade them as he thought beſt, *Cornelis Peterſon* earneſtly alleadging againſt the captaines arguments, That both his ſpeeches and promiſes were nothing elſe but meere deceits, to perſuade and bring them once againe vnder the duke of Aluaes tyrannie: from thence they two went to the Weſt end of the fiſhers dike by another aſſembly of bourgers, each ſhewing his reaſons, as aforeſaid. But when captaine *Fredericke Simonſon* perceiued ſome of the fauourers of the reformed Religion to be there, he mode- D
rated his ſpeech, ſaying, That all they knew well, and he proteſted before God, that he bare a good affection vnto the prince, and that they ſhould be ſecret enemies vnto the duke of Alua, and ſeeke by meſſengers to know and vnderſtand, when the prince would enter into the field; and being once aſſured thereof, that then they ſhould diſcouer themſelues, and not be ſo haſtie to bring the ſhippes of warre into the hauen, but let Valenciennes, Berghen, and others, be an example and warning vnto them, and remember how badly their proceedings fell out; ſhewing how well they might yet excuſe and diſcharge themſelues before the king and his counſell, profering to giue his bodie, life, wife, and children to pawne, That if they would but follow his counſell, they ſhould not be moleſted or troubled in E
any wiſe.

Captaine *Fredericke* hauing drawne a great number of the bourgers to hearken vnto him, hee tooke them all to witneſſe, That *Cornelis Peterſon* was a ſtubborne, miſtruſtfull, and ſuſpitious man. Whereupon *Cornelis Peterſon* ſayd, That he could not beleeue him, for that he ſought to breake the order and agreement that was made the day before, as alſo that he had ſworne, that *Boſhuyſen* was not lodged in his houſe, and yet hee was found therein; as alſo, that the proceedings of thoſe of Amſterdam was yet freſh in euery mans remembrance, how that the bourgomaſters in Anno 1567 dealt doubly with their bourgers, telling them, That if the baron de Bredenode went from thence with his ſouldiers, they would take no more in to them: but they (contrarie to their former promiſes) F
tooke the earle of Meghen his ſouldiers into the towne. Captaine *Fredericke* made anſwere vnto him, That the caſes were not alike; for that the bourgers in Edchuyſen had foure men in the ſecret counſell, whereby the bourgomaſters could not doe ſo much as write a letter, but the counſell knew what it was; and that it was not ſo in Amſterdam.

Where-

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A Whereunto *Cornelis Peterſon* ſaid, That there were foure men (ſuch as they were) whereof he was one, which were not to be truſted: and after ſuch like contradictions vſed one againſt the other, they departed without any reſolution. Both parts in this ſort ſeeking to increaſe the number of their adherents, and the captaines of the ſhips of war deſiring their reſolution, and willingly would haue entred into the towne, they were commaunded by the bourgmaſters and the captaines, to go to their ſhips, and to looke well to them, according to their othes, which they had made vnto the king; which they preſently did. After that, the bourgmaſters ſent for ſome of the beſt bourgers in the towne, deſiring them to conſent, that the ſhips of war might be ſent forth, and that ſo they ſhould not be in danger of the kings armie: and hauing by that meanes procured the beſt of the bourgers to conſent with them, declaring further by wri-
B ting, that they would keepe the towne for the king and the prince, that ſo they might haue the full conſent of the whole towne; *Cornelis Peterſon* ſpake out, and ſaid, That it was all villanie and deceit, and that they meant not to keepe the towne for the prince of Orange, but for the prince of Spaine, and that therefore ſuch deceiuers were not to be truſted, but that to the contrarie the ſhips were to be brought in, and the ordnance placed vpon the walls. Wherewith the bourgmaſter *Iohn Reynerſon* ſpake, and ſaid, Good brethren, ſtriue not againſt the kings armie, it will be hardly laid vnto our charges, let them therefore go, and that is the beſt way for vs. The moſt of the bourgers therewith giuing conſent, that they ſhould goe, and the ſooner the better, *Cornelis Peterſon* and his adherents ſaid, That it were beſt to let them lye, vntill the ſhips of warre of Amſterdam were come downe; and therewith the aſſembly departed: But
C to get the conſent of the bourgers, the bourgmaſters cauſed the great, or the common counſel of the bourgers to be aſſembled, and ſent vnto them ſome of their ſecret counſell, and others whom they beſt truſted, with whom they dealt in ſuch wiſe, that it was agreed by the moſt voyces, that the ſhips of warre ſhould go forth. Whereupon the ſhips went out, and certaine barrels of powder, and ſailed towards Amſterdam: but as they put out, one of the flie-boats fell on ground, which by reaſon of the wind could not be holpen: whereupon the earle *Vander Markes* ſhips making towards it (the captaine and the men hauing forſaken it) fell vpon it, and hauing ranſacked it of all that was in it, burnt it. The bourgmaſters hearing thereof, thought good to ſet out another flie-boat in place of that was loſt, not making any words nor ſhew to do it, till about noone time, when leaſt people were in the ſtreets: which for that it was contrarie
D to their agreement, and they ſeeking to bring it through the draw bridge, certaine bourgers imboldened themſelues, when they were about it, to let the bridge fall between the two maſts, whereby the flie-boat could neither go in nor out, and ſo lay ſtill certaine dayes. The bourgmaſters and the magiſtrats laboured likewiſe to raiſe a companie of men out of the bourgers within the towne, thereby to hold better vnitie and peace amongſt them, appointing one maſter *Henricke* to be their captaine; but the bourgers not content with him, ſent *Peter Buyskens*, and *Diericke Brewer*, to tel them that they liked not of him. Anſwer was giuen them, That they would pleaſe them, and that they deſired nothing elſe but peace; and that if they would nomi-nat foure men, they would chuſe one of them. Whereupon the bourgers aſſembling, choſe foure men, but they liked not the bourgmaſters: whereupon one *Bart Laytgeſon* was appoin-
E ted captaine of that companie, and therewith they tooke their othes. Meane time *Peter Buyſkens*, and *Diericke Brewer* ſought by al meanes to perſuade the bourgmaſters, that the prince of Orange would ſhortly enter into the field to aid them, ſhewing letters new come out of Dillinborgh, which *Hebrandt Iacobſon*, and *Richart Claeſon* had brought, but they would not be-leeue it, but deuiſed all the meanes they could, to go forward with their proceedings, to aid the duke of Alua: and hauing gotten a companie of ſouldiers vnder their command, determined to ſend the flie-boat that lay vnder the bridge for a man of warre, amongſt the reſt of the ſhips that were gone to Amſterdam, and to that end the bourgmaſters and the counſell, with the companie of ſouldiers, about noone time went to the bridge, where they found no man but *Cornelis Brewer*, with *Iacob* and *Iohn* his two brethren, who preſently got more companie, and
F ſtanding vpon the promiſe made vnto them, ſtept vpon the bridge, *Cornelis* hauing a two handed ſword vpon his ſhoulder, and his brethren either of them a peece: the bourgmaſter *Peter Corneliſon* ſtepping forward, asked who was there, that would let them from drawing the fly-boat forth from vnder the bridge: whereunto *Cornelis Brewer* made anſwere, and ſaid, That

will

will wee, or elſe will die for it. The bourgmaſter therewith abaſht, and withall many people A
aſſembling together, one of the ſouldiers filled his peece, to ſhoot at *Cornelis Brewer* and his
brethren, which one of the bourgers, called *Arent Erickſon*, perceiuing, cried out and ſaid, If
thou ſhooteſt at any of the bourgers, I will thruſt my poniard in thy ribs: wherewith hee and
the bourgmaſters left off their pretence, returning backe againe with the companie of ſouldi-
ers to the town-houſe, where they preſently cauſed the harguebuſiers to aſſemble at the town-
houſe with their armes: the ſaid harguebuſiers (appointed in euerie town of the Netherlands
out of the beſt and fitteſt bourgers, with ſpeciall othe to defend the towne) beeing come vnto
the towne-houſe, asked wherefore the bourgmaſters had ſo ſodainly ſent for them. Anſwere
was made them, That they would haue them to helpe either to driue the Gueux and villaines
out of the towne, or elſe kil them. Whereupon great diſſention roſe amongſt the ſhot, ſo that B
many of them ſought to go peaceably home againe. With that the bourgmaſters cauſed two
great peeces that lay before the town-houſe (although the gunners had left them) to be made
readie, and placed them againſt the ſtreet where they thought the bourgers would come vp:
& one *William Beſterman* ſtriking off the locks, laid powder vpon the touch-holes, as if they had
beene readie to ſhoot them off. Wherewith a bourger of good account, called *Iacob Floriſon*,
that dwelt not farre from the towne-houſe, then ſitting vpon the ſeat before his doore, with his
wife, ſeeing that preparation and forwardneſſe, thought vpon ſome meanes how to preuent
the danger of bloud ſhedding, and ſtanding vp, determining to venture his life, ſaid to his wife
Son (that is *Suſanna*) *Williams* daughter adue, wee muſt now part, and preſently went to the
North Spuy, where he met with *Gerrardt Iohnſon Swaels*, a canonier, that asked him what C
were beſt to be done, ſaying, they would all venture life and limme with him, ſo he would take
the commaund vpon him. *Iacob* ſaid, Well then, take the planks that lye there, and place them
in maner of a ſconce breaſt high, in the broad ſtreet, before thy mothers houſe, and then fetch
the two braſſe peeces that lie vpon the hauen, and place them before the planks, but ſhoot not
before they of the towne-houſe come, or till I come againe from the Spuy. Wherewith hee
going to the Spuy, found great ſtore of fiſhermen there, that heartened one the other to goe
forcibly to the towne-houſe, and to conſtraine them to lay downe their arms before they were
ſtronger, crying out and saying, Seeing they ſeeke to bring vs to our ends, let vs goe and ſpoyle
them firſt: but when *Iacob Floriſon* ſpake vnto them in friendly manner, and ſaid, Good bre-
thren, be patient a while, vntill they come to fight with vs, and then will wee ſhew that wee are D
men, that they may haue no cauſe to charge vs withall: wherewith they were ſomewhat qui-
et: notwithſtanding a politike bourger, called *Harco Meyuſche* (that after was a captaine in the
battaile againſt Boſhuyſen, and loſt his life in that war, for his countries cauſe) ſaid, That it was
the beſt way to ſet vpon them, leaſt they ſhould come too ſhort and too late: wherewith they
were certified, that the harguebuſiers in the towne-houſe were at controuerſie, and many of
of them vnwilling to fight againſt their fellow bourgers, and ſo to bring the towne into perpe-
tuall ſlauerie, and that therefore many of them were gone home againe, and that onely ſome
that fauored the Spaniards ſtaied there. This being thus pacified, & the one holding the others
ſword in the ſcaberd, the bourgers ſent *Peter Buyskens*, with ſome others to the burgmaſters, to
moue them to ſend the braſſe peeces that ſtood before the towne-houſe vnto the walls, and to E
aid and aſſiſt the towne, to defend it ſelfe againſt the enemie. But the bourgmaſters made an-
ſwer, That they knew what they had to do, and that they would thinke vpon the matter, and
put to their hands to helpe to ſtrengthen iuſtice, thereby to puniſh rebels, and ſuch as would
not be ruled: and being asked what rebels they meant (which they partly named) they began
to fall to contention, and ſought to haue an anſwer of that they required, touching the carry-
ing away of the ordnance. They had a reſolute anſwer, That they muſt haue patience, vntill
their committees *William Iohnſon*, and *Iacob Peterſon Sunſbeen* ſhold be returned from Amſter-
dam, whom they looked for that euening, and that then they would lay more vnto them, elſe
not. Thoſe committees that were ſent to the earle of Boſſu to Amſterdam, being returned, the
bourgers ſent their meſſengers once againe vnto the towne-houſe, to haue anſwer vpon their F
laſt requeſt. To whom anſwer was made by the bourgmaſters, ſaying, Now *Dierik Iohnſon*,
Iacob Erickſon, and *Peter Buyskens*, it will not bee, and we are not yet readie to carrie the ord-
nance vnto the walls, for our committees are come from Amſterdam, and bring vs word, That

the

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A the earle of Boſſu is deſirous to know who are his friends, or his foes, and will haue vs all expreſly ſweare, That wee will accept and acknowledge the duke of Alua for Gouernor, & the earle of Boſſu for his Lieutenant; and that whoſoeuer refuſeth to doe ſo, may freely depart out of the town, if there be any ſuch among you: and without making longer delay with you, that is the marke whereat we ſhoot, with many ſuch like words. Whereupon the committees for the bourgers, ſeeing their reſolution, gaue them thankes for ſpeaking ſo plainely vnto them, for that thereby they ſaid, they might know who were their friends or their foes: and hauing conſulted together with the principalleſt of them, gaue a reſolute anſwer, That the bourgers deſired not to ſweare vnto the duke of Alua as their gouernor, nor yet to the earle of Boſſu as his lieutenant, neither yet intended to leaue the towne, for that ſome of them had beene
B forced to keepe fiue yeares together out of the towne in forreine countries, in regard of the tyrannie, wherein they ſaid they could by no meanes blame the bourgers: and that if their aduerſe parties would goe out of the towne, they might be gone, the good bourgers had once gone alreadie, but now they ſaid they ſhould not get them aliue out of the towne, and that ſo they might aſſure themſelues. That done, the bourgmaſters deſired that with one accord they would all agree, to diſcharge them of their othes that they had made vnto the towne, for that they ſaid they muſt accompliſh the earle of Boſſues commiſſion, either by fair or foule means. Which the bourgers were content to doe, each acquitting other of their othes, made on both ſides, agreeing that euery man ſhould do his beſt, and ſo departed each from other, each making their report. Therewith the bourgers being aſſembled, reſolued to take order how they
C would proceed, to free and deliuer themſelues from tyrannie, and to reſtore the towne to her former freedome: to which end they determined to conſtraine the towne by force. Whereunto *Peter Buyskens* that had commiſſion from their old gouernour the prince of Orange, and one *Hans Claerman* gaue them counſell, and ſaid, That if they would not bee ſodainely ouerrun and ſpoyled, they muſt not long ſtand vpon reſoluing what they meant to doe. And hauing in that ſort conſulted together till noone time, they all agreed, and ſo euerie man went home to dinner, promiſing one the other to hold together, and to proceed therein in the name of God: the bourgmaſters being likewiſe deuiſing and conſulting what order to take, to proceed in their affaires.

About noone *Dierick Iohnſon* Brewer, cauſed the towne drummer to ſound his drumme
D round about the towne, and to will all thoſe that loued the king of Spaine and the prince of Orange, to aſſemble together with their armes, vpon the South and North Spuy: Which the bourgmaſters vnderſtanding, ſent for the harquebuſiers of the towne, and all their adherents, to come with their armes vnto the towne-houſe, whereas the aforeſaid towne drumme had made that crie onely for them, as he was commaunded; ſome of the towne-houſe beeing of a good hope, ſeeing they heard the king of Spaine named: and ſo either partie made themſelues ſtrong, to ſee which of them ſhould bee maſters of the towne. The bourgers had appointed *Peter Buyskens* for one of their commaunders, to bee with his companie at the North Spuy, and *Iacob Erickſon* at the ſouth Spuy, by the gate, to take in the South tower, and *Diericke Brower* to goe to the blew gate, where there lay two peeces of ordnance, which hee
E tooke, and there made a barricado, which hee draue before him, and therewith went with his troupe vnto the towne-houſe, and comming to the Morians head, the towne captaines *Cromendike*, *Peter Hendrickſon*, and maſter *Mackſchow* met them, perſuading them to agree friendly together, as friends and citizens ought to doe: but the bourgers that went forwards towards the towne houſe giuing the captaines no anſwere, a number of the beſt and motherlieſt women in the towne aſſembled together, and ſtopt the ſtreet, thinking to ſtay them from bloud ſhedding (as the women thereabouts of nature and antient cuſtome are verie manly, in regard that the men are often out at ſea to fiſh, and otherwiſe) and began to crie out, and to fall vpon the mens necks, and to intreat them not to proceed any further, but peaceably to goe home againe to their houſes, and liue friendly one with the other, with ma-
F ny ſuch words. But *Diericke Brower* miſtruſting ſuch a matter, ſpake ruffely, and ſaid, Away and be gone quickly, and ſtay within your houſes, whoſoeuer wee find in the ſtreets ſhal bear away the blowes. Wherewith the women ſtepping backe, the bourgers went forward, and one *Iohn Frerickſon* Flutske, and *Iacob* the ſonne of *Diericke Brower*, with ſome others ſtept

out

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out before the ordnance and the barricado, and went towards the towne-house, and there finding a great companie of harguebusiers standing before it, that meant to resist them, the said *Iohn Frerickson* couched his peece to shoot at one of the principallest criers out for the duke of Alua called *Albert Reinierson*, but shooting off, mist him: which the harguebusiers seeing, and perceiuing that the bourgers meant to proceed to a fight in good earnest, and withall hearing and seeing another companie of bourgers come from the South part of the town and a great number of fishermen from the North end, they were in great feare, and went their wayes, letting the rest doe what they would. The bourgmasters perceiuing themselues to be forsaken of the harguebusiers, and the bourgers comming strongly on, fled into the towne-house, and shut to the doore, to saue themselues from the furie of the people, and hid themin secret places. The bourgers finding the towne-house locked, *Diericke Brewer* bad them take a great barre and strike it open; which they presently did, and all the rest of the doores, till they found the bourgmasters, which had for feare hid themselues, as wee haue said, where they tooke them, and committed them prisoners in the Keet gate, placing good watch to keepe them, and presently set the prince of Oranges colours vpon the walls, the English tower, and the blew gate.

Hereupon they wrot vnto the earle of Marche, lieutenant to the prince of Orange, intreating him to take their town into his protection, and that to that end he would send them some souldiers, to repulse the tyrannie of the duke of Alua. Those of the townes of Alcmar, Horne, Edam, and Medemblic, in the said countrey of Friseland, did the like, following the example of them of Enchuysen. On the other side the townes of South-Holland, that lay neerest vnto the Brycle, opened their gates willingly vnto the prince of Oranges men, yeelding themselues vnder his protection and obedience, except Schoonhouen and Amsterdam, which made great resistance: But Schoonhouen was soone besieged by the earle of Marche, who reduced them vnto reason: so as all Holland yeelded vnto the earle, as lieutenant vnto the prince, who had beene long gouernor: onely Amsterdam excepted, the which hee besieged twice, but he preuailed nothing, being too strong of scituation, and too well peopled, not able to win the citizens, who were too much enclined to the Romish religion, and to the king of Spaines deuotion.

The earle of Marche as lieutenant to the prince of Orange seiseth vpon Holland.

Whilest that the earle of Marche plaied his part in Holland, the earle of Sheeren-Berghe, brother in law to the prince, entred into the countie of Zutphen with a good troupe of men, where hee first tooke the townes of Dotekom, Dousbourg, and after Zutphen, the chiefe towne of all the countie: then in the countrey of Geldres, Harderwic, Elbruch, and Hattem: in the countrey of Oueriſſel in the Twente, he seized vpon Goot and Oldezeel: and seeing the resolution & courage of the inhabitants of the countrey, to withstand the dukes tyranny, passing further into the countrey of Oueriſſel, he went to besiege Campen, a goodly towne at the mouth of the riuer of Yssel in the Zuyderzee, the which the besieged for want of victuals and other munitions, were forced to yeeld by composition, as soon after Hasselt, Zwolle, & Steenwic did in the same prouince.

In the meane time some gentlemen Frisons of those which had fled with their allies (among the which were cont *Iosse* of Schouwenburg, and the seignior of Nederwomter) were receiued into the townes of Sneek, Bolswart, and Franiker: But those of Leuwarden, where the court of Friseland is, holding the king of Spaines partie, sent to Groningen, to *Gaspar* of Robles, seigniour of Billi, to come and succour them: who being arriued with part of his regiment of Walons, was well entertained into the said towne and castle of Leuwarden, and in Sloten, and Harlingen. The first entrance which the Protestants made into the countrey of Friseland, was at Dockom, with a great number as wel of souldiers as of peasants, from whence they chased the garrison of Walons that was there, whereof there remained fiue in the church tower, who had saued themselues there, shooting continually at them that went in the streets: which the Protestants seeing, they set fire on the tower, yet there was but one of the fiue that was burnt, the other foure remained there vnto the sixt of September, when *Billi's* souldiers chased away the Protestants, tooke the towne and burnt it, to the great desolation of the poore inhabitants, who had least offended, and who oftentimes smart for the follies of great men.

Colonell

A Colonell *Billi* hearing that the ſouldiers of theſe Proteſtant captaines, were for the moſt part peaſants, and bourgers ſonnes, vntrained in armes, who could ſcarce diſcharge a harguebuſe, made haſt to goe to Staueren, where they were beſieging the caſtle, from whence hee chaſed them, and ſet fire on the towne, retiring from thence with a great bootie. The Proteſtants that were in Sneeke, Bolſwaert, and Franiker, went to armes, and purſued the Walons to reſcue the the bootie: but at the firſt charge, the captaine being ouerthrowne from his horſe with a ſhot, they fainted, and fled preſently. And thus the haſtie Friſons had no good ſucceſſe in their enterpriſes.

Cont *Lodowic* hauing ſurpriſed Mons in Henault, the duke of Alua at the firſt would not beleeue it; but when hee was certainely aduertiſed, he began to ſtorme and rage, hee began
B to teare his clothes, and to caſt his hat to the ground, and tread on it, curſing God and men, for that hee toyled ſo much, and aduanced nothing, ſeeing that townes reuolted daily from his obedience, and that he vnderſtood that cont *Lodowic* did fortifie himſelfe within Mons, being reſoluc̃d not to leaue it but vpon good tearmes: wherefore, ſetting all other affaires aſide, he reſolued to beſiege him, ſending firſt his ſonne *Dom Frederic* with two thouſand Spaniards and Walons, two thouſand Landsknechts, and fiue hundred horſe of the bands of ordnance, to inueſt the towne, whileſt that hee himſelfe ſhould come in perſon with all his forces. *Dom Frederic* at his firſt approach ſeized vpon the cloiſter ioining vnto the town, notwithſtanding the manie ſallies which they within Mons made vpon him. The towne was not verie wel prouided of victuals, but as it was the time of Harueſt, the ſouldiers both of horſe and foot
C went forth often to skirmiſh, to reape the corne, and to bring it into the towne, the which they did eaſily, cutting onely the eares of corne: in ſo doing they were oftentimes charged and beaten, and ſometimes they did beat their enemies, making a good retreat into the towne; although it were ſometimes with loſſe of their men. This ſiege continued in ſuch skirmiſhes vntill the comming of the lord of Genlis out of Fraunce, with about ſeuen thouſand Proteſtants, both horſe and foot, who came to preſent himſelfe, to enter into the ſaid towne of Mons.

Mons inueſted by Dom Frederic.

Cont *Lodowic* knowing that theſe troupes were vpon the way to come and ſuccour him, ſent them word that he had no need of them within the towne, where they ſhould cauſe but a greater dearth of victuals, ſeeing there was nothing to be gotten thereabouts: hee therefore in-
D treated them to march towards Cambray, and to goe ioyne with the armie of the prince of Orange, his brother, whom they ſhould fortifie verie much, fearing that before they entred into the towne they would be defeated, if the Spaniards diſcouered them. The lord of Genlis anſwered, That hee had charge to goe vnto him, the which he would doe with the firſt opportunitie, and that hee feared no enemies: who continuing his courſe, marched forward, not knowing the paſſages of the countrey, for want of a good guide, as if the enemie had been twentie leagues from him. Being entred into the wood but three leagues from the towne, he ſent a hundred horſe before to diſcouer if there were any enemie, and in the meane time hee aduanced ſtill. The baron of Remy with the lord of Iumelles led the foreward, and the lord of Genlis, the Rhingraue, and the ſeignior of Ianis the rereward. Theſe auant-courriers ha-
E uing reported, that they had diſcouered ſome Spaniſh horſe-men neere vnto the wood, Rentie aduanced with his troupe to make head againſt them, putting himſelfe in the front of the armie: but ſeeing that all the enemies horſe and foot marched directly towards them, hee began to turne head, to ioyne with the bodie of their armie. The lord of Noircarmes, who led the Spaniſh light horſe, ſeeing this countenance, and that ſome musketiers were alreadie in skirmiſh with Rentie in the foreward, hee made haſt to ſecond them, charging the French with ſuch furie, as their horſe-men ſeeing their enemies to encreaſe, not able to endure their force, began to flie. Thoſe of the rereward did no leſſe, hauing ſcarce ſeene any enemie, yeelding an eaſie victorie to the Spaniards. Such as fled, thinking they had beene free from the ſlaughter of the enemies, and to bee ſafe, fell moſt of them into the pea-
F ſants hands, people without pitie or mercie, who firſt ſtript them, and then did murther them miſerably, whereof they ſlew aboue twelue hundred. The baron of Rentie defended himſelfe long againſt theſe raſcals, truſting in the bountie of his horſe: but in the end (as the paſſages were all ſtopt, and hee muſt needs paſſe through this ſwarme of angrie waſpes, among

Genlis and the French Proteſtants defeated

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among the which there were ſome threedbare gentlemen) he was beaten downe. The Rhingraue was ſlain in the battaile. The ſeignior of Olhain being fallen into the hands of theſe villains, led by a bare gentleman, who bragd that they wold make a preſent of him to the duke of Alua, he deſired to march on foot, & to be diſarmed; which done, he pulled a boare ſpear from one of them, with the which he ſo laid vpon them that conducted him, hauing ouerthrown 3 or foure, as they were forced to kill him, and ſo he died thus fighting. The ſeigniors of Genlis and Ianis, with ſome ſix hundred men, among the which there were ſixtie gentlemen, were taken priſoners; but moſt of them were after murthered in cold bloud, after that they had ſtript them naked out of their ſhirts for feare leaſt they ſhould ſpoile their clothes, and ſo they did driue them before like beaſts, till that in the end they murthered them without pitie or mercie. There were ſome two or three hundred burnt in a barne, into the which they had thruſt them thus naked: from the which, thinking to ſaue themſelues, and to eſcape the fire, the Spaniſh ſouldiers being without, ſhot them. There were wels & pits filled vp with French men, whom they had caſt in aliue, heaping one vpon another. To conclude, the crueltie that was practiſed vpon theſe miſerable vanquiſhed men, was exceeding great. The lord of Genlis was carried to the caſtle of Antuerpe, where one morning he was found dead, without any precedent diſeaſe, ſome thought that he was ſtrangled with one of the curtaines of his field bed. The ſeignior of Iumelles was carried to the caſtle of Tournay, from whence hee departed by exchange for a Spaniard.

The barbarous crueltie vſed againſt the French.

After this defeat of the French, many thought that cont *Lodowic* would not hold the town of Mons long with ſuch ſmall troups as he had there in garriſon: Whereupon *Dom Frederic* the duke of Aluaes ſonne, ſent a trumpet to ſummon him to yeeld vpon certaine conditions which he offered him, but the earle would giue no eare vnto them, attending ſuccours by the prince of Orange his brother, whom hee knew to bee vpon the way with a mightie armie, to raiſe the Spaniards from the ſiege. The duke of Alua hearing that cont *Lodowic* was reſolued to hold the towne, the which could not be taken with thoſe forces which his ſonne had, parted with all the forces he could gather together, and went and camped neere vnto the towne, beſieging it ſtraitly on all ſides, the which *Dom Frederic* could not doe with thoſe ſmall forces which he had: and ſeeing that the French, which were in garriſon in the abbey of Creſpin, ioyning vnto the towne, did greatly aſſiſt the beſieged, hee cauſed it to bee battered with foure peeces, ſo as at fiftie ſhot he made a ſufficient breach to giue an aſſault: but the captaine which commaunded therein, ſeeing that the place was not to bee held, nor to endure ſuch furious aſſaults as he muſt expect, hee retired with about one hundred and fiftie men in ſafetie into the towne, whoſe retreat they could not hinder, but with their canon, the which did them not any harme. The duke lodged ſome men in it, and then he aduiſed in what part hee might beſt plant his artillerie: ſome held hee ſhould plant it at the port of Barlaimont, in the which the duke found three difficulties which might annoy him in giuing an aſſault. Firſt, there was a mightie bulwarke ioyning vnto the rampar, which did defend it. Secondly, the deepe water in the ditch, and the new rampar made without the wals of the towne, whereas the beſieged might lodge a good number of men, to defend their ditches, although the firſt rauelin were laid euen with the ground. Thirdly, that this great bulwarke and ramparing might hinder his men from lodging at the foot of the rampar to come to the ſappe: Yet notwithſtanding hee intrenched his men vpon the ſide of the ditch, and let out the water. Thoſe within were no leſſe actiue and diligent to fortifie, and to make all preparations to reſiſt him: they made two great high caualiers or mounts, and a ſecond ditch within the towne neere vnto the rampar. The duke planted ſix canons in the ſuburbs, vpon the edge of the ditch, vpon a little hill, from whence he might ſhoot plainly into the towne, as hee did vpon the houſes and other buildings of ſhew, to terrifie the bourgeſſes: The reſt of his artillery was planted in two other batteries, playing both vpon the rampar neere vnto the port of Barlaimont, and vpon the rauelin, which did defend it. The tops of the towers of either ſide were beaten downe with two vollies of ſhot, but not vnto the ground: then he cauſed eight double canons to be planted on the riuer ſide, with the which hee carried away the parapets of two ſides. The other baterie plaid along vpon the rauelin without, ſo as it was almoſt downe, but it was rampared vp with ſuch diligence, as the beſieged had meanes to hold it, being reſolued

The duke of Alua comes before Mons.

that

A that if an assault were presented, to make it good euen vnto the last man.

The duke seeing that all his batteries could not so much availe him as to take the towne by assault, began to batter S. *Andrewes* tower, the which was so pierced through with the ordnance, as no man durst any longer abide in it. The besieged were not idle in the meane time, for besides that they sallied daily forth vpon the enemies, they had planted fiue peeces vpon the tower of stone, as well faulcons as culuerins, wherewith they shot through the enemies campe, into their tents and pauillions, and vpon all the approches, which made the passages verie difficult. They were also verie expert in speedie ramparing vp the breaches that were made, with packs of wooll, beds, sackes filled with earth, and other materials: so as with this ramparing they made their walls and rampars as strong as before. The lord of la Noue with
B an hundred gentlemen, and some harguebusiers kept the first rauelin, to preserue that which the Spaniards could not beat downe, and within at the foot of an old rampar there were other two hundred harguebusiers. The duke of Alua finding no meanes to draw the ditches drie, but there still remained more water than he wished, hee therefore caused some barkes to bee made of harguebuse proofe, and a bridge vpon emptie pipes tied together with cables, to assaile the rauelin: but all these preparations did not amaze the besieged, who made continuall sallies vpon their enemies, seeking some aduantage vpon them.

Whilest that the duke of Alua and the besieged within Mons maintained themselues in this sort, the prince of Orange being in Germanie, was not idle: but hauing leuied a goodly armie, he past the Rhine with it neere vnto Dousbourg in the countrey of Cleues, and the 4. of
C Auguste he surprized Ruremonde in the countrey of Geldres; then enuring into Brabant, he came before Louuaine, where he burnt the false port: wherewith the inhabitants were so terrified, as they sent the seignior of Timpel vnto him, with doctor *Elbert Leunin*, called *Longolius*, who went vnto him to the abbey of the parke, without the towne, where they agreed vpon certaine conditions. From thence he went to Macklin the which was opened vnto *Bernard* of Merode, lord of Warolix, by the intelligences which hee had within the towne. The prince of Orange caused a certaine protestation to bee printed and published, as well in his owne name, as in his confederats, giuing a reason of the armes which they had taken the second time, as followeth.

The prince of Orange comes with an armie to succour Mons.

Wee *William* by the grace of God, Prince of Orange, Earle of Nassau, &c. To all Noble-
D men, Knights, Gentlemen, and others (of what qualitie soeuer) of these Netherlands, which desire the libertie thereof, beeing miserably tyrannized and oppressed by the duke of Alua, the Spaniards, and others their friends, traitors and murtherers of their owne countrey: We doe declare that euery one of vs, for a particular loue and zeale he beares vnto his countrey, and for the glorie of God, which we desire aboue all, haue often sought by all meanes the good and quiet of the countrey, as well by petitions and other mild meanes, as by force of armes, thinking to draw those that were as we are, to do the like, sometimes by sighes and prayers vnto God, hauing patience vntill that it should please him to mollifie the hearts of the said tyrants: but in the end, solicited, inuited, and called generally and particularly, by the inhabitants of the said countrey, by reason of the inhumanities and oppressions, Wee haue in the name of God,
E (according to our consciences) taken armes, protesting before God and his angels, and before all men present and to come, that we haue not beene mooued hereunto by any priuat passion, but with an ardent desire which wee haue to oppose our selues against this more than barbarous and insupportable tyranny, to the proclamations, edicts, taxes, impos'ts, and charges of the hundreth, thirtieth, twentieth, and tenth penie, imposed by the insatiable couetousnesse of the duke of Alua, against the lawes, liberties, freedomes, and antient priuiledges of the said countrey: which lawes, liberties, freedomes, and antient priuiledges, wee meane (by the grace of God) to restore vnto the said countrey, holding it vnder the obedience of their prince and naturall lord, as we are bound to doe, assuring and maintaining that all princes, noblemen, gentlemen, commonweales or others, of what qualitie soeuer, be they strangers or home bred, that
F haue beene moued to giue vs aid and assistance in this so iust an enterprise, haue not done it for any other intent, but for a true pitie and compassion which they haue with vs of the said miseries and calamities. Wherefore we pray and intreat euerie one, both in generall and particular, to assure themselues that we pretend not to do wrong to any man, nor to attempt vpon the

The prince of Orange's protestation.

„ goods, estates, or honour of any, of what qualitie soeuer, were he of the clergie; but are readie A
„ to aid and assist euerie one freely and willingly, as for his libertie euerie one is bound to succor
„ vs by all due and possible meanes. In the meane time wee will giue order that God and the
„ countrey may be serued, in procuring the preseruation of the people, and the defence of their
„ houses, wiues and children. Praying vnto God that he would fauour and bring to a good end
„ so holy and necessarie an enterprise.

About this time captaine *Blommart* surprized the town of Audenarde in Flanders, at which surprise the bailife being retired with some others into the castle, and pursued, refusing to yeeld, he was shot thorow, and cast out at a window into the riuer: the cloisters, churches, and all the goods of clergie men, were spoyled. The towne of Deuremonde was also surprised by the practises of *Arnold van Dorpe*. B

The prince parting from Macklin, marched directly towards Mons in Henault, to succour his brother, and to seeke to raise the duke of Aluaes siege. He might haue taken many townes in passing, but he still aduanced, hauing a great care to furnish his armie with victuals: some of those townes which he had taken were forced to assist him with money. Those of Niuelle in Brabant were summoned to furnish him both with money and victuals, but they refused it, hoping that the duke of Alua would defend them, hauing first aduertised him that the prince of Orange marched: but for that hee would not diminish his armie that was before Mons, where he had worke ynough, he could not preserue them as they expected, but they must enter into the dance.

The duke hearing that the prince approached, and that he was neere him, hee resolued not C
to stirre, but to keepe himselfe close within his campe, the which he caused to bee intrenched and fortified with all speed, planting his artillerie vpon all the approaches, to hinder the prince that he should not force him, and sent fiue hundred horse to discouer him. The prince hearing by his fore-runners, that the Spaniards came to discouer him, hee sent cont *Henry* his brother with foure companies of carabins, or harguebusiers on horseback, the which incountred these Spaniards, whom they charged, put them to rout, and pursued them euen to the foot of their trenches. This first charge did so amaze the dukes campe, as he was almost readie to flie, thinking that the prince had followed with his whole armie: the which if he had done, without doubt that day had beene the last of the duke of Aluaes warres. The prince was so resolued, but it was too late, causing his armie to march in battaile euen vnto the mills, where hee stood D
firme for the space of foure houres, thinking the Spaniard should issue forth: and to prouoke him to fight, he sent him some great shot, but the duke mouing not, answered him sometimes with the like, and yet in the meane time did not discontinue his batterie against the towne, so as at one instant the besiegers and the besieged were battered. The duke sometimes by the fauour of the hedges and bushes, and along the banks and ditches that were drie, sent foorth harguebusiers to skirmish against the princes men, but they were charged so neer, as they were alwayes forced to retire. The prince seeing that he could not draw the duke to battaile, and that it were too great a hazard to offer to force him in his trenches, he went and camped at Carillon, where he found small store of victuals, for that the Spaniard had carried away all. The next day he made a bridge vpon the riuer of Genep, to passe his armie, to aduertise his brother E
of his comming, and to aduise together what was fittest to be done: but the duke had sent before twelue hundred horse to the other banke where he should passe, so his designe was broken, and of no effect.

The bishop of Cologne comes to succour the duke of Alua.

Salentine bishop of Cologne came to the duke of Aluaes campe with two thousand horse, and daily men came to him from all parts, so as the duke had in his armie 12000 Spaniards and Wallons, and aboue sixteene thousand Germans. This bishop would willingly haue charged the prince with a thousand horse onely, to prouoke him to battaile, but the duke had no desire, saying, That he was come thither but to win the towne, and to keepe the prince from succouring it, but not to fight, if he were not forced: & so euery one retired that night into his lodging. The prince seeing that, being so farre from his enemies, hee should profit little, he F
went and lodged neere vnto the enemies campe, whereas hee continued some dayes, seeking all opportunities to fight. The two first dayes by reason of the continuall raine, hee did not any thing: then hee tooke counsell of his colonels, to present himselfe in battaile,

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A ſhip, and to call the duke to fight: the which was well liked of, whereupon he went and planted himſelfe by the mills, where hee attended fiue howers, hoping that they would trie one anothers forces: but this day paſt onely in ſmall skirmiſhes, the duke beeing loath to hazard any thing, or to leaue his trenches. The prince being retired ſent ſome of his troupes to Niuelle, the which the Spaniard vnderſtanding, the night following he gaue a camiſado to the princes campe, on the Germanes quarter, where hee ſlew foure or fiue hundred before they could come to ſuccour them, and ſo the Spaniards retired with ſmall loſſe. The day following the prince did riſe, and went to Macklin, where he ſtaied three dayes, leauing there at his departure twelue hundred Landtsknechts, and fiue hundred Reiſters, beſides two thouſand and fiue hundred bourgers well armed, the which he held ſufficient for the guard of the towne:

B The reſt of his armie he diſmiſſed with thanks: but beeing vnable to pay them, and they diſcontented, he was in great feare and danger to be taken by them in a mutinie, and deliuered ouer to the duke of Alua his mortall enemie. Wherefore hauing made choyce of the flower of all his troups, in whom he truſted moſt, he paſſed the Rhine, and returned into Holland, whither he was ſent for and attended with great deuotion.

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WILLIAM OF NASSAV, PRINCE OF Orange, Earle of Nassau, of Vianden, of Catzeneleboghen, Diets, &c. Gouernour of Holland, Zeeland, and Vtrecht.



In youth I was instructed, taught, and fostered
In true Religion, for the which my bloud I often shed,
Maintaining it against all tyrans crueltie,
And the most bloudie Wolfe of Rome, and all his subtiltie.
From Spanish yoke I set Holland at libertie,
And Zeeland, with the Prouinces that now united be:
And hoped them long time in peace for to maintaine,
If sodainly a murtherer had not me strangely slaine.
But my most valiant sonne, the worthy Prince Maurice,
Supplying their defect therein, tooke on him my office:
And my posteritie shall them alwayes defend,
And crosse the purpose of their foes, what euer they pretend.

Wil-

A

WILLIAM of Naſſau, Prince of Orange (hauing often preſented battaile taile to the Duke of Alua before Mons in Henault, who would not fight) being called by the States of Holland and Zeeland into his old gouernement of the ſaid countries, whereas the king had placed him before his departure for Spaine, and from whence he abſented himſelfe at the comming of the Duke of Alua into the Netherlands, came at that time into Holland, to aſſiſt them with his counſell and meanes to defend themſelues againſt the Spaniſh tyrannie.

The duke of Alua was much incenſed againſt them of Macklyn, for that hauing refuſed
B the Spaniards, they had receiued the prince and his men: but hee diſſembled his diſcontent, vntill that he had preuailed ouer cont *Lodowic*, to whom the prince had written before his departure, That he ſhould endure an aſſault or two, and if afterwards the enemie were obſtinat at the ſiege, he ſhould make his compoſition with the moſt honourable conditions that hee could. When theſe letters came into the towne, the earle was in his bed ſicke of a violent feauer: the colonels and captains hearing it read, were out of all hope of ſuccors from the prince, and were content to capitulat with the duke vpon ſuch conditions as were receiuable. To this end the ſeigniour of la Noue, Seuarpont, and Siracourt were deputed, the which pleaſed him verie well, thinking he had woon honour ynough, to haue brought ſuch commaunders vnto
C reaſon, conſidering alſo that it would be a great benefit vnto the king his maſter, for that ſo many townes did daily reuolt from him, the which he did hope to reduce vnder his commandement. So as the capitulation was made the one and twentieth of September: by the which the captaines and gentlemen ſubiect to the French king, ſhould depart with their armes and baggage, and onely one horſe: the ſouldier with his armes, a bullet in his mouth, and a match light: and that cont *Lodowic* ſhould be conducted in ſafetie into the territories of the empire. In this manner the town of Mons in Henault was deliuered vp to the duke of Alua. He tooke no reuenge of the bourgers, for that it was not found that any one remaining in the town, had beene confederat with the prince, but they had beene ſurpriſed, and were forced to obey him whileſt he was there. Many haue wondred why the duke would yeeld to ſuch honourable conditions, knowing they were almoſt at extremitie, ſeeing they had procured him ſo much
D harme, toyle, and trouble. But they ſaid he was moued thereunto for two conſiderations, the firſt was, for that the prince did then hold the chiefe towne of Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, and daily more inclined to his partie, whoſe aduancement and victories hee muſt preuent in time, before that other townes, tired with the Spaniſh tyrannie, ſhould do the like. The ſecond reaſon was, That hee muſt ſpeedily recouer Macklyn, whereas the prince had left a garriſon, the which did import much for the bringing of the war into the countrey of Brabant, if haply the neighbour townes, very much enclined to the prince (whom they then publiſhed the Protector of the libertie of the Netherlands) and obeying the Spaniards by conſtraint, would haue followed this example. And although he knew well what honour hee had gotten to make ſo mightie an armie retire without any effect, but with loſſe, yet he did ſee well, that the
E prince being yet vndefeated, he might eaſily recouer the honour elſewhere, which he had left at Mons. The which being recouered, as we haue ſaid, the duke went to Bruſſels. And to ſatisfie his appetite of reuenge vpon them of Macklyn (the princes garriſon beeing retired without attending a ſiege) he ſent his ſouldiers thither the firſt of October, who by his commandement (notwithſtanding that the clergie came out to meet them in Proceſſion, and that the biſhop of Ypre, and the chiefe of the inhabitants, who were retired while the prince did hold it, were ſutors for them) did ſpoile it, ranſome it, murthered many bourgers, rauiſhed maids and wiues, without reſpect of any qualitie or age, were they capable or not, prieſts or lay men, committing infinit cruelties there, more than the which could not be done in any enemies towne taken by aſſault. The bootie that was carried from thence, was ſold in Antuerpe and Bruſſels
F for a vile price, for that many refuſed to buy it, for the pitie they had of their neighbours ſo hardly affected. The duke cauſed it to be proclaimed, That it had beene done, for that they had receiued the prince of Orange willingly, furniſhed him with money, and had ſhot off their ordnance at the kings men. From Macklyn he went towards Dieſt, a towne belonging to the

Mons yeelded to the duke of Alua.

The duke cauſeth Macklyn to be ſacked.

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prince, the which redeemed it ſelfe from pillage for eight thouſand florins, the like was done A
to that of Denremonde.

The bruit of the taking of Mons in Henault, beeing ſpred ouer all Flanders and Brabant, the townes were ſo much amazed, which held for the Proteſtants in thoſe countries, as the ſouldiers that were there in garriſon, without expecting the enemies comming, began in a maner all to flie, ſome marching towards Germanie, others towards the ſea, to paſſe into England, and ſome into the woods and forreſts, where they had kept a little before. Thoſe that had ſurpriſed Audenarde, with captain *Blommart*, and had continued long there in garriſon, tooke their way (not without great difficultie and loſſe of their companions, hauing the Spaniards ſtill in the tayle of them) toward Oſtend, where hauing ſeized vpon ſhips and mariners, they imbarked for England, with ſuch haſt and feare, as they left ſome of their companions on land, who bee- B
ing taken and carried to Bruges, were ſoone executed moſt cruelly with diuers torments, by the commandement of the earle of Roeux, gouernour of the towne. Thoſe which imbarked making about foure hundred men, landed ſome at Douer, others at Sandwiche, where they were gathered together by one *Charles Nerin*, who was ſent thither by them of Fleſſingue to leuie men, who vpon promiſe of good entertainment, cauſed them to imbarke againe, and ſent them to Fleſſingue the nineteenth of October. And as they were ſome Walons and ſome Flemings, there were two companies made: the Flemings were giuen to captaine *Gunſert*, and ſent into Holland, the Walons (whereof moſt part had beene of *Blommarts* companie) were giuen vnto the ſeignior of Schoonewal, a gentleman of Flanders, and kept for the guard of Fleſſingue. Captaine *Blommart* thinking to ſaue himſelfe better alone, than with his ſouldi- C
ers, forſooke them to take another way: but being incountred by the enemie, laden with a rich bootie, that was portatiue, the which he had gotten at Audenarde, hee was taken and cut preſently in peeces. The duke of Alua ſeeing himſelfe freed from any enemy in the countrey of Brabant and Flanders, and all the townes abandoned by the Proteſtants, reduced vnder his obedience, he would be reuenged on them that had receiued cont *Vander Berghe* in the prince of Oranges name. And firſt he ſent *Dom Frederic* his ſon, and lieutenant of his armie, to Zut-

Zutphen facked by the Spaniard.

phen, where at his arriuall he was preſently receiued by the bourgers without any reſiſtance or difficultie, the 13 of Nouember: But the Spaniard was no ſooner entred, but hee fell to murther, hang, ſtrangle, and drowne a number of the inhabitants, with infinit cruelties vpon wiues and virgines, yea vpon ſilly infants. This inhumanitie of the duke and his ſonne, was preſent- D
ly cried out of, and cauſed a great terrour throughout all the Netherlands: but if it were not much profitable vnto him, it was leſſe honourable. For although that the earle *Vander Berghe* in Geldre, Oueriſſel, and the countie of Zutphen, and the earle of Schouwenburch in Friſeland, had abandoned all the townes they ſeized on, yet the finall iſſue of this warre did ſhew by the effect how little he got by his crueltie and barbarouſneſſe.

Dom Frederic hauing ended this cruell execution at Zutphen, he marched directly to Naerden, in the quarter of Goytland in Holland. The inhabitants made an agreement with him

The ſacke of Naerden, and the execrable murthers committed therein

at his arriuall, and hee entred the towne the twentieth of Nouember, whereas neuer Turkes nor Schythians, nor the moſt barbarous and inhumane nations in the world, did euer com- E
mit more abhominable cruelties, than *Dom Frederic* did in this towne, the which all future ages will haue in perpetual horrour and deteſtation: for after the bourgers had giuen the beſt vſage they could vnto the ſouldiers, hee cauſed a proclamation to bee made by the drumme, That all ſhould aſſemble together in the chappell of the hoſpitall, where they ſhould be made acquainted with the lawes, according to the which they ſhould hereafter gouerne themſelues.

All theſe poore and miſerable inhabitants beeing thus aſſembled, the Spaniſh ſouldiers were commaunded to murther them all, and not ſpare any one: the which was preſently executed, ſo as in this wretched and deſolat towne, the poore men were maſſacred, the women were raniſhed, and then afterwards moſt cruelly murthered, the children had their throats cut, and in ſome houſes ſome were tied to poaſts with cords, then the houſes F
were fired, and they burnt aliue: ſo as in the whole towne neither old nor young, man, wife, nor maid were ſpared, but miſerably murthered, and then the towne was quite raſed, without pitie or mercie. The which, no man that hath vertue or honour, yea, if hee haue

any

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A any ſparke of humanitie in him, but will haue horrour to heare it ſpoken of; and future ages will not beleeue, that ſuch cruelties could euer enter into the thought of any one that would ſay, that he did participate of the nature of a man, and call himſelfe a man, yea, and cary the name of a Chriſtian.

After this horrible and fearefull maſſacre at Naerden, *Dom Frederic* beeing not yet glutted with ſo much innocent bloud, and with ſuch cruelties, cauſed his armie to march towards Amſterdam, with an intention to ſurpriſe the towne of Harlem: But before he would attempt it, and for that he would not draw his men into danger, hee would haue the aduice of the bourgomaſters and the counſell of the ſaid towne; who were of opinion, That hee muſt practiſe ſome intelligences, wherein one *Diericke* of Vrieſe (ſometimes a bourgomaſter B of the ſaid towne) might doe him great ſeruice, with ſome others, that were well affected vnto the Spaniards: alſo it was thought good, to write, and to ſend them word, that there was yet ſome hope of grace. But it chanced, that one *Iteans de Wy*, curate of great Beginage, hearing ſpeech of this enterpriſe, and pretended ſurpriſe, aduertiſed his brother, that he might auoid the dukes furie, and his ſonnes, of whom they had ſeene ſuch goodly examples in their neighbours.

Dom Frederic before Harlem

Vpon theſe letters the great counſell of the towne was aſſembled the third of December, at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning, where the ſaid letters were red, and vpon the contents thereof they would heare euery mans opinion, Whether they ſhould goe and preſent themſelues vnto the duke of Alua, or not, ſeeing the ſaid letters made mention, that there was yet C ſome hope of mercie in them. This propoſition being made, *Diericke* of Vrieſe, *Chriſtopher van Schagen*, and *Adrian van Aſſendelf*, the Orator of the towne, went preſently out of the towne by the port of Spaerwoude, making their ſledge-man beleeue, that they would goe to Sparendam, but they paſſed on towards Amſterdam to *Dom Frederic*. Thoſe of the great counſell would alſo know the mindes of the commons and of the ſworne companies, vpon the letters ſent by the curate of Beginage, cauſing them to aſſemble in the artillerie garden, whither alſo went captaine *Wibout Ripperda*, *Launcelot* of Brederode, *Adrian Ianſon*, baylife of the towne, and the bourgomaſter *Stuyuer*: the bourgers and companies beeing there aſſembled, captaine *Ripperda* ſayd vnto them, My maſters and friendes, behold a letter directed vnto the bourgomaſter and counſell of this towne, containing, that there is yet time to ob- D taine grace of *Dom Frederic*, to which end *Diericke* of Vrieſe is gone vnto him to Amſterdam: you may well thinke what grace wee can hope for from him, and you know what oath you haue taken to the prince of Orange: For my part I am reſolued to keepe mine honour and faith which I haue ſworne vnto him, and to hazard the laſt droppe of my bloud for the preſeruation of this towne, and the inhabitants thereof, employing therein both my perſon and my meanes: are not you all ſo minded, ſpeake freely and boldly? At theſe words the companie began to crie out aloud, That they were all content, and they would liue and die with him, ſaying, that they had ſufficient teſtimonies by their neighbours, of his clemencie and mercie, although they were not at that time very wel furniſhed, to make any great reſiſtance.

The words of captaine Ripperda to the aſſembly of Harlem.

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E Here began to appeare the profite and aduantage which the duke of Alua and his ſonne reaped by their cruelties at Zutphen and at Naerden. The bourgers after they had encouraged one another, they brake off the aſſembly, beeing reſolued to defend themſelues euen vnto the vttermoſt. Which captaine *Ripperda* and the baylife ſeeing, they writ vnto the prince of Orange, beeing then at Delft, of the eſtate of their towne, and ſent ſecretly a meſſenger vnto colonel *Lazarus Muller* (who the ſame day had taken two meſſengers of *Dom Frederics*, and cauſed them to be hanged) entreating him to ſend ſome of his companies into the towne. *Lazarus* had no ſooner receiued theſe newes, but he marched by Waterlands directly to Harlem with all his regiment, being tenne companies, where he arriued the fourth of December at noone day; of the which, foure companies entred, the reſt going towards F South-Holland.

The ſame day (being the fourth of December) the great church of the towne was opened, the Images and altars beaten downe, and all made readie for the preaching of the Proteſtants Religion.

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The next day, which was the fifth of December, there returned into the towne *Chriſtopher van Schagen*, and *Adrian van Aſſendelf*, who were the ſame day ſent priſoners to Delf, to bee examined before the prince of Oranges counſell: as alſo the ſame day there was one taken, who had cauſed a poore peſant to carry a letter from *Diericke Vrieſe* to the bourgomaſter; hee was hanged, after that he had confeſſed vnder the ladder, that he was perſuaded thereunto by *Vrieſe* for a dollar. A

The ſeuenth of December the Spaniards came vnto Spaerwoude, to skirmiſh with them which the Harlemois kept in the fort of Sparendam, but it was to ſmall effect: and the next day the bourgomaſters and captaines ſent three hundred men to the reliefe of Sparendam, vnder the conduct and commaund of *Martin Pruys*: and the enemie thinking to returne the ſame day, they were ſo welcommed with the canon, as there was no ſafetie in ſtaying long. B

The eight of December the inhabitants perct a dike, which lyeth betwixt Sparendam and Spaerwoude, to drowne the countrey: but hauing not digged deepe ynough, the Spaniards came to ſtoppe it the ſame day, and there made a trench. Then came the Seignior of S. *Aldegonde* to Harlem, where, by vertue of a commiſſion giuen him from the prince of Orange, and with the aduice of the ſworne companies and the chiefe among the people, he renewed the law, diſplacing the old, and creating new magiſtrates, that is to ſay, eight bourgomaſters, foure aldermen, and twentie of the counſell. On the tenth day it had frozen ſo bitterly, as the riuers were all yce, and among others, the Tye and the Spare, on the which they might runne in great troupes. Whereupon *Iulian Romero*, with the Spaniards, C tooke the oportunitie to aſſayle the fort of Sparendam both before and behind, vpon the yce: the which ſucceeded happily for them: for although they loſt many men, as well at the charge, as by the artillerie of the fort, yet they tooke it by aſſault, the ſouldiers Proteſtants ſauing themſelues as well as they could in Aſſendelf. The Harlemois hearing that this place was thus violently aſſaulted by the Spaniards, thinking to ſuccour it, they ſent two companies; but before they could approch, newes came, that the enemies were maſters of the place. At this taking of the fort, captaine *Martin Pruys* was ſlaine, with many ſouldiers on both ſides.

The fort of Sparendam taken by the Spaniards.

Meane time, *Monſieur Aldegonde* came to Harlem, in behalfe of the prince of Orange and the States of Holland, who vpon the ninth of December aſſembled the harquebuſiers and D the bourgers of the towne, ſhewing them the neceſſitie of the towne, and how that *Diericke de Vrieſe* by his dealing ſought to bring them vnto a fained agreement, and ſuch like ſpeeches, deſiring them, ſeeing the towne was in that extremitie, to chuſe another bourgomaſter, or to ſtrengthen their counſell: for which cauſe (hee ſayd) hee came with authoritie from the States and the court of Holland, praying them to chuſe amongſt them eight men to be their bourgomaſters, and foureteene Schepen, whereof the halfe ſhould rule the next yeare enſuing, as they likewiſe did, and therewith they choſe for bourgomaſters *Claes vander Laen*, *Iohn Vander Vliet*, *Gerrard Stuyuers*, and *Peter Kies*, with ſeuen Schepen more, and ten counſellors, that tooke the charge vpon them, to take order for all neceſſarie policies concerning the towne. E

Harlem beſieged the 11 of December.

Vpon the eleuenth of December the Spaniſh armie came before Harlem, being fiue and thirtie companies of Spaniards, two and twentie companies of Wallons, vnder the barons de Noircarmes, Capres, and Liques, eighteene companies of high Dutches, vnder the earle of Ouerſteine, and eight hundred horſe, euery day more comming vnto them with Ordnances, and other things thereunto belonging, with the earle of Boſſu, that had beene lieutenant gouernour of Holland. While the Spaniards were buſie before Harlem, the prince of Orange and the earle *Vander Merke* ſent for all their ſouldiers, intending to gather an armie betweene Leyden and Harlem, in a village called Hillegom, hauing as then eleuen or twelue companies of ſouldiers together; who beeing come thither, eſteeming the enemie not to be ſo ſtrong before Harlem, as he was, the earle *Vander Merke* ſent eight horſes to diſcrie what the enemie did; whereof ſome being taken by the enemie, they had intelligence of the princes intent; wherewith, vpon the tenth of December, they ſent out fiue thouſand footmen and ſixe hundred horſemen to ſet vpon them, and that with ſuch ſpeed, that the F

earle

A earle aforesaid, being generall of the princes souldiers, had scarce time to put on his armour, and to place his sixe companies of Dutchmen, and sixe companies of Netherlanders, and Englishmen, and an hundred and fiftie horse in order of battaile; with the which horsemen and two companies onely he and *Bartel Entens* very vnaduisedly (without looking about them, whether the rest were come forward) presently made towards the enemie: but his horsemen being too weake, and for that hee could hardly see what number of men his enemies were (for that as then it snowed very fast) they were ouerthrowne before they knew it, and began to flye: after them followed the Breamers or high Dutche, and many others, before they were fully in good order; so that the earle with his guard onely found themselues in a manner all alone in great danger, at the last he got from thence, after he had lost two hor-
B ses that were slaine vnder him: certaine valiant and stout ensigne-bearers, and amongst the rest, *Iacques Martens van Ghenet*, sonne to the President of Flaunders, would haue stayed the souldiers from flying away, and stood still, wrapping themselues in their colours, where they were stabbed. There and in the flight they lost at the least six or seuen hundred men: among the prisoners were *Baptista Trier*, and *Hans Keller*, that were hanged by the Spaniards aliue vpon the gallowes by one legge, with their heads downewards: the earle *Vander Marke* offered two thousand crownes for *Baptista Trier* his life, with nineteene of their souldiers that he kept prisoners, but all in vaine, for which cause hee presently hanged vp all the nineteene souldiers.

The next day the Spaniards made their approches vnto the towne, and from the twelfth
C to the seuenteenth they did nothing but intrench, and the besieged to fortifie their rampars: which done, *Don Frederic* planted his Ordnance at the crosse port, the which he battered in the middest, and the wall on eyther side; the which was then but single, without any rampar of earth, discharging foureteene peeces at euery volly, the canons carrying bullets of fortie, and fiue and fortie pound weight, intending to beat downe the port, and to chase the besieged out of a bulwarke there adioyning, the which by the fall and ruine of the port would be vnprofitable vnto them: The which the Spaniards effected, for before noone all the port was beaten downe, and the inhabitants were forced to abandon this bulwarke. Yet the night following, the besieged did rampar vp couragiously that which the Spaniards had beaten downe in the day, with packes of wooll, wood, stone, earth, and other materials mixed
D withall, such as the time & necessitie could furnish them with; wherein *Iohn van Vliet*, burgomaster, with his seruant, shewed themselues wonderfull couragious and actiue, who spared no trauell, nor any thing that might giue heart vnto the inhabitants: so as the same night they did repayre the same bulwarke, where they lodged part of their souldiers and inhabitants; and there the bourgomasters man had his head shot off with a canon, who was presently buried in the same place.

The next day the Spaniards continued their batterie at S. *Iohns* gate, from the morning vntill night, at the which they made 675 shot: but the besieged were diligent to rampar, making from the said port vnto S. *Katherines* bridge within the towne, a new rampar, the which they finished happily. On the twentieth day the Spaniards renewed their batterie
E at this bulwarke, so as about noone they prepared to giue an assault. Then the alarum bell rung in the towne, at the sound whereof, as well the bourgers as the souldiers, repayred with their armes vnto their quarters, and went to present themselues to the bulwarke where the breach was. The Spaniards had filled all the ports of the towne without with horse and foot, if the besieged should attempt to flye away, bordering all his trenches with musketiers, to keepe the besieged from the rampars, when the assault should bee giuen. About one of the clocke, the same day, the Spaniards marched by the Spittle-house, with their colours flying towards the breach, carrying with them all things that were fit to make a bridge ouer the ditch, to come vnto the bulwarke at the crosse gate: being at the breach, readie to mount vnto the assault, the besieged played vpon them in the flanke with their
F artillerie, charged with chaynes, great nayles, stones, and such stuffe, and besides, the souldiers that were on eyther side of the sayd breach, poured foorth a shower of musket and harquebuse shot vpon the assaylants, so as they were forced to recoyle and giue ground: But suddenly resuming courage, with other fresh men, they returned to the assault.

Whereat

Whereat the besieged, both inhabitants and souldiers, shewed themselues so valiant and A
cheerefull, as the enemie (full of despight and shame) was forced to retyre, and leaue the assault, being followed euen vnto the foot of the breach, from whence the besieged brought store of their armes that were slaine, with other thinges. About the euening there was a Spaniard found among the dead bodies, who was not hurt at all: he was carried into the towne, and put to the racke, where he confessed some particularities of the enemies campe, especially of the lodging of *Dom Frederic*, and of the noblemen of the armie, and what number of souldiers there were: the next day this poore wretch was hanged. Afterwards the besiegers did nothing for a long time but myne, to blow vp that bulwarke, where they had that shamefull repulse, keeping themselues otherwise quiet in their trenches. And then began they to coyne the first pieces of siluer in the towne, of sixteene and two and thirtie patars B apeece.

Notwithstanding, the prince of Orange assembled his souldiers together betweene Leyden and Harlem, in a village called Sassen; from whence he sent all necessarie prouision into the towne, as also diuers souldiers, both Wallons, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Scots, vnder diuers captaines, as *Christopher Gunter*, *Schram van Brunswicke*, Dutch captaines, and captaine *Ciery*, *Vehemy*, *Margotin*, *Denna*, *Iasper*, *Sosey*, *Paris*, *Seminade*, and *Balfort*, all French men, Wallons, Scots, and Englishmen, with the Commissaries *Serrate*, *Haulzaine*, *Rosengi*, and *Bordet*, in all fifteene companies, besides foure Dutch companies that were before in the towne, which were all sent in ouer the yce, the water and Harlem meere being as then frosen, and euery day diuers souldiers were sent into the towne with corne, powder, and C other necessaries. Whereby they within being well prouided and furnished of all thinges, valiantly withstood the enemie, and dayly issued out vpon them, so that almost no day passed without skirmishing, hauing fortie or fiftie horsemen, vnder the commaund of *Walter Enchuysen*, borne in Delft, wherewith they brought in diuers prisoners, by whome they vnderstood the enemies pretences, and how they myned vnder the wals. Amongst all their sallies, the notablest was that which was done vpon the fiue and twentieth of March, when they issued with a thousand men, and fell vpon the Dutch quarter in Harlem wood, driuing the Dutchmen out of their skonces, and killed and drowned fiue or sixe hundred men, and tooke from them eleuen enfignes, seuen peeces of Ordnance, and fiftie oxen, burning fiftie tents, and carrying great booties into the towne. D

Adrian van Assendelf, Orator of Harlem, who had beene with *Dierick* of Vriese at Amsterdam, to conferre with *Dom Frederic*, at his returne was taken prisoner, and sent to Delft, vnto the prince of Orange (as we haue said) after that hee had beene examined and conuicted, he was executed for the treasons which hee thought to haue practised against his countrey and the towne, where hee was an officer; his head was set vpon a pole the sixteenth of Ianuarie 1573.

The Recorder of Harlem beheaded at Delft.

1573

Whilest that the Spaniards were busie to vndermine the towne of Harlem, and that they did not issue much out of their trenches, the besieged receyued refreshings often, both of men, victuals, and powder. And as they of Vtrecht sent vnto the Spanish campe three hundred bullets, and sixe and thirtie barrels of powder, the garrison and bourgers of E Woerden met with it, and defeated them, the most part of them being carried vnto the prince of Orange, who was then at Delft. In the meane time, the besieged of Harlem sallyed oftentimes foorth vpon the enemies campe, and returned still with some aduantage.

The seuenteenth of Ianuarie a troupe of souldiers sallyed out of Harlem by the port of Schaelwic, to fall vpon the Germanes quarter, which were at the castle of Russenburch; where (at their first approch) they chased some of these Germanes out of a water-myll, and so passed on vnto their trenches, which they forced, and slew all that they encountred: among the rest, an ensigne bearer of Harlem pulled the colours from a Spanish Alphere, and hauing slaine him, carried them into the towne with him. Hauing woon F this castle of Russenburch, and burned the myll, they returned with victorie into the towne, laden with spoyles and other bootie, and carrying away three of the enemies drummes.

This

A This night it was thought good to abandon the bulwarke that was without the rampars, for that it coſt too many mens liues; and in that place the beſieged did rampar vp the croſſe gate within the towne, the which they made ſtronger than euer it was before. On the nineteenth day of this moneth, *Adrian* of Benkenroede, alderman of the towne, went foorth, to goe to Delft, vnto the prince of Orange, to informe him of the eſtate of the towne, and to bring them backe what was needfull. He had a conuoy of ſome horſemen, and about ſixe hundred harguebuſiers, Wallons, Engliſh, Scottiſh, and high Dutch. The Spaniards went to encounter them about Schaelwyc, Harlemmer-Vlyet, and Vyfhuyſen, where they had planted themſelues to ſtoppe their paſſage vnto the towne. Yet notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers and ſome bourgers of Harlem charged them with ſuch fu-
B rie, as they put them to rout, after that they had ſlaine and drowned aboue two hundred of them, and yet the enemies were farre more in number: which appeared plainely to be the aid and aſſiſtance of God, paſſing thus without any loſſe of their men through the middeſt of their enemies.

The firſt of Februarie, as the Germanes being in guard at the croſſe gate, and at Saint *Iohns* port, had not kept good watch, the Spaniards ſeized on the ſayd port before the breake of day, the which was in a manner all downe, before that the beſieged could diſcouer it. On the other ſide, there were others, who (by the bulwarke of the croſſe gate) crept through the buſhes that were along the rampars, from one port vnto another: there was alſo a part of the armie in battaile, with their colours flying, and the reſt remayned
C readie in their trenches, from S. *Iohns* port vnto the croſſe gate, to giue a great aſſault; ſo as it ſeemed they had no doubt, but to take the towne by force at this attempt: notwithſtanding, the Spaniards were no ſooner readie to begin the aſſault, but the day appeared, and they were diſcouered, and fiftie or threeſcore ſouldiers of the towne, giuing the alarum as lowd as they could, charged ſo furiouſly with them that came ſpeedily to ſuccour them from all parts, as the Spaniards, Wallons and Germanes, which were well aduanced, were ſoone diſlodged, ſo as not any one durſt preſent himſelfe openly, but hee was ſlaine.

The chiefe place where this aſſault was giuen, was at the old bulwarke at the croſſe gate, whereon the enemies had ſeized, for that it had beene abandoned by the beſieged,
D and was oppoſite vnto the new bulwarke, which they of the towne had fortified with great toyle, the which the Spaniards had myned, that hauing blowne it vp, they might carry it by the multitude of their men: but the townef-men had likewiſe made a myne vnder the breach, and had there placed certaine barrels of powder, with other ſtuffe fit and conuenient for that purpoſe. The Spaniards beeing mounted vpon this breach in great numbers, with their colours flying, thereby to winne the rampar of the towne, ſuddenly the beſieged ſet fire vnto their myne, the which blew vp all that was vpon it and on the ſide thereof; men beeing carried away by pieces (a fearefull and terrible ſight to ſee) without heads, others without armes or legges, ſome burſt, and ſome torne in pieces, with horrible and fearefull cries and howlings. And this myne had no ſooner done working, but
E the beſieged iſſued foorth by the ſame breach, charging their enemies euen into their trenches, whereof they made a great ſlaughter; whileſt that on the other ſide, at Saint *Iohns* gate, they ſhot with a demie culuerine, and ſome yron peeces and harguebuſes acrocke, through their ſquadrons, which ſtood there in battaile, expecting their turne, when they ſhould goe vnto the aſſault: but they were enforced to retyre with all ſpeed poſſible into their quarters, carrying backe with them the chiefeſt of their men that were ſlaine. In this aſſault there dyed (of them that were beſieged) one captaine *Lambrecht van Wittemberg*, not vpon the place, but ſoone after, beeing carried vnto his lodging.

Whileſt that the Spaniards were buſied at theſe aſſaults both at the croſſe port, and at that of S. *Iohn*, there entred into the towne (by the port of Schaelwyc) three hundred har-
F guebuſiers, and ſeuentie horſemen, comming from the prince of Oranges campe ouer the yce, bringing an hundred and ſeuentie ſleds, laden with corne and other munition, notwithſtanding that they were chaſed and purſued by ſome horſe and foot of the enemie, very neere vnto the towne.

Dom

Dom Frederic was in deſpaire to win the towne by aſſault, by reaſon of the great garriſon within it, and ſo determined to winne them by hunger: to which end, the duke ſent him more ſouldiers, as diuers Dutchmen, vnder the leading of *Puluilier*, with Wallons, and ſome Italians, and a regiment of thoſe of the league, that was made againſt the Turke: alſo ſome Spaniards, vnder *Dom Gonſalo de Braccamonte*, *Rodorigo de Paz*, *Dom Lopes de Acugna*, and *Dom Lopes de Figuera*, and more horſemen. He likewiſe ſent *Henry de Vienne*, baron de Cheuieaux, with an hundred Burgonians. A

The fourth of Februarie the Spaniards thinking to blow vp a mine which they had made vnder the bulwarke at the croſſe gate, the beſieged hauing vented it, they themſelues ſet fire to it, the which did conſume many pioners and Spaniſh ſouldiers, and did ſmall hurt vnto them of the towne. The eight of the ſame moneth the beſieged receiued another refreſhing of an hundred and fiftie ſleds, laden with corne and other victuals. And as the ſame day the Spaniards gaue an alarum at the bulwarke of the croſſe gate, vnder the which, the beſieged had made a new myne, which they blew vp, with great loſſe of their enemies, eſpecially Wallons, of the regiment of the Seignior of Capres, ſince earle of Henin, who were come to giue this falſe aſſault. B

The Spaniards hauing with the furie of the canon beaten downe the vpper part of Saint *Iohns* gate, the beſieged aduiſed to fill it with earth, bauins, and other kind of wood and ſtone, and to make a platforme there, to defend their curtynes. This worke was ſuddenly finiſhed the ninth of the moneth. On the other ſide, the Spaniards made a high mount at the bulwarke of the croſſe gate, that they might ſhoot into the towne with more eaſe, not ceaſing to vndermine the ports and other bulwarkes, and the beſieged to countermine them: ſo as the tenth day they blew vp another myne, the which ſpoyled many of their enemies. In the end, they of the towne doubting, that the Spaniard (who had pioners and their liues at an eaſie rate) would neuer ceaſe to vndermine their bulwarkes, ports, and rampars, vntill they had turned vp and ouerthrowne all; ſo as giuing at one inſtant a furious aſſault, they ſhould haue eaſie entrance into the towne: The magiſtrats and gouernors thereof thought it therefore good to make a new rampar and ditch within the towne, in forme of a halfe moone, to be by that meanes freed from this feare: The which by a generall conſent was preſently begun, and finiſhed with ſuch diligence, as there was neyther bourgomaſter nor captaine, rich nor poore, women, maides, nor children, that were ſlacke, but did ſtriue to bee firſt at this worke. C D

A halfe moon made within the towne.

The eighteenth of the moneth entred the firſt galley into the ſea of Harlem, being eighrie foot long: and the ſame day there entred into the towne fiue ſhippes with victuals, and another with two pieces of braſſe Ordnance, comming from Leyden: the next day there arriued alſo one with tenne yron peeces, and ſome powder and munition.

Zeeland. At the ſame time, ſome ſhippes of Zeeland hauing taken into their long boates a ſmall number of ſouldiers, departed in the night from la Vere (of whence they were) and went to burne the admirall of Middlebourg, being furniſhed with good Ordnance, euen in the middeſt of their channell, the which they did execute ſo ſuddenly, as they within had ſcarce leyſure to ſaue themſelues. Soone after, the ſaylers of Fleſſingue being ieulous of the honour which they of la Vere had gotten in burning this Admirall, they went alſo to burne fiue great Biſcaine ſhippes, neere vnto Arnemuyden, remayning of the duke of Medina Cœli's fleet. E

Theſe enterpriſes ſeemed to be fooliſh and raſh, by reaſon of the danger that was in the execution; yet ſince they haue found by experience, how neceſſarie and profitable they were vnto them, the enemie being thereby ſo diſappointed of ſhippes of warre and Ordnance, as they could neuer afterwards become maſters of the ſea: which many thought to be the only meanes whereby the Spaniards might ſubdue the Proteſtants of Zeeland and Holland, with the prince of Orange.

At that time the report was ſo great of an armie which they prepared in Antuerpe for the victualling of Middlebourg, as they reſolued in Zeeland to ſtoppe vp the riuer of Eſcaut; for which purpoſe the cloyſter of the Carmes at Fleſſingue was pulled downe, and many ſhips laden with the materials, the which was carried iuſt before Lillo, three leagues from Antuerpe, F

A tuerpe, whereas they were ſunke vpon the three and twentieth day: but the current of the tyde is ſo violent, as at euery ebbing and flowing of the ſea, the ſaid ſhippes were ſome broken and torne in pieces, and ſome carried downe into the ſea, ſo as the paſſage thereof was left open.

In the ſame moneth, they of Bommel (whereof *Diericke van Haſten* was gouernour) ſurpriſed the towne of Meghen, which they ſpoyled, and then abandoned. At that time there were many ſuch like enterpriſes made on eyther ſide. But let vs returne vnto the ſiege of Harlem.

Vpon the eighteenth of Februarie, they of Amſterdam with their galley, and fiue or ſixe barkes, came by the Zuyderſee to Penninex-Veer (which is the place where the toll is payed
B from Harlem vnto Amſterdam, a quarter of a league from Harlem) with an entent to pierce the dike, and to enter that way into the ſea of Harlem. Againſt whom the galley of Harlem (with ſome other barkes) made great reſiſtance, and hindered them: but they returned againe to finiſh that which they had begun. They of Harlem came alſo with their little galley, and with the ſuccour of ſome horſemen (whom they had paſſed, vpon a little bridge at the port of Spaerwoude) they chaſed them from thence, and tooke a ſhippe (which in the countrey language they call Damlooper) full of Spaniards, all the which were ſlaine or hanged at Fuycke.

The ſix and twentieth of the moneth they of Harlem had a great fight at ſea againſt foureteene carauels of Amſterdam. *Gerard* of Ionghe (captaine of the great galley of Harlem)
C knowing, that they of Amſterdam were in this ſea (as it was not ſo great, but he might well diſcouer any ſhipping) without attending for the other captaines his companions, deſirous to haue this honour alone, hee rowed towards them, and went to charge them: The Amſterdamois ſeeing him come alone, enuironed him with their carauels, and made themſelues maſters of his galley: Yet captaine *Ionghe*, although he were hurt, and one of the mariners leaping into a skiffe, ſaued themſelues. His companions, and (among others) *Iacob Anthoniſz*, captaine of the little galley of Harlem, purſued theſe carauels, and hauing ouertaken them, they reſcued the galley by force, the which they of Amſterdam had held aboue two houres; in the which they found ſome of the enemies, whome they did preſently hang at the maine yard of the gally. Not ſatisfied with this reſcue, they purſued the carauels, wher-
D of they tooke one that was new, full of Wallons and Spaniards, whom they ſlew in the furie, except three or foure, which they ſent with a captaines head to Harlem. Such skirmiſhes had the Harlemois often vpon this little ſea.

As during this ſiege, the beſieged had receiued at diuers times, and from diuers places, a good quantitie of Ordnance, to ſerue them at their need, they planted a good part thereof againſt that great mount, which the Spaniards had made before the bulwarke of the croſſe gate, whereof one *Iohn Coningham*, a Scottiſhman, had the charge, who in halfe a day ouerthrew this mount, for the which hee woon great honour in the towne. The Spaniards would haue repayred it, and planted ſome Ordnance thereupon, but *Coningham* ſtill ruined it.

E In the beginning of March, the ſhippes of Zirickzee and la Vere hauing ioyned with them of Fleſſingue (beeing in all an hundred ſhippes of warre) ſayled towards Antuerpe with an intent to fight with the fleet, which was prepared to victuall Middlebourg, which were in all fiftie ſhippes, three and fortie men of warre, and ſeuen laden with victuals and munitions. Zeeland.

The twentieth of March the Spaniſh ſhippes hauing paſſed the ſtreight whereas the Fleſſinguers, with their boates laden with ſtones, had thought to haue ſtopped the paſſage, there paſſed ſome great ſhot on eyther ſide, the which were eaſily heard to Fleſſingue. But the next day the fight was very furious, for that the admirall of Fleſſingue being runne vpon the ſands (through the fault of the pilote) was ſet vpon by tenne Spaniſh ſhippes: yet by the ſuc-
F cours which he had from his conſorts, eſpecially from captaine *Worſt*, hee defended himſelfe ſo valiantly, as the enemies were forced to retyre, not without loſſe of their men. Two dayes after, the Spaniards hauing a wiſhed wind, did what they could to paſſe, where there was a cruell combate, and an infinite number of canon ſhot ſpent on eyther ſide. But the Spa-

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niards ſeeing that the Zeelanders were reſolued to graple with them, they retyred vnto the A
place from whence they departed in the morning. In this fight the vice-admirall of the Spaniards being more aduanced than all the reſt, was ſo battered, and had ſo many men ſlaine, as the bloud guſhed out of euery ſide. The Seignior of Ariette, a Biſcaine, colonel of a regiment of Wallons, the ſargeant maior of the Spaniſh armie (ſo vaine and preſumptuous, as he had a little before publickly vaunted himſelfe in Antuerpe to be *Caſtigador de los veillacos Fiamingos Lutheranos*) and the captaine of the ſaid vice-admirall were all three ſlaine, with foure or fiue hundred ſouldiers and mariners. On the Proteſtants ſide was ſlaine captaine *Cloot*, a Fleming, and fiue or ſix ſouldiers and mariners onely.

The Spaniards loſt in this fight ſo many men, and their greateſt ſhippes (which made the point) were ſo ſpoyled, as they were forced to returne to Antuerpe, to repayre them, and B
to take in freſh ſouldiers; where being arriued, they diſcharged ſo many that were hurt and ſicke, as the hoſpitals were all full. Before they came to Antuerpe, they cauſed their ſmalleſt veſſels to paſſe at Berghen vpon Soom, thinking that from thence they ſhould haue meanes to ſlippe into the land of Ter-Goes, then to Arnemuyden, and from thence to Middlebourg, or elſe it would put the Zeelanders to great charge, who to cut off this paſſage, ſhould be forced to entertaine an armie in that quarter, which charge not being able to furniſh, they ſhould be forced to leaue all: But they were abuſed therin, for Middlebourg was in too great diſtreſſe to be relieued with ſuch ſlender ſuccours. But we will returne to the Spaniards ſiege before Harlem.

The ſeuenteenth of March the Spaniards blew vp a myne which they of Harlem had C
Holland. made, the which the Germanes had abandoned: and as they thought to come thereby to the old bulwarke, the French and Engliſh captaines neuer reſted, vntill that they had recouered it, and chaſed away the Spaniards, whereat the bourgers reioyced much. The next day the aſſaylants blew vp one of their owne mynes, but it was without any effect at all.

The fiue and twentieth of the moneth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, there went forth at the port of Zyel ſome two hundred Wallons, to giue a camiſado to the enemy, who was lodged in the wood of Harlem, where they forced the firſt trenches; but finding themſelues not ſtrong ynough to paſſe on, they were forced to returne vnto the towne, with the loſſe of two men onely. The magiſtrates and gouernours, with the aduice of the colo- D
nels and captaines reſolued, that they ſhould goe againe the ſame day to charge that quarter with nine or tenne companies. About foure of the clocke ſix companies went foorth by the water gate, moſt part Bourguignons, and by the port of Zyel two hundred Frenchmen, and ſome Wallons, to begin the skirmiſh: and in the meane time they cauſed the galley to goe forth with certaine barkes that went with oares, to charge behind on the ſide of the ſea of Harlem. They were Dutch that were lodged in this quarter, where there was wont to be a goodly wood, the which they had cut quite downe this Winter for firing. Vpon their approch, the Germanes ſhot off a peece of Ordnance which touched them not: the beſieged aduancing ſtill, woon their trenches, who (without making any ſhew of reſiſtance) fled, wherein they were ſo purſued, as they could no where ſaue themſelues, vntill they had paſ- E
ſed the water, the which they did with great difficultie, and in ſmall numbers, ſo as at this charge there dyed about a thouſand men, among the which there were of the chiefe, as might be noted by their apparell and iewels which they carried about them, which were brought into the towne. They burned two hundred tents and pauilions of theſe Dutch, and carried two culuerines and fiue faulcons into the towne, with much powder, and for their chiefe glorie, nine enſignes; the which (to deſpight the Spaniards) they carried vpon and downe the new rampar with drummes, and planted them vpon the end of the parapet. Moreouer, they carried into the towne thirtie horſe, and a great number of Kine, Calues, and Sheepe, great ſtore of apparell, rings, corſelets, guilt head-pieces, and of all ſorts of armes; ſo as there was not any ſouldier but had ſomething for his ſhare. The beſie- F
ged had this victorie ouer the Germanes with ſmall loſſe, for they loſt but eight men; among which was one captaine, a Wallon, called *D'Adenne*, a valiant man, and who had done great ſeruice to the towne, in the fortifications, whoſe death was much lamented of all men.

The

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A The eight and twentieth of the moneth, two hundred ſouldiers drawne out of the garriſon of Fleſſingue, led by captaines of the ſame towne, went forth in the night to giue a ſcalado vnto the caſtle of Ramekins, in the Iſland of Walchren; but beeing diſcouered by the centinell, who perceiued the ends of their ladders that were ſet vp againſt the wals, they were forced to retyre from thence, without any effect: in their retreat there was a canonier ſlaine, who had charge of the Ordnance at Fleſſingue, and two ſouldiers hurt with ſtones. Zeland.

This moneth they of Amſterdam ſent (by the hole of the broken dike, ioyning to the Inne, called the Hart, halfe way from Harlem to Amſterdam) three and thirty ſhips of warre and three galleyes into the ſea of Harlem, to hinder the nauigation of the beſieged to-
B wards Leyden and other places. The Harlemois hauing diſcouered them, they preſently ſent foorth their third galley, in the which captaine *Buckhorſt* and captaine *Monregnaut* commaunded, who went into the little Iſland of Caege, neere vnto their other galleyes. Thoſe of Amſterdam, to defend their ſhippes, built a fort at Fuycke, where they lay at anker.

The ninth of Aprill, the prince of Oranges ſhippes, to the number of a hundred, departed from Caege, ſayling towards Fuyck, to charge them of Amſterdam; they of Harlem being aduertiſed thereof, ſent twelue of their ſhippes, but two of them could not goe forward, but the men were forced to goe to land, and to ioyne with two hundred men that were iſſued out of the towne by the water gate, who ſeeing theſe two ſhippes abandoned,
C retyred againe into the towne with the loſſe of ſeuen or eight of them. In the meane time the princes ſhippes were in skirmiſh againſt them of Amſterdam, but hauing a Northerly wind (which was contrarie) they could not come to handy blowes, beſides, they durſt not approch too neere, for feare of the enemies Canon, the which was in the fort of Fuyck.

The twelfth of that moneth the princes ſhippes came before the caſtle of Hemſtede, ſituated vpon the ſhoare of this ſea, at the mouth of the channell that goes to the towne. The beſieged thinking that they would land their men there, ſent out by the port of Zyel a hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, by the Watergate fiue hundred, and by that of Schaelwyc two hundred. But theſe ſhippes putting not any to land, and they which were iſſued foorth, beeing
D hotely charged by the Spaniards, they retyred skirmiſhing euen vnto their ports. In this furie many were hurt by their owne men, captaine *Stenenbourg* was ſhot in the reines, and captaine *Chriſtopher Vader* in the foot. The ſame day ſeuen or eight preſumptuous Spaniards onely, with two enſignes, aduanced to mount into a bulwarke, crying, *Victoria, Victoria, The towne is ours*, but they were ſoone diſlodged, and one of theſe enſigne bearers remayned with his colours for a pawne of their preſumption.

At the laſt, the Spaniards made ſo many ſconces along by the water ſide, that they of Harlem and the princes ſhippes could not paſſe, nor get one vnto the other: they of the towne likewiſe had made ſconces without the towne, that they might come at their ſhips and them, and therewith alſo to defend their cattell that paſtured in the meadowes, which
E they held there as long as they had any, vntill the twelfth of Iune: but after that, by meanes of the enemies ſhippes and ſconces, they were hindered from getting any more victuals into the towne. Colonel *Sonoy* and they of Enchuyſen twice fought to cut the Dremer dike, (beeing a ditch that parteth the Suyer ſea and the Amſtel from the Harlem meere and the waters within the land, and is the onely way, by the which they of Amſterdam get all their prouiſion by land) thinking through that dike to get into the Harlem meere and the other waters, but they were by them of Amſterdam put backe, and beaten from it, with great loſſe of their men, and yet had begun to make a ſconce. They likewiſe tooke Oudekerke, thereby to ſtrengthen themſelues the better: but the Spaniards came ſo ſtrongly vpon them, that they ouerthrew certaine of the princes companies: and hauing ſlaine
F one captaine *Anthonie Oliuer* (a braue ſouldier of Berghen in Henault) at Oudekerke, and vpon the ſixt of Ianuarie throwne his head ouer the walles, into the blocke houſe of the towne of Harlem, with a letter tyed vnto it, ſaying, that it was the head of captaine *Philip Coninghe*, the ſouldiers within were in ſuch a rage, that preſently they ſent for eleuen

uen priſoners, and cauſing them to bee hanged, with their beards all cut after the Gueux manner, they cut off their heads, and putting them in a barrell, with a letter, ſent them vnto the duke of Alua, for his tenth penny, which (they ſayd) they had not yet payed him, and for which cauſe he had beſieged Harlem, and therefore (they ſaid) they had ſent him intereſt for his money, which was the eleuenth head, becauſe he ſhould not complaine of them, and ſo rouled the barrell into the Spaniards ſconce. A

The enemie on the other ſide hauing made a platforme without in their campe, on the ſeuen and twentieth of May they rayſed a paire of gallowes vpon the ſame, and on it hanged certaine ſouldiers and bourgers of the towne, ſome by the neckes, others by the feet, who the day before thought to haue brought certaine powder into the towne: whereat the common ſouldiers within the towne being mooued, preſently ſet a payre of gallowes vpon a bulwarke of the towne, in the face of their enemie, and ranne to fetch one M. *Lambert*, M. *Querin*, ſometimes bourgomaſter of the towne, and *Vrſel* his daughter, being a nunne, ſuch as held with the Spaniards, as alſo one *Adrian van Groeneuen* of Harlem, who not long before had beene brought into the towne, being taken in a skirmiſh by captaine *Claes Ioriſon van Dicke*, and fiue ſouldiers, and a boy, and a prieſt, which they (againſt the magiſtrats will) hanged, the nunne and another woman being drowned, and ranne into the towne to fetch more. B

Thus were the priſoners on both ſides dayly and continually hanged, and vnmercifully thruſt through, and put to death; which conſumed many men. Without the towne, amongſt the enemie, there were many ſlaine by aſſaults, skirmiſhings, ſallies, and blowing vp of mynes, cold, want, and all manner of ſickneſſe and diſeaſes, that it was vncredible; and amongſt the reſt, the baron de Noircarmes, gouernour of Henault, was hurt, the baron de Creſſoniere, generall of the Ordnance, and gouernour of Graueling ſlaine, and diuers other Netherland gentlemen, beſides Spaniards, Italians, and others, whereby it proued a very hard and bloudie ſiege for the enemie. C

Dom Bernardin de Mendoſo in his hyſtorie writeth, That all thoſe that were of the counſell of warre, were ſhot and hurt, and *Dom Frederic* himſelfe, but not ſore wounded. Hee ſayth, there was ſlaine about foure thouſand men of all nations, whereof eight hundred were Spaniards, and among the reſt, *Dom Iacques de Caraual*, *Lorenzo Perea*, *Dom Eſtan de Queſſado*, *Toribro Zimbron*, *Iohn de Ayala*, *Dom Marcus de Toledo*, *Iohn de Vergas*, *Dom Sancio de Ledouigna*, and others of great account. They within, during the ſiege, loſt not many men, although the Spaniards ceaſed not ſtill to ſhoot, blow vp mynes, aſſault and aſſayle them, thereby to leſſen and diminiſh their number, hauing cauſed a great number of mynes to be digged and blowne vp, and they within did the like; they likewiſe caſt great ſtore of fire bals into the towne, wherewith they did no great hurt, but more with great ſhot, which ſpoyled many men, they within the towne dayly telling, how often they ſhot, found, that they had ſhot aboue ten thouſand three hundred and ſixtie great bullets againſt the towne, wherewith they did great hurt vnto the wals, towers, and houſes of the ſame. Vpon the platforme they ſet vp foure maſtes, whereas with cords they drew vp on high a wooden houſe, open both before and behind, wherein there ſtood certaine harquebuſiers, to ſhoot at thoſe that they ſaw within the towne, or that went in the ſtreetes; but they within the towne ſhot the cords in pieces, whereby the ſouldiers and their houſe both fell downe. After that, they ſet vp another, and wound that with vices vp vpon the maſtes, but it was pierced through with ſhot, and at the laſt was blowne downe by the wind: And they of Harlem hauing receiued twelue peeces of Ordnance that were ſent them (whereof two were braſſe peeces, that were giuen them by the towne of Leyden) they therwith brake and ſhot fiue of the enemies Ordnance (ſtanding vpon the aforeſaid platforme) all in pieces. D E

Zeeland. The ſame day the Proteſtants of Zeeland hauing drawne two companies out of Fleſſingue, and as many from la Vere, with ſome Flemiſh ſouldiers that came from Zirickzee, making in all fourteene hundred men, planted their ſiege before the caſtle of Soubourg, halfe way betwixt Fleſſingue and Middlebourg, and began to batter it by foure of the clocke in the morning with three peeces of Ordnance, which they had brought from Fleſſingue, and yet F

The ſiege before Soubourg

the

A the beſieged ſeemed to be nothing amazed. This batterie was continued but two or three houres, by reaſon of the ſmall ſtore of powder that was then in Fleſſingue, which they would ſpare againſt the comming of the fleet of Antuerpe, the which they expected dayly.

The newes being come to Middlebourg, that the ſayd caſtle was beſieged, there iſſued foorth foure hundred ſouldiers to goe and ſuccour it, againſt whome were ſent three or foure hundred of them that were at the ſiege. At their encounter there was ſo furious a skirmiſh, as they of Middlebourg hauing loſt many of their men, were forced to returne vnto their towne. The next day there ſallied foorth againe two hundred men out of Middlebourg, not to skirmiſh with the aſſaylants, but to giue a ſigne vnto the beſieged, to
B ſaue themſelues in the beſt ſort that they could, knowing well, that they would ſoone want victuals.

The beſieged hauing loſt all hope of ſuccours, demaunded a ceſſation of armes on the Tueſday morning vntill ſix of the clocke at night, the which did much reioyce the beſiegers, who (for want of powder not able to make a breach) were reſolued to retyre the night following. Six of the clocke being come, without any ſhew of ſuccours, they were ſummoned to yeeld, whereunto they agreed, vpon condition, that they might depart with their liues, armes, and baggage ſafe; the which was graunted vnto them, and ſo they were conducted vnto Middlebourg. The beſiegers put a companie of the garriſon of la Vere into the caſtle. The place being viſited, they found that they were not preſſed with want
C of victuals or munition belonging vnto warre; and after they had kept it nine or tenne dayes, to the end it ſhould be no further charge to them of Fleſſingue, they ſet fire o nit, and abandoned it. Soubourg yeelded by accord, & burnt.

The fifteenth day of Aprill the Harlemois ſent foorth a galley into their ſea of an hundred and eight foot long. And the eighteenth day there entred into the towne fiue captaines, *Serraets*, *Roſtowe*, *Blondel*, *Darhem*, *Maligan*, and other commaunders, to the number of fifteene, bringing with them ſome ſouldiers and powder.

The next day the princes ſhippes put two thouſand men on land, ioyning to the fiue houſes, to awake the Spaniards: but for that they of the towne did not iſſue forth, they did not any thing. The night following, captaine *Ballour* with his Scottiſhmen gaue a camiſado to
D them that were at Ruſſenburch, which they forced, & defeated a great number, carrying away foure enſignes. The twentieth day the Spaniards came as well by land, as with their galleyes (which came from Fuycke) to take it againe, but they were repulſed with ſhame and loſſe.

The foure and twentieth of the moneth, at foure of the clocke in the morning, they diſcouered from the rampars of Fleſſingue the fleet of Antuerpe, prepared for the victualling of Middlebourg, the which was preſently aſſayled by the ſhippes of Zeeland; but they kept ſo cloſe together, and in ſuch good order, as leauing the Zeelanders ſcattered and vnder their lee, they caſt anker betwixt Fleſſingue and the Ramekins, attending the floud, hauing not yet receiued any loſſe, the which did amaze the inhabitants of Fleſſingue, who had ſuch an opinion
E of the fleet of Zeeland, as the Spaniards could not reſiſt them. Beeing at anker, and the wind Northerly (which was contrarie to them) they were forced to ſtay the tide, to goe vp to the caſtle of Ramekins. But before the tide came, the Spaniards were aſſayled by ſome ſmall barks of Zeeland, to whoſe ſuccour there came ſome great ſhippes, ſo as in the end there were fiue great ſhippes taken and carried to Fleſſingue, hauing ſlaine moſt of the men that were in them: another which had run on ground, was burned by her owne men, which ſaued themſelues. This ſhippe was laden with corne, which the poore men of Fleſſingue went to fetch in ſackes, being not burned to the bottome. That which gaue the beginning to this victorie, was the hardie attempt of a mariner of Zeeland, which vndertooke to cut the cable of a Spaniſh ſhippe called the Elephant, whereas the Seignior of Blicqui commaunded with other gentle-
F men; the which being well executed, the ſaid ſhippe came among the Zeelanders, where it was aſſayled, and after great reſiſtance vanquiſhed. In this combate the Spaniards loſt ſeuen mightie ſhippes, whereof fiue were carried to Fleſſingue, with their artillerie (which was very great) laden with victuals, which they thought to carry vnto Middlebourg; one Zeeland. A fight at ſea.

was burned, laden with corne, and another was caſt away vpon the ſands, neere vnto the Ramekins. On the Spaniards ſide was ſlaine the Seignior of Blicquy, a gentleman of Henault, cut off by the waſt with a chayne-ſhot, and with him, ſome captaines and gentlemen. *Charles Grenet* (brother vnto the Seignior of Werp, who was in Middlebourg) was carried priſoner to Fleſſingue; where, at his firſt entrance, he was in danger to haue beene maſſacred by the mariners, if the women had not ſaued his life. There was in this defeat about nine hundred men ſlaine and drowned on the Spaniards ſide, and but few taken priſoners. A

Holland. The reſt of the moneth of Aprill was ſpent at the ſiege of Harlem in light skirmiſhes on eyther ſide, and then there was forged in the towne a certaine peece of ſiluer, carrying on the one ſide the armes of the towne, and on the other, their deuice, *Vincit vim Virtus*. B

Zeeland. In the beginning of May the Seignior of Roulle, gouernour of la Vere, hauing gathered together a thouſand men out of his owne garriſon, Fleſſingue, Ziriczee, and other places, made an enterpriſe vpon the Iſland and towne of Tolon, which he thought to carry, relying vpon his friends and intelligence there. But preſenting himſelfe before the towne, about ſix of the clocke in the morning, as ſoone as he was diſcouered, they ſaluted him with the canon and ſmall ſhot, ſo as captaine *Ambroiſe le Duke*, and ſome of his ſouldiers beeing wounded, they were enforced to retyre. And although there were no hope of good ſucceſſe in this enterpriſe, being thus diſcouered, yet they continued there ſo long, as they of the Iſland and the towne being ioyned together with all their forces, went to charge them with ſuch furie, as they were put to rout, and defeated; whereof the Flemings were the cauſe: for by their flight they gaue courage vnto their enemies, and diſmayed the Wallons their companions, who (being about three hundred men) defended themſelues valiantly in the trenches which they had made; ſo as in the end being forced, they were all cut in pieces. In this encounter, captaine *Schoeneuall* and his enſigne-bearer were ſlaine, and almoſt all his companie, being for the moſt part of thoſe that had remained almoſt ſix yeares in the woods, hauing beene at the ſurpriſe of Audenarde, as wee haue ſayd before. The Seignior of Roulle was alſo ſlaine by his owne men, accuſing him, that hee had brought them vnto the ſlaughter. Captaine *Iacob Simonſon* was taken priſoner, and ſome few ſouldiers, who (being put into the Spaniſh gallies) were drowned, except ſome few, which found meanes to ſaue themſelues. At the ſame time there dyed one captaine *Thibaut Worſt*, admirall of Fleſſingue, a captaine as free from ambition and couetouſneſſe, as valiant and hardie, in whoſe place there was another choſen, very well tryed for his great valour. C D

Holland. The ninth of May (being Whitſon eue) the Spaniards did caſt a mans head into one of the bulwarkes at Harlem, with a note containing theſe words, *Behold the head of captaine* Oliuer. The beſieged had two pigeons drawne out of their doue-houſes; the which they carried often vnto the prince of Orange his campe, from whence they let them flye, with little ſcrowles tied about their thighes, the which came into the towne to their Pigeon houſes: they were called *Flying meſſengers*. E

The ſhippes of Amſterdam did ſo keepe the ſea of Harlem (being very many) as little could come that way vnto the towne, the which was ſo ſtraightly beſieged, as nothing could come in or goe out, but with extreame perill and danger, if it were not to make ſome ſally, or to skirmiſh; as they did vpon the ſixteenth of the moneth, when they went to charge them that were lodged in the fort by the Wood, whome they chaſed from thence, and the next day they tooke the fort of Fuyck by aſſault: then they went as farre as the houſe of *Iohn Pitteman* (the which was held by the Spaniards) whereas they ſlew two centinels, and brought away three cloakes, and the couering of a bed.

The beſieged of the towne of Harlem did ſometimes blow vp a myne of their rampar, at the foot whereof, the enemies were lodged, which did much annoy them. There was alſo an order, That all the earth which they brought vnto the rampar, ſhould be caſt into the ditch, the which was in ſuch abundance, as by that meanes they did enlarge their rampar without, aboue two fadomes. F

The

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A The 17 of the month the fleet for the victualing of Middlebourg, being behind the caſtle of Ramekins, and prepared to return to Antuerp, they aduanced a little, and went to anker on the other ſide of the caſtle, attending a wind fit for their voiage. The ſame day there iſſued forth about three hundred men out of Middlebourg, who came within canon ſhot of Fleſſingue, along the dike betwixt Ramekins and the towne: being diſcouered, there ſallied forth (as it were by force) a number of ſouldiers of the companies of *Eloy* and *Bernard*: at their incounter the skirmiſh grew ſo hot, as they of Middlebourg, hauing many of their ſouldiers hurt, and ſome ſlaine, retired. And it is worthy the noting, that although the skirmiſh continued four howers verie furious, yet there was not any one of them of Fleſſingue ſlaine nor hurt. Zeeland.

The fiue and twentieth of the moneth, the Spaniards hauing recouered the fort of Fuycke, Holland.
B they ſallied forth about fiue hundred men, and came and aſſaulted the fort of Ruſſenburch, which was held by them of the towne: at their firſt approach there were but nine or ten men, the reſt being gone vnto the towne, but they returned ſodainly at the noyſe of the ſhot, and entred by another way. The charge was furious: for at the firſt the Spaniards tooke the intrenchment of the counterſcarpe, of that ſide where they approached, euen vnto the bridge, where there was a captaine ſlaine, or at the leaſt ſome man of account; and aduancing neerer there was a captaine with ſeuen Spaniards ſlaine: The captaines heads were cut off, and ſent that night into the towne, and ſet vpon pikes at the end of a bulwarke, in reuenge of that of captain *Oliuer*, whereas they remained all the day following: at which skirmiſh there were ſome fortie ſouldiers hurt, the which were put into ſmal barkes by their companions, and carried to their
C quarter. And as they made their retreat, it happened that *Iohn Schaiter*, holding a little barrell of powder, to diſtribute among the ſouldiers, by miſchance it fell on fire, whereby both he and *Serrats*, with ſeuen or eight more, were verie ſore burnt: but to recompence this miſchance they had a chaine of gold weighing three hundred crowns, from one of the Spaniſh captains. All this time of the ſiege the kine and other cattel fed without the town along the ditches. The Spaniards went in good numbers to fetch them away, and although they had taken ſeuen or eight, yet were they ſo hotly purſued by them of the Filth, as they were forced to abandon them, and to flie, paying for their raſhneſſe by the death of ſix of them. They returned two dayes after to haue their reuenge, but they had the like entertainement, with the loſſe of a ſergeant and foure ſouldiers.

D The 27 day the Spaniards ſet vp a gibet, about nine of the clocke at the night, vpon the firſt bulwarke which they had taken, where they did hang ſome bourgers & ſouldiers, which they had taken two dayes before, ſome by the necke, and ſome by the feet. This did wonderfully incenſe the towne ſouldiers, who to be reuenged, and in exchange, did in like ſort ſet vp a gibet vpon one of their bulwarkes, oppoſit to the chiefe quarter of the Spaniards, and there they did hang M. *Lambrechs*, and M. *Quirin* (ſometimes bourgmaſters, and then priſoners for ſuſpition of treaſon) *Adrian Groenenuych*, certaine prieſts, a boy taken in the wood, and with them fiue ſouldiers; the daughter of the ſaid M. *Quirin*, and a Wallon woman taken in the wood, were put in a ſacke, and caſt into the riuer. Theſe twelue were thus executed through the furie of the ſouldiers, without the authoritie or conſent of the magiſtrats and captaines. Without
E doubt this was a lamentable warre, whereas commonly they that firſt begin theſe executions, are the firſt that ſmart for it, and repent it.

The 27 of May the Spaniſh fleet began to ſet ſaile, and to aduance vnto the end of the ſand, which is along the dike of Ramekins, & for that the ſhips of Fleſſingue were there at anker, attending to fight with them, the Spaniards had ſent men along the ſaid dike, to ſeize vpon the head of it, and to furniſh it with artillerie: the which beeing done, they began to ſhoot at the Fleſſinguers with ſuch fury, as they were forced to abandon the place vnto their enemies, who came and ankered there, attending a proſperous wind to finiſh their voyage: But the ſame day the ſmall ſhips of Fleſſingue coaſting them, hauing gotten the wind, went to skirmiſh with A ſea fight.
them with the canon, for the ſpace of fiue or ſix howers, ſo as many of the enemies ſhips were
F ſhot thorough in diuers places, and one hoy laden with ſalt carried away: the great ſhip, called the *Virgin of Antuerpe* had her maine maſt carried away, in the which there died by the canon a great number, as well ſouldiers and mariners, as bourgers, women, and children, which they had taken in Middlebourg to carrie to Antuerpe: beſides the fire fell in the powder, and conſumed

sumed manie, and the ship had beene quite burnt, if the Spaniards had not brought some peeces of ordnance right against the place where as the ship was run on ground, the which forced the Flessinguers to retire, and yet one of their peeces burst at the first shoot that they shot at them. A

The next day, the Spaniards seeing their ships greatly spoiled, and many of their men hurt, they retired, from whence they came vnder the castle of Ramekins, and the Zeelanders to the same place, where they had charged their enemies, for that they had quit that head, and retired their artillerie.

Holland. The eight and twentieth day of the moneth the Spanish ships, to the number of three score and three, being vpon the sea of Harlem, did charge the prince of Oranges fleet so furiously, as they defeated them, and tooke one and twentie: for which victorie the Spaniards made bonefiers. And the same day they set vpon the fort which the townes-men had at the mouth of the sea, from the which they were thrice repulsed: but they within seeing in the end no hope of succours, and hauing no ships to retire in, their powder also beginning to faile them, they yeelded it, vpon condition to haue liues and goods saued. B

The princes ships defeated.

The thirtieth day the Spaniards blew vp a mine, which carried away three souldiers of the towne, and there was captaine *Couchy* and captaine *Vemy* in great danger of their liues: for *Vemy* was buried in the mine, so as the pioners were faine to dig him out. There was a souldier cast with the earth that was vnder his feet, ouer the rampar into the ditch, hauing no harme, so as notwithstanding all the shot that were made at him, hee mounted vp the rampar againe, and got safely into the towne. C

The first of Iune the Spaniards caused eleuen more to be hanged vpon their bulwarke at Harlem, and the besieged to haue their reuenge, sent forth fortie harquebuziers to seek for Spaniards in the wood, but finding themselues too weak, they returned backe into the town without any exploit. The third day the Spaniards built a little lodge of fiue boords, open on the top and behind, hanged in the aire vpon foure masts, being raised vp and let downe, as with a pully, in the which they placed foure musketiers, to shoot into the towne continually, specially at them that should present themselues vpon the rampars: but they had not discharged twice, but the besieged discouering it, cut asunder the ropes whereby this lodge did hang in the aire, with a chaine shot, so as the ropes and a peece of the lodge being carried away, three of the souldiers fell downe with a lamentable crie, being in truth an idle inuention to cast away men. The same day a messenger went forth with pigeons, to send them backe againe with aduertisements. D

Zeeland. The third day of the moneth the armie of Antuerpe went and lay vnder the castle of Ramekins, as if they would retire towards Antuerpe, but it was to no other end, but to find means to get into Middlebourg certaine boats laden with corne, which were at Ter-Goes: for hauing shut vp the chanell with their great ships, and fortified themselues with artillery vpon the dike, they sent their small vessels towards Ter-Goes, who easily forced the Zeelanders that were planted there to guard the passage, for that eight or nine of their ships that were best armed, were gone vpon the coast of Flanders, to keepe some English ships laden with marchandise from entring into Scluce. In which attempt the Spaniards vsed such diligence, as the same day they returned from Ter-Goes to Middlebourg, with six boats laden with corne. The same day there was a long and furious skirmish vpon the dike, betwixt the souldiers of Flessingue and them that guarded the artillerie vpon the head of the dike, til that in the end the Spaniards (hauing lost one of their peeces, which brake) were forced to abandon the place, leauing many of their men, with small losse to them of Flessingue, but some hurt. E

The fourth of the moneth the Spaniards being returned from their voyage of Ter-Goes, presented themselues in great numbers to recouer this head, which the Flessinguers had begun to fortifie, to hinder the entry into the hauen of Middlebourg: but the fort not being yet in defence, and seeing that the Spaniards came with artillerie, and a great number of souldiers, they being but few, they did abandon it, and flie, with the losse of one of the bourgers of Flessingue, who was caried prisoner to Middlebourg. The Spaniards hauing recouered this head, they forced the Zeelanders ships to retire farther into the sea, with their great shot, aduancing their owne a little more. F

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A The ſixt of the moneth about noone, the fleet of Antuerpe began to ſet ſaile towards Antuerpe, hauing the great ſhips of Zeeland in front of them, and the leſſer behind. At the firſt incounter of theſe two armies, they plaid ſo furiouſly with their ordnance on both ſides, as the ſea ſeemed to be on fire. The admirall of Zeeland, called the Lion, was ingaged in the middeſt of the Spaniſh fleet, without any one to ſecond her (for the reſt of their fleet lay in the wind) and yet the Spaniard hauing no intent but to paſſe and to performe his voiage, made no ſhew to ſet vpon the admirall. But thinking to retire to her owne fleet, and ſo all together to purſue the enemie, ſhe fell fowle vpon a great Biſcaine ſhip, the which being vneaſie to boord, and hauing many ſouldiers in her, made long reſiſtance, ſo as the admirall of Zeeland, after that ſhee had vanquiſhed her, could not returne in time to follow the reſt of the fleet, the which was
B notwithſtanding purſued all night long, and battered with the canon. This Biſcaine ſhip was brought to Fleſſingue, with a hulke and foure hoyes, laden with ſalt and other marchandiſe: in the which ſhips the Spaniards loſt about three hundred men, whereof the moſt part were Spaniards and Italians, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine and hurt in the other ſhips with the ordnance.

On the ninth day the Fleſſinguers being aduertiſed that two other great Biſcain ſhips were yet behind, they ſent after them two great ſhips, and fiue or ſix ſmaller barkes of Zeeland: and although the Biſcaines, as ſoone as they had diſcouered them, ſailed towards Antuerpe, yet were they ſoone ouertaken, and one of them was ſo battered with the canon, as they were forced to run on ground, and the men to abandon her, in the which they found twentie fiue men
C ſlaine, ſix peeces of braſſe ordnance, and ſome pillage, the which hauing drawne forth, they fired the ſhip. The like had happened vnto the admirall of Biſcaie, if ſhee had not beene ſuccored from Antuerpe, yet ſhe was ſore battered, and loſt many men.

The fleet of Antuerp being retired, they were troubled at Fleſſingue for the paiment of their ſouldiers and mariners, who called for money: To whom anſwer was made, That there was no meanes to recouer money, but in going to fetch ſalt in the road of Arnemuyden, whither they went with their ſmaller ſhips of warre, and many ſouldiers in them, and ſetting certaine ſayles (which they carried with them) to the hulkes that were laden with ſalt, they brought nine away to Fleſſingue. The tenth day at eleuen of the clocke at night died the ſeignior of
D Berlant, gouernor and bailife of Fleſſingue, a man well affected to his countrey, and carefull in his charge, who had great credit among the bourgers and mariners of Fleſſingue, by reaſon of the loue they bare him: it was giuen out that he had been poiſoned by a woman, whom hee had lodged in his houſe.

The twelfth of Iune there was a proclamation made in Fleſſingue in the prince of Oranges name, permitting al merchants, French, Engliſh, Scottiſh, Germans, and Eſterlings, to traffique freely into Flanders, Brabant, and other places of the Netherlands, and to bring al ſorts of merchandiſe thither, except thoſe that ſhould be excepted by proclamation: prouided alwayes, that they take their paſſeports at the places mentioned therein, and to pay the ordinarie cuſtomes: vpon paine of confiſcation of all their ſhippes and goods to them that ſhould infringe it. Libertie giuen by the prince to traffique.

E This moneth was ſpent at the ſiege of Harlem in blowing vp of mines and other martiall attempts. The beſieged hauing receiued no refreſhing of a long time, and fearing they might bee driuen to ſome extremities, began to ſet downe an order for the diſtribution of their victuals. Holland.

On the foureteenth day the Spaniards put themſelues in battaile, preparing to giue an aſſault, and withall blew vp a mine, wherewith fortie of the towne ſouldiers were ſlaine, and then they came reſolutely to the aſſault; but ſeeing the beſieged attend them full of courage, they retired ſodainly.

The ſeuenteenth day the ſeigniours of Serrats and Houtin were ſent out of the towne with ſome troops of harquebuſiers to Fuyck, to informe the prince of Orange of the eſtate
F of the beſieged, carrying many pigeons with them. Being ſafely arriued, they gaue them notice thereof by fire: and the next day the prince ſent backe one of theſe pigeons with a letter, by the which hee did aduertiſe the beſieged, that hee was at Leyden, and that the baron of Batembourg, his lieutenant, was betwixt Amſterdam and Vtrecht, to cut off the victuals

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from the Spaniſh campe: and as for their ſuccours, he made all the haſt that poſſible he could. A
Great famine in Harlem. Then was there made a new rampar within the towne from S. *Marguerites* cloiſter vnto Saint *Iohns* gate. The famine began to grow great within the town, for that for want of victuals they began to eat horſes, dogs, cats, and ſuch like.

The two and twentieth they ſent a pigeon into the towne with letters from the prince, ſending them word that he would come ſpeedily to ſuccour them. They had many ſuch meſſengers, to incourage the beſieged, who ſometimes made ſallies towards the ſea, to ſee if they might haue any refreſhing of victuals from the princes ſhips; but they profited nothing, although at that time there was nothing in the towne but bread of Linſeed and Turnups, and the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, and ſuch like.

Zeeland. The Zeelanders knowing by experience how much the head of the dike which is betwixt B
Ramekins & Fleſſingue did import, & what aduantage it gaue vnto the Spaniards when they held it, reſolued to fortifie it well, and to keepe it: ſo as hauing aſſembled a number of pioners at Fleſſingue, la Vere, Ziriczee, and diuers other places, they began the 21 of Iune to fortifie it, and for their defence that laboured, they cauſed two companies to come from the neereſt garriſons, with one from Fleſſingue, which were in guard by turnes. The Spaniard reſolued to hinder this fortification, to which end he drew as many ſouldiers as he could out of Middlebourg and Arnemuyden, cauſing a part of them to come along the dike with three peeces of artillerie, the other part marching into the country, that they might ſhoot in flanke at them that ſhould diſcouer themſelues vpon the dike. Marching in this manner they charged them that guarded the trenches at one inſtant, who ſeemed nothing amazed at all this ſhot which flew C
like haile ſtones about their eares, but reſiſted them ſo couragiouſly, as looſing all hope to force their trenches, they fled, as well they that came along the dike, as the others that came through the countrey. At this charge there were ten or twelue Spaniards ſlaine vpon the place, beſides
The ſeignior of Laten ſlaine the hurt men whom they carried away, and among others the ſeignior of Laten, gouernour of Middlebourg, was hurt vpon the dike, with a falcon ſhot from the Zeelanders ſhips, which lay at anker right againſt them, whereof he died ſoone after. They left alſo one of their peeces of ordnance, the which was carried by the ſouldiers into the Zeelanders trenches. The ſame day the ſeignior of Boiſot arriued at Fleſſingue, being appointed gouernor there by the prince of Orange, after the death of the ſeignior of Berlant. And the 24 day did alſo arriue there the
lord of Lorges, ſon to the earle of Montgomery, with about 200 harquebuſiers French, braue D
ſouldiers, and well armed, who parted the next day to go vnto the prince.

About that time doctor *Iunius* gouernor of la Vere, and the ſeignior of Boiſot gouernor of Fleſſingue, thought to execute an enterpriſe, which had bin long ſecretly practiſed, vpon Middlebourg, with a maſter gunner of the ſame towne, who bragged that he had two or 300 bourgers which fauoured this deſigne: which was, that the ſaid gouernors ſhould come and lye in ambuſh with their men in a garden neere vnto the towne, and at the ſame inſtant an allarum ſhould be giuen both by ſea and land, at Arnemuyden, cauſing it to be giuen out, that the forces which they had gathered together, were to aſſail Arnemuyden, to whoſe ſuccor in ſuch occurrents there vſually went two or three companies of the garriſon of Middlebourg, and then the gate next vnto the ambuſh (which they called the port of Dam) ſhould be opened by the E
ſaid gunner and his adherents, hauing firſt made a ſigne to them that ſhould bee in the garden. To execut this enterpriſe there went out of Fleſſingue about 9 of the clocke at night 1000 or 1200 men, gathered out of all the neighbor garriſons, who went and lodged themſelues in the ſaid garden, and were not diſcouered. And to the end they might the better diſcouer the ſigne that ſhold be giuen them, they ſet 14 or 15 men in centinel in a burnt houſe, betwixt the town and the ſaid garden, the which was alſo done without diſcouery. About foure of the clocke in the morning the allarum was giuen at Arnemuyden both by ſea and land, and preſently they heard the drums ſound in Middleburg to go & ſuccor them, ſo as before 6 of the clock 2 companies were gone forth, & the 3 prepared to follow. The centinel that was ſent out of this burnt houſe, to diſcouer about the port, being wearie with ſtaying ſo long, ſeeing two or three men F
come foorth, returned to the ſaid houſe, whereas the others that had remained there, ſent two of their companie to the garden, to ſee if their troupes were yet there; but being diſcouered by them of the town of Middleburg, they began to cry armes, at which cry

the

A the companie that was readie to goe forth ran to the rampar, and the others that were gone were called backe againe: and so this enterprise was made frustrat. If hee that commanded the centinels (a member of the garrison of la Vere) had well plaid his part, it was likely the enterprise would haue proued very successefull.

Holland.

The first of Iuly about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, captaine *Pellican*, and *Cornellis Mathew*, with either of them a souldier, went out of Harlem by the port Zyel, and came into a place whereas they did white clothes, to conferre with some Spanish captains, and their prouost generall: Who said vnto them, That their colonell desired to speake with the gouernours and commanders that were in the towne; as they did the same day at fiue of the clocke in the euening. Then there came the earle of Ouerstein, with foure of his captaines, and the

A conference betwixt them of Harlem and the campe.

B bourgmaster *Iohn van Vlyet*, with the captaines *Steenbach*, *Roßigny*, and *Pellican*, who conferred together about halfe an houre, betwixt the little wood and the watergate, but they could not resolue any thing.

The next day the Spaniard planted all his artillerie against the towne; he shot furiously at the tower of Pin, and at Rauenstein, so as the tower and the wal were beaten downe; they shot violently among the houses, and the tower on S. *Katherines* bridge was beaten downe: then they brought into the ditch two floating bridges, to goe vnto the assault, but they that brought them were so roughly entertained, as twentie of them were left vpon the place. That day the besieged hung a blacke cloth out at their steeple, to let the prince of Oranges ships vnderstand in what miserie the towne was, the which they did againe two dayes after. The fourth day

C there returned a pigeon with a letter from the prince, who promised to come and succor them the night following: Whereupon the souldiers of the towne attending howerly his succors, gaue a camisado, but nothing appeared.

The fifth day the besieged entred againe into conference with the Spaniard, whereas there were six of either side. For *Dom Frederic* came the earle of Bossu, the earle of Ouerstein, and foure others: for the towne, the bourgmaster *Iohn van Vlyet*, the captaines *Steenbach*, *Rossigny*, *Sohay*, *Pellican*, and *Cornellis Mathew*, but they could not agree, the souldiers refusing to depart without their armes. The same day the princes ships shewed themselues to them of the towne; whereof the besieged being verie ioyfull, went out in great numbers to second them. The Spaniards seeing this, gaue the allarum at the bulwarkes, which made the souldiers

D returne againe to defend their rampars, from whence they chased the Spaniards; and that day were made the eight last shot of ten thousand two hundred, which had beene discharged against the town during the siege. The eight day there returned a pigeon with a letter from the prince, promising to come the night following to succour them, that his ships should giue a false allarum at Fuyck, but his whole armie should come on the side of the wood. Hereupon the besieged made a sally with about two thousand men, meaning to fall vpon some of the enemies quarters: but this designe was broken, which made the besieged to faint and to bee out of hope.

The ninth day there came another pigeon, aduertising them that the princes armie had bin defeated at Mannepat, comming to succour them vnder the command of the baron of Bat-

The succours of Harlem, and the princes armie defeated.

E tembourg, lieutenant to the prince: in which defeat the said baron, and the seigniour of Clotingen and Carloo were slaine. These newes being heard in the towne, some captaines commanded their souldiers to be readie to depart the towne, wherein they would leaue onely the women and children. But this being vnderstood by the women, they assembled all together, making the most pitifull cries and lamentations that could bee heard, the which would haue moued a heart of flint, so as it was not possible to abandon them.

The tenth day the besieged prepared to forsake the towne, so as it was ordained, that seuen companies should make the foreward, and nine the rereward, that in the battaile the bourgesses and sworne companies should march all in armes, and in the middest of them the magistrats, women, and children. But this designe was broken by a letter from the Spaniards that

F were quartered in the wood, assuring them, that all that remained in the towne should haue mercie: which the German captaines, and other souldiers, beleeued too lightly. And the same day, in token of the victorie which the Spaniards had gotten of the baron of Battembourg, they planted vpon their bulwarke nine ensignes, which they had taken in this defeat.

The

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The eleuenth day at night fiue companies of Wallons went out of the towne, beeing followed by the companies of harquebuſiers, and ſome other bourgers: they were in a manner all out, ſo as there ſcarce remained any man on the rampar where the breach was, the which happened by an amazement which fell among them: but as there was not any man to ſet vp the bridges, they returned diſmaied into the towne, euerie one to his quarter, and to his guard, and if God had not then preſerued the towne, the Spaniard had eaſily carried it, for it was almoſt mid-night before the ſouldiers and bourgers were in guard at the rampar. A

A compoſition to yeeld the Towne vpon vnſure conditions.

The twelfth day the two bourgmaſters, captaine *Steenback Roſſigny*, and *Chriſtopher Vader*, agreed vpon certaine conditions to yeeld vp the towne to the Spaniard. But this accord did not pleaſe *Roſſigny*, who aduertiſed the other captaines French and Wallons: whereupon they drew vp the bridges of the towne, that the Spaniards might not enter, yet in the end vpon the good hope was giuen them, they conſented. The thirteenth day proclamation was made by the drumme, That all the companies ſhould aſſemble together in one place, as they did, where they were demaunded, whether they would ſtay in the towne at the duke of Aluaes mercie, or depart without armes. Whereupon they anſwered, That they had rather ſtay at the dukes mercie, than to leaue their armes: the which they ſaid the more willingly, for that they had told the Eaſterlings and the Scottiſh men that they were pardoned: And ſo the ſouldiers recommending themſelues to God, reſolued to attend what might happen vnto them. Captaine *Bordet*, a French man, hearing them ſpeake of yeelding to their mercie, called one of his ſouldiers, and ſaid vnto him, Souldier, my friend, come hither, thou haſt done mee many good ſeruices, doe me now this laſt, ſhooting me thorow the bodie with thy harquebuſe: the ſouldier refuſed him, but through intreaties and importunities he did it. And ſo died *Bordet*, not feeling the crueltie of his enemies, and ſcorning to die by the hand of a hangman. The cauſe of this Roman-like act was, for that the Spaniards had declared, that there was no mercie for them that had beene beſieged at Mons in Henault, where the ſaid captaine *Bordet* had beene. B C

The yeelding vp of the town agreed vnto.

The foureteenth day the companies were ſent for to the towne-houſe, to know if they did conſent to that accord, by the which the bourgmaſters had redeemed the towne from ſpoile, for two hundred and fortie thouſand florins, at two paiments, one hundred thouſand within twelue dayes, and the reſt at three monethes. Whereunto hauing conſented, the deputies went to confirme this agreement, the which being thus concluded, the towne was put into *Dom Fredericks* hands: Then commandement was giuen, that at the ſound of the great bell all bourgers and ſouldiers ſhould bring their armes into the ſtate-houſe, that the townes-men ſhould goe into the cloiſter of Zyel, the women into the cathedrall church, and the ſouldiers into the church of Bakemiſſe, but the Germans and Scottiſh men ſhould ſtill keepe the guard at the rampar. This done, *Philip Martin*, ſometimes bourgmaſter of the ſaid towne (who during the ſiege had remained with *Dom Frederic*) went to the cloiſter of Zyel, to intreat the bourgmaſters and the bourgers, to prouide the money that was promiſed ſpeedily, leaſt that by delayes the towne might bee ſpoyled. D

The ſame day the Spaniards being entred, commandement was alſo giuen to the Scots and Germans to bring their armes vnto the towne-houſe, and from thence were led vnto S. *Katherines* cloiſter, and to S. *Vrſula*, where they were giuen in guard to certaine Spaniſh ſouldiers: This done, *Dom Frederic*, the earle of Boſſu, with ſome other noblemen, entred into the towne, and preſently all the Enſignes of companies (hauing the day before deliuered vp their colours into the Spaniards hands) were put in priſon, and afterwards ſent with a guard to the caſtle of Cleef. Whileſt that the poore bourgers were thus guarded within the church, the Spaniards ſpoyled ſome of their houſes. E

The mercie of of the duke of Alua and his ſon at Harlem.

The fifteenth day of that moneth *Dom Frederic* cauſed about three hundred Wallons to bee hanged and headed: and the ſame day the duke of Alua came from Amſterdam before the towne of Harlem, where hee made the circuit of the towne, to view it on the out ſide, and then returned, from whence he came without entring into the towne. F

The next day captaine *Riperda* and his lieutenant were beheaded, the miniſter *Steembach* was hanged, and two hundred and ſeuen and fortie ſouldiers were drowned in the Sea of Harlem.

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A The ſeuenteenth there were a great number more executed, and the eighteenth day there were three hundred more as well ſouldiers as bourgers, which loſt their heads, with the miniſter *Simon Simonſon*.

On the twentieth day the ſeigniour *Lancelot* of Brederode, captaine *Roßigny*, and the receiuor of Bryele, were executed by the ſword in the village of Schoten.

The regiment of *Lazarus Muller*, with the captaines, beeing Germans, were conducted the ſeuenth day of Auguſt out of the towne, whereof a part of them went to ſerue the duke of Alua: And the eleuenth day following, all the Engliſh and Scottiſh were beheaded. And to fill vp this ſea of bloud, all the wounded and ſicke were beheaded before the hoſpitall doore.

B They that lay without in the ſconce, as beeing forgotten in the contracts, while they were executing the reſt of them in the towne, and forgetting to giue them meat, were found ſtarued to death with hunger. The ſouldiers in the Fuyck ſconce ſtarued to death.

The ſixteenth day of Auguſt the Dutch ſouldiers beeing about ſix hundred ſtrong with their captaines, were led out of the towne with conuoy, but paſſing by Nienwer church, monſieur *Sonoys* ſouldiers, with the ayd of them of Enchuyſen, ſetting vpon their conuoy, ouerthrew them, and ſo ſet them at libertie.

Thus were all the ſouldiers in Harlem, beeing aboue two thouſand men, with their captaines, executed and murthered, except ſome few, that got ſecretly away, and a Scottiſh captaine, called *Balfour* (that vpon promiſe to doe ſome exploit againſt the perſon of the prince
C of Orange) was ſet at libertie, which hee himſelfe told vnto the prince, eſteeming it a matter not to be done, being wholly againſt law or conſcience.

After this victorie gotten againſt Harlem, the duke wrot letters vnto all the townes of Holland, offering pardon and grace: but none of them would giue eare thereunto, namely they of Rotterdam made him anſwer, ſaying, That they would bee obedient and dutifull vnto the king of Spaine, but would not acknowledge any other lieutenant vnder him, than the prince of Orange.

See what the taking, ranſoming, murthers and maſſacres committed by the duke of Alua, and *Dom Frederic* his ſonne, in the towne of Harlem were, for the ſuccouring whereof the prince of Orange had done his beſt endeuours: I will forbeare to ſpeake who was the cauſe
D of it, for my meaning is not to taxe any man: but long reſolutions, and ſlow executions, are oftentimes the cauſe of great miſchiefes, letting ſlip all good opportunities that bee offered, which the Spaniards could fitly imbrace, and yet the ſiege of this towne was longer than the ſtrength of the towne did ſeeme to require. This ſiege continued 31 weekes.

The ſiege of Harlem hauing endured ſeuen monethes, although the Spaniards had the victorie, yet notwithſtanding it much diminiſhed their credit and reputation, beeing found to bee able to bee withſtood, and not inuincible, although the duke of Alua called his three regiments of Spaniards that he brought with him, the one *Tales quales*, the ſecond *Inuincibiles*, and the third *Immortales*; and gaue the townes of Holland time to reſolue, and prepare to defend themſelues: and the rather, for that the duke of Aluaes ſouldiers at Harlem were at con-
E tention and ſtrife amongſt themſelues, for that the ſouldiers that ſtayed without the towne, would haue their part of the money that the townes men were to pay, as well as they within, beeing eight and twentie monethes behind hand with their pay: for which cauſe they draue their captaines and commaunders from them, and would come to no agreement before they had money: Which mutinie and contention continued amongſt them ſix weekes, before they were paid and the mutinie ended, whereby they beſieged Alcmar too late, Summer being paſt.

During this ſiege of Harlem many complaints were made againſt the lord of Lumay, earl of Marke, before the prince of Orange and the States of Holland, for many oppreſſions and cruelties, committed in diuers parts, eſpecially againſt church men, prieſts, and monks, whom
F hee perſecuted with all ſorts of cruelties, to reuenge (ſaid hee) the death of the earle of Egmont, his couſin, whereof hee accuſed the clergie to haue beene the cauſe: Whoſe tyrannous and cruell acts were diſpleaſing to all good men, of what religion ſoeuer: for the which the States committed him to priſon, and had not the reſpect of the prince beene, who The earle of Marke accuſed before the States of Holland, for his cruelty againſt church-men.

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sued for his pardon, and promised amendment, hee had beene punished. Yet the earle did A
euer after that time hate the prince of Orange, as if he had beene the cause of his imprison-
ment.

Being freed from prison, and dismissed from his charge, he retired himselfe out of Holland,
much discontented, yet he had afterwards a regiment of foot in the States pay, at the campe of
Gemblours, against *Dom Iohn* of Austria: but being retired before the battaile of Gemblours,
and returned to Liege, he died in the yeare of our Lord 1578. Some said that hee was poy-
soned.

The duke of Alua finding with what toyle, charge, and losse of men hee had won Har-
lem, and hearing that some of his troups were in mutinie for twentie eight monethes pay, ha-
uing yet many townes in armes against him, and thinking to begin first with Alcmar, hee B
thought good first to see if he could win them by a proclamation, which he caused to be made
and printed at Vtrecht, the six and twentieth of Iuly 1573, offering the kings grace and fauour
to all, as a good father to his obedient children, forgetting and forgiuing all that was past,
knowing that their offence grew more by the suggestion of others, than of their own natures
and dispositions, and that the king had not shewed any rigour to such as had willingly subiec-
ted themselues, and not attended his force and power, and yet they continued still obstinat,
notwithstanding he sought to gather them together, as the hen doth her chickens vnder her
wings, for their owne safeties: Praying them therefore to bethinke themselues, and without a-
ny further delay to yeeld themselues into his ministers hands, and not to attend the wrath and
furie of his armie: giuing them assurance for the enioying of their liberties and Freedomes. C
And contrariwise if they seemed to neglect and contemne his offered mercie and grace, hee
would haue them to know and to assure themselues, that they were to accept all kinds of ri-
gour and crueltie that might be inuented by famine, sword, and fire, so as there should be no
memorie of them left to posteritie: and that his Maiestie would cause the country to be made
desolate, and to be inhabited by strange nations: for that otherwise the king could not rest sa-
tisfied, that hee had fulfilled the will of God, nor yet content his owne conscience, if hee
should suffer such rebels to liue vnpunished, they knowing him well to bee the most gratious
and mildest prince that euer liued, and appointed to bee their soueraigne. Not doubting but
that they knew the kings armie, which was great, with all ordnance and munition fit, to bee at
their doores, readie to destroy them, and that in the end the king would bee master, &c. This D
proclamation was published in all places.

The earle of Bossu seeketh to haue the prince of Orange betraied

During the siege before Harlem the duke of Alua had procured the earle of Bossu to write
out of the campe vnto one *Huych Ianson*, bourgmaster of Delft, perswading him not to let slip
so good an occasion of obtaining peace from the king, as to procure some meanes to haue the
prince (being there) to be taken, and sent to the duke of Alua; which if he would doe (saying,
that he aduised him thereunto vpon meere loue he bare vnto the towne of Delft) hee assured
him not onely to purchase their pardon, but also promised vpon his faith and honour, to
procure them such freedoms and liberties, as they should desire: and that therfore they should
bee resolute and carefull to performe this worthy and meritorious act, whereby they should
not onely purchase peace and quietnesse for their towne of Delft, but also for all Holland, E
which otherwise would be ruined and made desolat. This letter beeing interrupted by the
way, was brought vnto the prince. He also sent letters of the same tenor to them of Amster-
dam, and to moue them to receiue a Spanish garrison, but the messenger being taken, was sent
vnto the prince.

The duke of Alua hauing taken Harlem, and as he conceiued daunted the Hollanders cou-
rage, thinking the prince of Orange and the States to bee vnable to mannage and fortifie any
place like vnto it, and it may be, presuming that his crueltie extended vpon that town would
terrifie any other garrison, who would not willingly aduenture the hazard of a siege, he reso-
lued with his counsell of warre to attempt Alcmar, as one of their strongest townes; which
being taken, the rest or most of the other townes would yeeld. Whereupon he sent *Dom Fre-* F
deric his sonne with *Chiapin Vitelli*, campe-master generall, before Alcmar the one and twen-
tieth of August, and with him the baron of Noircarmes, lieutenant to the generall, with *Dom*
Gonsalue of Braccamonte, *Dom Pedro* of Velasco, *Dom Pedro* of Toledo, *Stephano de Varro*,
Iulian

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A *Iulian Romero, la Motte* baron of Goignies, master of the artillerie, *Ferdinando* of Toledo, colonell *Paluiler*, the baron of Liques, then made gouernor of Harlem, the baron of Cheureaux, Monsieur de Capres, *Ionian Fronsberg*, and the earle of Ouersteen, with some hundred & one and twentie companies, which were esteemed 16000 men. Within the towne were 1300 fighting men, bourgers and inhabitants, besides strangers and peasants: they had a garrison of eight hundred souldiers, *Iames Cabillian* was their gouernor, and *William van Sonneberg* his lieutenant. During the dukes preparation, the prince of Orange and the states of Holland sent fiue or six expert captaines into the towne, especially *Smith* and *Cornellis* Scottish men, with some foure hundred souldiers, most of which captains had been in Harlem, and were a great meanes for the preseruing of Alcmar.

B They of Alcmar seeing this storme approach, began to fortifie their towne, inlarging it with foure bulwarks, and making a strong sconce vpon the Scheermer, thereby to free their hauen: but it was too soone abandoned. There was a sconce also made at Heylo, by the church, and at Egmont in the abbey, whereby the greatest and goodliest abbey in Holland was ruined, in the which aboue ten earles and many countesses of Holland had been interred, so as there was not a stone left standing, only two steeples of the church, which at this day serue for a sea mark to ships that passe by.

The towne of Harlem hauing beene thus besieged 31 weeks, during the which the women, maidens, and boyes, did as valiantly as might be, vntill that through want of victuals, and pouertie, they were forced to yeeld (as we haue said) to their enemies, the thirteenth of Iuly, ha-
C uing during the siege slaine many a braue captaine of the Spaniards and Wallons. The duke of Alua meaning to pursue his deere victorie, thinking to surprise the towne of Alcmar, sent two thousand fiue hundred foot, and foure companies of horse: the which at the first strooke such a terror into them of the town, seeing themselues so sodainly inuested, as many bourgers (breaking the locke of the barre which crosseth the channell) went out of the towne in small boats: But the prince of Oranges men being in good time at Egmont, and at Heylo, hauing seized vpon that approach, and made their passage vnto the town, breaking the locks and bolts of the gate, the Spaniards seeing that they had failed of their enterprise, retired. At the beginning the inhabitants were in great perplexitie, whether they should hold good or yeeld: for the Romish Catholikes, and some Protestants, hoping to find grace, as the Spaniards had
D promised them, would gladly haue brought them secretly into the towne. But the greatest part of the Protestants did all they could to draw in the princes troupes, the which being entred, skirmished with the Spaniards. So the towne of Alcmar was at this time freed from the surprise of the Spaniards, who retired to Heylo, and from thence returned sodainely to the campe, which was before the towne of Harlem, repairing the breaches, and casting downe the trenches.

Alcmar being thus freed, the counsell of the towne (fearing that the duke of Alua would not be so satisfied) thought good to furnish the towne with corne, and other munition of war, what they could recouer by their owne meanes, or from their neighbours of West-Friseland: Which done, by the order of *Charles* of Boisot, who commaunded vnder the prince, they be-
E gan to fortifie the towne: but they had scarce begun the worke, when as the Spaniards returned the one and twentieth of August. At their first approach they seized vpon the two entries of the channell, towards the East, to stop the passage as well by water as by land: But the bourgers and some souldiers set fire on one of the mills at these entries, the which they could not do to the second, nor wrest it from the Spaniards; who to stop the passage vnto the town, sunke a ship full of stones at the entry of their hauen. Then the Protestants, who had a fort at Ton vpon the banks of Sheermer, fled and abandoned the place to the Spaniard. The hauen and all accesse by water being taken from the besieged, hauing no free passage to bring in victuals & munition, they resolued to make their way by force, and to chase the Spaniards from some quarter, and especially from the way to Oudt-Dorpe: and issuing forth of the towne
F with such horsemen as they had, and some foot, they went to charge the enemie, but the Spaniards being stronger than they, they were repulst, and beaten into their ports, with the losse of a corporall of their horse. But before we proceed any further at this siege, let vs see what passed in Zeeland.

The Spaniards returne and inuest Alcmar.

Zeeland.

The seignior of Beauvoir chosen admirall by the duke of Alua for Zeeland, made preparation in Antuerpe, to returne to Middleburg with many ships: and forseeing the harme which they receiued by the fort which they of Flessingue had built vpon the head of the dike, he sent to them of Middleburg, that they should attempt to surprise it, before it were more defensible: the which they thought to haue done the fiue and twentieth day of July at night, hauing gathered together a good number of souldiers from Middleburg and Arnemuyden, but being discouered in time, they returned as they came. A

Ramekins besieged by the Zeelanders.

In the end of July the gouernor of Flessingue and la Vere, hauing gathered together their garrisons, and those of Ziriczee, went in the night to campe before the castle of Ramekins, vpon the dike towards Middleburg, where hauing intrenched themselues with incredible speed, they began about foure of the clocke in the morning to play with their canon, as well from their ships, as from the dike, where they had planted two peeces of Ordnance. Captaine *Eloys* companie guarded the trench about the castle, and that of captain *Bernard* was neere vnto the sluce of Middleburg, to make head against the Spaniard, if hee offered himselfe to trouble them on that side. And for that the besieged made no shew of amazement, and that they had not powder sufficient in Flessingue to continue their batterie, vntill there were a breach, it was resolued to vndermine it, being perswaded that the bulwarkes that looked towards the dike were built vpon arches: the which was performed with such speed, as within foure dayes they came vnder the bulwarke, wherein the gouernors, captaines, and souldiers, wrought continually with great resolution. And for that they had resolued the fifth day of the siege to set fire to this mine, and withall to giue an assault, they caused ladders to be made readie, and other engines fit for that purpose: they had also caused two hoyes to approach, vpon the which they had made two castles of musket proofe, in the which they would place harquebusiers to shoot at them that should discouer themselues vpon the rampar, to defend the breach, when as the assault should be giuen. B C

The besieged seeing the preparations that were made to assaile them, as well by land as by sea, and doubting a mine they began to faint, and to demaund a parley: whereupon they agreed to yeeld vp the place, vpon condition to depart with their liues, armes, and baggage, but they would haue it deferred to the next day. Whereupon as the gouernours were resolued to set fire to the mine the next day, and to giue a generall assault, they prest them to deliuer it vp the same night: in the end it was agreed they should not depart vntill the next day, but for assurance of that which was promised, twelue souldiers of the besieged should come out of the castle, and lodge in the camp that night, and so of the besiegers should enter into the castle. D

The castle of Ramekins yeelded.

The next day being the fourth of August, the place was yeelded by six of the clocke in the morning, into the which captaine *Eloys* company was put: whereat also the gouernors entred to see that performed which was promised to the besieged, who were safely conducted with their armes and baggage neere vnto Middleburg. Which done they caused all the souldiers to assemble that were in the castle, where a sermon was made, with thanks to God for the happie issue of the enterprise: then the place was visited, whereas they found eighteene brasse peeces, foure barrels of powder, and a great number of bullets and victuals, as flesh, wine, and corne, for aboue three monethes for the garison that was in it. It is a place of great importance, and the chiefe bulwarke of the isle of Walchren, otherwise called Zeeburch, whereas ships haue a good road. E

During this siege, which continued but fiue dayes, the fleet of Antuerpe prepared with all speed, not only to carrie victuals and supplies to Middleburg, but also according to the haughtie designes of the Spaniard, to reconquer all the townes and ilands of Zeeland, and to reduce them vnder the duke of Aluaes obedience. This fleet should be conducted by the seignior of Beauvoir, who was admirall, and by colonell *Mondragon* with all his regiment, hauing all things fit for the execution of this goodly designe.

This armie consisting of threescore and seuen vessels of all sorts, appeared before Flessingue the ninth of the moneth of August, by foure of the clocke in the morning, as if they would passe to Middleburg, or draw the Zeelanders to fight, whose armie was of nineteene great ships (of the which that mightie ship of *Martin Iansz*, being of thirteene or foureteene hundred tunne, was admirall of the Zeelanders fleet) and fiftie smaller vessels, F

the

A the which were neere vnto Fleſſingue, attending the comming of the ſaid Spaniſh fleet. And for that the Zeelanders were reſolued not to fight, but neere vnto the fort vpon the dike and the caſtle of Ramekins, becauſe they would not looſe the aduantage which they might haue by the ſaid forts, they attended the comming of the enemie there, with their great ſhips, hauing ſent their leſſer to Flanders ſide, to follow them in the taile, with the aduantage of the wind.

The ſmall ſhips of the Zeelanders lying houering vpon that coaſt, the leſſer veſſels of the Spaniards went to aſſaile them, where they did skirmiſh long and furiouſly with their great ordnance and ſmall ſhot, till in the end the Spaniards retired to their fleet. *The firſt skirmiſh of the two fleets.*

The next day, being the tenth, the Spaniard preſented himſelfe againe twice: the firſt with
B his ſmall ſhips onely, and the ſecond time both with great and ſmall: and had not the Fleſſinguers receiued a commaundement not to charge, they had neuer parted vntill that one of the armies had beene deſeated: but by reaſon of the ſaid commaundement, when the Spaniards approached too neere, the Zeelanders recoiled.

The eleuenth day the Spaniards ſhewing themſelues more hardie (finding that the Zeelanders would not fight but vnder the fauour of their forts) came and preſented themſelues before the hauen of Fleſſingue, and ſhooting off their ordnance at certaine ſmall ſhips which lay there, ſome bullets flew into the towne, and ſlew a boy in the ſtreet of ten or twelue yeres old: then they retired vnto Flanders ſide before Breſquen, right againſt Fleſſingue. This brauadoe of the Spaniard ſtrooke ſuch a terrour into the Fleſſinguers, as in leſſe than three
C howers, all their walles next to the ſea, were bordered with pipes full of earth, to ſerue as a parapet for the harguebuſiers, the which without that feare would not haue beene done in three weekes.

The twelfth day the Spaniard leauing the coaſt of Flanders, ſayled towards the ſea, coaſting the walles of Fleſſingue, making ſome ſhot into the towne, from whence they alſo ſhot at their ſhips. Being come to the downes of Zoetelande, they caſt anker: the Zeelanders fearing they would land, ſent all the men they had in Fleſſingue thither. But the thirteenth day the fleet went ſo far into the ſea, as they almoſt loſt the ſight of it: then they entred into a ſtrait betwixt two bankes of ſand, and from thence came into a place called the powder, or the Haek, a league from Campuere, there to vnlade their victuals, and ſo to haue it car-
D ried by carts to Middlebourg.

Beeing buſie at their vnlading, there roſe a ſtorme with a Southweſt wind, in the which they loſt three of their great ſhips, and one gallie. Another of thoſe ſhips which they call Bouyers, was driuen by the tempeſt among the ſhips of Fleſſingue, and taken: thoſe that were caſt away were not vnladen, of the which nothing could bee ſaued, but the ordnance.

A while after there was another skirmiſh betwixt the leſſer ſhips of the Spaniards and Zeelanders, where after many great ſhot ſpent, in the end the Spaniſh viceadmirall was boorded and taken: it was in like ſort laden with corne, hauing ſix braſſe peeces, and eightie foure men in her, the which were all cut in peeces, and caſt ouer boord, except fifteene that were
E brought to la Vere. *The Spaniſh viceadmiral taken.*

The eighteenth day of Auguſt the Zeelanders that were in garriſon at la Vere, went to skirmiſh with them that kept the trenches which the Spaniards had made right againſt the Haek, that they might with more ſafetie diſcharge their victuals, vpon whom they ſallied foorth in ſuch numbers, and with ſuch furie, as they made them recoyle neere vnto their ports: but beeing ſuccoured with ſome new and freſh ſupplies of ſouldiers, which the ſeigniour of Boiſot brought them in perſon, they charged the Spaniards in ſuch ſort, as they forced them to returne preſently to their trenches: The which the ſeigniout of Beauvoir their admirall ſeeing, hee ſent a good number of harguebuſiers more to land, with the which the Spaniards taking courage, chaſed away the Zeelanders neere
F vnto their towne, in which skirmiſh they loſt eight men, and ſome others were wounded and hurt; among the which captaine *Eloy* loſt one of his eyes. But of the Spaniards (by the report of them that came afterwards to ſerue the Zeelanders there) died about threeſcore.

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On the ſix and twentieth day the Spaniard hauing left the place, put to ſea, as if he would A
haue ſailed towards Scluce, but ſodainly he turned head, hauing both wind and tide fit, and directed his courſe towards Antuerpe, paſſing before Fleſſingue they were purſued by the leſſer ſhips of Zeeland (for the greater beeing vpon the Lemmer could not arriue in time) who charged them ſo behind, as they forced foure of their ſmaller ſhips of warre, and fiue other veſſels laden with victuals, to run on ground vpon Flanders ſide, leaſt they ſhould fall into the Fleſſinguers hands. Beſides there was brought vnto Fleſſingue a hulke of two hundred tunnes, the which had beene taken by the Spaniard being at ſea, laden with many ſorts of merchandiſe. Although the ſeignior of Beauuoir had not vnladen the third part of the victuall and munition which he had brought, yet durſt he not make any longer ſtay at Hack, fearing the tempeſt in the which he had loſt ſix or ſeuen ſhips, beſides the great difficultie hee had to con- B
uey thoſe victuals from that place to Middlebourg.

Holland. The beſieged of Alcmar in Holland, to find ſome meanes to recouer their channell, they did endeuor with barkes to ſet fire on the other houſe, which they could not do at the mouth of it: the bourgers with one of their bourgmaſters, and ſome ſouldiers, went in boats to skirmiſh with the enemie; another companie was gone by the ſalt pits, to charge the enemie by land. But the Spaniards hauing ſent ſome of their men by the new port, towards the town (making ſhew as if they would aſſaile it on the South ſide, at a place called the Geeſt) as ſoone as the alarme was giuen in the town, the bourgers quitting the skirmiſh returned to the rampar, and ſo this enterpriſe proued fruitleſſe.

The next day the Spaniards told the beſieged, being vpon the rampar, That they deſired C
to conferre with them vpon good aſſurances: The which being imparted to colonell *Cabellian*, and the counſell of the towne being aſſembled, it was reſolued among the bourgmaſters, captaines, and chiefe of the towne, not to treat in any ſort with the Spaniards, no not to heare them ſpeake: the which was deliuered vnto them. From that day the Spaniard ſeeing himſelfe contemned, and that they would not once heare him ſpeake, began then to reſolue to warre, and to ſhoot at the houſes in the towne, without doing any great harme to the rampar, the which the beſieged did fortifie day and night.

The fiue and twentieth of Auguſt the Spaniards made a falſe alarme towards the port of Harlem, as if they would aſſayle the towne of that ſide: And the ſaid day they ſent a drum- D
mer with captaine *Steenbach* (as it was thought) to the port of Friſeland, demaunding of the beſieged, if they might approach any neerer freely. Being anſwered them, that yea, they deſired to ſpeake with captaine *Cabellian*, or with one of the bourgmaſters: but whileſt that one went to deliuer the meſſage, hee was knowne by a ſouldier: then they cried vnto him that he ſhould retire, and as hee recoyled a little, they that were in centinell ſhot at him, calling him traytor, and that he had beene the cauſe of the loſſe of the towne of Harlem, the which hee vnderſtanding, drew foorth his ſword, and threatning them, hee preſently went his way.

Three dayes after the Spaniards put themſelues in battaile, an howre after mid-night, as if they had meant to haue giuen an aſſault, the which they did (as it was thought) to ſee the E
countenance of the beſieged, and how they were reſolued to defend themſelues: but there was nothing heard throughout all the towne, but an alarme and ſhooting of peeces, ſo as the Spaniards (ſeeing them come to the rampar nothing amazed) made a gentle retreat. And the ſame day there died (to the great griefe of all the commons) *Iohn Arentſz* miniſter, who being at the extremitie, and hearing that the Spaniard was at the rampar, prayed God with all his familie, to preſerue his deere countrey, that it might ſerue as a refuge for them that make profeſſion of the Goſpell.

The night following the Spaniards made a trench before the port of Friſeland, to approach their canon neerer, and notwithſtanding the continuall ſhooting of the beſieged, yet could they not hinder their worke; ſo as about noone they ſallied out of the towne, and chaſed them from thence: but the Spaniards hauing doubled their forces, they returned, and F
forced the beſieged to retire into the towne, who carried backe with them, which they had found vpon the way, a little barrell of powder, ſome head peeces, ſwords, and clokes, which they that fled firſt had left.

The

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A The first of September, of many messengers which the besieged had sent out, there was one onely that returned, who brought letters from the Seignior *Diederic Sonoy*, gouernour of West-Friseland, and from the States of the countrey, vnto the counsell of the towne of Alcmar, the which did much comfort the besieged.

In these letters he did grieue that they were so straightly besieged: The which he had no sooner vnderstood, but he did his best endeuour to send them a companie of supply: but he could not doe it, by reason of the base retreat of their men, which they had vpon the lake of Schermer, yet he would not fayle to employ his person to succour them, and to helpe to rayse the siege: That he had written to the prince of Orange to that end, doubting not, but their forces (if they would patiently attend succours) would disappoint the attempts B of their enemies. And touching that which they had desired, to haue the dike broken by Medenblycke, hauing imparted it vnto the States of West-Friseland, they had alreadie let goe all the sluces of the sea, and (if necessitie required) he himselfe would bee the first that should pierce the said dike: And touching that which they had written, That they had brought foure and twentie peeces of Ordnance to the enemies campe, that he had heard nothing thereof by his spies, yet hee was not ignorant in what perplexitie the towne was, the which he could not relieue as he desired, yet he would do his best endeuours to send them succours: and this was the substance of his letter.

Letters from the Gouernor Sonoy, which comfort the besieged.

Those letters of the States of West-Friseland, assembled in the towne of Horne, contained.

C That as for the powder which they dayly attended, as soone as they had receyued it, they would send it vnto them: and in the meane time they would doe their best endeauours to succour them by water and by land, entreating the bourgers to be of good courage, and the rather, for that Cont *Lodowic* had written vnto *Philip vander Aa*, to exhort the Hollanders not to faint for the losse of Harlem, but trusting vnto the equitie of their cause, to shew themselues more valiant for the defence of their libertie and the countrey, hoping they should bee soone freed from the tyrannie wherewith they would oppresse them.

Letters from the state of West-Friseland to the besieged

Some that were well affected, gaue it out, that there were letters come to some priuate persons, That duke *Christopher*, sonne to the Cont Palatine, was vpon the frontiers of Gueld- D dres with two thousand horse and fiue thousand foot, and that Cont *Lodowic* followed him with as great forces, the prince of Orange hauing sent a thousand harquebusiers to ioyne with them, and altogether to come and raise the siege; so as by these letters and reports, those of Alcmar (whom the Spaniards held cooped vp in a cage, meaning to starue them) were the twelfth day of the siege somewhat comforted and encouraged by the comming of this vnexpected messenger, notwithstanding the streight guard and so many centinels set by the Spaniards vpon all the approches, all which hee escaped by the diuine prouidence of God without danger.

The Spaniard in the meane time did not neglect the works which he had begun, but finished the trench at the Friseland gate, with an intent to bring the canon neerer vnto the E towne, or else to vndermine and blow vp a bulwarke: for the hindering whereof, the besieged made a sally forth, leading some pioners with them, to cast downe the trenches: but they were forced to retyre into the towne without any successe. Whereupon the next day they began to make a halfe moone within the towne against the said port, for the effecting whereof, they beat downe foure houses, that if happily the Spaniard should win this port, they might haue a place of retreat and defence within, where they might not suddenly take the towne. And as there dayly happened new difficulties among the besieged (for the which they could not so easily prouide) it was determined in counsell, to adde two counsellors to the two bourgomasters, to ease them in all occurrents, the which was done the sixteenth day of the moneth.

F All this time it seemed the Spaniards sought but to abuse the besieged, sometimes pretending one thing, sometimes another, contrarie to that which they had designed. For the tenth day of the moneth they laded vpon carts towards Berghen some small pieces of Ordnance, as if they would rise, and the night following, tying many small boats together, they sought

ſought with great labour to make a bridge neere vnto the town; but the beſieged which were A
in guard on that ſide, ſhot ſo furiouſly at them, as they were forced (after that many had beene
wounded) to leaue their worke, and looſe their bridge.

On the eleuenth day there were ſeene (more than was vſuall) a great number of horſe and
carts, on the which the Spaniards did lade their artillerie, not without difficulty and ſome loſſe
by reaſon of the continuall raine, which made that quarter of Friſeland ſo foule and myrie, as
carriages could hardly paſſe.

On the twelfth day they brought neere vnto the red tower, on the Eaſt ſide, a great num-
ber of long Firre-plankes, with hurdles, and in the night they planted ſome gabions before
the gate of Friſeland, to couer their canon, and to no other end: For to thinke that they had
an intent to famiſh it (hauing compaſſed about the towne) was a folly, hauing neyther all B
the channels at commaundement, nor all the gates ſhut vp, leaſt that they ſhould be ſurpri-
ſed by them that came to victuall the towne. So the Spaniard continuing his worke, being
reſolued to giue an aſſault, he made another trench vpon Quacquebourg, right againſt Saint
Peters tower, lying betwixt the Friſeland gate and the Monkes tower, to diſturbe the pioners
which brake downe the old wall: for at that place there was a piece of the wall fallen, ioy-
ning vnto the prieſts tower, whereas the beſieged would make a rampar, the which lay o-
pen to the enemies ſhot; ſo as many which carried earth to this worke, being ſlaine, and o-
thers hurt, the reſt were ſo terrified, as for that day they left the worke vnperfect. But the next
day three ſquadrons ſurpriſing the Spaniards in theſe trenches of S. *Peters* town, chaſed them
from thence, and wanting tooles to caſt it downe and lay it euen, the Spaniards returning with C
a greater troupe, forced the beſieged to leaue it.

The beſieged receiuing no newes from their aſſociate neighbours, and that by reaſon of
their ſtreight ſiege no ſpyes could paſſe to giue them intelligence, it was reſolued by the go-
uernours and captaines, That the night following, which was the fifteenth of the moneth,
they would make a ſally on the South ſide vpon their enemies, which were buſie about a
new trench, and that they ſhould ſeeke to take ſome priſoner aliue, as they did, taking a Spa-
niard, called *Iohn Ieronimo*; if they had not then buſied themſelues about the ſpoyle, they
might eaſily haue carried away as many as were there: ſo as that which the beſieged could
not learne from their friends and confederats, they vnderſtood from their enemie, for this
priſoner told them, That *Dom Frederic* had receiued commaundement from the duke of D
Alua his father, and from the court, to aſſayle the towne ſpeedily, and that if he could not
carry it at the ſecond or third aſſault, hee ſhould carry backe his armie into Brabant: That
Dom Frederic had reſolued to aſſayle them in foure places at one inſtant, that he might force
one of the quarters, where there was leaſt reſiſtance, and yet there was ſome diſpute be-
twixt him and the lord of Noircarmes touching that point: That the bridges, plankes,
hurdles, and all other neceſſarie inſtruments were readie for an aſſault, and that before they
would giue an aſſault, they would batter downe the wall betwixt the gate of Friſeland
and the redde towne; but vpon Harlem ſide they would make an aſſault vpon bridges,
and towards the Salt pits with boates: That if he tooke the towne by aſſault, he would
murther all, young and old, men, women, and children, without any reſpect either of E
ſexe or age.

Whereupon all went to pray vnto God, with teares in their eyes, That it would pleaſe
him for his holy names ſake, to turne from them that tyrannie and inhumanitie. Moreouer,
being demanded, What number of men there might be in the camp, he ſaid, There was about
ſix thouſand ſix hundred men, although after the raiſing of the ſiege it was otherwiſe known: for
Dom Frederic, accompanied with the lord of Noircarmes, *Iulian Romero*, and many other
men of account Spaniards and Wallons, being lodged in the village of Oudt-dorpe, had in his
quarter two and fortie companies of the old bands, to the which were ioyned eight other
companies newly come out of Italie. *Dom Frederic* had a thouſand fiue hundred horſe for his
ordinarie guard, beſides other foure hundred horſe that were lodged in the ſame quarter. F
Dom Ferdinando of Toledo, couſin to *Dom Frederic*, was at Huyſwaert with eight companies
of Spaniards, euery one being of two hundred. In S. *Pancrass* village were ſixe compa-
nies of Germaines of Colonel *Polwyller*, and other fiue of the garriſon of Groningen.

At

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A At Leedyck was the baron of Liques, gouernour of Harlem, with twelue companies of Wallons, and by him the baron of Cheuerauay, with eight companies of high Bourguignons. In the village of Berghen was the lord of Capres (afterwards made earle of Hennin) with tenne companies of Wallons. At Newport, vpon the South side, there were two bands of Italian and Spanish horsemen, and *Iohn Strom* colonel of Reistets, where there were also seuen companies of Spaniards newly come, twelue of Landtsknechts, vnder *George Frousberg*, and three of the earle of Ouerstryns. So that the beginning of this siege, there were in *Don Frederics* campe one hundred twentie one companies of footmen, which made at the least six and twentie thousand men, out of the which, some were drawne to put into Schellinckwout, and into the shippes, to fight with the Hollanders vpon the water: The bourgers
B and inhabitants able to carry armes, were found to be thirteene hundred, besides strangers that were newly come, and countreymen that were fled into the towne, which were not many. There were about eight hundred souldiers in the garison; for of seuen companies which they had, the gouernour *Sonoy* before the last siege had drowne forth two, and afterwards one, with two small peeces of Ordnance, the which were sent into Waterland, where he said they had great need.

The sixteenth of the moneth there fell neere vnto S. *Peters* tower a piece of the wall, the which had begun long before to sinke, and now through the burthen of the new rampar, that was layd vpon it, fell quite downe: but the same night the besieged stopped that breach with
C great diligence: so as that wall which had beene built in old time instead of a rampar for the defence of the towne, was now but a trouble and toile vnto them to beat it down, and to make a new rampar in the place thereof.

The same day the Spaniards planted nine Canons against the port of Friseland, and seuen at the red tower: but for that the ground on the North side was more mierie and lower than on the South, both by reason of the rain, and by the opening of the sluces of the sea, the which the gouernor *Sonoy* had caused to be done, the Spaniards were much incumbred in the planting of their ordnance; yet the night following they raised the ground of their first trench, the which they approched neere vnto the port, hauing an intent to blow vp the bulwarke, the which had beene built vpon the bodies and roots of trees, babins, and other wood, fit to preuent a mine.

D The seuenteenth day the Spaniards shewed themselues in such sort, as if they had beene readie to giue an assault, aduaunceing their plankes into the ditch vpon the North and the South side, putting their men in order in the trenches, thrusting foorth their forlorne hopes. To conclude, it seemed by their countenance, that they meant instantly to giue an assault.

The night following there appeared a prodigious signe in the ayre: for the Moone (which was in her last quarter) began about nine of the clocke at night to shine, against the course of nature, whereas it should not haue appeared before midnight. This prodigie was a good presage vnto the besieged, and gaue them more courage: and so (by the grace of God) it succeeded better than the lamentable estate of the towne could hope
E or expect for: most of the souldiers of the garison were yet fresh, and vnaccustomed to warre, and the bourgers were not so fit for armes, as for marchandise, and to till the land.

The eighteenth of the moneth the Spaniards began to batter furiously with twenty peeces of ordnance, so as they made that day two hundred shot as well in ruine vpon the houses, as at the rampar, where there were six men of the towne slaine. The Spaniards hauing beaten down the flomes of the port of Friseland and of the red tower, about three of the clocke in the afternoone they began to giue a furious assault, making their way at the port by the materials, which had fallen and filled vp the ditch, and at the red tower, by a bridge which they had let downe. And to strike the more terror into the bourgers, they prepared to assayle the
F towne at the port of Harlem, and at the Sarpin, on the one side by a bridge, and on the other side by barkes, as the Spanish prisoners had formerly discouered. But all these preparations did not amaze the besieged of the towne of Alkmar: for as the fifth shot of ordnance, as well bourgers as souldiers came resolutely and full of courage vnto the rampar, euery

one

one keeping his place and ranke, not shrinking a foot, but repulsing their enemies as valiantly as might be. The bourgers and inhabitants did willingly obey the captaines of the souldiers, and not any one did refuse or murmure against that which was commaunded him. The women, maydens and boyes came thither with such hardinesse, as it is not to be spoken, some bringing wild fire, which they cast upon the assaylants, others boyling water full of lyme, baskets with stones, and such other offensiue matters: so, as since the souldiers besieged haue confessed, That without that ayde, they could neuer haue made it good. In the meane time the Spaniards did all they could to carrie it, who, as soone as they had passed such difficulties as they found at the breach, and passed the rampar, they were so gently welcommed and entertayned with pikes, halberds, two-handed swords, stones, and all other sorts of armes, as in the end they were enforced to recoyle backe. There was nothing to be heard but the crying and howling of men wounded and dying, and the noyse and clashing of armes: There was nothing to bee seene but fire and flame; here one fell downe, there another tumbled from the toppe of the rampar into the ditch. To conclude, there was nothing else to be seene but fearefull and hideous sights. A B

The first assaylants hauing done their charge, and beeing repulsed, and wearie of fighting, there came other fresh men in their places, who had no better successe than the first, carrying nothing away but blowes and wounds; and in this sort the Spaniards were twice repulsed: yet they fainted not, but sought to force it, at what price soeuer, comming to the third assault like Lyons: who hauing passed the breach, and woon the rampar, they cryed out, *Victoria, Victoria:* Of three Ensigne-bearers which came vp to the rampar with their colours, two were slaine, one of their colours was burned, and the other two were torne in pieces, euery one striuing to haue his part: but it was not knowne what became of the third Ensigne-bearer. In the end the Spaniards beeing not able to hold out or endure the skirmish any longer, they were constrayned to retyre with shame and losse. And so this Frisland port was freed from those fierce and mightie assaults of the enemie. C

On the other side, at the red tower, they did no lesse. The assaylants hauing approached vnto the rampar with their bridges, the besieged were much troubled: For before they were to encounter the enemie vpon the rampar, and to repulse them from the breach, and behind, they were galled with two peeces, which played vpon their backes from the salt pits, yet being nothing troubled with all these difficulties, they continued firme, and repulsed the enemie twice. D

In the end, the Spaniards (madde with rage and disdaine) returned the third time to the assault with greater numbers than before, thinking now to carrie it, as it was to be feared, considering the multitude and furie of the assaylants. The besieged notwithstanding, after a long defence (setting the danger before their eyes) made no shew at all, as if they were eyther wearied or tyred: but with the helpe of pitched hoopes fired, burning straw, boyling water, stones, and all other things of resistance, which their wiues, daughters, maid seruants, and boyes did bring, they defended themselues valiantly vntill eight of the clocke at night, when as the enemies were forced to retyre with shame, which gaue the victorie vnto the besieged. E

Touching the Spaniards attempts at the salt pits and at the port of Harlem, that cannot rightly bee called an assault: for those that were slaine at the Salt pits, taught their companions to tarrie in their trenches: and those which on the South side laboured (but in vaine) to conduct the bridge, shewed, that they would not giue the enemy an assault at so deere a rate: for it had beene a great follie for them to offer it; for that the Canon of the towne might commaund as well the bridges as the boats that should offer to come vnto the assault. Notwithstanding, they must attribute the honour vnto God alone, who would not suffer it: for if in these foure quarters (although two of them seemed verie vneasie) the Spaniard had at one instant time assayled the towne, it had beene much to bee feared (considering the weakenesse of the besieged) that it would haue gone ill with them. F

In

A In theſe furious aſſaults (which the night brake off) hauing fought almoſt foure houres, there died of the beſieged foure and twentie ſouldiers, and thirteene bourgers, beſides them that were hurt. On the Spaniards ſide they did ſpeake of fiue hundred, among the which were eleuen captaines and cominaunders: And without doubt, if the powder of the towne had not beene ſomewhat moiſt, there had beene many more ſlaine; for comming to the breach, they diſcouered themſelues, as if they had beene of musket proofe. Among the beſieged, *Diericke Duyuel* of Amſterdam, and *Conrade* of Steenwike, captaines, whereof the one was at the gate of Friſeland, and the other at the red tower, behaued themſelues valiantly. Colonel *Cabillian* (a man of a mild diſpoſition) although hee were ſicke, was at the rampar, to giue ſome courage vnto the beſieged by his pre-
B ſence.

There was alſo a Scottiſhman called *Cornelis*, who had beene an enſigne in Harlem, hauing eſcaped the Spaniards hands, and come to Alcmar, did wonders againſt the enemie: of whom (during theſe aſſaults) hee ſlew aboue twenty with his owne hand, the which did free them from the iealouſie which they had before of him. Of two Pontons or bridges, which the Spaniards had thought to bring vnto the red tower, the inhabitants burned one of them the night following.

The ſame moneth the dukes *Iohn Caſimire* and *Chriſtopher* his brother, ſonnes to prince *Frederic*, elector Palatine of Rhyne, meeting vpon a heath with certaine carts laden with powder, the which were ſent out of Germanie to the duke of Alua. Theſe princes know-
C ing whence they came, and whether they went, cauſing them to be vnladen, and the barrels to bee ſet one vpon another, with a long traine they ſet fire on them, and blew them vp.

The duke of Alua being aduertiſed hereof, made his complaint vnto the emperour, who writ vnto the ſaid princes. Whereunto duke *Caſimire* made anſwere by letters from Heydelberch the twelfth of October, by the which he confeſſed freely, that he had done it, knowing to what end that powder was intended, that is to ſay, to the ruine and deſolation of the good townes of the Netherlands, as they had done at Harlem; the which the princes of the empire ſhould in no ſort ſuffer, That ſuch a Tyrant as the duke of Alua was, ſhould in that manner deſtroy the good Netherlands, their neere neighbours, that in the end the king of
D Spaine hauing ſuppreſſed them, and reduced thoſe countries into ſeruitude, the duke would then fall vpon Germanie, trouble their quiet, and in the end (knowing the ſaid duke of Alua to be an inueterate enemie to the Germanes) reduce them to the ſame ſlauerie that hee had done the Netherlands: for the preuenting and hindering whereof, both hee and all other princes were bound to employ all their forces and meanes. Wherefore they ſhould rather allow and commend that act which they had done in their owne countrey, and vpon their owne lands, than accuſe or blame them. And therefore hee entreated his imperiall Maieſtie, with many other reaſons, not to impute this as a blame vnto him, ſeeing he had done it for the eaſe and reliefe of their neighbours, the which in the end would redound vnto the ſeruice of all Germanie, their common countrey. And this was the ſubſtance of duke *Caſimires*
E anſwere, of whome the duke of Alua could get no other ſatisfaction for all his ſtorming.

The twentieth of September, about nine of the clock in the morning, the Spaniard renued his batterie at Alcmar, with the which he did more annoy the houſes than the rampars, the which were preſently repaired with earth which the bourgers brought, & that day they made ſeuen hundred ſhot: after noone he drew his troupes out of Oudt-Dorpe, to aſſayle the red tower againe. But as they would haue approched the other bridge which remained, the ſhot came ſo thicke from the towne, as the captaines (notwithſtanding all their threats and blowes) could not draw the ſouldiers to the aſſault, although (as they ſayd) they ſlew aboue fiftie, refuſing to goe, for which cauſe the tower was not aſſaulted that day. And
F although *Dom Fredetic* promiſed much and largely vnto his ſouldiers, if they did winne the towne, yet he got nothing at this aſſault, but great loſſe of his men, and many hurt. On the other ſide, thoſe that were appointed to giue the aſſault at the Friſeland port, ſeeing the loſſe of their companions that were neere the tower, kept them quiet by the myll.

And

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And in this ſort the Spaniard by his wilfulneſſe did inure the beſieged to manage armes, A whileſt that the peſants and the women repayred the rampars. After Sunne-ſet, as a troupe of horſe and foot paſſed along the ditch, a young man, a gunner, diſcharged a culuerine charged with nayles, at them, and made a great ſpoyle of them, and ſo the Spaniards retyred euery one to his quarter.

Behold how God ſhewed himſelfe vnto them of Alcmar, who although they had no aſſiſtance from their neighbours, yet did he not forſake them in their greateſt need: for euen it ſeemed the heauens and the winds would fight for them; for that the wind did ſuddenly change, euen as the Spaniards thought to approch their bridge, which made them to recoile backe, and fauoured the beſieged, blowing full in their enemies faces: from that time the Spaniard ſeemed as if he would rayſe his campe: For the two and twentieth day he diſlod- B ged from the fort which he had ioyning vnto the bulwarke, on the South ſide, the which he did in the night. The beſieged went thither at the breake of day, from whence they brought ſome ſmall bootie, and brake the bridge which their enemies had made with ſo great paine and toyle, they layed the fort euen with the ground; and by the retyring of ſome tents and pauilions which were on the South ſide, the beſieged had ſome more libertie and ſcope for to looke abroad. They did alſo diſcouer at night, that right againſt the red tower they did lade certaine barrels of powder, to carry them vnto Oudt-Dorp.

And although at that time the beſieged ſeemed to bee ſomewhat aſſured, and did not much care to know their enemies deſignes, yet it fell out, that the man which was ſent to C helpe to ruine them, was he which diſcouered vnto them the practiſes and policie of their enemies. For there came a certaine French ſouldier into the towne, one of thoſe which had remayned priſoner at the taking of Harlem, as it were to yeeld himſelfe; who being examined of the cauſes, why he left the Spaniard to come vnto them, hee confeſſed freely vnto them, That he had beene ſent by their enemies, to obſerue their behauiour, and to ſee how the bourgers and ſouldiers did agree together, and that he ſhould find ſome meanes (with the helpe of the Romane Catholickes, to deliuer the towne; and if hee did find any likelyhood to effect it, he ſhould giue them ſome ſigne from the rampar, eyther by mouth, or otherwiſe; if not, he ſhould returne vnto them by a certaine day appointed, and informe them of the eſtate of the towne: but knowing well, that what he had promiſed them, was to play D the traytor, and that he had done it to ſaue himſelfe from them, hauing beene alwaies carefull of the good of the towne, and the preſeruation of the inhabitants, hee ſaid, That they had promiſed him great matters, if he could effect it, the which neuer entred into his thought to performe.

The gouernours of the towne did eaſily beleeue it, for that he had ſo freely and plainely reuealed ſome of the enemies ſecrets. The bourgomaſters, captains, and chiefe of the ſworne companies, promiſed one another, not to impart vnto the commons what the Frenchman had declared vnto them; but only they ſhould giue them to vnderſtand, That within fifteene daies the enemie would raiſe the ſiege, knowing well, that the Germanes would come to ſuccour them: yet this French ſouldier was ſafely kept. E

Among other things which he diſcouered, he ſaid, That the Spaniard was much diſcontented, that hauing continued his ſiege ſo long before the towne, he could neuer learne by any that came foorth, nor by any letters from the Catholickes, in what eſtate the beſieged were, and what their reſolution was, nor whence they did recouer that wherof they had need: which ſhewed, that ſome bourgers were wrongfully taxed and ſuſpected (as oftentimes ſouldiers cannot be ſilent) to haue beene in the Spaniards campe, or to haue giuen them ſome aduertiſements by letters faſtened vnto arrowes. For this cauſe they ſent not foorth any more meſſengers to their neighbours, fearing they ſhould be taken, and ſo diſcouer the ſecrets of the towne, and the eſtate wherein it ſtood.

The fiue and twentieth of the moneth, the Spaniard (whome the beſieged had taken the F fifteenth day, at the fort of the red tower) was hanged: the which was chiefely done, that the companions of this French ſouldier (who were alſo of thoſe priſoners that were brought from Harlem) who anſwered for him body for body, that he ſhould returne at the appointed

A ted day, ſhould not be in danger for his not returning; and therefore this Spaniard was hanged in the Frenchmans clothes, to make the Spaniards beleeue (ſeeing him hang ſo) that it was the Frenchman himſelfe, who being diſcouered, had beene ſo truſſed vp, whereby his companions, that were priſoners, might bee freed from their conditionall caution. So this poore wretched Spaniard muſt die to preſerue the reſt from death, and thus miſerably was hee rewarded, for that being the onely priſoner that had bin taken in this warre, he had diſcouered the ſecrets of his party: but it was held more conuenient, that one man alone, being a priſoner in the ſame degree, ſhould ſuffer, than many of their friends.

The gouernours and magiſtrates had promiſed the ſouldiers of their garriſon, That if it pleaſed God they might preſerue their town, they would giue them all new clothes: but they
B changed their minds, for that there was not cloth ſufficient in the towne; and if there had beene, yet was it not all of one bountie, which might haue bred iealouſie, and cauſed the ſouldiers to murmure. Therefore to make all things equall, money being alſo ſcant, the ſuperiour magiſtrates cauſed dallars of tynne to be coyned, of three ſhillings apiece, with promiſe, that (the towne being deliuered) they would redeeme them for good ſiluer at the rate, ſo as neyther ſouldiers nor bourgers ſhould not looſe any thing: This was decreed the 28 day of the moneth.

The next day (this money being ſuddenly coyned) it was diſtributed to euery ſouldier that had a ſingle pay, ſix of thoſe dallars, to him that had a double, twelue, and ſo to officers and captaines accordingly; ſo as the whole ſumme amounted to 10000 Florins, but the ſouldiers
C were not well ſatisfied therewith.

The Spaniards hauing had ſuch bad ſucceſſe in all their aſſaults, began to thinke vpon their retreat, and to truſſe vp their baggage: for the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, of nine peeces which they had planted at the port of Friſeland, they ſaw but three, and of ſeuen at the red tower, but three alſo, which had their breeches turned; and the next day thoſe which were remaining at the port, were no more ſeene; but the culuerins at the myll and the three peeces at the tower were yet remaining.

The Spaniards did nothing all theſe three dayes but lade their artillerie and munition; for the carying of which away, they muſt of neceſſitie repaire the waies betwixt Oudt-Dorp and the towne, being all broken by the inundations of the ſea, ſo as they were forced to cary away
D a great part in barkes to Egmont. From the firſt of October to the ſixt, the Spaniard did nothing but truſſe vp his baggage, carrying away their artillerie both by carts and in boats, with exceeding great difficultie, by reaſon of the tempeſts and continuall raine, ſo as it ſeemed in their retreat, that God and heauen was againſt them.

The ſeuenth day there came a man, who reported, That vpon the Scheermer, the Proteſtants ſhips of Holland had fought with them of Amſterdam, who were retired after that they had loſt one of their ſhips. He ſaid alſo, That the Waterlanders, which are the towns of Edam, Monikendam, & Puremende, imitating the example of them of Alcmar, were full of courage, reſoluing rather to hazard body and goods, than to yeeld to the Spaniards: That he had heard an old ſouldier of the enemies ſay, That he had neuer ſeene ſuch furious aſſaults, & ſo continu-
E ed, as thoſe that were giuen at Alcmar, in the which there died aboue 1400 men, and among others, two great commanders, the one was buried at Beuerwyc, and the other at Amſterdam, with a ſtately funerall pompe.

The eight day all the Spaniſh forces made their retreat in order of battaile, marching from Oudt-Dorp towards Berghen; ſome of the beſieged ſallyed forth, and without the conſent or knowledge of their ſuperiors (accompanied with ſome ſouldiers and mariners of their galleyes and ſhippes of warre) went to Oudt-Dorp, an auncient and well renowned village, which they burned. Alcmar freed from the ſiege.

And thus paſſed the ſiege of Alcmar, after it had continued ſeuen weeks, wheras the bourgers ſhewed themſelues not onely to haue the courage and hearts of ſouldiers, but of Lyons:
F wherof the Prouerb grew; *That the duke of Alua during his gouernment had made the marchants and mariners of Holland ſouldiers; the neat-heards of Spaine Hidalgos, that is to ſay, gentlemen; the Germane ſouldiers bribers, the Wallons theeues (who were wont to be good men) gentlewomen & honeſt virgins ſtrumpets, and whores and bands ladies and gentlewomen.* A Prouerbe.

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The emperor ſeeketh the peace of the Netherlands.

At that time the emperour *Maximilian* (according to his bountie and naturall clemencie) pitying the afflictions and miſeries of theſe Netherlands, did what he could to perſuade the king of Spaine to giue ſome reſt to ſo many miſeries, entreating him to bee at peace with his ſubiects. He writ alſo to the prince of Orange, exhorting him to peace, promiſing to bee a means for him to recouer his goods that were ſeized on in the Netherlands & in Bourgoigne (theſe were practiſes come from Spaine, to make him abandon them of Holland & Zeeland) or elſe to cauſe him to haue recompence for the ſame of ſome ſeigniories in Germanie, or in the countie of Charolois. But the emperour preuailed nothing on either ſide; the king of Spain (hauing begun to know the humor of the prince) continuing firme in the anſwer which he had made in the yeare 1569, to the archduke *Charles* the emperours brother, who was ſent into Spaine to the ſame end, with ample inſtructions, to ſeeke to mollifie the kings heart. On the other ſide, the prince of Orange anſwered, That in this warre he did not ſeek, nor euer had ſought his owne priuat intereſt, but only the peace and quiet of the commonweale, the maintenance of religion, the kings ſeruice, & to chaſe out of the Netherlands the Spaniſh tyrannie, whereunto (he ſaid) he was called, the which he would diſcharge with his beſt endeuors: and therefore nothing was done at this time. Yet the emperour, moued with a true and Chriſtian pietie, did not deſiſt, vntill that in the yeare 1575 they entred into conference at Breda, as wee ſhall hereafter ſee. But let vs returne to Zeeland.

Zeeland.

The Spaniſh fleet (commanded by the ſeignior of Beauvoir) being returned to Antuerp, the Zeelanders were aduertiſed, that the Spaniards intention was to ſend him backe ſpeedily vnto Middlebourg, wherof colonel *Mondragon* gaue great ſuſpition, cauſing the head of the hauen on the ſide of Arnemuyden to be fortified. The Proteſtants of Zeeland began again to aſſemble their forces at Fleſſingue, to hinder the ſaid victualling: for the effecting whereof, there arriued in October the ſeignior of *Poyet*, a French gentleman, who was ſent by the prince of Orange to commaund the forces. And for that the bourgers of the towne were very much tired, and that the Spaniard was readie to deſcend, he led thoſe troupes to Soeteland, in the which was the regiment of *Hellin*, of foure companies of Germanes, and one of Wallons: beſides, the ordinarie companies of the garriſon of Fleſſingue went thither, & ſoone after the Scottiſhmen arriued, and the companie of *Grenu* from Zirickzee.

Geertruydenberg ſurpriſed by the prince.

The ſaid captaine *Poyet*, on the laſt day of Auguſt, before his comming to Fleſſingue, ſurpriſed in the prince of Orange his name, at the breake of day, with a wonderfull dexteritie, (after the riſing of the guard) the ſtrong towne of Geertruydenberg (belonging vnto the prince by inheritance) where there were ſix hundred Wallons and Flemings in garriſon: the which were for the moſt part cut in pieces. But captaine *Draek*, the gouernour, ſaued himſelfe, with nine or tenne ſouldiers more, by a window, which looked into the towne-ditch, caſting himſelfe downe, leauing behind him vpon his table, the lendings which the day before he had receiued for his ſouldiers, to be diuided among the princes ſouldiers, who had the bootie.

As matters paſſed thus at land, after the deliuerance of Alcmar, and the taking of Geertruydenberg, the duke of Alua meaning to be reuenged of the Weſt-Friſons (of which number thoſe of Alcmar are) cauſed a great fleet of thirtie ſhips to be prepared at Amſterdam, to ſubdue them, wherof he gaue the charge to Cont *Boſſu*, whoſe admirall ſhippe was called the *Inquiſition*; which earle hauing ſayled with his fleet a little in the Zuyderzee, he met with the ſhips of the Weſt-Friſons, of Enchuyſen, of Monykendam, and the Waterlanders. Theſe two armies being met, made a furious fight both with their canon and their ſmall ſhot: when they came to ioine with the Friſons, it ſeemed at the firſt that the victory inclined to the Spaniards; but being ſuccoured by the Waterlanders their neighbours, the chance turned preſently: for Cont *Boſſu* was enuironed on all ſides, and boorded by the Proteſtants, caſting wild fire from their two caſtles vpon the Spaniards: ſo as the earle ſeeing himſelfe abandoned of all his fleet, hauing fought from noon on the eleuenth day all night, vntil the next day at noon, defending himſelfe valiantly, after great loſſe of his men, in the end he was forced to yield. The Spaniards ſeeing in what extremitie they were, deſpairing of all mercie from their victorious enemies, were once reſolued to ſet fire on the powder, to burne themſelues with the ſhippe: but hearing that the earle had capitulated for them, they left their armes, and yeelded.

The

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A The other Spaniſh ſhips ſeeing their admirall taken, fled as ſwiftly as they could to Amſterdam: but that of captaine *Weſthen* was ſunke with the Canon. Cont *Boſſu* with his Inquiſition, and all the rich bootie that was in it, was carried to Horne.

This battaile at ſea was the two and twentieth of October. It ſeemed that Cont *Boſſu* did vndertake this battaile, more for deſpight (to the end hee would not bee called cowardly Fleming, as it happened to cont *Aremberg* in Friſeland) than for any hope he had to vanquiſh the Proteſtants: for thoſe Spaniards being yet in Amſterdam, had ſaid in diſdaine & mockery, that the Enchuyſens had no artillerie but of painted wood, the which they felt to their coſt in this battaile.

The duke of Alua being in Amſterdam after this defeat, was not quiet in mind, fearing a mu-
B tiny of the people, and the rather, for that he had attempted (but failed) to bring in a garriſon of Spaniards, ſo as he departed with *Dom Frederic* his ſon ſecretly out of the towne, and went to Bruſſels.

The ſiege of Alcmar being raiſed, and the duke of Alua and his ſonne ſeeing themſelues out of hope to take any place by force, he reſolued to patience, and to vanquiſh them in making the warres long, preſuming, that holding the countrey in their ſubiection (which the States could not yet hinder) they ſhould weary the townes, & in the meane time they might practiſe ſome intelligences, or for want of victuals take ſome place of import. This proiect was not without good conſideration: for the truth was, that Leyden, one of the foure chiefe towns of Holland (after the which they gaped more than any other, the ſeignior of Noyelle, a gentlemã
C vpon the riuer of Eſcaut being then gouernor) was very ill prouided, wherof they wanted no aduertiſements from the towne it ſelfe: according to the which they did ſhut it vp ſo cloſe, making many ſmall forts about it, as there was ſmall likelyhood of any means to ſuccour it, but by the meanes which the prince of Orange vſed ſoone after for the firſt time.

When as the duke of Alua aduaunced to beſiege Alcmar, he ſent *Franciſco de Baldes*, maſter of the campe, with his Tertio of the league, fiue cornets of horſemen, and ſome twelue companies of Wallons out of ſundrie regiments, commaunding him to march in the bowels of Holland, and relieue his troupes in the rich villages, where he ſhould thinke beſt, betwixt Leyden, Delft, and the ſea coaſt, as farre as the riuer of Meuſe and the towne of Brill, charging him not to attempt any thing without his priuitie and conſent, vnleſſe it were vp-
D on very ſure intelligence with ſome of the townes.

Baldes being entred into the rich village of the Haghe, he found it capable to lodge double his troupes all in houſes, and moſt in beds. Hauing lodged there ſome few dayes, hee cauſed all the villages to bring him in ſuch neceſſaries as he pleaſed: then he aduanced ſome of his companies to a village called *Riſricke*, in the way towards Leyden from Delft, the which he intrenched and barricadoed, and hee intrenched his firſt guards at the bridge, in the mid way betwixt the Haghe and Delft, whereas the troupes on both ſides had many a hote skirmiſh, both neere vnto their guards, and ſometimes hard at the ports of Delft. Colonel *Morgan* his regiment, and diuers companies of Frenchmen, were lodged in the villages betwixt Delft and Rotterdam, very ſafely from the enemie, by reaſon that both theſe
E townes couered them both behind and before, and great ditches on eyther ſide, which were not to be paſſed with troupes, hauing any guards to defend them.

Theſe troupes were alwayes readie to thruſt into Delft, Rotterdam, Delfts hauen, or Maeſlandt Sluce, where the enemie ſhould firſt attempt. In Leyden was *Monſieur de Lorges*, ſonne to that braue earle of Montgomerie, with a goodly French regiment, and other companies of Scots, and of the countreymen and bourgers, well armed. In Delft was captaine *Cheſter*, with two hundred Engliſhmen, whom afterwards the prince made colonel of thoſe troupes, by reaſon of ſome ſpleene againſt colonel *Morgan*. There were alſo in it three fayre companies of Frenchmen, beſides the bourgers, who were all well armed. In Rotterdam were ſome companies of Scots, and of the countreymen, beſides
F the bourgers. At Delfts hauen was *Monſieur de Mayſonfleur*, with ſundrie bands both of French, Scottiſh, and of the countrey. And in Maeſlandt Scluce was *Monſieur de S. Aldegonde* and *Terlon*, with ſome twelue hundred, moſt of them countreymen, with many peſants and bourgers.

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The garrisons wrought continually to fortifie these two last mentioned, so as both were A
made strong and guardable with reasonable defences, especially Delfts hauen, which was
not easily to be woon, hauing necessaries fit for a fort. *Monsieur de Poyet*, for the better as-
surance of Leyden, being the neerest place inuested by the enemie, thrust himselfe into it.
Baldes had made diuers practises to haue surprised Leyden and Delft by trecherie, but they
succeeded not. After which fruitlesse attempts he aduertised the duke of Alua of his affaires,
and that no good could be done without an armie, and artillerie: whereupon hee requested
more troupes, or leaue to retyre.

The duke of Alua remembring his disgrace at Alcmar, fearing his armie should mutinie,
if he should ouer-charge them with trauell, hauing no treasure to content them, hee reso-
lued and determined to retyre vnto Brussels: but before his departure, hee sent *Iulian Ro-* B
mero, master of the campe, into his armie lying in the countrey, neere vnto Vtrecht, com-
maunding him (if hee could) to cause his regiment of Lombardie to march into Hol-
land, and to ioyne with *Baldes*. He also commaunded *Monsieur de Capres* to procure his re-
giment of Wallons to doe the like, and the regiment of *Frousberg*, a Germane. All which
colonels had charge to procure them to march willingly, and not to force them at all.
He also commaunded *Mendosa*, generall of the Horse, to send six of the best cornets with
them.

These regiments and horsemen being well content to enter into Holland, and sworne
to obey their colonels in all seruices, the duke of Alua gaue the chiefe commaund vnto
Iulian, and next vnto him *Baldes*, making *Verdugo* gouernour of Harlem, with his regiment C
of Wallons, and one cornet of horse, with three ensignes of Germanes out of *Frousberg*
his regiment. *Iulian* and his succours beeing arriued, and hauing conferred with *Baldes*,
they resolued and determined to attempt Maeslandt Sluce; whither they marched from
the Haghe with sixe peeces of batterie, carrying with them (in waggons) skutes and small
boats to make bridges ouer ditches, with all other things necessarie for their enterprise: so
as they tooke the great ditch on both sides of the Sluce, hauing mounted their artillerie
on both sides of the dike, they dismounted theirs within the towne, which did beat the
dike: Then turning their Ordnance towards the riuer of Meuse (which is aboue a leagne
broad in that place) they beat away such vessels as the defendants had ankering before
their fort. *Monsieur de Terlon* being admirall and gouernour of Briel: seeing their successe, D
departed out of the fort in a skute (with great hazard) to recouer Bryel, presently the e-
nemies passed with their boats ouer the dike into Meuse, the which did much daunt S.
Aldegonde and his garrison. So as hauing no meanes to auoid the danger they were in,
Maesland sluce yeelded. nor any hope of succours, the souldiers compounded for their fort, deliuering and yeel-
ding vp vnto the enemie their gouernour S. *Aldegonde*, with others, with their ensignes and
armes.

Thus this fort was lost, partly, by reason, that the States shippes of warre durst not
aduenture nor hazard to dismount the enemies artillerie, the which they might haue
easily done, if they had shewed their accustomed valour and courage therein: but the espe-
ciall reason was; for that they of the fort did not cut the dike on both sides of the fort, E
to haue drowned the countrey; which done, the enemie would neuer haue attempted
the place.

Zeeland. Whilest that the Spaniards did wander freely in the good villages of Holland, the Zee-
landers slept not: for the fiue and twentieth of October captaine *Poyet*, lieutenant vnto
the prince, departed from Flessingue, with the garrison of the towne, the companie of *Grenu*,
one of high Dutch, and some fortie French, and marching all night along the dike of Ra-
mekin, they went and made a trench within canon shot of Middlebourg, to keepe in the
Spaniard, that he should not hinder him from making of a fort at the head of the chan-
nell of Middlebourg, which they held to bee fit, to cut off the passage for the victualling;
wherein they laboured with such diligence, as this fort was in defence, before their ene- F
mies had discouered it. *Poyet* left his Frenchmen to guard the sayd trench, with the Wal-
lons of captaine *Barnard. Eloy*, and *Grenu*, putting into the fort which the Spaniards had on
the side of Arnemuyden, some other Wallons and Flemings.

The

A The same night *Mondragon* beeing aduertised of the comming of the Zeelanders, sent twelue harquebusiers to discouer them: who approching to the sayd trench, were chased backe neere vnto the ports of Middlebourg. *Mondragon* aduertised by them that the Protestants had intrenched themselues there, sent foorth by the breake of day three companies of the bravest men of all his regiment, who like desperate men came to assayle them that guarded this trench, and by reason of a thicke foggie myst they approched so neere, as they were readie to come to handie blowes: but the Spaniards seeing captaine *Faili* and some foure or fiue others our throwne began to faint, and to retyre. Those that were in the trench were resolute, and had promised one another rather to die in the place than to abandon it, although they were not aboue foure score men, and that they saw the high Dutch and Flemings which
B were behind them vpon the head begin to flie. There was among them thirty Frenchmen, the rest were Wallons of the abouenamed companies.

At this assault there was hurt captaine *Ambrose le Duke*, sargeant maior, the Seignior of Ferriere, a French gentleman, with seuen or eight other souldiers, and foure of the Protestants side slaine: and of the Spaniards, two captaines, *Faili* and *Raphael*, three lieutenants, three Sargeants, fiue Corporals, tenne or twelue Souldiers, and aboue fiftie were hurt.

In the meane time they fortified the long head of the channell at Middlebourg, on Ramekins side, euery one iudging that it might serue much to hinder the victualling of the sayd towne, if the Spaniards did attempt to passe that way: but the season was so rainie and so tem-
C pestuous, as the souldiers shewing themselues impatient, as well in their worke, as by reason of the myre, and the vnseasonablenesse of the weather, it was impossible to finish it: so as after they had sent backe the artillerie which they had brought, the fort was abandoned.

The sixt of Nouember, the armie of Antuerpe began againe to set saile towards Zeeland, and hauing stayed some time in the riuer neere vnto Lillo, the Spaniard caused his small boates to passe by Berghen vpon Soom, to get that way to Arnemuyden: the which they might easily haue done, hauing chased away those that guarded the passage on that side, if the tide had not failed them, so as they were forced to cast anker, and so the Flessinguers which attended them on the other side, had leisure to come and meet them, the tide seruing them.
D Then the Spaniards seeing the Zeelanders hast towards them, being resolute to charge them, they weighed anker, and some for hast cut their cables, saying directly towards Berghen, where they were cooped vp by the Zeelanders, who pursued them thither.

In this flight the Spaniard lost one of his shippes, the which beeing runne on ground, was taken by them of Zeeland, with two others; who not knowing the Zeelanders, nor what to doe, fell among the middest of the Protestants. The Spaniards being retyred to Berghen, most of the Protestants shippes came about Romerswael, where they besieged about a hundred souldiers which the duke of Alua had sent thither with artillerie, to stop the nauigation betwixt Holland and Zeeland, which souldiers compounded with them the next day, to dislodge with their liues and armes saued.

E The next night there was a Sargeant of a band taken, who brought store of powder and match for those souldiers of Romerswael, who retiring from thence, left three brasse peeces of ordnance, and fiue hoyes laden with munition for Middlebourg. And for that the Zeelanders receiued aduertisement, That the duke of Alua would send greater forces thither than before, they were forced to set fire on it. Romerswael yeelded to the Zeelanders.

In the meane time the Spaniard sought all meanes to passe his victuals to Middlebourg, and knowing that the ships of Zeeland were in gard before Berghen, the eight of December there passed in the night from Ter-Goes two small hoyes, carrying 436 sackes of corne; who answering the Zeelanders that were at the passage, That they came from Romerswael, and that they went to Flessingue (of whence they said they were) passed without any difficultie: it could
F not be knowne whether it were willingly done, or that they did let them thus slippe by simplicitie. The prince of Orange coming into Zeeland.

The thirtieth of December the prince of Orange arriued at Flessingue, where hee was receiued with great ioy of the inhabitants; whose comming gaue vnto them such

courage, as suddenly they armed out many small barkes, to keepe guard round about the Island. Hee had beene the one and twentieth of that moneth at Zirickzee, from whence he went to see the fleet of Zeeland before Berghen, then he came to la Vere, and in the end to Flessingue. A

The duke of Alua seeing by the bad successe of the siege of Alemar, by the taking of Count *Bossu* his admirall, by the yeelding vp of Ramekins, the chiefe fort of Zeeland, and the small hope and likelyhood to succour Middlebourg, being much distressed by the Protestants of Zeeland, and by the losse of two or three armies at sea, which he had sent, the one vnder the Seignior of Blicqui, the other vnder the Seignior of Beauvoir, that in the end his affayres would not proue successefull, knowing also, that for his cruelties he was not beloued: hee laboured in Spaine (by the meanes of Cardinall *Granuelle*) to be called home, and discharged from his gouernment of the Netherlands, as he was, and departed from Brussels the twelfth of December with his sonne *Dom Frederic*, of whom they sayd, *Egregiam vero laudem & spolia ampla referris, tuque puerque tuus, & memorabile nomen.* His Secretarie *Armenteros* and his chiefe counsellor *Iohn de Vergas*, president of the counsell of Troubles, followed them, who had not forgotten to enrich themselues with the ruine of the poore inhabitants of the countrey, which the duke left wonderfully estranged for the king his master, and worke prouided for *Dom Lewis* of Riquesens, commaunder of Castile, his successor in the gouernment, who arriued at Brussels the seuenteenth of Nouember, to be instructed in those affaires by the duke, before he retyred out of the countrey, and the designes which he had proiected, as well for the siege of Leyden, as for the victualling of Middlebourg, and the recouerie of Zeeland. Behold how the Netherlands had successiuely two strange gouernours, against the rights, liberties, freedomes, and the kings oath, which did not allow any other gouernor or gouernesse, but of his bloud, or borne in the countrey. B C

The duke of Alua's retreat.

What the duke of Alua's enemies write of him.

Being come to the end of the duke of Alua his gouernement, I thinke it not amisse (to satisfie the mind of the reader, that may be desirous to know more particularities touching him) to make a briefe rehearsall of the said dukes actions, gouernments, and cruelties, the which are set downe in writing by his aduersaries.

First, they charge him, That hee had counselled the king to vse all extremities in all causes concerning the Netherlands, and was alwaies the head of such as were worst affected vnto those prouinces. D

That he was the onely meanes and nourishing of the disliking and contention betweene *Dom Charles* prince of Spaine, and *Dom Iohn* de Austria, and betweene others and him, by his bad reports. And that hauing gotten the charge and gouernment of the Netherlands, that he had procured his instructions and commission to be made according to his owne will and desire, conformable to the auncient hatred that he had conceiued against that countrey; adding thereunto, That he had beene receiued more peaceably and friendly into the Netherlands, than he hoped or desired, which was onely in regard of the honour and duty they owe vnto their naturall prince, and vpon the promise made by the regent, the duchesse of Parma, who would haue seene all things past forgiuen and forgotten, for that euery one had done his best endeuour, to the vttermost of his power, for his Maiesties seruice, and the peace of the land. But the duke being come, hee presently declared, That the priuiledges and freedomes of the countrey, the institution of the order of the golden Fleece, and the priuiledges of the Vniuersitie of Louaine (which the king had personally sworne to obserue) were all forfeited and lost; thereby to hold and account the land to be as a strange countrey newly woon and conquered by the sword, and therein to rule and raigne according to his will and pleasure. E

They say further, That his cruelties were so vnnaturall and vngodly, that neither *Nero*, *Pharaoh*, *Herode*, nor any Heathen tyrant, could euer haue deuised or inuented greater. That he had brought the king into a contempt and great dislike of the Netherlands, although they were his patrimoniall inheritance, contrarie to the admonition and counsell of *Aristotle* giuen to *Alexander* the Great, That to the Grecians he should shew himselfe a father, and as vnto a free Nation; but to the conquered Barbarians and strangers, as a lord and commaunder. F

That

A That hee had caused iudgement to bee giuen, and execution to bee done vpon noble men and great personages, by strangers, defamed persons, and men of base condition and qualitie: and not without great and particular desire of reuenge, beeing such personages without the which the king, nor the emperour his father, should neuer haue attained to so great estate and glorie. And that in Brussels, vnder pretence or hatred of religion, hee had tyed one *Anthonie Vrenhowe* a gentleman, to a stake with a chaine, compassing him about with a great fire, but not touching him, for the Spaniards to passe the time withall, turning him round about like a poote beast: who was forced to liue in that great paine and extremitie, roasting before the fire, so long, vntill that the halberdiers themselues, hauing compassion of him, thrust him thorow, contrarie to the will and intent both of the duke and Spanish
B priests.

That hee had mooued the king to helpe himselfe by foure tyrannicall meanes: First, to disarme the countrey, not suffering the inhabitants to exercise armes, but to imploy strangers in his warres. Secondly, to make and keepe them poore by oppressions, and laying great taxes vpon them. Thirdly, by making of castles and citadels (which some call the dennes and nests of tyrants) to bridle them. And further by feeding and nourishing of diuision among his subiects for religion.

They obiect, That hee had withholden the king for so many yeares (in so great dangers) from comming personally into the countries of the Netherlands, as the emperour his father did, only for the towne of Gand.

C That hee had incensed the king so much against the Netherlands, as he would not vouchsafe to heare them, but rather flatterers, their enemies, as it appeared by a packet of letters sent into Spain, where they were kept vnopened nine monethes together, vntill the comming of the cardinall *Granuelle* into Spaine.

That he had contemned the generall estates of the Netherlands, persecuting, iudging, condemning, and executing the nobilitie and gentlemen thereof, as traytors to their countrey, hauing onely presented an humble petition to the Duchesse of Parma, being Regent, to
D craue an assembly of the generall estates.

That hee was not content to haue destroyed and brought so many noble men, gentle men, rich and poore people vnto their ends, and to haue banished and driuen so many out of the countrey, but had so hardly and badly vsed those that remained in the countrey, as they were fallen into dispaire, and were pitied and lamented in all kings and princes courts; whereby those that were in the land had beene compelled to ioyne with the banished persons, when as they perceiued that the pardon made by the pope and the king, by his onely meanes and procurement, tended onely to deceit, as beeing full of double interpretations, exceptions, and restrictions, wherein they might not trust, the Netherlands for the most part that are a people that commonly are good, old, and Catholike Christians, beeing esteemed for heretikes, by the new Spanish Mauritane Christians, for which cause many spirituall persons, fearing the rigour and crueltie vsed by punishing and banishing of the people, procured attestations, certificats, and testimonials from their bishops and pastors, to testifie them to be cleer,
E and not to haue offended; whose names hee caused to bee written, and sent into Spaine, thereby to bring the Spiritualtie into suspition of heresie, and so to bereaue them of all honour and credit, seeking to bring the Spirituall goods and liuings of the countries of the Netherlands, into the kings hands, after the Spanish manner, thereby to bestow them vpon the Spaniards.

That his crueltie appeared by his ransacking, spoyling, ruining, expelling, destroying, imprisoning, chaining, banishing, and confiscating of mens goods, burning, hanging, beheading, breaking vpon wheeles, hanging men aliue by the feet, and with most horrible and vncredible tormenting, racking, and murthering of so many noble and vnnoble, rich and poore, young and old, widowes and orphanes, men, women, and young maids of all
F estates and conditions: So as hee bragged sitting at meat, That hee, hauing done the best hee could to root out all heresies, had caused eighteene thousand men to bee executed and put to death, by the ordinarie minister of iustice, within the space of fiue yeares that hee gouerned the Netherlands, not accounting those that his souldiers in the warres, by their cruelties, and

other

other tyrannous meanes, had murthered and miserably consumed, and brought vnto their ends, which without all doubt could not chuse but be an innumerable number: and yet *Vergas*, the president of his bloudie counsell (that went with him into Spaine) complained, and said, That *Nimia misericordia* (too much mercie) spoyled the Netherlands. Which his too much mercie was such, that a man could hardly keepe and preserue his owne goods for his and his souldiers couetousnesse, his wife or daughter from their lecherie, and his life from their bloud-thirstinesse: nobilitie, riches, honestie, nor yet any forepassed merit or seruice, could neither helpe nor auaile any man, if hee were once fallen into hatred and dislike of him. A

That hee vsed to helpe himselfe to effect his will by suborning of false witnesses, as it appeared at Dornicke, at the death of *Martin Hutten*, who was the kings officer, executed for the same. B

That without respect of any iurisdictions and ordinarie customes of the country, he tooke all authoritie from the judges, both of criminall and ciuile causes, which in any sort might concerne the confiscations, vsed & executed by his bloudie counsel, whereby neither spirituall nor temporall persons, widowes, nor orphanes, poore hospitals, lazer houses, orphanes houses, nor spirituall hospitals, that had iust and due pentions, and yearely rents, comming, proceeding, and to be yearely paid vnto them, out of the reuenewes of the banished and executed persons goods, could be paid: But he to the contrarie drew it all into his owne hands, without giuing any charge to see the said rents paid out of the confiscated goods and lands once registred: The list whereof he sent vnto the king, amounting as he set it downe, to about, eight millions of guldernes yearely, that so he might couer his crueltie with the profit thereof and thereby win great commendation in Spaine. C

That the vnreasonable and vnspeakable exactions and taxes one following the other (besides the confiscations aforesaid) exacted and laid vpon the poore people, were exceeding great, as the hundreth penie graunted vnto him for six yeares, which amounted vnto many millions of guldernes; the twentieth penie, and also the tenth penie of all goods, moouable and vnmoouable, yea and of all wares bought and sold he asked, and sought by all the means hee could to execute the same (against the aduice of all the estates and counsels of the countrey) not onely proceeding of the cleere gaines of the things sold, but the tenth and twentieth penie of the capitall and principall value of all things sold: so as they should haue driuen all trade of merchandise, handicrafts, and dealings (whereby the inhabitants for the most part get their liuings) out of the Netherlands: which exaction hee thought with all rigour and extremitie to haue raised and put in practise, if hee had not beene impeached and hindered from the same by the warres; whereas before that, the countrey gaue him twentie hundred thousand guldernes yearely, besides certaine extraordinarie millions continually paid. To conclude, he caused the king and the Netherlands, in six yeares gouernment to spend at the least fiftie two millions of guldernes, which came for the most part out of the Netherlanders purses. D

That hee caused the English merchants goods that did traffique in Antuerpe (vpon hatred of religion, and thinking thereby to driue them from thence) amounting to seuen hundred thousands guldernes, to be arrested, vnder pretence of money that should be arrested and withholden from him in England (which neuertheless appeared to be none of his) writing to the king of Spaine to do the like, without any consideration that the Netherlanders had more to loose in England, who thereby lost in England twelue hundred thousand gulderns, wherewith the most worthy and famous queene of England recompenced her subiects for their losses: but the duke of Alua, neither yet the king of Spaine, would not offer, promise, nor pay the Netherlanders one penie, notwithstanding that afterward in the reckoning made by the merchants on both sides, hee hauing receiued in the merchants names about two hundred thousand guldernes of ouerplus found to be in the English merchants hands, would not giue it vnto those persons that had lost it, as the queene of England did, but rather caused many men (by reason of stopping of the trade) to become bankerupts, to the generall hurt and preiudice of the whole countrey. Besides all this hee charged and burthened the Netherlands with many vnprofitable and vnnecessarie souldiers, and placed strange garrisons of heretikes E F

and

A and Lutherans in the townes within the heart of the countrey: which hee vſed not againſt the enemie, but onely for the ruine of the land, and the extirpation of the Catholike ſeruice of God, ſpoyling and defacing of churches, cloyſters, and altars, as in the countries of Oueriſſel, Guelderland, and Brabant, it well appeared. He ſuffered his Spaniards to bee moſt commonly twentie eight monethes without their pay, and likewiſe the Dutch men, whereby hee impoueriſhed the townes, by paying ſeruice money vnto them, which they muſt of force pay, or elſe agree with him, or his ſonne, for a certaine ſumme of money, if they would bee freed thereof. For want of paying his ſouldiers hee ſuffered them without all militarie diſcipline, to vſe all riotous, diſordered, and forcible actions, as threatning of the people, ſtriking, robbing, ranſacking, forcing of women, and ſuch like actions, and to burne and ſpoyle diuers
B faire villages, as Catwicke vpon the ſea, Santfort, Alfen, and many others: and ranſacking diuers townes, to murther the people, thinking to haue entred forcibly into Vtrecht, and other townes, and to haue ſpoyled and ranſacked the ſame. What they did to Dornicke, Valencia, Ypre, Maſtricht, Deuenter, Merhelen, Oudenarde, Dermonde, Naerden, and elſe where, is yet in moſt fearefull remembrance.

In his time in Bruſſels there was aboue one hundred and thirtie bourgers murthered, and cruelly brought vnto their ends by the Spaniards. In Gand in a certaine vprore made by the Spaniards, there was ſixtie or ſeuentie bourgers at one time, and after that an innumerable number of men and women ſlaine and murthered. In Ypre likewiſe at the execution of a preacher, there was two and twentie bourgers ſhot thorow and killed, beſides thoſe that were
C hurt. In Dornicke at a certaine vprore betweene them of the caſtle, and the townes garriſon, two Spaniards being ſlaine, they cried *Spania, Spania*, and therewith wilfully killed fifteene bourgers: And there likewiſe they forcibly entred into the widow *Potiers* houſe, in the day time, and killed her daughter, and her couſin, thinking to haue found great ſtore of money in her houſe, for the which there was no other execution done vpon the offendors, but onely, they that had done the deed were ſent away from thence, and put into another garriſon.

In Fleſſingue was there not a bill found about *Pacieco* (that was kept priſoner by them) wherein was the names of an innumerable number of men, both gentlemen and others of the chiefeſt bourgers, which by the dukes commaundement ſhould haue beene murthered in
D the yeare 1572, in diuers townes, thereby to compell them to yeeld to the tenth penie? What horrible murthers were done and committed in Naerden and Harlem, contrarie to the faithfull promiſes made in *Don Fredericks* name, is manifeſtly knowne to euery man, where hee cauſed all the ſouldiers (not ſparing their young boyes and pages) to bee executed, ſuffering their dead bodies ſtarke naked to lye a whole day and a night vpon the ſcaffolds, and in the market place, to the great ſhame and feare of the women and maids: and ſome of them that had deliuered the towne vnto him, hee determined to ſend them into Spaine, to bee gally ſlaues: and thoſe that lay in the Fuyck by Harlem, hee ſuffered them to die for hunger, ſaying, That he promiſed them their liues, but not to giue them meat. The good bourgers hee compelled to bee pioners before the towne of Alcmar, that ſo hee might bring them vnto
E their ends.

There is no honeſt nor godly Chriſtian, but abhorreth and is aſhamed to doe any iniurie vnto the bodies of the dead, and the buriall of the dead is thought a fit and an honourable thing amongſt the Heathens and Barbarians: but the duke of Alua cauſed diuers dead bodies (to ſpight both God and man) after they had beene buried and layne certaine daies in the ground, to bee digged vp againe, and to bee drawne vnder the gallowes, and there to bee hanged or burnt, alledging that they died without receiuing the Sacrament, or being confeſt: but in trueth it was done onely, that according to his proclamation hee might confiſcat their goods.

The ſtate of mariage (the onely foundation of all ſocietie in euerie place and towne,
F and the bond of loue and peace, the right ground of all good life and conuerſation amongſt men, which moſt conſiſteth in true and right conſent) was by the Duke of Alua broken and diſanulled, for that the parties that were maried in the reformed aſſemblies, were held as heretikes, vnleſſe they maried againe, which many did, by that meanes to

beſtow

beſtow the rich women vpon his ſouldiers for a prize: To conclude, hee did openly breake A
and diſannull all honeſt amitie and loue, that one man is bound to ſhew vnto the other, murthering and executing women that holpe their husbands, and children that comforted their parents in their vttermoſt and greateſt extremities, and ſuch as did but comfort them with a letter: as was to bee ſeene in the towne of Maſtricht, where the father was cruelly put to death, becauſe hee lodged his ſonne (that hee had not ſeene in long time before) one night: and another, becauſe hee gaue a poore widow (whoſe husband had beene put to death for religion) certaine corne for almes: another, for that hee ſent certaine money vnto his friend which was then in England: and confiſcated the goods of many honeſt and rich women, becauſe they had lodged their husbands in their houſes, whereby they were compelled to beg their bread. B

Hee likewiſe prophaned the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme, cauſing the children that had beene openly and publikely baptiſed, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, to bee Baptiſed againe, becauſe they had beene Baptiſed (as hee ſaid) by heretikes, which was againſt the decrees of Counſels, and all the lawes both of God and man.

To ſhew his extreame pride and high mind, in the caſtle of Antuerp hee cauſed his image to bee made and erected of braſſe (like *Nabuchadnezer*) placing vnder his feet the nobilitie and ſtates of the countries of the Netherlands: and at Antuerpe, in the market place (where hee publiſhed a pardon) hee cauſed a princely throne to bee erected, which is vſed to bee ſet vp, onely therewith to honour princes and kings, which hee of himſelfe cauſed to be ſet C
vp, and ſat therein, to the diminiſhing of the kings honour, which no lieutenant to the king before him euer durſt attempt.

This is that, wherewith the countries of the Netherlands, both of the one and the other religion doe charge him.

The duke being ſafely arriued in Spaine, was well eſteemed and accounted of by the king, but not of the common people, which appeared when as he was committed to priſon by *Bulloa*, his owne prouoſt in times paſt, in the Low countries, for the mariage of his ſonne *Dom Frederic*, whereat the people generally reioyced: the cauſe was, for that his ſonne *Dom Frederic* that lay priſoner in Tordeſilias, becauſe hee would not marie one of the queenes maids of honour, was by him counſelled and prouoked to get out of priſon, and to be maried to D
Alua Maria de Toledo, daughter to *Dom Garcia de Toledo*, who beeing maried, returned into priſon againe. After that he was alwayes one of the principall of the kings priuie counſell (with one *Dom Iohn Idiaco*, a man of his owne humor) and hee made him generall of his armie in the conqueſt of Portugall, where nine yeares after hee died vpon the twelfth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1582, and in the ſeuentie fourth yeare of his age.

The duke of Alua died in great honor in Portugall, *anno* 1582.

The deſcription of the duke of Alua.

Hee was a tall leane man, going verie vpright, with a long leane viſage, hollow eyes, ſterne and ſower of countenance, hauing a great and a verie proud heart, a man well experienced in ſubtile courtly policie, endowed with great gifts of nature, good vnderſtanding, and great experience. Hee was neither couetous nor liberall, but verie coſtly, and exceE-
ding proud and glorious in his houſe. Hee was generally hated and enuied, and euill ſpoken of, in regard that hee was ſower, ſterne, and proud, both to his inferiours and equals, hauing too great a conceit and opinion of himſelfe. Hee was not beloued neither of the emperour *Charles* the fifth, nor of the king of Spaine his maſter, although hee had ſerued them both for the ſpace of threeſcore yeares. Hee was an old and well experienced ſouldier, not onely ſurpaſſing all Spaniards, but one that in his time gaue place therein to no man, and a verie ſtrict obſeruer and keeper of militarie diſcipline, when need required. Hee was a man of great iudgement and vnderſtanding to conduct and lead an armie, in regard that for the moſt part he had vſed defenſiue warre. He was couragious and bold ynough of his owne perſon, when hee aduentured himſelfe: but to come to a battayle F
(without great aduantage) hee was not much addicted. Hee had ſerued the emperour *Charles*, and the king of Spaine his ſonne, in their principall warres, as in the countries of Italy, Spaine, Fraunce, Hongarie, Germanie, the Netherlands, and Affrica, complaining that

A that hee had not ſeene the Turkes campe. Hee neuer got leſſe honour and reputation, than hee did in the Prouinces of the Netherlands, alwayes behauing himſelfe more wiſely and diſcreetly in croſſes, than in proſperitie. By reaſon of his ſternneſſe, hee could doe much with the king, whom hee procured to bee much ſterner than hee was by nature, although the emperour *Charles* the fifth (his father) often ſaid, That his ſonne was the ſowreſt, ſterneſt prince in the world, and that the Netherlands ſhould find him ſo, and yet the duke of Alua ſurpaſſed him.

This is that which both his friends and foes ſpeake and write of him; although for mine own part, I delight not in diſcouering ſo fowle cruelties and imperfections in a publike Gouernour.

Dom

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DOM LEWIS DE REQVESENS, GREAT Commander of Castile, Gouernor, Lieutenant, and Captaine generall for the King in the Netherlands.



LVDOVICVS REQVESEN. MAGN. COMEN.
REG. CAST. R.M. CON. GVB. ET CAP. GEN. BEL.

My predeceſſors courſe, that me the way had led
I held, and in his gouernment I was eſtabliſhed:
Where while I rul'd I did the Kings nauy behold
Orethrowne and vanquiſht, and their great pride controld.
My actions to my Prince did little good procure,
And at my hands the States did none or little hurt endure.
My death (by Spaniards mutinie) to them did guie
A great meanes to helpe themſelues, and their eſtates reliene.

The

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The Argument of the tenth booke.

THe great Commander by the calling home of the Duke of Alua being entred into the gouernment of the Netherlands, and continuing the Dukes first course; the towne of Middelbourg being reduced to extreme necessity and famine, he sent a fleete by sea to succor it, the which he see defeated before his owne eyes, whereof followed the yeelding of Middelbourg, the which Collonel Mondragon *deliuered vp to the Prince of Orange. Cont* Lodowic *the Princes brother came to succor the Netherlands with an Army; the Spaniards leauing the seege of Leyden go to meet him, they defeat him, and he is slaine with Cont* Henry *his Brother and Duke* Christopher. *A mutiny of the Spaniards in Antwerp called* Fuora villiacos. *The Spaniards after the defeat of Cont Lodouic take their lodging againe before Leyden, which had bene long blockt vp, there are faire wars betwixt the Prince and the Commander, who proclaimes a generall pardon and seemes to desire a peace. A Petition made there-vpon to the king of Spaine. By the Princes aduise the States resolue to drowne the country to succor Leyden, the which they doe, and in the end the Towne is deliuered by the Prince through the dround Land, after that the Towne had endured much miserie the Spaniards being mutined, take* Francisco valdes *their Generall prisoner, and faile to surprise Vtrecht. The Commander making a shew to desire peace, resolues to warre, and Oudwater is beseeged and in the end yeelded with many other townes to the Spaniard. The seege of Bomell, which the Spaniard wins deerly. The seege of Ziricxe. The States consult vpon their preseruation, and send to demand succors in England. The death of the great Commander to whome the Councell of state for the King of Spaine succeeds in the Gouernment. The Spaniards mutiny, hauing failed to surprise Brusselles, they fall vpon Alost, they are proclamed, all the country is in armes against them. The Councell of state is seazed on by the states of Brabant, who write vnto the other prouinces to ioyne with them to chuse the spaniards out of the Country. The death of the Emperor* Maximilian, *the Sack of Antwerp: The comming of Don* Iohn *of Austria. All the Prouinces of the Netherlands united at the pacification of Gand, after which the Castle is beseeged and yeelded to the states, with many other townes, the Spaniards depart out of the Castell of Antwerp, the which is put into the States hands. Don* Iohn *is receiued for Gouernor, who seekes occasion to renew the warre against the Prince of Orange. he goes to Namur, complaines of the States, they sue vnto him, he discouers himselfe, and they growe Iealous of him. Many Castels razed in the Netherlands, as harbours for Spanish tirants. Don* Iohn *proclaimed an ennemy to the country. The Arch-duke* Mathias *(the Emperors Brother) called for Gouernor. The States and Don* Iohn *in armes. Iealousie disperceth the cheefe of the States, whereby their armie was defeated by Don* Iohn, *who recouered manie townes: the States raise a new armie and call in the Duke of Aniou to succor them. Duke Casimire comes also, but to small purpose.* Arthois *and* Henault *begin to fall from the generall vnion of the Netherlands: troubles in Arras, the death of Don* Iohn *of Austria.*

DOn *Lewis* of Requesens being entred into the gouernment of the Netherlands, by the Duke of Aluas retreat; thought to succor Middelbourg, the which endured much pouerty and misery, as well by famine as otherwise; besides a great nomber of Bourgers retiring themselues by boat were daily taken, and many which came flying to Flessingue and la Vere, onely to haue a mouthfull of bread, where after they had fed them, they sent them backe: who not suffered to enter into Middelbourg, for that they hed fled out of it died in the fields (or at the Towne gates) many soldiars comming to yeeld themselues through famine were entertayned, for that they had need of them. There were letters of the 10. of Iannary, 1574. written in cipher by *Mondragon* surprised by the which hee did aduertise him that he could not hold out aboue the 15. or 16. of the moneth; there were others intercepted written vpon the backe of a Pasport, the which was red holding it before the fire, by the which he intreated the great Commander to aduertise him speedely, if he had any hope to succor him. The 14. day of the moneth they of Middelbourg ruined the fort which they had without the towne towards Flessingue, for that many soldiars which were put there in gard fled to the Protestants. The 19. of the moneth *Hans Cocq* a marriner passed with a barke from Antwerp to Middelbourg, bringing letters from Don *Lewis*, containing hope of succors which made the souldiars beseeged resolue, to attend yet some daies, or else they had bene ready to parle. The next day *Cocq* returned to Don *Lewis*, to informe him into what extremity the Townes of Middelbourg and Armemuyden were brought. And that

Those of Middelbourg in great extremity.

day a ſhip comming from Danſwic meaning to go to Scluſe, hauing the wind contrary A
fell for Fleſſingue, thinking (as the brute was then in England that Middelbourg was
yeelded vnto the Prince) to ſell his Marchandiſe there to good proffit. This ſhip hauing
paſſed the hauen of Fleſſingue, was called to by the ſhips of war of the Proteſtants neere
vnto Rameken, to caſt anchor, the which he did, elſe he had entred into Middelbourg,
and by that meanes the Beſeeged had bene vitteled beyond all hope, for in the ſaid ſhip
there were 14 laſts of wheat, 7. of Rie, halfe a laſt of herring, with ſome Beere and other
Don Lewis his letters intercepted. comodities. The 23 of the moneth, the Commander don *Lewis* ſent Inſtructions to *Iulien Romero*, what hee ſhould do in the Conduct of his army for the vitteling of Middelbourg, the which fell into the Zeelanders hands. The tenor whereof was as followeth,

„ An Inſtruction of that which *Iulian Romero* the Maiſter of the campe is to doe with the B
„ army which he hath in charge, conducting it from Berghes to ſuccor the Ile of Walchrē:
„ By reaſon of his ſodaine departure, he muſt follow the order which is giuen him by theſe
„ preſents, which is, to conforme himſelfe to the voyage which the Chaſtelaine *Sanchio d'*
„ *Auila* ſhall make, who parts this day from the port of Antwerp with his Army, and ſhall
„ goe on without ſtopping of any tyde, vntill he deſcouers the Ile of Walchren. And the
„ other army which goes vnder the command of the Maiſter of the campe muſt doe the
„ like that both the armies ſhewing them-ſelues an one inſtant to the ennemies, they may
„ the more eaſely effect that which they deſire, and concurre to that end with the ſaide
„ Chaſtelaine. That which they pretend cheefely to effect with this army: is, to put all the
„ boats laden with vittells into Middelbourg, that no one may miſcary, and in theſe boats C
„ ſhalbe diuided the ſoldiars that goe to ſupply *Mondragons* Regiment. And wee beleeue
„ that for the due execution thereof, the ſaide maſter of the campe hath already giuen
„ conuenient order, appointing a place whether the ſaid boats landed with vittells ſhould
„ goe, in reſpect of the other ſhips of the army; and that he hath already named the per-
„ ſon that ſhall haue ſpeciall charge of thoſe barkes laden with vittells, and hath appointed
„ him what to doe, and in what ſort he ſhould put them into Middelbourg. It is certenly
„ beleeued, that the enemie hearing of the good order of this army, will not attend them,
„ and that they ſhall not fight, eſpecially if they ſee them ſaile with that care and circum-
„ ſpection that is requiſite. But if it hapned otherwiſe, and that they ſhould oppoſe their
„ army to ours, to ſtop the paſſage of ſucours, in that caſe they muſt fight, and ſtriue to D
„ defeat them; and to open the paſſage to put in the ſaid ſuccors, which done it ſhalbe at
„ their choiſe to execute that which is to be done after-wards, according to occaſion, &
„ the ſtate wherein the two armies ſhalbe, and it ſeemes to be the more ſafe to ioyne with
„ that of *Sanchio d' Auila*, and to treat together what is to be done, as well for the pour-
„ ſuing of the ennemies army and the whole defeating thereof, as for the attempting of
„ any other enterpriſe vpon the Ile of Walchren, or in that of Zirecxe, ſeeing they haue
„ bin aduertiſed of that which may be done vpon the one and the other, and that all haue
„ good knowledge thereof. The ſuccors being ſet downe, there is no certaine rule can be
„ giuen, for that which is to be done, for that all doth then depend vpon the eſtate where-
„ in they ſhall be found: wherefore it is referred wholy to them to treat and reſolue with E
„ *Sanchio d' Auila*, who hath great knowledg and experience in thoſe quarters, God giuing
„ ſuch a victory as the ennemies armie may be defeated, or the chanells abandoned, ſo as
„ there may be meanes to paſſe, it ſhall bee fit to put into Middelbourg all the graine and
„ vittles of Ter-Goes, ſo as the Inhabitants of Middelbourg may finde meate for their
„ money: whereof the ſaid maiſter of the campe and Chaſtelaine may giue the charge
„ vnto Captaine *Iſidore Pachieco*, that hee may ſhew what diligence hee can therein:
„ And the like ſhall bee done for the corne that is at Scluſe, the which being put by the
„ Gouernor of the place into boats, ſhall bee alſo conducted vnto Middelbourg. There
„ ſhall bee alſo giuen vnto *Romero* with this preſent Inſtruction, a letter which I
„ writ vnto Collonell *Mondragon*, that after the ſaide ſuccors ſhall bee ſent vnto him; F
„ time and oportunity permitting, it ſhalbe good to conferre with him, and to know what
„ he thinks fitteſt to attempt or to doe after the ſaid ſuccors: who hauing alſo many ex-
„ pert marriners in thoſe chanells he may giue them ſome that they may ſaile the more
„ ſafely, the which they ſhall doe together, or either of them apart. After the ſaide

ſuccors

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A ſuccors giuen, the which will be preſently knowne throughout all the Ilands of Zeland, “
it may happen (as we are aduertiſed from diuerſe parts) that ſome Townes will deſire “
to yeeld to his Maieſties ſeruice, whereof there was a pattent giuen vnto them to receiue “
them, and to pardon that was paſt. Hauing care to that which ſhall be needfull for theſe “
townes that ſhall ſo yeeld. When the two armies ſhall ioyne with the ſaid ſuccors, the “
ſaid Maiſter of the Campe and Caſtelain, ſhall gouerne the whole armie ioyntly toge- “
ther, holding good correſpondencie, as the caſe ſhall require, bee it in ſailing together, “
or a part, as they ſhall thinke it moſt conuenient. To the end that *Sanchio d'Auila* may “
vnderſtand what order is giuen vnto the maiſter of the campe, the like inſtruction hath “
bin ſent vnto him, to execute for his part that which doth concerne him, as well in ſai- “
B ling with the army which he conducts, omitting not any one point, & diſcouering him- “
ſelfe at the ſame time vnto the enemies; as in fighting and ſtriuing to deſeate them, and “
the two armies ſhall ioyntly purſue together, what ſhall be fit to be attempted, accord- “
ing vnto that which hath bin before declared. Being carefull to aduertiſe me particular- “
ly of all that ſhall happen, to the end I may prouide for things as ſhall be moſt conueni- “
ent. Made at Antwerpe the 23. of Ianuary 1574. Signed *Don Lewis* of Requeſens: and “
vnderneath, *Domingo Cubillo*. “

The 24. of Ianuary parted from Antwerp that great ſea-fleet which the commander had prepared from his firſt arriuall for the victualing of Middelbourg, which he aſſured himſelfe to do in deſpight of all the forces of Zeland, & of all other Proteſtants, whom C he would ſee fight with his owne eyes. At the departure of this Armadoe, one of the chiefe ſhips belonging vnto *Giles Hofman* of Antwerp, did run on ground and was loſt: in an other ſhip a peece breaking 30 men were ſlaine, & the ſhip loſt. The ſame day two Sea-captaines of Fleſſingue, men of great experience, lying at anchor before Arnemuyden, went forth to refreſh themſelues at Floſſingue, and comming vpon the dike, for that the winde and tide was againſt them, they were taken by the garriſon of Arnemuyden, one of them hauing firſt thruſt one of the ſoldiers thorow with his ſword that tooke them. During all this time, from the laſt of October 1573. the towne of Leyden was beſieged a far of by the Spaniards, of whom the beſieged by their ſallies and ſkir- miſhes did ſome times get; for they were not ſo ſtraightly beſieged, but they might D iſſue forth and feed their cattell in the meadowes about the towne: the Spaniard en- deuouring onely (ſeeing that by aſſault they could not gaine much) to famiſh them in time, and to force them to yeeld. The laſt of December the beſieged ſent ſome Barkes into the ſea of Harlem, to ſeeke their fortunes, the which they found, bringing backe ſome boates laden with victuals, the which was ſolde in the towne for eight thou- ſand Florins, and ſome good priſoners which payed two or three thouſand Florins a peece. The 20. of Ianuary following they of Leyden made a ſally by land vpon the way to the Hage, along the riuer, where they met with a conuoy of ten Laſts of Beere, 20000. loaues (euery one waighing eight pounds) and a great quantitie of Butter and Cheeſe, the which came from Amſterdam, and was going to the Hage, where they had E likewiſe ſome Spaniſh priſoners: this was a great releeſe and refreſhing to the beſieged, and did greatly diſapoint the Spaniards, diſperſed betwixt Delf, Rotterdam, Goude and Vlaerdingen, and the more, for that they of Delf had drowned all the country about: yet ſoone after the Spaniards retired ſome-what from the towne, to go to the ſuccor of *Mondragon* (after the yeelding vp of the towne of Middelbourg) and of *Sanchio d'Auila*, who were gone to incounter the army which Cont *Lodouic* of *Naſſau* brother to the Prince of *Orange* brought to ſuccor the Hollanders: but let vs returne to the fleete of Antwerp. The 27. of Ianuary ſixe ſmall Barkes appeared about Ter-Neuſe, betwixt the Hont & the Dullard, ſo as the Zelanders thinking that all the fleet would follow, made themſelues ready to receiue them. But they retired the ſame day, & were not ſeene vntil F the next day, appearing only to diſcouer the countenance of the Proteſtants, the which was happy for the Zelanders, & ſince they haue attributed it to the prouidence of God; for if the whole fleete had then followed, they might eaſily haue paſt through the Ze- landers, & entred into the chanell of Middelbourg, for that the Zelanders were not yet ready: not for want of time, but through negligence, notwithſtanding any admonitions

The towne of Leyden be- ſieged.

Braue ſallies made by the beſieged of Leyden.

The ſmall Barkes of the Spaniards giue an alarme to the Zelanders

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of the Prince, not caring to prepare themſelues, vntil they ſee the enemy, the which they A
did hauing diſcouered thoſe 6. ſailes. That day the Spaniards meaning to ſhoot of their
ordināce for the Cōmanders comming to Berghen, who would be a ſpectator of the de-
feate of his army, fire fell in the poulder of one of his ſhips, where there were 60. Spaniſh
ſoldiars all which were burnt but ſix. The 29. 14. or 15. ſaile of the fleete of Antwerp
ſhewed themſelues vpon the *Honte* and aproached within a league of Fleſſingue. The
Proteſtants of Zeland ſeeing them come made towards them, and after the ſpending of
ſome great ſhot, forced thē to retire, without loſſe of either ſide. And the ſame day about
two of the clock in the afternoone, the ſignior of Boyſot Admirall of the Proteſtants,
went with his army to aſſaile the Spaniards at Romerſwael, the cōbate continued about
two houers with ſuch fury of their great ſhot, as it ſeemed that heauen and earth ſhould B
come togither, and ſmoake. In this conflict the Admirall and Viceadmirall of Antwerp
A victory of the Proteſtants. were taken, the Admiral of Berghen, with 7. of their chiefe ſhips, and one burnt. All the
ſoldiars and marriners that were found in them, were either ſlaine or caſt into the ſea, to
the number of 6. or 700. men. The Zeelanders tooke 30. goodly braſſe peeces, and many
of Iron. The other Spaniſh fleet preſented themſelues the ſame day before Fleſſingue,
but the tide failing them and the winde being contrary, after that they had skirmiſhed a
little with the Zeelanders, they retired and caſt anchor. *Sanchio d'Auila* commanded this
fleet, & *Iulian Romero* the other that was defeated before Berghen nere to Romerſwael.
Al that had any charge in the Proteſtants Admiral were hurt with the ſmal ſhot or with
the ſplinters that were made by the enemies canō: for that the ſignior of Boyſet had for- C
bidden them to ſhoote vntil they were very nere: and then hauing diſcharged al his or-
dinance he ſodenly grapled, where he was in great danger, if he had not bin ſpeedily ſe-
conded by a flieboat of Enchuyſen, which made the Spaniards to faint, ſo as the Prote-
ſtants did ſoone maſter the ſhips whervnto they were grapled, killling and caſting ouer-
board al that they found armed. The Admiral Boyſot was brought the next day to Fleſ-
The ſignior of Boyſot hurt. ſingue being ſhot with an harguebuze in at the cheek, which paſſ out on the other ſide,
& ſo loſt an eye: captaine *Eloys* ancient hauing receiued many wounds, died the next day
in Fleſſingue. Captaine *Schot* with the wodden-leg, loſt an arme, ſo did captaine *Valentin*.
The reaſon why the Zelanders went firſt to charge the enemy, was for that the Admiral
had receiued letters from the Prince of Orange, comanding him to ſend 4. ſhips of war D
out of his fleet, the better to reſiſt thē that came from Antwerp: who conſidered that he
might in no ſort gainſay the Princes cōmandment, yet he could not do it without weak-
ning his forces and dangering his army: for the auoyding wherof to ſatiſfie the Prince,
he thought it better to aſſaile the enemy with all his forces vnited, hoping to vanquiſh
them, and then ſend him thoſe ſhips, rather then attend to be aſſailed, their forces being
diminiſhed, to which reſolution a proſperous wind did much incourage thē. The great
The Commander a ſpectator of his mens ouerthrow. Cōmander was vpon the dike of Berghen during al the fight; & inſteed of an aſſured vic-
tory which he promiſed to himſelf, he ſee his men ſo miſerably intreated, that ſome were
brought back to Antwerp without heads, & ſome without armes and legs. His greateſt
comfort was to exclame and curſe, ſomtimes blaming one, ſometimes an other. To con- E
clude it was ſo great a deſolation for the Spaniards at the returne of their fleet to Ant-
werp, that comming nere the wharfe, the captaines for ſpight ſhot of the Ordinance a-
mong them that came to the waters ſide to ſee their returne; with the which *Gabriel Cité*
Attorney general of Arthois had both his thighes carried away, wherof he died ſoone
Iulien Romero ſaues himſelfe, and d'Auila flies, with his troupes. after. *Iulien Romero* ſaued himſelfe in a boate, ſome ſay by ſwimming. As for the army
which *Sanchio d'Auila* cōmanded, lying at Anchor before Fleſſingue, he ſeeing ten ſhips
come from the victorious fleet of the Proteſtants (which had fought before Berghen,
and ioyne with the other ſhippes of Zeeland) hee preſently wayed Anchor and fled
towards Antwerp. They of Middelbourg on the 30. of Ianuary, in the morning, hung a
ſaile out of their ſteeple, which continued there 2. houres: and the 3. of february captaine F
Strenchant went out of the towne, carrying letters of credit to the Cōmander, with in-
Captaine Strenchant taken. ſtructions to haſten the Spaniſh fleet, to let him vnderſtād how long they could yet hold
out, & what hope of ſuccors there were. But that night he was takē, with 4 mariners &
a boy, and led to the Prince: ſeeing themſelues caſt vpon the ſand, and the Zelanders ap-
roch, captaine *Strenchant* tied his letters to a peece of lead, and caſt them into the ſea:

but

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A but they that tooke him perceiuing it, ſtaied till the ſea was ſpent, and then found the packet vpon the ſand, which contained that which followeth, beſides the letter of credit. The inſtructiõ of *Strenchant*, to informe the great Commanders excellency of 4 points. " Afire ſhalbe made euery night vpon the tower of Middelbourg, frõ 10. of the clock vnto " a 11. ſignifying that Middelbourg & Arnemuyden, hold yet for his Maieſty, the which " ſhal begin on Monday next, & in caſe they ſhall deſiſt from doing it, it ſhall not be then " needful to ſend any army to ſuccor them, but to recouer the Iſland. The 2. point is the " weaknes of the ſoldiers, whereof there dies euery day aboue 20. and the ſmal hope the " haue, ſeeing the army returned: ſaying they had rather be cut in peeces at ſome exploite " then to eate bread made of Linſeed, for that they hold themſelues aſſured to die after it, "
B and yet they haue not ſufficient of that but for ten or twelue daies. They 3. was, that they " ſhould not faile to come by Sonday, or Monday at the fartheſt, and in caſe the army " could not come by that time, to make a deſperate attempt, and hazard ſome boats laden " with corne. And the forth was, that if the Iſland were loſt for want of ſuccors, to know " his excelleneies pleaſure what they ſhould do with the Marchandiſe and other goods; " for to ſinke them that the enemy ſhould haue no proffit thereby, it were alſo neceſſary " that the men were drowned which were againſt reaſon: you muſt with all ſpeed ſend by " the next army, the coppie of this your inſtruction, and your ſelfe write vnto his excelen- "
C cie, what you haue in charge, in caſe you cannot goe to him in perſon, for the haſtie de- " parture of the army: to tel him that the boates which are in this paſſage, are not arriued, " & that they ſtand in great feare of our army, and that they haue brought many dead and " wounded to Fleſſingue: Moreouer that the Collonel wundred, how they of Fleſſingue " could haue the inſtruction which his excellency had giuen to *Iulien Romero*. At the end " of the ſaid inſtruction were written the ſignes that ſhold be made in the Ile of Ter-goes, as ſoone as the army and the ſuccors ſhould be out of Antwerp, and as it did aduance or retire. So that the collonell *Mondragon*, gouernor of Middelbourg and all the Spaniards, promiſed vnto themſelues aſſured ſuccors and a certaine victory, being ignorant of all that had paſt. The 5. of February they of Fleſſingue gaue aduertiſment to their ſhips of war, that were in gard about the Iſland of Walchren, that collonel *Mondragon* was reſolued to abandon the towne and to ſaue himſelfe, to the end they ſhould keepe
D good gard, promiſing two hundred crownes to any one that could take and bring the ſaid *Mondragon* priſoner, and a hundred crownes to him that ſhould bring *Hanſ-Cocq*. The thirteene of the month captaine *Strenchant* who had beene taken the third day after that he had bin carried towards Antwerp, to ſhew him that the Spaniſh fleete was retired, hee was ſent home, in exchange of *Euert* and *Marin*, two ſea captaines, taken by them of Arnemuyden, as we haue ſaid. And the ſaid *Strenchant* had charge to ſay to thẽ of Middelbourg, that the Prince gaue them yet 4. daies reſpight to determine of their cõpotiſion 2. daies after the Prince receiued letters frõ *Mondragon*, by the which he declared what captaine *Strenchant* had deliuered vnto the captaines of his regimẽt, by the Princes cõmandment: & that they were reſolued to demand a paſport of him, for one
E that *Mondragon* wold ſend to the great Cõmander, touching the yelding vp of the town. And in the meane time if the Prince would depute any, he would alſo ſend to begin the treaty, attending the returne of the meſſenger, which ſhould be within 4. or 5. daies: wherevnto the Prince anſwered the next day morning, that what he demanded was not vſual in matters of war, nor fit, but might turne to a Ieſt: touching the ſending of deputies, he might vnderſtand his intention by the relatiõ of captaine *Strenchant*, yet for the explanatiõ of his minde, he wold ſend the next day to *Rammekins*, if he might be aduertiſed that night that he wold ſend any of his part, without any longer delay, for that the Prince was preſt to depart for ſome vrgent occaſions, which *Mondragon* ſhould afterwards vnderſtand: the ſame day at night the Prince receiued an anſwere frõ *Mondragon*,
F who demanded a ſafe conduit for them that he ſhould ſend, who ſhould vnderſtand the Princes pleaſure by his deputies, & the conditions of the accord, & make relation therof to *Mondragon*: who hauing had his aduice & others therin, ſhould returne to *Rammeken*, with the deputies of the towne of Middelbourg. On the 17. day the Prince ſent him a paſport for 8. or 10. perſons, aduertiſing him that his deputies ſhould be at Rammeken

Strenchant exchanged for Euert and Marin.

Deputies of either part at Rammeken to make a compoſition for Middelbourg.

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by noone to acquaint them with his intentiõ. And to preuent all incõueniences for A
that the martiners & others were not aduertiſed of this treatie; hee would ſend ten
or twelue ſoldiars to the head of Middelbourg, who ſhould ſerue as an Eſcort & ſafe-
gard for his Deputies. The ſame daie in the morning a commiſſion was giuen vnto
the Seignior of *Boiſot*, *Ianuis* & *van Dorp*, Gouernors of Fleſſingue Lauere, & Ziriczee,
& to the Seignior *Bonchard*, to authorize them in their charges of Deputies, with in-
ſtructiõ of the articles which they ſhould propoũd. And ſo they parted towards Ram-
mekẽ before noone, where they met with ſome ſent from the ſpaniards, & the towne of
Middelbourg, where after two daies parle, they concluded vpon the articles which fol-

A compoſition for Middelbourg.

„ low. *As Chriſtopher of Mondragon* Knight, Seignior of Remerchicourt, & Colonel of a re-
„ gimẽt of Wallons, being at this preſẽt within the townes of Middelbourg & Arnemuy- B
„ den, had vpon the relatiõ which Captaine *Strenchant* had made vnto him comming out
„ of priſon, required by his letters of the 16. of this preſẽt moneth, of the high & migh-
„ ty Prince of Orange Earle of Naſſau, to ſend certaine deputies to the caſtell of Rame-
„ ken to treat with thẽ of his partie, touching the yeelding vp of thoſe Townes. Where-
„ vnto his Excellency yeelding, his deputies had propounded a certaine capitulation to
„ them that had beene ſent by the ſaid Seignior *Mondragon*, by meanes whereof their
„ yeelding was acceptable, whereof report being made of either part, and the conditions
„ debated betwixt the Deputies, in the end they haue concluded according to their co-

The conditions.

„ miſſions and authoritie, as followeth. Firſt that the ſaid Seignior of *Mondragon*, aban-
„ doning the townes of Middelbourg and Arnemuyden, without any demolition or de- C
„ facing of the preſent fortifications: leauing all the artillery, munition, ſhips, goods and
„ marchandiſe that bee there at this preſent: ſhall depart with his Regiment of foot, (ex-
„ cept thoſe that will remaine and ſerue his Excellency) out of the Ile of Walcheren,
„ with their armes, enſignes, & baggage, iuſtly belonging to him and his companies, with-
„ out coulloring other mens goods in any ſort whatſoeuer. And who-ſoeuer ſhall carry
„ away more then his owne, ſhallbee punniſhed at his Excellencies diſcretion. The ſaid
„ Seignior of *Mondragon* ſhall promiſe vpon his faith, to yeeld himſelfe into his Excel-
„ lencies hands, if within two moneths next inſuing, hee ſhall not cauſe to be deliuered
„ out of priſon, & ſent ſafely into Holland or Zeeland, to ſome place that is vnder his Ex-
„ cellencies command, *Phillip* of Marnix Seignior of Mont S. Aldegond, Captaine *Iacob* D
„ *Symonſz*: An Italien priſoner at the Hage called *Cittadelle*, the Lieutenant of *Willeken*
„ *van Augren* and Captaine *Petani*. And if the ſaid *Mondragon* refuſeth to make this pro-
„ miſe, then three Captains, as many Lieutenants, Anciẽts, Sargents & Corporalls of his
„ Regiment, ſhall remaine priſoners of war to his Excellency, vntill the aboue-named be
„ fully deliuered. All vittelers and gunners ſhall in like ſort depart, with his comiſſaries,
„ *Manriques*, *Ioan-Lopez* and *Iames padilla*, with their ſeruants, bookes & baggage, and ſo
„ ſhall all Prieſts and Monks do, with their ornaments onely. His Excellency ſhall giue
„ order that departing out of the Iland with their goods, they ſhallbe imbarked & trans-
„ ported vnto Flanders ſide with all ſafety. The ſaid Deputies promiſing vpon their faith
„ and honor to cauſe this preſent treaty to bee ratified and accompliſhed by the ſaid E
„ Prince & Collonel *Mondragon* reſpectiuely in due forme. And for the better aſſurance
„ and accompliſhment thereof, ſufficient hoſtages ſhallbe giuen of either ſide. And ſo it
„ was made and concluded in the caſtell of Rammeken the 18. day of Febtuary. 1574. ſig-
„ ned by the Captains de Hen, *Gilles de* Vilain, *Anthony* of Grenet, *Iunius* of Iongh,
„ *Charles* of Boiſot, *Aernt van Dorp*, & *Francis Bonchard*. Then followed: we *William* by the
„ grace of God Prince of Orange, Earle of Naſſau of the one part &c. and I *Chriſtopher* of
„ Mondragõ Knight, Seignior of Remerchicourt, of Luz, Inſanille &c. of the other part;
„ hauing ſeene and red, that which was done, capitulated and concluded with our con-
„ ſents, in the aboue recited treaty, ratifying and confirming it, we haue promiſed and do
„ promiſe by theſe preſents, in the word of a Prince and faith of a gentleman, reſpectiue- F
„ ly, to follow and accompliſh and cauſe to bee accompliſhed the contents thereof in all
„ poynts, without any contradiction whatſoeuer. In witnes whereof wee haue ſigned it
„ with our hands and ſealed it with our ſeales. The 18. of February 1572. *William of*
„ Naſſau. *Mondragon*. According to this accord, hoſtages were giuen of either part, and

on

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A on the 22. day Collonell *Mondragon* and his regiment, leauing the towne to the Prince of Orange, imbarked, & were carried to Ter-neuſe in Flanders, from whence the Princes his hoſtages were ſent back in the ſame ſhips: & thoſe of the Spaniards parted the next day; and ſo this towne, after that it had endured ſo much pouerty, famine & miſery, and ſuffered ſo much by the garriſon which it had vnder this Spaniſh gouernor, and before vnder the Seignior of Beauuoir (who intreated them little better for the ſpace of halfe a yeare) notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Duke of Alua, & the great cõmander, as we haue ſeene, was in the end yeelded to the Prince of Orange; into the which he entred to giue God thankes the 23. of February 1574. After which time the Prince ſuffred the Engliſhmen to trafficke by the riuer of Eſcaut vp to Antwerp, the which was inter-

B dicted before, by reaſon of the ſiege at Middelbourg, and of all this warre at ſea.

In the meane time the reſt of the Spaniards were at their eaſe in Holland, beſieging of the towne of Leyden, keeping themſelues far off from blowes, & yet they did annoy them much, for that nothing could enter but by ſtealth & with great danger. The prince of Orange ſeeking all meanes to make them diſlodge from thence, cauſed Cont *Lodouic* of Naſſau his brother to go to horſeback, who had reſerued himſelfe ſince the ſiege of Mons for ſome occaſion. It is true that the ſuccour and armie which hee ſhould bring was generally for the deliuery of Holland and Zeland, and their aſſociates, hauing bin leuied to that end before the ſiege of Leyden: but now they marched ſo ſlily, (being accompanied by duke *Chriſtopher* ſonne to the Prince elector Palatin, the ſaid Cont

C *Lodouic* and Cont *Henry* his brother) as the Spaniards had a whot alarum, abandoning Leyden & all that they had held in the country about: for that by the loſſe of Middlebourg, Arnemuyden and Rammeken, and by the two victories which the Proteſtants of Zeland had gotten at ſea, their affaires had not bin very ſafe, if this new army of high Dutch, had ioyned with that of the Prince of Orange, with whom many came to ioyne by reaſon of the happy ſucceſſe in Zeeland, the which they found by experience in the towne of Nymegen. To keepe this Germaine army from entring into the cõtrey, the Commander ſent *Sanchio d'Auila*, who came to Maeſtricht the 4. of March; being there, he ſent to diſcouer theſe Noblemens campe, and buſied in making a muſter and view of their men, & ſeeing that their forces encreaſed daily, he would gladly haue giuen them

D battell, if he had bin ſtrong enough, but he durſt not do it, vntill the comming of Collonell *Mondragon* with the reſt of his regiment, being newly gouernor of Middlebourg. Theſe Noblemen hearing that the Spaniards were daily fortified, raiſed their campe, & went to lodge by Faulquemont. *Sanchio d'Auila* followed them, which made the Earle to draw moſt of his army into the towne; and ſeeing that he ſhould hardly paſſe the riuer of Meuſe there, he marched away, making ſhew as if he would retire with his forces into Germany: *d'Auila* (doubting that the Earle would ſeeke ſome other paſſage) did alſo riſe (his troopes with thoſe of *Mondragon* being about fiue thouſand) & retired, ſetting good gards along the riuer of Meuſe: and at that time hee was aduertiſed that they of Nymegen had intelligence with thoſe Noblemen, & that they would yeeld vnto Cont

E *Lodouic*, and ſo get a paſſage there: for the preuenting whereof *d'Auila* ſent a garriſon preſently into the towne; which done, purſuing the Proteſtants army, who camped at *Mockem*, a commodious place: *d'Auila* ſeeing that he could eaſily charge them, marcht with all ſpeed towards Graue a towne of Brabant, where hauing made a bridge vpon Boates, he paſt the Meuſe and with all his forces went to charge them. The two armies incountred vpon the heath of *Mockem* (which they call *Mocker Heyde*). The Proteſtants Landtsknechts, when they ſhould fight, began (according to their curſed cuſtome) to cry *ghelt, ghelt*, & refuſed to fight: yet theſe Noblemen ſeeing themſelues preſt by the Spaniards, were forced to make it good; but in the end all their reſiſtance preuailed nothing, but being abandoned by their greateſt forces, they were quite defeated, and all

F there ſlaine, where there died aboue 2000. of their men, 21. Enſignes, and ſome guidons were carried to Bruſſels: as for the bodies of theſe Noblemen, they were long ere they could be found, & in the beginning it was not known whether they were aliue or dead. Thoſe that ſaued themſelues in this retreat, tooke the Caſtell of Carpen by Cologne, which they held ſome-time for the Prince of Orange. This happened the 14. of Aprill.

Cont Lodouic comes to ſuccor the Proteſtants of the Netherlands.

The Spaniards leaue Leyden.

Mondragon ioynes with Auila.

The defeat & death of Cont Lodouic of Naſſau.

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The Spaniards hauing gotten this honorable victory at Monckerheyd by vrinnenghen, preſently called for mony, which *Sancio D'auilla* (if they won the victory) promiſed to giue thē; but no money being ready, they began to mutine, & draue their captains from them, and rent their enſignes, reſoluing altogether to go to Antwerp, whereof *Frederick Perenot*, Baron of Champigni, Gouernor of Antwerp, being aduertiſed, vpon the 19. of April, began to make prouiſiō to defend the towne, & hauing there 4. companies of Wallons of his owne regiment, 24. companies of duchmen, in whome there was no great truſt to bee repoſed, for that they ſeemed to pretend to haue many moneths pay due vnto them, hee cauſed the harquebuſiers of the towne to bee armed, aduertiſing the great Commander thereof, beeing then at Bruſſels, deſiring aid for the deſence of the towne, if they in the Caſtell ſhould let the mutinous ſpaniards enter into the ſame, as it was to be preſumed, for that they likewiſe were vnpaid, and ſeemed to be ouer much addicted to ioyne with them, for which he gaue the Gouernor councell to alter the garriſon of the Caſtell, or elſe to permit him to fortifie the towne againſt the Caſtell, and the hole that ſtill lay open betweene the towne and it, for that *Sancio D'auilla* the captaine of the Caſtell ſeemed to bee ill affected againſt the towne. At the firſt the great Commander ſeemed not to beleeue it, but at the laſt vppon the 24. of Aprill hee came himſelfe to Antwerp, where *Champigni* gaue him councell to enter and to take the Caſtell into his owne cuſtody, ſaying, that both the ſeruice of the King, & the ſafety of the towne required it. But the Commāder thought, by meanes of that mutiny to force them of Brabant to yeald to contribution, for that they had ſeemed to delay it, finding it a dangerous matter, to in-ſconce and fortifie the towne againſt the Caſtell, ſaying, that it became not a gouernor to ſhew the way how the Caſtell ſhould bee made vnprofitable, and that hee would take care for that himſelfe, and that hee thought the ſpaniards would haue more reſpect vnto him, then to mutine in his preſence, with ſuch like ſpeeches. Wherevppon he ſent *Sancio D'auilla* to pacifie them with faire words, but he could not be heard, compelling him, as he ſaid to lead them till they came hard by the caſtell of Antwerp, where they arriued the 26. of Aprill, about eleuen of the clocke at noone, as *Champigni* was in the Towne-houſe, to make a motion in the Commāders behalfe, for 400000. guilders to be lent him. This cōming of the ſpaniards before the towne being heard, he cauſed his ſoldiars to be armed, and to go towards the caſtell, to keep the ſpaniards from entring, aduertiſing the commander thereof, who asked of ſome of them of the caſtell, why they ſhotte at them? Where-vpon *Champigni* preſently cauſed his captaines *Deuers* and *Stereke* to ſhoot at 30. or 40. Spaniards that were already come to the hole (which as then lay open betweene the towne and the caſtell) where-with the Gouernor him-ſelfe came preſently thether: and finding that they began to ſhoot, hee commanded them to abſtaine, willing *Champigni* himſelf, with all his wallons and duchmen to leaue the place and giue over, thereby to ſhun an vprore, which by that meanes might happen in the towne. Which *Champigni* thought very ſtrange, but for that the Gouernor generall commanded him ſo to do, he might not refuſe it. In the meane time ſome ſpaniards entred into the ditches, and breaking downe ſome of the earthen wall, filled the ditch, and came in at the hole, whereas the walls of the towne were not ioined cloſe vnto the caſtell, without any reſpect of the Gouernors preſēce, who thereat ſeemed to be moued, & excuſing himſelfe, made ſhewe as if hee were diſpleaſed before *Chiapini Vitelly*: where-vppon *Champigni* thought it beſt for him to retire into the new towne, and there to fortifie and in-ſconſe himſelfe, with the ſailes of the Kings nauie by Sea that as then lay there, the which hee did. The ſpaniards beeing entred, put them-ſelues in battaile, in the playne betweene the towne and the caſtell, ſetting watch at euery place that entred into the ſame; The commanders willing them not to come any neerer then S. *Georges* Church-yard, if they had any thing to ſay: but they perceiuing nothing but words, and no deeds to come from him: they cryed out *Dineros y Walbones fuora*, that is, money, and out with the wallons, meane time the townſe-men were in great feare, to bee all murthered and ſpoiled of their goods, many Burgers flying out of the ſame. And for that this was ſo notable a mutiny, and that many others were made by the ſpaniards in the Netherlands.

The ſpaniards come to Antwerp the 26. of Aprill.

Champigni would haue beaten the ſpaniards out of the towne.

The ſpaniards being by the caſtell, enter Antwerp where they murine.

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A I thought it good to set downe this one at large, for an example of al the rest, that men may see their disordred proceedings.

The mutinous Spaniards, (beeing about 3000. strong) finding they could get no money from the Commander, made no long delay, but presently marching in order of battaile, entred into the towne, as farre as the meer-bridge with great noise of drums, shooting of their peeces, and crying out *Dineros, Wallones fuora, fuora Villiacos.* That all the towne runge thereof, the Gouernor *Mounsire Champigni* (to whom they had the greatest quarrell) had gotten into the new towne, and kept in the Easterlings house, causing part of his houshold stuffe to bee carried thether, yet they toke much thereof from him, breaking downe his house, windoes, dores, and glasse, calling him, *Ladron, Villiaco,*
B and towards euening when they began to be hungry, they left the bridge, and went into the market place; and there seazed both of it and of the Towne-house, placing soldiars to gard them, the rest going ten twelue or twenty in a company togither, entred into the best houses thereabouts, where they thonght to finde most store of victuals, not one being placed there, nor yet respecting any person. Where they caused them-selues to bee intreated, with the best victuals that could bee gotten, and all the night long ceased not to make a great noise with drummes, and shooting of their peeces, crying and hallowing like a company of mad diuills, round about the streets. beating open the dores as if they would haue murthred, and ransacked all the towne: which strooke such a horrible terror into the peoples heads, both men and women, that
C none of them durst take any rest; by reason whereof, many women great with childe, fell in labor and lost their children, & many dyed thereof, for which cause, the next day in the morning when the gates were open, many men, women, and chi dren, forsaking all they had, went to of the towne. At euening, the Spaniards hauing cho-sen an Electo, whom they lodged in the to wne-house, sounding all their drums, they made a proclamation, in the name of *Los Signores Soldados*, that the Gouernor with his Wallon soldiars, should leaue the towne within twenty foure houres after, vpon paine to be driuen out by force, and therewith sent a messenger expresly to aduertise the gouernor therof, being in the Easterlings house: but he made answer that he would not do it, but if the Gouernor generall would comand him, he would prepare himselfe there-vnto: & for that
D cause vpon the 27. of April he sent for all his soldiars, fortifying all the bridges & entries into the new towne, with carts, wagons, and wool-sacks, holding their ships of war with their peeces charged, ready prepared on the othe side, and so sought to defend himselfe being assisted by *Hamsted* the Vize-admiral, & his sailors, that sought nothing else, with certaine Wallons, but only to fight, being sufficiently assured of the Burgers ayd. In the meane time *Chiapini Vitelli, Mondragon* and others, went from the one to the other, to pacifie them, but all in vaine, all the Spaniards crying, *Wallones fuora, fuora Villiacos*, so that at the last the Cõmander to bring them to some better passe, cõmanded *Champigni* with his Wallons to go out of the towne, which he presently did, & so went to Eeckerē and Wilnerdouck, where-vpon the mutinous Spaniards placed a gard at euery gate, &
E tooke the keyes from the Magistrats, still making a great noise and crying about the towne, thereby to hasten the Burgers, to gather & bring in money to pay them, who as thē were assembled in the towne-house about the same. At which time a spanish Iesuite of great estimation amongst them, would haue preached vnto them in the market place, to shew them of their insolent behauiour, & to tell them what a nomber of women they had caused to miscarry being with childe, whereof hee said they were the murtherers. But they asked him if he had any mony: and so with noise of drums, made him hold his peace, & leaue his exhortation. Meane time the richest of the Burgers were sent for to the towne-house, who were rated euery one according to his ability, towards the paiment of the soldiars, which done the Electo was willed to appoint a place for them to
F muster in, & that the next day they should be paid. The Commãder giuing them to vnderstand that their insolencies tended to the deminishing of the kings honor & reputatiõ, willing them not to make such a noise in the night-time as they had done. Where-vnto they made answer, that in asking of their pay, they did nothing but was right & reason so to do, and that being paid, they would be ready to do any seruice what so-euer, promising not to make any more such noise by night in the towne as they had done.

A Iesuite preaching in the market place, they said they would haue money & no preaching.

The

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The 29, of Aprill, they being al ſent for to come vnto the market place, their Electo, (being a very wiſe and well ſpoken man, and yet but a common ſoldier) ſounding before the towne houſe, made an oration vnto them: ſhewing what burthen and charge they had put the Bourgers vnto, being not content with that, which was ſet before thē to eate and drinke, ſaying *that they ought to behaue themſelues honeſtly and ciuilly*. Wherewith they all cried, that iuſtice ſhould be done vpon all ſuch diſordered perſons, and that they ſhould paſſe through the pikes, ſhewing themſelues, that they ſhould chuſe two deputies out of euery company to ſpeake with the Marquis *Chiappini vitelli*, and to ſhew their minde vnto him by writing, which they did, ſaying *that they deſired to be payd euery penny that was behinde vnpaide vnto them, as well for the dead as for the liuing*. The Marquis *Chiappini vitelli* offered them ten monthes pay in ready money, & fiue months in wool, linnen, and ſilkes, and for the reſt, that they ſhould haue the marchants billes of Antwerp, to bee payd at two paiements: which the deputies refuſed, ſaying *that they would make report thereof vnto the ſeignores Soldados*, for which cauſe they were once againe aſſembled in the market place and then the Electo leaning ouer the railes, ſhewed them what the Marquis had offered them, wherewith they made a monſterous noyſe, crying out and ſaying, *todo, todo, dineros y non palabras*, that is, all, all money and no words.

The Electos ſpeech to the mutinous ſouldiars.

The Electo hauing gotten them to be ſilent, once againe ſpake vnto them, and ſharpely reprouing them ſayd, That they were all rebells vnto the King, and that they had all deſerued tō die. Firſt for that they had taken Antwerp one of the Kings townes, not as friends, but like enemies, breaking their walles and fortifications. Secondly, for that they had driuen the gouernor and the garriſon out of the towne, that were placed therin by his Maieſty, beſides many other rebellious actions, which his Maieſty could not well leaue vnpunniſhed, all which their inſolency notwithſtanding, the Magiſtrates of the towne humbling themſelues before them, made them that offer, which they ought willingly to accept, and vpon their knees to giue God thankes for the grace and fauour ſhewed vnto them, ſaying further, that if they ſeemed to bee ſo obſtinate that they would not accept thereof, that they might aſſure themſelues, that being found guiltie of rebellion, as they were, they ſhould be punniſhed for the ſame as iuſtice required: proteſting from that time forward for his part not to be their Electo any longer, where vnto they had forcibly compelled him: keeping him pirſoner to that end in the towne-houſe, ſaying that he would not be ſaued to be the head of their rebellion, nor yet ſpeake in the fauour and behalfe of ſuch mutinous fellowes, and that if they would not diſcharge him of the place, he praied them preſently to ſhoote him into the body with a bullet, proteſting to the death that hee would no more bee their Electo. But all this would not helpe, ſo that with the great noyſe made, they would not ſuffer him to bee heard ſpeake any more crying *todo, todo, todo*, contynuing ſtill in that manner vntill it was night, and that they were weary with crying, but when night came they began againe to runne vp and downe the ſtreetes, like diuells, knocking and thundering at the gates, dores, and windowes, and pulling all the bel-ropes of the houſes in peeces, ſhooting in at the windowes, cauſing great feare, and offring as much diſpight vnto the Burgers as they could, ſtill crying, *fuora fuora, villiaços*, driuing and compelling their companions (that hipocritically ſeemed not to bee of theſe diſordered company) to do as they did, euery one making ſhew as if he were compelled thereunto by the ſtrongeſt part of them, that in time to come, one might not bee accounted to be in greater fault then they other, euery one pretending to be conſtrained therevnto, againſt his will, and when the ſaw any one amongſt them whome they ſuſpected to bee vnwilling to doe as they did. They forced them with blowes to call, cry, and ſpeake as they did, and ſo made it one generall offence.

The 29. of April, the great or cōmon counſel of Antwerp being aſſembled to take order about the ſame, the Commander asked the towne 400. thouſand guilders, in ready money, ſaying that he would furniſh the reſt, cauſing all his plate & iewels to bee brought from Bruſſels, which he offered to lay to pawne for money: and to pacifie the Spaniards, the Burgers were forced to make readie that money, euery man agreeing what he would giue, that ſo they might bee ridde of ſuch companions, which were eſteemed

A esteemed to cost the Bourgers aboue sixe thousand gilders euery day, for they would drinke nothing but wine, and must haue fresh meate both night and noone, wherein no man went free, neither Bishop, Marquis, Burge-maister, spirituall nor temporall persons, they seeking the greatest houses, and the best cheere: It was thought that if they should be paid the 36. months that was due vnto them, it would haue amounted vnto aboue ten hundreth thousand gilders.

The 30. of Aprill, a drum was sounded to gather the soldiars together: where the Eletto once againe began to speake vnto them, who leaning ouer the railes before the towne-house and taking a letter out of his bosome, (sent vnto him by the soldiars) containing the contents of their demand, with great threatnings: and withall letting him
B know, that if he spake so much in fauour of the townes-men, and not for them, that they would cast him headlong out of the window; where-vnto hee made them a modest answer, but how cunningly and pertinently soeuer he spake vnto them, all would not preuaile, they still crying *Dineros, todo*, that is mony and all. At the last the Captaine of the Castell *Sanchio d'auilla* leaning out at the towne-house window, praied them to accept the fiue moneths pay, in wooll, linnen and silke, which they had most need of, at such price as it was sold within the towne in euery shop, and the rest in money, whereunto they began some-what to hearken, but not all of them, and began to perswade one the other to consent therevnto, by reason of other words vsed vnto them by *Sanchio d'auilla* and their Eletto, and when the Eletto said vnto them, That if they would behaue them-
C selues like Spaniards & good subiects to the King, they ought to accept the offer made vnto them, asking them if there must be so many words vsed to shew them, that it is the Kings pleasure to bestow that liberality vpon them in their needs, that had intertained them so long, and made so much account of them, trusting onely in them, with many such like words. Wherevpon at the last, they cryed all with one consent, that so they would: saying, that they did not accept the same, for that they had need of any wooll, linnen, or silkes, but onely to doe the King a friendship, and to shew their liberality towards him, and yet many of them murmured thereat, and so that was agreed vpon. Presently ther-vpon Father *Fregose* a Spanish Iesuite, stood vp vpon a chest by the ship,
D hard by the towne-house, to preach vnto them, shewing them their insolent behauiour; and what shame and infamie they had brought vpon the name of the Spaniards, by vsing such rigorous dealings; praying and exhorting all to be confessed, and to receiue the Sacrament before they went out of the towne, and to bee content with that which the Burgers gaue them to eate. After that they caused a drum to be sounded, that euery one of them should be bilited by the Friars, and appointed where he should lodge; and by that meanes they were some-what pacified, perceiuing preparation of money to be made, and the pay of wooll, &c. beginning to be paid. But vpon the eight of May, the great Commander gaue them to vnderstand, that the promise made of the paiment in wooll, &c. must be some what moderated till a conuenient time; where-with they were once againe so moued, as they began after their wonted manner, to runne vp and downe
E the towne, crying, whoping, and hallowing like mad men; causing open proclamation to be made round about the towne, that all commanders of the warres and other officers, should go out of the towne within two houres after, vpon paine to passe through the Pikes, fearing least they should perswade the common-soldiers to the same, and amongst the rest, they were much offended with *Iulian Romero*, who with ten or twelue captaines and officers more being lodged by the Burse in the house of *Iaques Hoffenagle*, they went to fetch out of his house to murther them, with great noyse and cry, shooting at the gate: wherevpon *Iulian Romero* fearing to bee spoiled by them, fled and hid himselfe in the top of the house, but at the last their furie being some-what past ouer, they let him ride out of the towne without eating, and all the rest with him, their
F Ensigne-bearers onely staying by them to make vp their accounts, and so they past that day: but at night againe they began to bee as farre out of quiet, because the soldiers of the Castle likewise sought to mutinie, forcing *Sanchio d'Auilla* the captaine thereof to leaue it, and to deliuer them the Keyes of the castle, which hee refused to doe, saying, that hee would dye before hee granted therevnto, in regarde that he had

sworne

ſworne to hold and keepe the ſame vntill he dyed: and amongſt them they did chooſe A
an Eletto, and a Sergeant Maior, as they in the towne had done. In the morning, *Chiappini Vitelli* went to the Caſtle to take order therein, and being vpon the bridge, hee called their Eletto to ſpeake with him, and hee went in, leauing the Eletto vpon the bridge, where he was ſodenly ſtabbed by an Enſigne bearer called *Saluaterra*, and his body preſently caſt into the ditch, the like alſo was done vnto the Sergeant Maior, by which meanes the reſt acknowledging their faults, *Chiappini Vitelli* came out againe, and ſo the mutinie in the caſtell was appeaſed, for which *Saluaterra* was forced to flie, vpon whoſe horſe were imbrodered theſe words *Caſtigador de los Flamingos*, that is, the corrector or puniſher of the Flemings.

After that vpon the eleuenth of May, when the paiment of the fiue moneths in B
cloath, &c. was made: the Commander ſent a Printed declaration vnto the Souldiers, to ſhew them, that he knew not how to deuiſe to pay them all their due, becauſe they were the meanes of hindering their owne payment, keeping the towne from trafficking and negotiating amongſt them-ſelues, friendly intreating them to content themſelues with eight or ten moneths pay, in regarde that hee was to vſe much money, to pay the eight thouſand horſemen, conducted by *Ericke* Duke of Brunſwicke, that were already to come into the countrey, as alſo for the two or three regiments of Switzers and other Souldiers comming out of Italy. In ſome ſort threatning them, ſeeking if hee could to breed a diuiſion amongſt them-ſelues. But there-with being once againe mooued, they made rather worſe and greater noyſe all the night long C
then they had done before, and got one of their Captaines called *Franciſo de Bobadille* amongſt them, whom they vſed in moſt vile manner, commanding likewiſe that *Saluaterra* who had ſlaine the Eletto of the Caſtell ſhould bee deliuered vnto them. And at midnight they aſſembled all in the Market place, hauing firſt driuen one another out of their lodgings, and there with one common conſent, diſcharged their firſt Eletto of his place, as ſuſpected by them, and choſe an other, who at the laſt had the baſtinado for his labour.

Being day, they made an Altar of Cheſts before the towne-houſe, where they had a Maſſe ſong, which done, they all tooke their oathes to bee true and faithfull vnto their Eletto, and that they would not bee ſatisfied but with their full paye; and to D
keepe watche, as alſo to hinder and with-ſtand all ſtrife and contention amongſt them-ſelues, which they ſwore with great ceremonies and ſolemnities, and cauſed the ſame to be written and ſet vpon the towne-houſe, with-all ſetting vp a paire of gallowes, to puniſh all theeuery amongſt them: and one being taken, that in the night before had ſtolne a paire of ſheetes, the Eletto after the Maſſe was done, asked the Souldiers what they would haue done with him? where-vpon they all cried, that he ſhould be hanged vp, and that was their manner of iudgement: but the Eletto made anſwer, that hee thought the crime to bee too ſmall for him to looſe his life for ſuch a thing, ſaying, that the ſtrappado with a corde was puniſhment inough; where-with they cryed, that it ſhould bee done. For which Iuſtice vſed amongſt them, the Burgers with E
The towne of Antwerp was forced to pay 400000. gilders to appeaſe that mutiny, and ſo it was ended. one conſent gaue them great thankes, for that during all that time none of them could bee accuſed of theft, the which was ſtrange, and that no ſuch acte was committed in ſuch a great tumult. After this they were pacified with money, and otherwiſe, and at laſt contented. The Burgers were conſtrained (beſides the charges they were at in feeding them, all the while they lay in the towne,) to prouide foure hundred thouſand guilders, and the commander the reſt: at which time, vpon Whitſonday they being all brauely apparrelled in Silkes, Veluet, and Gold-lace, like great Lords, and chiefe commanders, they gotte a generall pardon of the great Commander, for all that had paſſed, which was aſſured vnto them at a ſolemne Maſſe ſayd in the great church, as alſo with great feaſt and triumphe made by them in his honour vpon the Meere bridge: F
and ſo was their mutinie appeaſed without puniſhment: but the Eletto and his counſell were afterward (when time ſerued) well found out and ſeuerely puniſhed for their labours: that done they were commanded to depart the towne, and to go into Holland to beſiege Leyden.

They

A They had cauſed all the ſhips of warre that were in garde before the towne, to retire, and ſent them before Liloo. The Zeelanders hauing notice thereof, and diſcouering theſe ſhips lying at Anchor on a Whitſonday, ſet vpon them, tooke fifteene, ſunke fiue, and burnt three: the fifteene were carried in the Commanders ſight into Zeland, whileſt that the Spaniards plunged in all delights and voluptuouſneſſe, did dominere in the towne of Antwerpe; in which ſhips the Zeelanders found a hundred and two peeces of braſſe ordinance, beſides thoſe of yron: the Commander who was called *Hemſted* was taken priſoner. After that the Spaniards were retired from Leyden, to go fight with theſe three Noblemen at Mocken, the towne was not victualed in the meane time, nor furniſhed with things neceſſary, as it was fit, notwithſtanding the good oportunity and meanes which they had. But God doth ſome-times wonders worthy of his greatneſſe, as he would haue it appeare in the deliuery of this towne, by meanes farre from the thought of man, being ielous of the truſt and confidence which many did put in Cont *Lodouic* and in his armie, for the preſeruation of the country. The Prince had done his endeauor to haue it victualed, and did conſtantly beleeue that it had beene ſo for a long time: as they that had the charge, and vpon whom he relyed, did aſſure him. But the Spaniards knowing the contrary, returned to their old lodgings, blocking vp the towne neerer then before, in building of other new forts. The which was done vnder the charge and command of *Franciſco Valdes* a Spaniard, with the regiments of the holy league, and of Lombardie, ſome regiments of Wallons and high Dutch, and 300. horſe, being in all about 7000. men, where-with all the fortes about Leyden being furniſhed, he put ſome companies into the Hage, Mazelandt, & other villages about Delf, as if they would alſo beſiege it at the ſame inſtant. In the meane time the body of the Spaniſh armie, was about Bommel, Gorrichom, and Louueſteyn, intending to beſiege or batter one of theſe places, which the Prince did not greatly reſpect, hauing alwayes meanes to diſlodge them from Bommel or Gorrichom, if they would attempt it: the which they did not, ſeeing them well furniſhed of all things neceſſary to attend them, as all good townes of warre ought to bee. The Spaniards holding this ſummer well ſpent, to haue with little reſiſtance wonne Vandrichom and Lierdam, the firſt belonging to the Earles of Horne, the which they burnt and deſtroyed, into the which the Prince had ſent fiue companies to keepe them play, being returned from the inſolencies which they had committed at Antwerp. For being come thether, matters ſucceeded according to the Princes deſire, for thether they brought the canon and battered it, vntill they were ready to giue an aſſault: but the Prince being loth to looſe ſo many men in a Pyes neſt, ſent them word that they ſhould retire: the which they could not doe for want of Boates, but the Spaniards entered time enough, to cut in peeces about one hundred and fiftie that were appointed to make the retreate. And as they would breath themſelues after a great iourney, they reſted there a good ſpace, vntill they went to beſiege Leerdam, a little towne belonging to the Earle of Buren, the which hauing endured ſome two hundred canon ſhotte, yeelded vpon compoſition.

The Zeelanders takes the ſhips of warre of Antwerp.

The ſpaniards returne to Leyden.

The ſpaniards about Bomel & Gorrichom

The taking of Vandrichom & Leerdam.

E After theſe two petty exploits, the Spaniards thinking they ſhould get little to attempt any good towne of warre, they did forbeare, putting all their hope in the ſea armie, which they attended from Spaine. And they began to build two fortes, one vpon either bancke of the riuer of Meuſe, beneath Gorrichom, to ſtoppe the paſſage of the riuer, making an accompt by one meanes to bridle foure places: Bomell, (about the which they had left ſome forces) Buren, Gorrichom and Louueſtein, if they might cut off the paſſage of the riuer of Meuſe to thoſe places. And in very trueth they made many a ſhotte with their Ordinance, at the Boates which paſt and repaſt too and fro, ſome-times killing or hurting ſome one, but yet they did not much hinder the Nauigation.

The Spaniards Build forts vpon the riuer of Meuſe.

F The great Commander had then three ſeuerall deſſeignes in hand at one inſtant: the one to ſhut vp the riuer of Meuſe, the other to winne Leyden by famine, and the third to get Weſt-Friſland and Waterland by force. But his men were ſo courte-

Three diuerſe deſſeignes of the Commander.

courteouſly entertained, as hee loſt not many leſſe then two thouſand men in that quarter of Weſt-Friſelandt, about Aſſendelf, Wormer, Ryp, Graft, Purmerende, Vlpendam, and all that watrie and mariſhe countrey, where as the Peaſants made ſharpe warres againſt them with their boates, and certaine aduenturing Souldiers (whom they call Fribooters) who carrying a harguebuze in a ſcarfe, and a long halfe Pike, leaped ouer broad Ditches, cutting off the Spaniards way where-ſo-euer they turned, beeing not able to eſcape from them by any meanes, ſo as beſides them that were ſlaine and drowned, there were two hundred and nintie brought priſoners to Horne.

A vaine enterpriſe vpon Delfe.

Some other Spaniards had at the ſame time a deſſeine by practiſe and intelligence vpon the towne of Delfe (where-as at that time the Seignior of Poyet, the Princes Lieutenant commanded) the which did not ſucceed according to their mindes, for that it was too ſoone diſcouered (as they ſaid.) But to ſay the trueth, if they had entred they had beene taken, the which they had done, if the Key of the gate which was appointed to bee opened, could haue beene at the inſtant found. And ſo ſeeing they had not the entrie ready as they expected, they ſuſpected that the practiſe was diſcouered, (and yet there was not any ſhew nor noyſe in the towne) and ſo retired. If this had ſucceeded, thoſe of Delfe had taken the cheefe commanders of all their forces, eſpecially of the Spaniards. At that time the Commander receiued a generall pardon from the King, giuen at Madrill the eight of Marche, the which at his beſt commoditie hee cauſed to bee proclaimed in the townes of Bruſſelles and Antwerpe, with great ceremonies and ſtate. This pardon was for all them of the Netherlands that had offended, as well for the publicke preaching, as the carrying of armes, breaking of Images, thefts, ſacke of Churches, Monaſteries, or other offences, againſt the King or the Romiſh Church, in what manner ſoeuer: out of which pardon were excluded the Prince of Orange, and ſome others whom the King had particularly excepted; reſtoring all others that were capable of the ſayd pardon to their goods, name and credit, of what quality and condition ſoeuer they were, hauing no need to ſue for any other letters of grace, but this generall pardon. And ſuch as would enioye it, before they entred into the poſſeſſion of their goods, being yet in being and in the Kings power, ſhould bee bound to produce letters of abiuration of their errors, and of their ſubmiſſion and promiſe of obedience to the Romiſh Church. Many durſt not truſt vnto it, no more then vnto the Duke of *Aluaes* pardon: yet ſome truſted vnto it and ſpedde well, yet many were freed from priſon, who if it had bin in the Duke of *Aluaes* time, (according to his rigour) had loſt their liues.

A generall pardon giuen by the King in the Netherlands.

In the meane time Leyden was brought to great extremitie, there being no meanes left to releeue them, but by ſome extraordinary and vnexpected accident: ſo as the Spaniards did aſſure themſelues of the Towne: yet knowing that the Prince was a man who would not omitte any thing, that might ſerue for the ſuccour and preſeruation of ſuch a Towne, and that hee wanted no inuention, practiſing the meanes which had beene often vſed in the time of troubles, both in France and the Netherlands, not onely to circumuent the ſimple, but euen the moſt ſufficient, vnder a glorious ſhew of peace (the *ſuperfices* whereof at the firſt ſight is pleaſing) gaue it out, that they did wonderfully affect and deſire it, and that it was the Kings pleaſure. For proofe whereof, and to ſound the Prince of Oranges minde, they ſent vpon his ſimple paſport, and with-out hoſtages, two men that were not very oppoſite to the Proteſtants religion: the one was *Iohn* of Mateneſſe Seignior of Riuiere, and the Aduocate *Treſlon*, who obteyned this paſport of the Prince, vnder collour to follow ſome priuate buſineſſe of their owne, as they ſayd: but it was moſt to conferre with ſome of the States of Holland. They were ſome time at Rotterdam, whereas the Prince was then alſo, going vp and downe with all liberty, which many did not like of. But the Prince would haue the world know, that he held not the peoples wills in ſubiection; who contrariwiſe was not ſo voide of iudgement, but hee vnderſtood well the conſequence thereof, and ſayd openly that this warre was their peace, and the peace which was

The ſpaniards ſeeme to deſire peace.

propoun-

A propounded would be a fatall and deadly warre, the which notwithstanding they detested: desiring only you should haue holy and healthfull conditions, as wel for the soule as the body. The Prince suffred them to speake freely to whome they pleased. They that had sent them to entertaine both the Prince and the States in this opinion of peace, meaning to put all their deuises in practise, vnder collour of talking of the exchange of prisoners of either side, and namely of Cont *Bossu*, they resolued to send vpon good hostages (that is to say of the Signior of Carnesse and of doctor *Iunius* gouernor of la Vere) the Signior of Saint Aldegonde who they knew to be wel beloued of the Prince, giuing him Don *Ferdinando Launoy* Earle of la Roche a high Bourguignon (Gouernor of Holland in the absence of Cont *Bossu* that was prisoner at Horne) and the Signior of Champ-
B paigne, brother to the Cardinal Granuelle, with certain Instructions to treat of a peace with the Commanders good liking and consent, which gentlemen making a wonderfull demonstration of the desire they had to see an assured peace, they did sweare vnto him that they which were of the country, would doe their best endeauors to aduance it: thinking (as they said) that there was no better meanes to induce the Prince, then in sending the said Signior of S^t. Aldegond: who being come to Rotterdam, and this treary of peace ready to begin, there appeered some difficulties, about the order and meanes to proceed which had bene propounded, the which was not likt of by the great Commander, vnder collour that the Kings authority should be thereby somewhat blemished, who thought it more fitting that the townes of Holland and Zeeland should first
C addresse themselues vnto the king by way of petition, to the end that the effect of the accord that might ensue, might be attributed to the kings bounty, rather then to any conference. And therfore they did greatly presse the Signior of Saint Aldegond to perswade the States thereunto. Before vpon the conference which *Mateneſſe* and *Treſlon* had had with the States at Rotterdam, there was a writing giuen vnto them at their retreat by the States, in forme as followeth. Vpon that which hath bin propounded to the States " of Holland and Zeeland, touching the troubles and present warre, and for the quieting " thereof by a firme peace, for the good of the country and of his Maiesties subiects, the " States protest that they neuer intended to take armes against his maiestie. But that " in discharge of the bond and duties of their charge, and to maintaine his reputation "
D and dignity, together with the sworne priuileges, rights, laudable customes, and liberty " of his countries and subiects, haue beene forced to oppose themselues with armes a- " gainst the tiranous and violent command of the Duke of Alua and other strangers his " adherents: who by vniust exactions and oppressions of his subiects, haue troubled the " publike quiet, seeking by all insolent meanes to become maisters of his Maiesties coun- " tries, and to reduce them to perpetuall slauery, to the great preiudice of his Maiesties " seruice, as it hath beene often heretofore made knowne and protested by the saide " Estates. So as they meane not now to capitulate of any pacification with his Maiestie, " whom they haue alwaies sought to obey and serue with all humility, as their naturall "
Lord and Prince, which makes them humbly to beseech him that it would please his "
E Maiesty as a good father, to looke vpon the pouerties and afflictions of his contries with " a louing and tender eye, and thereby draw them to vnion, peace and trafficke, as well to " augment his estate as the prosperity of his subiects. The which without doubt can neuer " be effected, so long as strangers shal vse their force and tirany: who make a greater beni- " fit by troubles and disorders, then when the country is orderly gouerned, regarding " only their owne profit, which hath bin the cause of all these warres. And therfore that it " would please his maiesty to cal away those strangers, & afterwards by a free conference " with the aduice of the general estates of the country duly assembled, set such an order, " as his maiesties subiects may be hereafter assured from all dangers and inconueniences " that might happen; And for that the contynuance of this warre (to speake truly) can "
F produce nothing but a depopulation and total ruine of his Maiesties countries, and the " rather for that it is manifest that the inhabitants thereof do giue them selues daiely to " the exercise of Armes, forgetting and neglecting their trades and traffick of Marchan- " dise, being an vsuall thing for men to giue themselues to all the licentiousnes which war "

Difficulties vpon the order of the treaties of peace.

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„ brings with it. So as by this meanes a dangerous and preiudiciall decay is to bee fea- A
„ red, of all trafficke, negotiation, marchandise and nauigation, redounding to the
„ ruine of his Maiesties seruice. The sayd Estates doe also beseech, that regard may
„ bee had heerevnto, to the end that as well Holland and Zeeland, as the other
„ neighbour Prouinces might by his Maiesties authoritie, bee discharged of either
„ side from the oppression of these strange souldiars, and that presently by way of proui-
„ sion all acts of hostilitie may cease. So as the Comerce and conuersation of the inha-
„ bitants bread in your Maiesties countries, may be hereafter restored with al security, and
„ the one reconciled with the other. Wherefore the States do trust that the great Com-
„ manders excellency, and all other his Maiesties faithfull vassalls, will put to their help-
„ ing hands, (as they doe intreate them with all reuerence and humility) and doe all the B
„ good offices of loyall and faithfull subiects.

This answere made by the States did not please them that had sent the signior of Mateneese and Treslon, the which doth well appeere by a letter which the Lord of Champaigny writ vnto Saint Aldegonde, beeing, yet with the Prince and States, dated the 21. of July: where hee saith amongst other pointes, speaking of this an-
Champaignies letters to Sain. Aldegonde. „ swere (which hee confesseth to haue receiued) these words following. But that which
„ they haue brought is farre from the present affaires. For neither the title which they
„ take in this writing can bee vsurped by them, nor the reasons which they giue for their
„ distraction, doe concurre with his Maiesties reputation: notwithstanding that they
„ say, that their intention was to maintaine his greatnesse, the which hath no ground. C
„ And as for the meanes which the propound, they are not accompanied with the
„ respect which I did hope for: For it seemes by their writing, that the townes which
„ are distracted from his Maiesties obedience, carrie themselues towards him, as good
„ and faithfull subiects doe to their Soueraigne Prince. Therefore you must bring
„ to her matter &c. These letters beeing imparted to the States, that they might not commit any thing that might bee demanded of them with reason, and to shewe that they did seriously demand a good peace, that might bee firme and permanent, they would not shewe themselues vnwilling to propound their greeuances and demandes by petition, directed vnto the King, the which was deliuered to Saint Aldegonde returning to Vtrecht to prison, who deliuered it to the Lord of Champagny, to D
present it vnto the great Commander, whereof the tenor was.

To the King.

A petition of the States of Holland & Zeeland. „ MOst humblie shewing: the Nobles, Knights and townes of Holland
„ and Zeeland. That they haue euer like good and faithfull vassalls
„ and subiects, in all things as well to your Maiestie, as to your Pre-
„ decessors of famous memorie, yeelded all humble obedience dutie
„ and seruice whensoeuer, for the preseruation of your Maiesties E
„ greatnesse and State, their obedience and humble seruice hath beene
„ required. So as they haue no doubt, but your Maiesties loue towardes them, hath
„ beene thereby greatly augmented, to preserue and maintaine them in their rightes
„ and liberties, with peace and tranquilitie, vnder Iustice and order. And although
„ the Duke of Alua carrying himselfe for Gouernor in your Maiesties place, should
„ haue behaued himselfe accordingly; yet contrariwise vnder the title of his go-
„ uernment, hee hath vsed such Iniustice and violence to your Maiesties countrie
„ and subiects, aswell Ecclesiasticall as Secular, Noble and vnnoble, as the Petitio-
„ ners for the preseruation of their preuiledges, rightes and auncient lawdable cus-
„ tomes and liberties, haue beene, (to their great greefe) forced, to oppose them- F
„ selues, with an armie, against the proud commande, and violent manner of go-
„ uernment of the sayd Duke, and his adherents, that were strangers: seeking to
„ trouble the publike quiet by Innouations, strange exactions, and the generall

oppression

A oppreſſion of your maieſties ſubiects: Hauing no other deſigne, but to ſubiect the ſayd countries & the inhabitants to their appetites and inſolencies, to impouerish them, and bring them into ſeruitude, to the great preiudice of your Maieſties ſeruice, greatnes & reuenues, whereon your ſuppliants haue heretofore made complaint & proteſted openly; as alſo the States of other countries haue reſpectiuely done the like diuers times. But yet notwithſtanding, the Duke of Alua perſiſting ſtill in his bad reſolution: your Maieſties ſaid countries and the inhabitants, haue not onely beene drawne into great alterations, troubles and calamities of warre, but alſo the neighbour Nations and kingdomes, haue growne to hate and to abhorre this ouerweening pride of the ſayd ſtrangers, enemies of the publike quiet of the ſayd Countries, with a diuerſion and
B loſſe of all traffick, trades, negotiation, and of their proſperity. And as the ſayd Petitioners haue neuer ſought, nor doe not at this preſent ſeeke any thing, but to aduance and by all meanes poſſible to procure the generall good of all the country for your Maieſties ſeruice, as it belongs to loyall ſubiects, they beſeech your Maieſty with all humility, that you would bee pleaſed, as a kinde father to regard with a pittifull eye, the preſent eſtate of the Netherlands, ſo lamentable and miſerable, and to reſtore them to a vnion, comerce and quietneſſe: wherby your Maieſties greatneſſe may increaſe, and the proſperity of the inhabitants growe and floriſh for your ſeruice. And as it can by no meanes be effected, ſo long as ſtrange nations ſhall exerciſe their rule and tiranie ouer the ſayd countries, for that their profit and aduantage conſiſts chiefely in their trouble
C and confuſion, and not in any good order and pollitike gouernment: they being by nature (as daily experience doth teach) more giuen to their priuate appetites, then to the generall good of the country; whereunto they are ſtrangers, which hath beene the motiue of troubles and preſent warre. That therefore it would pleaſe your Maieſty to commande the ſayd ſtrangers to retire out of the country, and by the free conference and aduiſe of the generall Eſtates lawfully aſſembled, ſetle ſuch good order and pollicy, as your Maieſties ſayd countries and ſubiects, may be hereafter maintained in vnion and aſſured peace: all dangers, inconueniences and troubles being auoided. Conſidering alſo that by the long continuance of this preſent warre (to ſpeake freely) there can no other thing be hoped for, but the ſpoile and totall ruine of your Maieſties countries and
D Prouinces. And the rather, for that the inhabitants do giue themſelues more and more to armes, forgetting and neglecting their accuſtomed trades and negotiation: as men are by nature inclined to all the licentiouſneſſe and exceſſe which warre doth commonly bring: that by the long vſe of armes, the bitterneſſe and hatred of your Maieſties ſubiects increaſing more and more one againſt an other, it is to be feared there will inſue a dangerous and preiudiciall decreaſe and decay of all traffick, negotiation, marchandiſe and nauigation; whereby your Maieſties ſeruice may be greatly intereſſed. They do alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Maieſty that you will be pleaſed to haue regard herevnto with all clemency and fauour; to the end that as well Holland and Zeeland, as all other the neighbour Prouinces, beeing by your Maieſties authority, freed of either ſide,
E from the oppreſſion, at the leaſt of ſtrange ſoldiars, and withall that (by way of prouiſion) all Acts of hoſtilitie may ceaſe. So as the Comerce and conuerſation of the inhabitants and thoſe that are borne in your Maieſties countries, may be againe reſtored with all ſecuritie; and that they being reconciled one vnto an other, may be the better reſtored to their ancient poſſeſſions and reſidences; wherein your Maieſties ſuppliants will not for their poinct, omit any good office and dutie that ſhall belong to good and faithfull ſubiects. &c.

If the writing carried by the ſignior of Mateneſſe and Treſlon, had not much pleaſed them that were dealers about the peace, for the Spaniard; this petition liked them much leſſe. The which the Lord of Champaigny ſhewed plainely by his letter of the thirteene of Auguſt vnto Doctor *Iunius* Gouernor of La Vere, at his returne from hoſtage, hauing beene in Vtrecht, for the ſignior of Saint Aldegonde: which Petition Champaigny debates in all points: the which (for the reaſons which he ſpecifies) he ſaies he durſt not preſent, ſending it backe to *Iunius*; which letter the Doctor anſwered, and for that the anſwere is ſuccinct, and as were an abridgment

This petition more diſlikt then the firſt.

of that which was donne by way of diſcourſe, more particularly, I would not o- A
mit it.

Doctor Iunius letter to Champaigny.

My Lord, I haue lately receiued a letter from you, dated the thirteene of Auguſt, with the petition which Monſier *Aldegondé* had brought vnto you to Montfort, from the States and townes of Holland and Zeeland: the which I haue not failed to impart preſently vnto them, and to deliuer into their hands: whereat they haue beene wonderfully amazed, being not able, to comprehend the reaſons contained in your letter to be ſufficient to mooue you to reiect and ſend backe their petition in this manner, which happily might haue ſerued for a greater good: And therefore ſeeing themſelues intreated in this ſort, not as the Kings ſubiects and vaſſalls (as they haue alwaies carried themſelues, where there hath bin queſtion of his Maieſties honor, ſtate and greatneſſe) B
but rather as the moſt infidell Turkes and Iewes, that are in the world, yea as ſworne enemies to his Maieſty: they haue thereby concluded, that they are not to hope for any more good of them that thus ſeeke to abuſe the kings name to their ruine. And therfore they haue reſolued to imploy all their meanes, to prouide hereafter for their ſafeties, againſt the barbarous cruelrie and tiranie of thoſe which couer their priuate paſſions, vnder the cloake and name of his royall Maieſtie. Proteſting that (ſeeing their petitions can haue no acceſſe to his Maieſties eares, and that they haue debarred them the meanes, which by the lawes of God and nature are granted euen to the moſt fellonious traitors, and diſloyall rebells that are or euer were in the world) they are forced by ſuch vnreaſonable iniuſtice and tyranie, to ſeeke ſuch meanes as it ſhall pleaſe God to C
put into their hands. Intreating you that you wil be a witneſſe to all the world, that they haue preſented the ſayd petition, and haue thereby diſcharged their duties, and therefore whereſoeuer it ſhal be brought in queſtion, that you will excuſe and iuſtifie them. And to the end your LL. may know the cauſes and grounds of their complaints and greefes, and why they finde themſelues ſo much wronged by the ſending backe thereof. I did then thinke it good, by way of diſcourſe, to collect the chiefe points of their complaints vnto your letter, the which I had alreadie ſent vnto you; had I not ſtill ſtaied for your man, who ſhould come for mine anſwere: by whome I would not faile to ſend it vnto you. Deſiryng you to conſider well of the reaſons and grounds D
produced by them vpon your letter, the which are ioyned herevnto, hauing no intent that this my writing (which proceedes from mine owne particular, for the zeale which I haue to the quiet of the countrie, and loue to your Lordſhip) ſhould in any ſort preiudice the ſayd Eſtates and townes, or their ſaid reſolution. I will referre my ſelfe to the ſayd diſcours, the tediouſneſſe whereof you ſhall excuſe, and impute it to my diſability, or to the difficultie of affaires whereof it treates. And ſo I recommend me humbly &c. *Signed I. Iunius.*

This diſcourſe whereof mention is made in this letter, being verie tedious, wee haue thought good to omit, and the rather for that wee haue not heard that Champaigny or any other hath replied vnto it. And ſo theſe practiſes of peace vaniſhed to ſmoake, E
for both the Prince and the States did conſtantly beleeue, that it was onelie to circumuent them, to make them careleſſe and to looſe time, whileſt they made their preparations. Afterwards the Prince of Orange propounded certaine points, vnto

The Princes aduice to the States.

the States concerning their affaires. And firſt that the towne of Leyden was in great daunger to bee loſt, by a fault of verie great conſequence; and that hee did ſee well that by the loſſe thereof manie other good townes would bee ſhaken and in danger: finally that it would cauſe a great alteration in their affaires, wherefore they ſhould reſolue to prouide for it ſpeedely: ſeeing no other meanes but to cut the dikes, and raiſe all the Scluſes, to drowne the countrie; yet before they did it, they ſhould ſet before their eyes the ruine of the Champian countrie, and other loſſes which F
would follow, to the end they ſhould not afterwardes reproch it vnto him, if it ſucceeded ill. But they mooued with charitie and a mutuall bond, which all they townes had one with an other, by othand contracts, by the which they had ſollemnely promiſed and ſworne to ſuccor one an other euen vnto the laſt gaſpe, not ſparing any

thing,

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A thing, or hauing regard to any publike or priuate commoditie: they made answere vnto the Prince, that hee should aduise what might bee donne to succor and deliuer the towne of Leyden: and that they would omit nothing for the effecting thereof: saying, that they had rather haue a countrie that were spoiled, then a countrie that were lost, that they would rather see their houses heaped one vpon an other, then the Spaniards should enioye them. And were it not for the succor of Leyden, yet they would doe it, to chase the Spaniard out of the countrie. God knowes how this free and voluntarie offer of the States did mooue the Princes heart, who was wonderfully perplexed, as well to see this towne in danger to bee lost through the negligence of some, (for the which a Prince of the Empire and two of his Bretheren had lost themselues to saue it once: and yet the oportunitie which they had bought with the price B of their deerest bloud was to no effect) as for that hee did foresee, that the blame should bee laied vpon him by them that did not knowe that hee commanded not absolutely. But seeing them so well affected, hee made them resolue to drawe the water into the countrie by the aboue mentioned meanes. The which was speedely executed. So as the Prince hauing made passage for the water, and seeing in what abundance it entred into the countrie in seauen or eight daies, they were all perswaded that this aduice would take good effect: although that euen then many did maintaine that the water would neuer come within a league of the towne of Leyden. But let vs speake somewhat of the Spaniard, howe hee behaued himselfe at the seege of C that towne.

A courageous resolution of the States of Holland.

The Spaniards after their returne from their victorie, hauing taken vp their olde lodging at Leyderdorp, whereof three companies went to Zosterwoude, where they intrenche themselues, and a part at Leysdendam, which is the Sluse of Leyden, where there had beene a fort, which after their departure the Protestants of Holland had neglected to ruine, and to breake the sluse. Captaine *Nicholas Ruyckhauer* beeing in garrison at the Hage, heard of the Spaniards returne so late, as hee could hardly retire his men: yet hee entertained the skirmish so long with the Spaniards, as the inhabitants had meanes for to saue all the best part of their goods. *Francisco Valdes* Lieutenant of this campe had brought with him a part of the D troupes of Vtrecht, the which hee sent before the fort, which the Protestants held at the Sluse of Goude and Alphen: and the other part which came from Harlem, was led by *Noortwic* and *Walkenbourg*, whereas the Protestants had two verie strong Forts, either of them manned with fiue Companies of English, of the which *Edward Chester* was Collonel. This Regiment endured the first charge of the Spaniards. The Fort at the Sluse of Goude, was first of all most furiously assaulted, and then they were often-times repulst and put back againe by the English, ouer whome Captaine *Gainsford*, a true souldiar, commanded. But as the Spanish horse had no meanes nor way to enter into Holland but by these Fortes, they did so presse forward with cudgells and swords vpon the foote-men that did assaile it, as E the English were forced to quit the place: the which had not beene so soone, if those which were at Alphen (which is but halfe a league off,) had defended themselues as valiantly as these, who hauing left their fort, thinking to goe and succor them of Alphen, they found it also wonne and gotten from them, and so both the one and the other were defeated and cut all in peeces, the which hapned the seauenteenth of Maie.

The endeauor of captaine Ruyckhauer at the Hage.

Some English defeated.

Those of Vtrecht ranne thether and razed these forts and that which was at Leyderdorp. *Francis de Valdes*, with an other troupe which came to Nortwick, went to a great forte that was vnfinished, which the other fiue companies of English did hold in the village of Valchenbourg, the which they abandoned before they had seene F any enemy; although the day before they had required some horse from them of Leyden, to discouer the enemie, which they had not yet donne. Hauing left this fort, they retired neere vnto Waldnighe, where they did skirmish for a time with the Spaniards: which the Bourgers might see from their walls, but yet they could not see of either side any one fall nor hurt, although the skirmish were very whot; which

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made them of the towne to doubt the worſt. After this ſkirmiſh, the Engliſh approched neerer vnto the towne ditches: betwixt the Bourgers trenches at the bridge of *Boſchuyſen* and the towne. Then Collonel *Cheſter* entred with ſome of his men into the towne, and gaue a ſigne vnto the Bourgers that if it hapned he were forced by the Spaniards that he would make his retreat by the port of the Hage, the which the Bourgers agreed vnto, and that the enemie approchin g, (againſt whome they ſhould continue the skirmiſh) they ſhould make them a ſigne, which was, that when they ſhould take downe the coulors that ſhould be vppon the port, they ſhould open them-ſelues and retyre on the one ſide, that their canon from their rampar might paſſe through the Spaniſh ſquadrons: this condition did nothing pleaſe the Engliſh, as it appeered ſone after. For as ſoone as they were gone out of their trenches, where-into they were retired at the bridge of Boſchuyſen, they marched with their coulors flying directly towards the Spaniards, to whome (vppon a certaine othe taken by them) they went and trecherouſly yeelded, and were receiued with certaine ceremonies: but they did not fore-ſee that which ſhould befall them. For as ſoone as they were receiued, they made them put out their matches being conſtrained by the Spaniſh Caualary, that was at Woorſchote; which ſome officers and others, as well Engliſh as Flemings pereciuing, to the nomber of thirty two, they retired vnder the Counterſcharp of the towne, where afterwards they ſuffred them to enter. The reſt were led to Harlem, being ſtript of their beſt apparell, ſome to ſerue for Pioners, and ſuch as could eſcape retired into England, not daring to ſhew them-ſelues in Holland.

The Engliſh rewarded for their trechery by the Spaniard to whome they had yeelded.

The Spaniards knowing well that they got little in battering of Leyden, and that the battery which they had made at Harlem againſt a bare wall, had bene a great charge vnto them, with loſſe of men, they brought no artillery to batter it, aſſuring them-ſelues that in the end they ſhould famiſh it. And in the meane time to make it ſhorter, they ſpared nothing that might auaile them, by goodly promiſes, or practiſes, to induce the beſieged to yeeld; and to acknowledge the King. Wherein they imployed many of theſe Bourgers and others that were of their partie, who wanted no letters of aduice: to whome they of the towne would neuer make any other anſwer, but by a letter, in the which there was nothing written but this latin verſe.

The Spaniards meane not to batter Leyden.

Fiſtula dulce canit volucrem, dum decipit Auceps.

A ſhort and reſolute anſwer of the beſieged at Leyden.

And ſeeing that they preuailed nothing with all their letters and perſwaſions: (the which did animate and incourage the Bourgers the more) they ment to ſhut them vp more ſtraightly, building forts vppon all the paſſages, both great and ſmall.

Some Bourgers which by the ſodaine ſiege of this towne had bene excluded, with the Prince of *Oranges* leaue and the aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrate of Goude, did laid thirty barks with wheat and rye, the which two peaſants and a Balyſe of a village, had promiſed to conduct by a couert way to Copier-ka, the which they peeced, and there they attended them to guide them vnto the towne. Theſe barks furniſhed with good marriners, hauing euery one two hargubuſiers, aduanced to Copier-ka, which they found pierſt, but no peaſant to guide them: yet they paſt on, and in ſteed of taking the left hand, they paſt on the right, and ſo wandred vp and downe vntill the breake of day. And thinking their peaſant had betraid them (who tired with toyling, ſlept not farre from the place) they returned to Goude without any exploit. Thoſe of Leyden aduertiſed of this enterpriſe, attended them with great deuotion and ſent their aduenturing barks to ſecond them: the which was not without ſome profit, for being come neere vnto Heymansbrugge, they met with two ſhips of Conuoy of the Spaniards, which they ſet vpon, ſlue all the men, and put into their barks all the munition of warre, victualls, artillerie, ſilkes, gold and ſiluer-lace, poulder and a great number of boullets. Of the two ſhips, one was burnt and the other ſunke. The Spaniards being at Leyderdorp, thought to take theſe barkes in their returne, and to reskue the bootie; but the beſieged putting themſelues in armes (attending their men) gaue ſo hot an alarme to the Spaniard, as during the skirmiſh they paſt without danger, and hindred the Spaniards from carrying away of ſome boates, as they pretended. Theſe barkes brought with them one *Peter Quaetgelaet*, who was taken in the ſayd ſhippes, and as a Traitor executed and quartered

A happy incounter vnexpected for them of Leyden.

A quartered, and his quarters set vpon the towne gates. The signior *Thierry* of Bronckhorst was in the Princes name appointed as gouernor and superintendant in the towne. He with the Lawiers and the chiefe of the towne, considering that this siege would be long (the enemy hauing an intent to famish them) set an order vpon the victualls in Iune, to make them last as long as it was possible; and hauing taken a view of the corne, there was found but 1100. and ten lasts, and foureteene thousand mouthes in the towne to feede therewith. The first two monthes euery one was stinted at halfe a pound of bread by the day, the which a laborer would haue eaten at his breakfast. The Spaniards finding that the besieged drewe manie commodities and refreshings from their Kitchin gardins without the towne, the which they had so-

Thierry of Bronchhorst Gouernor of Leyden.

A taxe vpon the victualls.

B wed in the beginning of the springe, the seauenteene and eighteene of Iuly they built a fort not farre from Rhynsbourg gate, at the end of the Causey, to cut off their passage to these gardins. The which the signior of Bronckhorst and the councell seeing, they promised an honest recompence to them that should first seize vpon this fort. The which they did the sayd eighteene day with such courage, as they chased away all their enemies with great losse and confusion. The same moneth the Gouernor and councell, did coyne money of paper or cardes, of foureteene and eight and twentie stiuers the peece, where there was of the one side grauen: *Hua libertatis ergo*. And of the other. *Nummus obsessæ vrbis Lugdunensis, sub gubernatione illustrissimi Principis Auraici cusus*, and of them of foureteene Stiuers: *Lugdunum Batauorum*.

Money coined of paper at Leyden.

C

The towne was then besieged more straightly then before, a certaine Spanish captaine called *Carion* had intrenched himselfe at *Waldinge*, whereby hee did verie much mischiefe to the besieged, for the auoyding whereof, it was resolued to sallie forth vpon him and his men, in the manner that followeth. That *Gerard Vander Laen* should goe forth with a galley well appointed with Men, Artillerie and Muskets; *John van Duynenworde* captaine of the aduenturers or forlorne Hope, some beeing armed with harguebuzes and some with halfe pikes, should sallie forth at the Vlyet gate. *Adrien Schet* with his companie, by the port of Rhynsbourg should seize vpon the way to Poelbrug: the companies of *John Vanderdoors*, and the signior of

A sallie made by the besieged.

D Noortvic with *Mees Hauicx*, should set vpon the fort at the bridge of Boschuysen, in that quarter which they call the Sandt, and they should haue with them good store of Pioners. This enterprise thus layed, and a reward promised for them that should first enter into the enemies forts, and for euery Spaniards head; a warning beeing giuen by fire, they issued forth of the towne, and did all at one instant assaile the enemie, with very great furie and fearefull cries, especially the signior of Noortuic named *Ianus Dousa* (a Gentleman of great learning, as his writings doe witnesse) and *Mees Havicx* with their companies. The Spaniards beeing but threescore men, defended themselues verie valiantly with their musket-shot. But the besieged (although they were Bourgers) without any feare of their shot, ranne desperately to the foote of the trenches, from whence they cast balles of wild-fire, stones

1574.

E and such other things vpon the Spaniards vntill that with their halfe pikes they had forced these trenches, where they slue, burnt and buried aliue in the ruines of the fort (which the souldiars ruined and spoiled as much as they could) all the Spaniards that were within it, not taking any one to mercie, although they cried out for mercy.

A furious sallie of the Burgers of Leyden.

The signall of fire had giuen the alarme throughout all the Spanish campe. Those of Lammen came to succor Vaddinghen, and so did they of Leyderdorp, Voorschote and Vassenare, which are all villages within a League of the Towne, where the Caualerie laie, who came running in all hast, but they gained nothing but musF ket-shot, so as they were forced to retyer with shame and some losse of men. And as it was not the intent of the besieged to hold this fort, but onelie to ruine it, and to shewe that although they had no soldiars in the towne, yet that necessitie, vse and experience, had taught their Burgers to become good soldiars, after that they had labored two houres to ruine the fort as much as they could, seeing the enemies approch with

a great

a great ſupply; they retired with good order into the towne, hauing in theſe skir- A
miſhes ſlaine aboue a hundred Spaniards and Italiens, The Bourgers inured them-
ſelues ſo to theſe skirmiſhes, as they were at it euery day to ſaue their cattell(which
they fed yet in the paſtures without the towne) being ſix or ſeauen hundred,ſo as in
the end they were faine to defend them at the ſound of the Bell. And it was a ſtrange
thing,that as often as the Spaniards came to take them, they neuer carried any more
away then one calfe. And the kine were ſo accuſtomed vnto it, as ſeeing the Spaniards
come, they ran towards the towne ,and ſtood vpon the counterſcarfe of the ditch,as in
a place of ſafety.

Here-vpon whilſt that through the pulling vp of the ſcluſes and the breaking of the
The Prince of Orange very ſicke. dikes in diuers places, the water did riſe in the country: the Prince fell ſo extreamly B
ſicke,as there was nothing in him but ſignes of death: the which did much trouble them
all,but yet notwith-ſtanding they continued the courſe of their affaires, and the water
did ſtill run on the other ſide;the Spaniards did greatly preſſe them of Leyden to yeeld,
giuing them to vnder-ſtand that the Prince was dead: it was alſo to be feared that bread
The great reſolution of the beſieged of Leyden. fayling them, the people would force the Magiſtrats. Yet they ſhewed ſuch con-
ſtancie and reſolution to keepe their faith giuen vnto the States, as they would neuer
enter into any parle with the enemie. In the meane time there were many ſent from
them vnto the Prince and States to haſten the ſuccors, the which was promiſed, if it
pleaſed God to ſend them water inough. Here-vpon the Spaniards writte vnto them
many letters full of goodly promiſes and cruell threats, ſtill aſſuring them that the C
Prince was dead. The beſieged ſent for the foure men, as well to ſee if the Prince were
yet liuing, as to let the States vnder-ſtand that they could hold out no longer: yet they
would ſtriue to keepe it a moneth (which ſhould fall out on the twenty of September)
if they would aſſure them of their ſuccors: if not that they ſhould diſpence and free
them of their faith and oth that they might reſolue what were fitteſt for them. The
States let their meſſengers ſee all their preparatiues; the holes of the dikes that were
broken,and the aboundance of water which entred into the country, the which gaue
them great ſatisfaction: and made them reſolue,that they did indeuour to ſuccor them,
they would alſo ſtriue and attend all extremities: The which did ſo reioyce the Prince,
(whoſe ſicknes proceeded onely of griefe and the care he had of them)as it did not a D
little help in his recouery. A few daies before, being ſomewhat amended,he began to
appoynt men to prepare the boats and munition, deuiſing how to diſpoſe of his enter-
priſe,and to prouide ſoldiars and marriners in ſuch nombers as ſhould be needfull. For
the effecting whereof(being well aduertiſed that the Spaniſh fleete,which the Spani-
ards ſo deuoutly attended came not) knowing that this enterpriſe by water for the ſuc-
couring of Leyden,depended much vppon an Admirall, hee cauſed the Seignior *Lewis*
The Admirall Boyſot ſent for by the Prince. of *Boyſot* to come out of Zeeland with about forty Captains both for Sea and land,and
ſome 800. marriners,& good ſtore of Artillerie fit for ſuch flat boats,as were fitteſt for
the execution of this deſſeine. The water in the meane time did ſo get of the country,
as it forced the Spaniards to abandon ſome of their villages. During the which,the E
Prince being at Rotterdam,and beginning to recouer him-ſelfe,he ſent the Collonel of
the gard,and the Councellor *Waſteel* to Delfe, to ſee how much the water was riſen on
Separation of three Iuriſdictions. the ſide of Delfiant; for you muſt vnder-ſtand that the three Iuriſdictions: which is
that of Rhinlant which is vnder Leyden; of Delfiant which is vnder Delf,and of Schye-
landt which is vnder Rotterdam,are diuided by a dike called Landt-ſcheydinghe,that is
to ſay ſeperation of the country, which makes a triangle, like vnto three lines which
part from one center. The water entred into Delfiant, by a hole made neere vnto
Rotterdam, and by the ſcluſes of Rotterdam and Delfhauen: Entring into Schyelandt
by a breach of the dike made in the riuer of Iſſell,neere vnto Capelle: and in the riuer of
Meuz neere vnto Iſſellmonde: ſo as it remained onely to know what height it was of F
either ſide,to cut the ſaid Landt-ſcheydinghe,and to giue it paſſage into Rhinlandt, the
which is a higher country then the other two: Whilſt that the Seignior of the Gard &
Waſteel went on the ſide of Delfiandt, the Admirall went into Schyelant, where hauing
found the water high inough, for that the breach neere vnto Rotterdam had bene made
long

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A long after that of Iſſell. Hauing made report vnto the Prince, it was reſolued to ſtay ſome few daies, vntill the water were riſen higher. The Prince hauing giuen the command of the ſhipping to the Admirall, and of the men of warre to the Seignior of La Gard, and put into their hands all the charge of the armie and of the enterpriſe, he commanded them (whilſt that all the preparatiues of boats and munition were well diſpoſed) to go with ſome three hundred and fifty ſhot, and a good number of pioners to cut Landt-ſcheydinghe on the ſide of Delflandt, about a certaine place which had beene markt before: for there the water was deepeſt; the which they did, as they had proiected: comming thether an houre before day, they went to land, beginning to intrenche themſelues in two ſeuerall places, diſtant foure or fiue harguebuze ſhot one from an other,
B the which in truth was too much; but they flanked the approches through the fauor of their ſhips of warre: and were once reſolued to haue drawne them neerer togither, yet they continued ſo that they might haue the more ſpace to make many breaches in Landt-ſcheydinghe, the which being done gaue great contentment to the two Commanders, ſeeing with what force and aboundance the water entred into Rhinlandt. The Spaniards hauing the Alarme, and ſeeing them, failed not to go and diſcouer them within an houre after their arriuall; they of the ſide of Leydtſendam, went with horſe and foote, whereas they got nothing.

Thoſe of Sootermeere came with the Spaniſh foote onely, who began a skirmiſh, the which continued long, in the end hauing ſome ſupplies, they made a ſhewe as if they
C would march directly to the Proteſtants trenches, as it were to draw them forth, for the which they had no great reaſon, for the Proteſtants were fauoured by their boats, who were not idle with their Ordinance, although they were too much ſcatred one from an other, for ſo ſmall a number, being betwixt the Spaniſh forces which they had of either ſide of them: for at their trenche at that time there were not aboue ſix ſcore Frenchmen: yet if the Spaniards (who ſeemed to be aboue a hundred and fifty) had aduanced a little farther, the Seignior of La Gard (who was there) had reſolued to meete them halfe way: the which he held to bee neceſſary at their firſt arriuall, as well to keepe his ſoldyars in heart at the beginning, as to ſuppreſſe the Spaniards a little, and with a good and reſolute countenance to take from them the deſire and hope which they might
D haue to hinder the Proteſtants diſſeine: Beſides, if they had made them with their brauery imbarke againe, ti would haue bene heard to haue drawne their men forward: and more-ouer hauing ſo few men, hee muſt either hazard them or make a diſhonorable retreat. But the Spaniards (who might haue fortified them-ſelues with what men they pleaſed, contenting them-ſelues with the skirmiſh, the which continued not much leſſe then fiue houres) retired hauing loſt ten or twelue of their men, beſides the hurt. The Proteſtants retired alſo, hauing one ſoldiar and a marriner only hurt, laboring after that time at the breach of the dike.

The ſpaniards come to skirmiſh.

From that time the Admirall *Boyſot*, made ſhew (as he hath alwaies done in the like occaſions) of a great deſire to fight, and to paſſe on: yet going to councell with the
E Seignior of La Gard & the Captaines; it was not held expedient to attempt any more with ſo few men, beeing thought a matter of no ſmall importance, to haue gotten the poſſeſſion of Landt-ſcheydinghe ſo good cheap; beyond the which all they of the country aſſured the prince, that there was no dike nor dificulty vnto Leyden: but they were falſe aduertiſments, and therein the Prince was much abuſed, as it appeared afterwards; but God did ſo aſſiſt them, as trying all that was poſſible by little & little, without any precipitation, they got vnto the place which they deſired, with as litte loſſe as euer was ſeene for ſo great an enterpriſe: victualling Leyden in view of a royall Army, conſiſting of ſo many nations which hold them ſelues to be valiant; for in truth the Spaniſh nation as well as the Wallon hath alwaies beene warlike, among other warre-
F like Nations.

The Proteſtants conſiſting of Netherlanders, French, Wallons, Engliſh, Scottiſh, & Germaines, ſeeing their entrie reaſonable good, were of opinion to aduertiſe the Prince. Beſides they thought it beſt not to retire from thence but to cauſe the whole army to aduance, & the victuals that were appointed for the towne, to the end that if they found

The army aduanceth to ſuccor Leyden.

found any passage, they might loose no oportunitie. The which the Prince allowed A
of: sending vnto them presently foure companies of Wallons for supplies, and the rest of the French companies. This being concluded, they went to descouer a way called the Groenwech, by the which they must past, taking that course, they did see certaine Spaniards walking, but they knewe not whether they were lodged there or not: but they were soone satisfied, for they tooke a peasant who informed them of many things which they desired to vnderstand. The Spaniard did see them and beheld them, which made them suspect that hee would lodge there: but hee did not any thing there, but burne two or three houses in the night. Hauing sent the daie following to discouer if they were there or not: the signior of La Gard went by the breake of day and lodged there, with about foure hundred harguebuziers French, and two hundred B
Wallons, who was in no sort hindred by the Spaniard, beeing vpon an other way, a good Musket shot from thence. The Protestants trenches were easie to make, for the way was cut in many places, so as the Spaniard could not come vnto them but by water in small boates. And to assure them the more, the Admirall *Boysot* caused the ships of warre to come of either side, to flanke the trenches, beeing distant one from an other about a harguebuze shot: beeing there they must passe on, wherein there was no small difficultie: for they knew well that all the Spanish forces were there, and in the villages of Soetermeer and Wilsueen, which they had vpon their flanke, not aboue halfe a league off. They might see them fortesie vpon a bridge, and in houses that were of either side, from whence they might annoye them. The signior of La Garde, cau- C
sed many shot to bee made at them from their shippes of warre, the which might somewhat trouble them, but not force them to leaue their worke. And for that the Spaniards did imagine that the Protestants ment to passe that way, they caused certaine field peeces to be brought, with the which they shot often, but hurt not any one.

1574. Collonel la Garde informes the Prince.

Heerevpon the signior of La Garde went to the Prince to Delf, to informe him of all things, and to deliuer his opinion, which was not without many difficulties, for that they could not iudge of that which the eye could not see, by reason that the water couered all the chanells, so as they were verie hard to finde. Wherevpon hauing vnderstood his pleasure, hee returned the next day to the armie, carrying with him foure demie cannons in flat bottome boates which did not drawe aboue two foote of water, and some D
lesse. At his returne to the Admirall, beeing assembled together with the captaines, to consult what was to bee donne; they resolued to leaue a good gard in the trenches of Landt-Scheydinghe, and some shippes of warre by them, and with the rest of the armie they should make their approches by night, to batter them at the breake of day, and withall to assaile them: the which they could not doe so earely, for that they were encombred with a multitude of boates, which they must drawe into these chanells: but about eight of the clocke in the morning they gaue the Spaniards a *salue* with these

The Protestants charge the Spaniards.

foure demie cannons, and some three-score other peeces which they had in their boates in diuers other chanells. This batterie continued long, some shooting at the E
Bridge, others at the houses, which they thought to make them abandon; but the Spaniards made no shew thereof.

In the meane time as the Protestants labored to approch to land and to force them, but they found that their chanells went not so farre, but ended within harguebuze shot, the which could not bee discouered, for that they had gone but in small boates, and by reason that the Inondation couered all, they could not iudge that there was lesse water at one end then at an other, whereby they were much abused. To remedie the which, they made their pioners to labour, and to open them some passage, but it was not possible, for a day would haue spent before they could haue done it in all places, and in the meane time the Spaniards should haue had leysure so to fortesie themselues, as all the Protestants attempts had beene but vaine, and their time lost, which did import them F
most of all. In the end seeing that the day would bee spent and nothing effected; and that in the meane time the Spaniards would haue anoyed them much with their field peeces and their musket shot, (the which notwithstanding they did not, it may bee for want of poulder) the signior of La Garde, retired vnto his trenches, and the Admirall went

A went at large with his boats. This was the seauenteenth of September.

Without doubt God did wonderfully fauor the Protestants, in that they could not passe for want of water, being very likely that of all that had landed, not any one had escaped, for that they must haue thrust them-selues among houses which did flanke one an other, being rampared fifteene foote thicke, besides other small trenches which they had before and a good parapet all along the dike, full of harguebuziers which attended them with great deuotion: The which the Protestants could not well discouer by reason of the reedes and oziers. And it is wonderfull there were no more slaine, being within fifty paces of them, but in my opinion I haue told the cause. It is true that this retreat was not without some losse, which hapned by a great mischance: for

B the Captaines *Catteuille* & *Durant*, hauing planted them-selues behind a heape of turffs with some thirty shotte, from whence they had much annoyed the Spaniards in the morning, meaning to retire and hauing but one little boate, with the which they had past thether, at their returne too many thrusting into the boate, they ouerturned it, so as *Catteuille*, and *Gaillereſſe* Lieutenant to *Durant* were drowned, with ten or twelue soldiars.

A fault is some times profitable.

Captaine Catteuille & others drowned.

At their returne the Admirall and *La Garde* hauing intreated Seignior *Vander-Aa*, to go & make report vnto the Prince of all that which hee had seene, and of their opinions, consulting vppon all difficulties, and propounding whether it were expedient to seeke some other passage, and to go & batter the fort of Leydstchen-dam, and assault

C it, & thereby seeke to enter into Vliet (for it had bene to the like effect as the passage of the bridge, vnlesse that by this they had entred into the lake of Soetermeer which had beene very auaileable for the boats, and by the other they must alwaies keepe in chanells) the Councellor *Wasteele* (who slept neither night nor day to aduance this busines) came to tell the chiefe of the Protestants that being aduertised of an other passage, by some that knew the Country very well, hee would not faile to make search thereof: and that hee had found that by Schyelandt, it should bee easie to enter into Rhinlandt, hauing not so many waies nor dikes as where they were, and that there were passages ynough, where they should not want any water; the which the Seignior of *La Garde* resolued to view with two or three small boats: But considering afterwards

An other passage to succor Leyden.

D that they must make a great circuit, and that happely it should bee necessary to lodge there, if they found any thing that was fit & conuenient: they thought it more expedient that hee and the Admirall should go togither with eight galliots and some foure-score harguebuziers, halfe French and halfe Wallons: Where they found more water then the way which they had gone before, for they past ouer the Landtscheydinghe, and had no need to make any breach. From thence searching the Landtscheydinghe from Scheylandt to Rhynlandt, they were guided vnto Scluses by the which they must passe, from whence the Spaniards had dislodged a day or two before, hauing no conceit that the Protestants would take that course, seeing them lodged on the other side, as if they ment to continue it.

E It seemes that in all this action GOD did guide the Protestants: for neither they nor their guides did know whether there were any enymies in that quarter: and without doubt if any house vppon the Sluse had beene fortified with a guard, they must haue returned without doing any thing. But finding so good an opportunity, they would not loose it, but breaking the Sluse to make a passage, and leauing two boats in guard there, they entred into Rhinlandt In the meane time beeing so neere the village of Soetermeer, it was to bee feared that the Spaniards had some watch in the steeple, which might discouer them, for they did it but by stelth, and a good way from their army: And if the Spaniards had had an Alarme, they might easily haue preuented this disseine, beeing so few men: yea it was to bee feared that they should

A passage into Rhinlandt.

F haue beene shutte vp in these chanells, yet beeing resolued to passe as farre as they might, finding water ynough, they came vnto a way which is called Seeswaertswech, going from Soetermeer to Benthuysen, distant halfe a league one from an other. The Spaniards were lodged in these two villages, who were ill aduertised of the protestants comming, that before they had any alarme, they were lodged and had intrenchd them-

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The Proteſtants intrenched at the paſſage.

ſelues, ſetting threeſcore Pioners to worke, which they had brought with them, to A
make a breach where neede ſhould require: being very glad to ſee, the water viſibly
to riſe on the other ſide; goodly great chanells, and the meadoes all ouerflowne:
wherevpon they reſolued that the Admirall ſhould remaine there in gard with his
galliottes, and if the Spaniard came with great troupes to force their trenches, the har-
guebuziers which defended the approches of theſe two villages, ſhould imbarke again
as well as they could, but the Proteſtants made their trenches ſo ſtrong without any
alarum, as two thouſand men could not haue forced them.

There remained with the Admirall, *Citadelle* Lieutenant to the ſignior of Noyelles,
Collonel of the Wallons, captaine *Derriere* and ſome others, which lay all in the tren-
ches. And it was alſo concluded that the ſignior of La *Garde* ſhould returne, to cauſe B
all the army to march. The which hee did, after that hee had made a gallant retreate
at Cronwech, where as the Spaniards if they had aduanced but with fiftie ſhot, might
haue donne him an affront: for La *Garde* after that hee had drawne all forth, re-
mained behinde with fiue and twenty harguebuziers, to free a certaine boate of
Delf called the Arke of *Noe*, the which beeing heauie and vneaſie to mannage
in theſe chanells, did verie much trouble them, beeing laden with Artillerie, in
the which there was but one onelie Marriner to gouerne and guide it, the charge ha-
uing beene giuen to raſcalls, who in the night ſlipt away, and without the dilligence
of captaine *Cornellis Claſſz*, Vice Admirall of Fleſſingue, who came to retire it, it
was condemned to bee burnt: this diſturbance continued at the leaſt three houres. C
Some of the Proteſtants Gallies were alreadie aduanced towards the Admirall:
in the end their retreate beeing well made, they marched with all the reſt of the
armie, the Victualls, Artillerie and Munition, except ſome ſixe ſmall boates, which
were left behinde to garde that great Barke of Delf, and fiftie Germaine ſouldiars
in it. The Spaniards were much amazed at this vnexpected approch, the which gaue

The Spaniards quit their lodging to the Proteſtants.

them ſo hot an alarume, as they ſodenly quit theſe villages to the Proteſtants; that is
to ſay, *Benthuyſen* the firſt daie the Proteſtants arriued there (whether the Admirall
ſent *Ciuitelle* with ſome ſhot) and the next daie at night Soetermeer. The whole ar-
mie beeing come to the Admirall, and hauing good paſſages to this way, (you muſt
imagine that all the waies of the countrie, are like to little Dikes or Cauſies, betwixt D
the waters, for there are of both ſides chanells and deepe ditches,) hee paſt the ſame
night with twentie boates to the other ſide in a goodly chanell: and in the morning
hee went on before, beeing concluded among them to diſcouer ſome houſes held
by the Spaniards, and to ſeize of them, or to burne them as they ſhould finde it moſt
conuenient. The ſignior of La *Garde* (who remained behinde to imbarke and to
paſſe with thoſe that were appointed) ſeeing the Admirall ſo farre aduanced, and the
circuits they muſt make by the chanells, and manie houſes about them, hearing
no newes of them, was much perplexed: for hee knewe not what hee might incoun-
ter in front or in flanke: alledging to ſome of his followers that hee had beene at the
taking of one of the French Kings royall galleies, in the riuer of Charente, which E
was much broader then any of theſe chanells, and that by footemen onelie, without
any boate. Calling which to minde hee ſtoode in doubt, whether they might with
reaſon ingage themſelues ſo farre in theſe chanells: for they did alwaies thinke,
that they ſhould floate through all the countrie as through a ſea, and therefore hee
thought it verie dangerous: but hee was not informed that neere vnto thoſe houſes
(which they went to diſcouer) there was a little Lake, called Noorda, where their
Shippes might lie ſafely. One of the houſes aboue mentioned (beeing betwixt this
Lake and Soeterwoude) was full of Spaniards, who fortified there; manie ſhewing
themſelues a long a trench, and diſcharging their ſmall ſhot againſt the Admirall, who
anſwered them with his great ordinance. There did the Proteſtants finde againe, F
that God did aſſiſt them in their enterpriſe, for the place was ſo commodious for
them, as if they had held Soetermeer, their retreate was aſſured without any dan-
ger, otherwiſe they had beene ingaged, and in danger to receiue an affront, if the
Spaniards had donne their duties. Seeing this Lake of Noorda verie conuenient,
they

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A they resolued not to leaue it, that the Collonel *la Gard* and the vice-Admirall should returne to Segwearswech, to cause all the Army to march and to passe the great Ordinance meaning to batter this house, and to take it from the Spaniards, and moreouer to giue order for their passage and to assuer their retreat, for which cause they had concluded to gard the village of Benthuysen, and the trenches which they had first made vpon the way: yet Collonel *la Gard* hauing beene vpon the place, as well to view it, as to cause *Citadelle* to march with his Wallons (whereof there ariued three or fower companies more) And hauing certen aduertisment that the Spaniards had left Soetermeere, he tooke a new resolution with *Citadelle*, abandoning Benthuysen (although it were reasonable well fortified) for they had no neede of it being sufficient for them to gard
B Soetermeer: to which place *la Gard* sent Captaine *Cres* of the contry of Orange, to commande there with his companies, one of Wallons, and an other of high Dutch.

The Protestants enter into the lake of Noorda.

The Protestants lodge at Soetermeer.

One thing had much abused the Spaniards, and taken from them all Iudgement of the Protestants dessein hauing left six boats at their first lodging of Landtschedingh being doubtfull what to conceaue of it. The Protestants went earely in the morning into Noorda with all the rest of their forces, where they found that the Spaniards had the night before abandoned their fort. Being in the lake they must of necessity attende the will of GOD: for it was impossible to passe on without more water, the which entred dayly by the breaches: Then came the Seignior of Noyelles vnto them with some companies of his Regiment where as they spent some daies without any great
C exploit. In the meane time the beseeged of Leyden were wonderfully prest both by famine, and the importunity of their enemies, yea by some of their friends that were in the Spaniards Campe who made them beleeue that they had defeated all the Protestants army and the succors which they attended: *Francisco valdes* did some times write very kindly vnto them, and sometimes roughly. The Earle of Roch who termed himselfe Gouernor of Holland, writ vnto them from Vtrecht by a Trompet, with other letters signed by ten Bourgers of Leyden: wherevnto the beseeged answered and demanded a pasport for their deputies, that they might enter into conference: but all they did was onely to haue the better meanes to send their messengers vnto the Prince.

Those of Leyden distressed & importuned

The Commanders of the army had often newes from them, for there were many
D that intreated to bee sent, but there was not any one that could bee intreated, or would returne to acquaint them of the Towne of the estate of their apparent succors: yet it was a great contentment to the States, the Prince and the whole army to heare their resolution, hauing vpon the last somons made that braue answer. *That as long as they had one hand to eate and an other to fight they would neuer yeeld.* During the seege many vnacquainted with warlike affaires had vsed fooliſh and insupportable speeches, for they blamed all the world in that they did not proceede in this exployte, the which was impossible. As for the Commanders they were much greeued yet they lost no oportunity, for day and night, they labored to descouer some passage, but all was in vaine where vpon they intreated the Prince that it would please him to come
E in person, and see their procedings, as well for his owne content, as to stoppe all slanderous tongs, the which he did. In whose presence they discoursed of al the meanes that might aduance the enterprise. In the end they resolued to go and lodge the night following (being the twenty three, of September) with two hunderd harguebuziers vpon a way or dike called Stompischwech, notwithstanding all apparent difficulties: but it was to content some of the country who did wonderfully vrge it. The Prince after he had visited his army, spake vnto the commanders and captaines, exhorting euerie one to do his best endeuor in so comendable and important an enterprise, promising to gratefie and reward euerie man in time and place. Hauing set good order for all things to the end that if the Spaniard made any great resistance in the passage, nothing might
F be wanting that might hinder the execution, he returned to Delfe, leauing euery man well resolued. But to returne to our speech of Stompischwech, this enterprise could not be so speedely effected, for that the Protestants had not time to prepare what was needfull: wherevpon they refered it to the day following, making their account to lodge there, if it were possible an hower or two before the breake of daie; for the which

A braue answer made by the beseeged of Leyden.

The Prince comes to visit the army.

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The Proteſtants aduance the ſuccors all they can.

they cauſed many gabions to bee made, that they might bee the ſooner in defence, for they muſt lodge betwixt two Corps de Garde, not aboue a muſket ſhot one diſtant from an other. The Admirall would goe himſelfe: they put certaine harquebuziers in two Galleots, and the reſt in other ſmall boates: there were a hundred French ſhould land vpon the right hand, and a hundred Wallons on the left: and ſome captaines, to haue a care of the placing of the Gabions, and to ſet the Pioners to worke: finally all things were ſo well ordred and diſpoſed as they would not faile in the execution, if it were poſſible: for all the importance of the Action conſiſted in making of a paſſage to Leyden, eſcaping at vnawares by ſome places, and making their way by force in others. This laſt meanes had alwaies ſeemed (as indeede it was) verie difficult, yea altogither impoſſible, without ſufficient water, that they might fleete euerie where, and therefore it behooued them to ſeeke ſome expedient. For they did ſee that after that they entred into Noorda, the water had ryſen but three or foure inches in eight daies, all which a North-weſt winde had taken away in eight and fortie houres, and brought the water to the ſame heigth it was the day of their arriuall: the which did much perplexe them, not that they doubted but in time they ſhould haue water ſufficient: but they feared that they of the Towne were reduced to that extremitie, as they ſhould bee forced to yeeld, not able to attend the euent of ſo vncertaine a thing, which depended vpon the winde, for in truth to attend the increaſe of waters that might ryſe by the tides, were a vaine thing, for that the boſome or circumference of the countrie which receiued the water, was to great and ſpacious, to be ſodenly filled, and therefore it depended vpon the meere grace and aſſiſtance of God, who holds the windes in his hand: and a winde would giue them a greater increaſe in three daies then the tides in three weekes. A B C

The Proteſtants in great perplexity.

Thus the Proteſtants diſcourſed what was with them, and what againſt them, and did finde that of neceſſity they muſt direct their paſſage betwixt Soeterwoude, the caſtell of Swyetten and Leyderdorp, as the Spaniards did rightly conceiue, and there attended them: for they muſt paſſe betwixt them within a muſket ſhot of both ſides. And moreouer there was a way going for Soeterwoude to the caſtell of Swyetten neere vnto Lyderdorp, along the which the Spaniards kept great gard, as well on the land, as in boats or the chanells which are of either ſide of the way, which made the paſſage ſome what difficult; for they muſt diſlodge them, and foritfie there, to fauor and couer their Pioners, which were to make a breach there, and the ſoldiars that were to land them. In the meane time many of the country diſputed and maintained, that their beſt courſe was to go and win Stompiſwech, murmuring that matters were ſo much delaied: not weighing the difficulties, as if warre were as eaſie to manage as to diuiſe. To content theſe people the Proteſtants would trie this paſſage by the Lake of Soetermeer, according to the order that was mentioned: but it was in vaine, for they were al night ſeeking of a paſſage, euen vnto this way, the which they could not poſſibly find, for the chanells deceiued them, as thoſe of Cromwech had in like manner donne; and without doubt they had beene well beaten there, the Spaniards hauing manie Corps de Garde very nere one vnto an other: but for want of chanells they were forced to returne to their firſt determination. D E

Stompiſchwech attempted in vaine.

The beſeeged on the other ſide were wonderfully importuned by their enemies; *Don Fernando* of Launoy Earle of Roche, promiſed them all good vſage: and *Franciſco Valdes* on the other ſide threatned to hang them, if they did not yeelde to his mercie and diſcretion. But all this did nothing amaze them that were well affected to the cauſe: although they did ſee ſome ill enclyned, which cryed out openly that they muſt yeelde, three hundred and more of them aſſembling togither about the Towne-houſe, crying out of the Magiſtrates that they would ruine the towne, and that it was a follie to attend any ſuccors, neither could they nor would they any longer endure that famine; thruſt on or rather fauored therein by more then three partes of the Magiſtrates, which was a wonderfull thing; yet the better part of the Burguers being the ſtronger, they did ſtill breake and diſapoint theſe factions and monopoles, being reſolued to attend all extremities, chooſing rather to truſt in the mercies of God, then F

A tumult in the towne againſt the Magiſtrate.

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A then in that of the Spaniards. Another time some of the inhabitants came vnto *Peter Adriansz.* Bourguemaster, laying before him the miseries which they endured, and the great famine there was, making great complaints accompanied with threats: to whom he answered in few words: *You see my Brethren, and fellow Bourguers that I haue made an oath the which I hope by the grace of God to keepe inuiolably. If my death may any way auaile you, for I must once die, neither do I care whether I die by your hands or by mine enemies (for my case goes right) take my bodie, teare it in peeces and diuide it among you, as farre as it will goe, I am content.* The Burguers were so danted with this answere, as they retired without any more words. The Maiestrates aduertized the Admirall Boysot of their extremity, wherein notwithstanding they sayd they were well resolued to continue: the B which did wonderfully satisfie the Commanders of the Protestants army: for seeing the water, and iudging their estate to be more desperate then they made shewe of, they know not what to thinke. The messengers were sent back, but seeing themselues discouered vpon the way by a Spanish Sentinell, they were so terefied as they would no more returne: wher-with the Commanders were much troubled, seeing they had no meanes to send them any newes, whereby they should greatly haue comforted them, and made them continue constant in their resolution.

The courageous answer of the Burgeumaster of Leyden.

The next day there came two other Messengers, who shewed by their good countenances and their great feeding, what bad cheere they kept in the towne. These men brought fiue or sixe cople of Pigeons in a cage, with letters confirming the former, in-C treating them not to loose any occasion, assuring the chiefe of the army still of their courage and resolution. The which came very happelie, for sodenly one of the Pigeons was dispacht with a little letter, who fayled not to goe vnto his Pigeon house, whereof the Protestants were assured by a signe which they of the towne gaue them, who (although their succors were within halfe a league of them, and might easily see the towne, yet the Townsemen could not see them, by reason that the trees which grew there abouts, being higher then the masts of their boates, tooke away the knowledge of them) but they vnderstood well by the daily shooting of the great ordinance that they could not be far off. In the meane time, whilest that the Protestants were readie to force a new Chanell with their Pioners, to goe vnto that way betwixt the castell D of Swietten and Soeterwoude (for they did assure them that beyond it the water was deeper) and that there was no more difficulty vnto the towne. Behold a great South-west winde which they might truely say came from the grace of God (for it was vpon the extremity of their affaires) with so great a spring tide, as in eight and fortie houres the water was risen aboue halfe a foote. Wherevpon the Commanders of the Protestants army resolued to imbrace this occasion, disposing the order of their battraile, & what course they should obserue in the way, and where they should land to cut the passage, al along the which the Spaniards kept great gard in their boats. It seemed that the Protestants should finde great difficulty in the enterprise, the enemy being lodged there with greater forces then in any other place: hauing besides foure or fiue great Galleys E at Leyderdorpe vpon the Rhine. The Commanders were also aduertised that the Spaniards had many flat bottomed boats like vnto theirs, but they were wel assured that they wanted marriners & men to row. To conclude, for that they would haue the fauor of the night, the Spaniards seeing them when they should aduance towards them, and that they must passe within musket-shot of their lodging, who (whilest they staied to make this passage,) might indomage them with their great ordinance: notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Protestants were resolued and ready, the first of October at night, and marched about eleauen of the clock in this order.

A flying messenger.

Vnexpected succors which God sends by the winde.

The Admirall with halfe the boates of warre went vpon the left hand towards Soeterwoude: the Vice-admiral with the other many tooke the right hand towards the cas-F tell of Swietten, being a good musket-shot one from an other, and betwixt both was the signior of La Garde, with the lesser boats full of soldiars, to land vpon the way, being followed by the Pioners and Gabions: and lastly came the boats laden with Victualls and munition. The Spaniards which were in their boats, seeing them come directly towards them, left them, being aboue forty, as well appointed as the Protestants, but for their

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The Spaniards amazed. ordinance, for there was but one of them that had any. Some of them thought to A
haue set a good countenance of it, but they did not any thing, but onely gaue the alarume.

Colonell La Garde was aduanced a little in a small boate with two owers, to giue order for this landing, to plant the gabions and to set the pioners to worke, for hee did imagine, the Spaniards would not so easily haue left it; being thus aduanced in this little skiffe hee landed first, and at the same instant, *Ottran*, *Bonebard* and other captaines on the left hand: *Grenu* and La *Derriere* landed on the right, with the soldiars that were appointed for that enterprise, whereas the Pioners were presently set to worke and the gabions planted. The Spaniards had begunne to plant many trees there and peeces of wood a crosse, to make a palissadoe from one village to an other, but they B
had no leysure to finish it, and besides it was thought that the water rysing had much hindred them in their worke: for the Protestants found some places vpon the dike,
A passage opened. whereas the water was a foote and a halfe deepe, so they needed not to cut it aboute a foote deeper, for that their boats drew no more water. This was finished in two or three places an houre before day, and yet the Spaniard neuer sallied forth to hinder their worke: neither was the ordinance of the Protestants ships (who lay before their lodging) idle all this time, for they shot all night into the villages through their corpes De Garde, and at all other places, whereas they could discouer either fire or light. The Spaniards plaied sometimes on them, but coldly, with a bastard, and an other smal peece, and likewise with their small shot. C

The Protestants passe the dike. The passage being opened, the Admirall who was landed to aduance the worke, imbarked againe, and past of the one side, and the Viceadmirall of the other, according to the order aboue mentioned, and the boates with victualls and munition betwixt both. They were not farre past but they wanted water, for the great boates did in a manner touch the ground, so as they must make a vertue of necessity: wherein, doubtlesse the Zeelanders shewed their valour, going most of them into the water to keepe their boates a floate, as if they would haue carried them vpon their shoulders. After they had labored a little to passe, they entred into a faire great chanell called Meerburch, vpon the which there were certaine Spanish boates towards Soeterwoude, the which the soldiars abandoned to saue themselues: but they could not runne so swiftly but some of D
them were taken prisoners; wherein their great feare and amazement was easie to bee noted, for they suffred themselues to bee taken by marriners who had no armes, beeing but two or three in euery skiffe, in one of the which the signior of La Garde was, who was much greeued that hee had not brought some douzaine shot with them: for hee might easily haue taken two good big boates full of Spaniards well apparelled, hauing all cloakes, and without any harguebuzes, carrying the countenances of men of commande for the most part, doubting at the first whether they were there to discouer, or to stay at a bridge, neere vnto the which they were, called Papenbrughe, betwixt the fort of Lemmen and Soeterwoude, to stop the passage towards Papenmeer, or whether it
were to retire themselues; whereof La Garde was presently satisfied by their apparent E
flight, retyring by the way of Voorschote. The way they tooke was al couered with water, so as they were forced to go softly, being in danger of drowning: whereof they pre-
The Spaniards flie. sently aduertised the Admirall, and of the disorder wherein they seemed to bee, intreating him to commande some boates to aduance vnto this bridge, the which hee himselfe did, after that hee had with much paine and difficultie entred into this great chanell of Meerbruch. Beeing at the bridge, hee caused it presently to bee broken to passe the boates into the lake, and to pursue their enemies, the which hee did so fitly, as there were many of them cut off, as well with the ordinance, as the small shot, and by them that leaped into the water after them and slue them with their daggers. The which was chiefely done by them of Flessingue who were so incensed against F
the Spaniards, as a marriner hauing opened the bellie of one, pulled out his heart, and hauing set his teeth into it, hee threwe it to the ground; the next day the same heart was brought into Leyden, in the which were seene the impression of the teeth. Others that could saue themselues retyring towards Stomwyckswech, were in

no

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A no lesse disorder, for that the boats which the Protestants had left vppon the lake of Noorda, with three companies of foot, pursued them so hotly on that side, as there was neuer seene a greater amazement. Besides they left their artillerie, and cast their armes into the water: many were drowned of themselues, for that they knew not whether they went, by reason of the Inondation; finding great and deepe ditches in the drowned lands, where they were presently swalloed vp. Two things did help to amaze the Spaniards in Soeterwoude: the one was, that the Protestants comming to Meerbruche, went and fired some houses in the village, with a generall alarme, the other was that the great Ordinance which they had left vnder the charge of *Phillip Asseliers* Comissary, being vppon Noorda, neuer ceased to play vpon them on that side, the B which did strike a great terror into the Spaniards.

Many Spaniards perished in this route.

This was the very iudgment of God, to abate their proud presumption, for there was neuer seene a more dishonorable & shamefull rout, hauing lost aboue a hundred boats, great and small; wherewith they had made an account to fight with the whole armie of the Prince and States. Those that saued themselues towards the Voorschiote, staied at a fort which they had made at the house of *Iacob Claes*, vppon the great chanell which goes from Leyden to Delf, called the Vliet in the which they had a Culuerin, and an other peece or two with the which they began to shoot, but did no harme. At the first they might see them of the fort of Lemmen amazed and wauering; and if the Protestants had gone directly thether, it is thought they would haue abandoned C it: But it was not possible to effect so many things at an instant. It was also a matter of no small importance, to seeke to force a mighty strong fort well furnished with artillerie by a narrow chanell, whereas but one boat could enter in front, for there was not any meanes to approche neere vnto it, but by one chanell, for that from the said lake vnto the towne, the country is higher then any part where they had yet past, so as the least of their boats could not float there, wherefore they resolued to rest satisfied with that which God had giuen them at that time, and to giue order that all things might bee ready with the great Ordinance, the which was sent for to batter it at the breake of day, and to trie to force it if the Spaniards would attend an assault. This fort was not much aboue a canon shot from the towne, of the euent whereof we will pre-D sently relate.

The Spaniards loose aboue 100. boats.

In the meane time besides the plague and other diseases which grew through pouerty and famine, there was a diuision in the Towne, which grew by the ill affected Bourgers, who neither could nor would suffer any longer: for in seauen weeks they had eate no bread, nor drunke any thing but water. In the richest houses horse-flesh was as delicate as a partridge, doggs and cats roasted was wonderfully pleasing vnto the taste: it were vnpossible to expresse the diuersitie of pottages that were made: some did eate vine leaues with salt, others made diuers sauces with the leaues of leeks, & the roots & stalks of coleworts, minc'd cabbage was an ordinary meat. The Gentlewomen did eate their little dogs wherewith they were wont to play. If any beast were kild, E the poore boyes were there gaping like vnto hungry doggs, to see if any little morcell would fall, the which they gathred vp and deuoured rawe: the skinnes of dryed sooles, and bones which had beene gnawne by the dogges, were gathred vp in the streetes and of the dunghills. A woman beeing in childbed had but a quarter of a pound of bisket allowed her by the day: and women with childe were so famished, as the fruits of their wombes were so weakned, as they had no force to come into the world: Some children crying for bread, dyed in their mothers armes: some men scarce able to creepe to the gard, at their returne home, found their wiues and children dead either of famine or pestilence, if ten entred into gard, there returned but six or seauen, and in the end but three, the rest beeing dead in the place. To F conclude the miserie was so great as it could not possible bee any greater: For there dyed within the Towne during the siege, of pouertie, famine, plague, and other bad and miserable diseases, about the number of six thousand persons men women and children.

A diuision in the towne of Leyden.

The extreme famine in Leyden.

6000 persons dead at Leyden during the siege.

Their succors being so neere vnto them, one of the Bourguemaisters beeing vppon

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the rampar, ſaid vnto the people that were about him. *Behold my friendes behinde yonder* A
Fort is now our bread, what thinke you, ſhall wee leaue it there? Wee will rather go and
pull downe this Fort with our nayles, then loſe it ſo. You may imagine what content-
ment theſe poore famiſhed forlorne creatures had to ſee their ſuccors ſo neere them.
But all was not yet done; for the Spaniards were betwixt the towne and their ſuccors,
the which was not without ſome difficultie, ſeeing the doubtfull euents of warre: and if
it hapned that they ſhould not force this fort of Lemmen, all that they had formerly
done was in vaine: or elſe they muſt haue ſtaied a moneth longer, vntill the waters had
bene higher, which the beſieged could not indure. Where-vpon the Captaines went
to Councel and reſolued (ſeeing there was no other expedient) to lodge one night vpon
the way which goes from the ſaid fort of Lemmen to Leyderdorpe, betwixt the which B
there is a good quarter of a league diſtance, preſuming that from thence they ſhould
let ſlippe what victuals they would into Leyden with ſmall boats, (leauing the greater
at Palpen-meer and Meerbrunche) and that this meanes ſhould bee ſafe and without
danger, neither of reputation, nor of loſſe, the which had not beene, if they had beene
What the fort of Lemmen was. conſtrained to attempt Lemmen by force, which ſeemed in ſhew ſtronger then it was,
holding it to be of canon proofe, & was ſcituated in a plaine champian where there were
no chanells but were ſtopt, beeing diſtant a quarter of a league from the towne. The
water which goes to Delfe paſſeth byas-wiſe neere vnto the one ſide, on the other ſide
there is a chanell by the which they enter into the Rhine, and on the third quarter that
which goes to Soeterwoud, the reſt was very eaſie to intrenche, for there were trees C
ynoughe: the rampars of this fort were reaſonable large, but not ſo ſtrong as to reſiſt
the canon, it was well fortified with a good paliſado, gabions, artillery and men. There-
fore to ſpeake according to humaine ſence, if the Spaniards had defended it well, the
Proteſtants could not haue paſt without very great loſſe, for they muſt haue come with-
in a harguebuze ſhot and leſſe.

The approche being viewed, the chanells vnſtopt, and the Admirall hauing ſent the
The ſpaniards abandon the fort of Lemmen. ſecond of October at night, Captaine *Grenu*, *Aſſeliers* and *Henry*, to ſee where they
might beſt plant their batterie, it was now time to go: for the ſpaniards that remained in
the fort had no intent to do any better then thoſe of Soeterwoude and others had done:
they onely made a little ſhew to retire their ordinance, the which notwithſtanding they D
did not, for they did abandon it the ſame night with the fort, in the which there was a
Demie canon, carrying a bullet of twenty four pound waight, and ſome other peeces,
which they had put in a flatte bottomed boat, the which they ſunke, or elſe it
ſunke of it ſelfe. And ſo the Spaniards gaue way vnto the Proteſtants, leauing
them a free paſſage vnto the towne: The which by this meanes was deliuered from
great calamity.

In the morning it was not knowne, neither within the towne nor without, that the
Spaniards were retired out of this fort of Lemmen, and as they had heard all the night
from the rampar of the towne a great noiſe before this fort, out of the which a boy had
markt many to go forth with their matches light, but none to returne into it, which E
made him iudge that the Spaniards might be diſlodged: hauing made report thereof, he
vnder-tooke for two crownes to go & ſee what they did, hoping that if he were taken to
ſaue him-ſelfe, in ſaying that famine had forſt him to come forth. This boy being come
to the fort and finding no creature, he made a ſigne to them of the towne with his hat to
approche: at the beginning the beſieged doubted leaſt the Spaniards had cauſed him
to do it to intrappe them; but being better ſatisfied, they ſent Captaine *Gerrard vander*
Loen with his aduenturers, who receiued firſt with great ioy the gallyes which the
Admirall had ſent before to vnderſtand the truth of this retreat; for that hee did
not lightly beleeue the firſt report

The deliuerance of Leyden the 3. of October. In this deliuery, and in euery particular of the enterpriſe, doubtleſſe all muſt bee at- F
tributed to the meere prouidence of GOD, neither can man challenge any glory
therein. For without a miracle all the indeauours of the Proteſtants had beene
as winde. But GOD who is allwaies good, would not giue waie to the cruelties
where-with the Spaniards threatned this Towne, withall the inſolencies whereof they
make

A make profeſſion in the taking of townes (although they bee by compoſition) without any reſpect of humanitie or honeſty, whereof wee haue related ſo many pittifull examples in the precedent booke. And there is not any man but will confeſſe with mee (although I ſhould bee called a hundred times partiall, the which I am not, but onely abhorring all inhumanitie) if it bee not ſome Atheiſt or Epicure, who maintaine that all things come by chance, that this deliuery is a worke which belongs onely vnto GOD. For if the Spaniards had battered the towne but with foure canons onely, they had carried it, the people being ſo weakened with famine, as they could not endure any longer: beſides a part of them were ill affected, and very many of their beſt men were dead of the plague. And for an other teſtimonie that it was GOD onely B that wrought: the towne was no ſooner deliuered, but the winde which was South-weſt, and had driuen the water out of the Sea into the countrie, turned to North-eaſt, and did driue it backe againe into the Sea, as if the South-weſt winde had not blowne thoſe three dayes, but to that effect: wherefore they might well ſay, that both the windes and the ſea had fought for the towne of Leyden. And as for the reſolution of the States of Holland to drowne the countrie, and to doe that which they and the Prince, together with all the Commanders, Captaines and Soldiers of the armie ſhewed in this ſea-courſe, together with the conſtancie and reſolution of the beſieged to defend themſelues, notwithſtanding ſo many miſeries which they ſuffered, and ſo many promiſes and threates which were made vnto them, all which in like ſort proceC ded from a diuine inſtinct.

A teſtimonie of Gods prouidence.

I may not forget here, that the ſame night the Spaniards abandoned the forte of Lemmen, a peece of the Towne wall fell downe, betwixt the Cowe-gate and the Tower of Bourgongne, about ſixe ſcore yeards long, the which with the ruine made a great breache: which aduantage if the Spaniards had had two or three dayes before, when as they thought (vpon the aſſurance of one *Beginne*, that there was no garde on that ſide) to take it by ſcaladoe: without doubt they had not miſt of it, and they would haue held the falling of this wall for as great a miracle, as the beſieged haue held their deliuerance. But GOD put ſo ſtrange a terror and amazement into the Spaniards; as not onely thoſe that were to make head againſt the Proteſtants, but alſo thoſe that D were two good leagues off retired, abandoning in foure and twenty houres, aboue twenty fortes, great and ſmall, with good artillerie. GOD hauing by this meanes wrought two great effects; the deliuerance of a towne of ſo great importance, and the ſhamefull and preiudiciall route of the Spaniards, who were thrice ſtronger then the Proteſtants: who were not in all, ſoldiers and Marriners aboue two thouſand and fiue hundred men.

A peece of this towne wall falls.

The paſſages being thus freed and open in all places, the Seignior *Lewis* of Boiſot Admirall, entered with the Vant-garde of the armie into the Towne of Leyden about eight of the clocke in the morning. GOD knowes with what ioye they receiued him. The Admirall of Ziricxzee was with the Reer-ward: there was no heart ſo E ſtonie, but was mooued to ſee theſe poore famiſhed creatures, deuoure bread and rawe Herrings which the Admirals men caſt them out of their Barkes, as they came in, as if they ſhould not haue had time enough to fill their bellies: whereof ſome that eate too greedily and without meaſure, fell ſicke, and ſome dyed, the meate beeing too ſtrong for their weake ſtomacks, that were not able to digeſt it. The Admirall being landed, hee went preſently to the Church with his men, the Magiſtrates, and the Bourgers, to giue GOD thankes for this their ſafe deliuerie, and for their happy and good ſucceſſe.

The Admirall enters Leyden with the army

The Prince of Orange being then at Delfe, was the ſame day (which was the third of October) aduertiſed of this ſucceſſe, being at the ſermon, which being ended hee F ſent the letter to the Miniſter, to read it publikely in the aſſembly of the French. And from thence hee went vnto the Church with an infinite number of people, to giue GOD thankes, with incredible ioy and gladneſſe, the which they did witneſſe by the ringing of their Bells, ſhooting off their ordinance, and bone-fiers in euery ſtreete. And the Prince was the more filled with ioye, for that about an houre or two before, he

The Prince of Orange aduertiſed of the deliuery of Leyden.

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he had receiued other letters from the Admirall, by the which hee gaue them to vnder- A
ſtand, that it was not poſſible for them to paſſe farther, the Spaniards being at Lem-
men, and that he muſt attend more water. In all this enterpriſe the Proteſtants loſt not
A gallant enterpriſe with ſmall loſſe. forty men; but the Spaniards had aboue a thouſand ſlaine and drowned. *Franciſco Valdes* commander of the Spaniſh army, in his retreate from Leyderdorpe, left in his lodging a Plat of the towne of Leyden, the ſiege, the channels, and the forts which he had about it, and vnderneath was written; *Vale Ciuitas, valete Caſtelli paria, quia relicti eſtis propter aquam, & non per vim inimicorum*, that is to ſay; Farewell cittie, farewell little caſtels, whom the waters, and not the enemies force hath made vs to abandon.

The next day being the 4. of October, the Prince came to Leyden, the Admirall ha-
The Prince comes to Leyden. uing ſent him foure gallies for his conuoy. Being arriued there, after that he had thank- B
ed both the Bourgers for their fidelitie and conſtancie, and the commanders and ſoldi-
ers for their good endeauors: he prouided for all things neceſſary, and ſetled a good
order for all future accidents, creating new Magiſtrates, ſhewing the chiefe of the
towne what miſchiefe had happened by their negligence and ſlackneſſe, in prouiding
The Princes admonition to the Magiſtrates of Leyden. for their affaires: hauing beene once deliuered at ſo deere a rate, and with the liues of
a Prince of the Empire, and of two of the Princes bretheren, and yet they had no fee-
ling of their owne careleſneſſe: and then the loue and fidelity of the States towards
them, who had not ſpared the value of aboue a Million of gold to ſuccor them, doing
that which neuer had beene done ſince the country was dykt: the which he laid before
them, that they might be here-after more prouident and wiſe, and haue the more feel- C
ing of libertie, in regarde of miſerable ſlauery, wherein they might haue fallen, and
ſhould neuer haue beene able to redeeme themſelues at any rate, if they had fallen into
the Spaniards hands. Beſides all the victuals that were brought by theſe ſuccors into
Leyden, the Prince and his councell appointed, that through-out all the neighbour
A generall collection of almes to releeue the poore commons of Leyden. townes they ſhould make a generall collection of almes of bread, butter, cheeſe, larde,
pouldred fleſh and ſiluer, to releeue the poore of the towne of Leyden, who had no
meanes to buy, and had not earned any thing of a long time: the which was deuided
among them, to helpe to comfort them and to ſtrengthen their debilitie, where-vnto
long famine had reduced them. The which did not onely releeue the poore, and eaſe
the rich, but cauſed a ſtrict bond of loue and friendſhip betwixt this towne and the reſt. D.

The 8. of October the Prince went towards Kage (which is a ſmall Iland and a good
village in the middeſt of the ſea of Harlem) which he appointed to be fortified and well
garded, as the Key of the ſea of Harlem. And the ninth day hee went to the Scluſe of
Goude, where in like ſort hee cauſed a mighty ſtrong fort to be built. And as through
the Princes ſickneſſe being at Rotterdam, the Spaniards had ſtill beleeued that he was
dead, and that the Proteſtants had made this enterpriſe vnder his name: when as *Iulien Romero* ſent back the Seignior of Saint Aldegonde (who had continued a yeare in priſon) he cauſed two Spaniards to accompany him, who knew the prince very well, to
make a true report vnto him if hee were yet liuing: the prince talked with them, and
hauing vſed ſome ſpeeches, and diſpacht their paſport, he ſent them away within two E
houres after.

The courteſie of them of Leyden to the Admirall Boiſot. Thoſe of Leyden being loth to ſhew themſelues vnthankfull to the Admirall *Boiſot*,
for his care and paines taken for their releeſe; they preſented him with a goodly chaine
of gold, and a great Medaile (making mention of their deliuerance) hanging at the ſaid
chaine. The like did the States, Nobility, and townes of Holland, hauing inuited him to
a banquet, where they preſented him with a richer chaine. *Ianus Douza* Seignior of
Noortwic, a gentleman of an ancient houſe, and at that time Super-intendent of the
towne of Leyden, hath written a learned Poem, and likewiſe made a diſcourſe in Latin
proſe, of the ſiege, ſuccours, and victualing of the ſaid towne, & of the Spaniards flight.
During the ſiege before Leyden, the great Commander had certaine troupes lodged F
Worcum wonne by the Spaniards. about Bomel, Gorcom, and Loueſtein, to make ſome attempt: but all places were ſo
well fortified with good garriſons, and Collonell *Balfour* lying there-abouts with ſea-
uen companies of Scots to croſſe their deſſeignes, by cutting off ditches and other ſtra-
tagems, ſo as they could not effect any thing: where-vpon the Spaniards went and
battered

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A battred Worcum, lying right ouer against Gorcum vpon the Meuse in the which there were fiue companies of souldiars, who in the end receiued commandement, that if the towne were not defensible, they should quit it, as they did but after three assaults sustained, and the losse of 150. men.

Chiapin vitelli likewise with his Companies of high Dutch, & certen Spaniards, and 12. peeeces of Ordinance beseeged Leerdam, a small towne belonging to the Earle of Buren, and batred it there, being within it two companies of soldiars, who after eleuen howers battry, (the Tower of the Castell beeing beaten downe) yeelded it vp in the beginning of Iuly, departing with their armes. And not long after the Spaniards had an enterprise vpon the towne of Delft, the which was to be managed by an Ancient, who B was a Wallon, thinking by some intelligence with the Townesmen to get into it, but this Wallon, being faithfull to the towne and seruing in the same, sought by that meanes to intrappe the enemy, hauing to that end made a secret mine by the water gate, with an intent to blow it vp at the entry of the Spaniards, but the drawe-bridge being not very easie to fall downe, and the Spaniards hearing a noyse, and seeing some women at the windoes, they grew iealous, and there-with retired, being in all three thousand horse and foote, at whome those of Delft made certen great shot, but in vaine. Soone after the Spaniards retreat from before Leyden, *Francisco valdes* Generall at that seege, being retired to the Hage, cursing still and lamenting his misfortune, fell into such disgrace and contempt with his soldiers, as they presumed to taxe him and to obiect vnto him C that he had had intelligence with them of Leyden, reproching him that he had receiued two tonnes of gold not to batter it, the which was notoriously false. These obiections and crymes, with the want of many monthes pay (which they complained were due vnto them) made them to mutine, and to take him prisoner choosing an Electo among themselues, to gouerne the whole Regiment: they forced him to write vnto the great Commander, that within ten daies he should send their pay, else they would depart from thence and seeke it else where. The ten daies being expired (which was about a moneth after the deliuery of Leyden,) they retired frō Maeslandt-Sluys, Leyschen-dam Vordschoten, Valkenburg and other places, in great troupes, both of horse and foote, to the nomber of seauen thousand men, and so they left that quarter of South-Holland, D marching towards Harlem and Amsterdam, where they found all the gates shut against them; from thence they marcht towards Vtrecht where they thought to get their pay, or in spoiling of the towne to pay themselues. Thus was Holland deliuered at this time from the Spanish forces, none remaining in Holland but Wallons. They came the seauenth of December before Vtrecht, which they thought to surprize. The Seignior of Hierges and Floyon (sonnes to the Lord of Barlamont) and *Francesco valdes* (who had escaped before out of their hands) proclaimed them mutines and Rebells vnto the King, giuing leaue vnto the Bourguers (who needed no great prouocation) to kill them where they could. The Spaniards hauing fayled of their surprize, sought to fier the port of Weert with poulder, straw and pitch: the Bourguers perceiuing it, sallied out E vpon them, and slue some fifty. The eighteenth of the moneth passing along the towne ditches with their Electo, called *Ioan Bianco*, they came on the side of Saint *Catherins* gate, a little before day (whereas they went vp to the rampar by scaladoe) and slew some of the townesmen, their Electo hauing sworne to enter or to die in the place. But the Inhabitants running thether in great nombers, resisted them so corragiously, as they made them quit the rampar with great losse, and among others of their Electo: the Bourguers being so eager in the slaughter of them, as those of the castell were forced to shoot at them, to make them cease, where there died aboue a hundred Spaniards. The great Commander finding that since his comming to the gouernment, all that he had deseigned went crossly and against the haire, both by sea and land, after the losse of F Middlebourg and of so many shipps, the disgrace and affront receiued at Leyden, and the discontentment and mutiny of his troupes: hee thought to try the ford another way, seeing that by warre he preuailed nothing. He sought means to reuiue the treatie of peace and to bring it againe in question, the which had bin talked of betwixt some priuat persons, as *Noir-carmes*, *Champagni* and others in Iuly before, as wee haue said:

Leerdam won by the Spaniards.

The Spaniards mutine and take Francisco valdes prisoner

The Spaniards leaue South Holland.

The Mutyned Spaniards faile to surprise Vtrecht.

1575. The great Commander makes a shew to desire peace

And

And calling to minde the petition preſented them by the Nobilitie and townes of Holland and Zeeland, tending to an accord, hee obtained leaue and authority from the King, to enter into conference in a certaine place appointed to that end, the which was named at Breda, a towne belonging to the Prince of Orange, and then held by the Spaniards. Whether (the great furtherer and louer of peace, the Emperor *Maximilian*, who neuer ceaſed, with all carefulneſſe to ſolicite the King therein) ſent *Gunter* Earle of Swartzenburgh, and the Earle of Hohenlo, both brothers in law, to bee mediators therein, who road too and fro betweene both parties, and brought it to ſuch paſſe, as in the beginning of March, the great Commander, gouernor generall, ſent vnto Breda for commiſſioners the Earle of Roche, of the houſe of Launoy. The Baron *de Raſingen*, gouernor of Ryſſell, Donway, and Orchie: *Arnolt Sasbout*, chancellor of Geldre, *Charles Suys* Preſident of Holland, who had fled from thence, and doctor *Elbertus Leoninus*. For the Prince of Orange, knights of the order, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and townes of Holland, Zeeland, and their aſſociates; as Bommell and Bueren (vpon hoſtages deliuered for them at Dort, as *Montdragon*, *Iulian Romero*, *Don Michael de Alentaer*, *Don Guilliaume de Saint Clement*, and *Don Michael de Couille*) there came *Arent van Dorp*, *Charles Boyſot* gouernor of Flaſhing, *Philip de Marnix Saint Aldegonde*, *William van Zuylen*, *Van Niuelt Scout* of Dort, *Iacob van Der-does*, *Iohn Iunius de Tonghen* gouernor of Camphere, *Adrian van Der-myte*, and *Paulus Buys* aduocate of Holland.

The emperor Maximilian ſeeketh to make a peace.

The deputies that were ſent to make peace

The ſecond of March 1575. they being all aſſembled, and as it ſeemed well inclined to a peace, they of Holland ſpake touching their former requeſt preſented, requeſting the with-drawing of ſtrangers, and aſſembling of the generall States, where-vpon it was asked them in the Kings behalfe, who they vnderſtood to be ſtrangers, and who they called the generall States? They anſwered, *that all thoſe were ſtrangers that were not borne in the ſeuenteene Prouinces, and that they vnderſtood the generall States to be, ſuch a meeting of the States, as was aſſembled in the time of the Emperor* Charles *the fifth, when he reſigned the Netherlands vnto his ſonne King* Philip. After that vpon the 14. of March, the deputies for the King both by word of mouth and writing, ſhewed and deliuered vnto the deputies of Holland, &c. that they thought it very hard, that the Spaniſh ſoldiers, being the Kings ſubiects as well as they, and which had done him and his predeceſſors ſo great ſeruice in the Netherlands, ſhould be eſteemed ſtrangers. Neuer-the-leſſe peace being once agreed vpon, his Maieſties meaning was not to keepe the Spaniards any longer in the Netherlands then neede ſhould require, and that therefore it was not conuenient that his Maieſtie ſhould bee conſtrained there-vnto, for that ſo it might tend vnto the impairing of his honor, which they all had proteſted eſpecially to regarde.

Articles of the peace offered by the King vnto them of Holland and Zeeland.

Touching the aſſembling of the generall Eſtates, that his Maieſtie was well content, all things being pacified, being required there-vnto, to be counſelled and aſſiſted by his eſtates, in things belonging vnto and concerning the country, wherein they are vſually to be conferred with-all, without making them acquainted with ſuch things as belong vnto his ſoueraignty, and the good pleaſure, will, and diſpoſition of his Maieſty, where-in his Maieſtie or his gouernor were to vſe the counſell and aduiſe of his counſell appointed to that end and purpoſe, as of prouinciall councels, and the lawes of the country, as need required: and for that the aſſembling of the Eſtates could not be done without great trouble and vncertainty, asking long time, and not vntill a peace were made, therfore the King offered, (that peace might the better be procured) vnto them of Holland and Zeeland, the reſtitution of all their priuiledges, lawes, rights, and cuſtomes, as they were before the troubles, (if any thing were altered,) as alſo that all things whatſoeuer had hapned during the troubles, ſhould be forgiuen and forgotten: and that all the ſentences of baniſhments, confiſcations of mens goods, and other things, ſhould be voide and diſſanulled. That the goods that had beene taken from each other on both ſides, ſhould bee reſtored vnto the owners thereof, in ſuch eſtate as they then ſhould bee found to be. That which had beene taken and carried away, ſhould ſo remaine, although it were yet in the parties hands: that all priſoners both of the one and the other ſide, ſhould be freely ſet at liberty, without any ranſome, both the Earle of Boſſu, and all others, what-ſo-euer they were: and that thoſe that had paide ranſome ſhould haue

A haue no reſtitution, alwaies prouided that the ſaid Prince of Orange, Knights of the order, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and townes ſhould deliuer all the ſaid countries, townes, caſtles, and forts, together with the ſhippes, and artillery, and al other things whatſoeuer into his Maieſties hands, and that all they that during the wars had ceazed vpon any goods, houſes or rents belonging to the Spirituality, or other perſons, ſhould peaceably reſtore them againe vnto the owners, with-out any fraud. That his maieſties intent was, that the Catholike Romiſh Religion ſhould be generally obſerued in all places of his Maieſties dominions, and peaceably and freely permitted; with-out any oppoſition or contradiction, in ſuch manner as when his Maieſtie was inſtauled and by oath inueſted in the Netherlands, and as the States thereof B at that time, and long ſince, proteſted to liue and die therein, and that all thoſe that would not liue as they had done heretofore, in the Catholike Religion: his Maieſtie was content for that time onely that they ſhould depart out of the land, and ſell all the goods and liuings they had within a certaine time prefixed, and yet during that time ſhould not haue any exerciſe thereof: for aſſurance whereof, (although his Maieſties word, with letters of ratification ought to bee ſufficient for them) yet if they were not content there-with, hee was pleaſed that they ſhould ſet downe and ſhow what further ſecurity they would demand in that behalfe, that it might bee conſidered of. 1575.

The twentith of March the deputies for Holland. &c. made anſwer here-vnto by C writing, ſigned by the Prince of Orange, the Earle of Culenborgh, *Otto* van Egmont, and others; being aſſembled with the deputies of Holland, Zeeland and their aſſociates, after the manner of the eſtates, firſt perſiſting in the contents of their firſt petition touching the with-drawing of all ſtrangers, in regard of their cruell and inſolent gouernment, who in regard of their ſeruice had beene well recompenced, and were become rich, for that the like with-drawing of the Spaniards, and for leſſe cauſe had beene ſought by them of Gaunt in the yeare 1559. and accordingly graunted: they denied not but the Spaniards were ſubiects to the King of Spaine, but not of the duke of Brabant, Earle of Flanders, Holland, &c. nor yet of any of the ſeauen-teene Prouinces againſt the which they had ſhewed them-ſelues to bee D to much vnnaturall, who euen at their firſt comming into the land, held the Netherlands to bee heretickes, and rebels, without any exception, as it appered by the ſpaniſh bookes, made and put in Print by licence and priuiledg from his Maieſtie, as alſo by letters and inſtructions ſent from the great Commander, and of one *John de Souſa* written vnto his Maieſtie, in the which hee bouldly maintained, that the Netherlands, and all the goods and lands of the inhabitants thereof, were giuen by his Maieſty vnto them: vnder pretence thereof, vſing all kinds of force, violences, vnnaturall actions ſhamefull to bee heard or ſpoken of, as the townes of Gaunt, Doornick, Antwerp, Meechelen, Liere, Hertzhogenboſk, Deuenter, Vtrecht, Rotterdam, and other places (where they lad lodged) could beare witnes, ſo that as then, E the propheſie by their fore-fathers ſo offten fore-tolde was found to bee true, that the Netherlands ſhould complaine and repent the time that euer they were alied to Spaine.

The States anſwer to the Kings propoſition of peace offered to the Netherlands.

Wherefore the Spaniards are ſtrangers to the Netherlandes.

Therefore to ſeeke to ſuffer ſuch Spaniardes (which all the townes and Vilages in the Netherlands ſought to keepe out) to remaine in the land, was nothing elſe, but the onely way, to cauſe his Maieſtie to looſe the hearts and good willes of his ſubiects, with-out the which no Lord nor Prince can raigne, but with great greefe and care, taking away the reciprocall and mutuall loues that ſhould bee betweene the Prince and his ſubiects, which they hoped to be farre from his Maieſties thoughts, as being a thing much againſt his dignity & reputation, as alſo contrary to his nature. Touch- F ing the ſeruice that the Spaniards had done vnto his Maieſtie, and his fore-fathers for the defence of the Netherlands, and the honor of his Maieſtie, and his ſaid countries, it would bee found to haue beene more hurtfull then profitable to the ſame, and nothing comparable vnto the faithfull ſeruices don for the aduancement, honor,

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and reputation of his Maieſtie by the naturall vaſſales and ſubiects of the Netherlands, A
who were forced to ſuſtaine the long and burthen-ſome warres againſt France, there
by to maintaine the Spaniards in Mylan, Naples, and elſſewhere, as alſo that then the
Lords, Gentlemen and others of the Netherlands had ſpent both their liues and
goods to get his Maieſties great victories at Saint Quintines, before Graueling and
in other places where they had ayded his maieſtie: as alſo the Emperor *Charles* in
many places, as before Argile in Africa, in Italy, and elſe where out of the Netherlands,
and yet would not the Spaniards in the yeare, 1520. indure any command of the
Netherlanders in Spaine, although they behaued them-ſelues with all ciuility, and
farre other-wiſe then the Spaniards haue done in the Netherlands.

That thoſe of Holland and Zeeland, were forced to helpe them-ſelues againſt B
the Spaniards with ſtrang ſoldiers, as French-men, Engliſh-men, Scottes, and Dutch-
men, but yet had not giuen them any authority ouer the country, and yet that
amongſt them the Dutch-men ought not to bee accounted for ſtrangers: The ſaid
Netherlands beinge alwaies accounted Earledomes and prouinces of the Empire
not-with-ſtanding, they were well content, and ready to cauſe the ſaid ſeuerall na-
tions to depart out of the country, when-ſoeuer they ſhould haue no cauſe to vſe them
any more. And whereas it was ſaid that his Maieſtie, would hold the Spaniards in the
Netherlands no longer then neceſſity required, without further compulſion, ſo
would they humbly Intreat his Maieſtie to doe the ſame, willingly ſeeking all meanes to
moue his Maieſtie therevnto. C

Thouching the aſſembling of the Generall eſtates, which his Maieſtie ſeemed as
then to put of, vntill all things weere pacified and ended, and that they would li-
mite and appoint them vnto certaine orders and lawes, they were of opinion that
the generall eſtates, would not aſſemble and meete together to that end, nor in the
quality and forme as the writing ſent declared and appointed, as long as the Spani-
ards bore armes or were in gouernment with-in the Netherlands, for that it apeared
there-by, that they ſought to bind and reſtraine the aſſembly of the eſtates with their
powers and offices to certaine limites, and ſtrict rules, which ſhould extend as wide
and as farre as the common cauſes of the country required, they knowing beſt what
belonged there-vnto, and that therefore they could not other-wiſe coniecture by D
the ſaid writing, but that couertly they ſought to leſſen and diminiſh the priueledges,
authorities and credits of the ſaid countries and of the eſtates of the ſame, and
not to vſe the ſame in any other cauſes, but onely to get them to conſent vnto any
taxes or ſubſedies to bee paid by the ſaid Netherlands; and if they refuſed to
compell them there-vnto by force, and to bring them vnder the ſupple obedience, and
abſolute command of his Maieſtie, according to the aduiſe and writing of *Don Franciſco
de Alua*, that once wrot out of France vnto the Duches of Parma, Regent of the Ne-
therlands, that the noble men of the ſame muſt bee deſtroyed, and the States thereof
impoueriſhed, as the Duke of Alua had allready begunne, and as it yet ſeemed to
bee put in-practiſe, by the meanes and prouocation, of thoſe that were in the gouern- E
ment, fearing that by the aſſembling of the States, there bad gouernment, ambition,
and couetouſnes, would bee diſcouered, and puniſhed, pretending the highnes,
ſoueraignity, and reputation of the King, and yet all depending vpon the wel-fare
of the Country. That the other articles might with certaine annotations in the Mar-
gent paſſe wel inough, therby to prouide to a pacification, but touching the reſtrictions,
and conditions thereafter enſewing, as of deliuering ouer the prouinces, townes, and
forts of Holland & Zeland, together with the ſhips, artilery, and other things, it apeared
that they ſought to circumuent them as it is ſaid to be done in the fable of the wars be-
tweene the Wolues & the Sheepe: after the Sheepe, had deliuered the dogs (that were
their protection & defence) vnto the wolues, That the Prince of Orange and the eſtates F
of Holland and Zeeland, were wrongfully holden and accounted for rebells, and open
enemies to his maieſty, which they could by no meanes vnderſtand, to bee ſo, for that
they had not in the leaſt point once ſought to deminiſh ot detract any thing from
his Maieſties highneſſe and authority in any ſort what ſo-euer, but rather for
his

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A his maiesties profit and the preseruation and defence of the land, and the townes there of, to gether with their houses liues and goods, wiues and children, from the tirany of the Duke of Alua, and his adherents, with great labour and toyle had vsed all the meanes they could, to driue their aduerse party from thence, whereof they had alwaies made declaration, that they neuer ment or intended to beare armes against his maiesty, nor by the same sought to refuse obedience or to alienate them-selues from the same, but with all duty to continew in his maiesties grace and fauour with other Prouinces vnited vnto them, as they did before, hauing beene free from any meaning or intent, to take away the goods of their aduersaries either spirituall or temporall, as in the said conditions were inserted, in such sort, that they could
B not thereby perceaue any good opinion to bee conceaued of them; and the rather, for that by the other conditions of holding and maintaining the Romish Catholik religion, or els to depart the land, it appeared that their religion was accounted heresie, and consequently they them-selues to bee heretikes, although no other religion was vsed there amongst them, then onely the catholike and apostolike religion, agreeing with the holy scriptures, wherein they onely trusted and had settled their consciences, onely disalowing and banishing, open and great abuses and disorders vsed in the church, vnpleasing to God, thereby to giue that vnto God that was Gods, and vnto the King, that which belonged vnto him.

And therefore with all reuerence and humility they said, that they could by no meanes be perswaded to accept and allowe of the said articles as they were propounded; cal-
C ing to minde the example of the Earles of Egmont and Horne, as also of the Baron of Montigny, and others, with seuerall breakings of securities, promises, and assurances: that also it was not conuenient that so great a nomber as were inclined to the reformed religion should depart out of the land, and forsake their native country: and that in truth it was a much more harder condition, that so great a nomber of the Kings Maiesties faithfull subiects, to their great losse, should bee forced to sell away their goods (which they could not doe but to their exceeding great hinderance, although they found marchants and buyers great store) and bee compelled to dwell and wander like banished men in other countryes; rather then they would send three or foure thousand Spaniards, (that had made sufficient gaine and prey of the coun-
D try) home againe: whereas the departure of the subiects out of the Netherlands, would not onely cause a great depopulation of the country but a decay of all kindes of trades, trafickes, handy-workes, occupations, and sea-faringe, wherein the wholle wel-faire of the Netherlands consisted: for that it was manyfestly knowne that the sending away of the people at other times, by meanes of the rigorous proclamations and terrible executions of the same; the industrious handi-crafts, that were in the land were by that meanes caried into other countries, to the vnspeakeable decay, and hinderance of his maiesties rents and reuenewes, and from thence by the condition propounded of selling their goods, (for that time onely) they vnderstood, that the proclamations and the inquisition, touching religion, should
E againe bee put in practise, which euery man so much abhorred, that those that should remaine in the country, were likely to fall into a new trouble and dissention, and that at the last, a great peece of his maiesties crowne would bee torne in peeces; desiring with all humility that their declaration and aduise might bee taken in good part, as proceeding from a good deuotion vnto his maiestie, and the countries wel-faire, beseeching GOD, that it would please him of his infinite mercy to inspire his maiestie, and the Lords that were comissioners, with other counsell, knowledge, and aduise.

The Kings' deputies reply cation on the States declaration touching peace.

Vpon this declaration, the Kings Deputies vpon the first of Aprill made a re-
F plication, in writing, wherein they seemed to blame the said declaration to be too sharpe and bitter against those with whome they ought to liue in peace and amity, and that the King was content according to their desires, to cause the Spaniards and others to depart out of the land, when all controuersies should bee ended and appeased, so as they of Holland and Zeeland would doe the like, blaming

them like-wise that they should account Holland and Zeeland to bee Earledomes belonging vnto the Empire, excusing the great Commander, and not beleeuing that he would write any such matter, as they had charged him with all. The assembling of the generall estates they agreed vnto, peace being made, being the second point of their request: Touching the deliuering ouer of the townes, places, forts, shippes, and artillery, they wondred to what end they alledged the fable of the wolues and the sheepe, whereas it was not sought or desired, otherwise then with proffer of good and sufficient caution, wherof they not once made any mention, offering, besides the Kings word, (which in reason should be sufficient) to make them al due & conuenient satisfaction that they could demand: as also that the States of the prouince, each one in particular, should haue the said declaration and the Kings promises to bee set downe vnder his great Seales, and (if need were) to be confirmed by the Emperors Maiesty and by other Lords and Princes of the blood. A B

Touching the religion, his Maiesties meaning was not to yeeld in any thing thereunto; but that such as would depart the land should haue six moneths time granted vnto them for their departure, and in the meane time should behaue themselues modestly, without any scandale: and as for the selling of their lands and goods, to aduance them to the highest rate and most aduantage: and they should haue 8 or 10. yeares time for the sale thereof; so as they suffered them in the meane time to bee vsed and held by Romish Catholikes; that the departure of the people out of the land, was a greefe vnto the King, but seeing they would not conforme themselues, to liue as other men did, it was their owne and not the Kings fault, and whereas the departure out of the land was limited vnto them for that time onely, they said it was done for that there was no reason to alter the religion at euery time, and thereby to procure and raise confusion and scandale among the common people; and might likewise tend to a disgrace of Iustice and the Kings prerogatiue. That his Maiestie doubted not, that if the strange preachers, and consistories, with some other priuate persons, who by meanes of the troubles (vnder pretence of complayning for losse of their priuiledges) had brought in diuers Inouations, would alter their opinions; or were once gon out of the Netherlands, that the common people being better informed in all things, would be contented to liue in peace, and obey his Maiesties will and pleasure, who onely sought to defend and keepe them from all inconueniences, and perticularly from the inquisition, which his Maiestie pretended not to bring into the Netherlands. Vpon this replication the deputies for the Prince, and the estates of Holland and Zeeland, vpon the fourth of Aprill, desired a monethes libertie to make there report, in regard that they seemed to charge and laie all the burthen vpon certaine perticuler persons and strangers, and that therefore they would fetch lawfull and authenticall testimonialls of their authorities; desiring withall a passport for certaine of their Ambassadors, which they ment to send, with the Earle of Swartzenburgh (who as then was vpon his departure) vnto the Emperor, and that in the meane time the hostages might also returne againe. C D

A monethes time demanded by the States to consider of the cause.

The Earle of Swartzenburgh likewise vpon the sixt of Aprill wrot vnto the great Commander to Brussels, saying that hee had commission from the Emperors Maiestie, to bring certaine Ambassadors with him from the estates of Holland and Zeeland, that his Maiestie might bee fully informed of the cause, for the better furtherance of a peace to bee made with the King of Spaine, promising and giuing his word, that the said Ambassadors should not in their said iourney vse any secret or vnlawfull proceedings. The liberty of a monethes time sought by the deputies of the estates, was partlie graunted vnto them, but the Pasport required for the Ambassadors was by the Commander vtterly denied. Vppon the sixt of Aprill, the Earle of Swartzenburgh, tooke his leaue of the deputies on both sides assembled in Breda, shewing them what labour and trouble he had had, both by intercession vnto the great Commander the Kings gouernor Generall, and with the Prince of Orange, and the estates of Holland and Zeeland, to extinguish and quench the secret hatred, and burning fier of enuy, that flamed in their hearts: and that although as then there was little effected, for E F

The Erale of Swartzenburgh taking his leaue of the deputies at Breda, sheweth them his opinion of the cause.

A for that the differēce of religion much hindered their proceedings, yet he was not alto- »
gither out of hope, neither wished he, that therefore the matter should be neglected and »
not goe forward, but rather gaue counsell that both partes should cease from armes & »
that the truce should be made betweene thē for sixe moneths, and for that the reformed »
religion was so deeply grounded in the hearts of the one party, that it could not so so- »
denly be rooted out, he thought it good, that during the time of the truce, they of Hol- »
land and Zeeland might freely vse the exercise of their religion, and not to deny the »
said truce, for religion sake. The condition of the said truce on both sides he referred »
vnto the discretions of the parties, desiring them to take his meaning in good part, as »
fore-seeing the generall ruine, and destruction of the Netherlands, if the cessation and »
B laying aside of armes were not granted, that so their hearts might be vnited togither, »
and thereby a peace procured, it being other-wise to be feared, that the Netherlands »
being diuided, might so fall into the hands of other Princes, the which in regard of the »
great affectiō, he bare vnto the Kings prosperous & happy proceedings, he would glad- »
ly seeke to hinder and preuent, & to that end desired an answer from the Commander »
within two dayes after, earnestly desiring them not to take his departure in euill part, »
it being apparant and sufficiently knowne with what labor and cost hee had perfor- »
med that charge: and that yet (with great greefe) hee had heard, that hee had reaped »
and gotten the euill will and disliking of diuers great Lords for that cause onely, and »
was had in suspition, and that therefore he thought it necessary for him to returne »
C backe againe vnto the Emperor, and to discharge him-selfe of his ambassage, not doub- »
ting, but that his Maiestie (if the truce were once agreed vppon,) would vse all the »
meanes and wayes he could to procure a firme and an assured peace, and that so the »
Netherlands might bee kept and maintained in obedience vnder the King, wherein he »
himselfe will neither spare his labour, nor his meanes, for the good of his Maiestie and »
his subiects of the Netherl ands.

To this oration made by the Earle of Swaertzenbrugh touching his departure, the great Commander made answer vppon the eight of Aprill, giuing him great thankes for his labor and paines, which hee knew the Kings Maiestie would take in good part. »
But touching the truce he said his Maiestie would not agree therevnto, for certaine »
D reasons, and that hee saw no cause why hee should desist from his disseins, but was »
content that there should bee a truce concluded for two monthes, so that in the meane »
time the excercise of the reformed religion, might cease both in Holland and Zeeland, »
and they that vsed the same to go into some other place: and that hee thought it not »
a thing pertinent vnto his office and charge, to grant passports vnto the Kings rebells, »
to passe through his country, whereas they had meanes ynough to go otherwaies. »
In his voyage to the Emperor hee wished him all good successe, giuing him great »
thankes for his paines taken therein, in the Kings behalfe. The like answer was »
made him by the Deputies as then in Breda, & so the Earle of Swaertzenburgh, took »
his leaue and departed.

E Vppon the last of Maie, the Deputies mette againe at Breda, where-in the behalfe of the Prince of Orange, and the States of Holland and Zeeland &c. Vppon the last of Iune there was a wrighting presented by them, wherein they said, that they liked well » of the offer made, of holding and obseruing of their priuiledges, for the profit of the » Netherlands, but that they could not perceiue how that would or might be in any sort » beneficiall for them, when as they by the articles propounded must leaue and forsake » the country. Moreouer for-that they perceiued (speaking freely) that it was not as yet conuenient for them to forsake their natiue country, as also the reformed religion, they humbly besought his Maiestie, that it would please him with a fauourable countenance to behold and regard the great zeale, and holy intents of his obedient subiects

The States declaration in the second assembly at Breda.

F and in the matter of conscience (whereof account is onely to bee made vnto GOD him-selfe) to with-hold and cease the fier and sword, where-with his subiects, and members of all the Netherlands, vntill that time had beene persecuted, and most grieuously tormented with vnspeakeable vilde cruelties brought vnto their ends and vtter destruction: they for their partes promising in all worldly causes to bee

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obedient vnto his Maieſtie and to ſerue him as faithfully as euer any of his ſubiects in times paſt had done. A

For the ſecurities proferred (ſaid they) many pitifull examples do ſufficiently ſhew how they may be eſtemed by all the world, eſpecialy, if the townes, caſtles, ſhippes, and artilery were deliuered ouer, before the Spaniards and other ſtrangers were gon out of the Netherlands, and that the eſtates generall ſhould haue taken good order for al inconueniences: therefore to avoyd al difficulties, and ſo to proceed to the beginning of a good ſecurity, they knew no better way, then that according to the contents of there requeſt preſented in writing, the ſtrangers ſhould be ſent out of the contry, which might the rather be don without cauſe of ſuſpition, for that the Prince, & States of Holland, & Zeeland had not any manner of diſlike nor quarell, with the reſt of the other Pro- B uinces, but held and eſteemed them as their good friends, allies, & neighboures, offering to ſtand vnto all reaſonable ſecurity that there ſhould be no new matter deuiſed, nor vnlawfull act attempted by them, during the time graunted for their departure out of the country, vntil ſuch time as the general eſtates might aſſemble to gether, to conſult about a good order to be taken in al cauſes of policy, & good gouernment. Further, (although their offer aforeſaid was ſufficient) yet would they in the abondance of their true intents and deſires of peace, offer more, that it might appeare both before GOD and the world that they nether deſired nor yet ſought their owne welfare and eaſe, nor yet pretended any other thing then the welfare and common good of the country. That al- C though thoſe amongſt them, that had ſettled their conſciences in the true apoſtolike religion, had rather looſe both their liues and goods, then they would in any wiſe deny the ſame, or once do otherwiſe then it requireth. They are neuer-the-leſſe content, (ſo his maieſtie will deſiſt from denying their requeſt touching their religion) that not onely that, but the point of ſecurity, and all other cauſes, difficulties, and differences, ſhould be determined and ended, by the lawfull aſſembly of the generall eſtates of the Netherlands.

And for as much, as that by withdrawing away of all ſtrangers out of the country, all troubles and Inſolencies would ceaſe, and all the Prouinces with out doubt would be fermly vnited together, they offered to ſtand vnto all reaſonable condition of ſecurity, whereby on both ſides they might liue in perfect peace, betweene the departing and D with-drawing of the ſtrangers out of all the Prouinces, and the aſſembling of the generall eſtates. Where-vnto they deſired and praied that they might haue an vnfained, and a Catholike anſweare, with an abſolute yea, or nay, vnto every perticular point of there requeſt. While this treaty of peace continewed, the Commander generall aſſembled his counſell of eſtate, priuy counſell, and treſorers, with certaine of the principale Lords of the ſtate and other councelors of good eſtates and quality, to heare their opinions touching the peace as then in queſtion, and the anſweares made therevnto, by the deputies of the Prince of Orange, and his adherents, who after long conference, gaue there aduice, ſaying, that the moſt aſſured way was to maintaine the Catholike Romiſh religion, and the Catholike perſons in Holland. &c. as alſo for E the better ſecuring of the Kings inheritances vnto him ſelfe, for that the Prince had giuen forth that he knew thoſe that had a good will to take the ſame into their handes, ſaying further, that ſeeing the point of ſending out of ſtrangers was agreed vpon, that it ought to be effected vpon good ſecurity, the King hauing naturall Netherland Catholike Souldiars inough, whereof the experience was euidently to be ſeene, in the time of the regent the Duches of Parma, that had pacefied all the controuerſies in the country with the ſubiects of the ſame, which as then were well truſted before the comming of the Duke of Alua, and now are in a manner diſtruſted: when as their loyaltie was once againe tried, in the yeare 1568. when the Prince of Orange entred with an army into the country, and they kept him out, they likewiſe found it expedient F that the generall eſtates ſhould bee aſſembled; where-unto they ſubmitted themſelues, and likewiſe eſteemed it not to be ſo hard a matter, to permit and graunt them freedom of conſcience, without ſcandale and exerciſe thereof, as alſo to ſtay and dwell within the Countrie, as other forraine marchants both Dutch-men and Engliſh

The opinions of the commanders counſel and others touching the peace and moderation of religion.

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A Englishmen of contrary Religion did, for that in the meane time, GOD might so worke in their hearts by good sermons and instructions as they would be conuerted, and that in all places the catholike religion might be erected and giue good examples of honest life and conuersation; vsing many such like arguments, with allegation of diuers old customes and examples, but this would not bee liked of by the counsell in Spaine who had an other desseine, intending an absolute conquest: which not-withstanding it is said that the great commander himselfe, did often complaine of in his death bed; and after that the Spaniards themselues. These articles being in this sort set downe in the name of the King, yet could not the Prince of Orange beleeue that it was the Kings meaning to send the Spaniards out of the Netherlands, and for that cause desired
B to see the Kings owne hand and seale vnto the same, which was shewed him by the Baron *de Rassinghen*, who for security thereof kept the same against the Commanders will, who imagined, that the offers that were made would not haue bin so well accepted, and for that cause would haue it proceed no further, saying, that the King was no marchant or would bee constrained vnto any thing, and that hee liberally offered and presented such conditions, which they should haue accepted of when they had time and place, and so seeking all delaies, hee caused his deputies to make answeare, that hee would send all the proceedings of that peace into Spaine, and attended an answere from thence, asking foure moneths time for the same; where-vpon the deputies of
C Holland. &c. vpon the foureteene of Iuly, for there farwell made a declaration in writing, the contents whereof were to shew how little the Kings deputies were alwaies afected to deale vprightly, in the contracts of peace, and that therefore they for there discharges, both before GOD and the world, would make it knowne vnto them and euery man, how they for there parts, had alwaies sought and labored to haue an end of the warres: and so breefely declared from the beginning to the ending what had past, from the first request sent vnto the King by meanes of Monsier *Champigny* vntill there last declaration, which offers they said, without all exceptions to be reasonable, as to desire all security to be made, to bee in peace and quietnes during the with-drawing of the Spaniards and other strangers, vntill such time, as that the generall estates being assembled, might end all controuersies, to whome (from that time) they were
D content to refere all other questions, not only both touching the vse of there religion, and their departure out of the countrie, but of all others things that concerned them: wondring, that after so many delaies, in steed of giuing a pertinent and sufficient answeare, they deliuered a captious and double answere in writing, seeking thereby to make there plaine and vpright Protestations and alegations to seeme obscure and impertinent, and that being further vrged, first by word of mouth, and after that by writing to show that they had no commission either to accept or refuse their offers, and in a case so cleare, manifest and reasonable, to aske a delay of foure monthes, and yet not-with-standing, from the beginning of the treaty of peace, they had bragged, that they had full power and authority from the King to deale therein: and by that doble
E and dessembling kind of dealing they sought no other then by such offers, vaine hopes, and profers of peace, to abuse, deceaue and make the estates and common people of the land careless of them selues and their preseruation: that so they might the more easely surprise and bring them into perpetuall slauerie; knowing that they of Brabant and Flanders, with the rest of the prouinces (in regard of this treaty, and during the same, as also in hope of a short time of truce) had rather indure all kind of burthens, then once seeme to refuse it: as also, that during these delayes, no open, nor secret enterprises were by them omitted, thereby to ouerthrowe and ruine the country: and that the Prince and the estates and townes afore said, vnderstood and perceaued that their new desired delayes tended to no other end: and that for the
F reasons afore said, they for there parts by that treaty sought no peace, but rather there ruine and vtter destruction, and consequently all treaty of peace to be by them vtterly reiected, and that in regard thereof, the Prince and the States and townes of Holland, were Iustly moued and forced, from thence forward to defend themselues, there wiues, and children, together with their native country, to Gods honor and glory against all

The Prince of Orang and the States answer to the assembly at Breda.

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ſuch their vnreaſonable & vngodly pretẽces, by all meanes they could, declaring & pro- A
teſting before God, & all the world, that they in that treaty of peace had ſought all the meanes they could, to the end that they, with the Prouinces of the Netherlands round about them, vnder his Maieſtie, and to Gods honor & glory, might be vnited againe together in a happy peace, vnity, quietnes, welfare, and proſperity for euer, and that therefore ſeeing the ſame could not bee done, his Excellency, and the eſtates and townes aforeſaid, ſhould therein bee excuſed before GOD and all the world, and they to the contrary culpable, and the onely cauſe of not effecting the ſame, that ſeeke nothing elſe, (through the common ruine and ſlauery of the Netherlands, by ſuppreſſing the authority of the generall eſtates) but to eſtabliſh and ſet vp their owne dominion, tiranny, and gouernment, neuertheleſſe, when-ſoeuer they ſhould haue receiued the anſwer out B
of Spaigne, his Excellency and the States and townes aforeſaid, hauing intelligence thereof, would bee ready to proceed to a further treaty of peace with their Deputies, if they in the meane time ſhould thinke it good, and that they might perceiue, that they for their parts would deale with more ſincerity and vprightneſſe then heretofore they had done.

The Hollanders at that time cauſed certaine counters to bee made of copper, for a memory, and in witnes of that contract: on the one ſide hauing the garden or parlor of Holland with a Lyon therein, and a ſword in his paw, with this inſcription, *Securius bellum, pace dubia.* &c. on the other ſide a hat ſignifying libertie; with this inſcription, *Libertas Aurea, cuius moderatur habenas ratio.* This narration being deliuered vppon C
The Kings Deputies anſwer to the States laſt narration at the breaking vp of the treaty of peace. the fourteenth of Iuly vnto the cõmiſſioners for the King in Breda, who vpon the ſame day made anſwer in writing: ſaying, that they had ſeene and peruſed their declaration, and therein found many high wordes, whereby they and others, wrongfully and without truth accuſed them that were his Maieſties Commiſſioners as their forepaſſed writings, and more then ſufficient offers bare witnes, without any fained diſſembling, or double dealing, and that their ſaid declaration, ſeemed to be wholy grounded vpon the reſpite required, to aduertiſe his Maieſty as in ſuch caſes of importance, (notwithſtanding the generall commiſſion) it is meete and vſuall to bee done, declaring, and aſſuring them, that their meanings were not to auouch nor receiue the ſaid propoſitions ſet downe in writing, other-wiſe then according to their precedent requeſt, for the effec- D
ting of the ſame, ſtaying the anſwer of his Maieſty, and that hauing receiued the ſame, to aduertiſe them, and ſo giue further ſatisfaction to their alegations, as it ſhould bee found meete and conuenient. Proteſting before God and the world, that on his Maieſties part there was no want of will, nor any occaſion giuen, of breaking off from the ſaid treaty of peace, but to the contrary by the ſaid Prince of Orange, & the Eſtates and townes of Holland and Zeeland. So that, they fully intended at the firſt, not to bring that peace (hauing once beefore vnderſtood the Kings meaning and intent) to any good end.

1575 Thus was this treaty in Breda ended in Iuly 1575. wherevnto the Spaniſh Councel,
This treaty of peace, made the Princes cauſe to be better thought on by all men. were nothing addicted, whereby each part ſought their owne good by ſeuerall in- E
tents, which at the laſt fell out to be ſome furtherance to them of Holland & their adherents, in the hearts of many men, although in the warre it was hurtfull ynough vnto them-ſelues. But for that their requeſt was, that, which generally all the ſeauenteene prouinces of the Netherlands deſired, which was, the ſending away of ſtrange ſoldiars, and to bee vnburthened of their wilfull and inſolent gouernment. And moreouer that the gouernment, and the poynt concerning the permiſſion, or aboliſhing of the reformed religion, was referred to the cenſure and iudgment of the aſſemblie of the generall States, which made euery one to thinke well thereof, and cauſed them to bee fauoured
of all men, as ſeeking the liberty of their natiue country: the Romiſh catholikes themſelues thinking, that they ſought ayd and aſſiſtance from the reformed religion, but for F
meer neceſſity, ſeeing that the permiſſion thereof was referred to the generall States which ought to bee the lawfull iudges of that, which is thought to bee profitable and ſeruiceable for the Netherlands: for which cauſe euery man ſought to further their requeſt, as in the end it appeared, for that the Commander dying, the Spaniards beginning

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A beginning to mutine, and to be at contention amonst themselues, the country to shake of the Spanish yoke, made the pacification of Gaunt, in a maner conformable to the articles and propositions afore-said, with the Prince of Orange, and the states of Holland and Zeeland and there assotiates, in the yeare 1575. This treaty of peace succeeding not as the Commander did well hope, he returns againe to his course of war, wherein he resolues to be obstinate. He commanded the Seignior of Hierges to go to field with the Spaniards and Wallons, and to attempt some good exploite in Holland or elsewhere, vnder the vnion of the States; wherevpon Hierges marched directly before the towne and castell of Buren (which is not far from Bomel, belonging at this present to *Phillip* of Nassau, Prince of Orange) the which the Gouernor yeelded vp without any shot of B great ordynance, or any force offred him. The States would haue put him to death for his base couardise, but the Prince desiring to saue his life sent him prisoner to the Castle of Goude. After the taking of Buren, Hierges did also seaze vpon some Castells in that quarter, but of smale importance. At that time there was an vniuersity erected in the towne of Leyden, for Holland and Zeland, by the States of the said two Prouinces, indowing it with goodly preuiledges, where-vnto were called from diuers parts, Professors in all faculties, allowing them good stipends. This towne is faire, neate and spatious, diuided with diuers chanells, in the best ayer of al Holland & seemes most fit for the muses. The 11. of Iune the Prince of Orange did marrie in the the towne of Bryele (one of the Ilands of Holland) the Lady *Charlot* of Bourbon, daughter to the Duke of Montpen- C sier, for his third wife, a Princesse indowed with singular piety, by whome hee had six daughters as we shall hereafter shew. The 18. of Iuly by the breake of day, the Seignior of Hierges came with his army before the towne of Oudewater in Holland, with an intent to beseege it: he had marched with great speed all night, to the end his comming might be vnknowne, which bred a great amazement in them when they first discouered him. At the same instant the fort which was at the Scluse of the dike & chanel, which goes to Montfort and to Vtrecht, within harquebuse shot of Oudewater, was abandoned by the Scottishmen that were in it, the which they neither fiered, nor retired the munition, as they ought to haue done. This fort had beene good to haue busied the Spaniards for some time, and haue hindred their passage; and therefore euere man thought, yea the D Spaniards themselues, that it should not be so soone abandoned, seeing that they might haue retired their soldiars at need: And then the alarume was giuen in the towne, and they began to giue order to fortefie and defend themselues: Some countriemen thereabouts retired them-selues thether with their cattell, and others went forth to draw them out of the neer pastures, and to bring them into the towne. Some Bourguers (ill affected to that party) found meanes to go and yeeld vnto the Spaniards, to giue them intelligence of the whole estate of the towne: yea they were seene to shew them some places. Captaine Morcant a Wallon, sallied forth with some of his troupes, to fier certen houses standing vpō the dike on the other side of the riuer of Yssel, towards Goude, neere vnto the port and bridge, the which he executed, wherevpon there grew a skir- E mish, in the which both he and his soldiars discharged themselues wel, where there were some hurt and slaine of either side. After which time they resolued not to issue forth any more, for that they had to few men to hazard them lightly. The same day and soone after, there was an other fort abandoned, halfe a league from the towne, at a Scluse vpon the causey which goes to Goude, on the same side, where there was in garrison a captaine Geldrois, called *Willeken van Angren*, the which was an imputation vnto him, for they held the place tenable, and might haue succored the towne, for that they might haue raised the said Scluse, and cut the dike or causey of either side of the fort, as they did at Goude and Oudewater, to let the water of the Riuer of Yssel runne into the country, and by that meanes succor the beseeged with small gallies, as they had of late done at F Leyden: but the Spaniard making hast to cast vp a dike against it, hindred the water that it could not come soone enough from Goude to Oudewater. On the other side he stopt the riuer of Issell in such sort towards Goude (the tides being Low,) as the water at a spring tide could no more come vnto the towne, as it was wont, to disperse it selfe ouer the country by the said Scluses, and now it began to couer it towards Goude. In the towne

The commander resolues to warre.

The towne & castell of Buren yeelded.

Leyden in Holland made an vniuersitie.

The Prince of Orange third marriage.

Oudewater beseiged.

The fort of the Scluse basely abandoned.

A gallant sallie made by captaine Morcant.

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towne ditches the water was not aboue a foote deepe: ſo as the towne was enuironed A
and beſeeged round from the firſt day, in ſuch ſort as they could put no more ſoldiars into it as they deſired, and as neceſſity required. They ſent meſſengers to the Prince and States, who might well paſſe, but had no meanes to returne. They ſent others with Pigeons, but neither they nor their Pigeons returned any more: wherefore all this ſeege they had not any letters nor meſſage from the Prince. In the meane time all the
Reſolution of them of Oudwater. Captaines, Maieſtrats, ſoldiars and common people reſolued with one generall conſent to hold good, euen vnto the death, if need were, and to imploy all their meanes and force for the defence of the towne. And although it were in poore eſtate, weake of all ſides, and of great garde, hauing but foure ſmall companies, two of Wallons, of *Morcant* and S^t. *Mary*, one Flemiſh of Captaine *Munter*, and one Scottiſh, whoſe Captaine was B
abſent, and could not enter in: all which companies were not aboue three hundred fighting men: the nomber of Bourgers alſo was ſmale, for that many were retired feeling the ſtorme approch: the hope of ſuccors was ſmale, or none at all, yet not-withſtanding all theſe difficulties, they fainted not, nor loſt any courage. This towne was of great importance, and might eaſely, and with ſmale charge haue bene made very ſtrong, and almoſt impregnable, yet they had made but two rauelins towards the eaſt, The companies of Saint *Mary*, *Morcant*, and the Scottiſh, were entred but fewe daies before, for that the Spaniſh campe approched: after much deniall, eſpecally that of *Morcant*, who remayned fiue howers vpon the dike before he was aſſured whether hee
Priuat proffit hurts the generall. ſhould enter or not. All townes doe commonly ſo, refuſing to receiue ſo great a gar- C
riſon as is needfull, of two miſcheefs to auoyd the greater, and ſo many haue beene and are often loſt like vnto this, as afterwards the towne of Courtray and others, but when they can no more haue it, then they deſire it, but it is to late. Some Captaines had alſo thought it good in the beginning too take vp the Scluſes, to couer the country with water: but ſome hindred that reſolution to ſpare the haie that was mowen, and the paſture: ſo the particular profit of ſome few, ruines a generality, for the which thoſe priuate perſones doe afterwards ſmart moſt.

Thoſe of Oudewater ſeeing themſelues thus beſeeged, both great and ſmale, wiues and maids, began to fortefie their towne, continuing day and night, euen vnto the end: firſt they did mure vp with earth their ports, towards Iſſell; that towards Goude remay- D
Good order in the towne. ning open, whileſt that they brought in earth from a mill-mounte, ioyning to the towne (which might haue couered the enemy) to rampar withal, and hauing brought it all into the towne, they did in like ſort dam vp the ſame port making only a little poſterne. Then they rampared in all places, where they thought was greateſt need, they beat downe al the tower trees and houſes that might hurt or anoy: and prepared al things that might ſerue for the defence of the towne with great dilligence. And although they knew not well the Spaniards reſolution, whether he would batter or famiſh them: leaſt that the ſeege ſhould continue too long, they ſet down an order for the victuals. And to the end the ſoldiars ſhould not be drunke, they did forbid the bruing of any ſtrong beere, reſer-
uing what there was; and the wine for their greateſt neceſſity; and in like ſort they cauſed E
money to bee coyned. In the meane time the Spaniard was not idle; firſt meaning to battet the towne on the South ſide, he cauſed a trench to be caſt vp, that he might make his approches with leſſe danger, from the place of execution where hee planted his Cannon, which came of the one ſide to the towne ditch, right againſt the turn-pike at the corner towards the Weſt: and of the other about the middle port towards the Eaſt. And for that the beſeeged doubted that hee would fall to mine, they preſently made two countermines, one vnder the ſaid turn-pike and the other vnder the port. But when they perceiued that they would batter the towne and take it by aſſault, they filled vp thoſe counter-mines with poulder, to blowe them vp when they ſhould giue an Aſſault. F

The third of Auguſt the Spaniards began to batter with one onely peece (which he had planted the night before) the Church ſteeple, ſtanding at the foote of the rampare towards the weſt, the which they continued all the day: the firſt boullet fell into the Church, waying forty and three pounds; the night following hee added an other to it,

and

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A and with these two peeces he continued his battery against the said Steeple meaning (as it seemed) to fill vp the ditch with the ruine thereof, and to passe ouer it going to the assault; but for that the beseeged were in feare thereof, they vndermined it on the towne side, and vnderpropt it with great beames the which being burnt, it must needs fall of their side, if of necessity it were to be beaten downe: but the Spaniard seing that he aduanced little, he turned his peeces to batter in Flanke. 1575.

The sixt Day of the moneth in the morning, the rest of the artillerie being planted the night before, being in all fiue and twenty peeces, The Signior of Hierges Generall of the Army, caused the towne to bee somoned to yeeld vnto him in the name of the King of Spaine and of the great Commander his Lieutenant, with promis of good Oudwater sommoned to yeeld and refuseth.

B vsage, vsing withall great threats if they did it not speedely: setting before their eyes the ordinary cruelty of the Spaniards, which he should not be able to prevent although he would. The answer of all the captaines was, that they had receiued no such commission neither would they nor could they deliuer it vp with ther honors & reputations: but they were content to send a man to the Prince & States (if it pleased him) to know their aduice and pleasure yet; Captaine *Morcants* opinion was to say, that the soldiars were not in good termes with the Bourguers, to stay the battery for one day, and in the meane time to arme them-selues the better against an assault. This answer being deliuered to the Seignor of Hierges, who staied neere vnto the ordinance, hee presently caused all to be discharged, and so continued the battery vntill night, with such furie,

C as the captaines had neuer seene nor heard the like, hauing discharged that day a thousand foure hundred and fifty shot. In the meane time the Beseeged rampared as fast as they could, and prepared all things fit to defend the breach, as hoopes couered with toe, and pitch or rozen, to cast them burning vpon the assaylants great cauldrons full of scaulding water neere vnto the breach, burning lime, lead molten, boyling oyle, with all other deuises to anoy them comming to the Assault. They filled also many little sacks full of earth, to couer the beseeged at the rampar when they should come to defend the breach, finally before the port where the greatest battery was, and which they most doubted, they made a little halfe Moone, the which was finished in one night, within the which they layed planks full of nayles, and a great Morter charged with the heads of

D cart nayles, and other peeces of iron. The breach which the Spaniards had made in the day, was rampared vp in the night, not sparing any thing, noe not the hempe and flaxe that was ready drest, whilst that the enemy was busy to fill vp the ditch to mount vnto the Breach. The beseeged prepare to defend the breach. The deligence of the beseeged

The seauenth day of the moneth, as the beseeged thought to haue an assault giuen, hauing preparde the day before to defend it courragiously, they made their praiers, and set all things ready vpon the rampar; the cannon began to play againe, and brake in a manner all, so as they were forced to retier the rest, the which they could not place againe. The battery continued vntill Noone, noe lesse furious then the day before, and then they gaue two or three false assaults. A little after noone, began the great assault,

E the which continued a good hower, where as the soldiars, Bourguers, wiues, maids and boyes did their vttermost endeauors to resist them, with those instruments which they had prepared: but the charge was so great, and continued with such nombers, as the cheefe defendants being slaine or hurt, the rest were forced to abandon the Rampar to the victorious enemie. Captaine Saint *Mary* (who was also Sargent Maior) was slaine there, with the Lieutennant of the Scottish company, captaine *Muntre* was wounded, whereof he died soone after being prisoner. Captaine *Morcant* was also hurt and a prisoner, and afterwards deliuered in exchange of an Antient and a Sargeant Spaniards, whome his wife bought; else there had beene no mercy for him, for that a little before he had come and yeelded him-selfe to that party, obiecting vnto him that hee Oudwater taken by Assault.

F was the cause why the towne would not yeeld by Composition. The Commander did also write two or three letters to the Gouernor of Viana to put him to death: but the said Spaniards had such good frends as he was deliuered for them. In this assault there were very many Spaniards slaine, hurt, and burnt; the slaugter was great in the towne the Spaniards sparing neither age nor sexe, noe not women great with child, tearing the infants The cruelty of the Spaniard.

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infants euen out of their wombes. The Preests and Monks shewed them-selues most bloudy of all: few men escaped for ransome, some women and children were ransomed; of all the soldiars there escaped not twenty. The towne was spoiled and afterwards quite burnt, nothing remaning but the Church, one Cloister and some houses: no man knew who fiered it, nor how it came, which was the cause of the sauing of many women and children, for they that spoiled it being for the most part Spaniards and Italiens, which entred first, pardoned some, to helpe to saue the mouables that were in the houses from the fier, and during this fier their fury was some-what pacefied: moreouer the Seignior of Hierges caused a proclamation to be made by the dromme, that no women nor children should receiue any harme. The Minister of the towne was taken, and after they had slaine his son before his eyes, they ledhim out of the towne, where they hanged him vpon a gibet. He had bin set at fiue hundred florins ransome, but being knowne, they put him in that manner to death, *Chrestine* of Queillerie Minister of the Wallon Companies, was not knowne, and hauing remained fiue weeks a prisoner, in the end he was deliuered for three hundred florins ransome. In this sort the poore towne of Oudewater was taken and ruined. After the taking of this towne which was the 7. of August the Seignior of Hierges went the 12. day to inuest the towne of Schoonhouen, whether the Prince sent the Seignior of La *Garde* Collonell of the French, a gentleman that was learned, and had beene long practised in the excercise of Armes, of whome we haue spoken in the seege and vitteling of Leyden: who not only in warre but also in matters of State hath done great seruice to the Prince and States, by his wise and graue counsel, who (although the towne was not to be held, hauing no rampar of any strength, and besides most of the Bourguers ill affected to the Prince after he had endured a battery of 26. cannons, and the Spaniards hauing made a breach of 300. paces, attending the assault a whole day and seeing that the Bourguers would rampare vp nothing in the night, fearing to haue enemies both within and without, the next day the Spaniards being redy to renew their battery) by an honorable commposition hee saued the towne, his men, their armes and Bagage, for hee could not haue defended it long with honor.

Schoonhouen inuested by the Spaniard.

Schoonhouen yeelded by an honest Composition.

Whilest that the Seignior of Hierges with this Spanish army made warre in Holland, the King of Spaines Viceadmirall borne in Middelbourge, perswaded the great Commander to attempt an enterprise vpon the Iland of Ziricxzee, the which he said was easie to be executed, and thereby hee might subdue with more facility the Ile of Walchren, and so deuide the Zeelanders from them of Holland. His reasons seemed probable, and they came from one, who in sea causes had good experience, and was well acquainted with all the passages of the country, and with that sea, The Commander not-with-standing any difficulties that might contradict the vndertaking of this enterprise, and knowing of what importance the happie succesſe thereof might be, would haue it put in execution. To this end he gathered together his army and imbarkt them sodenly, going himselfe in person along the Iland of Tolen, neere to the Ile of Schauwe, the which hee would surprize, being deuided onely by a riuer: there were in the Ile of Tolen many forts vpon the dikes, furnished with good artillery, which kept the Protestants shippes from passing, so as they could not hinder the Spaniards passage, yet the Zeelanders had some forts right against them, so as they shot often one at an other. The 28. of September the Commander caused his men to passe at a lowe water into the Iland of Saint *Anne*, not-with-out great paine and toyle, whereas they planted their campe in Saint *Annes* Bourg, along the dike. *Sanchio d' Auila* who at that time was Admirall in the absence of Cont *Bossu* (being prisoner at Horne) came thether with his ships, bringing a good troupe of footemen, and so they entred at a low water into the Iland of Duyuelandt on Saint *Michales* day. The next day hee went with his gallies towards the Iland of Schouen, other-wise called Zirixzee, where they entred also, but with great toyle, his men being so wet and tired, as they had beene easely defeated, if there had beene such order giuen as was fit. Being past, and hauing taken Brouwershauen, and some other forts of the Iland, and of other small Ilands, without losse of any men, they went to beseege a strong place called Bomened, the which they did batter fower daies together

The Spaniards desseine vpon Ziricxzee.

The Spaniards Enter into the Iland of Zirixzee.

A togither, and then gaue an assault, but it was so valiantly defended as at that time they were repulst with losse. The next day they gaue an other assault the which continued 6. houres being 4. or 5. times renewed with fresh men, wheras the Spaniards & Wallons were so brauely repulst as they wold no more returne. But in the end the Germains going to charge, & the beseeged being so tired with fighting as they could no longer stād, they were forced, and al slaine. It is sayd that in al these assaults of Bomende, the Spaniard lost about 1500. men: the besieged being not aboue 300. of the which their were not aboue 30. or 40. saued, who escaped strangely. From thence the Spaniards went to the towne of Zirickxee, the which they did inuest the first day, thinking it would yeeld at their first approch: but being wel furnished of all things necessary, and the Burgers re- 1575.

B solued to defend themselues, being in hope of succors, the Spaniard found himselfe de- The siege of zirickxee.
ceiued of his expectation, so as they were forced to vse more force then they intended. And first to cut of all succors they tooke from them the entry of the hauen, & although the chanel be broad there, yet they shut it vp with a great chaine frō one side to the other, wheras they planted ordinance to defend it. The Protestāts ships made sundry attempts, and did much anoy the Spaniards, yet they could not breake the chaine. About this time there parted a fleet of ships from Spaine, called Zabres, which came & anchored at the Ile-wight, belonging to England, where hauing receiued such refreshings as A fleete from Spaine with new soldiars.
they needed, then they came to Dunkerke, where hauing landed their *besognes* or newe leauied soldiars, & the mony which they brought, they were forced to winter, and the

C ships to be in the hauen of Dunkerke: during the which, by reason of great tempests, & ill order in looking to them, they were al spoiled, so as they could serue to no vse for the war. In the meane time *Iohn du Bois* attorney general in the Netherlands for the king of The Commander sends an agent into England.
Spaine, was sent as agent into England by the Commander, to intreat her maiesty to banish all the Kings rebells that were retired thether. The which was at the first refused him, the Queene finding it very strange & vnworthy the Maiesty of a Prince, to chase away the poore exiled Netherlanders, who were fled into her dominions to saue their liues and to auoide the Spanish tirany, practised both against their bodies and consciences. Shewing the mischiefe which had insued, & how much the King his maister had bin preiudized in the like case 3. years before, when at his request she had driuen out of her

D Ports the Earle of Marck, and them of his company with their ships, who beeing thus chased away to all aduentures, seeking a place of retreat, they seized vpon the Iland and towne of Briele, so as it had bin better for the King hee had not made any such request: notwithstanding at the instance of the Agent, the Queene gaue cōmandment to all captaines & officers of her Ports and hauens, not to suffer any one to enter, and to cause al those retire, that did carry armes against the King of Spaine. Among the which that might not enter, or that were there already, were particularly named. The Prince of Orange & al those of his house, the Earles of Culenburg, *Vandan-bergh* and *la Marck*, the signior of *Esquerdes* and of *Lumbres* brethren, *Rumen*, *Carnesse*, *Noielles*, *Blioul*, *Bredam*, *Boisot*, Saint *Aldegonde*, *Mansart*, *Vanden Dorpe*, *Vander Aa*, *Houtain*, *Vanden Timpel*,

E *Iunius* and many others, to the number of fifty by name. This was granted by the Queene, for that by doctor *Wilson* her agent, she had obtained of the Cōmander, that the Earle of Westmerland & al other English rebells should be in like sort banished out of the low-counties: and that the English ships, 4. at once (the which she had also obtained The States resolue for their preseruation.
from the Prince of Orange) might traffick freely at Antwerp, and in al other places. During this negotiation, the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland and Zeland, finding by that had past at the last cōference at Breda, that there was no assurāce of peace with the King of Spaine, whereby they might enioy the exercise of their relligion, they consulted to what part they should turne, & whom they should seeke vnto, to preserue their liues, wiues, children and goods against the violence of the king of Spaine: where-

F vpon they propoūded to choose one of 3. great & mighty Monarks, for their Protector which was the Empire, France or England. As for the Empire, they found great difficulty & least hope there, considering the diuersity of relligion, and the small vnion that was betwixt the Princes of Germany, one distrusting an other, and euery one troubled with care how to maintaine his owne estate in peace, free from the practises, as well of

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1576. the Spaniards, as of the aduerse party: besides the said Princes would neuer endure, that A
any one of them in particular, should take vpon him aboue the rest, the state & gouern-
ment of the Netherlands, wherby he might exceed the rest in force and means. More-
ouer the King of Spaine had many great friends there first the Emperor his brother in
law, then the dukes of Bauiere and other Protestants, besides the bishops. And that be-
fore they should incorporate the said Netherlands vnto the Empire, their would be a
yeare and a day spent, before the States thereof would agree vpon so important a busi-
nesse: the which could not be effected without an Imperial diet, wherin they should want
no opponents that would contradict it. As for France it was not found conuenient, not
only by reason of the periuries, massakers & cruelties lately committed there, but for
many other inconueniences which would follow it: and that France was now exhaust B
and drawne dry of money and meanes by reason of the ciuill warres, the which were
not yet fully pacified. And admit the French were well affected to them, yet could it not
be done without great distrust of either part: which would haue bred a continuall war
betwixt the vnited Prouinces of Holland, Zeeland and their associates, and the Brabanti-
sons, Flemings, Artesiens and them of Henault, who had rather haue warre against the
French by reason of their old quarrells, then against the vnited States; As for the Eng-
lish, notwithstanding the difficulties of the tongues, they found not any in their opinios
more fit to receiue them vnder their protection, not onely by reason of the conformity
of religion, but also for the Queenes greatnesse, her neighbourhood, and the nauigation
and traffick from one country to another; whereby Spaine should be out of hope to be C
commanders at sea: besides the realmes of Denmarke & Sueden, the county of Emden,
and the Hans townes of the East countries, did not onely desire it, but also intreated it
might take effect, & that they might ioyne with them in a new league. The which would
also cause Brabant, Flanders, and other prouinces, to seeke to be comprehended in this
league: yea and France it selfe, that they might with their common forces weaken the
Spaniards, and reduce him vnto reason: so as by the means of England those countries
The vnited states send to demand succors from England. should be for euer maintained in peace, rest, and prosperity. The estates and the Prince
hauing duly considered which of these three might be most availeable for them, seeing
that the estate of their affaires required a speedy resolution of the one, before that their
enemies should preuaile more ouer them; they concluded that they must seeke to the D
Queene of England, wherefore applying themselues vnto the time, and to reason, & to
that which their religion required, & their estate had most need of; they sent into Eng-
land *Philip* of Marnix signior of S. Aldegunde, *Iohn Vander-dorpe* signior of Nortwyck,
William of Nyuelt, *Paul Buys* aduocate for the states of Holland, Doctor *Malson* a Lawier
with others, with cõmission, to make a league with the Queene: *or to submit thẽselues vn-
der her protection: or if necessity so required, to acknowledge her for their Princesse & soueraign
Lady, issued from the Earles of Holland & Zeeland, by the Lady* Philipot, *daughter to* William
the third of that name, Earle of Henault and Holland, &c. Wherevpon the Queene, waigh-
ing of the one side the hatred of the Spaniards, the iealousie of the French, & the great
charges she must bee at, if she vnder-tooke their cause, grew cold in satisfying of their E
demands. Besides the great Commander had sent the Lord of Champaigny vnto the
Queene, who preuailed so with his eloquence, as she resolued rather to entertaine the
amity of Spaine, then to accept the offers the states made vnto her, and to seeke some
meanes to reconcile both parties, for the quiet of her realme: for the which she intrea-
ted the King by a particular discourse & by protestation, that if he would not agree with
his Netherlands & giue them peace, that he should not thinke it strange, if for her owne
safety *she did lay hold vpon Holland and Zeeland, before the French her naturall enemies.* In
this sort the requests of the vnited states were refused, giuing them leaue notwithstan-
ding to leuie men and munition within her realme for their money, and to transport it: &
so passed the yeare 1575. the Spaniards remaining before Ziricxzee. At this time the F
The Cõmander demands 28000. gilders monethly of Antwerp. Commander grew bare of money, so as there began a generall alteration, by reason of
the soldiers insolencies being vnpaied; wherevpon hee sought all meanes to taxe euery
towne at his discretion, as hee had done the villages of the champian country, asking
28000. gilders monethly of Antwerp, to pay Colonel *Hannibal Vander-Ens* regiment,
who

A who threatned the towne if they would not pay it. Then was the King of Spaine found to be indebted to the Spaniſh, Genoa & other marchants called Foukers, in the ſumme of fourteene Millions and a halfe of crownes or duckets, beſides what he ought vnto his ſoldiars, which ſumme did riſe ſo heigh by reaſon of the intreſt money, whereof the Pope being aduertiſed, he gaue the King a diſpenſation of all his promiſes, contracts and morgages, whereby he might lawfully breake and recall the ſame, where vpon the King vpon the firſt of September 1575. made a proclamation, and an other the fift of December, 1577. whereby he called in, diſanulled, and made voyd his contracts and promiſes made vnto all his creditors, reducing his debt to a ſmaler ſumme. This want of money in the King, and his great debts were not to be wondred at, for at the ſame B time the Netherland warres had coſt him aboue forty two millions of duckets, whereof the moſt part came out of Spaine, beſides all the loſſe which the Netherlands had ſuſteined by the daily ſpoyles, and ruine of townes, villages, Caſtells and houſes. This want of money and the Kings falling in debt, in this Gouernors time, bred a contempt of the Commander, ſo as in ſteed of receiuing money, the Prouinces complayned, ſome demanding reſtitutiõ of their liberties, others to be freed of their garriſons, according to his promiſe, others demand an accompt as they of Flanders, who had promiſed 100000 gilders, vpon condition that out of the ſame they ſhould deduct the loſſes they had ſuſteyned by the Spaniards, and ſhould haue a due account of all that had beene diſburſed to the ſoldiars for ſeruice and lodging money, as alſo that the ſoldiars ſhould de- C part out of Flanders, and bee puniſhed for the wrongs and inſolencies they had commit ted, that good marſhall diſcipline ſhould be obſerued, that goods confiſcated ſhould be reſtored according to their preuiledges: that the bloudy councell might be put downe, and no other appointed in the place thereof, but that all cauſes might be decided by the Prouinciall councells. That all preuiledges might be reſtored, and the taxe of the tenth peny vtterly aboliſhed, for the which all the Prouinces in general made great inſtance, where-vpon the Contributions ceaſed, neither did the commiſaries pay or receiue any mony; for which cauſe the Commander was aduiſed to aſſemble the generall States, or their deputies in Bruſſelles, who being there aſſembled made a petition, the cheefe author whereof was *Richardot* Biſhop of Arras, a learned and well ſpoken man. The cheefe D points whereof were, proteſting firſt, that they would not abandon the Catholike Romiſh religion, nor their due obedience to his maieſty, intreating that al ſtrangers might be ſent out of the Netherlands, and that the Nobility and naturall borne in the country might be imployed in their places: that marſhall diſcipline might be obſerued, and that the contributions of the country might be imployed to the vſe that they were granted, that their priuileges might be mantayned and kept: that the King might be duly informed of all things, and that he might haue a councell of Netherlanders by him, to haue a care of all things that concerned thoſe Countries, and that the mutined Spaniards might be puniſhed, and the bands of ordinance new erected. This requeſt being preſented vnto the Commander, who was then in Duyueland he was much troubled, E crying out *Dios nos libra de eſtos eſtados*, and ſo came preſently to Antwerp, where he made knowne the reaſon why he had aſſembled the eſtates, which was to haue mony, and they preſented him a petition, where-vnto he made anſwere, that he would doe his beſt endeauor to perſwade the king to yeeld to their deſiers. Whileſt that the Spaniards were at worke before Zirickzee the proteſtants were not idle in Holland, for the 11. of February 1576. they tooke a great fort called Crimpen, in the gulph of the riuer of Leck, by the which they did warrant all places betwixt Dordrecht and Rotterdam. After the taking of Schoonhouen the Seignior of Hierges went to beſeege the towne of Woerden the which he did blocke vp very ſtraightly, for that he could preuaile nothing by battery, by reaſon of the Inondation, neither could he approch his cannon ſo nere as to plant F it in battery, for there were two peeces drowned which he had planted, being not able to retire them. During the ſeege of Ziricxzee which the Spaniard pretended to get by famine, don *Lewis* of Requeſens great Commander of Caſtile, Gouernor and Lieutenant generall to the King of Spaine in the Netherlands died the 5. of March in Bruſſelles, of a peſtilent feuer, or elſe of the plague it ſelfe. After whoſe death the King not able ſo

The King of Spaines debt.

The demand of Flanders to the commander.

The requeſt of the commander.

The fort of Crimpen taken by the Proteſtants of Holland.

The death of the great Commander.

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soone to dispose of another gouernor, which the States required might be a Prince of A.
1576. the bloud, (according to the priuiledges and oth of the said king) the gouernment of the said countries was put into the hands of the councell of State, which caused some alterations, as we will presently shew. *Chiappin Vitelli* Marquis of Cetona, marshall of the
The death of Chiappin Vitelli. king of paine: armie, died a little before, being falne out of his coach, from the top of a dike in the land of Ziriczee (otherwise called Schouwen) wherewith he was sore brused being a heauy and a corpulent man: he was put into a barke to be conueied to Antwerp, but he died by the way: he had bin a braue soldier, & of great experience, but a scorner of all religion being accustomed to say; *Morto mi, morto mi Caual*, which is as much as to say, when I am dead, all the world is dead; which is the prouerbe of an Atheist. The Duke of Florence had sent him to serue the King of Spaine, to bee rid of him, for some B
hard conceit he had of him. It was said that some by the dukes commaund had plaid him this trick vpon the dike: vnlesse (as some said) the diuell him selfe did it.

The Prince of Orange hearing that Ziriczee was so distressed, as without speedy succours it would be lost, hauing endured a siege of seuen moneths, came into the Ile of Walchren, to aduise of the meanes to succor it. The Zelanders prepared an army by sea to victuall it, but all the passages were so garded by the Spaniards, & the riuer so strictly shut vp, as thinking the 13. of Iune to do some great exploit, they did nothing but lost some of their ships, and many of their men, among others *Lewis* of Boisot their Admirall, whose eldest brother *Charles* of Boisot gouernor of the Iland of Walchren, had
The Admirall Boisot slaine. bin slaine before at the passage of the Spaniards into Saint Anne-landt, Philip-landt & C
Duyuelandt. After the death of the great Cõmander, the Kings councell of state made *Peter Ernest* earle of Mãsfieldt gouernor of Luxembourg, general of the Spanish army, whilest that the said councell should manage the affaires of state, vntill the King should other-waies dispose thereof. The King approued all, hoping it would proue successfull vnto him; for it seemed vnto him that matters should be managed with more modestie then they had bin vnder the Duke of Alua, or the great Commander. In the meane time
Ziricz-e yeelded to the Kings coun. cell of state. the towne of Ziriczee not able to hold out any longer, sent their deputies to the councell of State at Brussels, who receiued them, and made an agreement with them, wherevpon the towne was yeelded to the Kings obedience, the soldiers departing with armes and baggage, but no colours flying, nor drums sounding, nor matches lighted, vntil they D
were imbarked, & their two ministers with them, and 13. strangers, the Bourgers paying a hundred thousand Florins for their ransome: And that *Adolph* of Hemstede, vice-admirall of Antwerp (taken prisoner two yeares before) should bee deliuered without ransome. It was decreed that *Sanchio d' Auila* should retire from thence with his Spaniards, in whose place Collonell *Mondragon* should enter with his regiment of Wallons. This victory of Ziriczee (like vnto that of Harlem and the battaile of Mocken) caused a mutinie among the Spaniards. The soldiars which had continued all the winter before the towne, and endured great miseries, seeing themselues in a poore wretched Iland,
A mutinie among the spaniards. where there was nothing to be gotten, so as taking an occasion vpon the arrerages of their pay, they gathered together about 1500. men, and in despight of their Collonels E
and Captaines, who sought to dissuade them by all meanes, leauing the Iland of Schouwen and the towne of Ziriczee, they retired into Brabant, hauing made an enterprise on Brussels, which they thought to spoile, or at the least to hold it for their pay. But the inhabitants hauing some intelligence thereof, went to armes, & kept good gard, so as the Spaniards were forced to retire. The Kings councell of state, seeing the danger that might grow by this mutinie, thought it fit to treat with them, to see if they might pacifie them. The charge was giuen to Cont *Peter Ernest* of Mansfieldt, who went to parle with them in a village foure leagues from Brussels, but they would do nothing without money: he told them that there was no money in the Kings cofers, but they should be paid the first that came out of Spaine: these words did incense them more then before, F
so as they resolued to seize vpon some strong place, the which they might hold vntill
The mutines surprise Alost. they were paid; and so they came in the end of Iuly to Alost, the which they surprized without any resistance. Soone after they went & besieged the castell of Lydekerke a strong place in Brabant the which was yeelded them by the Lord of the place although there

A there were some of the Earle of *Roeux* regiment in it, and a great number of peasants: but it seemed that the Earle of Roeux fauoured the Spaniards, and so he was suspected. The Duke of Arscot, the Earle of Mansfieldt, with *Ieronimo de Roda* chiefe of the councell of troubles, (who had succeeded in the place of *Iohn de Vergas* retired with the Duke of Alua) went thether to pacifie them: but it was well knowne that what Arschot and Mansfieldt did, was to drawe themselues out of the danger of the furie of the people of Brusselles, who were much mooued, and the sayd *Ieronimo de Roda* to goe and ioyne with the mutines, as he did in *Alost*, where he was well welcome, and acknowledged for their head. The States of the Dutchie of Brabant, considering these proceedings, and the excesse of the Spaniards, made their complaints vnto the generall
B estates of the Netherlands, intreating them to prouide for the auoiding of further inconueniences, but it seemed that in steed of punishing them, the councell of State did winke at their doings: for although that the States of Brabant had proclaimed them enemies; yet was there not any order taken, as if this declaration had beene but a vaile to blinde them of Brabant, yet they must vnmaske themselues, for the said councell of State had caused them to be proscribed & giuen leaue to all men to kill them, or otherwise to intreate them in any hostile manner. Then was the time fit to chase away the mutinous Spaniards. In a manner all the townes of Brabant and Flanders, yea of Arthois and Henault tooke armes, euery one beginning to cast his eye vpon this *Ieronimo de Roda* a Spanish priest, and other councellors and Noblemen Spaniolized. And as they
C were not very sure of their persons, so could they in no sort trust them: and the rather for that they see the Marquis of Haurec and others newly come from Spaine, were they that did most hate the Spaniards. Some-what to pacifie this distrust, it was concluded betwixt the states of Brabant and *Sanchio d'Auila*, that *Ieronimo de Roda* who went and came from Alost to Brusselles, and other Spanish Caualiers, should retire from Brussels and goe to Antwerpe, and that some other Noblemen of the countrie should goe to Brussels. In the meane time whilest that the States gathered soldiers together, the Collonels did all they could to prouide money to pay their mutined soldiers in Alost, fearing some greater inconuenience: the money being ready, they sought to pacifie them, but they were then bitterly incensed and discontented, partly for that
D they had bin declared rebels and enemies to the country, & partly for that they vnderstood of the great preparation that was made against him: so as the Collonels were forced to let them alone. In the meane time they of Brussels tooke foure companies of the ordinary garrison of Wallons for their garde. The councell of Brabant on the other side, being much disquieted and discontented with the oppressions & spoiles which the mutins made in the champian country, and at the wincking of the councell of state, who made no shew to remedie it, with the aduise of some of their Prelats and ecclesiasticall members, they appointed the siegnior of Heze, gouernor of the towne of Brussels, and the siegnior of Gliues great bailiffe of Brabant, with the assistance of the Bourgesses, to seaze vpon the councell of state, the which was done the 4. of September. The chiefe of
E them and those that were most Spaniolized, and suspected vnto them of the country, were the Earles of Mansfieldt and Barlamont, *Christopher* d'Assonuille a councellor, and the Secretary *Berti*, and *Scharemberg*, all which were carried to prison. The duke of Arschot was chosen cheefe by prouision, vntill the first conuocation of the generall Estates, the which should be held at Berghen vpon Soom, where he should be allowed & confirmed by a generall consent. There were letters written to the other Prouinces and townes, in the behalfe of them of Brabant, to draw them into their societie, with their iustification for the taking of the said Noblemen, and a declaration of the loue & affection they bare vnto their country, as followeth.

All the contry in armes to chase away the Spaniards.

The Kings councell of state seazed on, and why.

The Duke of Arschot made chiefe of the councell of State.

My maisters, it is notorious to all the world, how the Spaniards (borne in pouerty,
F and come out of a poore country) obseruing the riches & wealth of these Netherlands, haue alwaies sought (which now they shew by effect,) to plant themselues there, to make it their continuall aboade, and to hold the greatest and best offices: but not able to attaine there-vnto (our priuiledges not admitting any stranger to be aduanced to any office) they haue sought by all meanes possible vtterly to ruine it. Hauing therin shewed

"Letters frō the States of Brabant to the prouinces and townes in particular.

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1576. „ their pernicious deſſeigne at the firſt alteration which happened in theſe Netherlands A
„ in the yeare 1566. the which the Duches & the councel did very diſcreetly pacefy, ſo as
„ ſince they haue enioyed ſome reſt, al queſtions being laid aſide. The which by a naturall
„ and inueterate hatred againſt theſe countries, they haue made proofe of, when as they
„ ſent the duke of Alua into theſe parts, who well inſtructed in *Machiuells* precepts, put
„ many of the chiefe and ancient Nobility to death, building here and there Cittadels,
„ to reduce the people into ſlauery; beſides the exceſſiue and inſupportable impoſitions
„ and executions, as of the 20. and 10. penny of all merchandiſe: aduancing the skum of
„ his leud inſtruments, to offices of greateſt honor: entertayning a multitude of traitors
„ and ſpies among the people to obſerue their actions and words: and againſt the liber-
„ ties, freedomes and preuiledges of the country, hindering & forbidding the conioca- B
„ tion of the generall Eſtates, he ſuffred his Spaniards to commit all ſorts of inſolencies
„ and villenies with an vnreſtrained liberty, to kill and murther whom they thought
„ good, to force and rauiſh wiues and virgins, noble and baſe, and to commit al ſorts of
„ cruelties with impunity: not only by their Commanders and captaines, but alſo by the
„ meaneſt ſoldiar among them. Wherby we ſee that the riches and welth of theſe coun-
„ tries which was wont to be very great, is now come to nothing, and the glory of our an-
„ ceſtors turned to ignominy and ſhame. And which is more, it doth not appeare that
„ they will deſiſt from their courſes in the leaſt point, vntil that by their theſts, robberies,
„ ſpoyling, burnings and deuaſtations, they haue made theſe countries a wildernes & de-
„ ſart. As of late by their mutiny, vnder collour that they are not paied their entertain- C
„ ment, they practiſe all acts of hoſtility threatning (in caſe they bee not paied) to ruine
„ many good townes: being to that end retired out of the Iſland of Zuicxee, and come in-
„ to the country of Brabant, to ſhew the hatred wherewith they are inflamed againſt vs:
„ hauing a deſſigne to ceaze vpon the noble and mighty town of Bruſſells, (the aboad of
„ the Court) to ſpoile it: but ſeeing themſelues diſcouered, & that the good inhabitants
„ of the ſayd towne were in armes, and ſtood vpon their gard; changing their deſſeigne,
„ they haue fallen vpon Flanders, and in hoſtile manner haue ſurprized Aloſt, threatning
„ to do the like vnto Bruſſells & to deſtroy it: wherfore the States of Brabant conſidering
„ what miſeries and calamities all theſe practiſes might bring vnto the country, they
„ held them not to be any longer tollerated: and hauing laied them before the councell D
„ of State, they were alſo of the ſame opinion and haue thought it neceſſary to reſiſt
„ ſuch inſolencies and violences, declaring the Spaniards to bee as rebells and enemies
„ to the King and States, puniſhing them according to their merits. Wherevpon the
„ States haue decreed that to maintaine the royall authoritie, and for the defence of the
„ countrie, there ſhould be a leauie made of horſe and foote. But whereas it hath beene
„ diſcouered, that ſome of the councell of State did ſecretly and vnder hand fauour the
„ ſayd rebells and mutines, yea did incorrage and perſwade them to ſet vpon the towne
„ of Bruſſells, and to extort and wreſt from them a great ſum of money, ſeeking alſo to
„ hinder the leauy of men of warre as the States had decreed, oppoſing themſelues a-
„ gainſt it with all their power, and ſeeking to diſapoint the intentions and meanes of E
„ the States, and by lies and falſe-hoods to fruſtrate their good councells, and holeſome
„ reſolutions, all to the aduancement of theſe mutines: finally hauing made ſhewe that
„ their countries good is diſpleaſing vnto them, and that they will in no ſort diuert and
„ preuent the miſchiefe, ſeeking rather to defend and maintaine theſe Spaniards their
„ enemies, vntill that new ſuccors may bee ſent them from Spaine. Euery one may
„ hereby eaſily iudge of the equity of the States cauſe, in that they ſeeke councell and
„ meanes to defend themſelues againſt the tirany of the Spaniſh nation, who by their
„ pride, deſpite and irreconciliable hatred, which they haue long norriſhed and entertai-
„ ned (as if they had preſently conquered al the country by their armes) thinke to diſpoſe
„ thereof at their pleaſures, impoſing vpon them a perpetuall yoake of ſeruitude, after F
„ they had ſpoiled them of their preuiledges and freedomes (which hetherto wee haue
„ preſerued and maintained) vnder the cruelties of the inquiſition of Spaine. To prevent
„ the which, and to reſiſt them by all meanes poſſible, the States of Brabant haue thought
„ it fit to ſeize vpon the perſones of ſuch councellors, being ſecret fauorers & adherents

to

A to the enemies of the country, vntill that the King may bee fully informed of the estate here, as we hope he shall be shortly, being resolued to aduertise him particularly, and of our good intentions and the affection wee beare vnto our country, who will neuer indure any thing that shall bee contrary to the duty of his Maiesties good and faithfull seruants. 1576.

At this time there was a great discontent betwixt the English & the Zelanders, who could not endure to see that the Marchants of the Netherlands vnder the K. of Spaines obedience, should trafficke into Spaine in English ships, vnder the name of Englishmens goods, although they did belong to them of Antwerpe, Tournay, Lille, Valenciennes and other townes. Of which ships the Zeelanders tooke some, the which by the B iudge of the Admiralty were adiuged good prize. The complaints hereof being come into England, and foure of the Zelanders ships being driuen in by fowle weather neere vnto Plimouth, the English arrested them, and kept the Captaines prisoners. The mariners hauing found meanes to escape, and to returne into Holland, complained of that which had happened to their Captaines and ships: during this breache the Zeelanders tooke at diuers times 14. English ships, whereof the English demanded restitution, for the which they sued in the Admiralty court, so as in the end they did agree vpon certain conditions, among others, that all the ships should be restored of either side, & that the English marchants should lend vnto the states of Holland and Zeeland a good sum of money. This accord made, and the English ships restored (those of Zeeland being quite C spoiled, hauing bin so long abandoned by their men) the English marchats hauing what they desired would not furnish what they had promised by the accord, saying, it had bin extorted by force, and moreouer arrested the persons and goods of ten or twelue of the chiefe merchants of Holland and Zeeland: suing vnto the Queene to haue some ships of war to waft their cloath, woolll and other merchandise ouer to Dunkerke. But the Queene desired to haue all quarrells reconciled and ended, to which end *Philip* of Villiers, Minister of the French Church was sent by the merchants of the low-countries remayning in England, to the Prince of Orange: whilst that these matters were in question and that the English ships of war made their conuoies vnto Dunkerke, the English tooke fiue or six Zelanders ships, the which they spoiled, keeping the captaines prisoners. D These alterations and discontents did much please the Spaniards, who hoped to make good vse therof: but the Prince sent captaine *Barkley* an Englishman, with so good instructions, as the Queene was wel satisfied, whose pleasure was that al quarells should be ended, & the ships & prisoners deliuered, to the losse of the English merchants who had bin the motiues. After the seazing of the lords of the councel of State, some noblemen of authority (whereof the Earle of Lalain gouernour of Henault was one of the chiefe) sent in the name of the States of Brabant, to beseech *Francis* of Vallois Duke of Aniou & Alanson, the French kings only brother, to imbrace their quarrell against the Spaniards, and to receiue them into his protection. For his better satisfaction he came in post with fifteene or sixteene horse to Mons in Henault, (hauing past by Lens in He- E nault, where he was knowne by some priuate persons, and saluted by the Lord of Capres, afterwards Earle of Henin.) Hauing conferred with the Earle of Lalain & some others, he returned sodenly as he came, promising to succor them as soone as the peace should bee concluded in France. In the meane time the States of Brabant sollicit the other prouinces of the country, and intreat them to ioyne with them, to chase away the strangers, as well Spaniards, Italians, Bourguignons, as any other that were in league with the mutines. The countrie of Henault at the perswasion of the Earle of Lalain, the Earle of Reneberg and the Baron of Fresin ioyne first, by reason of their proximity and neighbour-hood: Flanders, Arthois, Lille, Douay, Orchies, Tournay, Tournesis & other Prouinces followed them (except Luxembourg & Namur, whereof Mansfelde F & Barlamont, that were prisoners, were gouernors) and they make a league & perpetuall vnion betwixt them, to aide one an other with all their meanes against the tiranie of strangers. The Earle of Roch gouernor of Arthois (although hee were brother in lawe to Cardinall *Granuelle*, whether it were to plaie the good fellow, or that hee durst not oppose himselfe against the States) hearing that some Italiens of

A discontent betwixt the English and the Zelanders.

The duke of Aniou sent for into the low-countries.

A league against the mutines.

theſe mutines were entred into his gouernment, hee ſent to all the townes to put themſelues in armes againſt them, and euery one to chaſe them out of his iuriſdiction. *Grenet* brother to the ſignior of Werp and my ſelfe, went out of Bethune with about fifteene hundred men, to incounter them, & to ioyne with them of Arras, Heſdin Aire, Saint Omer and other townes, ſo as in all we might haue made fiue thouſand men. But the onely brute hereof made the Italiens retire towards Cambreſis, and from thence into Henaut, from whence the Earle of Lalain did in like ſort chaſe them. A

The Kings councell was much troubled and perplexed at this mutiny, the which turned into a generall alteration (which they terme Alborotto) and they feared ſome greater inconuenience, if the French ſhould chance to deale in it: wherefore they ſend ſome ſpeciall perſons among them to require the mutined Spaniards, to reſt ſatiſfied with ſuch money as they had in hand, being impoſſible to furniſh any more. But it was labor loſt; for on the other-ſide *Don Fernando* of *Toledo* cauſed thoſe men which he had in Holland to come into Brabant: and ſo did *Don Alonſo de Vergas*, generall of the horſe: who retired themſelues with their men into the caſtell of Antwerp, as into a place of ſafe retreate. *Sanchio d' Auila* caſtellan of the ſaid caſtell, ſent for the Spaniſh Merchants that were in the towne, intreating them to furniſh (vpon his word and promiſe to be paied at a certaine daie,) as much victualls and munition of warre as hee ſhould demand, the which they did, ſo as the caſtell was well ſupplied of all things to endure a long ſeege. *Iulien Romero* did the like in the towne of Liere, and captaine *Montiſdoqua* at Maſtricht. B

The Caſtell of Antwerp a retreate for the chiefe of the mutines.

C

The States on the other ſide were not negligent to leauy men euery where, doing what they could to keepe the Spaniſh forces, as well mutiners as others, from ioyning togither, or to haue intelligence one with an other, ſuffering nothing to paſſe to thoſe townes and places which they held. There were then betwixt Louvain and Tillemont fiue companies of theſe mutined Spaniards, Italiens and Bourguignons, lodged in the Village of Weſſenaken. The States ſent the ſignior of Glimes to diſlodge them from thence, hauing with him the garriſons of Bruſſells and of Louvaine, with ſome men at armes, being in all about three thouſand men; with whom there ioyned ſome Burgers of Bruſſells & ſome ſchollers of Louvaine, ſome to the fight, others to get ſome ſpoile, ſo as it ſeemed that he that would not go did not loue his country. The Spaniards being aduertiſed by their ſpies, the Generall *Alonſo de Vergas* beeing ioyned with them with his horſe, lay in ambuſh in a little wood neere vnto this village, commanding the foote to goe forth and skirmiſh with the ſtates-men when they ſhould ſee them approch, the which they did and were ſharply charged by the ſtates-men, ſo as the Spaniards retyring in good order, ſtill skyrmiſhing vnto the ambuſh, being hotly purſued, the horſemen breaking forth charged theſe foote-men that purſued (for their bands of Ordinance were not yet aduanced) who breaking their rankes were put to rout and all defeated, ſo as fewe eſcaped: the which happened in the end of September. D

The States men defeated at Wiſſenaken by the mutins.

The laſt of the ſame month, commandement beeing giuen to all the townes of the Netherlands that were confederated togither againſt the mutined Spaniards, to arme, among others they of Bruſſells made a muſter of their Burguers, from the age of twenty yeares vnto three ſcore, whereas they found fifteene thouſand men well armed. And knowing that the Spaniards were incenſed againſt them, they began to fortefie their towne, cauſing both men, women, boyes and maides to labour at the rampar. The States were nothing amazed for the route of Wiſſenaken, but fortefied themſelues with all the regiments of Wallons, among the which were that of the ſignories of Hierges and of Floion his brother, ſonnes to *Barlamont*. And to aſſure the paſſage from Macklin to Antwerp, they ceazed vpon the Village of Walhen, where they made a ſtronge fort ſufficient to defend the bridge. *Iulien Romero* beeing at Liere, came with his Spaniards to ſeaze vpon this bridge, hee gaue an alarme of the one ſide and aſſaulted the fort on the other, the which hee forced, and tooke the Gouernor priſoner, who was a gentleman of Louvaine. A great number of the regiment of Floion were defeated, and there died *Francis* of *Nidouchel* ſignior of Ysberghe Lieutenant Collonel with three or foure captaines and Lieutenants, and a great number of Officers. E

The fort at the bridge of Walhen won by the Spaniards, and the regiment of Floion defeated.

F

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A was burnt, loſt at this time aboue eight hundred men. Preſently after the Spaniſh troupes of horſe and foote of don *Alonzo d' Vergas*, and of don *Fernando* of Toledo marched towards Maeſtricht, to keepe the States from paſſing any men ouer the riuer of Meuſe, the which did much import them: which they could not at the firſt effect for the Germains that were within the towne (being vnited with the Bourgers) had thruſt out the Spaniards and kept Montildoqua priſoner: not-with-ſtanding that Captaine *Martin d Ayala* had done his beſt endeuor to get him out of their hands: don *Alonzo* comming before the towne of Marſtricht, a Spaniſh ſoldiar came to aduertiſe him of the State of the towne, and that vpon one of the ports there remained yet ſome Spaniards who had good meanes to giue them entrance: Don *Alonzo* hearing this, cauſed a B good number of foote to paſſe the riuer in boats to ioyne with the reſt on the other ſide, then hee appointed ſome foote and a company of horſe to march towards the port of Bruſſelles, which was held by thoſe ſoldiars that were in the tower vpon the port. The Inhabitants ſeeing that by their meanes the Spaniards without might haue entrance into the town thought to batter them with the cannon from their rampar. But thoſe in the towne did ſo pay them with muſket-ſhot, as they could not annoy them, neither durſt any one ſtand by the artillery. In the meane time the Spaniards hauing paſt the bridge, intrencht themſelues in two parts of the towne; whileſt that the Germains like cowards and trechers lay ſtill in a remote place, and did not any thing according to the oth which they had taken to ayde the Bourgers, who after they C had made all the reſiſtance they could, ſeeing themſelues not able to hold out, in the end they yeelded to the Spaniards, who ſpoyled it, committed great maſſakers, burnt ſome houſes, and in few wotds vſed their accuſtomed tirany and cruelty. At the ſame time as the Seignior of Liques Gouernor of Cambray held the towne and Cittadell for the Spaniards, the States ſent the Seignior of Inchy of the houſe of Gevre, brother to the Baron of Freſin, to ſeeke ſome meanes to ſurpriſe it, the which he did in the beginning of October, with the helpe of Captaine *Anthony* of Gouy Lieutenant of the ſaid Cittadell, and of ſome ſoldiars at their deuotion, ſo as a port being won, and the gard cut in peeces, the Seignior of Liques was taken priſoner, and Inchy made himſelfe Maiſter of the p'ace, and was appointed gouernor thereof by the States, where he con- D tinued vnto his death, in the yeare 1583. The confederate States ſeeing that all the Spaniards in general were ioyned with the mutins, and diſperſed in diuers places of the Netherlands, ſome at Aloſt in Flanders, and others at Maeſtricht beyond the riuer of Meuſe, they reſolued to make themſelues ſtrong in Antwerp, and to diuide the Caſtell from the Towne: for the effecting whereof, they drew the garriſons out of Bruſſelles, Macklin and Louvain, the which they gaue in charge to Cont *Phillip* of Egmont (who was afterwards ſlaine in France at the Battaile of Yuery) with his owne regiment, conſiſting of old and new companies of Wallons, and his companie of men at armes, with whome there ioyned the Seigniors of Heze and Berſelle, bretheren with their regiments, the Marquis of Haurec with 500. light horſe with the Seignor of Bieure and ſome other E Commanders with their troupes. All theſe troupes hauing good correſpondency with *Frederic Perrenot* Seignior of Champaigny and the Earle of Ouerſteine Collonel of the Germains that were in the new towne of Antwerp, arriued late and very couertly before the towne the third of Nouember, remayning there vntill that the Seignior of Champaigny Gouernor of Antwerp, and the Earle of Ouerſtein came to ſpeake with them, where they reſolued that the next day they ſhould enter, and ſhould haue quarters appointed them, the which was don by the breake of day. The preſident *Ieronimo de Roda* cheefe of all the Spaniſh mutins, and others, being in the Cittadell, concluded with *Sanchio d' Auila*, and others of the councell of Spaine, to ſend for all their forces with ſpeed and to draw them into the Cittadell: and in the meane time they began to batter the F towne furiouſly in ruine, and the ſtreets which did open vpon the plaine, to keepe the Cittizens that they ſhould not intrench and fortifie themſelues againſt the Cittadell: But the miſt was that day ſo great, as they could not diſcerne one an other being neere, ſo as the Spaniards could not doe any great harme but to the topps of their houſes.

In the meane-time the townes-men make Barricadoes, and retrencht all the paſſages

1576.

The States thinking to aſſure themſelues of Maeſtricht are preuented by the Spaniards.

The Cittadell of Cambray ſurprized for the States.

The States ſeeke to aſſure themſelues of Antwerp.

Ieronimo de Roda cheefe of the Spaniſh mutins.

They of Antwerp retrench themſelues againſt the Cittadell.

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passages of the plaine, and made them so strong, as it seemed impossible to force them. A Captaine *Orris* sallied forth of the cittadell with some Harquebuziers, to discouer their defences, and found the Townesmen so weary of working, as he not onely forced their Barricado, but also cut a corps de garde in peeces: at this time hee might haue wone the towne if he had beene well seconded with men: hauing slaine about fifty men, and burnt a Mill and some houses that might annoy them, he retired into the Castell, from whence the skie being cleare, they shot continually against the Barricadoes, the which notwithstanding did not hinder the worke, some-times carrying away the head of one or the arme or legge of another: yea the women laboured with such courage, as they respected not the great Ordinance, to the mercy whereof they did expose themselues willingly and without feare. B

The death of the Emperour Maximilian.

The twelfth of October the same yeare dyed that vertuous Prince *Maximilian*, the second of that name Emperor, being very desirous to retaine the conference of peace, which had beene begun in the towne of Breda, the which he would gladly haue seene take effect in his life time. He was a wise, prudent and discreet prince, fearing GOD, a great louer of peace and an enemie of discord, free from ambition and desire of greatnesse: hee was well seene in languages, and in the holy Scripture. He could not endure that warre should be made for religion, and was wont to say: *That it was a deadly sinne, to seeke to force mens consciences, the which belongs to God onely*. Hee was not dissolute in apparell, liued soberly, and neuer continued aboue an houre at table: if he chanced to be some-what more, it was to discourse of naturall Philosophie, wherein he was much C pleased; he was iudicious and of a great memory, speaking eloquently and sententiously, ready to receiue all petitions, and to giue bountifully. Hee was not curious of riche Cabinets for ostentation, nor of stately buildings. Some-times hee tooke delight to plant and graft trees for his recreation. He liued nine and twenty yeares in marriage and great loue with his wife, who was daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the fift, a Princesse indued with singular vertues, by whom he had sixteene children, whereof six dyed before him; the other ten suruiued him, that is, *Rodolphus* (at this day Emperor) *Erneſt*, *Mathias*, *Maximilian*, *Albert*, *Wenceslas*, *Elizabeth* married to the French King, and *Mary* to the King of Spaine, the names of the other two are vnknowne to me: hee gouerned the Empire about twelue yeares: and at the same time dyed the famous Prince D *Frederic* Elector Palatin of Rhine, so as Germany had an vnspeakable losse by the death of these two Princes.

The death of Prince Frederic Elector Palatin.

The fourth of Nouember the mutined Spaniards that were in Alost, vpon the commandement that was giuen them, marched all night, and entred the Castell of Antwerpe: the next day morning to the number of sixteene hundred men, all old trained soldiers. At the same instant did also arriue those of Liere and Mastricht, being glad to be all so fitly come. On the other side, the inhabitants, and Noblemen that were within the towne for the States, were much amazed to heare that they were all so sodenly ioyned together. Thether also came the regiment of Collonel *Polwiller* a Germaine, hauing beene in garrison at Maestricht and at Diest, being about three thousand E men strong. All these troopes being thus entred into the Castell, *Sancho d'Auila* intreated them to refresh and rest themselues a little: but they were so inflamed against the towne, as they would not stay, but passe on in their exployt. Issuing forth at the great port, vpon the plaine, they put themselues into battaile, hauing boyes with them carrying bottles of Strawe and fire-brands, to set fire where they should command them: and so marching furiously like Lions, at one instant they set vpon the Barricadoes, that were made at the entries of fiue streetes, the which (although they were strong and well manned) they forced, killing all they incountred, putting the Wallons (who were yet but new soldiers, and amazed at their furious charges and cries) to rout, without any great resistance, scarce daring to shew themselues in the trenches, by reaF son of the Canon of the Castell, which shot ouer the Spaniards into the midst of their streetes. The Bourguers seeing themselues forced, and their soldiers to flie away, seeking where to saue themselues, they retired towards their State-house, where their sworne companies were, who put themselues valiantly in defence, doing much harme

The sacke of Antwerpe by the Spaniards.

vnto

A vnto the Spaniards; who seeing that they could not force them, nor draw them from thence, set fier of the house, where many were consumed, and some halfe burnt, leaping out at the windoes to saue them-selues, were massakred. It was a lamentable thing to see so many good men to die so pittifully in the flames; and that stately building all on fier, the which so long before had cost aboue two hundred thousand ducats, besides a greator losse which this fier caused in the houses there abouts, vpon the Market place; and behinde the said Towne-house, being all full of rich marchandise. The crueltie of the Spaniards, could not yet bee contained within any bounds: but they pursued the poore Burgers, vnto the new Towne, where there were some of Count *Ouerstens* Regiment and others, which made some resistance, but it preuayled not, for

The Towne-house burnt.

B with the victorie of the Spaniards of the one side, and the amazement among the soldiars and Burgers, of the other side was so great, as euery one sought to saue himselfe: The States horse-men leauing their horses leapt ouer the Rampars into the Towne ditches, some past the riuer in boates, others escaped by swimming to the shippes that lie in the midst of the riuer. The Lord of *Champaigni*, the Marquesse of *Haurec* and the *Markgraue*, beeing slipt out of the Towne, went vnto the Prince of *Oranges* shippes neere vnto Austreweele, and caused 'em to transport them into Holland. The Earle of *Ouerstein* thinking to saue him-selfe on the other side of the riuer, leaping to a boate fell into the water, where by the waight of his armes hee was drowned.

C The Seignior of Bieure beeing in a boat to passe the riuer, so many entred into it as not able to beare so waighty a burthen, it sunke, where he (and most of the company) was drowned, The Spaniards and Germaines beeing absolute maisters of the Towne, they fell to sacke and spoile it for many daies, massakring many thousands of all ages, sexes, estate and degrees, as well inhabitants as strangers of diuers countries, who arriued there daily, for their Comerce and trafficke: And burning aboue six hundred faire houses in diuers parts of the Towne: To conclude they committed all kindes of cruelties, Insolencie, dissolution and villany: Some hauing vanted that the three first daies of the sacke, they were no men but Incarnate diuells. The Earle of Egmont with the Seigniors of Capres and Gogines were taken in Saint *Michaells* Abbaie. All the

The Earle of Ouerstein and the Seignior of Bieure drowned.

The Earle of Egmont and some others prisoners.

D Wallon soldiars they could finde out, beeing hidden in sellers, garrets or on the tops of houses, (although it were fiue or six daies after their victorie) were miserably slaine in cold blood. The Germaines of *Cornellis van Einden*, did much harme to the new Towne, shewing them-selues no lesse cruell then the Spaniard: yea seeing the Spaniards haue some rich Burgers, and not able to take them away, they slue the poore men, to the end the Spaniards might haue no more benefit by them then their-selues: Among the which there was a rich and famous marchant of Iewells, called *Gilles Smissart* an ancient man, hauing compounded for ten thousand Florins ransome, was run through behinde with a pike by a Germaine, and so slaine; a cruellty that was more then barbarous. In all this Spanish fury, there died as well of soldiars, as of Inhabitants, aboue

The number of them that died in this fury of either side.

E eight thousand persons, some haue said ten thousand, that were slaine and drowned in the hauen and chanells. Of the Spaniards were slaine about two hundred, besides them that were hurt, among the which the chiefe were *Don Manuell Cabesa de vacca*, *Ioan de Robles*, Cousin to the Lord of Billy: *Domiam De Morables* and others were slaine there. *Carell Fucher* was sore hurt and troden vnder their feete that fledde. Behold how this florishing citty, one of the richest and of the greatest trafficke in Europe (by a iust iudgement and dyuine punishment, for their excesse and dissolutions) receiued the greatest scourge that euer fell vpon towne, whereas many of the richest marchāts were made poore, and the very beggers of the Spaniards were inricht in an instant: but some did not long inioy their great wealth, for there were simple soldiars which lost ten thou-

F sand Crownes in a day at dice, vppon the Burse which was their playing place. Other not knowing what to do with their treasure, made hilts for rapiers and daggers of pure gold, yea whole Corslets, A goldsmith hauing made one, the Spaniard desirous to haue it varnished, that it might not be discouered to bee of gold, the workman fled away with it and came to Flessingue.

A Spaniard deceiued.

The

1576. The riches that was taken there was ſo great, as ſome haue affirmed, that there was A
aboue ſome fortie tunne of golde ſpoiled in ready money. There was a ſoldiar which
tooke out of a windowe of a houſe ſeuentie thouſand Florins. Captaine *Ortis* made
choiſe of a bootie, which no man elſe dreampt of, which was the priſon, where hee ſet
at libertie for great ranſomes, all the priſoners that were in it, as well for ciuill and cri-
minall cauſes, as them of the religion, among the which there was ſome miniſters and
many Anabaptiſts; whereby hee gathered a great treaſure. The Cittie of Antwerpe
being thus miſerably ſubiected vnder the enemies yoake, the Spaniards fearing that
the States (to cut of the paſſage of the riuer towards Gant,) ſhould build a Forte at
Burcht, before the which all the ſhippes muſt paſſe that went to Gant, Tenremonde,
A fort built at Burcht by the Spaniards. Macklin, and Bruſſelles: made haſt to preuent them, and to build one there, which they B
gaue in gard to *Franciſco Valdes*, with 400. Spaniards.

Don Iohn

DON IOHN OF AVSTRIA BASTARD sonne to the Emperor Charles the fift

Gouernor of the Netherlands for the King of Spaine.



IOANNES AVSTRI. CAR. V. F. PHIL. RE. CAT. NOMINE
APVD BELGAS GVB. ET CAPIT. GENERA.

Althongh I issued from an vnlawfull bed,
Yet was I not the lesse esteem'd, but greatly honored.
For when the Emperor dying, did acknowledge me, (be.
To be his naturall sonne, the King did hold me for to
His bastard brother, and did such affection beare
To me, that to most great affaires he did me stil prefer.
The Turke I fear'd not but did him ouerthrow,
And forc'd the Granadian Moores obedience to shew.
My minde aspiring vnto high conceites was bent:
And made me practise many things to further my (intent.
But being hether sent chiefe Gouernor to be,
Death crossed al my purposes, and made an end of me.

A

1576. DON *Iohn* of Austria bastard brother to the King of Spaine, sent to gouerne the Netherlands, arriued in the towne of Luxembourg in Nouember 1576. the verie daie that the Spaniards practised their furie in Antwerp, by murthering, burning and spoyling of the Cittie, sparing no age sex nor qualitie. Being there hee writ his letters to the Spaniards in Antwerp, and to the generall Estates assembled at Brussells, seeming in his letters to the States to bee somewhat discontented, for the insolencies that had beene committed in the Netherlands, promising to take due punishment, so as they would shew due obedience vnto the King, and maintaine the Romish Catholike relligion: whereas on the other side if they continued obstinate he B was not onely prouided, but resolued as well for warre as peace, according to the instructions of the Spanish councell.

Don Iohn giues the States cause to suspect him.

The councell of Estate merueyled much at the first that hee came not personally to Brussells, but they were much amazed at the contents of his letter, which seemed to threaten them, who thought to haue executed their charge wisely and carefully, shewing himselfe therein not as their Gouernor but as their aduersary: which iealousie of theirs encreased the more for that hee would not come among them, but vpon hostages, desiring also to haue their troupes vnder his priuate commande, or a great part of them for his securitie as if they were his enemies. This seemed very strange vnto the generall Estates and the whole Countrie, and bred ill C bloud in them, and the rather, for that they discouered that the mutinous and rebellious Spaniards, first secretly and after openly, had all fauour and accesse vnto him, and that hee affected the sole gouernment to himselfe, that so hee might punish and controule, reward and honour whom hee pleased, being held strang in Spaine, that the Netherlanders (who were there esteemed as a conquered people, and subiects to the King) should vndertake such great matters as had beene effected, all much derogating to the Kings prerogatiue and honour, and so much the more intollerable, for that in Spaine they were generally suspected, and held for Lutherans and heretiks.

The generall Estates being likewise assembled at Brussells, consisting of the deputies of the spirituallty, the nobilitie, townes and members of the Prouinces, vnder the D lawfull subiection of their naturall Lord, after declaration made touching their preuiledges, customes, lawes, ancient liberties sworne vnto by their Prince himselfe, they found the proceeding of *Don Iohn* to bee verie strange, and the rather for that they vnderstood out of Spaine, that the oppressions and insolent behauiour of the Spanish souldiars were rather applauded then disallowed, and that in steed of exemplarie punishment, there were more rewards and honours appointed to bee giuen vnto their captaines and Commanders: and they found by certaine letters, that *Don Iohn* had charge to follow such instructions as *Ieronimo Rhoda* had left in Antwerp with a Spanish Marchant called *Ieronimo Lopez*, and that *Rhoda* had the managing of all the Netherland causes in Spaine.

The effect of *Don Iohns* instructions were, that hee should vse all the faire meanes E hee could, to winne the hearts of the common people, that by their aide hee might subdue Holland, and to punish the rest according to their desarts, and that in the meane time hee should dissemble: which instructions although they were not knowne at the first, yet were the generall Estates and the Nobilitie presently estranged from him, by meanes of his disorderly proceeding: for which cause they sent vnto the Prince of Orange, beeing an old experienced councellor in affaires of State, and then a member of the Netherlands, to heare his aduice, who in the end of Nouember writ vnto them from Middelbourg, as followeth.

A F

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A 1576

A letter written by the Prince of *Orange*

To the Generall eſtates of the Netherlands aſſembled at Bruſſells the laſt of *Nouember.* 1576.

B MY maiſters, you haue before ſeene by my letters, what in my opinion (vnder your correction) I thought fit to be treated of with *Don Iohn* of Auſtria. And although it may ſeeme vnto you, that what I do ſo often re-iterate, proceeds from ſome priuate paſſion, or to entertaine this country in alteration. Notwith-ſtanding I may call GOD to witneſſe with a good conſcience, that my diſſeigne was neuer other, but to ſee this Country gouerned as it hath allwaies beene by the generall Eſtates. Which conſiſts of the Clergie, Nobilitie, and the townes & members depending thereón, vnder the lawfull obedience of their naturall Prince. And as ſince by the length of time, this gouernment hath beene by little and little aboliſhed, yea by ſome ambitious and couetous perſons, (deſirous to haue the gouernment in their hands) made ſo odious to their Princes, as they haue held them which made any motion to aſſemble the generall Eſtates,
C for rebells and guilty of high treaſon, hauing perſwaded them that it was the onely meanes whereby the Kings authority ſhould be blemiſhed and ſuppreſt. I did thinke that you hauing foreſeen theſe ſiniſter practiſes and vniuſt perſwaſiõs, to the great preiudice of the poore Country, you had beene aſſembled togither ioyntly to reſume the ſteps of your predeceſſors, & to recouer your lawfull authority, according to your commendable and ancient preuiledges, cauſing (by that meanes) all Inconueniences, oppreſſions and tiranies to ceaſe, and planting peace in the Country, as already you haue giuen a good beginning, where without any great difficulty or contradiction you haue reſtored the prouinces to their ancient peace and tranquilitie: whereby his Maieſtie may plainely ſee (if by bad councell and ſiniſter impreſſions he be not diſwaded) that the
D humble petitions which haue bene alwaies made vnto him for the aſſemblie generall of the Eſtates, was the onely meanes to ſettle his affaires. But hearing that through your facilitie and accuſtomed bounty (too preiudiciall in ſuch occurrents) you begin to giue eare vnto the goodly words & propoſitions of *Don Iohn*. I will not conceale the feare I haue of your yeelding to the deſſeines of the Spaniards our ſworne enimies, being moſt aſſured that thoſe which haue alwaies laboured to hinder this holy aſſembly of the generall Eſtates, will do their beſt to circumuent you and atteyne to their pretended end: As at this preſent theſe couetous and ambitious miniſters, who deſire an abſolute and tirannicall gouernment, onely to inrich them-ſelues and to oppreſſe ſuch as they hate & maligne, diſcouering your intention or doubting of it, haue ſought all meanes to auoid
E it, finding no better expedient then by the ſodaine comming of Don *Iohn* of Auſtria, that by his preſence the ſaid generall Eſtates might be ſuppreſt and made fruitleſſe. Hauing alſo in the meane time by their cunning practiſes held matters in ſuch ſuſpence, as many good and important occaſions haue beene loſt. And to giue you ſome contentment, they haue councelled the King to command Don *Iohn* to take ſome Noblemen & others of the Country to bee of his Councell, who notwith-ſtanding ſhall ſerue but as a ſhadow to his actions, for that all his reſolutions ſhould be firſt concluded with ſome of his fauorits, as hath beene alwaies vſed, and lately by the Duches of Parma with the Cardinall *Armenteros* and ſome other priuate perſons. And as you may iudge by his inſtructions & demands, beeing duly examined, his intent is to imbrace the ſoueraigne
F gouernment and to ſuppreſſe both you and your authority. I could not for the zeale I beare, but admoniſh, pray and earneſtly intreat you, carefully to conſider what ſhall bee needfull for the good and ſafety of this Country, and to ſet beefore your eyes that what you treat and negotiate now, is not your owne priuate intereſt; but an infinit number of Noblemen, Burgers and common people, who cannot bee all preſent haue

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1576. „ made choyse and put their liues into your hands, vpon the confidence they haue that A
„ you will carrie your selues with all integrity for the maintenance of the libertie
„ of your common countrie, and defend them as Gardiens and Protectors thereof, from
„ all the oppression and more then barbarous tyranie which they haue hetherto endu-
„ red. I beseech you also to consider, that now you must resolue, that you are to answere
„ before God and Men. And therefore that ye will so behaue your selues, as our poste-
„ rity may haue no cause to lament and complaine of you, hauing brought them into a
„ wretched and seruile condition, the which (besides the hazard of our heads) doth threa-
„ ten vs all, if it bee not speedely preuented. I doubt not but you my maisters the Pre-
„ lates, and townes shall haue great persuasions, as well by letters as interposed persons
„ to corrupt and gaine you, to the end you may desist from this your holie and honora- B
„ ble enterprise. But the more assaults you shall endure, the greater shall your honour
„ be, and our posterity shal be bound vnto your memorie. Wherefore my aduice is (as
„ it hath alwaies beene) that you enter not into any treaty with *Don Iohn*, vnlesse the Spa-
„ niards and other strangers depart out of the countrie, and that you giue him plainely to
„ vnderstand (whereof I hold it necessary that the effect do follow) that your intent is to
„ fortifie your selues, and to prouide all expedient meanes to oppose your selues to the
„ former gouernment. And that you will not in any sort suffer him to haue any of those
„ troupes that are vnder your cõmand, for that were to giue him a knife wherwith to cut
„ your owne throates, and the very meanes to make a disiunction of al the men of war of
„ these countries. The which I beseech you not to interpret to any priuate passion of C
„ mine own, seeing that my aduice concurres wholie with the preuiledges as well of the
„ Ioyous entry Artic: 5. as with them of Cortemberghe. *anno.* 1226. and 1320. con-
„ firmed afterwards by duke *Iohn. anno.* 1322. & by Venceslaus and the duchesse *Ioan* his
„ wife. *anno.* 1372. and 1373. with many others wel knowne vnto you. And as in my iudge-
„ ment all men ought to be carefull for the preseruation of their preuiledges, if wee will
„ not degenerate from the loue and magnanimity of our ancestors, so in my opinion we
„ ought not (without a perpetual note of infamy and reproch) to stray any thing from the
„ sayd preuiledges in any treaty whatsoeuer. Wherefore to auoide any long parlees and
„ negotiations (which would be our ruine) on the one side you are to send him our gree-
„ uances which are but too many, and well knowne to all the world; and on the other D
„ an autenticall coppie of the sayd preuiledges, intreating him to gouerne himselfe ac-
„ cording to the charge hee hath receiued from his Maiestie to maintaine the sayd pre-
„ uiledges, and as hee himselfe hath offred to doe. But if hee refuse it, then to pro-
„ test that it is not to bee imputed to rebellion, if you seeke to maintaine them with-
„ all your powre, euen vnto the last drop of your blouds. And you may bee assured
„ that giuing him thus plainely to vnderstand your resolutions, you shall gaine more
„ and haue an absolute answere the sooner, the which should bee much more gainefull
„ to haue speedely, then by entertayning of long parlees, and neglecting your affaires,
„ giue him leysure to fortefie himselfe in making you weake, beeing in suspence.
„ This free manner of speech which I councell you should not seeme strange, see- E
„ ing it hath beene vsed at other times, euen at Gant, beeing the onelie cause
„ for the which the King promised to retire his Spaniards: you may also consider
„ that demanding some of your forces (of whome vndoubtedly hee would require an
„ othe) that hee hath no trust in you: and that hauing them, when you shalbe assem-
„ bled to hold the Estates, hee will prescribe you what lawes hee please, for if any one
„ contradict him. hee will punnish him in such sort, as the rest beeing terrefied, not
„ any one shall dare to open his mouth to speake. And moreouer it argues a bad
„ intent, seeing that hee seekes to arme himselfe and to disarme you of your owne for-
„ ces, for it were much more reasonable that hee should trust in you, who haue al-
„ waies shewed so free and obedient a will, and are so much interessed, then you F
„ in him, hauing alwaies receiued such badde vsage by the Spanish gouernment.
„ Moreouer it is to bee considered, that hee who comes but to bee a Gouernour,
„ seekes to enter by force of armes, and to take the first assurance of the Estates;
„ the which is against the custome of naturall Princes, who without comming

with

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with any forces, haue alwaies giuen their oth vnto the eſtates, before they receiued 1575.
their s, moreouer you muſt thinke in what reputation you ſhal be with all the world, if
they ſee you more prone and redy to giue ſatiſfaction to Don *Iohn* of Auſtria, then to
haue any feeling of the violence done vnto your country-men in that good towne of
Maeſtricht, and in that ſome-times ſo mighty and flowriſhing towne of Antwerp, (the
which is at this day the moſt deſolate of Chriſtendome) & that by men who wil be eſtee-
med equal ſubiects in theſe parts, as wel as thoſe that are naturally borne in the contry,
as ſome haue vnaduiſedly put them in that ranke at the treaty of Breda, ſaying that the
King would not haue thoſe good men taken for ſtrangers, but for naturall borne. And
what an example ſhall this bee for other townes or what may they expect falling into
B the Spaniards hands or vnder the Spaniſh gouernment but to feele in time the like cru-
elty. And if here-to-fore you haue beene taxed, for that in the beginning you oppoſed
not your ſelues againſt the building of Cattadells, from whence for the moſt part haue
ſprong all our calamities. How much more iuſt occaſion ſhall the towns haue to blame
you for all their miſeries, that hauing now the ſaid Cittadells in your hands, you haue
not cauſed them to bee razed, or at the leaſt demanteled towards the townes? The
which you ought to doe as well to giue them contentment, as to auoyd future danger,
which vndoubtedly if it bee not preuented will fall vpon the ſaide townes as vpon
Antwerp, being the cheefe cauſe of the taking thereof, wherein you may not flatter
your ſelues, thinking it a ſmalle offence done to the Kings authority and reputation; for
C he will hold it for ſo great an iniury (although vniuſtly) as he will neuer forget it which
no man ought to doubt, hauing ſeene him make ſo great a demonſtration of wrath and
indignation for the preſenting of a poore petition. And you muſt make accoumpt
that you ſhall haue the firſt places at the banket that is prepared for you according to
your dignity, not-with-ſtanding all pardons and forgetting of what is paſt where-with
they fill your eares and ſeeke to abuſe you, for Princes neuer forget ſuch things but
whē they want meanes to reuenge, diſſembling their ſpleene vntil they haue oportuni-
ty. As we haue ſeene in all the actions paſt, the wounds wherof are yet greene, powring
forth before our eyes the luke-warme bloud of the Earles of Egmont and Horne, with
ſo many other gentlemen and good Bourgers, not-with-ſtanding all the good words
D that were giuen them: I leaue it to the cenſure of any man of iudgement, what a heart
greefe it may be vnto a Prince that ſeekes to command abſolutely, to ſee his comman-
dements without authority, his ſmall power of his ſubiects expoſed to the vew of all the
world, and the meanes to giue place to his will and appetit to fayle him; thinke you that
he wil neglect any practiſe to be reuenged and to attaine to his deſiers? doubtleſſe no, &
you muſt thinke that his continuall cogitations tend to that end: for a ſoueraine com-
mand hath incident vnto it that it cannot endure any contradiction, wherein there ſhall
want no inuentions with the moſt eloquent ſpeeches that may bee to perſwade that
which they thinke will helpe to their propounded end, as to promiſe to retire the Spa-
niards, the which ſhould hold as little as that which the King made to the Generall
E eſtates at his departure out of the Netherlands, to retire them within three monethes
after, and yet he left them there a yeare and a halfe or there abouts, and we are aſſured
they had not departed, if the defeat of Zerby had not happened: wherefore my Maiſters
I beſeech you conſider, that you haue wonderfully incenſed a mighty enemie, and that
there is no meane to be held in this action, but you muſt attend one of theſe extremities,
either to yeeld or valiantly to preſerue and defend your ſelues, by thoſe good meanes
which God hath giuen you, and which are eaſie with the helpe of God, ſo as there be
a good accord, vnion and reſolution among you. Or if Don *Iohn* through neceſſity were
forced to yeeld to the ſending away the ſaid Spaniards, you muſt prouide that beſides
the entertayning of the preuiledges, theſe conditions may be annexed. That the eſtates
F ſhall prouide him a councell, as well for affaiers of State as for the treaſure. That they
ſhal haue liberty to aſſemble twiſe or thriſe a yeare, or as often as they ſhal thinke it fit,
to conſider if matters bee well and duly adminiſtred, and to reforme and order them as
they ſhall thinke it fit. And more-oner that all Cittadells ſhall be razed. That he ſhall
not leuy any men without the conſent of the Generall eſtates, and that all gariſons

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1576. ſhall bee placed by their aduiſe and councell. A
„ Thus in my opinion you muſt treat, for doing otherwiſe, it is to bee feared that thin-
„ king to giue contentment to Don *Iohn*, and by that meanes ſettle the country in quiet,
„ you wil deceiue your ſelues, and fall into greater diuiſion then before, for you may aſſure
„ your ſelues there are many that will neuer giue credit to the Kings words, nor Don
„ *Iohns*, if they ſee the authority of the States thus ſubiected and brought to nothing, in
„ whoſe Iudgement and wiſdom they haue put their truſt. My Maiſters although I haue
„ written vnto you here-to-fore concerning this ſubiect, yet finding it a matter of ſuch
„ conſequence, and to concerne you ſo much, I thought it neceſſary to write vnto you
„ againe & more amply, the which I beſeech you to take in good part, as proceeding from
„ one who will expoſe all his meanes, yea vnto the laſt drop of his bloud, for the ſafe- B
„ ty and quiet of our common contry, and of you my Maiſters in particular. As I deſier to
„ giue you proofe of my true and ſincere affection in this behalfe. And ſo after my vnfained
„ commendations, I will pray vnto GOD to giue you health, happines and long liues:
„ from Middelbourg, the laſt of Nouember 1576. ſigned your moſt louing friend and
„ Country-man.
„

WILLIAM *of Naſſau.*

C

Brabant and other Prouinces ſeeke alliance from Holland Zeeland and the Prince of Orange.

DVring theſe alterations of the Spaniards and the ſacke & maſſaker of Antwerp, the States of Brabant and other Prouinces of their aſſociation, making one body of the Generall eſtates of the maine-land (although that in them Luxembourg were not conteined, wherof *Peeter Erneſt* Earle of Mansfeldt was Gouernor, nor *Namur* where *Barlamont* commanded) to cut of the courſe of the Spaniſh tirany, which they practized daily and openly in theſe townes which they held: reſolued to make them-ſelues ſtrong both by ſea and land, and to make a good peace and generall vnion with the particular Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland and their Aſſociats, together with the Prince of Orange Gouernor of the ſaid countries. To which end the Seignior of Hauſſy brother to the Earle of Boſſu (who had beene priſoner at Horne) was ſent to Fleſſingue to D the Prince of Orange; who hauing conferred with the States of the ſaid marine Prouinces, hee wrought ſo effectually as after diuers voiages, the Deputies of either part aſſembled at Goude, where an accord of pacification was concluded and made, and the aſſurances giuen in the ſaied Towne the eight of Nouember the ſame yeare, whereof we haue thought good to ſet downe the declaration and articles at length, as followeth.

„ To all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, greeting. As the countries
„ in theſe parts, haue theſe laſt nine or ten yeare fallen into great miſeries and calamities,
„ by ciuil warres, and the proud and rigorous command & gouernment, outrages, robbe-
„ ries, ſpoiles, and other diſorders and Inſolencies of the Spaniards, and their adherents. E
„ And that for the preuenting and ceaſing of all further troubles, oppreſſions and miſ-
„ eries of the ſaid countries, by the meanes of a firme peace and pacification, there was
„ in the moneth of February in the yeare 1574. aſſembled in the towne of Breda,
„ commiſioners from his Maieſty and from the Prince of Orange, with the States of Hol-
„ land and Zeeland and their aſſociats, by whome there were propounded diuers
„ meanes greatly ſeruing for the ſaid pacification; yet the frute that was hoped and
„ expected did not follow: but contrariwiſe during the hope of this conſolation, cle-
„ mency and bounty from his Maieſtie, the ſaid Spaniards haue ſought daily more and
„ more to oppreſſe, ruine and to draw the poore ſubiects into perpetuall ſlauery, making
„ many mutines, thretning the Noblemen and the townes, and ſeazing in hoſtile man- F
„ ner of many places, ſacking, ſpoyling and burning them. So as after they had beene
„ proclaimed enemies to his Maieſtie, by them, that were appointed to gouerne the ſaid
„ Countries and of the publike quiet; the States of theſe Prouinces, with the conſent
„ of the ſaide commiſſioners, haue beene forced to take armes, only to auoid and preuent
their

A their vtter ruine: And that the inhabitants of all these Netherlands, being vnited in a firme League and vnion, should ioyntly together chase away the said Spaniards and their Adherents, Destroyers of the said Countries, and restore it againe to the enioying of their ancient rights, prueledges and customes, freedomes and liberties, whence the negotiation, trafficke and prosperity of the Country might insue. Wherefore with the like agreation of the said Noblemen appointed to gouerne the said countries, according to the conference and pacification begun at Breda, this present treatie hath beene made to the honor of GOD, and for his Maiesties seruice, betwixt the Prelates, Noblemen, Townes and members of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Valenciennes, Lille, Douay and Orchies, Tournay, Tournesis, Vtrecht and Macklin, re-
B presenting the States of the said Countries; and the Prince of *Orange*, with the States of Holland, Zeeland and their Associats: by commissioners deputed respectiuely of either side: that is to say, the reuerent Prelats *Damp Iean vander Linden*, Abot of Saint *Geertruyde* at Lovuaine, *Damp Guislani* Abot of Saint *Peter* at Gand, *Damp Matheeu Moulart* Abot of Saint *Guislain*, Elect Bishoppe of Arras. *Iohn de Mol* Seignior of Ortingen. *Francis* of Hallewin Seignior of Sweueghen, Gouernor of Oudenard, and commissioner for the renuing of the Lawes of Flanders, *Charles* of Gaure Seignior of Fresin al knights. Maister Elbert *Leonin*, Doctor of the Lawes & professor in the vniuersity of Lovuaine: *Peter* of Bieure Councellor to the King our Lord in his Councell of Flanders, and the Seignior *Quentin Du Pere* first Alderman of Mons in Henault, with
C *Iohn* of Pennants also, Councellor and Maister of Accoumpts to his Maiestie in Brabant, their Secretary, in the behalfe of the said Estates of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, Henault, &c. And *Phillip* of Marnix Seignior of Saint Aldegond, *Arnhold Van Dorp* Seignior of Tamise, *William Van Zuylen*, *Van Nyuelt* Seignior of Heeratsberghe Squiers: *Adrian Vander Mylen* Doctor of the Lawes, and Councellor to his Excellencie, and in the Prouinciall Councell of Holland. *Cornellis* of Coinc, a Licentiat of the Lawes, and Councellor to his Excellencie. *Paule Buys* an Aduocat of Holland: *Peter de Ricke* Bayliffe of Flessingue, *Anthony Vande Zyckele* a Councellor of Zeeland, and *Andrew* of Ionghe, Bourgmaister of Middelbourg, in the behalfe of the said Prince, Estates of Holland Zeeland and their Associats, according to their authoritie and commission
D inserted vnto the end hereof: making and treating betwixt the said parties and countries, a firme and perpetuall peace, League and vnion, vnder the Articles and conditions which follow.

First, that all offences, iniuries, wrongs and domages, hapned by reason of the troubles, betwixt the Inhabitants of the Prouinces comprehended in this present Treatie, in what place or manner soeuer, shall be pardoned, forgotten, and reputed as not done, so as there shall neuer any mention bee made, nor any one troubled nor molested by reason thereof. And the said states of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, &c. together with the said Prince, and the States of Holland, Zeeland and their Associates, do promise hereafter to entertaine faithfully and without dissimulation, a peace and vnion, and to
E cause it to bee entertayned firmely and inviolably by the said Countries: And so to assist one an other at all times, with aduice, and councell: and therein to imploy both their bodies and their meanes, especially to expell and keepe out of these Countries; the Spanish soldiars, and other strangers and forreners: hauing sought against all right to take away the liues of Noblemen and Gentlemen, and to appropriate vnto them-selues, the riches of the Countrie; and more-ouer to hold the common people in perpetuall seruitude. For, the furnishing whereof and of all that shall offer to oppose them-selues, the said Confederates and Allies, promise also to bee ready and willing to yeelde to all necessary and reasonable Impositions and contributions.

F Moreouer it is agreed that presently after the retreat of the Spaniards & their adherents, when as all things shall be in safety & peace, both parties shall be bound to aduance & procure a Couocation & Assembly of the generall Estates, in the same manner & forme as it was in the time of the high & mighty Emperor *Charles* the 5. when as hee made a cession & transport of these Netherlads into the hands of the King our Lord:

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1576. ,, to settle an order for the affaires of the country in generall, and in particular as well A
,, for the exercise of religion in the said countries of Holland, Zeeland, Bomell, and other
,, places associate, as for the restitution of forts, artillery, ships, & other things belonging
,, to his Maiestie, which during the said troubles haue beene taken by them of Holland,
,, Zeeland, or otherwise, as it shall be found fit for the seruice of his Maiestie, and the good
,, and vnion of the country, wherein there may not of any side bee giuen any contradicti-
,, on, delay, or hinderance, no more in regarde of the decrees, declarations and resoluti-
,, ons that shall bee giuen and made there, then in the execution thereof, what-so-euer
,, they shall be, wherevnto both parties doth faithfully and wholy submit themselues.
,, That hereafter the inhabitants and subiects of eyther side, of what countrey, estate,
,, qualitie or condition so euer, may safely and freely, hante, frequent, passe and repasse, B
,, remaine and trafficke as a Marchant or otherwise. Prouided alwayes that it shall not
,, bee tollerable nor lawfull for them of Holland and Zeeland, nor for any other, of what
,, countrie, qualitie, or condition soeuer, to attempt any thing in these parts, out of the
,, Prouinces of Holland, Zeeland, and others their associates, against the quiet and pub-
,, like peace, and especially against the Catholike and Romish religion, and the exercise
,, thereof: nor to iniurie any one in word nor deed by reason thereof, nor to scandalize
,, them by like actes, vpon paine to bee punished as disturbers of the publicke peace, to
,, the example of all others. And to the end that no man in the meane time shall bee
,, lightly exposed to any apprehension, or subiect to danger, all the Proclamations
,, heretofore made and published for matter of heresie, together with the criminall de- C
,, crees made by the Duke of Alua, and the execution thereof, shall surcease and be sus-
,, pended, vntill it shall bee other-wise decreed by the generall Estates. Prouided al-
,, wayes that no scandall happen thereby. That the sayd Prince shall remaine Ad-
,, mirall generall of the Sea, and Lieutenant for his Maiestie of Holland, Zeeland,
,, Bommell and other places associate, to command ouer all, as hee doth at this present,
,, with the same Iudges, Magistrates and Officers, without any change or innouation,
,, without his liking and consent. And this in regarde of the Townes and places which
,, his Excellencie doth presently hold, vntill it shall bee otherwise decreed, after the
,, retreate of the Spaniards.
,, But touching the Townes and places comprehended in the Commission which hee D
,, hath from his Maiestie, the which are not at this present vnder his Excellencies obe-
,, dience and commandement, that point shall remaine in suspence, vntill that the sayd
,, Townes and places being vnited with the other States in this vnion and accord, his
,, excellencie shall haue giuen them satisfaction vpon the points. Wherein they shall
,, finde themselues interressed vnder his gouernment, bee it in regard of the exercise of
,, religion, or otherwise, to the end the Prouinees may not bee dismembred: and to a-
,, uoide all dissention and discord. And in the meane time no Proclamations, comman-
,, dements, prouisions, nor exploits of Iustice shall haue place in the said countries and
,, townes commanded and gouerned by the sayd Prince, but such as shall bee allowed
,, by his Excellencie, or by the Councell, Magistrates and Officers there resident, with- E
,, out any preiudice to his Maiesties great councell in time to come. It is also agreed
,, that all prisoners by reason of the troubles past namely the Earle of Bossu, shall be set
,, freely at liberty, without paying any ransome, but onelie the charges of the prison:
,, vnlesse before the date of these presents the sayd ransomes were paied, or argeed
,, vppon.
,, Moreouer it is concluded that the sayd Prince and all other Noblemen, Knights and
,, gentlemen, priuate persons and subiects of what estate, quality or condition soeuer,
,, together with their widows, douagers, children and heires of either side, shall be resto-
,, red to their good name, fame and honor, and may also enter into the possessions of all
,, their Seigneuries, goods, prerogatiues, actions and debts, not beeing sold nor aliena- F
,, ted, in the same estate as the goods bee at this present. And to that end all defautes,
,, contemptes, arrestes, iudgementes, seazures and executions giuen and made
,, since the beginning of the troubles, in the yeare of our Lord 1566. as well
,, for matter of Relligion as for the carrying of armes, with that which hath followed

shall be

Aſhalbe reuoked, voide and of no effect. And all proceedings, writings and acts which haue beene made to that end, ſhalbe razed out of the regeſters, and it ſhall not be needfull to obtaine any other inſtruction or prouiſion, then this preſent treatie: notwithſtanding any incorporations, rightes, cuſtomes, preuiledges, and preſcriptions, as well Legall, conuentionall and cuſtomorie, as Locale; nor any other exceptions to the contrarie: the which in this caſe and in all others concerning the ſayd troubles, ſhall ceaſe and haue no place. 1576.

It is alſo vnderſtood that the Counteſſe Palatin, ſometimes widow to the Lord of Brederode, ſhalbe comprehended herein, and enioye the preſent benifit, for as much as doth concerne Vianen and other goods whereunto ſhee or hers may pretend any title
B or right. In like ſort the Earle of Buren ſhalbe alſo comprehended, ſo farre forth as it doth touch the towne caſtell and countrie of Buren, to bee enioyed by the ſaid Earle as his owne, after the retreate of the garriſon. And all pillers, trophees, inſcriptions and other markes which the duke of Alua hath cauſed to be erected and ſet vp to the diſhonor and diſgrace of the aboue named or of any other, ſhal be defaced and beaten downe. Touching the fruites of the ſayd Seigneuries and goods, the Courts of arrerages, of Dowries, fruites, farmes and rentes, aſſigned as well vpon his Maieſtie as of his countries, and townes, and all others which before the date of theſe preſents ſhall be expired and due, and yet not paid nor receiued by his Maieſty ſhewing good cauſe, euery one may reſpectiuely enioy and make profit of. It is to be vnder-
C ſtood that all that is fallen as well of the ſaid inheritances and rents, as of their goods, ſence the feaſt of Saint *Iohn* in the yeare 1576. laſt paſt, ſhall remaine to the benifit of thoſe that haue intreſt therein, not-with-ſtanding that the receiuor of the confiſcations hath receued any thing, whereof in this caſe reſtitution ſhall be made. But if any yeares of the ſaid farmes, rents or other reuenews, were by title of confiſcation ſeazed, and receiued by his Maieſty, euery one ſhall be for ſo many yeares freed and acquited of all reall charges aſſigned vpon his goods, the which by reaſon of the troubles paſt hee could not enioy, ratable for the time that he hath beene hindred by the aboue named occaſion.

And for Chattels and moueable goods which haue beene ſold, conſumed or other-
D wiſe alenated of either ſide, no man ſhal haue any reſtitution or recouery. And as for immouable goods, inheritages, houſes & rents which by title of confiſcation ſhall be ſould and alienated, the ſaid generall eſtates ſhall appoint commiſſionars in euery Prouince, ſuch as ſhall not bee of thoſe eſtates, to take knowledge of all difficulties (if any ſhall grow) to the end they may giue reaſonable ſatiſfaction, as well to the ancient proprietaries, as to the buyers and ſellers of the ſaid goods and rents, for their euiction reſpectiuely. The like ſhall bee don for the arrerages of rents and perſonall obligations, and for all other pretenſions, complaints and greuances, which the intereſſed by reaſon of the ſaid troubles, would hereafter of either ſide commence, in what ſort ſoeuer. That all Prelats and other Clergy-men, whoſe Abbaies Dioceſes, Foundations, and reſi-
E dences are ſcituated without Holland and Zeeland, and yet haue goods in the ſaide countries, ſhall returne to the propriety of their goods; as it is aboue ſaid in regard of ſecular perſons. But for that which concernes relligious perſons and other Clergy-men which haue made profeſſion in the ſaid Prouinces and other places aſſociated vnto them, or haue prebends there, and yet are retired, or haue not beene reſident; for that moſt part of their goods are alienated, hereafter they ſhall haue reaſonable maintenance giuen them with thoſe that remaine, or elſe they ſhall be ſuffered to enioy their goods, at the choiſe of the ſaid eſtates: and all by prouiſion vntill their pretenſions ſhall bee determined by the generall Eſtate. More-ouer it is agreed that all donations, and other diſpoſitions *Inter viuos, vel cauſa mortis*, made by priuate perſones, where-
F by the true heires by reaſon of the ſaid troubles, or of relligion, are excluded and diſinherited, from their right and ſucceſſion, by vertue hereof they ſhall bee held voyde and of no force. And whereas they of Holland and Zeeland the better to maintaine the warres, haue rayſed all coynes of gould and ſiluer to a heigh valew, the which cannot be allowed in other Prouinces with-out great loſſe; it is agreed that the deputies of

1576. of the said generall estates, shall as soone as possibly they can, seeke to equall the said coines, as neere as may be, for the entertainment of this Vnion, and the common course of traficke of ether side. Moreouer vpon the request made by the said States of Holland and Zeeland, to the end that the generality of all the Netherlands, would take vpon them the charge of all the debts contracted by the said Prince, to make his two expeditions and great Armies: for the which they only of Holland and Zeeland, and the Prouinces and townes which yeelded to his excellence in his last expedition, are bound, as the say: that point is referred and left to the discretion and determination of the generall estates to whome (all things being pacefied) report shall bee made to take such regard as shal be conuenient. In this common accord and pacification, the countries, Seigneuries and townes holding the contrary party, shall not be comprehended nor enioy the benifit thereof, vntill they be effectually ioyned and vnited to this confederation, which they may doe when they please. The which treaty of pacification, after the report, agreeation and allowance, as wel by the commissioners for the gouernment of the contry, as by the States thereof, together with the Prince, and the States of Holland, Zeeland and their associats, in all the poynts and articles aboue mentioned, and also of all that should be decreed and determined by the generall estates: The said deputies haue by vertue of commissions, promised and sworne, and doe promise & sweare by these presents, to obserue, entertaine, accomplish and inviolably to keepe all respectiuely on eitheir part: and to cause it to be ratefied, sworne, signed and sealed by the Prelats, Nobles, townes and other members of the said Prouinces, and by the said Prince, as well in generall as in particular within one moneth next ensuing, to the content of euery one: In witnes whereof all the deputies aboue-named signed the treaty in the towne house of Gant the 8. of Nouember, 1576. This pacification together with the commissions of the deputies of both parties, (which we haue not thought fit to insert here, nor that of the secretary) was the 13. of Nouember following, the same yeare, ratified and confirmed by letter pattents from the King of Spaine, signed Ouerlope, as we will hereafter shew.

The States prepare their army and send into France and England for ayde.

Besides this aduice the prince procured meanes for the states to leuy certaine soldiers in Germanie, They likewise assembled there army about Wauere in Brabant, vnder the Earle of Lalain, the Vicont of Gaunt, and Monsier *la Motte* Gouernor of Graueline, before they sent into France, where they were promised all ayde and assistance. At that same time they sent the Baron *d'Aubigny* into England to certifie the Queene of the estate of the country and of there extremity, who for that cause sent Maister *Smith* into Spaine to desire the King to retire all the Spaniardes out of the Netherlands, and in December after, they sent the Lord of Sweueghen againe vnto the Queene to desire her to lend them some mony, for that they knew Don *Iohns* proceeding, & the planting of Spanish garisons to be suspected by her: where hauing audience vpon the 13. of December, he let her vnderstand (according to his charge,) how cruelly the Spaniards there enemies, were incensed against the Netherlands, for that in the yere 1559. the king had bin desired and required by the estates to free them of the Spanish soldiers, which to the great burthen of the same, had for certaine yeares remained there in garrison, for which cause to be reuenged, they made the world beleeue, that the Netherlands were all heretikes and rebels to God & to the King: where-vnto the troubles hapening in the said countries in the yeare 1565. and 1566. as they thought gaue them iust occasion: and yet although the said troubles according to the time were wel ended & pacefied by the Duches of Parma then Regent, yet would not the enemy cease till hee had brought the Duke of Alua into the Netherlands, with a puisant army, who at his first entry, openly bragged that the said country was giuen vnto them as a prey, The said Duke suffering his soldiars to vse all barbarous tirrany, and on the other side vnder pretence of iustice, and to do right vnto euery man, he caused an innumerable number of men (many times both against the Kings and his owne decrees giuen out before) to be executed: Built castles, & brake al priuiledges, wherby no man of any reputation could be assured of his life and liue in good name and fame, if he had any thing to loose; and so supposing that he had grounded his tirany according to his minde, hee erected his Image in the Netherlands with most heathen inscriptions, beginning likewise to molest his neigbours

The Lord of Sweueghens oration to the Queene of England.

and

A and to vſe other ſecret meanes to abuſe them, whereof her Maieſty could beare witnes ſeeking to charg the Netherlands with troupes, ſuch as before that time in any extremity whatſoeuer had neuer bin vſed, as the hundreth and the tenth penny, whereby, ſome Prouinces vpon mere extremity had with-drawne them-ſelues from the abſolute ſubiection of the ſaid Duke; which to reduce againe vnder his authority he prepared certaine fleets of ſhipes, and vnder pretence thereof, he vnfurniſhed the townes of their ordinance and armes, and after that ſent part thereof ſecretly into Spaine, and an other part thereof was loſt, making account, that a diſarmed country was not greatlie to be feared, and to the end that he might pourchaſe the fauour and loue of the ſoldiars, (as the tyrants *Sylla*, *Synna*, and *Marius* in Rome did) he ſuffered them to vſe al the tirrany
B they could deuiſe againſt the townes of the Netherlands, as to Mechelen, Naerden, Harlem, and others; after whome followed, Don *Loys de Requeſens* great Commander of Caſtille a man of the ſame humor, who hauing for a while playd the foxe brought likewiſes all the priuileges of the country in queſtion, whereby the mutinous ſoldiers, after there victory at Moukerheyde, without any great cauſe, were ſuffered in his preſence, to force the townes as they did at Antwerp, and compell them to pay them their entertainements: whereas the Barron *de Champigni*, had good meanes to haue hindred them from the ſame: by which meanes the ſaid ſoldiers, tooke occaſion, and imboldened them ſelues to thinke, that it was permitted them with the aide of the neighbours garriſons to ouer-rule ranſake and ſpoyle the townes where they lay in garriſon, which had like-
C wiſe happened in the towne of ould Naerden, where he was gouernor, if God had not giuen him the grace to preuent it, in ſuch ſort, that Spaine it ſelfe woundred, at the Netherlands great ſubmiſſion and patience, thinking it ſtrange, that after the death of the Commander, the country did not kill and deſtroy all thoſe mutinous ſoldiers, when as the light horſe-men mutined, as the States had beene well informed out of Spaine, which mutinous and inſolent dealings were certefied vnto the King himſelfe, both in the Commanders time, and ſence: and whereas the ſaid Commander, had twice ſent to ſommon the Knights of the order of the golden fleeſe, the gouernors of the Prouinces, and the Biſhops, and preſidents of the Prouinciall councels, with the counſell of eſtate, and the ſecretaries, that conuenient order might be taken therein, it was there generally
D agreed and conſented vnto, (to preuent further inconueniences) that they ſhould ſeeke to agree and make peace with the Prince of Orange, and the ſtates of Holland and Zeeland; that all the Spaniſh and other ſtrange ſoldiers both horſe and foot-men ſhould be ſent out of the Netherlands, that ſo the Catholike Kings ſeruice might the better bee effected. That the Generall eſtates ſhould be aſſembled, that all other points of controuerſie and contention, happened betweene the Kings ſeruants, and the aforeſaid eſtates might be ended, alwaies obſeruing the old religion, and the lawfull ſoueraignite of the King: which there reſolution being writen, and ſigned by the parties aforeſaid, was ſent into Spaine vnto the King: where-vpon the King taking long conſultation and aduiſe, in the meane time more inconueniences happening through the proud and inſolent be-
E hauiour of the Spaniards, the King made anſwer, that it was his onely care, to find the beſt meanes to preuent all the ſaid diſorders, and that as ſone as he could, he would ſend the Marquis of Haurec with order for the ſame. At the laſt, the King by his letters written vnto the States, conſented and agreed vnto their deſires, and willed the ſame to bee made knowne vnto the perticuler Prouinces, as it was don, according to the aduiſe of the aforeſaid counſell of eſtate. But the effect, execution and charge thereof, was remitted vnto Don *Iohn de Auſtria*, as then nominated by the King to be ſent gouernor into the Netherlands, to cauſe the ſaid country to be better counted of him, as the Kings letters ſpecified and contayned. In the meane time, after the winning of Ziricxzee, the Spaniſh ſoldiers beginning againe to mutine, tooke in Herentales, and after that *Aloſt*,
F liuing therein at diſcretion as euery man ſaw. The Lords of the counſell of eſtates perceauing the miſchiefe (like a canker) more and more to ſpred abroad within the Netherlands, thinking it to be neceſſary to vſe a ſpeedy remedy, fearing a generall reuolt of the country, and that of mere neceſſity and pouerty, *quia noſcit plebs ieiuna timere*, declared the mutinous ſoldiers in Aloſt and there adherents to be rebelis, and meaning

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1576. to puniſh them according to their deſerts, had determined to raiſe certaine tropes, and A
to that end wrote to aſſemble the eſtates in Bruſſels, there to take councell about the affaires of the land, and to cauſe the Spaniards and all other ſtrangers to depart out of the Netherlands, and yet not without contenting them of their paines, according to their accounts and reckonings; but they to the contrary made a mock at all reaſonable motions, carrying themſelues more inſolently then before; openly boaſting, that they would cut the throats of all their enimies, and waſh their hands in their bloud.

So as the eſtates could doe no leſſe, then by authority of the councell of ſtate then ruling to take armes for their defence and ſecurities, as it is permitted both by godly, naturall, and humaine lawes, and ſo made peace with the Prince of Orange, & the eſtates of Holland and Zeland, determining after the driuing out of the ſtrangers, to haue a B
generall aſſembly of the eſtates, to take order for the keeping and maintaining of the catholike religion, & the honor and authority of the kings maieſty their maiſter, therby to preuent a greater miſchiefe, which meere neceſſity forced them vnto; that they might not ſuffer the ruine of ſo goodly Prouinces, before *Don Iohn* could come thether. ſaying: that her Maieſtie might thereby well vnderſtand, what had paſt in the Netherlands, and what reaſons moued the generall eſtates, by order from the Lords of the councell of eſtate then gouerning, and repreſenting the perſon of the King their ſoueraigne Lord, to haue their refuge and recourſe vnto armes. And for that cauſe deſired her Maieſty to conſider, if that they were therein to bee blamed, when as they neither ſought alteration of religion, nor change of Prince (but onely deſired to ſerue the king) C
and ſought to deliuer and free themſelues from the bloudy practiſes of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, and to maintaine themſelues in their ancient lawes, rights, and priuiledges, which his Maieſtie had confirmed by oath, as alſo to bee gouerned by naturall borne perſons of the land, as they had beene in times paſt: all which their ſo lawfull and reaſonable cauſes, the deputies of the generall eſtates (knowing her Maieſty to be a princes of great vnderſtanding, and wiſdome, farre from all ambition, and yet moſt pittifull) had giuen him in charge to ſhew vnto her, hoping that ſhe of her gracious fauour, clemencie, and good will, would not forſake nor abandon them, in a matter of ſo neceſſary and of ſo great importance; and that her Maieſtie at that preſent, ſhould binde the Lords of the eſtates generall moſt ſtrictly vnto her, if it would pleaſe her to aſſiſt them D
in that their need, by lending them the ſumme of a hundred thouſand pounds ſtarling, for the ſpace of ſixe or eight moneths, vpon condition to pay it againe, at the ſame time: and for aſſurance thereof, the ſaid ſtates ſhould giue her their obligations, wherby (with Gods helpe) ſhe might aſſure and make them able, to compell and force the Spaniſh ſouldiers and their adherents, to leaue the country either by faire or by foule meanes, and to be a meanes that no man elſe vnder pretence of lending them ayde and aſſiſtance, ſhould make themſelues maiſters of the Netherlands, which ſhe knew to be ſubiect vnto the lawfull gouernment of the king of Spaine, their naturall prince: as alſo, that it ſhould not bee conuenient for her Maieſtie, to haue any ſuch neighbours, whom ſhe well knew to be no leſſe ambitious, nor of leſſe proud behauiour then the E
Spaniards were, which they neuertheleſſe (if ſhee could not ayde them with ſome ready money) muſt bee forced to vſe, for that they could haue but ſmall ſeruice of their ſoldiers which they had already leuied, if they were not paied, where-vnto as yet they had no meanes, vntill they had taken a generall order therein, wherein they begin to proceede, but that before the ſame could be effected, the enemy might ſtrengthen himſelfe, and oppreſſe them, to the vtter ouer-throw of the Netherlands, and all the eſtates of the countries bordering vpon. For which cauſe they deſired, that her Maieſty would ſhew, how highly and deerely ſhe eſteemed of the old aliances and contracts made betweene her kingdomes and the Netherlands, by the treaties of intercourſes and traffickes of Marchants, ſo neceſſary for both countries, which would not bee maintained F
if any other Prince ſhould rule ouer the ſaid Netherlands, which if it ſhould ſo fall out (as God defend them from it,) without doubt, in time, her Maieſty would find her ſelfe in as great difficulty as the Netherlands deſiring her to remember the verſe:

Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.

Theſe

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A These reasons graciously heard by the Queene of England, she presently made answere by word of mouth, saying that she was sory, that the King his Maister was so badly counselled, and that shee had twise or thrise sent vnto him, to desire him to consider the nature and condition of the Netherlands, and to remember how obedient the inhabitants thereof had beene to their naturall Princes, which at all times had gouerned them so fortunately, and that it was fitter for him to followe the same course, then to vse the extremity, which is alwaies accompanied with great iniustice, and force, and can not long subsist as being a most certaine and an assured ruine of all common welthes, and that if hee thought it good, that shee should bee a mediator betweene them both, shee would gladly doe her best to end and pacifie all quarrells, with condition that they B should obserue such religion, as the King would haue them to follow, together with his soueraine authority and reputation, which she, as a Princesse vnderstood, did of right belong vnto all Princes, and that all Princes were bound, to ayd and assist one the other for the maintenance of their soueraingty, as being a common cause belonging vnto them, where-vnto shee sayd hee made her answere, that he gaue her thankes for her good offer, and that hee hoped to deale so well with his subiects of the Netherlands, that hee should not need to trouble any other Prince therein, and that if it should come to that point, hee would rather trust her therein, then any other of his neighbours, in that sort (as she said) reiecting her Princely offer, with good words: and therefore she said, that the Netherlands might assure them-selues, that shee would C not endure, that the Spaniards should rule absolutely amongst them, in regarde of the daunger that thereby might bee incident vnto her, as also in regarde of the ancient amity, confederations, and traffickes: that her kingdomes had with the said Netherlands, alwaies conditioning, that they should deale faithfully vprightly and plainely with her, maintaining the authority of their King, and the religion as they were wont to doe, in which respect shee would not let them want, nether for mony, nor men.

1576 The Queene of England answer to the States Ambassage.

And when the Lord of Sweuenghen, made further request vnto her for money she made answere that shee would doe it, and that she would shortly resolue vpon the same. After that, entring into some other speeches with him, she seemed to haue some D dislike of the Prince of Orange, and of the French-men, saying that shee vnderstood of his motion therein made vnto them, but shee would by no meanes seeme to like better of the French-men to bee in the Netherlands then of the Spaniards: further speaking of the warres, and of their commanders, leaders, and of their army, she disliked that the commanders were all in manner young men, (and as she thought and had beene informed from thence,) had small experience in the warres, to take such a charge in hand; councelling them to vse the ayde and aduise of *Lazarus Zwendi* (a man of great experience and one well knowne in the Netherlands) and the like old soldiers of that nation. Shee said further it was not long since shee had sent one of her Gentlemen into Spaine, to shew the King plainely that if he would not E retire the Spaniards out of the Netherlands, shee would helpe to driue them out. Where-vnto the Ambassador, according to his commission, answered her at full, and after that, delt with the Queenes principall councellers, as the Lord Burghley Lord high treasoror of England.

The Earle of Leceſter, secretary Walsingham, and others, who thought it conuenient to send Captaine *Horsley* vnto the States, to vnderstand their full intents and meanings, and whether their pretence were to maintaine their old religion, and the authority of their Prince, the driuing out of all forraine soldiers and to bee gouerned by the naturall borne subiects of the land; and to liue according to their ancient right, and priueleges, and being thereof assured, that then the said Captaine *Horsley* F should presently ride vnto Don *Iohn* of Austria, to desire him, that hee would graunt to their request, or else flatly and plainely to tell him that her Maiestie would not suffer the Netherlands to bee tyrannized by the Spaniards, as shee had likewise sent word vnto the King of Spaine him-selfe. With this charge and commission, Captaine *Horsley* went into the Netherlands, and there effected his message: meane

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1576 time the Barron of Sweuenghen dealt further with the councell of England, which A
told him, that according to the aduise, and intelligence that was brought vnto them, the Netherlands were not to expect much good at the Frenchmens hands, saying, that they had the coppies of the instructions of Mounsier *Boniuet*, the French Ambassador in Brussels, and of the duke of Aniou the Kings brother, who as then had secret intelligence with the King his brother, and the King of Spaine, and such like speeches: after further conference and dealing betweene them, the Baron *de* Sweuenghen procceeded so farre, with the Queene and hir counsell, that she caused the valew of forty thousand Angels, in bullion or vnminted siluer to bee deliuered vnto him, and his Commissioners, *Iohn Mattens* and *Iohn Narrot*, in part of payment of a hundred thousand pound starling, and vpon the thirty of December sent a gentleman called Maister *Wineybank*, B
to deliuer the money vnto Secretary *Wilson*, her Ambassador in Brussels, that he might receaue the states obligations for the same, which was done accordingly, where likewise, the townes of Brussels, Gant, Bruges, Dunkerck, Nieuport, and Middleburg in Zeland gaue there seuerall obligations: It was then also agreed, and concluded, that the states of the Netherlands should make no peace, nor agreement with the King, without they included the Queene of England, and her Kingdomes therein, and that the treaties and entercourses, touching the trade of merchandise should bee maintained and kept; that all Rebells that were gon out of England, should leaue the Netherlands, and that all Englishmen, should bee free at sea, as they were before the ciuill warres. This was that which was done with the Queene of England, in regard that C
the States, being compelled by necessity should not seeke vnto any other Prince, nor vnto the King of France, but remaine vnder their owne Prince, vpon hope of getting the Spaniards out of the country, which were suspitious for her to remaine there.

A passage free to the sea without passing before Antwerp.

The countries of Brabant and Flanders, hauing by the taking of Antwerp lost the nauigation of the sea, by the Riuer of Escaut; they cut the dikes vpon Flanders side aboue Antwerp neere vnto Burcht, and beneath right against Austreweel, that the water of the riuer and of the sea by the rysing of the tides, might enter into the country which lies betwixt both, beeing a lowe and marish ground, as it did aboundantly: so as they of Brusselles, of Macklin, Tenremonde and other places, without beeing in danger of them of Antwerp, nor of the fort at the head of Flanders, right against the D
Towne, had free passage, to saile into Holland, Zeeland and ouer all the sea, to the great hindrance of the towne of Antwerp, for that it brake of their trafficke and nauigation. These breaches were after the departure of the Spaniards stopt vp and the dikes repaired.

The castle of Gant besieged.

Whilest they were busied about the treatie of Pacification, the generall Estates had their armie camped before the castell of Gant, and round about it, as well within the towne as abroade, whereas the Earle of Roeux commanded in chiefe, as Gouernor of Flanders, beeing assisted both with souldiars and munition, which the States of Holland and Zeeland did lend them vpon promise of restitution. In the beginning the castle was but weakely and slackly battered, they also gaue a scala- E
doe, but their ladders proued verie short: so as vntill the succors from the Prince and from the Hollanders and Zeelanders were arriued, the Earle of Roeux aduanced little. In the ende the Earle of Lalain Generall of all the armie in the absence of the duke of *Arschot*, and the Marquis of *Hauree* being come vnto the campe, and the castle beeing battered in breach, and an assault readie to bee giuen, the Spaniards within it (beeing about a hundred and fiftie) demanded to parle. The signior of La *Garde* Collonel of the Princes French went thether, but at the first they could not agree, vpon the leauing of their armes. In the ende *Valentin de Pardieu* signior of La *Motte*, gouernor of Graueling, promised to cause them to be payed for their armes, wherevpon they yeelded the place the eleauenth of Nouember, to haue their F
liues and goods saued.

The castle of Gant yeelded.

The Germaines in the meane time beganne to mutine in Valenciennes, and to make secret practises with the Spaniards that were in the castle, for the preuenting whereof, the generall Estates sent *George* of Lalain, Earle of Reneberg, Baron of Ville

Gouer-

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A Gouernor of Henault, in the absence of the Earle of Lalain thether, who (although he had but eight companies of Wallons of his Regiment) managed this businesse so discreetly, as the Germaines went out of the towne by agreement, euery one receiuing but a Doller. The Earle of Reneberg (beeing entred the twelfth of Nouember with his Wallons, with the assistance of the Inhabitants) presently besieged the Castell; the which was kept by a hundred and forty Wallons, whom hee forced to yeeld, and to leaue the place by composition. 1577

The Castle yeelded.

The Wallons that were in Friseland, and especially at Groninghen, had some feeling of this pacification of Gant: so as they would declare themselues for the generall Estates vnited, to whom they gaue an oth by the meanes which followeth. The States

The state of Groningue at that time.

B had sent *Frantis Martini-stella* of Brussells into Friseland and the countrie of Groningen; with charge and ample commission to reduce the said countries vnder their obeience, by all good meanes and perswasions. *Gaspar* of Robles, Seignior of Billy a Gentleman of Portugall, hauing marryed the Lady of Germigni in Arthois, being gouernor of the sayd countries, knowing that he was come to Groninghen; and doubting of his practises, he caused him to be presently taken prisoner, whom he examined and tortured cruelly vpon the Rack, where-vnto he himselfe put his hand, besides the torturer, to force a confession from his owne mouth, to what end he was come; whereof hauing some conceit, and that the Spaniards intent was to dismember the vnited Prouinces, and the better to hinder the States from reducing them into one body, that they had

C sent euery one backe to his garrison (after this exploit of Antwerp) to Alost, Liere and Mastricht, meaning to doe no lesse in his gouernement, hee called the Captaines vnto him, which were *Fernando Lopez, Campi, Moncheaux*, and others, with their chiefe officers, requiring an othe of obedience of them for three moneths, in all things that hee should command them, during the which he promised them to write vnto the King of Spaine, and to know if it were with his Maiesties good liking, that the Prouinces of the Netherlands had vnited them-selues vnto the Prince of Orange: and that as soone as he should be aduertised, hee would not faile to do as the rest: but his intent was in the meane time to make himselfe maister of Groningen, and of all Friseland.

The three and twentith of Nouember hee required the like othe of Captaine *Lost*,

D that hee might haue the more at his deuotion, but hee made some difficultie, saying, *That hee would first conferre with his Sergeants and Officers. Billy* hearing this answer, sent for two of the Captaines Sergeants, to whom hauing presented the same othe, they answered; *That nine yeares past they had taken an othe vnto the King, the which they would maintaine vntill that his Maiestie had dispenst with them.* And as the sayde Gouernour put a Penne into one of the Sergeants hands to signe the sayd othe, hee cast it into the fire, saying, *That hee would rather dye*; the which the other Sergiant and the Corporalls did also confirme. *Billy* being discontented at this answer, sayde vnto them: *Goe your wayes, I will consider what I haue to doe*: the others answered; *It must bee then patiente perforce.* The Sergiants and Corporalls being gone from him,

E they assembled their companions and other Officers of the companie, euery corporall calling his squadron, giuing them to vnderstand what the gouernour had propounded, and what they had answered, demanding what was to bee done: where-vpon all answered, that *They would rather dye then take a new othe*, which they hearing from the company, they went vnto the Officers of Captaine *Villers* (who had then the garde) to whom they shewed what had past, and what was the resolution of their men, desiring to know their mindes: They answered; *That they were content to liue and dye with them*: where-vpon they resolued to seaze vppon their Collonell, and to preuent him, assuring them-selues, that for this refusall which they had made, hee would seeke to spoile them, when they should bee seperated after the changing

F of the garde. And therefore they agreed among them-selues, that not any one should discharge his peece entring into garde, without the expresse commandement of their Sergeants and Corporalls.

Robles Seignior of Billi seeks to spoile them that refuse the othe.

The Gouernour thinking to preuent them, caused the Artillerie to be charged, and planted in a streete, where the soldiers were wont to passe entring into gard, command-

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1577 ing Captaine *Fernando Lopez* to haue his men readie in Armes, and as soone A as the Artillery had beene discharged against the company of Captaine *Lossi*; then to charge them.

But one of *Villers* Sargiants hauing discouered this practise, gaue notice thereof to a Sargiant of *Lossis* companie, before they went to guard, who tooke an other streete, and came before the Gouernors lodging, beeing their Collonell, where they were vsually accustomed to giue a volley of shotte, the which they did not at this time. The Sargiant Maior beeing there present, commanded them to shoote of their peeces, but they answred him againe, they would not vntill they had money giuen them to buy poulder and match. This Sargiant Maior beeing to presumtuous (not considering what time it was) threatned to strike some, where-vpon they began to B cry to Armes and the Sargiant Maior to flie; Captaine *Lossi* seeing this, striking vppon his brest, cryed out vnto his men, courage, make an end, it is time. *Villers* companie comming out of guard ioyned with them, incouraging one an other, and saying, that they would liue and die togither, vntill they were assured of their Collonell. *Fernando Lopez* beeing carefull of that which the Gouernor had giuen him in charge, seeing that the guard past not by the accustomed streete, hearing the noyse, hee went to horse to see what was to bee done, and to pacifie this mutine if it were possible. But thinking to approche he was so entertained with shot, as flying hastily backe he lost his hat, which hee durst not stay to take vp. Being come into the streete of Ebinge where his men were in armes, hee thought to lead them to succor the Gouernor, but comming C to the corner of the streete, whereas they found them of *Tolly* & *Villers* in battaile: They cryed vnto the that they should not shoot, & that they would be of their partie. *Fernando Lopez* seeing this, saued him-selfe, speedily in a Bakers house: his soldiars tore their Ensigne in peeces, and ioyned with them of *Lossi* and *Villers*, giuing their faith one to an other, and promising to die togither, and then they marched to the Gouernors lodging, the drums sounding an Alarme, and making a great noyse. The Gouernor being much perplexed came vnto the gate with his hat in his hand (for it was now time to speake them faire, considering the disseine which hee had had) intreating them to bee quiet, and if it were mony which they demanded, that they should be satisfied within three dayes, with many other goodly words & promises; whereunto they answered, that they D would finde their owne pay, and in the meane time hee should remaine their prisoner. From thence they went to the Towne-house where was the chiefe corps de Gard; then vnto the lodging of the Seignior of *Rhinsbrouck* sonne in law to the Gouernor, who they also tooke prisoner, although he spake them faire and excused his father in law, leading him by him.

The Seignior of Billi taken prisoner by his owne men.

The Captains are taken prisoners by a generall mutine.

This done beeing a generall mutinie, they also tooke these Captaines, *Lossi*, *Villers*, *Moncheaux*, and *Campi* with their coullors: the Burgers of Groninghen were in great feare of the like disaster as happened at Maistricht and Antwerpe. But seeing the soldiars draw towards the place of Ballance, which is vpon the market place, where there was a Pully to giue the strapadoe, which they pulled downe and burnt, crying *God saue* E *the Prince of* Orange, *God saue the* Sates, the Inhabitants grew more assured. From thence the soldiars went to the Prouost generall, and drew forth *Francis Martin-Stella*, deputed by the States, whome the Gouernor (as we haue said) detained prisoner, hauing with his owne hands wounded him in prison, being in Irons. Hauing set him at liberty, they brought him to the Comptroulers house, to refresh him selfe a little, then they conducted him to the market place, into the midst of the Assemblie of soldiars, whereas they did all sweare vnto him in the name and as Deputy for the generall Estates, to remaine faithfull vnto them vnto the death. Then they sent him backe, and caused him to bee conducted by some of these souldiars, beeing accompanied by some Deputies of the Towne vnto Brusselles, to informe the States of all, and to F receiue directions for their gouernment. Persently after the taking of the Seignior of Rhinsbrouck, they sent fiftye souldiars to the Gouernour of Zutphens lodging, called *Fiasco*, but finding him not there, they ranne vnto the conuent of Ffranciscan Friars, where they heard hee had hidden himselfe, but they sought all places

The soldiars of Groninghē sweare vnto the States.

yet

A yet could not finde him: for he being disguised in a Fryars weed, hauing his head and beard shauen, holding a candle in his hand, sought vp and downe with the rest: vntill that a Germaine Fryar said vnto them: *This man is of our Order* but not *of our Conuent*: which wordes they vnderstood not till in the end pointing at him with his finger, hee said: *Ipsius est, tenete eum.* It is hee, lay hold of him: Then was hee apprehended, and in the same Monkish habite ledde to the Market place, in great derision of all the world. 1577

The Gouernor of Zutphen taken prisoner.

The next day they made proclamation by the sound of the drumme, that if any one had concealed and hidden Captaine *Fernando Lopez*, the Grand Prouost and the Sargiant Maior, that hee should come and reueale them vppon paine of losse of body and
B goods, & their houses to be burnt. The Prouost was found in the Curates lodging, hidden in the tonnell of the chimney. The Sargiant Maior was knowne, beeing disguised in a Priestes habit; and then *Fernando Lopez* whome the soldiars led crying, *Behold the Hangman of* Groninghen. They were all three led to the Conuent of Iacobins, to keepe the other Captaines company; Doctor *Wendorp* was also taken prisoner, not-with-standing all his protestations.

On the Monday following the soldiars of Dain arriued; bringing with them Captaine *Sterck* and their Ancient prisoners, and they ioyned with them of Groninghen, taking the like oth vnto the States. And the same day *Meysken* Lieutenant of Groninghen was kept prisoner in his house with a Guard of fifty men. On the tuesday came
C the garrison of Delfziel with Captaine *Bernemi Court*, a Gentleman of Bethune, Seignior of *Fouquieres* and his Ancient, both which were put in good guard: After that the troubles ceased; vntill they did vnder-stand what the States would determine, vpon the report which *Martin Stella* was gone to make. So as in the end all matters were well ordred, the States sending the Earle of *Renenbergh* thether, to gouerne in the place of *Collonel Robles*: wherein hee discharged him-selfe at this time (for afterwards hee turned his coate, as wee shall see) so wisely, as he drew the Towne and all the Country of Freezland to bee at the States deuotion, and the Castell of Groninghen which was then much aduanced, & defencible towards the Towne, by the Earles commandement, at the suite of the Burgers, was wholy ruined and pulled downe.

The Earle of Rheneberghe Gouernor in the place of Robles.

D The States seeing them-selues ingaged in warre of all sides against the Spaniards, who were proclaimed enemies to the countrie, fearing some disvnion among them, by the inticing perswasions of such as sought to dismember them; they resolued before that *Don Iohn* should enter into the Country, to make a generall vnion among them-selues, as well of Prelats, Noblemen and Townes, as of others of the seauenteene Prouinces, which was allowed by the Lords of the Councell of State committed by the King, for the gouernment generall of the said countries. Whereof the Originall remaines in the Custody of the States of Brabant: of which Vnion the Tenor followeth.

A generall Vnion of the State.

« Wee who haue signed these presents: Prelates, men of the Church, Noblemen,
E Gentlemen, Magistrates of the King, Townes, Castells and others, making and repre-
« senting the States of the seauenteene Prouinces, beeing presently assembled in this
« Towne of Brusselles, and others beeing vnder the obedience of the most high migh-
« tie and famous Prince, King *Philip* our Soueraigne Lord and naturall Prince, wee giue
« all men to vnderstand both present and to come, that seeing our common countrie
« afflicted, by a more then barbarous and tyranous oppression of Spaniards, wee
« haue beene moued, thrust forward, and forced to vnite and ioyne our selues together,
« and with armes, councell, men, and money, assist one an other against the said Spaniards
« and their adherents, beeing declared rebells to his Maiestie and our enemies. And
« that this Vnion and coniunction hath beene since confirmed by the pacification last
F made, and all by the authority and consent of the Councell of State, committed by his
« Maiestie for the generall gouernment of the said countries. And as the pretended
« end of this Vnion requires all fidelitie, constancie and mutuall assistance for euer:
« and that we would not by any misprision haue cause of Iealousie or distrust, and much
« lesse of any bad affection or disposition in any of vs. But contrarywise to haue the

1577. „ affaires of the said Vnion procured and effected with all sincerity, fidelitie and dilly- A
„ gence that may bee, so as not any of the subiects and Inhabitants of the said coun-
„ tries and Prouinces may haue any iust cause to bee displeased or discontented, or to
„ doubt of vs.
„ For these considerations and reasons, and that nothing may bee treacherously
„ done, to the preiudice and hurt of our common countrie and iust defence, or that
„ omitted by negligence, which shall bee necessary for our iust and lawfull defence,
„ Wee haue by vertue of our power and commission respectiuely, and otherwise for vs
„ and our successors, promised and do promise by the faith of Christians, of honest
„ men and true country-men, to keepe and entertaine inuiolably for euer, the said Vnion
„ and Association, so as not any one of vs may breake or fall from it, by dissimulation, B
„ secret intelligence or in any sort whatsoeuer. And that for the preseruation of our
„ holy, Catholicke and Romish faith, and the accomplishment of the pacification, as also
„ for the expulsion of Spaniards and their Adherents, with all due obdience to his Ma-
„ iestie for the good and quiet of our countrie, and the maintenance of our priueled-
„ ges, rights, freedomes, statutes, customes and Ancient vses: For the effecting where-
„ of wee will vse all meanes possible, imploying both money, men, Councell and
„ goods, yea and our liues if it were necessary. And that none of vs may in priuate giue
„ any councell, aduice or consent, nor haue any secret conference with them that are not
„ of this Vnion, nor yet reueale vnto them in any sort, what hath or shall be treated of in
„ Assemblie or resolued, but shall wholy conforme him-selfe according to our generall C
„ and common resolution.
„ And in case that any Prouince, Estate, Countrie, Towne, Castell or house, were be-
„ sieged, assaulted, inuaded or oppreſt in any sort what-soeuer: yea if any of vs or any
„ others, hauing indeuoured him-selfe for his country and the iust defence thereof, against
„ the Spaniards, or for other causes depending thereon, as well in generall as in particu-
„ lar, should bee sought after, imprisoned, ransomed, molested or disquieted in his per-
„ son and goods, honour and Estates, or otherwise, wee promise to giue him assistance
„ by all the sayd meanes, yea and to procure the libertie of them that shall bee impriso-
„ ned, either by force or otherwaies. vppon paine to bee degraded of their Nobilitie,
„ name, Armes and honour, and to bee held periured, disloyall, and enemies to our D
„ countrie, beefore GOD and men, and to incurre the note of Infamie and cow-
„ ardise for euer.
„ And for the strengthening of this our holy vnion of association, wee haue signed
„ these presents the tenth of Ianuary, one thousand, fiue hundred, seauentie and seauen.
„ Vnderneath were the signatures of the Deputies of euery Prouince, Prelates, Noble-
„ men, and Commissioners for townes, and vnderneath them was written the agreation
„ of the councell of State, as followeth. The Deputies of the generall Estates heere
„ vnder-written, hauing required them of the Councell of State committed by his
„ Maiestie for the gouernement of the Netherlands, to consent vnto, and allowe, of that
„ which is conteined in the vnion aboue written. The Councell in regarde of the sayde E
„ request, and the reasons therein conteined, haue as much as in them laied, allowe and
„ doe allowe by these presents the sayd vnion, according to that forme and tenor.
„ Made at Brussells in the State-house, in the assemblie of the sayd States, the tenth of
„ Ianuary 1577. And vnderneath was written.

By the commandement of the Lords of the Councell of State:

Signed; *Berrij.*

In the

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A 1577.

IN the meane time the Spaniardes beeing by meanes of the towne of Maſtricht diſperſed in diuers places ouer all the countries of Luxembourg, Faulquemont, Dalhem and other places beyond the riuer of Meuſe, were incountred the ſame moneth neere vnto Iupille, halfe a League from Liege, by *Balfour* a Scotiſh Collonel, who charged them ſo furiouſly, as many of their ſouldiars were ſlaine vpon the place, and the reſt of them that ſcapt were all put to flight. Whileſt that the States made warre of all ſides againſt the Spaniards, thoſe of Antwerp, Aloſt and there aboutes in the Prouinces of Flanders and Brabant, had a deſſeigne to beſeege Bruſſells, but hearing that Don *Iohn* of Auſtria the King of Spaines Baſtard brother, was come to Luxembourg to bee Gouernor and Lieuetenant Generall for the Kings Maieſtie in the ſeauenteene Prouinces, they deſiſted, and would know how matters ſhould after that time paſſe. The Spaniards charged and defeated by Collonel Balfour.

B

Don *Iohn* hauing ſtaied ſome time in Luxembourg, the Generall Eſtates ſent the Noble Lords of Raſſinghem and Villeruall, the Bourgraue of Gaunt, Meetkerke and other deputies to treate with Don *Iohn*, ſo as after manie voyages, at the laſt hee came to Marche in Famine the fifteene of December where they agreed vpon a generall truce and ſurceſance of armes for fifteene daies, in the meane time hee ſent *Octauio Gonſaga* and his Secretarie *Eſcouedo* to Antwerp, Maſtricht and Liere, to deale about the ſending away of the Spaniards, as hee ſayd: and on the twentie and one of December the eſtates ſent their deputies to Namur, thinking that Don *Iohn* would haue come thether, that by conference togither they might roote out all iealouſies; but hee came not himſelfe, but ſent the Lord of Raſſinghem for to deſire them to grant a longer reſpite for eight daies, whereby hee might haue a full reſolution from the Spaniards in Antwerp and other places: Deſiring moreouer to know what ſecuritie and aſſurance the States would giue him for their obedience vnto the King, after the departure of the Spaniards, ſaying, that it ſtood not with his honour to diſarme himſelfe, and to put himſelfe into their hands that were armed, and therefore hee deſired that the Eſtates ſhould in like ſort reſolue to haue their ſouldiars diſarmed, and all ſtrange ſouldiars amongſt them to depart out of the countrie as well the Spaniards as any others. Treaty betwixt Don Iohn and the States at Marche in Famine. Don Iohns demands of the Eſtates.

C

D

Moreouer hee deſired to knowe with what ſecuritie the Spaniards ſhould depart, and whether by water or by lande. And for that the matter in controuerſie with the Eſtates of Holland and Zeelande and the Noble Prince of Orange was to bee decided by the generall Aſſembly of the States, hee deſired to knowe when and where that aſſemblie ſhould bee kept and held, and what pledges and ſecuritie they would apoint for his perſon. By which demands the eſtates found that his meaning was not to let the Spaniards depart out of the Prouines and countrie, before the queſtion for Relligion and other controuerſies with the Hollanders and Zeelanders were ended: wherevpon they reſolued to follow and perſiſt in their demands, that the Spaniards ſhould preſently depart out of the Netherlands, and vpon the laſt day of December for his full ſatisfaction, they ſent vnto him by their deputies fiue atteſtations. Two beeing written in parchment ſigned and ſealed by the Biſhoppes, Prelats, Abbots, Deanes and Paſtors bearing date the ſeauenteene of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1576.

E

A third ſigned and ſealed by the Deanes and facultie of diuinitie in Louuaine, of the ſix and twenty of December 1576. A forth atteſtation of the doctors and profeſſors of both lawes in the ſame Vniuerſitie, the ſame daie and yeare, and a fifte from diuers Prelats directed vnto the Pope, conteyning the ſtate of relligion in the Netherlands, dated the eight of Nouember laſt paſt, betweene the generall eſtates of the one part, and the Prince of Orange with the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland on the other part. And further-more to let him vnderſtand that in the ſayd contract of pacification, there was not any thing that might diminiſh or any way preiudice the lawfull obedience due vnto the Kings owne Royall Maieſtie: they alſo deliuered him an Atteſtation from the Lords of the councell of State, appointed by the King to

F

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1577. gouerne the Netherlands, bearing date the 20. of December 1576. signed *Bartii*. The first of Ianuary 1577. the Abot of Saint Gelein, chosen bishop of Arras, the Marquis of *Haurec*, the Bourgraue of Gant, the Baron of *Liedekerke*, and *Adolph van Meetkerke* deputies for the States, offered to meet him at the townes of Lovuen or Mecklen, to determine and conclude vpon that which was agreed vpon at Luxemburg, betweene him, the counsell of Estate for his Maiesty and the deputies of the generall Estates. And for the assurance of his person, besides the security offred by the generall Estates, he should chuse a Commander and a garde of Netherlands such as were in the States seruice, which Commander with his soldiars, should take their othes vnto him, to keepe and defend his person, therewith to content him, and that further they were content, to deliuer him 4. Hostages to be taken out of the Estates or their deputies, that should yeeld themselues into the bishop of Liege his hands, a Prince that was their Neighbour, vntill the peace were full concluded, wherevnto vpon the same day, *Don Iohn* made answer, that in regard of the great loue hee bare vnto them, and the desire hee had to the welfare and peace of the land hee would chuse the Lord of Hierges for the captaine of his guard, with a regiment of 3000. souldiars, that then were vnder his command, as well for the defence and preseruation of his person, as of the place, which the would chuse to bee one of the two, which they had offered vnto him, and for Hostages hee would haue the Marquis of *Haurec*, the Burgraue of Gant, *Emanuel* of Lalain Baron of Montigny and the Abot of Saint Gertrude, which should remaine in the castell of the Bishop of Leige, and there be kept, as he sayd they promised him, and so hee would bee ready to meete them at Lovuen or at Mechelen, there to bring the matter to a good conclusion.

A

The States offer to Don Iohn vpon the 17. of Ianuarie.

B

Don Iohns answere there vpon vnto them.

C

Wherevnto the States made answere, that al the Prouinces in the Netherlands, had promised and vowed each to other, and signed it with their hands, not to abandon one the other, but to make warre, vntill that the Spaniards were gon out of the country, promising neither to change Prince, nor religion, wherevnto they of Holland and Zeeland likewise had signed, still holding their religion, till it were otherwise ordered by the generall estates. As also, that they had not granted him to chuse his Hostages, for that those which he had named they could not spare, but they would nominate others not of the same qualitie, and yet men sufficient inough, and also touching the Lord of Hierges, they sayd they could not grant him (for diuers reasons) to be commander ouer his guard, but if hee would come, & parle with them, he might if it pleased him meet them at Huy in the Land of Liege, a newter place, and with the like number of men, as they brought, without any armes: and that if for certaine conuenient causes, the Spaniards could not so soone depart out of the Land, they desired him, that hee to shewe his good-will, would presently cause the castell of Antwerp, and the towne of Lire to be deliuered vnto the States, otherwise they could not abstaine from armes, nor agree to any truce, but to the contrary would doe their vtter-most endeauors by force of armes to take those places: they likewise sent him a coppy of the vnion or agreement made by the States in Brussels, whereof mention is made before.

The States resolute answere to Don Iohn.

D

E

This vnion aforesaid made by the States, beeing shewed vnto *Don Iohn*, hee partlie discouered the politike dealing of the Estates of the land, togither with the readinesse and affection of the countries adioyning to ayde them, in regard of the vprightnesse of their demandes, and that there were many men amongst them, that would not bee mooued nor perswaded by all his faire, goodly, smothe, flattering and dissembling speeches, wherein hee planted a great part of the foundation of his proceedings, according to the generall opinion that the vnexperienced people of Spaine and Italie haue, of the small courage, vnderstanding, simplenesse and bad agreement of the Netherlands, (as the duke of Alua sayd, that hee would smother and drowne the Hollanders in their butter and milke) hee was mooued to yeeld (by the Ambassadors of the new Emperor *Rodolphus* to that end purposely sent into the Netherlands, together with the Ambassadors of the duke of Cleaue, and the Bishop of Liege), but most of all by reason that hee perceiued the States to haue many souldiers, and a great army in the fielde at Waure in Brabant, and for that the Spanish souldiers, were in a manner

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A incloſed, and might eaſily bee brought into want of all neceſſaries: and on the other 1577
ſide, hee being (as then wholy vnprouided and vnfurniſhed of all meanes to helpe himſelfe) mooued to come to an agreement of peace; and for that cauſe, thought good for a time to deſiſt from his pretence; and to cauſe the Spaniards to depart out of the countrey; hoping thereby to breake and diſanull all the ſtates, vnion, promiſes, and mutuall contracts, and ſo in time to ſettle himſelfe in the gouernement, and to winne mens hearts vnto him, and hauing done ſo, to ſet them at diuiſion, and thereby to attaine to his deſire, which without doubt, hee might eaſily haue brought to paſſe; if hee could haue couered his diſſimulation, with more patience and humility, and his yong vnbridled courage, with a kind of ſtaidnes, and fidelity, and his hatred and cruelty with mo-
B deration and aduiſe, but many men that had trauailed, preſently perceiued that hee was too great and high minded, to bee ruled by aduiſe, and to young vnexperienced and ſimple, to gouerne of himſelfe. And his vaine opinion of himſelfe was ſuch and ſo great, that hee had a conceit in his head, to make himſelfe King of England, by deliuering the Queene of Scottes out of priſon, and deſtroying the Queene of England, where-vnto hee had obtained the Popes good liking and furtherance, and to that end dealt ſecretly with the houſe of *Guiſe*, and the holy league, wherein he was croſſed, for that the States found it not requiſite, that the Spaniards ſhould goe out of the countrey by ſea, where-vpon it ſeemed that hee left off his purpoſe touching Eng-
C land, till a more conuenient time, or elſe till the Queene were dead: which the King vnderſtanding, it being likewiſe made knowne vnto him by the Pope himſelfe, became very iealious, and after that ſent nothing but ſtrange and limmitted inſtructions vnto him, and when hee ſent his Secretary *Eſcouedo* into Spaine, for an other commiſſion, and more money, the King by the meanes and councell of his Secretary *Anthonio Peres*, cauſed him to bee ſecretly murthered, being thought to be the onely man that mooued *Don Iohn* vnto ſuch high aſpiring conceits: ſo as it was verily beleeued, that in the next yeare after, *Don Iohn* was ſectetly brought vnto his death; as hereafter wee ſhall ſhew following in the Hiſtorie.

Don Iohn aſpired to be King of England and Scotland.

The reaſon that mooued the ſtates generally to make peace, was that thereby they might bee rid of the forraine ſouldiers out of the Netherlands, where-vnto, thoſe that
D thought to haue the gouernement of the land much mooued them, alledging, that of force they muſt cauſe the Spaniards to leaue the countrie, although the priueledges and freedomes, were not in all points fully granted vnto, ſaying, that if they would after make warre againe, they ſhould eaſily effect it when the Spaniards were once gone, and could want no meanes therein. The Baron of *Champigni* was likewiſe the chiefeſt cauſe, that promiſe and contract was made, to puniſh the Spaniſh and Dutch ſoldiers for their inſolencies, thereby to make the better account and reckoning with the Dutcheſſe, which otherwiſe would ſtill find matter of complaint and diſcontentment: where-vpon both parties being thus minded, by meanes and ſolicitation of the Emperors Ambaſſadors, and other Princes, vpon the twelfth of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1577.
E they being at Marche in famine, made, concluded, and confirmed this contract; which vpon the ſeauenteenth of the ſame moneth was proclaimed and publiſhed in Bruſſells and Antwerpe, and called by the name of the perpetuall Decree, the contents whereof were as followeth.

The reaſon that inclined the ſtates to harken to the peace.

T

PHILLIP by the grace of God; King of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, Naples, Sicilia, Maiorque, Sardenia and of the Iſlands of India, and the firme land lying in the Ocean ſeas, Archeduke of Auſtria, Duke of Burgondie, Lorraine, Brabant,
Limbourgh, Luxenburgh, Gelder, and Myllan, Earle of Hasbourgh, Flanders, Ar-
E tois, and Burgondie, Palſgraue of Henault, Holland, Zeeland, Namure, and Sittphen: Prince of Swauen, Marquis of the Holy Empire, Baron of Friſeland, Salines, Mechelin, of the towne and territories of Vtrecht, Oueriſſell, and Groning, and Dominator in Aſia and Affrica: greeting.

The contents of the perpetuall decree of peace, made between Don Iohn and the ſtates of the Netherlands.

For that ſince Iuly laſt paſt, to our no ſmall diſliking, and great griefe, there hath "
many times happened great deuiſion, alteration, and trouble in our Netherlands, "

by

1577 by reason of the insolent behauiours, of our Spanish and outlandish soldiars (from the A
which, hath sprong many inconuenyences, disorders and miseries like-wise to our
great dislike, and greefe,) which as yet vntill this day (as euery man knoweth) continew
and remaine therein, and for the consolation, comfort, vnity, peace, and quietnes of
our said Netherlands, and for the better ruling, and gouernment of the same, haue
sent thether, our deare and well-be-loued good brother Don *Iohn* of Austria, Knight of
the most noble and worthy order of the Goulden fleece, who since his beeing there
in our said Netherlands, hauing dealt, spoken and conferred, first in our towne of
Luxenbourg, with our louing, faithfull, trusty seruants and friends, the right reuerent
father in God, *Mathias*, Lord Abot of Saint Gildin, elected bishoppe of Arras, *Charles*
Phillip of *Croy* Marquis of Haurec. &c. our Nephew and one of the Gentlemen of our B
chamber, *Charles de Haunart* Barron of liddelkercke burgraue of our towne of Brus-
sels, and *Adolfe van Meetkerke*, counseler and receiuer of our territory of Vrien, in
our Earledome of Flanders, committies and deputies for the generall Estates of our
said Netherlands, and since that, in our towne of March, and after that in the towne of
Hoyd in the land of Liege by intercession and Mediation in the said towne of Hoyd of
the lords hereafter named, and ambassadors messengers, and committies of our right
high and worthy well-bee-loued brother *Rodulphe*, the second of that name, chosen
Emperor of Rome, &c. specially appointed, ordained, and sent, by the said Emperors
Maiesty to further the said reconcilation, agreement, and accord, namely, our louing
and good friend *Gerrard van Gruesbeeke* Bishoppe of Liege, duke of Bullion, Marquis C
of Franchimont, and Earle of Loon. &c. Prince of the holy Empire, *Phillip de Alde*,
Barron van Wieeborgh president, and *Andreas Galle* Doctor of the lawes, counselor
to the said Emperors Maiestie: *Warner* Lord of Glimmich Drosser of the Land of
Iuliers, and *Iohn Louerman* licentiate in the laws, both counsellors to the high and
mighty Prince our wel-be-loued vncle *William* Duke of Iulliers and Cleues, &c. Prince
likewise of the holy Empire, as Messengers for the said Duke; also Ambassadors for the
Emperors maiestie to effect that which in the said Dukes absence should bee agreed
vpon, with our well beloued and faithfull friends of our counsell of estate, by vs appoin-
ted to gouerne the said Netherlands, and to be of our secret counsel there, and the afore
said Lord *Abbot* of Saint *Gulden* elected Bishoppe of Arras, *Bucho Ayta*, Arch-dea- D
con of Ipre, *Fredericke Perenot*, Barron of Rouse Lord of Champigny gouernor of our
towne of Antwerp, *Iohn de* Saint *Omer*, Lord of Moreberke, gouernor of our towne
and Castell of Arien: *Francis* van Halewin, Lord of Sweueghen chiefe baley, and Cap-
taine of our towne and Castle of Oudewater Knights, and the afore named *Adolph* van
Meetkerke committies and Deputies of the aforesaid States, and lastly in our towne of
Brussels, where to continew, and fully to conclude and agree vpon the said treaty and
accord with those of our afore-said councell of estate, and the afore-said States, meete
and assembled to gether with the aforesaid Lords ambassadors of the empire, and the
substitutes of the said Duke of Iulliers and our louing and trustie seruant Don *Octauio*
Gonsaga, Knight one of our councell, appointed and committed there-vnto, by our afore- E
said good brother, where betweene them, diuers points and articles being propoun-
ded tending vnto, and concerning, the aforesaid reconciliation, accord and vnion, and
for the full effecting of the same: wee by deliberation, counsell, and aduice, of
our aforesayde good brother, Don *Iohn* of Austria, and of our aforesaid counsell
of estate, in conformity, and according to the contents of the treaty propounded be-
tweene vs of the one part, and the aforesaid estates, on the other part, haue for vs & our
successors, ordained and decreed ratefied and by these presents ordaine decree and
ratifie in manner of a perpetuall edict, neuer to be recalled, the points and articles here-
after following. Frst, that all offences, iniuries, misdeeds, wrongs, generally all man-
ner of crymes and actions, don, happened and committed, by reason and occasion of F
of the afore-said alterations, charges, and troubles, by all, and euery one of the inhabi-
tants, and subiects of our Netherlands, in what place or places and in what man-
ner so euer it was done, as well in generall as in perticuler, shall bee wholy forgiuen
and forgotten, as if they had neuer beene done nor committed, in such sorte, that

there

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A there shall neuer bee any repetition, molestation, trouble, question, nor search made here-after, for the same, against any of the said inhabitants and subiects aforesaid. 1577.

And for that the Bishoppes, Abbots, Prelates, and Spirituall persons, of our said Netherlands, as also the Diuines and Doctors of the Lawes of our vniuersitie of Louuaine, by their seuerall attestations, haue witnessed and testified that according to the estate of the affaires of our said Netherlands, (beeing there present) the treatie of Peace, made and agreed vppon in our Towne of Gaunt, bearing date the eight of Nouember last past, betweene the aforesaid Estates of the one part, and our cousin *William van Nassau*, knight of our order of the golden Fleece, Prince of Orange, and the Estates of our Earldomes of Holland and Zeeland, with their Associats on the

B other part, contained nothing therein, that might or could bee repugnant to our holy faith, and the Catholike, Apostolike, Romish religion, but to the contrary was to the furthering of the same, and that also in like sort, our said Councell of Estate, haue testified and auerred, that according to the Estate of the affaires in the Netherlands, (they likewise beeing present) the said treatie of peace, included nothing, that tended to the deminishing of our authority, and the submission and subiection decreed vnto vs by our said Netherlands, and especially for that the aforesaid Lords, Ambassadors, and messengers of the Empire, as also the substitutes of the aforesaid Duke of Cleue, do witnesse and iustifie the aforesaid attestations made by the aforesaid Bishoppes, Abbots, Prelates and other Spirituall persons, and by the said Councell of Estate,

C to bee iust and true: Wee in regard thereof haue agreed vnto, approued and ratified, and by these presents do agree vnto, approue, and ratifie, the said treaty of peace, in all, and euery article and point thereof, promising vppon our faith and word of a King, for our parts, and for as much as concerneth vs, to keepe and obserue the same inuiolably for euer: and likewise to cause the same to bee kept and obserued by all and euery one, to whome it shall belong and appertaine vnto; and according to the same, do agree and consent, that the conuocation, and assembling of the generall Estates of our said Netherlands, mentioned in the third Article of the aforesaid contract of peace, shall bee done in such manner, and forme, and to the like effect as the said Article more at large specifieth and declareth.

D *Item* wee agree, ordaine and appoint, that all and euery one of our soldiars, Spaniards, high Duches, Italiens, Burguignons, and other forrein soldiars, both horsemen and foot-men, beeing at this present time within our foresaid Netherlands, shall and must depart freely, and vnmolested out of the same, and not returne, nor yet bee sent thether againe, hauing no forrein warres, and generally hauing no need thereof, nor any want of them in that place, as the generall Estates of our said Netherlands shall like of and allow.

And touching the determinate time of the departure of our said soldiars, we appoint agree, and consent, that all the Spaniards, Italiens, and Burguignons must and shall depart (within twenty dayes after warning giuen them by our aforesaid good bro-

E ther) out of our Castell and Towne of Antwerp, and out of other the Townes and Castells and Holds of our said Netherlands which they now hould, and keepe in their hands, or where so euer they bee, and out of all our aforesaid Netherlands, and namely out of the dukedome of Luxembourge, with in other twenty dayes, or before, if it be possible: wherein our aforesaid good brother, shall imploy him-selfe with all his power, and during the said time of forty daies, all and euery one of our said soldiars, shall and must behaue them-selues, honestly, and peaceably, without any robbing, exacting, ransacking, and spoyling, or in any-wise misusing of our said Netherlands and the subiects of the same, nor any of the neighbour countries and inhabitants thereof.

F And touching the time of the departure of the aforesaid high-Duch soldiars, they shall and must depart out of our sayd Netherlands presently after that the Estates shall haue contented them, as it is further and more at large declared In the 15. article of this our perpetuall edict of peace, which is, after that they shalbe reckoned withall,

and

1577 and all and euery reasonable eductions made out of their paies, as it shall be found to fall out. A

And that all our sayd souldiars, Spaniards, High-duches, Italians, Burguignons, and all others, must and shall, at their departures out of our sayd castles and townes, leaue all the victualls, ordinance, and munition of warre beeing therein behind them, in our sayd castles and townes, which sayd townes and castles with the victualls, ordinance, and munition, wee will, by the aduise of our sayd councell of estate, appoint to bee deliuered into the hands of such persons, as are naturall borne subiects of our sayd Netherlands, and as the preuileges of the sayd Netherlands import, and such as at this time are acceptable vnto them. And touching the oppressions extortions, and forcible compossitions, which by any of our souldiers, whosoeuer they be, haue beene done B in our sayd Netherlands, during the time that they haue beene and continued therein, wee will deale in such sort, touching the same, as right, reason and equity requireth, and when time serueth, as neere as wee can content euery man therein, and shall likewise cause inquiry to bee made, not onely amongst the captaines and commanders, of our sayd souldiars, but also amongst all, and euery one of our sayd souldiers, who in any sort whatsoeuer haue misused and disordered themselues, either in our Netherlands, or the countries adioying, and will do right and iustice therein, whether it bee in out Netherlands, or in our kingdome of Spaine, or any other place, where wee shall thinke it meet and conuenient.

Much promised but nothing performed.

Wee ordaine, decree, and appoint, that all and euery one of the prisoners, which are C holden in prison by reason of the alterations and troubles in the sayd Netherlands, on both sides, shalbe freely and frankly set at liberty, and released of their imprisonment, without paying any ransome, prouided alwaies that touching the sending againe of our couzin *Philip Willam van Nassau* Earle of Büren into our Netherlands, wee will take order, that the sayd Earle, shall bee freely sent againe into the sayd Netherlands, as soone, and presently after that the generall Estates shall haue assembled; and the aforesayd Prince of Orange, for his part shall haue truely and effectually performed that, which by them at the sayd assembly shal be ordained and appointed for him to do. *Item* wee ordaine, decree, and appoint, that the question, contention, and doubt, touching the restablishing and placing of certaine Lords, and Officers, in their go- D uernments, and offices, from whence they haue beene discharged and put out, by reason of the alterations, and troubles aforesayd, shal be suspended, and referred, vntill the end of the assembly of the generall Estates, and that then the sayd question, contention, and doubt, shall bee committed vnto the arbitrement and determination of the councell and ordinary iustice of the Netherlands, respectiuely, by them to bee decided and ended according to law. Further wee promise, vpon our faith and word of a peace, to hold and maintayne, and to cause (our sayd good brother, and all other Gouernors: and euery one of them generally and perticularly, which hereafter shall by vs, and our successors bee placed in our sayd Netherlandes,) to hold and maintaine, all and euery one of the old preuiledges, customes, vses, rights and lawes of our sayd Ne- E therlands, and that wee will not suffer any to serue vnder vs, our aforesayd good brother, nor any other gouernors of our sayd countries, neither for councellors nor otherwise, in the administration of the common gouernment of the sayd Netherlands, but onely such as are naturall borne people and subiects of our sayd Netherlands. And likewise the Estates aforesayd for their parts, do promise vpon their consciences, faithes, and honors, before God and man, to maintaine, vphold, and defend and cause to bee maintained, vpholden and defended: the Holy, Catholike, Apostolike and Romish faith and religion: and the authoritie and obedience due and belonging vnto vs, in all places of our sayd Netherlands whersoeuer, and not to doe any thing contrarie vnto the same. F

Item the sayd Estates likewise haue promised to leaue, breake of renownce and shall and do promise to leaue, breake of, and renounce, all and euery League and confederations, which they for their protection and defence, haue made heretofore, with any forrein Prince or Potentate, since the alterations and troubles aforesaid.

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A The ſayd eſtates likewiſe, and in like manner, haue promiſed, and by theſe preſents doe promiſe, to diſcharge and ſend out of our ſayd Netherlands, all and euery one of the forraine Souldiers, which they haue intertained, or cauſed to bee intertained in their paye, and to hinder, let, and withſtand, that from hence-forth, there ſhall no more forraine Souldiers enter into the ſame. 1577.

Item, whereas the ſayd eſtates, in witneſſe of their true intent, as alſo of the ſincere and good affection which they beare vnto vs, and our ſeruice, haue liberally agreed, and offered vnto vs the ſumme of ſixe hundred thouſand pounds, of fortie Flemiſh groates the pound, they doe by theſe preſents promiſe, to pay, and deliuer the one halfe thereof in ready money, vnto the hands of the aforeſayd Lords Ambaſſadors, and meſ-
B ſengers of the Empire; and the Deputies or Committies of the aforeſayd Duke of Iuilliers, and Cleue, which ſaid halfe part the ſayd Ambaſſadors, Meſſengers, and Committies, ſhall pay and deliuer ouer, vnto the hands of our aforeſaid good brother, or vnto ſuch as hee ſhall appoint by the conſent of the ſayd Lords Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers; to cauſe our ſayd Souldiers, Spaniards, Italians, and Bourguignons, and other ſtrange ſoldiers, to depart out of our Caſtle and Towne of Antwerpe, and out of all and euery other of our Caſtles, Townes, and Forts, except the high Dutches aforeſaid, vntill ſuch time as they ſhall be reckond and accounted withall, as in the next arti-
C cle ſhall be declared. And for the other halfe, the ſaid eſtates ſhall make it ouer by billes of exchange to Genoa, there to be paid vnto thoſe, that by our ſaid good brother, ſhall be appointed to receiue the ſame, within two moneths after the ſaid Spaniards, Italians and Burguignons aforeſaid, ſhall be departed out of our towne and caſtle of Antwerpe.

And further the ſayd eſtates haue promiſed, to take on them the charge to ſatiſfie and content our high-dutch ſouldiers of their paies, as much as after account and reckoning made with them (both what they can demand, and what is reaſonably to be deducted out of the ſame,) ſhall be found to bee due vnto them: wherein wee and our ſaid brother, will aide and aſſiſt them, and by our authorities, credits, and countenances pro-
D cure, thoſe that haue the ſaid accounts, reckonings and regiſters in their hands, to deliuer the ſame, as alſo with the ſayd high-dutches, to induce and procure them to bee contented with that, which ſhall by account be found due vnto them. As likewiſe, the ſayd Lords, Ambaſſadors, and Meſſengers of the Empire, and the deputies for the Duke of Iuilliers and Cleaue, haue freely of their owne good willes, promiſed to procure the ſaid high Dutches to doe the ſame, and that they will write vnto the Emperors Maieſty, to deſire him to vſe his authority in that behalfe with the high Dutches, and vntill the ſaid high Dutches ſhall be fully ſatisfied, contented, and paid, they ſhall liue peaceably and quietly, and in ſuch places, as we by aduiſe of our councell of eſtate, ſhall appoint them to remaine in, for the protection & ſecurity both of our perſons, & the ſaid eſtates.

Item, the eſtates haue promiſed, and by theſe preſents doe promiſe, after the depar-
E ture of the Spaniards, Italians and Burguignons out of our Netherlands, to receiue and accept our ſayd good brother (vpon ſhewing, preſenting, and deliuering vnto them, our Letters of Commiſſion, to him to that end giuen, and vpon his accuſtomed and vſuall oath, in that caſe taken, with the obſeruation of the other ſolemnities, which at ſuch times are commonly done,) as Gouernour, Lieutenant, and Captaine generall for vs, in our ſayd Netherlands: and that the ſayd eſtates, ſhall honor and reſpect him, with all obedience and ſubmiſſiueneſſe, as in that caſe belongeth and appertaineth: The ſayd contract of peace made in Gaunt, notwithſtanding ſtill remaining in all things and in euery point in full force and power.

Item, we ordaine and appoint, that our ſucceſſors, and our aforeſayd good brother, and euery one of the Gouernors, that by vs, or our ſucceſſors, ſhall bee appointed to gouerne our ſayd Netherlands, generally and perticularly at their ioyfull entries, as
F alſo all and euery one of our preſidents, councellors, officers, and Iuſtices, before their entring into, and beginning to take the charge of their gouernments, ſtates, offices and charges, ſhall ſolemnly ſweare to maintaine and obſerue, and as much as in them lyeth, to cauſe to bee obſerued and maintained this our preſent ordinance, accorde, and reconciliation.

1577. Lastly we are content to allow ratefie and approoue, all and euery condition, assignation A
of rents and pentions, and other obligations and assurances, made and passed by the
aforesaid estates, and which as yet they shall make and passe, with all, and euery one,
that haue ayded, assisted, or holpen them with any mony, or that shall ayde, assist, or
helpe them with mony, to serue them in their need, for the auoyding of the troubles
aforesaid; and especially with the high and mighty Princesse, our very louing sister
the Queene of England.

And to the end that all and euery one of the aforesaid points, and articles, may bee
truely, really, and vprightly, holden, obserued, fulfilled, effected and kept and that the
whole contents of our said contract, may continew, and remaine firme, permanent, and
inviolably for euer, we haue caused our seale to bee anexed hereunto, and to bee signed, B
by our aforesaid good brother, and the aforesaid estates on the other side haue likewise
caused to bee hanged thereunto the seale of the estates of the Duchie of Brabant, for
and in the name, and at the desire of all the estates, and haue caused the same to bee
vnder written (by especiall and expresse command, of all the estates,) by our louing
friend and seruant *Cornelis Wellemans*, clarke of the afore-said estates of Brabant, and
likewise, at the desire and request, both of vs and our good brother, as of the estates
the said Lords ambassadors, messengers of the empire, and deputies of the Duke of
Iuilliers and Cleues, as intercessors, and mediators, of the said reconciliation, accord,
and Vnion, conteyned in our said contract, haue signed the same, and of their good willes
and speciall fauors, haue as farre as in them lieth by the said committies, from the C
Emperors maiestie, recommended, prayed, aprooued, and ratefied the same by all the
meanes they can, and as much as neede requireth; giuen in our towne of Mateh in fa-
mine, the 12. of February in the yeare of our lord 1577. and in the yeares of our raigne
of Spaigne and Cicilia, &c. the 23. and of Naples the 25. Signed *Iohn*, and vnderneath by
ordinance & commission from his Highnes *Per le vaisser*, And on the other side was writ-
ten, giuen in our towne of Brussels, the 17. of February 1577. in the 23 yere of our raigne
of Spaine and Cicilia, & of Naples the 25. & vnder that was written, by ordinance from
my Lords of the counsell of estate of our souerange Lord the King, appointed by his
Maiesty from hence-forwards to gouerne the Netherlands, and signed *Dourdloppe*,
and vnder that was written, by especiall and expresse command of my Lords the gene- D
rall estates of the Netherlands, vnder-written *Wellemans*, and some what lower *Gerrard*
bishoppe of Liege, *Philippus Semor* Barron of Winnenbergh, *Andreas Gail*, Doctor
Wernhertro, *Gumich*, and *Iohn Lauwerman*, and some-what lower was written published
in Brussels the 17. of February 1577. in presence of my Lords of the counsell of estate,
committed by the King to gouerne the Netherlands, and of the Lord bishoppe and
Prince of Luycke, and other Lords Ambassadors and messengers of the Emperors
Maiesty and of the Lords the generall estates of the Netherlands aforesaid, by me the
secretary of the towne of Brussels; vnder written *Aerssens*.

The Castell of Vtrecht yelded to the States.

This accord made by *Don Iohn* in frome of a perpetuall Edict, was in the end pro-
claymed at Brusselles the 17. and at Antwerp the 27. of February 1577. to the incredible E
ioy of all the people. Before the publication of the said Edict the generall Estates
had by the Seignior of Hierges long beseeged the Spaniards that were in the castell
of Vredenburch in the Towne of Vtrecht: who were so prest with want and beaten
with the canon as the third of February, they were forced to yeeld by composition to
Cont *Bossu*; and the said Castell was after-wards razed by the Bourguers as it is at
this present. This accord made in forme of a perpetuall Edict, was in the behalfe of
the Generall estates, by the Seignior of *Willervel* and Maister *Paul Buys* Aduo-
cate of the Country of Holland accompanying the Barron of Wynenberg Presi-
dent of the Emperors councell, *Werner Lands* Drossart of the Duchie of Iuilliers, and
Iohn Lauwerman Councellor to the Duke of Cleues, sent to the Prince of Orange and F
the States of Holland and Zeeland to haue their consent there-vnto: whereupon after
they had well aduised, answer was made in their names to the said Ambassadors and the
Seignior of *Willervel*: that the states of Holland and Zeland, &c, together with the Prince
could

A perpetuall Edict sent to the Prince and States of Holland.

A could not sufficiently commend the good zeale of the generall Estates, to discharge and free the whole countrey in generall from so fatall and deadly a warre, and to restore it to peace and concord: resting assured, that the said states would seeke and labour nothing more, then to free the people from so many calamities which they had suffered and past, to the maintenance of their priuiledges, ancient rights and freedomes: and to redresse and replant a good order and rule, as well in matters of Iustice, as of pollicie, the which haue languished during these miserable warres: and especially to entertaine and put in execution the pacification of Gand. But the sayd Prince and States, hauing well balanced and considered (as it was a matter of great waight and consideration) of this perpetuall Edict: they finde that the good desire and great zeale which B the generall Estates beare vnto it, shall not bee therein satisfied. For first of all it seemes, that by certaine intricate meanes, the priuiledges of the countrey (which they would so maintaine) are thereby greatly interressed: for that the libertie to call the generall Estates of all the Prouinces vnited, is taken from them, to whom by right and of all antiquitie it doth belong. Besides they will tye the States of the countrey to an oth which was neuer vsed.

1577. The answer of the states of Holland and Zeeland, to the generall estates.

Touching the free conuocation of the generall estates.

The breach of which priuiledges appeareth plainly by the vniust detention of the Earle of *Buren*: who (as it is notorious to all the world) hauing beene taken and carried away out of the countrey against all right and reason: now that the question is to deliuer all prisoners of either side, they make no shew to haue any intent to set him C at libertie. The which notwithstanding (if they will entertaine the priuiledges) they ought to doe, and not so to violate them for a priuate person, who hath neuer offended: which giues small hope that they shall bee entertained, but shewes plainely that they will soone and easily take occasion to breake them. It also seemes that these Articles of the Edict tend to the breach of the pacification of Gand, in that the agreation of the peace is not so cleerely and plainly therein expresst, as the importance therein requires. But that this agreation depends vpon certaine restrictions and explanations, which remaine yet to bee done, the which in time to come might breed many cauillations, for that they seeme to bee like vnto those that were made in the time of the Dutchesse of *Parma*, which haue beene the cause of so great effusion of bloud: against the which D Articles, the sayd Prince and the States of Holland and Zeeland did protest, and made an Acte thereof. There were also many points in the sayd perpetuall Edict, whereof the Prince and the States would gladly haue desired some alteration, for the which they were resolued to send vnto the generall Estates. But whilest they were busie to set them downe, hearing that *Don Ioan* had beene receiued for Gouernor, they declared plainely that this accord pleased them not, and that for their parts they would seeke by all meanes to maintaine the pacification of Gand, and to pursue the Spaniards, that the world might know they demanded but an end of the warres, and the preseruation of their priuiledges. The generall Estates hearing this answer, sent the like declaration vnto them, and that their intent was to chase away all strangers, as well Spaniards, Italians, Bourguignons, as Germaines at the time limmitted by the accord, and not to B suffer it to bee prolonged.

The Earle of Buren detained still notwithstanding the accord.

Don Iohn his accord is suspect to the states of Holland, &c.

Here vpon *Don Iohn* sought for money to pay the Spaniards, that he might send them out of the Netherlands, and first of all out of the Castell of Antwerp, for otherwise according to the contract he could not bee admitted to the gouernment: who hauing receiued their pay, the Duke of *Arschot* was appointed by the States to receiue the Castle, and to put in a garrison of Wallons after the departure of the Spaniards. The twelfe of March, the sayd Duke, accompanied by the Emperours Deputies, and by *Escouedo* secretarie to *Don Iohn*, went into the Castell to receiue it. *Sanchio d'Auila* who was Captaine of the Castell, pined with griefe and anger, who beeing loth to see F this change, retired himselfe, giuing charge to *Martin del Hayo* his Lieutenant, to deliuer it vp, the which hauing done into the Dukes hands, deliuering him the Keyes in their presence, *Escouedo* receiued an othe of the Duke in the Kings name, to keepe it faithfully for his Maiesties seruice. This done, and the great gates being set open, the Spaniards went forth, beeing laden with the spoyles of the sacke of Antwerpe, and

The Spaniards leaue the Castel of Antwerp.

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1577 marched towards Maestricht, where their rendez-vous was, to voide the countrey, and in their place there entred certaine companies of Wallons. The prisoners were set free of either side. For the States there was the Earle of Egmont, and the Seigniors of Floion, Capres and Glimes. And of the Spaniards side were released the Collonell *Robles*, Seignior of Billi, *Mondragons* wife, the Gouernor of Zutphen, Captaine *Tollenor* and others. The Duke of Arschot Gouernor of the castle, made his sonne the Prince of Cymay his Lieutenant. Although the Castell of Antwerpe were freed from a garrison of Spaniards, Italians, and Bourguignons; yet was not the Cittie well assured: for the Kings mercinary Germaines, companions to the Spaniards in the sacke of the towne, remained with their Collonels *Foucker* and *Fruntsberg* in the new Towne, attending their pay, the which *Don Iohn* seemed to delay for some further intent, the which put the Bourguers into great perplexitie, beeing hard for them to see it, but harder to suffer it. A B

Prisoners deliuered of eyther side.

The king of Spaine ratified the perpetuall Edict.

The first of May the same yeare after that the King of Spaine had ratified the perpetuall Edict, and the Accord made by *Don Iohn*, by his letters pattents of the 7. of Aprill before, the said *Don Iohn* came from Louvaine to Brussels, where hee was receiued almost with a royall pompe, by the States of the countrey, the Magistrates of Townes, and by all the people, with acclamations and signes of great ioy: and the fourth of the same moneth he solemnly tooke the oth of Gouernor, Lieutenant, and Captaine Generall for the King of Spaine, vnder the conditions of the Accord and aboue named Edict, the which he did promise and sweare to obserue & keepe inuiolably. Wherevpon euery one began to cast his eyes vpon him, as if they had already seene a banner of hope planted, that the Netherlands (which had beene so long oppresst with the insupportable burthen of infinite miseries and calamities, spred vniuersally ouer all, of what qualitie and condition soeuer) should by the clemencie, mildnesse, courtesie, and wisedome of the said *Don Iohn*, be releeued and restored to their ancient estate, accompanied with all happinesse and prosperitie, which hope was publikely testified by all demonstrations of ioy, feasts, and kinde vsage, all men shewing as much respect vnto him as if hee had beene naturall Prince of the countrey: euery one expecting that by his meanes (the Strangers oppressors of the countrey being retired) the gouernments should bee put into their hands that were naturall borne, well affected to the good and publike quiet, the peace and vnion of the countrey, inuiolably kept; the priuiledges, rights, and liberties restored, and all points of the pacification of Gand obserued and accomplished; to the end that thereby an ouer-ture being made for the assembling of the generall Estates of all the Prouinces, which had beene promised of either part, they might in the end settle a generall and perpetuall good order throughout the whole countrey, with a firme establishment of vnion, and of all good intelligence and correspondencie betwixt the Prouinces, as well in regarde of the maintenance of the Catholick and Romish religion, as of the full and perfect obedience due vnto his Maiestie, and the good and publicke quiet of the said countries. C D

The great hope they had of *Don Iohn*.

The great conceit they had of *Don Iohn* not durable.

But the greater this hope, ioy and contentment was to all in generall, the greater was euery mans care and hearts-greefe, when they see themselues frustrate of this hope and expectation. For after the departure of the Spaniards, instead of putting to his hand for the accomplishing of the rest of the points which remained of the pacification of Gand, and of his accord to roote out all occasions of iealousie and distrust; they see *Don Iohn* by little and little fill his Court with strangers, enemies to the countrie and the publike quiet, most part Spaniards and Italians, or so affected and simbolizing with their humors, as besides the apparent wrong which hee did vnto himselfe, and to his faith and promise, by the which hee had bound himselfe not to vse them, hee made his will and intention manifest, which was to reduce the sayd countries (already too much oppresst) vnder the yoake of them, whom hee himselfe had made shew and profession to abhorre. For vnder colour that hee had sent for his traine out of Italie, hee caused a good number of Spaniards and Italians to enter into the countrey; by whome hee was euer chiefly serued, recoyling and putting from him as much as hee could, those of the countrey, vnlesse it were some fewe that were E F

Don Iohn puts from him them of the countrey, and is serued with strangers.

Spanioli-

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A Spaniolized, or of the like humor: or such as were altogether suspected to them 1577.
that loued their countrey: hauing aduanced *Baptista Taxis* to bee Steward of his house, and others of vile and base condition (hauing serued as spyes to the Duke of *Alua*) to chiefe offices; yea into his councell, although in the beginning hee made shew that hee would onely imploy them of the countrey, and put off strangers: yet by the effects they found the contrary: for in all occurrents of importants, hee onely vsed the councell of the Lord of Gonsague, and of his Secretarie *Escouedo*, doing nothing of importance without their aduise, contrary to the Edict and Accord, Article ten. And when hee made shew to call any of the countrey to councell, hee made choise of such as were of the Spanish faction, or suspected to them that loued their
B countrey, finding themselues greeued, for that they had beene suspended from their Offices and gouernments, in the beginning of their last alterations raysed against the Spaniards and their adherents, beeing held to bee the Authors of the comming and retaining the Spaniards in these parts, and of all the miseries and calamities which the countrey had since endured. Also hee neuer put from his councell and companie some priuate persons of meane calling, who through their violent passions had alwayes kindled the fire of ciuill warre in Holland: and who had retired into the Castell of Antwerpe with the Spaniards, holding their part against the States, and hauing ayded both with their councell and persons, to sacke and burne the Towne. And more-ouer hee hath alwayes imployed and beene serued by them that were suspect
C vnto the States, for that they held them-selues wronged: as the Earles of Meghen and of Barlamont, the Seignours of Hierges, of Floion, of Haulte-penne his sonnes, the councellor *Assonuille*, *Taxis* and others. Whereby there could no other coniecture bee made, but that hee pretended to entertaine the seedes of hatred and factions among the Noble-men: and in the end when occasion should serue, bandie one against another, and by that meanes bee reuenged of them all, as the effects in the end did shew. If happily at any time hee called the rest, it was but for an outward shew, not to giue them occasion of complaint in the beginning, and the better to couer his desseignes.

Don John admits none to councell but them that are Spaniolized.

Those that are suspect vnto the State are fauoured by *Don Iohn*.

D

After the publication of the perpetuall Edict, Don *Iohn* sent his Deputies to Gheertrudenberghe to treate with the Prince of Orange, and the Deputies of Holland and Zeeland; of which conference, and of their speeches of eyther side, I haue set downe a true narration.

E THe Duke of Arschot, the Lord of Hierges, Monsieur de *Villernal*, *Grobbendoncq*, *Metkerke*, and Doctor *Elbertus Leoninus*, assisted by Doctor *Gail*, Ambassador deputed for his Imperiall Maiestie, being assembled on the one part: and the Prince of Orange, with the sieg-
F niors of Saint Aldegonde, Nyuelt, Vander Mylen, Conynck and Vorsbergen on the other. Monsieur *Mertkercken* began the speech, and after some demonstration of the sincerities and faithfull diligence which *Don Iohn* of Austria had vsed since hee was receiued for Gouernour in performing of the promises made by him, and the good which hee had done vnto the countrie, in causing the Spaniards to retire, and that hee was still ready to pursue and bring to a good end what had beene so well begun, to restore this countrey to her ancient beautie, peace, and happinesse, from the which they were fallen through the gouernment of his Predecessors, and the insolencie of Strangers: Desiring to gouerne after an other manner by the councell and aduise of them of the countrey, as shall be thought conuenient for their greater good and quiet. Hee sayd more-ouer, that it was reason also, seeing that hee shewed himselfe so willing and desirous to redresse all things, and reduce them to a good vnion and concorde: that there should bee assurance also of the Princes behalfe, and of the countries of Holland and Zeeland, that after they haue

A conference at Gheertrudenbergh in May 1577.

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1577. finished all things and reduced the country to a better estate, that they for their parts A
should make no difficulty to submit them-selues vnto reason, and to the obedience
due vnto his Maiesty, and laying aside all Ielousy and distrust, they will procure
with all their power this desired vnion, and will vnite themselues with the other Prouin-
ces in one body vnder one obedience, as it hath beene alwaies here-tofore. And as
there are many things whereby it seemes they haue no desire nor intent to come vn-
to this point; but contrarywise that they will still hold them-selues diuided, and in
perpetuall distrust and disunion.

It were necessary before that his heighnesse proceed any further in that which hee
hath begun, to remedy these things. And for this effect as the pacification, made at
Marche in Famine betwixt his heighnesse and the generall Estates of the country was B
afterwards confirmed by the perpetuall edict and then ratefied by his maiesties expresse
authority, so in like manner those of Holland and Zeeland should cause it to be pro-
claymed in their Prouinces and townes, to bee ioyntly accepted of them all, for so
long as it remaines vn-proclaimed, it seemes that they of Holland and Zeeland would
hold themselues diuided from the rest, and not ioyne in this generall vnion which is
the true and only meanes of the safety and preseruation of the country. It would be
also necessary to cease from fortefying of townes and other places, which they not
only continue, but they build vp new, which seemes to contradict the effect of peace,
for being no enemies, and hauing no cause to distrust on another, there is no need
to fortefie, if they will not nourish Ielousie, and breed supition of hostility. More- C
ouer as his highnesse hath vnderstood, that not onely they doe daily cast new artillery
and furnish them-selues with all sorts of munition, as if they were still in warre, but
also they melt the old peeces againe which carried his Maiesties armes, and that they
graue on them other armes, the which is quite contrary to the pacification of Gand,
and preiudiciall to the article, which saith that the generall assembly shall take order
for the restitution of artillery, munition, forts and shippes vnto his Maiesty: his high-
nes would desire that this might be prouided for, and that hereafter they would for-
beare from any such casting, and that they would also forbeare from making of any
league or secret allyances with any forraine Princes or neighbour Prouinces, seeing
it cannot but breed great distrust, and nourish matter of bad intelligence one with D
an other, being also against the duty of obedience which the subiects owe vnto their
naturall Prince.

And besides his Highnes would wish that according to that which had beene con-
cluded at the pacification of Gand, and that which his Highnes hath also ratefied
and promised for his part, they will procure that the generall assembly of the estates
may be held as soone as may be, as it is conteyned in the said pacification, and that to
that end they will consider of the meanes whereby they may make them assemble,
and of the time and other circumstances thereto required. The Prince hauing heard
this speech, after that he had retired a little into the next chamber, with the depu-
ties of the estates of Holland and Zeeland, being returned, hee answered. Thus E
hauing heard the points propounded by his Highnes deputies, for that there were
many articles of importance, and whereon they must conferre together, hee desired
to haue them in writing, that they might answer to euery one in particular, as it
was fit. Thereupon Doctor *Elbertus Leoninus* spake, and said that to auoyd prolixitie
of writing, the which did breed but confusion, they thought it necessary not to put
any thing in writing, and therefore that by way of conference they would answer
to the points propounded, and endeauor to come vnto that desired vnion and con-
cord, propounding also on their parts the points that might seeme to breed any
scruple, difficulty or distrust, that by an amiable conference they might vnder-
stand one an other, and if it were possible procure concord and vnion, which is so F
much desired of all sides: where-vpon the Prince answered, that he desired nothing
might bee treated of but by writing, for that other-wise they might speake things
of either side which might bee sinisterly interpreted, or that might bee denied to
haue beene treated of, as wee haue seene (said he) by experience, in that sollemne

treaty

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A Treaty of the pacification of Gand, which they labor by all meanes to make fruitlesse and vnprofitable, vnder colour that some points which were debated by Mouth, and not so particularly set downe, are wrested to an other sence, as that of gouernments giuen by commission from his Maiestie, the which is a cleare point, and yet they seeke glosesand cauelings, to obscure the will and meaning of the contractors, vppon colour that the name of Vtrecht was not expresly set downe in writing, and whereas he said that writing bred confusion, the which is not made plaine but by writing, & therefore hereafter they would not treat other-wise then by writing. 1577.

There-vppon the Doctor replied that they would not make any difficultie therein. But that first by an amiable conference they would giue them to vnderstand the points
B where-with they held them-selues grieued, to the end that seeking their content, they should demand that which should bee fit for their safety. The Prince answered: But seeing they kept not that which was so solemnly promised at Gand, and confirmed by oth by most of the Nobilitie and Townes in particular, and ratified by *Don Iohn* and his Maiestie: what hope can wee haue that what-soeuer shallbe promised hereafter willbe maintained and kept. Wherein is it, (said the Seignior of Grobbendoncq that you complaine, that the pacification is not interrained? The question was of Breda and of his Sonne, but the first day of the garrison of Breda.

But said the rest, suppose the pacification bee accomplished, for all cannot bee done at one instant: *Don Iohn* hath begun well, hee must haue time to finish the rest,
C and matters that are doubtfull must bee debated, that it may bee made apparent where-vnto hee is bound. For touching the point of Vtrecht, it is no wonder if hee hath not satisfied it, seeing that hee findes not Vtrecht specified in the pacification, and that there lay before him many considerable & disputable reasons, why hee is not bound to do it. Yea (said the Prince,) by this reason you may draw any matter in question, neither is there any matter so cleere but it may bee disputed; the which was amplified by the Seignior of Saint *Aldegond*, and concluded by his Excellency, that they should first fullfill the articles of the said pacification, and that then the Estates beeing assembled, they would propound of either side the other points seeuing for their greater assurance. There-vppon, *Doctor Leoninus* propounded, that
D it was to bee considered that the generall Assemblie of the Estates was not without danger; for the great number of them that did assist, and the diuersity of humors, especially of them that are not alwaies iudicious and discreet: Producing for example the Assemblie of the Estates of France, the which we haue seene to ingender more dissention and cause of warre then there was before. And therefore it were fit to consider if by an amiable conference of the points that are in question, and whereof there remaines yet some scruple of distrust, that we may excuse this generall Assemblie, and auoid the danger that might grow thereby.

Where-vpon his Excellencie answered, that there was a great difference betwixt the Estates of this country & the Estates of France, seeing that the people & the whole
E body here were of one will and minde, and not diuided into partialities and factions of houses, as in France. And seeing that in the pacification of Gand, they had agreed vppon all points that might bee reconciled, to liue togither in vnity and concord, vntill they had leysure to prouide for the rest, hauing referred the decision thereof to the Assemblie generall; it was more then reasonable they should first satisfie the Articles of the said pacification, and that the rest should bee referred to the said Estates, where hee meant to propound the points which they demanded. But said the others, whilst that wee attend the Assemblie you may propound wherein you finde your selues grieued or what you demand for your assurance. Wee haue nothing to propound said his Excellency, not to complaine of, so as they accomplish
F the Articles of the pacification: for seeing it is concluded at Gand, that wee shall liue one with an other after the manner there specified, vntill the said Assemblie, wee are content and meane (by the grace of GOD) to hold our selues so, without demanding any further assurance, referring our selues for the rest vnto the said Assembly.

1577. But said the Seignior of Grobbendoncq, what assurance will you giue vnto vs to enter- A
taine the pacification? Wee are not bound to giue you any assurance, answered the Prince, for the effect of the pacification carries her assurance with her, seeing that those which were there treating for the generall Estates, and afterwards aduowed by them, haue propounded the articles and points therein contained for a prouisionall assurance, vntill the generall Estates should bee assembled, saying, that some should do thus, and others thus, where-vppon they agreed. Wee must therefore content our selues with those meanes, or else necessarily disauow and breake the said pacification. See then if you will aduow it or not, for if you will hold it, wee must for our parts, fulfill the points therein contained, as we are ready, and if there be any thing wanting vnto this present, as we hope not, wee are content to satisfie it. Yea said one of them, you would that B
after your haue all the Townes and places of Holland & Zeeland, which are already put into your hands, and after wee haue deliuered you the gouernments of Vtrecht and Amsterdam, we should haue no assurance of you that you would hold the pacification. But answered the Prince, if we do presently accomplish the pacification; what will you more of vs, or what assurance are we bound to giue?

By this meanes said the others, after that you haue all which you demand, and that you haue fortified your selues by this meanes more then euer, you may make warre against vs. Warre? answered the Prince, what feare you? wee are but a handfull of men, but a worme against the King of Spaine, and you are 15. Prouinces against two; what cause haue you to feare? Where-vpon the Seignior of Meetkerke said, we haue seene C
what you could do when you were maisters of the Sea, and therefore do not so little esteeme of your selues. To whome Saint *Aldegond* replied, wee neuer haue nor could make warre against you but defensiue: And if wee make a defensiue warre, we must first be offended. For wee will neuer go to assaile the other Prouinces. I said one of them, we know that a defensiue warre is neuer made but it is withall offensiue, alledging there-vppon the taking of Geertrudenbergh. *Vosberghen* then answered touching Geertrudenbergh, that it was of his Excellencies gouernment, a member of Holland and belonging to his Excellencie, and that it was not taken by force, but by pollicie and for want of good guard.

Then said the Prince, the pacification of *Gand* prouides for this: You or your Depu- D
ties haue confest that you were well guarded with the points contained therein, and that you had no need of any other warrant, referring the rest to the Assemblie. You must therefore content your selues: For to make warre against you, it is a thing without any ground or colour. If you had not knowne there was nothing to bee feared for you, you had not forgotten to demand assurance. But you haue seene how roundly we haue dealt with you at that time, vnfurnishing our Country to assist you, yea before the peace was concluded, and although we had reason to demand assurances, yet we would not do it, for that wee treat with the Estates without distrust, hauing expresly declared that if wee had beene to treat with the King, or any other in his name, wee would haue beene guarded with other assurances. But on your behalfes there was E
no question to giue any assurance, as wee haue no meanes yet to assaile you, so were it not expedient.

At these wordes the Seignior of Grobbendoncq said, to speake the truth, wee haue a good confidence in you that you will not make warre against vs, but wee see on the other side that you seeke to disperce your religion ouer all, and are not contented to maintaine it among your selues, but seeke by all meanes to plant it in our Prouinces. What assurance then shall wee haue when wee haue granted all that you demand, that you will not alter any thing concerning religion against the pacification of *Gand*? The assurance which wee can giue (said the Prince) is, that wee will really accomplish the pacification, wherein wee haue promised for our parts not to giue any scandall nor F
cause any Innouation: And wee meane to keepe that we haue promised. But said the Seignior of Villerual these are but promises, you will haue vs beleeue your words, and you will not beleeue the wordes and promises of *Don Iohn*, nor ours. Heere is no question of beleeuing or nor beleeuing (answered the Prince) let *Don Iohn* and

you

A you accompliſh the treatie of pacification, and then we will beleeue you, but you gaue 1577.
vs occaſion of diſtruſt, when as wee ſee you to ſeeke euaſions not to accompliſh the ſayd pacification, which you haue promiſed, vnder collour to propound vnto vs other points for our aſſurance, the which ought to bee referred to the generall aſſembly of the Eſtates, wee haue alſo ſayd *Leoninus* propounded points wherein you haue not accompliſhed the pacification. *Vander Mylen* replied, wee haue therein ſatisfied you touching the principall, and as for the reſt, wee are readie to giue ſatisfaction: although there bee not any thing wherein wee haue firſt broken: for that whereof they accuſed vs, wee haue done it by example, which thoſe of Gant haue giuen vs by a ſentence pronounced, ſo as if there bee any violation it comes from you and
B not from vs.

But ſayd the ſignior of Grobbendoncq the chiefe point of the pacification containes that you ſubmit the queſtion touching the exerciſe of your relligion to the generall Eſtates, what aſſurance ſhall wee haue that when you are ſatisfied in that which you demand, that you will accompliſh this point? what occaſion haue wee giuen you ſayd the Prince to diſtruſt, ſeeing that for our partes wee haue fulfilled the pacification. Seeing then wee were once agreed, you ſhould reſt ſatisfied. But do you promiſe ſayd Grobbendoncq to ſubmit your ſelues vnto all that the generall Eſtates ſhall decree, as well in this as in all other points, as you are bound by the pacification. I know not ſayd the Prince, for you haue alreadie broken and violated
C the pacification, hauing made an accord with *Don Iohn* without our conſentes, and then hauing receiued him for Gouernor. So as ſayd *Grobbendoncq* you would not allowe of the deciſion of the Eſtates. I ſay not ſo replied the Prince; for it may bee ſuch a one as wee would accept it, and ſo the contrarie. But wee would there propound and debate our reaſons to vnderſtand how farre wee were bound to ſubmit our ſelues, ſeeing we are not ſo abſolute as we were at the firſt ſubmiſſion made at Gant. But you ſhall bee reſtored ſayd *Grobbendoncq*, you cannot replied the Prince, for you haue quite broken the pacification.

Then ſayd *Meetkerke*, wee doe nothing; if you will hold the pacification to bee quite broken. It is not wee ſayd the Prince that haue broken it, but you, and yet wee
D refuſe not to ſubmit our ſelues, ſo as wee may deliuer our reaſons, and without preiudice bee reſtored. But you haue alreadie condemned vs by the promiſe which you haue made to *Don Iohn* to maintaine the Catholike and Romiſh relligion in all places, and cauſed all men ſweare to maintaine it, ſo as wee can hope for nothing of the iudgement of the Eſtates but to bee condemned. You would not then ſayd the ſignior of Grobbendoncq ſubmit and humble your ſelues to the Eſtates touching the exerciſe of relligion? No truely anſwered the Prince; for to tell you plainely wee ſee you intend to roote vs out, and wee will not bee rooted out. Ho ſayd the Duke of Arſchot and the Barron of Hierges, there is no man that hath any ſuch intent or meaning: yes truelie anſwered the Prince: wee ſubmitted our ſelues vnto
E you with a good intent, hoping that you would iudge for the good of the whole countrie, without anie other reſpect, as was fit, but you yeelding to *Don Iohns* will binde your ſelues to maintaine and cauſe to bee maintained the Catholike and Romiſh relligion in all places, and make a league and agreement therevpon, ſeeking to binde all the world to the like promiſe, the which cannot bee accompliſhed but in rooting vs out.

Therevpon *Leoninus* ſayd, what was promiſed in the vnion of the Eſtates was neuer to that intent, neither did they euer dreame of it, but they went to gard themſelues more ſafely, and keepe them from disbanding. But ſayd the Prince they were leagued togither by vertue of the pacification of Gant, the which doth binde them as ſtrict-
F ly as the new vnion. Wherevpon *Aldegonde* added, that it was an vniuſt thing, that the treatie of Gant which had beene ſo ſollemnly made, and which they had promiſed to haue ſigned by all the chiefe Noblemen, Magiſtrates and Officers, was not effected, & a new vnion made by the addreſſe and authoritie of priuate men, for that the preſeruation of the Romiſh relligion was therein promiſed, they would haue all the world to

ſigne

1577 ſigne it and yeeld to it. And that therevpon they muſt either yeeld themſelues ſuſ- A
pect not be of the Romiſh relligion, or condemne our cauſe by a preiudicate ſentence.
The others ſayd, that they neuer had any ſuch intention and that wee ſhould haue an
act giuen vs of their meaning. But replied the Prince, for all that, they ſhall not bee
diſcharged from their oth, and promiſe, the which when they ſhalbe called by *Don*
Iohn to the aſſembly of the generall Eſtates, they muſt ſatiſfie, or els remaine periured,
notwithſtanding their act or declaration. Therevpon doctor *Gaill* ſayd in Latin, that
hee which had made the lawe, might alſo breake it, and therefore the Eſtates who had
made this vnion, might interpret or aboliſh what they thought good. *Aldegonde*
anſwered alſo in Latin, that there was great difference betwixt a lawe and an oth,
for hee that hath taken the oth cannot diſpence with it, ſeeing that hee hath made it B
vnto God, and takes the ſacred name of God for a witneſſe and iudge, whereas a lawe-
maker in a poſitiue law is himſelfe the iudge.

Finally after they had much contended about this point *D. Leoninus* ſayd, that
leauing this diſpute they muſt come to ſome accord, requiring that they would de-
liuer vp the points, and that they would moderate them, as they had promiſed to doe.
The others anſwered that they were readie, and deliuered them at that inſtant: re-
quiring alſo that they ſhould deliuer their points in writing, as well thoſe which they
had now propounded, as thoſe which the ſignior of *Schetz* and *Leoninus* had pro-
pounded before, the which was granted, and ſo they parted. Onely the ſignior of *Grob-*
bendoncq and *Leoninus* remained ſtill, and had conference touching thoſe matters C
with the Prince and the deputies, whome his excelency did ſeriouſly admoniſh, let-
ting them vnderſtand that they were bound to maintaine the preuiledges and li-
berties of the countrie, and yet they ſought to bring their countrie into ſeruitude.

The Propoſition of the Duke of Arſchot Baron of Hierges, and other Deputies of *Don Iohn* of *Auſtria*, *made at Geertrudenbergh, to the Prince* of Orange and the Eſtates of Holland and *Zeeland, the two and twenty of May.* 1577. D

MY Maiſters the Prince of Orange and the Eſtates of Holland and Zee-
land, you haue heard, how that his Highneſſe according to his pro-
miſe, hath cauſed all the Spaniſh, Italien and Bourguignon ſouldiars
to depart out of the countrie of this ſide, and that at the requeſt of
the generall Eſtates his Highneſſe hath the fourth of this moneth ac-
cepted the gouernment generall of theſe countries, giuen him in
charge by his Maieſtie, and hath taken a ſollemne oth, ſuch as the Eſtates haue re- E
quired, as well for the obſeruing of the pacification as of the preuiledges of the
countrie.

That his Maieſtie hath ratefied, allowed and confirmed the ſayd treatie made by
his Highneſſe with the Eſtates, for the which his Maieſtie hath giuen GOD thankes,
and is well pleaſed with all them that haue imployed themſelues in the making of the
ſayd pacification and accord. Nothing now remayning but to cauſe the people to en-
ioye the fruites and effect of the ſayd peace, freeing them from their forepaſſed toyles,
miſeries and calamities, wherein this poore countrie hath beene plonged by ciuill and
inteſtine warres; in reſtoring the good and naturall loue, vnion, concord and intelli-
gence which was wont to bee among theſe ſubiects and Prouinces, vnder the obedi- F
ence and authority of his Maieſtie. To which end his Highneſſe hath ſent the Duke
of Arſchot, the Baron of Hierges and others, aſſiſted by doctor *Adrian Gaill* the Empe-
rors Ambaſſador; to the Prince of Orange and the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland,
to conſider with them of the effect and end of the ſayd pacification, and of ſuch reci-
procall

A procall assurances as shall bee thought necessary. And to declare vnto the sayd Prince, 1577.
that seeing hee hath obtained that which hee so much desired, which is the restitution
of his goods and honour with the departure of the Spaniards, whereon hee did
ground his taking of armes, that it is more then time to settle the countrie in peace,
and to banish all suspition on his behalfe, imploying himselfe sincerely in so good a
worke. And if hee bee not satisfied with all this, but doth demand some other thing,
let him speake plainely what hee pretends more for his safetie, to the end that full
contentment may bee giuen him. For the effecting whereof it is verie requisite, that
the perpetuall Edict of the treatie made by the generall Estates with his highnesse,
and proclaimed at Brussells the seauenteenth of February, and successiuely in other
B townes and Prouinces in confirmation of the sayd pacification of Gant, may bee also
proclaymed in Holland, Zeeland and other associat places, whereas hetherto it hath
not beene published.

In like sort seeing a peace is made and proclaimed, it is necessary that generally all
acts should cease which tend to hostilitie, and may giue any occasion of distrust, as the
entertayning of souldiars, the fortification of townes and places, practises and allyan-
ces, leagues and confederations, euen with strangers, casting of new Ordinance, the
which ought to remaine in the same Estate vntill the resolution of the generall Es-
tates. And for that and other things specefied in the pacification, to giue order
for the full accomplishment of a desired peace and the publike tranquillitie, it is fit
C to aduise speedelie when the sayd generall Estates shall assemble. All which points
the sayd Commissioners for his Highnesse, require the Prince of Orange and the De-
puties of Holland and Zeeland, to carry them vnto the Estates of Holland and Zeeland,
as they will doe vnto his Highnesse and to the other Estates the points and articles
which shalbe giuen them by the sayd Prince and deputies. Hoping, there shalbe a fa-
uorable answere giuen reciprocally of either side, and that all things in the meane time
shall remaine in peace and tranquility.

The answere of the Prince of Orange

D *and the Deputies of the Estates of Holland* and Zeeland to the sayd *Proposition.*

MY Lords, vpon the Proposition which it hath pleased you to make on
his Highnesse behalfe, that to take away all iealousie and distrust which
seemed to hinder the sincerite of the peace, wee should propound
assurances, which wee thinke conuenient for the effecting thereof.
The Prince of Orange and the deputies of the Estates of Holland and
E Zeeland, haue made answere, that it were a superfluous thing to de-
mande new assurances, seeing that the conditions promised by the pacification were
not yet accomplished, and that to take away distrust, there was no better meanes then
to beginne by the fulfilling of the points and articles of the pacification of Gant, the
which wee beeing readie for our parts to accomplish, if any remayning: desiryng that
you would doe the like on your behalfe, and that moreouer it hath pleased you my
maisters to require vs to put in writing the poines and articles which wee pretend are
not yet fulfilled. To satisfie your desire therein, the Prince of Orange and the deputies
of the Estates of Holland and Zeeland, haue thought good to exhibit these articles
following.

F First that the aduice and answere which the Prince of Orange and the Estates of
Holland and Zeeland haue giuen by writing, to all the generall Estates of the Nether-
lands, by the hands of Mounsier *de Villeroual* dated the nineteenth day of February
in the yeare of our Lord 1577. containes many Articles, by which it appeeres that
the pacification made at Marche in Famine was not conformable to all the Articles

of

1577. of the pacification of Gant, for which cause the sayd Prince & Estates haue not allowed A
of the said pacification, but vpon expresse condition that the generall estates should for their parts passe an act obligatory in due forme, signed by them and the Gouernors of Prouinces, commanders and colonels, conformable to that which is more particularly specified in the said aduice and answer.

Where vpon they haue by an act giuen and dated the first of March, declared their intention to haue alwaies beene to maintaine effectually the pacification made at Gand, and to seeke to redresse all that they should finde done or attempted to the contrary, or against the preuiledges, rights, liberties and customes of the Netherlands, as well in generall as in particular, and they promised to cause the like resolution to be signed by the Gouernors of Prouinces, commanders and collonels, as being bound B
to gouerne them-selues accordingly, which promise and condition hath not beene effected nor accomplished: for the Germains are not yet gone out of the country, which is contrary to the said pacification of Gand. *Item* the goods haue not beene neither are yet restored to the Prince of Orange, as well in these parts, as in Bourgongne and Luxembourg. Neither is the Earle of Buren his sonne deliuered, which doth not onely impugne the said pacification, but also the preuiledges and liberties of the country, and the conditions of the said aduice and answer. *Item* the Prince hath not his gouernment yet restored vnto him, as hee had it by commission from his Maiesty, seeing that neither the country and towne of Vtrecht, nor the townes of Tholen, Heusden and others, are not yet vnited to their ancient gouernments, as they were C
in former times, wherein my Lords of the councell of State haue shewed them-selues partiall, writing letters to them of Vtrecht, by the which they haue kept them from submitting them-selues vnder their ancient Gouernor, according to the said pacification, and the preuiledges of Vtrecht, although that they of Vtrecht haue often required that they might submit them-selues. Moreouer in steed of augmenting and maintaining the priuileges of the country, as had beene specified, not onely in the said pacification, but also in the conditions of the said aduice and answer, giuen vnto the generall estates, we see them now deminished, yea broken and violated in diuers sorts: for my Lords the States haue by their Instruction giuen to certaine deputies sent vnto Don *Iohn* lately (sence the said aduice and answer, where it had beene expresly mentioned) D
subiected the assembly of the States as wel generall as particular, vnto the good pleasure of Don *Iohn*, the which should remaine free, according to the ancient rights, preuiledges and liberties of the Countrie, in those Prouinces and places that haue preuiledges.

Item those of the religion are not admitted in any places and townes of other prouinces, to remaine there according to the pacification of Gand as may bee verified by many examples, if they will take informations. And yet not-with-standing all this and that the promises and obligations contained in the said pacification of Gand, and sence, in that which the estates haue promised to the Prince & to the estates of Holland and Zeeland be not accomplished, yet they haue receiued the said Don *Iohn* for Gouer- E
nor and Captaine generall, without the aduise of the said Prince and estates of Holland and Zeeland, not that the said Prince and States will say they would haue opposed them-selues, but for that it seemes that the vnion brought in by the said pacification hath beene by that meanes neglected. And which is more, they haue accepted of Don *Iohn* with his traine of Italiens and Spaniards, the which is euen against the Edict of pacification made by Don *Iohn* at March in famine. Also wee see that contrary to the said pacification of Gand, many strangers, Italiens, Spaniards and others, which haue shewed them-selues partiall and Spaniolized, haue great credit with Don *Iohn*, as the Seignior *Octauio Gonzaga*, *Fernand Nunno*, the Secretary *Escouedo*, the Seignior of Gaste, who hath beene imployed into England, to breake the Vnion of F
England and these Countries, with *Iohn Baptista Taxis* and many others, haunting daily the court of the said Don *Iohn*, although they haue done very bad offices against the good of the Countrie, and as the common brute is, Don *Iohn* hath some secret councell with the aboue named and others of the like humor.

Finally,

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A Finally it seemes that by vertue of the clauses contained in the league and vnion which my Lords the Estates haue made although peraduenture they had no such intent there bee in effect a new inquisition brought in, yea more greeuous then that in former times, or that which they vse in Spaine, the which informe not against any person of what religion soeuer, vntill that hee bee suspected, or haue giuen some occasion: whereas hee here by this newe forme of league, all men serche after for their consciences and religion, vnder collour of maintaining the vnion, contrarie to the pacification of Gant, and all concor. Wee omit the complaintes of priuate persons touching the restitution of goods and the fraudes and abuses of the Receiuors of confiscations, for that wee will not trouble the Estates with trifles, which may be hand-
B led at an other time. 1577.

Made at Geertrudenbergh the foure and twenty of Maie. 1577.

AFter that *Don Iohn* had bin receiued into Brussells with all his traine vpon a hope grounded vpon his promises, that in time hee would dismisse them, and that after hee had setled an order in his house, hee would not bee serued but by them of the countrie. Notwithstanding, when as hee found that (for so much as his followers were greatly suspected, to the Bourgers of Brussells, and to all the Estates in generall
C who had often intreated him to discharge them) hee could not well execute that which hee had long proiected vpon the sayd towne. Hee therefore sought an occasion to goe to Macklin vnder collour to treat with the Germaine Collonels, where hee did freely and without any scruple cause all sorts of Italians, Spaniards and them that were of the Spanish faction to enter and frequent his Court, and all that had de- clared themselues enemies to their countrie and fauorers of the mutinies, sedytions, spoilings and outrages of the sayd Spaniards, hauing open conuersation and familiaritie with them, holding councells of the State and affaires of the sayd countries with them, as the effects conformable to the letters written to the Germaines Collonels haue since made manifest: for at that time insteed of treating in the States
D name of their paiement, and retreat out of the countrie, as hee was bound by the sayd Accord and Edict, sollemnely sworne by him vpon the Euangill, in the hands of the Bishop of Boisleduke, all the States assisting, and in the presence of the Popes *Noncio* and the Emperors ambassadors, hee practised with the sayd Germaines to bandie them against the States, and to do that which hee since effected: as it appeeres by his letter written to the Baron of *Frundtsbergh* and to *Charles Foucker* their Collonels the 16. of Iuly in these words.

Don Iohn takes occasion to go to Macklin.

Worthie Gentlemen, I thinke you remember well what I treated with you at Mac- klin, and the order which I gaue you concerning that which it behoueth you to doe for his Maiesties seruice. And although I assure my selfe that you will not faile there-
E in, but will put it in execution (according vnto the vertue and wisdome you haue hetherto vsed) what hath beene giuen you in charge for his Maiesties seruice. Not- withstanding the businesse beeing of so great importance, I haue thought good to recharge you by these my letters, and to put you in minde of what wee haue trea- ted, and to require and command you (as I doe in his Maiesties name) that as soone as possible you can, you effect and put in execution what was concluded betwixt vs, for that therein you shall doe that whereunto you are bound, and which is requisite for the assurance of your persons and your paie, whereof the States pretended to de- priue you: wherevnto it is not reasonable that either you or I should consent, seeing that his Maiesties intent nor mine were neuer other, but to haue you honored, paied
F and fauored. *Our Lord keepe you &c.*

Don Iohn's letters to the Ger- maine Col- lonels.

And moreouer for a more ample declaration of the great desire hee had of the execution of his desseignes plotted there, hee added with his owne hand.

You knowe my Maisters what I haue giuen you in charge at Macklin, and that in the execution thereof you shall discharge the dutie and seruice which you owe vnto

1577 „ his Maiesty assuring moreouer by the same meanes your liues and entertainments: A
„ for that the intention of the States being to leaue you yea and to take al from you: I am
„ bound with the rest to doe that seruice to his Maiesty, seeing it is hee that must paie
„ you, and I in his name am to take the charge. And to the priuate Captaines hee did
„ write with his owne hand vnderneth the letter written in high Duch, in these termes.
„ My friends I referre my selfe to that which your Collonels shall deliuer you more
„ at large. Beleeue them, and continue as you ought in his Maiesties seruice
„ which is the King, whome you serue, and who must satisfie and paie you, and the
„ like will I doe vnto you, if GOD permit, as your Generall, friend and fellowe
„ souldiar.

The same month of Iulie sending *Ierome Curiell* with letters of credit vnto the B
Collonels, hee writ also with his owne hand these words in substance. I send *Ierome*
„ *Curiel* againe vnto you, to declare vnto you more particularly what hee hath in
„ charge, and seeing the chance is cast, and cannot bee recalled againe, it is necessarie
„ to proceede, and that which doth most import, is expedition, and great dilligence
„ in the execution of that which hath beene agreed vpon and concluded. Whereby it
Don Iohn practiseth from the beginning against the States. did plainely appeere that insteed of treating with the Germaines for the States, as
hee had promised by the said accord, hee treated and practised against them: And
insteed of reconciling them one with an other: hee did incense them more, per-
swading the Collonels that the States would defraude them of their entertaine-
ment, and take awaie their liues. And whereas hee was bound to cause them to C
depart out of all the Townes and places of strength in the countrie, hee tooke
them into his seruice, and made them remaine in Townes to conquer their paie by
the sword.

Whilest that hee remained in Macklin hee caused one of the Religion to bee execu-
ted by the sword. And whereas it was held strange, and that they murmured there-
A beginning of sinister interpretation of the pacification of Gant. at. Hee answered (wherein the Bishoppe of Arras did second him) that hee did
not therein goe against the pacification of Gant, which was not to bee vnder-
stood but for those of the Religion which had beene absent, and not for them which
had remained in the countrie, as this did. This was a goodly beginning of the in-
terpretation of the sayd pacification, but there were afterwards some that were D
more wrested. *Don Iohn* hauing on the other side by them of Flanders compounded
with the three companies of Collonel *Polwiller* beeing in Denremonde. And vpon
the petition presented by them of Flanders obtained authoritie to giue a pasport to
euerie souldiar to retire into Germanie, as appeeres by an Appostille of his owne
Don Iohns dissembling. „ hand, as followeth. His highnesse hauing heard and vnderstood the report of this pe-
„ tition, declares that they maie addresse themselues for the pasports therein required
„ to the generall Estates, whome his highnesse doth authorize to giue them, as hee doth
„ also authorize the signior of Ryhouen to make the priuate pasports. And as for Com-
„ missioners for the conduct of the sayd three companies out of the countrie, his high-
„ nesse commandes the Audiencier or Secretarie to make pattents concerning the same E
„ vnto such Commissioners as shall be named vnto him. Made at Macklin the 5. of Iuly
1577. signed *Iohn*, and vnder neath *Berty*.

Notwithstanding presently after he writ and commanded those soldiars to continue
still in the same towne, obeying their Collonel *Polwiller*, with whom they were in
dissention, and without any correspondencie, as it appeered vnto the Estates by the
letters which the sayd soldiars had sent vnto them. Finally insteed of pacefying all
troubles, and maintayning the peace and quiet of the countrie, as hee had promised,
making the said accord, and had alwaies so pretended: presently after that he had so sol-
lemnly signed and sworne it, hee plotted new enterprises with his Secretarie *Escouedo*,
and in the end put all in combustion, procuring warre, which hee had alwaies affected, F
Escouedó inceneth Don Iohn. and sought nothing but an oportunitie to put it in execution. And seeing on the one
side that for the good and firme vnion of the States among themselues: and on the other
side for the good reception they had made him, and continued daily withall sincerity &
loialty: And that in regard of two points, whereof in the beginning hee would haue
charged

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A charged the Estates, that is the Catholike and Romish faith, and the obedience due vn- 1577.
to the King, they carried themselues so faithfully and without any reproch as hee had
no cause nor collour to oppose himselfe against them. Hee resolued to dissemble
his bad intent against them for a while, and to conceale his desseignes which had
beene plotted at Macklin, thinking hee should not easily preuaile, vnlesse hee did first
ruine the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland and Zeeland: or els that hee
should finde some occasion thereby, to shew himselfe more openly in case the States
made any difficulty to declare warre against him: or els hoping to diuide them, he re-
solued to seeke all possible meanes to breake the vnion and alliance, which by the paci-
fication of Gant they had with the sayd Prince and States of Holland and Zeeland: as
B hauing more apparent matter to complaine of that side, in regard of the sayd two
points, without any obseruation of the order which had beene concluded in the sayd
pacification of Gant, to come to a generall assembly of the States of all the Prouinces,
wherevnto all controuersies remayning were referred: but would anticipate and pre-
uent the time, insisting very vehemently, that without any attention of the season and
the prefixed order, they should satisfie him in many points, the decision whereof had
beene referred by the sayd pacification to the assembly generall: finally at his departure
from Brussells to Macklin, he propounded vnto the States to take armes against the said
Prince, saying, that if hee were in Italie or in Spaine hee would come expressly into the
Netherlands to maintaine the quarrell of them of Amsterdam. The which ministred oc-
C casion of great distrust and bitternesse vnto the States, to see him so resolute to take
armes, reiecting the reasons that were giuen him of either part, requiring to haue the
cause examined more at large, before hee should dismember them by warre, from
whence so many miseries and calamities did grow, for the auoiding whereof the States
had so much labored.

Don Iohn seekes a quarrell against the States.

Don Iohn seekes to make warre betwixt the States and the Prince of Orange.

At the same time hee writ to the Emperor and to all the Princes Electors of Germa-
ny, and he sent also to the Queene of England, to incense them against the sayd Prince,
as if he had violated and broken the peace: and all without the priuity of the States for
summoning the Prince to answere to those actions, or to satisfie that which hee had
promised. Hauing moreouer expressly forbidden the ambassador which hee had sent
D vnto the Queene, not to make any mention vnto her Maiesty, nor intreat her to assist
the States with money, wherewith they might presently haue discharged the Germains,
which was the chiefe point the States had recommended vnto the sayd ambassador.
Don Iohn shewing openly in all his actions, the desire hee had to breake the pacifica-
tion of Gant, in attempting warre against the Prince and them of Holland: the which
from the beginning beeing at Luxembourg and at Marche in Famine, hee made shew
to affect greatly according to the letters written from Spaine to *Rhodes*, almost at the
verie instant of his arriuall, and the instructions that were giuen him at his departure
from Spaine, the which tooke this point for a chiefe foundation, that hee must with
the ayde of the generall States make warre against the Prince and them of Holland and
E Zeeland, that (they being ruined) hee might with more facility vanquish all the rest, as
it appeeres by the sayd letters.

Don Iohn writs into Germany and England against the Prince.

The warre of Holland and Zeeland the chiefe foundation of Don Iohns.

But seeing that the States would not enterrashly into warre against Holland and Ze-
land: but resoluing to hold the pacification, would referre the decision of all contro-
uersies to a lawfull conference, and moreouer to attend a generall conuocation of the
States, as it had beene agreed by the pacification of Gant, hee tooke occasion thereby
to hold them as disobedient and rebells to the King, treating with the Germanie Col-
lonels as we haue shewed by his letters, of the meanes how he might be reuenged of the
States, practising vnder hand to draw away their forces, and to dispose of them at his
pleasure, wherefore finding the towne of Macklin not verie commodious for the ef-
F fecting thereof, beeing situated in the midest of the country, hee aduised to retire him-
selfe into some frontier towne of strength, thinking first to put himselfe into Mons, vn-
der a collour to receiue the Queene of Nauarre there, who should passe that way to go
to the Bathe of Spa, in the countrie of Liege: the which succeeding not, hee remained
quiet for a time making shew that the Queenes voiage was broken off.

Don Iohn seekes to retire into some frontier town.

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1577. And as the States during these practises were aduertised that they leuied many soldiars A
vpon the frontiers of France, in the Duke of Guises name, and vndercoullor to goe
against the forces which Duke *Iohn Casimire* should prepare to succor the Prince of
Conde and the Protestants of France; *Don Iohn* being aduertised hereof by letters
from the said States, seemed alwaies could and careless, saying that hee had not re-
ceiued any newes thereof, as appeared by his letters of the twenty of Iuly, written
to the States to that pourpose: not-with-standing that they had receiued diuers
aduertisements from France that the said Leuy which was made vpon the fron-
tiers, was to enter into the Netherlands, and to helpe to exploit that which time hath
since discouered.

And in the meane time vpon the same petext to goe and meet with the Queene B
of Nauarre, hee pretended a iorney to Namur, to seeke some meanes to seaze vpon
the castell, and with all vpon the frontier Townes and Forts, the which hee effected:
for at the same instant hee packt vp all his baggage, and caused all to bee carried away
that hee had in Brussells and Macklin: yea hee made all his prouision of wine to bee
sold, whereby it appeared what his intent was. And at the same instant according
vnto that which had beene resolued on at Macklin, hee sought by all meanes to assure
him-selfe of the towne and castell of Antwerp, as the cheese towne of the Nether-
lands, the keye of Brabant and the opening of the Nauigation, whereon the propertie
of all the said Countries depends: And therefore hee did so ernestly presse the Ger-
Don Iohn thinking to assure himselfe of Antwerp looseth it. maine collonels by all his letters, to put that speedely in execution which had beene C
concluded betwixt them at Macklin, vsing in those of the twenty fiue of Iuly these
words. I wonder much that vnto this hower I haue receiued no letters from you nor
" any aduise of what you haue done in the execution of that which you had in charge.
" And for that I shall bee much perplexed vntill I heare from you, I pray you aduer-
" tise mee presently. Hee had prouided that collonell *Cornellis van Eynden* should enter
into the towne of Antwerp with fower companies, and expressly after the Seignior
of Hierges, and one of his Bretheren with their regiments euery one at his time
Hierges and Floien. appointed, as appeers by his letter of the twenty six of Iuly, where hee writes thus.
One of the two is gon yesterday to assemble his troupes to cause them to march where
" they are appointed, and the eldest shall part this day and shall come to the place D
" appointed: so as it is fit you should proceed, whereof I pray you, resting assured that
" whatsoeuer hath beene promised you shall bee performed. At the foote of the said
" letter hee did write with his owne hand *I am very well satisfied* to vnderstand that
" they proceed in that which hath beene resolued, and intreat you to aduertise mee
" what shall passe there: for touching matters here, there shall bee nothing wanting
" of that which hath beene concluded. And in that of the twenty seauen of the month,
Floion and Hierges. hee writ to Collonell *Foucker* in these termes. The said Earles Brother shall come
" sodenly when it shall bee time. In that of the thirty hee saith, hold good corres-
" pondencie with the second brother, for if need bee I will send you the elder, in the
" meane time stand carefully vpon your gards, and aduertise me often of your newes. E
" And in that of the thirty one. Our friend shall soone part, and shall vse all possi-
" ble dilligence to bee speedely there. As for the castell of Antwerp, *Don Iohn*
The Prince of Chimay sent for by Don Iohn out of the castell of Antwerp. knowing well that the Prince of Chimay, a young Noble-man, vnacquainted with
affaiers was in it, and that hee had commandement as Lieutenant to the Duke of
Arschot his father, not to abandon it; he writ vnto him that vpon sight of the
letter, hee should come to Macklin, and accompany him to Namur, assuring him-selfe
that in the meane time the Seignior of Treslon would discharge his duty for the keep-
ing of the place, and that at his comming to Macklin he would talke with him of that
whereof he had written the day before. The Prince of Chimay went, and being come to
Don Iohn, he neuer spake word vnto him touching any thing. And demanding his leaue F
to returne to the said castell, he answered him, that he had prouided for the safe keeping
thereof, where as they treated of some matters, whereby his person might bee in some
danger: But when all should bee well setled that hee would then aduertise him. In
the meane time *Don Iohn* had laid his plot long before, as it appeared by a letter written
with

A with his owne hand to Collonel *Foucker* of the seauen and twenty of Iuly. By your letter which I haue receiued of Monsiure *Treslon*, I gather that when he writ vnto me, they of the castle had not yet receiued the dispatch which I had giuen you for them at Macklin, whereat I meruaile much, seeing that you knowe I do so much affect it; giue it him presently, if you haue not alreadie done it, and bee carefull to execute that effectually which hath beene treated, without expecting our friend, for hee shall come time inough. 1577.

This pollecy to settle the signior of Treslon in the castle of Antwerp, in the place of the Prince of Chimay, was to the end that hee should hold it at his deuotion against the States, and that by mutuall intelligence hee might bring in the Germaines and The signior of Treslon in the castle of Antwerp for Don Iohn.

B other souldiars, and by the same meanes assure himselfe also of the towne. And by his letter of the eight and twenty of Iuly to Collonel *Foucker* hee writes. This day after dinner I haue receiued your letter written yesterday, and doe wonderfully reioyce that Mounsier *Treslon* is so resolute to assist you in all necessities. The which beeing so, I haue great hope, that Champagnies attempts, as you write vnto mee (for the signior of Champagny feared least the troupes of Collonel *Cornellis van Eynden* which marched already, should enter there) shall not preuaile. Yet you must keepe good gard, and bee Vigilant, that at the same time there enter no men on the other side for the Prince of Orange. In the meane time *Don Iohn* sought by all meanes to winne the Signior of *Philomey*, Sonne to the Signior of *Willerual*, who had a companie in

C the sayd castle, writing vnto him to that end the sixe and twenty of Iulie in these words. Most deere and well beloued, you shall vnderstand by Mounsier *de Hierges* and by my letters, which hee shall deliuer you, the conspiracie which hath beene practised against vs: the present estate of the affaires, the confidence wee haue in you, with the present occasion that is offred. The which I hope shall make you shew vnto the King my Lord how much you loue him, and how good and loyall a vassall hee hath of you. In the meanetime beeing necessarie for his Maiesties seruice, that the foure companies of *Cornellis van Eynden* should enter into the new towne, if perchance the signior of Hierges had not beene with you nor sent vnto you before the sayd entrie (notwithstanding that wee haue written it to Mounsier *Treslon*) wee would also make

Don Iohn his letters to the signior of Philomey.

D it knowne vnto you by these presents, which *Charles Foucker* shall deliuer vnto you, to the end you may knowe that it is done by our commandement, as a thing most requisite for his Maiesties seruice. In whose behalfe wee sommon you that according vnto the oth which you haue sworne vnto him, you will constantly serue him with the companie that is vnder your charge, in the garde of that castle, adhering to no other but to him and to vs in his name, as your Gouernor although you bee otherwaies required and prest: incorraging your souldiars to doe their duties, as it befits honest men, and assuring them that they shalbe well intreated and paied to the vttermost &c.

Vpon these intelligences *Don Iohn* thought that this desseigne vpon Antwerp (the

E which as wee haue sayd had beene plotted before at Macklin) could not faile him, and held himselfe verie assured thereof; thinking also to haue the townes and countrie of Luxembourg at his deuotion, (as indeed hee had) to haue a passage alwaies open from Bourgongne and Italie, hee also mannaged his businesse in such sort, as knowing verie well that the States would not satisfie the signior of Hierges desire, touching the Gouernment of *Charlemont* which the signior of Mericourt would resigne vnto him; to incense the States, seeking some cause of quarrell against them, hee promised it vnto Hierges, and gaue vnto him the gouernment of *Charlemont*, contrary to the intent of the sayd States, and contrarie to all that which had beene decreed, by the accord of pacification, and the perpetuall Edict.

Don Iohn seekes meanes to incense the States.

F Thinking that hee had made his proiects so surely as all should succeed to his desire: as well for that hee held himselfe assured (as hee thought) of the towne and castle of Antwerp, as to haue all the Germaines at his deuotion, beeing foure Regiments, with those of the Lords of Hierges, Megen, Floion and Cerf (which was wont to bee that of Collonel *Mario Cordoni*) thinking also that the States treasure was all

1577 exhausted: for that they had dismist their forces, that were entertained by the priuate Prouinces. Hauing also learned by letters and by a man that was expressly sent, what forces they had to expell the sayd Germaines, hee resolued to proceed. And notwithstanding that two daies before hee had sent the signior of Grobbendoncq vnto the States, to let them vnderstand that hee desired to come to Brussells, so as all things might bee well ordred touching certaine Articles, presented on his behalfe, wherein hee had beene formerly satisfied (vnder collour of going a hunting, whereas the chiefe Noblemen followed him beeing before the castle of Namur, and seeming to haue a desire to visit it, and to viewe the countrie about, hee commanded the duke of Arschot to followe him. Beeing entred into the castle hee sayd, that for the safetie of his owne person and the dukes, together with his traine, hee had thought it fit to put himselfe into that place: entring into it, they found at the port the Earle of Megen and the signior of Hierges, *Floion* and *Hautepenne* bretheren, Sonnes to *Barlaimont*, with pistolles in their hands: and presently *Don Iohn* tooke a pistoll, which hee drewe out of the case, and shewing his armes, sayd, that it was the first daie of his gouernment, and then hee presently placed his gards, the which happened the foure and twenty of Iuly.

Don Iohn seizeth vpon the castle of Namur.

Being thus seized of the castle, hee assembled the councell, to whom hee made a declaration of the long and the exceeding great patience, which hee had had against so manie and such intollerable indignities which he had suffred by the States of the countrie, and that hee was resolued not to beare them any longer: but to gouerne, and to be absolutly obeied, according to the charge which hee had from Spaine. And yet for that hee would not altogither distast the Noblemen of the countrie, which were about his person, thinking that it was not yet time to declare himselfe openly, hee shewed forth two letters, one of the ninteenth, the other of the one and twenty, but without any subscription of signature, by the which they did aduertise him that there was a conspiracie against his person, to seize on him at Brussells or at Macklin, and therefore he should prouide for his owne safetie: alleadging, therevpon, that hee was now in a place where he held himselfe from the bad practises of conspirators, imputing all the occasion of his retreate (long before pretended, yea from his first comming vnto these countries, as the proofes did witnesse) vnto a conspiracie newely found out: seeing that if there had beene any cause of such suspition, hee might haue preuented it by exemplarie iustice, beeing Gouernor and Commander of the countrie, and generally obeied.

Don Iohn complaines of the States.

Don Iohn couers his designes with an imaginary conspiracy.

At the same time, hee sent the Lord of Rassengem with the coppie of these two letters to the States at Brussells, with certaine Articles, the which hee would haue effected before hee returned to Brussells, tending in effect to disarme the Lord of Heze (who had beene made Gouernor of the towne by the States before his comming) and all the Bourgers with all, that hee might by that stratageme the better surprize the towne, as hee had done Namur, and the castle.

And although the States had great cause to distrust all these courses of *Don Iohn* and to stand vpon their gard; who had so plainely discouered his intention, and in so manie sorts broken the treaties of pacification and quietnesse as well of Marche in Famine as of Gant, yet they were so farre from making shewe of any Act of hostilitie, as they sent vnto him the Abbot of Marolles: the Archedeacon of Ypre and the signior of Breuck with great and ample instructions of the fiue and twenty daie of Iulie, by the which the States made a plaine declaration of their sincere intentions and meaning vnto him in all faith and obedience, beseeching him most humbly that hee would bee pleased to lay aside all suspition grounded vpon doubtfull and false reportes, and to preuent all inconueniences and alterations, which this his extraordinarie retreate to the castle of Namur, with the sodaine taking and seizing vpon *Charlemont*, might cause; promising him at his returne and presence in the sayd towne of Brussells, fidelitie and assurance against all men. And to doe exemplarie iustice vpon all them that should bee found culpable and faultie of so wicked a conspiracie. Wherefore they intreated him that as well the accused as

The States shew no discontent but intreated Don Iohn.

the

A the accusers might bee named vnto them, to make a indiciall information, and to doe iustice accordingly: whereof they gaue them a new charge the next day, with promise to expose their liues and goods, for the safety and seruice of his person: and moreouer that all that bare armes should take an oth to that end: Treating with him notwithstanding with all sincerities and dilligence, vpon the contentment and the retreate of the Germaines, the which he made shew to desire greatly. 1577.

But notwithstanding all this, and that the states had often since besought *Don Iohn* that they might know them that were accused to be guiltie of this conspiracie, and the names of them that had accused them: insisting still that hee would bee pleased to free himselfe of this distrust of them, and by his returne to Brussells preuent all alterati-
B ons that were growne by reason of his retreate: promising to bee seuere reuengers of all those that would attempt against him or his. More-ouer they had consented by letters of the thirty of Iuly, that hee might besides his ordinarie garde of Archers and Halbardiers, haue an other garde of Captaines and Souldiers, to the number of three hundred Harquebuziers on foote, that were borne in the countrey, and pleasing to him and the States, the like whereof had neuer beene granted to any Prince of the bloud or other.

Yet notwithstanding all this, they could not obtaine any thing of him; but insteed of seeking to dispatch the Germaines out of the countrey, which hee had so often promised and sworne, hee discouered and made open declaration of the intelligence
C hee had with them, the which hee had vntill then kept secret; neither could hee conteine himselfe to say vnto the Abbot of *Marolles*, that hee held himselfe assured of the Towne and Castell of Antwerpe, and that hee wanted neither men nor money, giuing him charge to aduertise the States thereof. Commanding more-ouer the Germaines of Collonell *Van Eynden*, to marche towards Antwerpe, and to ioyne with them that were there before: Giuing order vnto the Seignior of *Treslon* (according vnto that which had beene long before concluded) to bring them in, and to ioyne with them: shewing therein all hostilitie, and a resolute intention to oppresse the countrie againe by these strangers, more then it had beene before: So as the Merchants of Antwerpe, as well those of the countrey as strangers, began to prepare to retire themselues, and
D to abandon the Towne, and so leaue it in a miserable desolation; yea some were seene to leape out at windowes to saue themselues, casting infinite packes of Marchandise into boates at all aduentures, feating they should not in time auoide the furie of these mercenarie Germaines, whose furie and couetousnesse was too well knowne vnto them by experience, to their great hinderance and losse. Notwithstanding the states were not yet inclined to take the course of Armes, hoping that *Don Iohn*, according to so many promises and oathes so solemnly made and swore, would rather remedie these inconueniences by reason and Iustice, then by the violence of Armes: had it not beene that the same day that they made their complaints of this commandement giuen to the Seignior of *Treslon*, and of the desseigne of the said *Cornellis van Eindein*, which was the
E eight and twenty of Iuly, letters were brought vnto them, that *Don Iohn* and the Secretary *Escouedo* had in the moneths of March and Aprill last past, written vnto the King, and to his Councellor and Secretarie *Antonio Perez*, the which hauing beene intercepted in Gascoyne, were sent into Holland to the Prince of Orange, who sent them to the states to consider of their affaires.

Don Iohn begins to discouer himselfe

A great feare and teration in Antwerpe.

Don Iohn & Escouedo write into Spaine.

Among these letters that were intercepted, there were three from *Don Iohn*, two vnto the King, and one vnto *Antonio Perez*, all of the seauenth of Aprill. In the first after that hee had much complained of the waute of pay for his Souldiers, and perswaded the King to keepe his credit, not-with-standing a certaine proclamation made vpon the change of money, which hee receiued from the Marchants, which was
F greatly to the preiudice of the said Marchants; He said, that as for that which toucheth the reduction and tranquilitie of these countries, I cannot assure your Maiestie of any thing certaine, not that they shall reape the fruite which was expected of the peace which they make: the Prince of Orange continues still to fortifie in Holland & Zeeland with all vehemencie. The Queene of England doth incourage him, and labours what shee

1577 shee can that hee should not accept what hath beene capitulated, and to that end offers him her power. A

„ The greatest part of the countrey is at his deuotion, some for loue they beare him, „ and others for that they haue beene deceiued by these men, and herein almost all the „ people are conteined. Such as desire to enioy your Maiesties grace and pardon (which „ is the smallest number) they thinke that in accepting it, they doe all they ought, be- „ sides they are so faint harted, as they will make no demonstration worthy the noting. „ And if they would imploy them-selues, there will bee a great confusion and diuision „ among them all, as soone as the Spaniards shall bee gone, some to haue mee admitted „ to the gouernment, and other to hinder it. And for that (as I say) the first will haue „ small courage, if the other oppose against mee, those will altogether faint, and not any B „ one will dare to shew himselfe. I am carefull how I may put my selfe into some place „ of more safetie then this, where I may prouide for all affaires: for beeing free and „ at libertie, I doubt not but there will bee many which will declare them-selues „ for your Maiestie, if they deceiue mee not with their words and demonstrations. „ Behold how I imploy my selfe at this present, omitting no office to winne their „ good wills, and to let the States vnderstand what is fitte for them. But I see that he- „ therto it is as much as to preach in the ayre, &c.

In the same letter there was written vnderneath. The Earle of Mansfeldt told mee, „ that hee hath sent certaine instructions vnto your Maiestie, vpon the which hee doth „ not yet know if there hath beene taken any resolution: wherein hee thinkes that his C „ seruices haue not beene respected: your Maiestie knowes what they bee, and that you „ haue not here any one of his sort. I say, that if it bee iust, it is reason to content him, „ for that he is most necessary. Wherefore I beseech your Maiestie, seeing you giue re- „ ward vnto the bad, that they should not prooue worse, that you would do the like vnto „ the good, to incourage them to bee better: else the others will glory and bragge that „ their mallice hath beene auaileable vnto them, and these will bee discouraged, and „ many will bee prouoked to follow their opinions which preuaile against Iustice and „ reason. And for that this is a point of great consideration, I desire for your Maiesties „ seruice, that that bee not denyed to them that meritte, which is giuen to such as de- „ serue exemplarie punishment, and that their reward may bee speedy, seeing it is one of D „ the parts which makes it seeme great.

„ After the date, and subscription, there was written by *Don Iohn* himselfe. I beseech „ your Maiestie as farre as your seruice doth require, to accomplish this as soone as may „ bee; seeing this body hath no other remedie, but to cut off that which is putrified, the „ which must now bee done with that prouision. For the which I doe againe beseech „ you, for if it faile, nothing can stand firme: and in the meane time wee haue great „ neede to pray, that God will ayde the present state. In the second letter vnto the King, „ written the same day, hee saith. By this which I presently write, and by the other your „ Maiestie may see what hath past and doth passe, and in what estate the affaires bee, that „ doth assure you, that if this wound may bee cured by patience, it shall bee helpt; if by E „ too much forcing of my condition I fall not sicke, or that the naturall inclination of „ man doth not otherwise force mee. But hetherto I see this Phisicke hath wrought „ small effect, and I am doubtfull what it will doe. In that which *Don Iohn* did write vn- „ to the Secretary *Antonio Perez*, dated the seauenth of Aprill, hee saith. I haue and „ will sacrifice my selfe for his Maiesties pleasure, whilest that I shall see that in doing it, „ it shall not bee directly against his seruice. Wherefore I say, that so long as there shall „ bee any danger, or that any thing shall require my presence, I will not make any vse „ of the leaue which I haue demanded, although it bee granted mee. But that beeing „ done, and after that I haue ended things wherein I may doe any seruice, it is no reason „ it should bee refused mee. For beeing then to obserue the old gouernment, and that F „ which these people would haue (as of force wee must) a womans or childs heart will „ (without all comparison) bee more fitte then mine, for they will neuer rest assured „ of mee. So as I say, that whereas his Maiestie hath pardoned them freely, and that hee „ hath forgotten the offences which they haue done, seeing that hee hath taken from them

Extract of a letter written to Antonio Perez

A them the man of whom they had conceiued such iealousie, and that hee shall send them "1577.
an other of whom they can haue no doubt, for as their offence is exceeding great, they "
thinke that his Maiesty will not leaue it vnpunished, and do certainely beleeue that I "
shal be the Instrument. &c. "

In that which *Iohn Escouedo* Secretary to *Don Iohn* did write vnto the King of the 27. of March. After that hee had complained of the small credit he had among the marchants by reason of the decree, whereof *Don Iohn* complaines in like sort, hauing inueighed greatly against the States and Noblemen of the countrie, and against the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders, he sayeth, my Leege, the affaires standing vpon these tearmes, and those here being vnwilling to admit *Don Iohn* vnto the gouern-
B ment vntill that the Spaniards be quite out of the country (who might serue for some remedy) your Maiesty wil consider what paine and care this may & wil breed, & if it had chanced for the good of your Maiesties seruice to haue had money here for the finall rooting out &c. In that of the 6. of Aprill vnto the King, *Escouedo* sayd the states haue not performed what they ought, that is, a hundred and fifty thousand crownes, neither do they assist in any thing, although that I haue beene expresly at Brusselles to present it vnto them and to the Councell of state whom it did import to aide me. Wherevpon I made them a long discourse, but they loue your Maiesty so coldly, as no reasons can make them to hinder themselues: neither do I see any one man that will shew them the way, wherefore it doth the more import to recouer credit among the marchants, & that
C your Maiesty be carefull thereof. By the third letter written by *Escouedo* vnto the King bearing the same date, he sayth. My Leege, I will tell your Maiesty, that I see neither deeds nor words in any one which giue me hope that these men should be pacified, nor performe that which they haue promised, for all that we can see or heare, tends to liberty of conscience, the which your Maiesty may hold for certaine, and that withall it is necessary, to endeauor here by al humaine means, to redresse these your Maiesties affaires with the least preiudice that may be. Your Maiesty will consider what is to bee done, in case they will put this ill in execution, forgetting God and your Maiesty, to become heretiks. There is an other thing which may helpe this, which is their priuate pretensions. Those that were prisoners thinke they haue deserued that which was giuen to others,
D and hereupon they will grow into factions: if it be true, as I doe verely beleeue, then the liberty of conscience which they pretend will not bee hurtfull vnto your Maiesty, for one part of them wil fly vnto your Maiesty, & being so diuided we may the more easily reduce and chastise one by an other; In the conclusion of his letter he sayth. And seeing that I am come so far as to speake it, your Maiesty may beleeue it, and preuent it in time, being assured that this disease will not bee cured by any milde remedies, but by fire and bloud, and therefore you must prouide for it. And in that of the 8. of the same month, he writs vnto the King: for my part I know not what to say more, but that suspition increaseth daily, by the bad proceeding of these men, & your Maiesty may beleeue for certaine, that at the least they will haue liberty of conscience. By that of the ninth
E wheras he tooke it ill that the duke of Arschot had past out of Brabant into Flanders in the Prince of Oranges ships, being accompanied with the Vicont of Gant and the Lord of Borselle, he saith. Your Maiesty may consider if these things be done (the Spaniards being not yet out of the country) what wilbe afterwards attempted. If this must be cured by miracle, it is time: if by hands and force, your Maiesty must prouide in time what shalbe needfull, for my part I would not much regard they should hold the places vpon the firme land: the Hlands are chiefly to be look to vnto. And this I hold more difficult the the action of England. If the one were taken, the other would be also: and for the effecting thereof, reasonable forces will suffice. I speake not this for the aduancement of *Don Iohn* (for I lay all priuate respects aside) but for that I haue long since sayd that your Ma-
F iesty had no other remedy, the time had shewed it & will shew it daily more and more. By all which letters, and others to the Empresse, inueighing much against the Netherlands, *Don Iohn* and his Secretary *Escouedo*, sought nothing but to incense the King of Spaine & the Emperor against the sayd countries: by the which *Don Iohns* intention did manifestly appeare, that all his promises, and the rewards which he had giuen till then were on

Escouedos prophetie.

These letters intercepted, discouer Don Iohns intent.

1577. were but counterfeit, to abuse the Nobilitie and the people, that hee might surprise A
them at vnawares: and that all which they pretended against the Prince of Orange and
them of Holland and Zeeland, were onely practises to diuide them, and so with the
forces and meanes of the one party, to set vpon the other, & afterwards to take reuenge
The states begin to distrust Don Iohn. of them all together, and to roote them out by fire and sworde. Then began the states
to looke more carefully to their affaires, and with great reason to distrust *Don Iohn*, all
whose practises and actions they found conformable to the sayd letters, and to his des-
seignes long before proiected, and then plainely discouered by the contents thereof:
for looking round about them, they see the Germaines, (who had taken from them
all hope of their retreate) held the chiefe Townes and Keyes of Brabant, at the deuo-
tion and seruice of *Don Iohn*, with a manifest declaration of their bad affection to the B
States. And on the other side hee himselfe hauing seized on Namur and Charlemont,
sought onely by the countrey of Luxembourg, to keepe the way open for such for-
raine forces as hee should please to bring into the countrey: and that assuring him-
selfe of the Castell of Antwerpe, hee caused his forces to marche from all parts. So
as the states found themselues to bee compassed in, and enuironed round about, and
likely to bee soddenly oppressed and destroyed. Moreouer, that the losse of the sayd
Towne and Castell of Antwerpe, had made them in an instant to loose their credite
and meanes to recouer money and munition to make warre.

Wherevpon the States commanded the Lord of Champaigni to goe and lodge
with his Regiment vpon the passages, whereas the companies of *Cornellis van Einden* C
should passe, and come to Antwerpe, to ioyne with the Collonels *Foucker* and *Frunsbergh*, and with the Seigniors of Hierges and Floion, who with the assistance of the
Seignior of Treslon, commanding in the Castell in the place of the Prince of Chimay,
should seaze vpon the Towne and Castell of Antwerpe: and for that Collonell *Foucker*
Don Iohn writes to Collonell Foucker. found some difficulties vpon the comming of *Cornellis van Einden*, *Don Iohn* did write
" vnto him the last of Iuly, in these termes. I will write vnto the Regiment of *Champag-*
" *ni*, that they shall dislodge from thence, but God knowes what they will doe: I write
" vnto the Magistrates, that they shall bee quiet and rest assured, seeing I will not consent
" that any wrong shall bee done them. And for this reason I am resolued, that the
" troupes of *Cornellis van Einden* shall not enter into the Towne, as I did aduertise you D
" yesterday. Two dayes since I sent meanes to Monsieur *Treslon* to haue money to re-
" leeue his men, whereby hee might preuent the perrill and danger that you present
" vnto mee.

In the meane time hee still entertained the States with the hope of peace, pretending that what hee did was onely for his assurance. Hee then began to propound vnto them hard and vnreasonable conditions, and so directly contrary to all the precedent contracts of pacification, as if they had beene already subiected vnto him. Wherefore they resolued to stand vpon their garde, and to preuent the danger that hung ouer their heads. And as during these proceedings the Seignior of Treslon, hauing declared himselfe of the Germaines faction (whome hee should draine into the Towne) E
propounded in the behalfe of *Don Iohn*, a new oth to the Captaines and Souldiers of the Castell of Antwerpe, directly contrary to that which they had sworne vnto the States: and that the sayd Captaines had beene sufficiently warned by the letters mentioned, which had beene intercepted: the Seignior of *Treslon* made himselfe to bee suspected and odious to all the garrison of the Castell, except his owne companie, the which did so amaze and trouble him, as not knowing how to repaire this error, hee writte vnto *Don Iohn* in these termes.

A letter from the Seignior of Treslon to Don Iohn. " This word shall serue to aduertise your Highnesse, that our Souldiers here are mu-
" tined, and that I expect howerly when they should seaze on mee. It is not in my
" power to put a man into this place: for making the least shew thereof, it is most cer- F
" taine they will pull mee in peeces, and the Captaines also, whereof I would not faile
" to aduertise your Highnesse. All this proceeds vpon certaine brutes of some letters,
" which they heare were intercepted vpon the lands of Bourdeaux, signed by your
" Highnesse and *Escouedo*; and also for that your Highnesse hath commanded them to
suffer

A ſuffer the foure companies of *Van Einden* to enter into the Towne, the which doth alter them in ſuch ſort, as I attend but the houre. I aſſure my ſelfe that if they haue the copies of the ſaid letters, they will force mee to doe what they pleaſe. All the Marchants are fled out of the Towne: It is a very pittifull thing to ſee the diſorder that is in it: I haue ſent vnto the Magiſtrate to furniſh vs with victuals, for that we are wholy vnprouided. *Monſieur Champaignies* regiment doth alwaies coaſt the foure companies of *Einden*. The Germaines are partly the cauſe of this alteration, for that ſeeing they had good correſpondencie with mee, they haue giuen it out that they had taken an oth with vs: and that being ioyned with vs, they would make the Towneſ-men pay the minſtrell, with other brauing ſpeeches. My paſſage is cut off, ſo as I cannot haue any great cor-
B reſpondencie with them, &c. Written the firſt of Auguſt, and poſt dated. Your Highneſſe may aſſure your ſelfe, that this alteration proceeds not for want of pay: for hearing that the States haue ſent twenty thouſand Florins to pay all that is due to theſe companies, it hath cauſed a greater alteration then the firſt. 1577.

According to the Seignior of *Treſlons* doubt, the States did ſo well manage this buſineſſe, as *Ponthus* of Noyele Seignior of Bours (whoſe Father had beene ſome-times Gouernor of Bethune and Heſdin) Captaine of a company in the ſayd Caſtell of Antwerpe, hauing at this time more reſpect vnto the bonde of his faith once giuen vnto the States, and to the good of his countrey, then to any alluring perſwaſions and promiſes of rewarde that were made vnto him, refuſing to take the oth propounded
C by the Seignior of *Treſlon*, hee ioyned with moſt of the Captaines which held the ſame party, putting them-ſelues in Armes againſt *Treſlon* and his men: there were ſome peeces ſhotte off, where-with ſome were hurt. *Treſlon* ſeeing this, and knowing that hee was too weake, retired into his lodging, where-as the ſayd Seignior of Bours went and tooke him by the boſome: and hauing chaſed away all them of his faction, hee deliuered him with the Caſtell in the States hands, who ſent their Deputies to giue order for all things. Treſlon taken priſoner, and the Caſtell yeelded to the States.

The foure Germaine companies of *Foucker* and *Frunsbergh*, hearing the rumor that was in the Caſtell, put them-ſelues into armes, and at night came to the place of Meerbrugge, but doubting their ſtrength, they retired about mid-night to the new Towne
D (which is the ſtrongeſt part of Antwerpe, by reaſon of the chanels that do enuiron it) where they thought to fortifie themſelues, yet they continued there idle vntill the next day at noone, that the ſhips of Holland and Zeeland began to ſhew themſelues, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Germaines, as leauing the Towne, they fled away, *Foucker* to Berghen vpon Zoome, and *Frunsberg* to Breda. On the other ſide, the Lord of *Champaigni* Gouernor of Antwerpe, went with his Regiment to incounter the compahies of *Cornellis van Einden*, the which hee defeated, and kept them from ioyning with them of Breda. *Don Iohn* being much troubled with this vnfortunate croſſe, writ to Collonell *Foucker* the eight of Auguſt, complaining of this misfortune, yet he reioyced that the Collonell had eſcaped out of Antwerpe with his life: commanding him to remaine
E in Berghen vntill hee had ſeene further order; and after the date of the ſayd letter, hee writ vnto him to goe to Namur, to command all the Germaines by reaſon of the indiſpoſition of the Baron of *Frunsbergh*. But Collonell *Fouckers* men hauing receiued this great diſgrace at Antwerpe, did mutinie againſt him, and the tenth of September following tooke him priſoner, and deliuered him to the States, with the Towne of Berghen. The Germains put to flight and defeated.

The States being freed of all feare of the Towne and Caſtell of Antwerpe, ſeeing the Germaines thus diſperſt, they aſſured them-ſelues of Liere, two leagues from Antwerpe: dooing that which any man of ſpirit and reſolution that hath his life, honour, wife, children, goods, and countrey in any recommendation is bound to
F doe, for the preſeruation and libertie thereof, diſcharging them-ſelues faithfully in all things that were committed vnto them for the publicke good of the countrey. for they did ſee plainely, that this hatred which *Don Iohn* had conceiued againſt them, was not newly growne vpon any occaſion which they might haue giuen him, Liere aſſumed for the ſtate.

but

1577 but had taken roote from his first arriuall, and reception to the gouernment, as appeareth by those letters that were intercepted. And that at the same time when it began to bud out, and to shew the fruites by all effects of hostilitie, GOD by his grace did so fauour the States, as to discouer the first originall by the interception of the sayd letters. Whereby they did finde that there was small hope of any redresse, and lesse reason to suffer them-selues to bee any longer abused, with good words, and faire promises. A

The gouernor of Namur, forsakes Don Iohn.

Iohn of Bourgongne a Knight, Siegnior of Fromont, being after the death of the Lord of Barlaimont, appointed Gouernor of the countrey of Namur by the States, a Gentleman of great age, wise and vertuous, hauing let *Don Iohn* vnderstand his error, and that those countries were not to bee so gouerned, nor abused, as hee thought to doe: and seeing that all his reasons and admonitions preuailed not; and fearing on the other-side, that the states would not yet seeke to preuent it by armes: meaning to aduertise them to bee carefull of their affaires, hee left *Don Iohn*, and came into Brabant to ioyne with the States. The Duke of Arschot, and the Marquis of Haurec brethren, by whom *Don Iohn* thought to bee assisted and supported, waying well all his practises and desseignes, and what might in the end happen vnto them, and that no perswasions nor admonitions might preuaile to diuert him, they made some difficultie to enter any more in councell with him. *Don Iohn* fearing to loose them, and to bee abandoned, set watches ouer them, and held them as it were prisoners: yet notwithstanding his good garde, hauing caused their horses to bee lead out of the Towne of Namur, they slipt away vnknowne to him, and without their traine. Beeing come to Brussells like good Countrey-men they consulted with the States of the meanes to preuent the danger, and to cure this new wound, which *Don Iohn* had made. B C

Thus were the States forced against their wills to enter into a new warre against *Don Iohn*: who madde with rage for such vnfortunate successe of all his desseignes, did nothing but practise by what meanes hee might bee reuenged; continuing his accustomed dissembling. And to iustifie his actions, after that hee had made his complaint by letters, which hee had written to the States, hee insisted vpon two points: which were the maintenance of the Catholicke and Romish religion, and the obedience due vnto the King. Saying that hee pretented no other thing: and that hauing receiued satisfaction therein, hee would aboue all things seeke the good and quiet of the countrey. And as for his retreate to the Castell of Namur, it was onely for the safetie of his person, against the conspiracie which he mainta ned was practised against him. But if hee would haue confessed the truth of this retreate, hee must haue sayd it had beene for two reasons: the first was to preuent the danger of beeing stayed prisoner, beeing at Brussells or Macklyn, and to haue all his desseignes discouered, if this attempt vpon the Castell of Antwerpe should faile, whereof hee was freed being in the Castell of Namur. The other was to haue alwayes a back-doore open, hauing the countrey of Luxembourg at his deuotion, to drawe as many strangers into the Netherlands, as hee pleased. Hee did also complaine much of the retreate of the Duke of Arschot and the Marquis of Haurec, who beeing aduertised of this practise of the Castell of Antwerpe, had abandoned him, as wee haue sayd. And although (sayd hee) hee had noted such and the like indignities and affronts which had beene done him, yet hee desired to gouerne himselfe according to his first contract: seeking nothing more then to haue all things well ordered: Hauing to that end intreated the Bishop of Liege to goe to Brussells to conferre with the States: the which hee was ready to performe if hee had not beene countermanded in all hast by them of Liege. In the meane time the States began to take heart, and to gather their forces together, whereof at that time the Lord of Champaigni had the charge, with the which hee went to besiege the castell of Wouwe beeing held by certaine Germaines of Collonell *Pouckers* Regiment. But seeing they could not maintaine it, they yeelded the fourth of August, the like did *Steenberghen* the ninth of that moneth, and the Towne and Iland of Ter-tolen in Zeeland the nine-teenth. D E F

Don Iohn seekes to iustifie himselfe.

Two causes of Don Iohns retreate to Namur.

Diuers places yeelded to the States.

The

A The Queene of England hearing that the King of Spaine did conceiue sinisterly of her proceedings with the Estates of the Netherlands, she sent Maister *Wilks* into Spaine to giue him satisfaction, and aduice withall, for the pacefying of the Netherlands, as you may see by this letter.

A declaration sent to the King of Spaine, containing a iustification of her Maesties proceedings with the Estates of the Netherlands

By Maister Thomas Wilkes.



C He Queenes Maiesty being giuen to vnderstand of diuers faulse and very scandalous reports giuen out touching her actions and proceedings with the Estates of the Netherlands, tending as it were to make her the motiue and chiefe supporter of the Ciuill troubles in the sayd countries: and doubting that the inuenters and dispersers of the said faulse sugiestions, seeke by all possible meanes to induce her good brother the King of Spaine to beleeue the said faulse and malicious surmises to be true, seeking thereby to make a breach and interruption of the good amity and league betwixt them: Her Maiesty therefore hauing nothing more in recommendation then her honor, and to be reputed a Prince which desireth to hold good correspondency with all Princes her D neighbours (what soeuer hath beene falsely sugiested to the contrary) being able to iustifie her actions before God and the world, as well concerning him as all other Princes her neighbors: hath thought it very fit and conuenient (hauing a great desire to giue satisfaction to the said King) to make a declaration in writing (such as she will maintaine to be true in the word of a Prince) of her proceedings with the said Estats, to the end that the King being duly informed thereof, all causes of ielosie and suspition (which may any way hinder the good amity that is betwixt them) might be remoued, and the same restored to as great perfection and integrity as hath beene heretofore betwixt any of their progenitors, which declaration, tending to that good end, her maiesty hath also thought meet to accompany it aswell with an aduice vnto the King, what course E in her opinion were most fit for him to take for the continuance of the Netherlands vnder his obedience, and the restoring of them to their former peace and tranquility, as also with her resolution touching the Netherlands in case the saide King shall not yeeld to some good course of pacification according to her Maiesties most sincere and friendly aduice. " Sept. 5. 1577.

And first touching her proceeding with the Estates, shee doubteth not but that if the King shall examine his owne knowledge, and call to mind how often, sence the first breaking out of this ciuill dissention in those countries, her Maiesty hath moued, as well by sondry ministers sent vnto him-selfe, as vnto his vnder gouernors there, fore-warning both him & them of the inconueniences which were then happened, and aduising F him to take some speedy course for preuention: He cannot with his honor but confesse, that her Maiesty hath therein discharged the duty of a faithfull friend and good allie: of which aduice if it might haue pleased him to haue made good vse, those his countries being presently in a most lamentable Estate, had beene preserued from apparent ruine, his subiects had beene free from slaughter, his rich townes continued vnspoyled, and

* *Place this betweene Folio 646. and 647.* the

1577. „ the gouernment kept from danger of alienation. A

„ And if herein for her Maieſties full iuſtification, neither theſe friendly offices,
„ nor the word and faith of a Prince may ſuffice, yet her owne actions may ſerue to
„ cleere her in the ſight of all the world, and will ſufficiently ſhew, that ſhee hath
„ euer ſought to continue thoſe Countries vnder the King of Spaines obedience,
„ and hath not at any time intended to impatronize herſelfe of any part thereof (a
„ matter perhapes which ſome Princes hauing like aduantages offred by ſome one
„ part or other of his ſubiects, would not haue refuſed (and therefore might
„ thinke her ſelfe very vnkindly delt withall, in caſe ſo rare an example ſhould bee
„ ſo hardly or rather vnfriendly interpreted: And as her Maieſty hath not left
„ any good office vndone towards the King and his Miniſters tending to pacifica- B
„ tion; and the preſeruation of thoſe countries vnder his obedience, ſo on the o-
„ ther ſide ſhee hath not omitted (by ſondry meſſengers ſent both vnto the Prince
„ of Orange and to the Eſtates) as well to perſwade them to ceaſe their ciuill
„ warres, and to take ſome courſe of peace and reconciliation among them-ſelues,
„ as alſo to continue their ancient obedience vnder the ſaide King their naturall
„ Lord and Soueraigne, being moued there-vnto vppon ſecret and very true ad-
„ uertiſments giuen her of great offers made vnto them by ſome (whome ſhee
„ forbeareth to name for good reſpects) to haue with-drawne them from their
„ obedience.

„ And herein if beſides many perſwations vſed by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to ad- C
„ uiſe them to continue their due obedience to the King, her Maieſty had not furniſhed
„ them in the time of their neceſſity with a ſumme of mony, as well to ſerue them for
„ the ſpeedy execution of the pacification then in hand betweene *Don Iohn* and them,
„ as to keepe them from caſting them-ſelues deſperatly into the hands of any other
„ Prince: it did manyfeſtly appeere that the pacification had not beene ſo ſoone made
„ and they for want thereof ſhould haue beene forced for their defence to haue put ſome
„ part of thoſe countries into the hands of ſuch as would not haue beene eaſely remo-
„ ued, without the expence of many Millions and the loſſe of many thouſand mens
„ liues.

„ Her Maieſty is the more willing to make mention of the true cauſe of this ſuport, D
„ for that ſhee is aduertiſed, that notwithſtanding her true and ſincere intent in that
„ behalfe, other ſiniſter interpretations haue beene made of the ſame, as of ſome other
„ her proceedings. Among the reſt her Maieſty hath thought it fit to anſwer one ca-
„ lumniation contained in a letter fathered vpon *Don Iohn* and publiſhed in a booke
„ lately ſet out by the Eſtates in their iuſtification; by the which her Maieſty is char-
„ ged to haue incorraged the Prince of Orange not to hold the pacification, and
„ with-all did for his better incorragement, offer him any aſſiſtance ſhe could yeeld
„ (a matter moſt ſlanderous and vntrue) for that her Maieſty being giuen to vn-
„ derſtand by the vicont of Gant, ſent vnto her from *Don Iohn*, how hee found him-
„ ſelfe greeued with the Prince of Orange, for that (as hee affirmed) the Prince did E
„ not obſerue the ſaid pacification: ſhee did preſently diſpatch an expreſſe meſſen-
„ ger vnto the ſaide Prince, both to intimate *Don Iohns* accuſation vnto him, as alſo
„ to aduiſe him (and that moſt effectuall) duly to obſerue the ſaid pacification,
„ vſing ſome threats vnto him in caſe he ſhould ſeeke to infring it: In whome ſhee
„ could find no diſpoſition to any alteration, but that he was moſt deſirous to hold eue-
„ ry point of the ſaid pacification inuiolably, as the onely meanes to end thoſe long
„ ciuill warres.

„ The like aduice ſhee did alſo giue vnto the Eſtates, receiuing no leſſe content-
„ ment of the pacification (being ratefied firſt by *Don Iohn*, and afterwards by the King)
„ then they to whome the benifit thereof did moſt properly belong. Her Maieſties F
“ actions and procedings with the Prince and the Eſtates hauing ſuch as haue beene
“ formerly related, ſhee doth appeale vnto the King him-ſelfe (who ſhee thinketh
“ will looke impartially into the truth of this action) and to all others that ſhall
“ not bee tranſported with paſſion, whether the ſaid proceedings are not to bee

maintayned

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A maintayned to bee both iuſt and honourable, whatſoeuer hath beene falſly and malliciouſly ſuggeſted to the contrary. And herein her Maieſtie is perſwaded that ſcarſe any other Prince (which hath in ſome ſort beene ſo vnkindely delt withall, and found her aduice giuen both vnto the King and his Gouernors of thoſe countries, ſo little regarded) or reſpected would haue delt in ſuch friendly ſort as ſhee hath done. 1577

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouragements, her Maieſtie thinking it honourable for her, and meete for the place ſhee holdeth, being the moſt ancient Allye, which the Kings Progenitors (as Dukes of Bourgongne) haue, to continue ſtill her former courſe in giuing friendly aduice vnto the King: cannot but proceed to the ſecond point aboue mentioned, which is, to yeeld her aduice what courſe in her opinion is to be taken for the pacefying of theſe preſent troubles, and the continuing of his ſubiects vnder his obedience.

First it is very apparant that the pacefication is broken, and as great hoſtilitie intended on either ſide as may be, whereof ſhee is heartily ſorry. The end (if it continue) will either be the ruine and deſolation of the countrie, or the loſſe or allyenation thereof from the Kings obedience. For the preuenting whereof, her Maieſtie thinketh that there cannot bee a more expedient remedie, then that it would pleaſe him to receiue his ſubiects into his grace and fauor, that hee would ſuffer them to inioy their ancient liberties and freedomes; command that the pacifiation might bee duly obſerC ued; and that hee would appoint ſuch a Gouernor of his owne bloud, as might bee pleaſing vnto him-ſelfe and gratefull vnto them, whereby they might willingly and with content yeeld him all due obedience, continue in their religion according to his pleaſure, and do all things ſette downe and agreed vppon in the pacification, the which by reaſon of the great Iealouſies betweene *Don Iohn* and them, can neuer take effect, ſo long as *Don Iohn* ſhall continue Gouernor: For it ſeemes they haue put on a reſolution, that rather then they will indure the rigorous dealings which they expect during his gouernement, they will put them-ſelues vnder the protection of any other Prince. They charge him with the breach of the pacification, and hee on the other ſide offers to iuſtifie him-ſelfe, and layes the D blame of this breach vppon them. Her Maieſtie hauing heard the allegations of the Miniſters ſent hether both from *Don Iohn* and the Eſtates, meaneth not to bee a Iudge betweene them, hauing rather a deſire to reconcile them, and to doe them good if ſhee could, then to diſcouer the errors aud imperfections of either partie.

To reconcile them ſhee findeth it impoſſible, and therefore to preuent all further troubles that are otherwiſe like to inſue, the onely remedie will bee to make choyce of ſome other allyed to him in bloud, to command vnder him in that gouernement. By which temperate courſe the troubles may ſoone bee pacefied, the great effuſion of blood auoyded, and thoſe Prouinces continued vnder his obeE dience, which other-wiſe are like to bee allyenated and diſtracted from him. If hee ſhall like this aduice, ſhee ſeeth no diſpotition in the people to change their King, bing dutifully minded towards him, hauing no intent (ſo as they may bee releeued) to innouate any thing, but duly to obſerue the late pacefication made at Gaunt.

And whereas for the contentment of the Eſtates, and the pacefying of theſe troubles ſhee wiſheth *Don Iohns* reuocation, ſo conſidering how euill affected hee hath ſhewed him-ſelfe towards her, as well by letters intercepted, as by other ſecret practiſes which were very dangerous to the good and quiet of her Eſtate, (as the bearer can more amply informe him of diuers particularities in that behalfe) ſhee cannot (for F the good amitie which ſhee wiſheth might continue betweene the King and her Maieſtie) but preſſe the King more earneſtly therevnto: expecting no continuance of any good amitie and neighbourhood, ſo long as a Miniſter ſo ill affected to her ſhould reſide there, beeing deſirous that ſuch Miniſters might be imployed on both ſides, as would rather ſeeke to increaſe the amitye, then any way to infringe or breake it.

This

1577. „ This her aduice tending to no other end but to maintaine thoſe countries vnder her „ obedience, and the continuance of good amitie betweene them, ſhee hopeth the „ King will accept as friendly thereof, as it is by her ſincerely meant. And in the meane „ time vntill his mind were knowne in that behalfe, her Maieſtie hearing the great for- „ ces prepared by *Don Iohn*, with the aſſiſtance of the French already marching towards „ him, will force her ancient friends the Eſtates of the Netherlands to one of theſe two „ extremities, either to be ouercome by forraine ſoldiars, and ſo ſubiected to forraine „ ſeruitude, or elſe conſtrained (for the preuenting thereof) to giue them-ſelues ouer „ to ſome other Prince, both which muſt needs bee preiudiciall and dangerous to the „ King for the preſent, perillous to her Maieſtie after, and an vtter ruine to thoſe coun- „ tries.

„ Her Highneſſe therefore for the Kings good, and to preuent her owne danger (vp- B „ pon promiſe and aſſurance giuen by the ſaid Eſtates, to yeeld the King all due obedi- „ ence, and to make no further innouation in matters of religion, but to obſerue the pa- „ cificaton of Gand) hath promiſed for the cauſes and reſpects aboue mentioned, to „ yeeld them a ſupport of money and men, onely to keepe them from further danger of „ allyenation, or of their ruine.

„ Which proceedings of hers, if the King ſhall not bee induced to like of, Whereby „ her Maieſtie ſhall diſcouer that his intention is by force of armes to alter and diſſolue „ the ancient forme of gouernement, and by taking away their ancient Lawes and liber- „ ties to make it a land of conqueſt, and to people it with garriſons of men of warre: „ And that the end and ſcope of his diſſeignes ſhould tend to that which is diſcouered by C „ *Eſcouedos* letters, wherein he writeth that the enterpriſe of England is of more facilitie „ then that of the Ilands, wherby her Maieſtie ſhall find the diſpoſition of ſo bad a neigh- „ bour, to her and her royall Eſtate: then her Maieſties reſolution is to imploy all the „ power ſhee ſhall bee able to make, for the defence of her neigbours, and preſeruation „ of her owne Eſtate.

„ As on the other ſide, if hee ſhall incline to their reaſonable demands, in giuing them „ ſuch a Gouernor as they ſhall better like of then of *Don Iohn*, and they notwithſtan- „ ding ſhall continue in their diſobedience againſt him, and make other Innouations con- „ trary to their proteſtations and promiſes made vnto her; ſhee will then turne her forces „ againſt them, and in aſſiſtance of the King, yeelde him the beſt ayd ſhee can, to bring D „ them to reaſon and conformitie. And in the meane ſeaſon (vntill ſhee may be through- „ ly informed hereof) ſhee hath thought good to auoyd the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, „ (and for many other good and neceſſary reſpects) to deale both with *Don Iohn* and the „ Eſtates for a ſurceance of armes, which if he ſhall refuſe to yeeld unto, and the Eſtates „ ſhall be willing, for that ſhe doth plainely ſee that it doth much concerne the Kings ho- „ nour and the good of his countrie, ſhe will not ceaſe to proceed with the like offers, „ towards them as ſhee hath begun, thereby onely to defend them from forraine tyranny „ to keepe them in the Kings obedience, from allyening them-ſelues to any other Po- „ tentates, and to defend herſelfe and her dominions from the dangers which thereby „ ſhee ſeeth manifeſtly will inſue.

„

The thirtith

A The thirtith of the said moneth as Captaine *Mathew Wibisma*, had made a leuie of new souldiers, and more then were necessarie to supply his company with an intent to seaze vpon some of the Magistrates of Leeuwarden, these new souldiers being lead by Captaine *Wibo van Gontom*, would commaund ouer the old souldiers that were in the Castle of the said Towne, so as they were in armes one against another. The Bourguers fearing that vnder coulour of this tumult, they would force the towne and spoile it, came and besieged the Castell, the which was yeelded vnto them the second of September, vpon promise that the towne should pay the garrison. The Cittizens baning receiued the Castell by this composition, put a garrison into it of the inhabitants vntill the comming of the Earle of Rheneberg, Gouernor of the countrie of Friseland. 1577.

A tumult in Leeuwarden, whereupon the castle is yeelded to the states.

B *Don Iohn* seeing the great forces of the States approch neere vnto Namur, beeing commanded by the Earle of Lalain Generall of the Armie, *Robert* of Melun Vicont of of Gant Generall of the horse: the signior of Goignies Marshall of the campe; *La Motte par dieu*) Maister of the Ordinance and others: and the small numbers hee had with him, making a shewe againe as if hee would treat with the States (whilest that hee sent for all his forces out of Bourgongne and Italie) hee required to haue some Commissioners, sent vnto him to treat with them. Whereupon there were deputed *Mathew Moukart* Abbot of Saint Guislain, the signiors of Willerual, Grobbendoncq and others, who after some conferences tending all to delaies, they returned without any fruite.

C The Inhabitantes of Antwerp, beeing still in feare by reason of their castle, so long as the warre was thus wauering, fearing they should bee at sometime againe surprized (terming it a denne of theenes: an Inuention of men full of crueltie: a neast of Tyranie, a receptacle of all filthy villanie, abomination and wickednesse) obtained leaue of the States to demantle it towardes the towne. The which the Bourguers beganne the eight and twentie of August, with such spleene, as there was neither great nor small, wiues, children, gentlewomen and Burgers, and all in generall, but would pull downe a peece of it, men, women and seruants, going thither with their Enseignes displayed, hauing manie Victuallers vpon the plaine before the castle, so as it seemed a campe. And although the Masons worke were great, stronge, and thicke, yet were they not long in beating it downe on that side. Soone after, in imitation of that of Antwerp, followed the demanteling of the castles of Gant, Vtrecht, Valenciennes, Bethune, Lisle, Aire and others: and the Cittie of Arras was laid open towards the towne. The Tournesiens were in like sort verie importunate to haue theirs demantled: but the Seneshal of Henault (who was afterwards Prince of Espinoy) would not yeeld vnto it, saying that if the sayd castle were ruined beeing a towne scituated in the maine land, and that the enemie should come to beseege it, and become maister thereof, they should bee forced to build it againe at their owne cost and charges: the which had so happened, for soure yeares after, the duke of Parma beseeged and tooke it by composition, as wee shall see.

The castle of Antwerp demanteled.

D

Many castles ruined in the Netherlands.

E

The states seeing the Landtsknoghts of Cont *Ouerstein* (who was drowned at the Massaker of Antwerp) growne resolute to hold *Boisleldukе*, a faire great towne lying in Brabant: they sent the Earle of Hohenloo, with an armie to beseege it, so as they were forced to yeeld the place by composition the one and twenty day of September. The sayd States had the ninth daie of same month published their Iustifications for their taking of armes against *Don Iohn* the which was printed at Antwerp by *William Siluius* the Kings Printer, whereof the title was, *A breefe discours of the iust causes and reasons which haue constrained the generall Estates of the Netherlands to prouide for their defence against* Don Iohn *of Austria*. In the end of which iustifications they did adde the letters that were intercepted, beeing written in Spanish and translated into French, to which Booke I will referre the Reader, that is desirous to know the particularities of their iustifications.

The states print their iustifications against Don Iohn.

F

1577. But as the States (who ſought nothing more then to free themſelues from the Spaniſh Tyranie) were to defend themſelues againſt *Don Iohns* attempts, who prepared all the meanes hee could to make ſharpe and violent warre againſt them, and had great neede to ſeeke ſuccors from all parts: firſt they ſent to manie Princes and Potentates of Germanie, to make their excuſe, and iuſtifie the taking of armes to take from them all ſiniſter Impreſſions, which *Don Iohn* might giue them by his letters, as hee had done vnto the Empreſſe. Then they ſent vnto the French King, to his mother, and to his brother, who made them manie goodly and large promiſes. But as they deſired to relie and depend chiefely vpon the Queene of England, they ſent the Marquis of Hautec vnto her, who was graciouſly receiued by her Maieſtie the two and twenty of September: with whome hee treated and in the end made a contract touching the ſuccors her Maieſtie ſhould ſend vnto the generall Eſtates, and the league and vnion which ſhould bee from that time betwixt the Realme of England and the Netherlands, the which was ſet downe in an Autenticall Inſtrument. And therevpon her Maieſtie publiſhed (vpon the obiections and reproches which the King of Spaine made vnto her, that ſhee was a mother, fauorer, and ſupporter of Rebells) her iuſtifications of the ſayd vnion, and the aſſiſtance which ſhee gaue vnto the generall Eſtates of the Netherlands, the which was put in print.

The States ſeeke ſuccors from all parts.

The Prince of Orange comes to Antwerp.

Then the States writ vnto the Prince of Orange, beeing in Holland, (who was wonderfully greeued and diſcontented at the Actions and ſtrange carriage of *Don Iohn*) intreating him to come and aſſiſt them with his perſon, Councell and meanes. The which the Prince would not refuſe, to ſhewe the dutie wherevnto hee thought him ſelfe bound to the common cauſe. Comming vnto Antwerp (where hee had not beene in ten yeares before) on the eighteenth day of September, hee was receiued and entertained with great ioye and contentment of all the people. The Abbots of Villers and Marolles with the Barons of Freſin and Capres were ſent thether from the ſtates to welcome him, and to conduct him to Bruſſels, whether hee came the three and twenty daie.

Breda yeelded and Collonel Frunsberg priſoner.

The ſeauenth of October the Landtſknechts of Collonel *Fransberg* (who after his flight from Antwerp, had led them to Breda) ſeeing themſelues beſeeged by the States armie, and the ſmall meanes they had to maintaine themſelues, deliuered vp the towne of Breda, and their Collonel alſo into the ſtates hands: as thoſe of Berghen vpon Zoom had done before by Collonel *Foucker*. Thus theſe two Germaine Collonels degenerating from the integritie and iuſt dealing of their Nation, thinking to ſurprize and deceiue the ſtates, fell into the pit themſelues the which they had prepared for others. The Prince of Orange beeing at Bruſſells, aſſiſting daylie in the Councell of the generall Eſtates, was at the requeſt of the particular Eſtates of the Duchie of Brabant, intreated to accept (as beeing one of the chiefe Noblemen and of the greateſt powre in all the Duchie) the place of Rouard or Gouernor of Brabant, the which hee did, but not without proteſtation and ſome excuſes. And ſo hee was moſt honorably receiued and acknowledged the two and twenty of October, with ioyfull aclamations of all the people, bonfiers and many other ſignes of ioy. At the ſame time the ſtates gaue the gouernment of the Earledome of Flanders to the duke of Arſchot, whether hee went, and was receiued into the towne of Gant with great ſtate, three and twenty companies of Burgers well armed, and gallantly appointed, with their Cornet of volontary horſemen, & three hundred horſe more went aboue a league out of the towne to meete him, and conducting him into the towne, where hee was receiued with all the honour they could diuiſe vpon ſo ſhort a warning. But three daies after hee had beene receiued and acknowledged for their gouernor, being the eight and twenty of October, falling into a mutiny for the reſtitution of their preuiledges, of their owne priuate authority (beeing a people which haue beene alwaies inclined to mutinies, and as *Philip* of *Comines* ſaith, apt to ſue for peace, when they can doe no more) went and ſeized on him in his lodging, and carried him

The Prince made Rouard of Brabant.

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A him prisoner to the Princes court, (or rather to the Castell) to the great greefe and discontent of the Prince of Orange, the councell of State and the generall estates. But the foureteenth of Nouember following, confessing their error, they released him, vpon condition that hee should forgiue and forget all the iniury they had done him, the which he did, promising neuer to seeke any reueng. After they had seazed vpon the duke, they also laid hold on and did imprison the Bishops of Ypre and Bruges, the Barrons of Rasseghem, of Champagny, of Mousqueron and his Sonne the Seignior of Sweueghem, and of Eeken, with the Bastard of Ghistelle, great Baylife of Ypre whome they kept long prisoners: but the Seignior of Rasseghem, Mousqueron, Sweueghem and Eeken escaped by practise out of prison: the Bishops escaped also, but for
B that they could not flie away so fast, they were taken againe, with the Lords of Champaigny and Ghistelles, (who would not abandon them,) and kept more straightly, where they remayned prisoners vntill the yeelding vp of the said towne vnto the duke of Parma in the yeare 1584. The 1. of Nouember, the Prelats and Nobles of the Ommelands in the country of Groningue, being called vnto the states assigned in the towne of Groninghen, to determine of certaine old controuersies which the saied towne had with the Ommelandts, were seazed on by the Bourguers, of their owne priuate authority, and committed close prisoners, to the nomber of 24. In whose fauour, to end these quarrells, and to free them from their vniust detention, there were sent in the behalfe of the generall estates, and of the councell of State, the Seignor of Saint *Aldegonde*, and Doctor *Sille*
C Orator of Antwerp, but they could not preuaile any thing with the people: yet some of them did after-wards escape cunningly out of prison, and the rest were also inlarged in the end,

A tumult at Groninghen and some prelats and others take prisoners.

1577.

The eleuenth of Nouember there appered a great comete which continued in a manner all the winter: 3. or 4. Moneths after the which followed the rout of the States Armie at Gemblours. The cheefe Noblemen of the Netherlands, thinking to mollefie the Kings heart, in calling in an other Prince of the bloud in the place of *Don Iohn*, that had not beene bred vp after the Spanish manner, to bee Gouernor generall in his countries, and that might agree better with their humors, they sent the Seignior of Malstede a gentleman of Flanders vnto the Arch-duke *Mathias* of Austria sonne to the Em-
D peror *Maximilian* and Brother to the Emperor *Rodolphe*, intreating him to come into the Netherlands to that effect. But the Archduke fearing that the Emperor his brother would neuer yeeld thereunto, least hee should displease the King of Spaine, but rather would seeke to hinder him: he came away secretly, accompanied only by the Seignior of Auwits Lord of Lendorff, his great chamberlaine, the Seignior of Malstede, *Ferdinand Zymeran* grome of his chamber, and with *Christopher van Calierich*, and so arriued at Antwerp the twenty one of Nouember. And before that the said Archduke was receiued for Gouernor, on the seauenth of December the generall estates did declare by a publike Proclamation, *Don Iohn* and all his adherents to bee enemies to the King and all his Netherlands.

Don Iohn proclaymed enemy to the Netherlands.

E *Don Iohn* seeing matters mannaged in this sort was much perplexed, not knowing where to begin: for although hee did what hee could to fortefie and furnish the castell of Namur, yet was hee not ignorant that his succors must come to him, from farre, seeing the States army to bee great already, and camped not farre from him, not-with-standing carrying still a good countenance with-out any shew of amazement, the better (as hee said) to aduance his affaires, hee went to Luxembourg: from whence hee sent the Marquis of Verembon a heigh Bourguignon to the Emperor, to acquaint him with the Estate of his affaires and to complaine of the Arch-duke *Mathias* who against the liking of the King his vncle, had vnited himselfe to the Estates of the Netherlands. Intreating him neither to giue, nor to suffer to be giuen vnto the
F said Archduke, any succors nor fauour, neither from his imperiall Maiesty nor from Germany, where-vpon some Germaine Princes, sent vnto the Duke of Bauaria, the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, and to other Princes and electors of the Empire that they should not suffer any forces to goe out of Germany, to neither party: and that as soone as might bee, they should send Ambassadors in the behalfe of the Emperor

Don Iohn being retired to Luxembourg sends to the Emperor.

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1577 and the Empire, to finde ſome meanes to reconcile them, if it were poſſible. A

Don Iohn meaning to fortifie himſelfe all hee could, gaue charge to the Earle of Barlaimont (who before the death of his Father was but Barron of Hierges) to leuie a regiment of Lorraines; one in the Countie of Manderſcheyt; one in the Dutchie of Luxembourg, and one of high Bourguignons, attending the Spaniards returne, which went out of Antwerpe and other Townes of the Netherlands, with good ſtore of money. Many Noblemen went in like ſort to ioyne with him, and among others *Charles* Earle of Mansfieldt, eldeſt ſonne to Cont *Peter Erneſt*, Gouernor of Luxembourg, who before had commanded in France in the Kings ſeruice ouer a Regiment of French, the which hee alſo brought with him: with all theſe troupes which came vnto him, *Don Iohn* began to make his armie in the Countie of Luxembourg. B

Don Iohn fortefied with troupes.

The Earle of Lalain generall of the States Armie lying about Namur, ſent one thouſand Harguebuziers, and ſome few horſe, to diſcouer the ſayd Towne. The garriſon ſallied out vpon them, where they skirmiſhed for a time. There is a ſmall Towne vpon the riuer of Meuze, called Bouines, halfe a league from Dynant, very commodious to ſtoppe the victuals and munition going to Namur, and to *Don Iohns* Campe: The Earle of Lalain found meanes to ſeaze vpon this Towne, as alſo vpon the Caſtell of Deſpontin, the which hee tooke by force, killing all that hee found armed. This done, paſſing the riuer to the other banke, hee intrencht himſelfe, meaning to cut off the paſſage to *Don Iohns* men.

Bouines taken by the ſtates.

The States had at that inſtant three Campes: one did beſiege the Towne of Amſterdam by ſea and land, for that they would not acknowledge the generall Eſtates, nor the Prince of Orange for their Gouernour: whereas Collonell *Herman van Hellins* thinking to ſurprize it for the States, was ſlaine, and his men chaſed out of the Towne. They had an other Armie in the countrey of Oueryſſel, where-as the Earle of Reneberg commanded, who tooke the Townes of Zwol and Campen: and the third was before Ruremonde and Weert, in the which the Earle of Hohenloo was Generall, but to ſmall effect. *Don Iohn* ſeeing no meanes to ſuccour Amſterdam, feared much that Ruremonde ſhould bee forced to yeeld. Wherefore hee commanded the Germaines that came out of Antwerpe, beeing in the countrey of Luxembourg, to marche thether with all ſpeede: the which they did as couertly and as ſpeedily as might bee: and meeting vpon the way ſome companies of the Regiment of *Champaignie* (who ſome-time before had defeated them neere vnto Antwerpe) they put them to route, and returned them their exchange but with more crueltie, for they ſtript the poore ſouldiers which they had taken priſoners naked, becauſe they would not bloudie their ſhirts, and then they murthered them like beaſts, in colde bloud: whereof ſome eſcaped thus naked, and among others *N.* of *Fiennes* Seignior of *Vermeille*, brother to the Lord of Eſquerdes, one of the Captaines of the ſayd Regiment; who for that hee was an actiue man, and could runne well and leape ouer large ditches, ſaued him-ſelfe thus naked: wee did ſee him returne to Antwerpe with old ragges, in a very pittifull eſtate. C D E

Champaignis men defeated by the Germaines.

Theſe Germaines hauing defeated and ouer-come this troope, thought to enter into Ruremonde; but Collonell *Polwiller* Gouernor of the Towne, made them anſwer, that hee had no neede of men to eate and drinke that little which hee had remaining, but hee had more need of victualls and munition. Wherefore hee willed them to returne, and to tell *Don Iohn*, that hee ſhould reſt well aſſured of the Towne, and that hee ſhould onely ſeeke to ſuccour it with ſome victualls, conſidering that this Towne beeing ſeated vpon the riuer of Meuze, was of too great importance to ſuffer it to bee loſt, the which hindered the trafficke of the Hollanders by water, into the countrey of Liege, and ſome part of Germanie. *Don Iohn* had then receiued ſome Bourguignons and Italians, wherefore hauing heard theſe newes from Collonell *Polwiller*, hee commanded the Earle of Barlaimont and Collonell *Mondragon*, to goe and victuall Ruremonde with all the ſpeede they could, before it ſhould bee forced to yeeld. F

Polwiller refuſeth ſuccors which Don Iohn ſends him.

For

A For the effecting whereof they gathered together some 4000. men, both of foote and horse, and marched directly to the States Campe, the which consisted but of two and twenty companies of foote, and sixe of horse: Being aduertised in the campe, that the Spanish succours were on foote, and did marche, finding themselues too neere to fight with them (which vndoubtedly they would haue done) not-with-standing that they had seauen Fortes about the Towne, they thought it good to put their Artillerie into the strongest of those places, and to retire them-selues, abandoning the other sixe forts. But considering the enemies forces, and not thinking them-selues well assured, they imbarked and went towards Boisleduc and Geldre; yet not-with-standing all their speed, their retreate was not so sodaine, but they lost some of their reere-ward, two field
B peeces, and good store of victuals and munition. Thus through the care and dilligence of *Barlaimont* and *Mondragon*, the States Armie was forced to retire, and the Townes of Ruremonde and Weert sufficiently victualed of all things necessary. This being done, after they had a little refresht their souldiers, they retired into the countrey of Luxembourg, from whence they came.

1577. Don Iohn sends to succor Ruremonde.

A base retreat of the States campe from Ruremonde.

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1578.

MATHIAS ARCHDVKE OF Austria Gouernor generall of the Netherlands.



Eichem fecit.

MATTHIAS D. G. ARCHIDVX AVSTRIÆ DVX BVRGVN. COMES TIROL GVBERNAT. GENER. BELGICÆ,

My Graunfire & my father, two great Emperors were,
And liuing yet my brother doth th' Emperial ſcepter
To honor me the more, the ſtates elected me, (beare:
Of the united Prouinces their gouernor to bee.
The which (though yong of yeares) I did thē not refuſe,
Although the King ſuppoſed I did him much abuſe,
And for that cauſe diſliked of my gouernment, (mēt:
The ſtates likewiſe, perceiuing that no great aduance-
Did riſe to thē by me, thank't me for my good will
And at my going frō thē with guifts my purſe did fill.

THE

A THe 18. day of Ianuary in the yeare, 1578. the Arch-duke *Mathias* parted from *Linz* in Brabant, and made his entry into the towne of Bruſſelles, where he was receiued in triumph, by all the Noble-men of the country holding the party of the States: And the twenty day hauing taken the accuſtomed oth he was acknowleged for Gouernor generall for the King of Spaine, of all the Netherlands; vpon certaine conditions ſet downe in diuers articles, the which we omit for breuitie ſake, and for that they were to ſmale effect, and the little good and ſeruice he did in his gouernment, who hauing ſworne them at his reception, the Prince of Orange (whom the Arch-duke called his father) was not withſtanding all his excuſes choſen for his Lieutenant, not without the Ielouſie of the cheefe Noblemen of the country, and namely of the Earle of Lalain, who (as Generall of the States army) had promiſed vnto himſelfe this dignity. 1578.

The Arch-duke Mathias receiued for Gouernor.

B The ſame moneth arriued the Seignior of Selles Captaine of the King of Spaines gard, Brother to the Lord of Noircarmes, who was ſent by the King, to make anſwer to the States letters, of the twenty foure of Auguſt, and the eight of September by the which they beſought him that *Don Iohn* might be called home, and an other gouernor ſent in his place. He had very ample letters of credit, ſigned by the King at Madril the twenty of december the which hee did impart vnto the States: wherevnto anſwer was

The Seignior of Selles ſent by the King vnto the States

C made, and his anſwer was carried by him vnto *Don Iohn*, who made a replie in forme of an act and ſigned *Raſſeur*, the which he ſent backe by *Selles*, and with it a letter which hee did write vnto the States the fifteene of february this yeare 1578. where vnto the ſaid States made anſwer by their letters the laſt of the moneth. But all theſe conferences, writings, anſwers and replies of either ſide, brought forth no fruite, *Don Iohn* refuſing to be tied to the pacification of Gant, which he had ſworne, and the King approuing his actions, and meaning to maintaine him in his gouernment. And ſo *Don Iohn* made all the preparation hee could for warre, and hauing ordred all things in Luxemburg, hee came to March in Famine, from thence to Hoyt in the country of Liege fiue Leagues

D from Namur, from whence he went vnto his caſtell of Namur. Being at Luxemburg, ſuccors came to him from all parts, as to the *Rendezvous*, whether arriued *Alexander Farneze* Prince of Parma, ſonne to Duke Octauio and to *Margueritte* baſtard to the Empetor *Charles* the fift, in former time Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands bringing with him the Spaniards and Italiens of Lombardie: whether alſo was come before *Charles* Earle of Manſfeld with his French troupes: the Germains and Bourguignons were there alſo: ſo as in a ſhort time *Don Iohn* gathered together an army of ſixteene thouſand foote, and about two thouſand horſe, Italiens, Spaniards, French, Germaines, heigh Bourguignons and *Lorrains*: ſeeing him-ſelfe thus fortefied, hee publiſhed in print, the cauſes and reaſons which moued him to take armes againſt the States: which were, to maintayne in the Netherlands generally the Catholike and Romiſh

Don Iohn frames the body of an army.

E Relligion, and the obedience of the King of Spaine, inſerting many goodly promiſes to the Prouinces, townes, nobles, Borroughes, villages and men of warre, that would bee of his party. The States made an anſwer alſo in print vnto this declaration of *Don Iohn*.

At the ſame time Pope *Gregory* the thirteene ſent a Bull from Rome of the 8. of Ianuary, by the which he gaue remiſſion of all ſinnes for euer, and life eternall vnto all thoſe that after they had beene confeſt and receiued the Sacrament ſhould goe to warre, in the ſeruice of *Don Iohn*, againſt the Prince of Orange, and them of Holland and Zeeland, and al others whom he termed Heretiks. But theſe ſoldiars would haue bin better pleaſed with his duckets, then with his patdons. Wee haue ſaide before how that the

Ielouſie among the Nobility for the Leutenancy of the Arch-duke Mathias.

F Prince of Orange had often refuſed the Lieutenancy of the Arch-duke *Mathias*; and that it had bred a iealouſie among the Nobility, the which appeared by the effects: for the next day after that the Prince had taken the oth for this charge, all the Noblemen that were in the campe, began to abandon the army one after an other, being then at Templours in the Countrie of Namur: The Lord of

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1577. Lumay Earle of Marche (who had a great spleene against the Prince) by reason of his A
imprisonment for his insolencies committed against Priests) was the first that went
away, leauing his regiment there. The Earle of Lalain generall of the Armie (who
expected to haue the place of Lieutenant) followed him: then the Vicont of Gant
(afterwards Marquis of Rouban) would goe to see his wife at Beuvrage neere vnto
Valenciennes: the Earles of Bossu and Egmont, and other Noblemen, came to Brus-
sels, to the marriage of the Lord of Berselle with the Marquesse of Berghen, daughter
to the Lord of Merode. *Valentin de Pardieu* Seignior of *La Motte*, Gouernor of
Graueling hie, and at that time Maister of the Ordinance, fained an excuse to runne to
Brussels. To conclude, euery man left the campe one after another, the which wandred
vp and downe, from place to place. First they brought it from about Namur to Gem- B
blours, from thence to Templours, then to Saint *Martins*, and backe againe to Gem-
blours, to bring it into Brabant. At that time there were no other Commanders in the
whole Armie, but the Seignior of Goignies Marshall of the Campe; the Baron of
Montigni Brother to the Earle of Lalain (afterwards Marquis of Reny) at that time
young and vnexperienced in those affaires, the Seigniors of Bailloeul and Heure
bretheren, old Knights. And to proue that this iealousie was the cause of their
abandoning the Armie, I can truely say, (for that I did obserue it, beeing then a fol-
lower to the Vicont of Gant) that after the Prince of Orange had taken the oth, as
Lieutenant generall to the Arch-duke; and that the newes thereof was come vnto
the Campe: they held but once any councell of warre, beginning the next day to C
slippe away and to disbande one after one, which was the cause of the route of the
sayd Armie.

Iealousie makes the Noblemen to abandon the armie.

As they tooke occasion to drawe it from Saint *Martins* and Templours to Gem-
blours. *Don Iohn* the better to discouer it, and to see it marche, presented himselfe with
his troope vpon a little hill, that he might view it at his pleasure, hauing no thought nor
intent to fight with them. But seeing their disorder, and that the fore-ward was aduan-
ced aboue a league before the reere-ward, marching not in an enemies countrey, but
as it were to take a re-view or muster: Hee was aduised to charge them, giuing furious-
ly vpon the battaile, whose horse-men brake the foote of their reere-ward, so as of the
battaile and the reere-ward there was a quick dispatch, most of the fore-ward sauing D
themselues in the towne of Gemblours. The greatest losse fell vpon the regiment of
Collonell *Balfour* a Scottishman, who was hurt there, and yet saued himselfe, and so did
the Lord of Montigny, after that he had done as much as possible might bee: the Sieg-
nior of Goignies was taken prisoner, and from that time fell to serue the Spaniard. Those
old Knights of Bailloeul and Heure (who in all things deale plainly) hauing saued
them-selues in Gemblours, were soone after made prisoners by the taking of the
Towne.

The defeate of the states Armie neere vnto Gemblours.

Don Iohn pursuing the course of his victorie, the countrey wauering, as if all had
beene lost, seized vpon the Towne of Louvain; the Magistrates going forth to meete
him, presented him the Keyes; then of Arschot, Tillemont, Diest, Lewe, and the little E
Towne of Sichem, where hee intreated the Officers and Magistrates inhumainly.
This defeate made him swell with pride, from thence hee sent Cont *Charles* of Mans-
fieldt before Bouuines, whereas the Seignior of Estourmel commanded, who hauing
endured some Canon shotte, seeing no shew of succours, and the Towne beeing vnfit
to bee held, hee yeelded it by composition. And although the losse was not so great
in this defeate of Gemblours, as the Spaniards bragged (the States hauing gathe-
red their men together with all the speed that might bee) yet it did drawe away,
and coole the courage of many of their partie: and those that in their hearts were
affected and bore good will to the Spaniards, began to shew them-selues openly, and
to retire to *Don Iohn*. F

Louuain, Arschot, Tillemont, Diest, Lewe and Sichem yeeld to Don Iohn.

The Duke of Anjou being aduertised of this defeat, sent the Seignior of *Fougeres*,
a Gentleman of his Chamber, and one of his Secretaries to the States, to condole
with them, and to offer to ayde them both with his person and meanes, which being ac-
cepted by them, he sent the Earle of *Rochepot*, & the Seignior *Desprunеaux* in ambassage
to

The Duke of Anjou offers succors to the states.

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A to Antwerp, with whom the Earle of Lalain the Barron of Freesin and the signior of Lyesueldt a councellor of State, deputed by the generall Estates, assembled in the towne of Saint Guislain, to treat as well of the succors, as of the assurances: the resolution of their treatie was referred to the States assembled in Antwerp, for the daie after this defeate, the Archduke *Mathias* and the other Noblemen, leauing the towne of Brussells retired to Antwerp: the Prince of Orange remayning there still for some daies with the Earle of Bossu, to prouide for the safetie of the towne and to fortefie the weakest places, the which they did, making a halfe Moone within the towne towards the high part. The towne of Saint Guislain, which is but two leagues from Mons in Henault, being after the defeat of Gemblours readie to fal into *Don Iohns* pow- 1578.

B er, by the practise of *Mathew Moulbart* Abbot of the same place, and elect Bishoppe of Arras: the signior of Herissart found meanes by pollicy to seize vpon the towne with some soldiars of his traine, then hauing prouided for the safety thereof, the second of Frebruary he deliuered it into the hands of the Earle of Lalain Gouernor of Henault, and so by that meanes the Abbots practise was disapointed. Saint Guislain assured for the states.

The towne of Amsterdam hauing still obstinatly defended the Spanish factions receiuing great promises and incouragements from *Don Iohn*, the Prince of Orange, as gouernor, and the States of Holland, sought all meanes to force them to yeeld, by stopping vp of their passages, and otherwise, seeing that all their reasonable offers, made vnto them in the beginning of anno 1577. would by no meanes perswade them. The grea-

C test difficulties consisting here in were that they would not suffer, their fellowe Burgers, that had fled, and were returned home againe to haue the exercise of the Religion nor to burie their dead, but would onelie haue the Catholike and Romish religion vsed in the towne, and their old garrison of six companies of soldiars, and not suffer the fugitiue Burgers to beare any office amongst them, nor the companies of harguebuziers, according to the ancient custome to bee erected for the preseruation and keeping of the towne.

This passing in this sort, the Prince and the States by aduice from the general estates, practising many waies to surprize them, but none taking effect, at the last Collonel *Hellingh*, and captaine *Ruychauer*, a Burger of the same town, made a certaine enterprize

D vpon them of Amsterdam, thinking to take the towne, & to that end vpon the 13. of November 1577. taking certaine soldiers vnder three Ensignes, hid them closely in diuers shippes, and comming before the towne, forcibly tooke the Harlem port, and from thence marched into the market place, strengthening themselues in diuers places, but Collonel *Hellingh* (that was speaking with the Burgers, to perswade them to lay downe their armes) being shot, the Burgers with their six companies of soldiers began to take corrage, & taking armes, drew the Hollanders back, and as God would haue it, a barrel of their poulder falling on fire in the gate, the Hollanders were so abasht, as they were beaten out againe with great losse of their men, and amongst them, captaine *Ruychauer* being taken prisoner, was slaine by one of his old enemies, a man that in the pre- Amsterdam yeeldeth to the states.

E cedent warres had done much good seruice. But although this enterprize fel out badly for them, yet the towne of Amsterdam, beeing thereby brought into great feare of surprize, and hauing bin long beseeged, both by water and land, resolued to fal to an agreement with the Estates of Holland, which was made vpon the 8. of February 1578. the principall points of the same being, that those of the reformed religion should haue liberty to preach without the towne, & should haue an vnhalloed place within the town, for the buriall of their dead, that their garrison of sixe companies within the towne should bee discharged, and that they should haue foure, fiue, sixe other companies of soldiars in the same, vnder the captaines of the towne, for the defence of the same, that the olde companies of Harguebuziers, should bee erected againe without any

F difference, and that the places of those that were dead, should be supplied, as well of the fugitiue Burgers as others, and diuers other points. But this composition lasted not long, for that they of the Religion, complained of the Catholikes, for not keeping the couenant and agreement, and for not accomplishing the Article of the erecting and guiding of the Harguebuziers, but to the contrary, attempted many

secret

1578 secret enterprises, and for that *Don Iohn* had still many friends within the towne which A
daily practised diuers attempts, the Burgers generally fearing a new vprore, and tasting
the benefit of their trade and traficke in the towne which as then beganne to increase,
and to liue in vnity and conformitie with the rest of the townes and terretories
of Holland: caused the Romish Catholike magistrates, and the Friers to goe out of the
towne, and all munkes and Priests: pulling downe the Images in the Churches, per-
mitting nothing but the reformed religion to be vsed therein, which during the warres,
was most beneficiall for their towne, and conformable to the manner of the rest of the
townes in Holland, although the States of Vtrecht, Harlem, & other reconciled townes
maintained the Romish religion long time after, togither with the reformed religion,
but for that they found and perceiued many secret enterprises, to be deuised by the spi- B
rituality, they thought it necessary and conuenient (during the warres) wholy to put it
down, which caused a great hinderance to *Don Iohns* affaires, & much furtherance to the
states. The Spaniards hauing vnder the command of *Charles* of Mansfeldt beseeged the
towne of Villeuoorde, whereas the signior of Glimes commanded with some compa-
nies of Wallons seeing (after he had lien before it but two daies) that he should get no-
thing but blowes, hee retired, and from thence went to beseege Niuelle in Bra-
bant, where the signior of Villers commanded for the States, with fiue compa-
nies of foote, and some few horse: refusing to yeeld at the first summons, hee
battred it furiously with eight Cannons, so as hauing made a sufficient breach,
the Wallon souldiars (whome they had made beleeue that *Don Iohn* did not much C
trust) to shew their fidelity, desired to go first to the assault: but they were so valiantly
repulst, as they were forced to send others: so as from twelue of the clocke vntill night,
the beseeged defended themselues valiantly, and endured foure furious assaults, the as-
sailants being forced to leaue it with great losse and in disorder. The Gouernor held it
yet two daies without parle, hoping for succors, but the Prince of Orange and the
Earle of Bossu sent him word that he should retire himselfe as well as he could, and saue
his men, the which he did vpon composition, to depart with bag and baggage, and the
Niuelle yeelded to Don Iohn. souldiars with their swords by their sides, and the Commanders and Captaines on horse-
backe with their men. Thus was Niuelle yeelded vp to *Don Iohn* the 15. of February:
from thence the armie went before Bins two leagues from Mons, the which yeelded D
without any force.

After the taking of Niuelle and Bins, *Don Iohn* went to the little townes of Soignies,
Roeux, Beaumont, Walcourt and Maubenge in the countrie of Henault; some hauing
Many small townes in Henault yeelded to Don Iohn. small garrisons, others none at all, as not deseruing to hazard any men in them, all
which yeelded to his obedience without any resistance. Then he went to Chimay, the
which hauing endured a battery of sixe Cannons, and an assault, yeelded by composi-
tion. This done *Don Iohn* did generally proclaime the commission which hee had
from the King of Spaine, touching his gouernment with a generall pardon, declaring
that all persons which remained in any towne, castle or fort, that were enemies vnto
him, might remaine free in their houses, following their trafficke and trades. And E
that all such as during these new troubles, had followed the States, and carried armes
against the King, should returne within twentie daies after the Proclamation, and bee
restored to all their Offices, Estates, dignities and honors, without any reproch or im-
putation for that which was past. Granting in like manner to all townes that would
reconcile themselues, their preuiledges as they had inioyed them in the time of the Em-
peror *Charles* the fift: vpon this pardon many returned, but in the beginning they
were but of the baser sort.

In the meane time Collonel *Steward* returning from Dansyck with his Regiment
of Scotishmen, where hee had beene imploied for that towne against the King of Po-
land, was entertained by the generall Estates. The two and twenty day of March F
they of Friseland (for some synister opinion which they had conceiued) tooke pri-
Councellors displaced in Frisland vpon suspition. soners, *Ingrames Aclum* president of their great Councell, and the Councellors *Iulius*
de Roma, *Peter Fritsmo*, *Focco Romaerts*, *Anthony Leuuit* and others: in whose place
were chosen *Francis Eysingna*, *Focco Reulda*, *Iohn Van Stueren* and others whowere
knowne

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A knowne to bee zealous and well affected to their countrie. The first Bishop that euer was at Leuwarden called *Cornelius Petri*, and some others, were sent for vnto the Castle, where they were deteined prisoners; and some priuate men had their houses for prisons. And as many murmured that their Magistrates were not very faithfull vnto their countrie: the Officers of Iustice and others were changed in most part of the Townes in the Netherlands; and among others *John* of *Saint Florise*, Seignior of Steenbeke, Gouernour of Bapaumes, was also made Gouernor of Lille, Douay and Orchies, in the place of *Maximilian Vilai*, Siegniot of Rasenghem, who was prisoner at Gant. 1578.

A change of Magistrates in the Netherlands.

The seauenth of Aprill certaine companies of Wallons being in garrison at Mas-
B strichs, mutining for their pay, seazed vpon the Seignior of Heze their Collonell, and Gouernor of the Towne, and of all the Captaines, Ancients, and Officers of his Regiment, conspiring to deliuer the Towne into the Spaniards hands. But *Nicholas* of *Palmier* Seignior of Melroy beeing sent thether with their pay, first hee contented and pacified the souldiers; then hee caused them that were restrained of their libertie to bee delibered, and in the end beeing maister of the conspirators, hee hanged some, and drowned others, & putting in another garrison, he assured the towne for the States.

A mutinie at Maestrick pacified and punished.

The two and twentith of the same moneth there was published in Antwerp a new decree touching the entertainment of the Pacification of Gant, to haue it sworne by all the inhabitants and such as were resident in the countries that were vnder the vni-
C on, of what estate, qualitie, or condition soeuer they were, as well spirituall as temporall; holding all them for enemies that should refuse to take the sayd oth. All men obeyed as well Church-men as others, except the Iesuites, who were therefore wonderfully suspected. The people of Antwerp incensed thereat, rose in armes against them, but through the good order of the Collonels of the Bourgers there was no harme done them: onely it was resolued to conduct them quietly out of the towne, as well for their priuate safetie, as being suspected for the publicke cause, the which was done vpon Whitsonday. The Franciscan Fryars demanded a day to resolue, but in the end seeing the other begging orders, the Prelates, the Cathedrall Church, and all the Clergie obey the sayd commandement and Edict, they resolued to doe the like. Some
D among them, as the Gardien, and some others of that troope, beeing very obstinate, and selfe-wild, were in like sort thrust out of the Towne, as men suspect. Whilest these Friars were thus in suspence, the discontented beeing in Armes, some Souldiers offered to force them in their couent: but the Seignior of *Stralen Bourg* maister of the towne arriuing, made them to desist. Wherevpon two indiscreet soldiers bent their Harguebuses against him, with matches in the cockes, but the trouble beeing pacified they were apprehended, and their heads cut off.

A decree made by the States to entertaine the pacification of Gant.

Friars burnt for Sodomie at Gant and Bruges.

About the same time were burnt in Gant, by a sentence giuen by the court of Flanders, foure Friars, one Augustine, and some whipt, beeing conuicted of Sodomie, the like was done at Bruges to three Friars, and two were whipt for the like crimes. They
E confest that long before an Italian Friar had infected them with this sinne. There was then another Fryer in Bruges, but not altogether so wicked, called *Cornellis Adriansen*, borne at Dordrecht in Holland, an ordinary Preacher, a seditious man, and turbulent in his Sermons, preaching with great vehemencie, some-times against the Prince of Orange, some-times against the States, against the Magistrates, against his owne Bishop, yea and against whom hee pleased, without any respect or shame to name them openly, against whome hee vsed villanous, filthie, and beastly termes, with vnseemely and ridiculous exclamations, as appeareth plainely by a true collection of his workes and Sermons, set forth in publick Print, to make the readerlaugh.

What Cornellis a Franciscan Friar of Bruges was.

This gallant had erected a little order of a particular religion, consisting chiefe-
F lie in humilitie and correction, among faire young wiues, and Virgins, poore simple creatures, to whome hee preached nothing but humilitie, and aboue all recommended innocencie: if they committed the least fault in the dutie of obedience (as he kept them in wonderfull awe) and humility, he tooke delight to whip them with a Foxes tayle, causing them to strip them-selues naked, pleasing himselfe to looke on them in this

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1578 this manner, making them beleeue that Innocencie must be seene naked, and that they should not be ashamed to discouer themselues. This kind of discipline of this Lutheran friar, was in the end descouered, by two of his deuout women that would not submit themselues to this friars taile nor strippe themselues in that sort. And by the report which they made he was publickly found infamous, and was skorned of all the world. Afterwards the descouery of his impostures, and all his doing, the profession of his order, and his discipline, were also set forth in print. A

This yeare vpon the seauenth of May, there was a great and solemne assembly of the Princes of the Empire holden at Worms in Germany, where-vnto the Archduke *Mathias*, and the generall estates sent an honorable ambassage, when the Seignior of Saint *Aldegond*, made an eloquent oration, before all the Princes of Germanie, and the estates and deputies of diuers townes wherein he briefly shewed the miserable estate, and condition of the Netherlands, the desseigne and intent of the Spaniards, and what tirany the Duke of Alua, and others, as also *Don Iohn* had vsed there, and withall what danger the Empire was to expect thereby touching the Duke of Alua he shewed particularly that in a banket made before his departure, hee had boasted (and did glory therein) that within the time of his gouernment, in the Netherlands (being about fiue yeares) he had caused 18000 men to be put to death by the common minister of Iustice called the hang-man, besides an innumerable number, that were consumed and murthered by the prouost, tumults mutinies and cruelty of the soldiars, in many places of the same, not accounting them that were killed in the warres, shewing further that by the common accounts of the land, it was found, that in fifteene Prouinces of the Netherlands the said Duke of Alua, and his adherents, had spent in making warres against the two Prouinces of Holland and Zeeland, in building of castles, and destroying of the country, about thirty sixe milions of guilders, besides the spoyle, by the oppression and insolency of the soldiers in all places where they came, and that they were generally in hope, that the King would not so lightly haue forgotten, that they were the same Netherlands by whose faithfull seruice, ayd, goods, money, and blood, the hard and long continewed warre with France, was with the Kings honour at the last brought to so honorable an end: where-vnto the Netherlands, besides all ordinary, and vsuall taxes, charges, and customes, in nine yeares freely gaue the King the summe of forty millions of guilders, as also what the Netherlands in generall, and the townes in particuler had endured vnder the great Commander, vnder *Rhoda*, and *Don Iohn* of Austria, and by the mutinous Spaniards, proclamed to be both the Kings and the countries enemies, that had wise ransaked and spoyled the townes of Mastreiht and Antwerp, and yet not once punished, he shewed likewise how the Spaniards, ment to make the Netherlands the seate of the warres, and what danger the Empire, and the Prouinces adiacent were thereby to expect: putting them in remembrance, of the enterprises that the duke of Alua and others had, to incorporate and take the townes of the Empire, as *Collen*, *Mounster*, *Emden*, and others, whereby the fire burning in the Netherlands, would soone kindle in Germany. That they sought to conquer the Kingdome of England, vnder pretence of aydiug the imprisoned Queene of Scotland, and thereby to obtaine the dominion of the sea, and therewith the rule of the whole world, onely watching time and opportunity.

Saint Aldegonds oration made at the assembly of the Princes of the Empire holden at Worms in the yeare 1578. B

C D E

Hee desired them to remember the Turkes victories, and the ciuill discords of the Christians, and that the Spaniards were as well accustomed to the warres as the Turkes, seeking the same praise and glory by making great conquests, hauing as great, yea greater cause or contrariety of religion then the Turkes to further them, both in the Netherlands and in Germany, generally esteeming the Germanes, as the Turkes esteeme the Christians, whereof they were to bee aduised that the King of Spaine not long since had made a contract of peace and a league with the Turke, and had agreed what tribute hee should haue: for which cause he desired them, that they would call to mind the ancient frendshippe, and League, betweene them, hauing trade of marchandise with speech, and name common to them all. and that many Prouinces in the Netherlands long before the Emperor *Charles* the fifts time were subiect vnto

F

the

A the lawes of the Empire, and that namely by the tranſaction made in the yeare of our Lord 1548. they were incorporated with the townes and Prouinces of the Empire, at which time the ſayd Princes and townes made promiſe, that they would accept and receiue all the Prouinces of the Netherlands into their protection, and that they ſhould inioy all the priuiledges and freedomes of Germanie in as ample manner as they did that liued in the midſt of the Empire, and ſo vnderſtood and accounted themſelues to bee bound if needs were to protect and defend them, againſt all wrongs, iniuries, and powers whatſoeuer, that ſhould ſeeke to oppreſſe them, and therefore he intreated, that they would thinke ſeduingly vpon the miſeries of the Netherlands, and that aſſiſting them, they would according to the lawes and ordinances of the Empire, commaund
B *Don Iohn* to depart out of the ſame, and forbid all men to giue him any aide or aſſiſtance, by men, armes, victualls, and munition in any ſort whatſoeuer, and alſo to call home *Ericke* Duke of Brunſwicke, *Poluiller* and other Dutch Commanders and captaines, vpon paine of the loſſe of all their goods: then this was the ſumme of his oration, which for that it was in Latin, I ſet it downe in ſhorter tearmes for breuities ſake, againſt the which there was an apologie made and put in print at Luxemburg, written by one *Cornelis Calidius Chriſtopolitanus*.

The Duke of Anion hauing cauſed ſome troupes to march, they entred vpon the frontiers of Henault, which was wonderfully oppreſt by the Spaniard: Collonel *Combelles*, with the conſent of the whole Eſtates marched with his men into the
C countrie, and lodged in a village called Balemont, from whence the Spaniards thinking to diſlodge him, where well beaten the eighteenth day of May, and forced to retire with loſſe and ſhame. *Don Iohn* after the reduction of Niuelle, ſent part of his armie before *Philip-Ville* (ſo called by King *Philips* name, father to the King of Spaine that now is, who cauſed it to bee built in the yeare of our Lord 1554.) beeing ſeated vpon the frontiers of France, the which hauing beene very longe beſeeged, battred and aſſaulted, was in the end for want of victualls and munition, forced to yeeld by compoſition the one and twentie day of Maie: and amongſt other Articles it was agreed vpon, that the captaines and companies that would remaine in the Kings ſeruice, ſhould be well entertained, & haue three monethes paie, the reſt might re-
D tire freely where they pleaſed. Of fiue companies that were in the towne, three remained, and tooke an oth to *Don Iohn*, the other two returned to ſerue the States. The ſignior of Florenne Gouernor of the towne continued there ſtill. This beeing done *Don Iohn* returned to Namur, diuiding his armie into two, whereof the one part was giuen to the Prince of Parma, to goe in the countrie of Lembourg, and the other to *Octauio Gonzague*, to march towards Arthois.

1578.

A ſmall defeat of the Spaniards by the French.

The Prince of Parma foure daies after his departure from *Philip-ville*, marched with his warlike troupes towardes the towne of Lembourg, which hee thought to carrie vpon his firſt approch. And although the Towne it ſelfe bee not verie ſtronge, yet is it defended by a good caſtle, built vpon a hillocke not to bee ſcaled, verie
E hard to bee battred, and almoſt inpregnable. To approch vnto Lembourg, hee was of neceſſitie to paſſe nere vnto the caſtle of Heude, the which was in the like ſort ſeated vpon a rocke, maruelous ſtronge both by nature and by art, hauing great ditches full of water falling from the heigh Mountaines: ſo as they might eaſily defend that place with twenty reſolute men.

The Spaniards beſeege Lembourg.

There was in it in garriſon two ſquadrons of the States ſouldiars, beeing about the number of ſome fiftie men, one of the chiefe Officers a Liegois borne, ſayd vnto the other that was his companion, that it was needefull before they ſuffred themſelues to bee beſeeged, to goe and furniſh themſelues within the towne of all things neceſſarie for their prouiſion, as well for victualls, as for munition of warre.
F And therefore one of them ſhould goe with a good conuoie, giuing the choiſe vnto his companion whether hee would goe or ſtaie, knowing well that the other would rather chooſe to goe, and that hee that went would take a conuoie of fortie foure ſouldiars, and the other ſhould remaine and gard the caſtle with the ſixe which ſhould ſtaie behinde.

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1578 This other Corporall hauing taken the charge vpon him to goe and fetch munition A
The Caſtle of Heude treacherouſly deliuered to the Prince of Parma. with the conuoy of the Liegeois which remained, hauing two others of his faction, fell ſodainely vpon the other three, and hauing ſlaine one of them, hee ſayd vnto the other two that what hee did was for the Kings ſeruice: whereupon they remained quiet, and the caſtle was deliuered vp to the Prince of Parma, who gaue him a verie good reward.

The Prince hauing this caſtle at his commandement ſent preſently to ſommon the towne of Lemburg; the which refuſed to yeeld; for ſome fewe daies before it had beene victualled by the States. Whereupon it was battred with nine peeces, and although hee preuailed little, yet a diſſention beeing growne in the towne, betwixt the Burgers (who would not hold out, and refuzed to fight) and the ſouldiars of the gar- B
riſon, they did capitulate, with the Prince of Parma, and yeelded the towne and caſtle vnto him the fifteenth day of Iune: the ſouldiars retiring to Faulquemont and Dalhem, whether the Prince went and forced them, putting all to the ſword that he found armed. The other part of the armie which *Don Iohn* had ſent vnder the command of
Octauio Gonzague preuailes a little in Henault. *Octauio Gonzague* marcht directly towards Mons, thinking to cut of their victualls, and to reduce it to that extremitie as they ſhould bee forced to yeeld: but hee preuailed nothing, but onelie ruined the poore champian countrie thereabouts. Thoſe of the towne were daylie in skyrmiſhe with them, and among others captaine *Mornault* with his companie of horſe, neuer ſuffred them to bee at reſt. The nineteenth of Iune there died in Antwerp that vertuous and long afflicted Princeſſe, *Sabina Palatina* widowe C
The death of the Counteſſe of Egmont. to Cont *Amoral* of Egmont, and a little before the ſignior *Lancelot Barliamont*, Earle of Meghen, in the right of the Ladie *Marie* of Brimeau his wife, without any children: which Ladie was afterwards married to *Philip* of Croy Prince of Chymai, Sonne to the duke of Arſchot being then but yong.

At the ſame time a certaine councellor of the great councell at Macklin went vnto *Don Iohn*, whome hee gaue to vnderſtand that hee had many partakers in the ſayd towne, who deſired nothing more then to ſee it reduced vnder his obedience: and that if it pleaſed him to take the paine to come or ſend thether, they would make him maiſter thereof without anie difficultie. *Don Iohn* ſent him backe vnto the towne to mannage this buſineſſe, and to drawe others to his deuotion. But this practiſe beeing D
diſcouered, the States ſent to re-enforce the garriſon, both with horſe and foote. *Octauio Gonzague* came before the towne of Macklin to execute this enterpriſe, but hee was entertained with good musket ſhot. Seeing himſelfe diſcouered, hee ſent letters vnto the Magiſtrates, to perſwade them to yeeld to *Don Iohn*, but in ſteed of an anſwere they ſent forth certaine ſhot by a falſe port, who charged his horſe, from a couert place, where they could not bee forced, making them retire with loſſe of men and horſe.

The duke of Aniou comes to ſuccor the States. The Duke of Aniou the better to effect his deſſeigne, and giue the ſuccors which hee had promiſed to the States, came in perſon with his troupes into the countrie of Henault, and arriued at Mons the twelfth daie of Iulie, beeing accompanied with E
fewe gentlemen, his traine following after him leauing his armie in field. The Germaines of *Polwiller*, which before the pacification of Gant, had beene in garriſon at Campen and at Deuenter in the countrie of Oueryſſel, hauing beene ſommoned by the States, and refuſed to depart, ſtill diſſembling, till after the breach of the accord, and the taking of the caſtle of Namur: made open demonſtration that they would keepe the ſayd townes for *Don Iohn*: which the States perceiuing, they ſent the Earle of Rheneberg Gouernor of Friſeland thether with an armie of a thouſand men who firſt beſeeged Campen, ſcituated vpon the Veluve towardes the Zuyderzee, which hauing refuſed to yeeld beeing ſommoned, hee battred it verie furiouſly from either ſide of the Riuer of Yſſel, making a ſufficient breach for an F
aſſault: and beeing readie to giue it, the Germaines fell to a parle, and yeelded the towne vpon compoſition the twentith daie of Iulie 1578. The conditions were, that they ſhould depart with their bagge and baggage: that they ſhould not beare armes againſt the generall Eſtates in three monethes after. That all priſoners of either

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A either side should be set at liberty without ransome, and that they should be safely conducted vnto the frontiers of Germany, which was performed: they of the town were forced to agree vnto the vnion, and to sweare obedience vnto the Estates. They put into the towne the companies of Viterarue, Hottinghe and Mulaert; the towne was in no great extremitie to yeeld, for that their breach was well repaired; neither wanted they any prouisions. The soldiars had no need to feare the Burgers, whom they had disarmed, as they had done at Deuenter, but they feared the comming of *Casimire*, who was comming to aide the Estates, from thence the Earle went to beseege Deuenter fiue leagues from Campen, the which was also yeelded, after foure monthes seege, vpon honest conditions. 1578.

B The castle of Haurec in the which there was a Spanish garrison, beeing beseeged by the duke of Anious troupes, and battered, yeelded vnto him: the Spaniard came to raise the seege, but he was sharply repulst, and forced to retire with great losse of his men. And at the same time the duke of Anion forced the Spaniards to leaue the townes of Soignies Maubenge and Roeux, into the which hee put French garrisons. Whilest that the duke of Anious armie was yet vpon the frontiers to enter into Henault, it happened that one captaine *Pont* was lodged in the village of Becourt at a rich laborers house called *Iohn Millet*, who had two faire yong daughters: this captaine fell in loue with the eldest called *Mary*, being about sixteene yeares old: al the whole household sought to serue and intreat him well, to auoide the insolencies which such peo-

C ple doe vsually shew vnto poore pesants. This captaine being one daie at dinner with the father, mother and daughters, hee demanded of the father his daughter *Marie* in marriage. The good man hauing answered that it was not a marriage equall nor suitable for him, (fearing that after hee had abused her, hee would chase her awaie, or keepe her as his strumpet) refused him flatly. The captaine incensed at this refusall, swearing and cursing, chased the father, the mother and the whole familie out of the house, keeping onelie this poore Virgin, whome hee rauished, and caused three or foure of his souldiars to doe the like. Which done, hee went to the table, and set this poore maiden by him, mocking still at her with verie filthie and dissolute speeches. Shee who spake nothing, studying how shee might bee reuenged with

D her owne hand, whatsoeuer should become of her, desiring rather to die then to liue anie longer with such reproch and infamie: obserued a Corporall that came to speake to the captaine in his eare, who turning his head backe to heare him, she tooke a knife and stabbed him therewith vnto the heart, so as he fell downe presently dead, and she thinking, to saue her selfe by flight, was ouertaken by his souldiars, who bound her to a tree, and shot her to death. The father hearing these pittifull newes of his daughter, bruted it abroade and went to make his complaints to all the neighbour villages: so as the alarum bells ringing of all sides, the pesants went to armes and fell vp-

E on the souldiers of Becourt, and vpon all others that laie nere vnto them, whom they slue, yea their pages, laquais, strumpets and dogges, leauing nothing aliue of foure companies that were in that quarter, but their horses; so greedie all these pesants were to reuenge the death and iniurie done this Virgin. Doubtlesse if *Lucrece* deserued great commendations for killing of her selfe after that shee had beene forced by *Tarquin*; this maide deserues much more, who before her death could take reuenge of her more then barbarous rauisher: Almightie GOD meaning thereby to punish the excesse of these French souldiars, to make others learne more wisdome and temperateneſſe.

An vnworthy and cruel fact of captaine Pont and well reuenged.

Mary Millet more worthy of commendation then Lucrece.

The Archduke *Mathias* Gouernor, and the generall Estates hauing rayſed a great and mightie armie, vnder the conduct and command of the Earle of Bossu (a braue, valiant and hardie Knight) and the signior of La Noue, (a valiant and worthie French

F Gentleman) they planted their campe nere vnto Remenant in Brabant, a league from Macklin. Whereas *Don Iohn* resolued to charge them before they were all come together, lite beeing verie stronge and hauing new men come out of Italie, could make about thirty thousand souldiers, amongst the which were fiue or sixe thousand horsemen, all or the most part, old expert souldiers, and choise men, his Lieutenant Generall

Don Iohn resolues to charge the states at Remenant.

1578. was the Prince of Parma, *Octauio Gonzaga* was generall of the horse men, *Peter Ernest* Earle of Mansfield Lord Marshall, the Earle of Barlamont, Maister of the ordinance, with his Sonne and many other Lords and Gentlemen, as the Earles of Reulx, and *Falckenburg*, *Robles* Lord of Billy, the Lord of Ruyrooke, the Lord of Lyques, the Lord of Faulx, the Lord of Marle, the Lord of Rosingnol, the Lord of Gomicourt, the Lord of Warlonzel, the Lord *de Monteragon*, and other strange Lords, *Don Alonso Martines de Lieua*, Sonne to *Don Sanchio*, Vice-roye of Naples who in times past had beene generall of the Gallies of Spaine, this *Don Alonso* had a company of two hundred stronge, wherein there was ten braue captaines, as *Don Diego*, and *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, *Don Sanchio de Lieua* his brother, and others, his Ensigne being blacke, with a crucifix therin, which was hollowed and consecrated at Naples, by the Cardinall *Gesnada*, and that daie hee had desired *Don Iohn* to haue the vantgard of the armie, hoping that it should fall out as well with him that daie as it did at *Gembloux*. *Don Iohn* himselfe in his Ensigne, had a crosse, with this poesie, *By this signe I ouercame the Turkes, and by the same signe also I will ouercome the Heretikes*, and being thus prepared, vpon the last day of July, he came with al his armie to Arschot, with full intent to set vpon the states campe, or with aduantage, to procure them to a battaile. A

The great skirmish by Rymenant.

But the Earle of Bossu, beeing aduertised by his sentinels of horse, that there were about some a leauen or twelue cornets of horse comming against them, with a great squadron of footemen, which were about 900. or a hundred men, they all gaue charge that the States gards should retire to a place, where hee had set fiue or sixe hundred Hargnebuziers, which at last, by reason of the multitude of their enemies were forced to giue back, by the aide and releese of certaine Ruiters and light horsemen, and yet without any great hurt, whereby *Don Iohns* men beeing imboldened, gaue a stronge and mightie charge vpon the States Ruyters, and other horsemen, which valiantly withstood them, and yet in such sort as the enemie had some aduantage, but after that beeing seconded, they turned so brauely backe againe, as they forced *Don Iohns* men to leaue the heath, and to retire themselues to certaine hedges, but for that the Earle of Bossu, to keepe those hedges, had placed certaine Englishmen (vnder the regiment of Collonel *Norris* that was come thether but an houre before, and certaine Scots) hard by the Riuer all alonge to his campe, *Don Iohn* could not breake thorough, notwithstanding that hee still sent more men thether, to winne the place by force, the great shot likewise that plaied out of the States trenches doing him much harme, as his men came any thing neere, which at that time discharged a hundred and twentie times vpon the enemy, the Lord of Crequis being generall of the ordinance, in steed of *Treslon*. This skirmish beginning at seauen of the clocke in the morning, continewed vntill euening about fiue or sixe of the clocke, beeing a wonderfull hot daie, so as the English, Scots, and other souldiars were forced to put of their cloathes and to fight in their shirtes, where they behaued them-selues as brauely as possible they might, considering the great number of the enemy, and that they were all old experienced Soldiers that they had to doe withall: Colonell *Norris*, sonne to the Lord *Norris*, with the English-men behaued himselfe very valiantly, and had certaine horses killed vnder him: The like did Captaine *Bingham*, a man of great experience and policie, although hee was but hardly and badly vsed by his men, beeing then Lieutenant to Captaine *Candish*, and there lost two bretheren. The like did the Scottes vnder Collonell *Stuart*, the French and Netherland foote-men shewing also great courage and valour, for that the ground was not very fitte to vse many of the horse-men. B C D E

If at that time the Earle of Bossu (which as I haue heard hee hath since repented) had charged the Spaniards in their retreat with all his forces, as he had the meanes and powre, hauing foure times as manie men more as the enemie; without doubt neither *Don Iohn* nor anie one of his men had escaped, and this daie had beene the last for the Spaniards in the lowe countries, at the least for them that were there at that time. This charge and skirmysh was the first daie of August in the yeare of our Lord 1578. F

Don

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A *Don Iohn* hauing committed this error, full of blasphemy and cursings, carrying backe his armie hee retyred to Namur: the Earle of Bossu hearing that there were but 300. foote and a 100. Spanish horse in the towne of Arschot, sent Collonel *La Garde* thether with fiue hundred French shot of the one side: and Collonel *Balfour* with a thousand Scots on the other. *La Garde*, arriued first, and forced the Spaniards by a way that was lowe and narrowe, cutting all in peeces that hee incountred, so as the towne was taken and spoiled. The Vicont of Gant chiefe of this enterprize, thinking it not conuenient to keepe it, for that it was nothing stronge, caused it to bee abandoned, and by the aduise of the sayd Collonels retired with his horse and foote to the Campe. This affront was done vnto *Don Iohn* the tenth of August, within two B leagues of his armie. 1578.

At the same time some troubles beeing growne in the towne of Valenciennes, the Archduke and the States sent the signior of *Harchies* to take information, and to order all things. Beeing entred into the towne the Burgers beganne to bee diuided, some held with the signior of Harchies, and others with the Maiestrates. This tumult continued eight daies, the people beeing still in armes, not without great danger of effusion of bloud. In the end *Richardot* a Councellor of State, was sent thether, who did reconcile them, and pacifie all troubles. A tumult at Valenciennes.

The Duke of Aniou before hee sent such succors to the States as hee had promised had capitulated with the States, first of all: to declare himselfe, an open enemie C to *Don Iohn* and to his adherents; to entertaine, for the assistance of the States ten thousand foote and two thousand horse, paide at his charge for three monthes, and in case the warre were not ended, before that time were expired, to continue his assistance and succors with the number of three thousand foote and fiue hundred horse: and that hauing serued two monthes with the sayd number, hee should haue three monthes paide him: that hee should haue three townes of retreat, *Auesne Quesnoy* and *Landrecy* but they refused) notwithstanding that the Abbot of Marolles was sent to perswade them) that all townes, places and forteslying beyonde the riuer of Meuse, and not in the association of the States (as Bourgongne and Luxembourg) which should bee taken by his forces alone or ioyntly with the States, D should remaine vnder his powre, commande and obedience, during his life, and after his decease, his heires males begotten in lawfull marriage, should succeed and inherit. That a peace beeing made, the States should acknowledge the benefit next vnder almightie GOD to proceed from him. And that all charges and expences layed out for their succors, should bee paied him againe vntill his departure out of the countrie: and moreouer they should giue him a gratuitie worthy of his greatnesse: That the sayd States should promise and binde themselues, in case that hereafter they would take an other Prince for their soueraigne, to preferre him before any other, vpon such conditions as should bee then propounded. This accord was proclaimed in Antwerp the twentie daie of August. Thereupon the E Duke tooke vpon him the title of *Defender of the liberty of the Netherlands, against the Spaniards and their Adherents*. Hee declared himselfe enemie to *Don Iohn*, and to all his followers by a printed declaration. But of all the troupes which hee brought, after that hee had taken a view of them beeing put in battaile neere vnto Bins, they were not aboue seauen thousand foote and eight or nine hundred horse: most of them Licentious and disordred souldiars, the skum of the ciuill warres of France, and the relikes of the massakers of Paris. The Duke of Anious entry

With these forces hee entred into Henault, the which (during his aboad at Mons, with the Earle Lalain his Gossip, who was put from the place of Captaine Generall of the States armie, for that without their priuitie and leaue hee had abandoned the F armie in the countrie of Namur when as *Don Iohn* had that victorie neere vnto Gemblours) did these small exploits: whereof wee haue formerly made mention: although it had beene more necessarie to ioyne the sayd Dukes troupes, in this best season of the yeare, to the great bodie of the States armie, being then in their prime ingaged at Remenant, by the disorder which was there for want of paie, when as *Don*

1578 *Iohn* was farre weaker in forces then the States, and might easily haue beene defeated. A
The States armie vnprofitable for want of pay. But in steed of doing it, they turned from him to goe and ioyne with the Duke of Anious forces, and to take Genap, Ninelle, and some other paltrie Townes, vnworthy the stay of an armie. This coniunction with the Duke of Aniou lost the States a moneths time: and when they were ready to ioyne all into one body of an Armie, the Duke retired with his *Busti à Amboise* to Mons in Henault, by the aduise of his gossip the Earle of Lalain, and then began his Armie to vanish, whereby the best season of the yeare and the best oportunitie was lost: the States became more indebted vnto the Armie, who grew discontented to see them-selues so ill gouerned, their forces both of horse and foote decreased by mortalitie and famine, and in the end the hope which they had of such great forces, as the Prince had neuer the like, went to smoake, and B
The beginning of the male-contents. they were to begin againe. *Don Iohn* fortified himselfe the more, and then began the falling away of the Wallon soldiers, (called the Male-contents) of the Regiments of *Montigny*, *Heze*, *Egmond* and *Alennes*, of which Male-contents (as wee will here-after shew) *Montigny* made himselfe chiefe.

After this disbanding as well of the Duke of Anious troopes, as of the male-contents, the States Armie being retired from Remenant, went and camped two leagues from Louvain. The Earle of Bossu generall of the Armie, went forth with two thou-
A great skirmish neere vnto Louvain. sand Harguebuziers, and two hundred horse, and approched neere vnto the Towne, the Spaniards sallyed forth brauely vpon them, where there was a gallant skirmish. The Vicont of Gant Generall of the horse, charged them with his men at Armes, euen vn- C
Three castles taken by the States at one instant. to the Towne ditches, whereof some fell in, seeking to flie the fury of the Vicont, and of the Siegnior of *Quesnoy* his Lieutenant. The Earle of Bossu would gladly haue besieged the sayd Towne, but the want of three or foure thousand Pioners, and of thirtie or fortie Canons, necessary to batter so spatious a place, which had two leagues circuite, and furnished with fiue thousand men, made this desseigne seeme vnreasonable. The same day the Armie in passing tooke the Castell of *Dyon*, *la Motte*, *Helsenne* and *Sart*: *La Motte* indured a battery, in the which were fifteene or sixteene Soldiers, the rest peasants, and was taken by assault, where-as the Seignior of *La None* Marshall of the Campe, the Vicont and the Collonell *Michell Caulier*, past through the water in the ditches vp to the waste (the which was no discreete part of the Vicont, D
being Generall of the horse) with the English, who leapt into the water like Frogges, forst it, and cut all the Souldiers in peeces, pardoning the peasants: this was done in August.

In September following certaine companies of Malcontents of the aboue-named Regiments (among the which was that of Captaine *Christien* of Mons) being come to lodge in the quarter of Gaure (which is of the Principalitie of them of Egmont) about three leagues from Gant. The Ganthois, aduertised thereof by the greeuous and dayly
Some companies of male-contents surprized at Gaure. complaints of the poore peasants, for so many oppressions and insolencies committed by these Wallon soldiars, Malcontents, and doubting also some enterprise vpon their towne, (for that the sayd Malcontents had vanted that they would teach the Gan- E
thois to mocke at the masse) sent some of their companies in the night, who went to dislodge the Wallons in Gaure by the breake of daie, taking them a sleepe in their beddes after the French manner: whereof some were slaine and about fiftie carried almost naked into Gant, and in this miserable and poore estate were put into a Church from whence by a decree of the Court they were deliuered and sent away, hauing had some clothes giuen them by the Wallon Marchants remayning in Gant, who tooke pittie of them seeing them thus naked, but the Ganthois did afterwards paie deerely for this pettie victorie.

The Barron of Montigni and other Collonels Wallons, to bee reuenged for such an affront vpon the Flemings and Ganthois, came early in a morning before the Burrough F
Menin surprized by the Male-contents of Menin (which then they began to make a towne) within two leagues of Courtray and two of Lille, hauing intelligence with the Curat, the Baylife, called *Nicholas Robert*, and some others: who knowing of the Malcontents approch, after the ringing of the morning bell, perswaded them that were in gard to goe to their rest.

And

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A And as there remayned but few Bourguers at the Ports and the places but newly begun to be fortefied, theſe Malcontents ſurpriſed it and tooke it with ſmall reſiſtance of the Bourguers, who vpon the alarme, putting them-ſelus in defence, were ſoone ouer-throwne and ſome drowned in the riuer of Lys. Being Maiſters thereof they ſpoyled it finding great welth therein, for that it did cheefely conſiſt of Bruing and making of cloth, which are two trades to make rich men. There were about eighty Bruers, the Beer was diperſed into the countries of Flanders and Arthois by the riuer of Lys: and it was called Queate of Menin, good and well knowne of Dronkards. At that time the Proteſtants of the reformed religion in Antwerp, perſented a petition to haue publike exerciſe of their religion, demanding certaine publike temples of the Arch-
B duke *Mathias* and the councell of State, with which demand they were much troubled; but the Petitioners being very many, made ſuch inſtance and did ſo importune them, as (hauing had the aduice of the Generall eſtates) it was found neceſſary for the publike quiet of the towne, and to preuent all inconueniences, to graunt them the chappell in the Caſtle, called the temple of the Moabits, by reaſon of the Spaniards which had built it the *Ieſuits* chrurch; halfe of that of the *Franciſcans*, *Iacopins* and of Saint *Andrew*. And ſo with leaue of the ſoueraigne magiſtrate, they began their firſt pub-
licke preaching the laſt day of Auguſt: ſome daies after the Proteſtants of the confeſ-
ſion of Ausbourg hauing alſo demanded temples, obtained the Sheer-mens chappell, the great hall of the Carmelites, and the grange neere vnto Saint *Michells*. The like was
C granted in the townes of Bruſſelles, Macklin, Breda, Berghen vpon Soom, Liere, Bruges Ypre; in Freeſeland and in Geldres, and in other townes and Prouinces: But in Bruſ-
ſelles the Marquis of Berghes, the Signior of Heze his Brother and the Signior of Glimes preſented a petition to the contrary, ſhewing that it was the ſeat of the Princes court, which makes the towne to flroiſh, the which by the tranſport of the court to any other place, would bee impouriſhed and fall to decay: which made the people to fall in hatred of them, and to put them in priſon, but by a decree of the States they were ſoone inlarged. 1578.

Temples granted in diuers places to the Proteſtants.

While the armies were gathering together on both ſides, and the State of the Netherlands ſtanding in ſuſpence, the potentates round about deſirous to reconcile the
D diſtracted minds of the Netherlands againſt their Prince, as alſo to preuent bad ex-
amples to ceaſe all troubles, and laſtly to put out and quench the fire of warre and diſſention in the Netherlands, ſought to make a peace there. The Emperor greeuing much at the deſolation of the Netherlands, had ſent the Earle of Swartzenburgh, the King of France Monſire *de Bellieure*, and the Queene of England, the Lord Cobham, and Sir *Francis Walſingham* her Principall Secretary, with a great traine, which Ambaſſadors hauing moued both parts to hearken vnto a peace, the eſtates propounded certaine conditions, the contents whereof were, that all that they had don ſince *Don Iohns* going to Namur, ſhould bee approued, allowed of, and held to bee well don, that *Don Iohn* ſhould depart out of all the Netherlands within the ſayd month of Auguſt, and deli-
E uer vp all the townes and forts into the States hands, that the Arch-duke *Mathias* ſhould remaine gouernor of the Netherlands, and the pacification of Gaunt ſhould ſtill bee maintained and kept, that the matter of Religion (by reaſon of the warres ſo much aduanced) ſhould bee referred to the deciding and determination of the generall eſtates, to bee ordred according to the conueniency of the times and places; that the priſoners on both ſides, as alſo the Earle of Buren, ſhould bee ſet at liberty, and that in the ſaid contract the Queene of England, the Duke of Aniou, the king of Nauarre, with their adherents, and Duke Caſimirus, and all thoſe that had giuen the States any ayd, ſhould bee comprehended. For the effecting whereof the States deſired the Am-
baſſadors aforeſaid, to ſeeke by all the meanes they could to bring *Don Iohn* there-
F vnto, and thereby to keepe his Maieſty in poſſeſſion of his Netherlands, without putting him in more vaine hope, and ſo for euer to eſtrange him from his ſubiects; deſiring them like-wiſe to moderate the ſtrictnes of there articles, in any thing they thinke conuenient. The Ambaſſadors aforeſaid, vſed many reaſons and perſwations on both ſides, eſpecially to procure *Don Iohn* to depart out of the Netherlands intreating him

Peace propounded to Don Iohn by forren Princes.

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1578 not to seeke to hazard his good fortune vpon a doubtfull battayle aledging vnto him A
the contract made betweene the Duke of Aniou and the States, their power hauing so
great an army, and mony like wise to maintaine the same: saying, that he might depart
with honor, when as his departure should be procured, by the Mediation, and interces-
sion of the Emperor, the King of France, and the Queene of England, which dying, they
said, hee might assure the Netherlands vnto their naturall Prince, and by that meanes
procure the maintenance and furtherance of the Romish Catholiks religion: touching
the said articles, the Ambassadors had many conferences and meetings betweene them,
Don Iohn refuseth to make peace, but desireth to haue a truce. the estates and *Don Iohn*; speaking with *Don Iohn* him-selfe at Louuain and there abouts:
but it was al in vaine for that *Don Iohn* would haue the states to giue ouer their armes, &
to send the Prince of Orange into Holland, and then he said he would harken to a peace, B
yet telling them plainely that hee would permit no new religion and many things else,
and yet hee made a shew as that in regard of the miseries of the country hee would
haue consented to a truce for a time, that so hee might deale further about the condi-
tions of peace propounded, but this was done onely to winne time, and in the meane
while to gather more forces, and to make the States weary; but the States, (there
affaires not permitting it) would not harken to it, *Don Iohn* likewise for his part, hauing
gotten more soldiars, and being aduertised that the States men wanted, pay at the last
he made answeare to the Ambassadors, that the King of Spaine had referred the whole
dealing for the peace vnto the States only, to whome full power and authority should
bee giuen for the same, (being indeed some-what iealous of France and England) C
and to that end hee shewed them letters; so thanking them for their paines hee
tooke his leaue and departed, and by that meanes that treatie of peace proued
fruteleſſe.

The causes that moued the Stats to tolerate them of the religion The generall estates, thinking verely that they had well secured and assured the
Catholike Romish Religion by the new publication of the pacification at Gaunt
found it to auaile them little, for that they were forced neuer-the-lesse, to satisfie
and content the mindes of the peolpe in euery place, thereby to maintaine the warres,
and that they had need of such soldiers as they might trust, which they esteemed to be
Hollanders and those of the religion, and therefore in euery place they put such as
were of the religion into offices within the townes, as knowing them thereby, to bee D
bound not onely for the loue and good will they bare vnto their native country but
also in regard of the religion, to bee faithfull, trusty and true: obserning that it was not
onely the meanes for them to defend their bodies, liues, goods, wiues, and children,
but chiefly for the honor of GOD, as they were perswaded, whereby many being of
the reformed religion, and aduanced to offices in diuers places of the Netherlands,
were forced by all the meanes they could to further the said religion, although some
through simple zeale dealt vnaduisedly therein. From these and the like causes
The Protestants requeſt for a religious peace. it fell out, that they of the reformed religion, imbouldned them-selues to present
a requeſt vnto the Arch-duke *Mathias*, and the generall estates, bearing date the twenty
two of Iune, therein shewing, that they desired to liue according to the reformed E
religion, and that they had separated them-selues from the Romish Church for many
causes as it appeared by diuers bookes put in Print, containing the summe and contents
of their faith, which many had sealed with their bloods, and that the more it had
beene persecuted, the more it had spred abroad and increased, as it appeared
by the tiranie of the Duke of Alua, that had put eight-teene or nine-teene thou-
sand persons to death by the hand of the executioner, after whome followed *Don
Loys de Requeſens*, the great Commaunder of Castile who also had driuen an innume-
rable number of good men out of the Netherlands, and caused all traficke and good
handycrafts (wherein the chiefe riches of the land consisted) to be caried into strange
and forrene countries, by which meanes the warres began: shewing the Spaniards F
practises and desseignes, and their reddinesse and willingnesse, to defend their na-
tiue country, and that yet neuer-the-lesse, they feared, that they should bee once againe
put to the slaughter, after that the countrie should haue made vse of them, and by
expence

A expence and losse of their liues and goods, gotten the victory, which must of necessity procure great vnwillingnesse; from whence many difficulties were to bee expected, by mis-vsing liberty amongst the Burgers and the townes men, which difficulties and inconueniences, by meanes of the free permission of the reformed Religion, would be let and hindered, where-as to the contrary, the refusing and denial thereof would bee the originall of all euill intents, and of such enterprises, which neither the Protestants would like of, nor they them-selues bee well pleased withall. They likewise showed, that they were content to put in securitie to them of the Romish religion, that they desired not to roote them out, nor yet to take their goods from them, nor to doe any thing that should bee contrary to the duties of good Towne-men, and fellow Bur- 1578.
B gers, but alwayes to bee ready for the common cause, to defend and maintaine their natiue countrey, whereby all discord beeing layd away, a perfect peace might bee established.

They likewise hoped, that touching the reformed religion, some order would before that time haue beene taken by the generall estates, which by many hinderances had beene put off, and chiefly by the meanes and practises of the enemy, or else by some that hoped (the enemy being ouercome) once againe to roast the Protestants at a fire: and therefore they desired that no credit might bee giuen vnto such men, as reiected the pacification of Gant, thinking that two religions could not bee maintayned in one kingdome, and that there could bee no securitie giuen to the spirituall
C persons: saying further; that the enemy had manifestly broken the pacification of Gant, and that for as much as it concerned the land, they might by common consent, breake, mitigate, expound, and declare the same, for the good of their natiue countrey, thereby to resist and with-stand the secret practises of the enemy, yet they desired that it might not bee broken, but that rather according to the contents thereof, the point concerning the free exercise of their religion, might bee discided by the generall estates. Shewing further by their request, that two religions might well bee indured in one countrey, by examples of the first Christians and their Emperors: and after that in our times, permitted by foure Emperors, and by the Kings of France, Poland, the great Turke, and the King of Morocus, and others, yea and by the Pope
D himselfe, that permitted the Iewes to haue their Synaguogues. And touching the securitie for spirituall persons, they desired that the States would set downe an order for the same, and that they were ready according to their abilities to performe it, hoping that there would bee some Noble-men and Princes found, that would giue both their words and bonds for their good behauiors therein.

But for that they got no answer presently here-vnto, (in regard of the waightinesse of the cause) vpon the seauenth of Iuly, being foureteene dayes after, they gaue a second request, wherein they sought to satisfie certaine doubts, as if there were no securitie to bee found from the Protestants if they should graunt their request. And therefore that there should bee no alteration, they propounded and set downe, that
E in euery towne some of the Magistrates might bee appointed to take particuler knowledge of all oppressions and abuses, or certaine good Burgers, men of good name and fame, of both religions, equall in number, to whom should bee committed the inquiry and repayring of iniuries and wrongs offered on eyther side, both by word and deede: and that in euery Towne some of the principall Burgers, on both sides should answere for their parties; with promise that they should not protect nor defend the peace-breakers, but rather vse all the diligence they could, that they might bee punished.

And besides, that all Preachers, Elders, and Deacons, should likewise promise the same, as on the contrary side, the Priests, Deanes, Pastors, Vicars, and Treasurers
F of the Parishes should doe the like. That they would also faithfully promise and protest before GOD, not to practise to hurt nor trouble any of the Prelates or Spirituall persons (that make profession or shew of the Romish Catholicke religion) neither in their persons, goods, nor in the vse or exercise of their religion,

but

1578 but as much as in them lyeth to hinder the same. And that if it proceed so farre, that A
any such thing should bee pretended, and come vnto their knowledge, that they would
make it knowne vnto the Magistrate, that order might bee taken therein, as cause re-
quired. Where-vnto the chiefest persons amongst them, should make promise to per-
forme the same, in such places or townes where the free permision of the sayd religi-
on should bee granted, and in such number as they should thinke good: Once againe
promising, (according to the contents of the first request) to intreate some great
Lords or Princes, to giue their words for them, requiring the like of them, that made
profession of the contrary religion, desiring nothing else but to liue peaceably vnder
the protection of their Magistrates, and that the breakers of the common peace
might bee punished. B

To pacifie and satisfie the people touching this request, the Arche-duke *Mathias*, the
Prince of Orange, the counsell of Estate, and the generall estates, after long and ma-
The states re- ture deliberation, deuised a religious peace in Antwerp, for all such townes as would
solution tou- desire the same, the which did not in any sort contradict the pacification of Gant, so
ching a reli- that thereby the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, and Henault were not bound
gious peace. one vnto the other, but remained free & at liberty, amongst them, to do as they should
thinke conuenient, and that so likewise they of Holland and Zeeland might not attempt
any thing, in the other prouinces against the Catholicke Romish religion: and for
that the pacification tended onely to the driuing out of the Spaniards, and other
strange garrisons, they thought it a necessary peace, and politicke vnion, for that as C
then it was no time to trouble, molest, persecute, kill or murther one the other for
religion, while they had so great a warre in hand. Many and seuerall causes, (too
long to bee rehearsed,) mooued the sayd estates to yeeld there-vnto, as by the sayd
religious peace more at large appeareth, and for that cause I haue set it downe *ver-*
batim as it was deuised. Euery man apparantly knoweth, that the tyrranous procla-
The preface mations which had before beene made, touching religion, by the secret counsell, and
of the religi- practises of strangers, specially of the Spanish nation, with-out hearing the estates of
ous peace. the Netherlands once speake therein, and since that great rage and extremitie hath bin
showne for the vpholding of the same, which are the causes of all our present calami-
ties, for that by meanes thereof the priuileges, rights, and lawdable customes of the D
countrey, haue in some sort beene broken and troden vnder-foote, and in fine procu-
red a miserable warre, which is vndertaken by the enemies of our natiue countrey,
onely to bring vs into vtter ruine and slauerie: and for that there was no other reme-
die to withstand the same, but to bring all the Prouinces into one vnitie and accorde,
thereof proceeded the pacification of Gant, which after many and seuerall deliber-
ations and consultations taken therein, as well by the Bishops and Diuines, as by the
counsell of estate and others, from that time forward had beene approoued, confir-
med, and by publicke oth sworne vnto, not onely by the estates of all the Netherlands,
both spirituall and temporall, in generall and particuler, but also by *Don Iohn* of Au-
stria, in the name of the King, making an accord with the estates aforesayd, touch- E
ching the pacifying of the warre, and the auoyding of all other inconueniences: and
although wee hoped that in the obseruing of the same no faults would bee commit-
ted by the sayd *Don Iohn*, whose office specially was, (as beeing appointed to gouerne
and rule the sayd Netherlands) to haue holden and maintained the same in peace and
tranquillitie: neuer-the-lesse dooing the contrary, hee had broken the sayd pacifica-
tion in many points: and by diuerse meanes (contrary to his oth) made shewe hee
would not bee satisfied there-with, so that the afore-sayd warre is once againe renew-
ed by him, which hath for the preseruation of our naturall libertie and defence,
mutually to beare armes together, beeing thereby, and by meanes of the extremities
where-into the sayd warre, (as the mother of all disorders and insolencies) hath F
brought vs, forced to doe and permit diuers things that are preiudiciall to religion,
and the obedience due vnto his Maiestie, which wee otherwise neuer thought nor
pretended, and at this present cannot with-stand, as at diuerse times before the
beginning

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A begining of this warre, we haue protested both by letters, and Ambassadors sent vnto his Maiesty and also vnto the said *Don Iohn*. and although wee want neither will nor meanes, to procure our defence, not-with-standing for that the diuersity of the prouinces and of mens opinions, hinder the cause, it is to bee douted; that neither our good wills, nor yet our abilities, will preuaile vnlesse we proceed to a more strict and stronger band of amity, indissoluble accord and vnion; especially in the matter of religion, for considering, that not onely by reason of the warre, but also in regard of the inuitable frequentation, and conseruation of the marchants, and other inhabitants of the countries and Prouinces bordering vpon vs, as of France, England, Germany, and others, hauing the pretended reformed religion amongst them, the same religion hath for some 1578.
B time beene followed and maintained in diuers Prouinces of the Netherlands, so it is much to be feared that if the liberty and exercise of the same, as well as of the Romish religion bee not permitted, with a friendly accord and religious peace, (taking for example the countries of Germany and France who by that meanes haue ouercome all their troubles and liue in peace and quietnesse, whereas before they could not abide nor endure one the other, vsing all acts of hostility,) that for want thereof, great dangers, blood-sheading, and other inconueniences will ensewe, whereby our common enemy, (being within the countrie) shall haue meanes to worke his will: whereas to the contrary, by a peaceable vnion (being ioyned and vnited together) wee may defend our-selues against all inconueniences,
C and troubles.

All which wee hauing well considered, and specially, that the enemy feareth nothing more, then that hee should see vs once vnited in religion, and therefore seeketh (vnder pretence thereof) on all sides to hold and keepe vs in diuision, meaning neither to spare reformed nor Catholike what-so-euer, if hee may preuaile; hauing also considered, that they of the pretended reformed religion haue by diuers petitions instantly desired, that the free exercise thereof, might bee permitted vnto them, with and vnder such restraints and conditions as are conuenient; we for the common peace and quietnes of the country after mature deliberation therein taken, not onely with the deputies of the generall estates, but also particu-
D larly, hauing therein heard the aduice of the estates of euery Prouince, ordaine, and by these presents decree the articles ensewing, and that without any preiudice of the vnion of the Prouinces, the which need not to diuide them-selues one from the other by reason of this Edict, especially, for that no man is compelled to alter or change his religion, nor yet to accept the liberty of the contrarie religion, vnlesse hee thinke it good. The articles of the religious peace.

First that all wrongs and Iniuries, happened and done since the pacification of Gant; in regard of the religion, shall bee forgiuen and forgotten as if they had neuer happened, so that for them, no man shall bee called in question nor molested neither by order of lawe nor otherwise, nor any inquiry or serch made touching the same, vpon
E paine to bee punished as transgressors, and breakers of the peace, and perturbers of the common welth. And that the same, in regard of the diuersity of religion, may not be maintayned, vpholden a planted, nor suppressed by force of armes, nor any more contention nor question happen about the same, it is ordayned and decreed, that euery one, touching the said two religions, may liue in freedome of conscience, as he will answer before God for the same; in such sort, that they shall not trouble one the other, but that euery man, both spirituall and temporall, shall peaceably and quietly hold and enioy his owne goods, and serue God according to the knowledge wherewith hee hath indowed him, and as hee will answer before GOD at the latter day, which shall continew in this sort, and vntill such time, as that
F both parts being heard speake for them-selues, by a generall or nationall counsell it shall bee otherwise ordred and determined.

And to the end, that the afore-said libertie of conscience in religion, may be vsed and obserued with conuenient & tolerable conditions, for the quietnes, and saffety of either part, it is ordained that from henceforth the Catholike and Romish Religion shall bee

restablished

1578 reestablished and set vp againe, not onely in the townes of Holland and Zeeland, but A
in all other townes and places of the Netherlands, wherein it was put downe, there
to be peaceably and freely exercised without any trouble, or molestation giuen or
procured vnto those that desire to follow the same, so they be not lesse then a hundred
households in euery great towne or vilage, such as haue dwelt and inhabited therein
at the least for the space of a whole yeare, and in the small townes and villages,
the most part of the inhabitants to bee of a yeares standing. And that also, the afore-
said reformed Religion, shall and may hencefore bee freely exercised and vsed in euery
towne and place of the Netherlands, whereas it shall bee desired or required by the in-
habitants of the same, being in nomber as afore-said. Alwaies prouided, that both
they of the one, and the other religion, shall present them-selues before the magistrate, B
where they shall seeke to haue the excercise of their said religion, who presently shall
appoint them a conuenient place for the same, that is in Holland and Zeeland, for them
of the old religion, such Churches and chappels, as shall be found to be fit & conuenient,
and for want of them, certaine places where they vsed to stand, where the said Catho-
likes may cause their chapell or church to bee newly erected, and in other prouinces,
for the reformed religion such conuenient places, as the Magistrates shall giue and ap-
point them, so that they be a good way distant from the Catholike Church, if it be pos-
sible, to the end that by reason of the neerenes of the places, there may no question nor
strife arise, as it is many times seene to fall out.

In which places, euery one of them, shall and may doe, hold, heare, and celebrate, C
their Godly ceremonies, as Preaching, Praying, Singing, Baptizing, Sacraments, Buri-
alles, Mariages, Schooles, and all other things respectiuely belonging to there seuerall
religions. And where the aforesaid exercise of the reformed religion is not don open-
ly, no man shall bee once spoken vnto; nor brought in question for the same in any man-
ner, for any thing that hee shall doe concerning the same within his owne house. Ex-
pressely forbidding vpon the paine aforesaid, both they of the one and the other reli-
gion, of what estate or quality soeuer they be, not to trouble nor molest one the other
by word or deed, in the exercise of their respectiue religion, and the circumstances there-
of, neither yet to scandalize or mocke one the other. But that euery man shall abstaine
and refraine to come to the place, where other religion then his owne is exercised and D
taught, vnlesse he abstaine from cõmitting any scandale or offence, & gouerneth himselfe
according to the rules, and orders of the said Church and temple, whervnto he shall goe
vpon paine as aforesaid. That all monkes, religious, and other ecclesiasticall persons,
shall and may freely, vse all their goods, tithes, and other dewties belonging vnto them,
without any molestation or hinderance whatsoeuer. And this, without any preiudice
to the Prouinces of Holland and Zeeland, who touching the spirituall goods, shall take
such order, as is set downe in the twenty two article of the aforesaid pacifications of
Gaunt, vntill it shall bee otherwise prouided by the generall estates; and to auoyd all
prouocations to anger and other questions, it is expressly forbidden to make signe, or
openly to set forth any flouting, iniurious ballates, songs, rimes, libels or scandalous E
writings, neither yet to print or sell them, on either side.

It is likewise forbidden to all preachers, lecturers, and others, of what religion
soeuer they be, that are to speake or preach openly, to vse any speech or proposition ten-
ding to vprore or sedition, but shall behaue them-selues indifferently and modestly,
saying or speaking nothing else, but that only which tendeth to the instruction and edi-
fication of their audience, vpon paine aforesaid. Forbidding likewise, (vpon like paine)
all soldiers of what religon soeuer they be, to beare any signes, tokens or showes where-
by they might moue or stirre each other to strife or contention. That they of the
afore-saide reformed religion both in Holland and Zeeland and elsse where should
bee bound, to obserue the lawes and customes of the Catholike Church, touching F
Marriages allready made, and which there-after should bee made, in respect of
the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, and that touching the mariages as now
done in the third and fourth degree, they of the said religion shall not bee molested
nor troubled for the same, nor the validitie of the said Marriages brought in question

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A or doubt, neither yet denied, nor with-held from the children produced, or to be pro- 1578.
duced of the ſayd mariage. Prouided alwayes, that the ſpirituall affinitie ſhall not hinder ſuch mariages, and that there ſhall bee no diſtinction nor more difference made, touching religion in the receiuing of Schollers, ſicke or poore perſons, into the Vniuerſities, Colledges, Schooles, and Hoſpitalls, then there is to receiue them into publicke Almes-houſes, and other charitable places.

That they of the religion out of Holland and Zeeland, ſhould bee bound to keepe and obſerue the feſtiuall dayes, ordained and kept in the Catholick Romiſh church, as Sondayes, Fayre dayes, the feaſts of the Apoſtles, of the Anunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, the Aſcention of Chriſt, Candlemas day, and the Sacrament dayes, and
B ſhall neither worke, open their ſhops, nor buye nor ſell vpon the ſame. That alſo vpon ſuch dayes, as by the ſayd Church it is forbidden to eate fleſh, the Butchers houſes and the ſhambles ſhall bee ſhut vp, and euery man ſhall behaue himſelfe according to the ordinances of euery place. And the better to vnite all the inhabitants of the Netherlands, wee declare, that both the one and the other of each religion, ſhall bee capeable, beeing fitte to bee imployed, to hold, vſe, and exerciſe all manner of offices and ſtates, as well of Iuſtice as otherwiſe: neither ſhall they of the ſayd reformed religion, bee forced to take any other oth, nor bound vnto any other duties, then well and truly to exerciſe their office and function, and to keepe and obſerue the ordinances appointed for the ſame. And for that the adminiſtration of Iuſtice is one of the principaleſt
C meanes to keepe and maintaine the ſubiects in peace and vnitie, and that the ſame, by meanes of the diuerſitie of religion, and other wayes, is troden vnder-foote in many places, to the great oppreſſion and iniury of the innocent, and others ſeeking and deſiring iuſtice. Therefore to preuent all ſlanders (at this day too much raigning) it is commanded and forbidden vpon paine aforeſayd, vnto all Iudges, Magiſtrates, and particuler perſons, from hence-forth not to apprehend nor lay hold vpon any man, without obſeruing three accuſtomed wayes; that is, in the deed doing, or by order from the Iudge, vpon lawfull information before giuen, or where the party plaintife appeareth, and giueth due information by writing. And that the perſons, being by any
D of the three meanes aforeſayd apprehended, ſhall preſently bee deliuered into the hands of his or their competent Iudge, there to bee iudged and ordered touching his cauſe or offence, as equitie requireth. And to the end that all bad humors in the common-wealth may bee purged and rooted out, euery man is permitted, without any perticuler intereſt to accuſe one the other, ſo it bee done by due information, and before a competent Iudge, that ſhall be bound within eight dayes after or before, according to the cuſtome of the place, to doe the party accuſed right and iuſtice, and therein to proceed with all diligence, either to condemne or diſcharge him, as he in iuſtice ſhall finde it requiſite and conuenient.

And yet it ſhall not bee lawfull, for any man to ſlander an other, without cauſe or
E reaſon, neither yet to bring his name or fame in queſtion, or to back-bite him vpon paine aforeſaid. And touching the execution both of ciuill and criminall iuſtice, to giue euery man reaſonable contentment, it is ordayned, that from hence-forth all the offices of the Magiſtrates of the perticuler Townes, Villages, and Lordſhips of the Netherlands, ſhall bee executed by men of the beſt qualitie, and ſuch as are fauourers and louers of their native countrey, without diſtinction of religion. Which Magiſtrates ſhall onely deale with the cauſes of Iuſtice, policie, or gouernment of the Townes and places where they are appointed in ſuch caſes to bee reſident. Without any trouble, moleſtation, let, or impeachment to bee done vnto them by any man whatſoeuer, neither yet ſhall any ſeeme to meddle there-with in any ſort whatſoeuer. And when as the Magiſtrates ſhall be renewed and new choſen, thoſe that are
F called the eightcene or otherwiſe, which were put in their places, in greater or ſmaler number, ſhall bee wholy left of, with expreſſe command, not to deale any more therein, nor to trouble themſelues with the publicke affaires, nor with the fortifications and watches of the townes, vnleſſe they ſhall bee ſpecially appointed and choſen therevnto by the Magiſtrates aforeſaid.

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1578. And that touching the same, they shall therein giue no commission nor command A
that is of any importance, but by fore-passed knowledge of the Magistrates of the
Townes wherein they remaine, and by their expresse Commission, vpon paine as
aforesaid. And that this our Edict may the easilier and the better bee obserued and
kept, the Committies and other Deputies, or such as haue power to renew the Magi-
strates, shall nominate and appoint foure notable and sufficient persons, of good qua-
lities and behauiours, at all times to bee ready, and that without request made by any
man, to inquire about the defects and breaches of the aforesayd Edict, which informa-
tion by them taken and put in writing, beeing signed by three of them, shall presen-
tlie bee deliuered vnto the Magistrate, to take knowledge thereof, and there-vpon to
proceed by speedy iustice and execution of the paines aforesayd, against the breakers B
and suppressers of the same. Alwayes prouided that the offices of the sayd foure per-
sons shall not continue aboue the space of a whole yeare, and that they shall bee
likewise renewed and altered with the Magistrates. Giuen in Antwerp the two and
twentith of Iuly 1578. As this religious peace was a remedie and medicine for ma-
ny Townes, so did it likewise serue such as were ill affected and troublesome, to moue
and stirre vp strife and contention in some Townes and Prouinces, which otherwise
likewise were not very well pleased nor contented, as here-after I will show.

In Antwerp, Brussels, Mechelen, Bergen, Breda, Liere, Bruges, Ipre, &c. as also in
Friseland, Gelderland, and other Prouinces and Townes, it gaue great contentment,
and in those places those of the reformed religion had Churches appointed for them, C
euery Towne according to their affections; the one sooner, the other later. In Ant-
werp, they appointed those of the reformed religion, to preach in the Chappell be-
longing to the Castle called the *Mozbite*, the *Iesuites* Church, the Fryers Churches,
the *Dominican* or preaching Fryers, and Saint *Andrews* Church, and after that also in
the great Church of our Lady, and Saint *Iames* Church, they of the Catholike reli-
gion keeping the Quiers and Chappels, and part of the great Church for themselues.
The sayd Churches beeing deuided amongst the French-men and the Netherlands,
that were of the religion, Saint *Georges* Church, and the Nunnes Church, with other
places, were appointed for them of the confession of Ausbourge, as making profession
of the reformed religion, with the *Swinglians* & *Caluinists*, and agreeing in the points D
thereof, and with them (as they said) lesse varrying then the Monckes and Friers do, as
in the ceremonies of the Church, and in the exposition of the words of Christ, about
the ordaining of the Sacrament, both sufficiently tending to the declaration of the true
effect of the fruits or end wherevnto it was ordained, for the which all louers of peace
and vnitie did not much contend. They had likewise their Churches in Brussels, and
many other places more:

The Gentle-men in Brus-sels present a request against the religious peace.

In Brussels the Lords of Champigni and Heze, the Marquis of Bergen, the Lord of
Fassigen, and the Lord of Glymes, with others, presented a request, to hinder the reli-
gious peace in that place, and that the Protestants might not preach there, alledging
that it was a principall towne whereas the Princes of the land were commonly resi- E
dent; saying, That thereby the sayd Towne might bee in hazard to loose the sayd pri-
uileges, and spake very boldly touching their former seruices; saying, that they had
charge from the councell of estate, and the generall estates, to resist and with-stand the
reformed religion, and that they ought not to suffer any alteration for seauen or eight
hundred mens opinions, but being discouered, they did it of their owne authority, the
Bourgers opposed themselues against them, whereby they were much hated of the
people, and the Lord of Champigni (notwithstanding his former seruices) was with the

Champigni committed to prison.

rest by Golonell *Vanden Temple* apprehended and committed to prison, and the better
to be kept (as being found culpable of the same action, for the which the Lords were
committed in Gant) hee was by meanes of some of the Bourgers sent to Gant, to the F
other prisoners, the rest beeing released againe in Brussels. At Dorineke, Ryssell, and
other Townes and places in the Wallon Prouinces, they began likewise to take order,
to receiue and allowe of the religious peace, but by reason of certaine things that
fell out, (which shall here-after bee showed) it was as then hindered.

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A The Duke *Iohn Caſimire*, hauing at an Imperiall dyet at Wormes, offered vnto the Deputies of the generall Eſtates, to come and ſuccour them with ſome troupes: after that hee had muſtred his men in the Countie of Zutphen, being ſeauen thouſand foote (whereof there were foure thouſand French ſhot) and ſixe thouſand horſe, remaining ſome time in the Campe before Deuenter, the which was all that time beſieged, hee came into Brabant; and the ſixe and twentith of Auguſt ioyned with the ſtates armie: whereas the Arch-duke *Mathias* went to receiue and welcome him, with all the militarie duties accuſtomed at the reception of a generall of an Armie that comes to ſuccour. He had before ſtayed long with his forces in the Dutchie of Gelders, and had much trouble before hee could make them to paſſe the riuer of Meuze, for want B of money, which the States could not furniſh by reaſon of the Ganthois tumult, and the diſcontentments of the Wallons, which hindered the contribution of the Prouinces, to pay the ſtates armie, the which with that of *Caſimires*, coſt monethly eight hundred thouſand Florins. In which payment Arthois and Henault were the firſt, which breaking their promiſe with the other Prouinces, made default. Thoſe of Flanders did not in like manner furniſh any thing, or very little, vnder coulour that they were to defend themſelues againſt the male-contents: although for their parts they were to pay the third of all the charges of the armie: Arthois and Henault either of them an eight part, from whence nothing came: ſo as in ſixe moneths the other voluntary Prouinces could not furniſh aboue foure hundred thouſand Florins, the which C was farre ſhort of the reckoning. Wherefore this goodly armie muſt of neceſſitie bee thus poorely diſperſed, as it was, and the States runne more in debt, as well to Duke *Caſimire*, as to the Duke of Aniou, and to their owne men. In the meane time the Prelates and Noblemen of Friſeland that were kept priſoners at Leeuwarden, as wee haue ſhewed before, ſeeing that for no commandement of their Superiors; as of the Arch-duke *Mathias* gouernor; of the Prince of Orange his Lieutenant; of the councell of State, nor for any Commiſſioners that were ſent vnto them, their detainers would ſet them at libertie, they found meanes to eſcape all out of priſon the ſeuenteene of September, except three Prelats, and three Gentlemen, who would not hazard themſelues to bee ſurpriſed in their flight and for feare to bee brought backe D againe in diſgrace.

1578. Duke Caſimires armie.

The Prelates and Nobles priſoners in Friſeland eſcape.

On the other ſide, in Arras the chiefe towne of Arthois, certaine young aduocates (whoſe names I conceale for their credits, ſome of them being allyed vnto me) vnder coulour to bee reputed good and zealous countrey-men, beeing through fauour of their places, and Captaines of the Bourguers (whereby they were armed) brought in contrary to the accuſtomed order, on the eeue of all Saints 1577. in the election of Aldermen, adioyning the Magiſtracie although incompatible with the Captaineſhip: yet fauoured and applauded by the people, for the good opinion and hope which they had conceiued of them, that they would maintaine the common-weale in the vnion of the generall Eſtates. Yet ſome of them hauing beene the mo- Secret practiſes in Arras. E tiue to draw from Antwerp to Arras Captaine *Ambroſe le Duke*, to whome was gi- uen the place of Sargiant Maior of fiueteene companies of Bourguers within the Towne, with a Cornet of fiftie horſe, and a hundred foote to Captaine *Galé* his ſonne in lawe, leuied for the ſafetie and preſeruation of the Towne: yet ſoone after theſe men ſuffered themſelues to bee corrupted by the flattering of the Lord of Capres, Gouernor in particuler of Arras and of the Citty, and Lieutenant to the Vicont of Gant Gouernor of Arthois during his abſence at the Campe, and by the penſions and promiſes of Prelates. Whereof the Arch-duke beeing well informed, and conſidering of what importance the diſiunction of this Prouince from the generalitie might bee in time (the ſayd Towne of Arras and Citty, beeing ſufficient to keepe F all the other Townes of Arthois in the vnion) if it were not preuented, and if they did not diſappoint the ſecret practiſes and dooings of the ſayd Prelates, and of *Capres*, who couertly ſought to ſupplant the Vicont of the generall gouernment of Arthois. Of which Prelates, and of ſome others tending to the ſayd diſiunction, Diuers committed to priſon in Arras. ſome were committed to priſon by the ſuſpitious Bourguers: Among the which was

1578. *Dampt Iean Sarazin* Abbot of Saint *Vaast* in Arras, the keeper of his graine, the Signior of *Valhuon* his great Bayliffe, *Gerard de Vos* Signior of Beaupere Lieutenant ciuill in the Towne. *Iames de Lattre* Aduocate to the Lord of Capres, the Chanoine *Merline*, the Signior of Warluzel, the Signior of Comtee, and *Eſwatines* ſonne in lawe to the Signior of Naues Preſident of Arthois: the Deputies of the Towne of Saint Omer (beeing then reſident in Arras) the Councellor of the Towne, the Regiſter of the States of Arthois, the Proctor *Pinchon*, and diuers others of qualitie, all ſuſpected to bee ill affected to the generall vnion. A

This I ſay, made the Arch-duke to ordaine (the which hee did afterwards reiterate by expreſſe charge and commandement to Capres Gouernor and Magiſtrate of the ſayd Towne) to haue a Colledge erected of fifteene of the quieteſt and wiſeſt Bourguers of the Towne, which ſhould bee elected and choſen out of their fifteene companies of Bourgers, three to bee named in euery company, and the moſt capable and ſufficient of the three to bee choſen, to haue the priuate charge, and to watche for the publicke good for all inconueniences that might happen, as well by factions and practiſes, as otherwiſe in all occurrents. To the which were named maiſter *Robert Bertoul* Signior of Halenges, Maiſter *Nicholas Goſſon* a great Lawyer, *William Caulier* Signior of Belacourt, Maiſter *Peter Bertoul* Signior of Bois Bernard. *Iames Moullot* a Bachelor of the Lawes: *Iames Caffart* Receiuer to the Vicont of Gant, *Robert Vaſſal*, *Nicholas Denis*, *Louis Roche*, *Iohn Widebien* Signior of Iumelle, *Iohn Pottier*, *Morand Campe*, *Sebaſtien Chocquet*, *Vincent Flamen*, and *Robert Penin* a Proctor. The election of all which fifteene aboue named, was done in the end to the great greeſe and diſcontent of the Lord of Capres and the Magiſtrates, who could not contradict it, nor delay the election any longer. But they did not ceaſe afterwards to giue vnto the ſayd Elect (whome they called the Deputies of the Bourgeſie) all the croſſes they could, for that they had obteyned a Collegiall chamber in the State-houſe: detracting and ſlandering them in all ſorts, although they did not meddle any thing with the pollitike gouernement, nor vſurpe any of the Magiſtrates authoritie, nor of the Gouernors (vnderſtanding this charge freely, and without any fee) the ſayd Gouernor and Magiſtrates ſeeking onely to make them odious to the Bourguers, that they might be rid of them vpon the firſt occaſion. B C D

The names of fifteene Deputies in Arras.

Not-with-ſtanding theſe fifteene Deputies, as well in priuate as in open aſſembly of the Bourguers, labouring continually to maintaine the vnion of the towne, repreſenting the great inconueniences which did hang ouer the countrey of Arthois, if they ſhould bee at any time ſo miſerable, as to diſioyne them-ſelues from their ancient good neighbours and confederate countrey-men, the Flemmings and Brabanders, beeing as it were allyed to Arthois, from whome they had receiued ſo many benefits, yea that of hoſpitalitie, with all good vſage and courteſie, when as during the warres againſt the French, they had beene often-times forced to flye vnto them. The ſayd fifteene producing many re-markeable examples of former times to confirme them. E

In the meane time the Signior of Capres, and the young Magiſtrates, hauing their firſt heate of zeale to their countrey cooled, whereby their ambition had mounted to the higheſt degree, one being become Penſioner to the Abbot of Saint *Vaaſt*, & another to the ſaid Gouernor & other kinſmen fauorers and allies to the ſaid *William le Vaſſeur*, began to giue eare to them that practiſed this diſvnion. By whoſe perſwaſion the chiefe of Arthois made diuerſe aſſemblies in the Bourough of Secli, at Beaufort in the Abbey of Mont Saint Eloy, and in other places, where as ſome of theſe young Aldermen aſſiſted, to ſecond them that did ſo much affect the diſiunction of this Prouince, ſome-times writing to the Townes of Lille, Douay, Mons, and others, to bring them to their bowe. But not-with-ſtanding all the aduertiſements which theſe fifteene Deputies gaue in vaine to the Arch-duke and the States, that they might preuent it: for that the Vicont of Gant, Gouernor generall of Arthois, then well affected vnto them, remained in the Armie, beeing Generall of the horſe, and therefore was for the moſt part abſent from Arras. F

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A The Signior of Capres his partisans and the magistrats proceeding on still in their des- 1578
signs, had so aduanced their affaires as they held themselues assured of Bethune, Saint *Omer*, Aire, Hesdin and other places, nothing remayning more but Arras, where there were so many opponents and so cleere sighted as it was impossible for them to execute their practises, if they did not first supplant and displace these fifteene contradicting deputies; and the Captaines *Ambrose*, and *Gele*, for the better effecting whereof they appointed a generall assembly of the States of Arthois on the twelfth of October in the towne of Bethune (against all ancient custome) in the which it was resolued and decreed to free them-selues of the said fifteene, at what rate soeuer, which resolution was soone after discouered, by the chaines that were newly drawne crosse the street vpon all
B the passages to the little market place of Arras, none being so simple, but by this innouation he might foresee some strange apparent tumult. And the fryday following being the seauenteene of the moneth, the Magistrats hauing called all the Bourguers to the towne house, they set the sworne company of Harquebuziers in gard extraordinarily vnder the State house, the which was not lesse strong then the other companies together.

The States of Arthois held extraordinarily.

This confirmed euery man in the apprehention which hee had formerly conceiued of some future broyles, and did so alter the mindes of some of the most zealous to the good of their country, who had a promise to bee seconded by captaine *Ambrose* and his horsemen; as about noone they came with a resolution and forced
C this gard of the sworne band, without any effusion of bloud, but onely of two or three that were hurt, and in this heat they mounted vp into the State house, and seazed vpon all the Maigistrates in the councell chamber, whereas a great nomber of the Bourguers were assembled, but made no opposition, so as (without wrong or violence done to any of them) they were deteyned (except three or foure of the most simple, who at the intreaty of the fifteene deputies were presently let goe) fower daies, vntill the twenty one of the moneth, during which time the most resolute and best affected of these fifteene, in the absence of *Iohn Caffart* their companion (who was then in Antwerp with the Arch duke and the councell of State, to take direction what was to be done in the like troubles) were Mediators to reconcile the
D Magistrate with the Bourguers that were thus transported, expecting the comming of commissioners, which the said *Caffart* had required to bee sent from the Court to Arras. The which being long delayed, the Prouinciall councell of *Arthois* beholding this confusion with greefe, hauing by promises and faire words wone Captaine *Ambrose* his cornet and cheefe officers, together with Captaine *Gele* and his company, they preuayled so by the faudur of some, and by the respect of their authoritie, many Bourguers being in armes (*Ambrose* and his men remayning spectators) as they with enseigns displaied came vnto the towne house (not without danger of a great slaughter of the cittizens of either part) and set the Magistrats at liberty by force.

The Magistrats of Arras seazed on.

E The party of those that were well affected to their country, seeing them-selues abandoned by the horsemen, and Captaine *Gele's* company of foote durst not stirre, the Magistrats were desirous to be reuenged for this iniury: the Gouernor *Capres* being then absent returned hastily to Arras, and ioyned with them, being glad of this alteration; setting vp a gibbet before the towne house: they seazed vpon a notable Bourguier, called *Valentin Moulus*, whome they committed to the Arcenall of the towne, and there caused him to bee hanged: they depos'd the fifteene Deputies from their places, they apprehend *Allard Crugeot* an Aduocate, and *Peter Bertout* one of the fifteene; a man of seuentie yeares of age, they make their processe with all diligence, and the three and twentie day at night caused them to be hanged by torch
F light. And in the meane time the seditious Preachers did Preach and storme in their pulpits, that religion went to wracke, that all good order and pollicy, with the lawes and priuiledges of the country went to ruine, that the Pacification of Gant was broken by the Ganthois them-selues: that all accords and confederations betwixt them, the Flemings and other Prouinces were of no force and they freed

The Magistrats of Arras inlarged reueng them-selues.

1578. and discharged from the bond and oth of association, Maister *Nicholas Gosson* a learned Gentleman and a great lawyer, being seauenty two yeres old, from whome the Citty of Arras had (by his learning and sound Iudgement) drawne so many seruices for the publike good, yea in the time of the duke of Alua, was kept prisoner for the respect they had of him and for his great age in the towne house, for that hee had giuen his aduise (being required to speake) that it was not fit in any sort to disioyne themselues from the Flemings, not so much in regard of the oth of the vnion, as for the great profit and commodities they had alwaies drawne from Flanders and Brabant, by reason of their proximity and neighbourhood to Arthois, by which Prouinces they had beene receiued and courteously entertained during the warres against the French, whether sometimes they had beene forced to fly: giuing them therein both sound and holesome councell, with as many pregnant reasons as hee could possible produce to cut of this monster of disiunction, which was afterwards the cause of so many miseries throughout all the Netherlands, for which councell (if they had followed it) both the towne of Arras and the whole countrey of Arthois had beene for euer bound vnto him. A B

But contrary-wise thereby to begin to shew forth this monster, on Sater-day the fiue and twenty of October, the Seignior of Gosson being in his bed, they caused him to rise, and arraigned him, accusing him (for this good councell which hee had giuen them) to be the Author of sedition, tumults and popular mutines, and a troubler of the publike peace, he who was a man so decaied and decrepit as he came not out of his study, where hee herd all consultations and gaue his aduise, hauing traueled much for the common weale as well by writings (the which are yet extant) as other-wise, and by these accusations, not-with-standing all his obtestations, exclamations, protestations and recusations, they condemned him to loose his head, from whence hee appealed to the councell of Arthois, who confirmed this sentence sodenly, the which was so hastely pourfued, as his processe was begon and ended, two appellations determined, and the sentence put in execution, betwixt one and two of the clocke of Sonday morning, and all was dispadht with such celeritie, as there was but seuen howers space from the beginning of the processe to his execution. A very extraordinary thing and of bad example for such a person. C D

The Seignior of Gosson behadded in Arras.

Afterwards they seazed vpon one *Moriand Camp* one of the fifteene, whome after they had kept languishing sixe monethes in prison, they caused to bee hanged the very day that their disiunction was concluded in the Abbay of Saint *Vaast*. The rest of the fifteene Deputies reconciled themselues with the Magistrats. *Iohn Caffart* and one other which could not bee taken, and without doubt had beene executed, were banished and their goods forfeited against the preuiledges of the citty. Many good Bourguers were vsed in the like sort, which had beene noted to be forward in this trouble. And thus was the disiunction of the Prouinces of Arthois, Henault, Lille, Douay and Orchies made; Arthois hauing led the daunce, as wee shall hereafter shew more at large. The Ganthois to suppresse the roads and spoyles of the Malcontents of Menin, leauied at that time some troupes for their defence, with the which they did sometimes charge these mutined Wallons, saying that *Don Iohn* hauing beene the first breaker of the Pacification of Gant, and they so much oppresst by the Malcontents, they could not doe lesse then to stand vpon their gard, and incounter them that came to assayle them at their owne doores, without any cause or authority from their Soueraigne. They also called Duke *Iohn Casimire* to their ayde, whome *Iohn d'Inbise* cheefe Bourgue maister of Gant had set for of his priuate authority, (some would say that hee would gladly haue made him Earle of Flanders, but being a doubtfull thing I leaue it in suspence) whether hee went with some Cornets of Reistres vnknowne to the States. But hee profited little for his owne particular, and did lesse good for the States, but that hee receiued little lesse then a hundred and fifty thousand florins of his pay, from whence hee retyred soone after into Germany, discontented with the States. E F

Duke Casimire comes to Gant.

The

A The first daie of October, *Don Iohn* of Austria, bastard brother to the King of Spaine, 1578
Lieutenant and captaine generall of the Netherlands, died of the plague as some thought in the campe neere vnto Namur, a yong Prince full of high desseignes, proud and presumptuous, after that hee had by his dissembling (which hee could not so conceale but it burst forth) troubled the state of his King and Lord, and the affaires of the Netherlands more then euer. But others are of an opinion, that it was conceite and greefe, as it apeared by two of his letters, which were intercepted by Monsieur de Saint Leger, whereof the one was written vnto *Iohn Andrea Doria* Prince of Melfi, and the other to *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, Ambassador of Spaine, lying in Geneua, both bearing date in the campe a mile from Namur, the seauenteenth of September, in the
B yeare of our Lord 1578. wherein hee complained of the long delaies vsed in Spaine, touching that which should bee determined, about his affaires in the Netherlandes, and with what policie and patiencie hee was to arme himselfe to withstand the same, that he must of force suffer himselfe to bee inclosed by his enemies, which had almost stopped vp all his passages, in such sort, as hee should bee constrained to retire to the place, appointed him for his vttermost refuge, for that hee had no hope to fight, as beeing to weake, vnlesse he should forcibly make a passage through his enemies, and so escape awaie, and that whensouer hee should doe it, the King (who was the onely cause thereof) would be in danger to loose all the country: he complained further, that he had made a new motion vnto the King, that hee would take order what hee should doe, and
C his Maiesties pleasure should be obeied, and put in execution, but that he feared the remedy would come to late, for that neither his writing nor his meanes, preuailed not, saying, that both his hands beeing cut off, hee was fully perswaded that their meaning was, hee should likewise stretch out and lay downe his necke, and so desiring them to haue him in remembrance in their daylie praiers, he committed them to God. He that is desirous to know more hereof, may reade the booke of the sayd letters, printed by *William Silvius* in Antwerp, by which letters, (written not long before he died) it appeeres, what a troubled minde, and how much discontented he was, being yong, high minded and inconstant, yet wanting no iudgement, hee had great aduersaries in the Court of Spaine, as the adherents of the duke of Alua, who sought by his policy and great expe-
D rience to draw *Don Iohns* proceedings into dislike.

The death of Don Iohn of Austria.

From his youth vpwards hee alwaies sought to aspire to a Kingly estate, and to effect great matters, as it likewise appereth by a Spanish booke, made by *Anthonio Perez* Secretarie to the King of Spaine touching the death of *Iohn Escouedo*, Secretary to the aforesayd *Don Iohn* for the which the sayd *Anthonio Perez*, (after long imprisonment and persecution, and great vprores touching the same in Arragon, about the priueledges of the country, whereof the King tooke great reuenge) was forced to flie into France, and after that into England, and there staied. In the sayd booke it is shewed that *Don Iohns* minde was wholy addicted to aspire to high matters, and that the King of Spaine had apointed him a trusty Secretary called *Iohn de Soto*, who serued him well
E in the warres in Granado, and in his office of Admirall in the great victory against the Turkes, but while that *Don Iohn* was in Italie, the Pope was secretly delt withall, to make him King of Tunis, which the Kings secretary vnderstanding, and the motion beeing afterwards made by the Pope vnto him, the King thanked the Pope, for the great care, he had of his brother, but he denied the request, as being much mooued, and very iealious thereof, for that hee seemed to depend more vpon the Pope, then vpon him, suspecting his Secretary *Iohn Soto* to bee the cause thereof, and therefore tooke councell and agreed with *Anthonio Perez* his Secretarie, to deuise the meanes to place *Iohn Escouedo* to bee *Don Iohns* Secretarie, promooting *Soto* to a better place: and gaue *Escouedo* diuerse and perticular instructions, to pull downe *Don Iohns* haughty and
F proude minde, and to bridle the same, and so to amend that which *Soto* had neglected, but *Don Iohn* being sent for to bee gouernor in the lowe countries, pretended that as soone he should haue gotten the full charge and commande ouer the souldiers in the sayd countries, and setled the same in peace, that hee would enterpize some-

1578. what with them against England, (as it hath beene partly shewed) and there to put the Queene from her crowne, and to marry with the imprisoned Queene of Scots and so to make himselfe King of England, wherevnto hee had obtained leaue, and the name or title thereof from the Pope, with promise of aide, hee had likewise a secret practise and contract in France with the Duke of Guise and the league, which they named the defence of both the Kingdomes of Spaine and France, which the King also vnderstood by his Ambassador *Iohn Vargas*, *Don Iohn* not once perceiuing it, although hee caused his pretended enterprize against England to bee certified to the King by the Popes legate.

But that was broken off, for that the Estates in the Netherlands, beeing then in treaty of peace with *Don Iohn*, would by no meanes consent, that the Spaniards should goe out of the countrie by sea, whereby hee was preuented of his purpose, and perceiuing that in the Netherlands, by reason of the Estates good policie and foresight, there was no meanes or matter of great honour or dignitie to bee attained vnto, beeing desperately minded he sought secret meanes to bee discharged of the same gouernment, or els to haue so great a powre of men and money from the King as he might by force become maister thereof, or of some other place: whereby it apeared that hee would in a manner compell the King to follow his humor, as it is apparant by the letters aforesayd, and others also from *Escouedo*, and specially by one bearing date the tenth of February in the yeare of our Lord 1577. Wherein hee wrot that hee was so much out of conceite with himselfe that hee had failed of his enterprise against England, that with meere discouragement, hee was of the minde to be become an hermite: for that he could not finde in his heart to liue as hee had done to that daie; saying further, that rather then he would liue in that gouernment, (vnlesse it were vntill an other came to take his place) there should no resolution bee so hard and difficult vnto him, that hee would not sooner take in hand, although it should cost him his dearest bloud, insisting so earnestly vpon his discharge that he sayd hee would leaue it, either by faire or foule meanes, and that if hee were not discharged thereof, hee sayd, hee feared hee should fall into the sinne of disobedience, to shunne the sinne of dishonor, saying that hee had rather to goe take an aduenture into France, with sixe thousand foote and two thousand horsemen, then to staie in the gouernment of the Netherlands. These desperate and doubtfull speeches, mooued the King of Spaine verie much, and gaue him great occasions of distrust, when such things were secretly brought vnto his eares.

Remembring likewise some of the words he vsed before hee went into the Netherlands, saying, that whensoeuer hee was King of England, that then he would be equall with Spaine, especially if hee once got the entry into Saint Andrewes, and the castle, which is the frontire of Biskaie, and a fort vpon the rode called Megro, from whence all Spaine was to bee ouerrunne and vanquished. These and the like dealings with the Pope, and the Duke of Guise, beeing knowne vnto the King and some of his familiers, bred great suspition in the Kings minde the fault thereof beeing layd vpon *Escouedo* his Secretary; esteeming him to haue added more therevnto, then his commission was, and therefore, hee beeing sent into Spaine by *Don Iohn*, the King gaue expresse commandement that hee should bee staied there, and for that *Don Iohn* wrot so earnestly for money and for his secretary *Escouedo*, the aforesayd *Anthonio Perez* the Kings Secretary, had commission, to finde the meanes to kill him, as secretly as hee could, that *Don Iohn* might haue no suspition thereof, for that the sayd *Anthonio Perez* was the onelie man, that with the King, knewe all *Don Iohns* and *Escouedoes* proceedings, and two or three more, that were but partly made acquainted therewith, which *Perez* by his aforesaid booke acknowledgeth to haue done by the Kings commandement, vseing therein a certaine souldiar called *Gartia Durze*, and fiue or sixe others, who in an euening, as hee was going to his lodging, sodenly inclozed him about, and killed him as if there had bin some priuat quarell betweene him and them.

The death of this *Escouedo*, brought many iealousies into *Don Iohns* head, who finding

A finding himſelfe to bee charged with many limmited inſtructions, and commande- 1578.
ments from the King, hee became ſtill more and more diſtempered, whereby hee knewe not what to reſolue, as the aforeſayd letters declared, and therefore his ſuddaine death gaue men cauſe of great ſuſpition, that it was ſecretly procured, although that greefe and conceite haue more force in Princes haughtie and proude hearts, then in meaner perſons.

Don Iohn beeing dead in the armie, his bodie with great and ſtately pompe was borne into the Church at Namur, and from thence carried into Spaine, leauing his Lieutenant, *Alexander Farneze* Prince of Parma, gouernor in his place, that was afterwards inueſted with the ſame by the King himſelfe: this death of *Don Iohn*, fell out
B verie well for the Netherlands, conſidering the ſtate wherein they as then were, as I haue alreadie ſhewed.

ALEX.

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1578.

ALEXANDER FARNEZE DVKE OF Parma and Placentia, Lieutenant and Captaine *Generall for the King of Spaine.*



ALEXANDER FARNESIVS PARMÆ ET PLACEN: DVX GVBERN: ET CAP GENER: BELGICÆ.

Of all the Gouernors that in the Netherland,
(Wherof most were vnfit) did take their wars in hand,
I was the only man, that rul'd them prudently: (ously.
And longer then the all maintaind the wars cou-agi-
Like valiant champion, and had a most great care
My promise to fulfill: for such a royall minde I bare,
That neuer in my life vnto my enemie,
I falcified my word or faith, which was the cause that I
A good report obtain'd, which was my recompence,
Else gaind I nought, but for my paines was put to great (expence.

THE

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1578

The Argument of the eleuenth Booke.

ALexander Farneze *Prince of Parma Nephew by baſtardiſe to the King of Spaine, Sonne to his baſtard ſiſter, ſucceeded* Don Iohn *in the gouernment of the Netherlands: the Ganthois begin to mutine. The Prince of Orange is much troubled to reconcile them: the Duke of Anion retires into France. The building of the aſſunion of Arthois and Henault the which is concluded in the Prince of Parmas campe before Maſtricht: Whervpon they make a more ſtricter vnion at Vtrecht, betwixt the Prouinces which continue in the generality. The King of Spaine hinders the Emperor and ſome Princes of Germany from treating of an accord, and generall reconciliation, whereupon an aſſembly is made at Collogne, where they treat of it but in vaine, thoſe of Holland, Zeeland and their Aſſociats thinking it had beene only to circumuent them. Gant falls againe into troubles by the practiſes of* Imbiſe *the Burguemaſter, the which the Prince going thether in perſon doth pacefie by the abſence of* Imbiſe. *The taking of townes and ouerthrowes at that time of either part: the ſpeech and aduice of the Prince of Orange to the eſtates of the generall vnion: the ſtate of Friſeland and Groninghen. The Duke of Anion brother to the French King called for Protector, and partly Lord of the countries remayning in the vnion: the Archduke* Mathias *after thankes giuen him, retiers by reaſon of his inſufficiency: the King of Spaine proſcribes the Prince of Orange, & ſets his life to ſale: to euery point of which proſcription the Prince makes anſwere. The vnfortunate ſeege of the ſtates of Flanders before Inglemouſtier, defeated, and the ſignior of La Noue taken priſoner. Macklin and diuers other townes ſurprized by the States: the Prince of Conde comming from England into the Netherlands, is at Gant: the Prince of Parma makes a vaine enterprize vpon the ſayd towne, but not without great danger thereof: what paſt in Friſeland at that time: Stenwic beſeeged by the Spaniard, victualled and ſuccored by the States. The death of the Earle of Reneberg and what he was: the taking and retaking of townes of either part in Friſeland, Flanders and elſewhere: the Prince of Parma hauing long beſeeged and blockt vp the Citte of Cambray, the Duke of Anion comes in perſon to ſuccor it, and victuells it, the Spaniard refuſing to fight, whereas hee was receiued and acknowledged for Duke of Cambray and Cambreſis, the ſignior of Inchy remayning Gouernor of the towne and Cittadell in the ſayd Dukes name.*

ALEXANDER *Farneze* Prince of Parma, the ſonne of Duke *Octauio* and the Ladie *Marguerite* baſtard to the Emperor *Charles* the fift being the yeare before come into the Netherlands, ſucceeded after the death of *Don Iohn* of Auſtria in the gouernment of the ſayd countries, beeing before his Lieutenant: a Prince much more milde and temperate then the other; to whom the whole armie tooke their oth, and acknowledged for Gouernor in the campe neere vnto Namur. Yet through the death of *Don Iohn* the Spaniards affaires were ſomewhat croſt and hindred, for the duke of Aniou imbracing this occaſion, went to beſeege Bins in Henault, the which hee battred and gaue an aſſault, and although hee tooke it not at the firſt, yet in the end hee forced it, the Spaniards beeing to much troubled in their campe for the death of *Don Iohn*, ſo as they neither had meanes nor leiſure to ſuccor it, and when they would gladly haue done it, it was too late, for it was forced and taken by aſſault, the French killing all that they found armed, ſpoyling the towne and Churches, the which happened the ſeuenth of October.

Bins taken by the Duke of Anicu.

The ſame moneth the Ganthois meaning to build a fort in the Village of Lauwe a league from Menin, they ſent three hundred Prioners and Peſants, with ſome of their companies, to labour there. The Malcontents hearing that this fort vpon the riuer of Lys ſhould be a bridle vnto them, went & fell vpon theſe poore laborers and ſoldiers of Gant, whom they defeated, and cut ſome of them in peeces, & carried others priſoners to Menin: from thence they went to the village of Warneton, where there is a caſtle belonging to the Prince of Orange, betwixt Menin and Ypre, two leagues from the one & the other: a place very famous for the good cloth is made there, in the which there were two companies of the garriſon of Ypre, whom they charged, and for a longe time found

The Ganthois defeated.

good

1578. good resistance, but the Flemings not able any longer to endure their force fled some A
to the Castle others where they could, in which charge there died of either side about
three hundred men. Those in the castell yeelded the next day, being the seauen-teene,
departing without armes: the Bourrough after that it had beene spoyled was most
of it burnt: from whence these Malcontents carried great booty to Menin: and from
thence they went to doe the like to the towne and mount of Cassel in Flanders, where
there is also a Castle.

Some of the cheefe of the towne of Gant, among others the Seignior of Rihouen
great Baylife, moued at all these acts of Hostilitie of the Malcontents, and to bee reuen-
ged of their enemies drew forth of the towne the forth of October Maister *Iames Hes-*
Iames Hassel and visch hanged at Gant. *sel* in former times councellor of the councell of troubles in the Duke of Aluas time, B
and the baylife of Englemonere named *Visch*, whom they caused to be hanged on a tree
a quarter of a leage without the towne, without any forme of Iustice therin obserued: the
said *Hessel* had a long gray beard, the which was cut of, and the said Baylife ware it in his
hat for a triumphe, entring in this manner into the towne: the which afterwards (think-
king he had done a great peece of seruice, and that it would be an acceptable present) he
sent vnto the Prince of Orange, who would haue beene gladder such an insolency had
not beene committed, although that *Hessel* was a great enemy vnto him, hauing assisted
the Attorny generall to make the Princes processe. This act was much displeasing to
many good men, by reason of their manner of proceeding, although that these two
men were wicked, peruerse, cruell and odious to all the world: some iudging that these C
executions were done vpon spleene, others to be reuenged of the extraordinary exe-
cutions that were done in Arras, vpon the Seignior of *Gosson*, *Perseul*, *Crugiot*, and
others.

The Prince of Parma hauing taken vpon him the Gouernment of the country and
The Duke of Parma passeth the Meuse. of the King of Spaines army, past the riuer of Meuse neere vnto Ruremonde with all
his troupes in the beginning of Nouember, attending the returne of Duke Casimiers
Army. In passing, Collonell Mondragon with his Regiment of Wallons and Spaniards
seazed vpon the strong Castle of Carpen in the territory of Cologne, after that he
had battered it a whole day, he caused Captaine *Byel* to be hanged at the port, and six
The taking of Carpen. and thirty soldiers vpon trees, for that they would not yeeld when they were somoned, D
but would attend the fury of the canon. Then hauing taken Weert, Helmont, and Faul-
quemont he descended to goe to Eyndouen, and in like sort tooke the Castle of Grob-
bendoncq, where they slue all that were Netherlanders borne, but they saued the stran-
gers liues, especiall the french, at the intreaty of the Seignior of Serre, a French cap-
taine seruing the Spaniard, who retired them-selues into Herental, where at that time
the Seignior of La Noue remayned. The Arch-duke, the Prince of Orang and the
States considering that Duke *Casimirs* going to Gant had caused these bad impressions
in the Wallon Prouinces of Arthois Henaut, Lille &c. as if by the alliances made
with the Queene of England, the Duke of Anion and Duke *Casimire* (whome it see-
The States actions sinisterly interpreted. med the Flemings had sent for) they would haue dismembred all the Netherlands, E
and all vnder pretext of religion: they sought all good meanes to purge them that were
infected with these errors, and to pacifie the Malcontents, for that some nimble
spirits (among the which was *Valentine de Pardieu* Seignior of la Motte Gouernor
of Graueling es reconciled to *Don Iohn* before his death, the Seignior of Capres, some
prelats and others) interpreted sinisterly as tending to a dismembring, and so they
perswaded others that were not yet moued, where-vpon the Arch-duke and the
States appointed the Prince to goe into Flanders, who arriued at Dendermond the
twenty of Nouember, where hee entred to that end in conference with the Bour-
gue-maister *Imbise*, *Borlut* and others, as well Maisters of the companies, as cheefe of the
Bourguers, to whome the States had the fourth of Nouember according vnto their F
resolution of the twenty of October, sent an act, conteyning in summe, that they did
admit the free exercise of the Romish Religion throughout all Flanders; and the
enioying of their possessions and reuenewes to all them of the clergie of the sayd
Religion, vpon condition that for their parts they should liue peaceably and faithfully,

with

A without attempting any thing against the State, vpon paine of exemplary and rigo- 1579.
rous punishment, according to the which the Archduke, Prince and States, would Articles propounded to the Ganthois.
labour to draw the other Prouinces to consent and to accept of like liberty of religion: and that they should haue a care that the Nobility were not contemned, nor held in any other esteeme or ranke then was fitting for gentle-men. That no Prouinces were oppressed nor their iurisdictions broken: that good iustice should bee administred to the gentlemen that were prisoners at Gant, as soone as the strangers were retired out of the country: And in the meane time they should send the said prisoners with a good gard into a neuter place, to whome there should bee no violence nor outrage offered. Which Articles if the said Ganthois would
B accept and entertaine, they should bee receiued vnder the protection and common defence of the Archduke, the Prince and generals estates against any force that should bee offred them. And they would deale so as the Wallon soldiars and Malcontents should retire out of Flanders, and should ioyne themselues with the States army. But if the Ganthois refused to do it, they would seeke by all meanes to force and constraine them.

For the better perswading of them of Gant there came vnto them certaine depu- Deputies sent to the Ganthois.
ties from the magistrats and Collonels of the towne of Antwerp; who laid open be-
fore them, the oth sworne by them and the fruits thereof, how requisit and necessary
it was to haue it obserued in all points, to chase the enemy out of the country, or at
C the least to make him retire beeyond the riuer of Meuse. That without the contry-
bution of Flanders it was not possible to entertaine the army, the which otherwise
would breake and disperse to the ruine and desolation of Brabant, Flanders it selfe
and other prouinces. That Brabant being in a manner all deuowred and eaten vp, the
army must of necessity come into Flanders, which the Brabansons, should not be able to
ayd nor succor, seeing that all their meanes were ingaged to the generality for the
fower next moneths; wherein also the Geldrois could not assist them, seeing that for
the payment of nine monethes, they had alredy furnished, sixteene thousand florins,
being in danger of the enemy frontering vpon them. As for Friseland it was to farre
D from them, who also for their part, had (besides the said nine monethes) contributed,
twenty three thousand florins. They of Holland and Zeeland through their long
precedent warres, were quite exhaust and drawne dry, with the great charges where-
vnto they were subiect, for the reparation and entertaining of their dikes, so as at the
most they could not entertaine aboue twenty fiue or thirty companies for seruise. As for
them of Arthois and Henault, that they sought money from others to pay their
garrisons, and from whome they should rather feare a reuolt, then any good; where-
fore they of Antwerp did intreat the Ganthois, that (to shew themselues conformable
to the intention of the Archduke Prince and States) they would send some notable
summe of mony to court, to releeue their country, in this extreame necessity, besides
E the three or fore hundred thousand which they had furnished in nine months. The
tenth of Nouember the Duke of Aniou sent the Seignior of Boniuet to them of Offers made by the duke of Aniou to the Ganthois.
Gant, intreating them to remedy and reconcile their diuisions, for the pacefiing
whereof they could not choose a more competent iudge them himselfe, who sought
nothing more then to accord them with the Wallons Malecontents as hee had
formerly pacefied the troubles in France. And as for the prisoners, that they should
put them into his hands, with whome hee would deale, as by the common aduice
of all good countrymen, and especially of the Queene of England should bee held
iust and right.

The next day the comissioners of the Archduke, Prince and States, did exhibit
their commission to them of Gant, and propounded that which they had to saye vnto
F them, with a deduction of many pregnant reasons, and inconueniences that might The Queene of Englands declaration to the Ganthois.
growe, if they did not yeeld vnto the Articles which had beene offred vnto them. The
same day the Queene of Englands Embassador, according to her Maiesties letters
of the twelth of October and the sixt of Nouember, gaue them to vnderstand that by
their courses and manner of proceeding, they gaue occasion to all the world to thinke,

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1578. - that they ſought nothing more then to entertaine a mortall warre, whereof all their A
neighbours did ſo much deſire to ſee an end. That it ſeemed they would not ſubiect
themſelues to any ſuperiority or higher power, but would make a world by them-
ſelues, whereby ſome might bee eaſely moued to aſſiſt the States to force them to
obedience. That they ſhould bee carefull that for the appetit of ſome quarrells and
priuate intereſts, the good and welfaire of the generality were not indangered, to
fortefie the enemy, and to weaken their brethren and country-men, and of friends
that were ſtrangers to make them enemies. And although it was to bee preſumed that
Duke *Caſimir* being come to ſuccor the States by the meanes of the Queene of Eng-
land, had beene ſecretly called by them to ayde them, yet (ſaid the Ambaſſador (her
Maieſty found it very ſtrange. The which made her thinke, that all this trouble might B
be eaſely paccfied, if the Ganthois would conforme them-ſelues to the councell of the
Prince of Orange and the generall eſtates in three points: That is in the reſtitution of
Clergie goods that are yet *in eſſe*; in the ſuffring of liberty of religion, and to deliuer
into her maieſties hands (or of ſome other neuter Prince) the priſoners where they
ſhould bee kept with as good gard as the Ganthois could deſire: wherefore her Maieſ-
tie ſent them word that if therin they would not bee perſwaded and yeeld, they ſhould
giue her great cauſe not onely to bee a ſtranger vnto them, but alſo to abandon them
quite; wherefore they ſaid Ambaſſador intreated them, that they would duly conſider
and reſolue theron: Finally he required at their hands (in the Queenes name) a bond for
forty fiue thouſand pounds ſterling, conformable to them of Bruſſelles, Antwerp, C
Bruges, Middelbourg, Dordrect, Amſterdam, Dunkerke and Nieuport. The thirteene
Deputies from Bruſſelles to Gant. of Nouember they of Bruſſelles ſent their deputies alſo to Gant, to make the ſame
complaints and propoſitions which they of Antwerp had formerly done, with ſome
other reaſons tending to make them leaue of their partialities and factions, producing
many goodly examples at home of former times happened in the like occurrents.

Vnto all theſe propoſitions and aduiſes, of the Ambaſſador of England and the
Deputies of Antwerp and Bruſſelles, the Ganthois anſwered the eighteene of the
moneth. That they found not them-ſelues in any ſort bound vnto the Articles and
conditions that were propounded vnto them, vntill that their ſtipulations and promi-
The Ganthois anſwer to the articles propounded vnto them. ſes had beene firſt propounded vnto the Archduke, Prince, and Generall eſtates, and D
by them accepted: That is, that the Ganthois ſhould not bee bound to receiue the
Romiſh Relligion, or to performe any of the Articles, if firſt of all the Wallons and
Malcontents, did not deſiſt from all acts of hoſtylity, and retire out of Flanders. And
when the other Prouinces had receiued and admitted liberty of religion in effect, withall
the other points and Articles, they ſaid they would not ſequeſter nor diſmember them-
ſelues: but that they would acknowledge the Arch-duke as Gouernor generall, the
Prince of Orange his Lieutenant, and the generall eſtates in all humility as their ſuperi-
ors, and obey them in all Chriſtian and reaſonable commandements. And the rather
for that they with the other members of Flanders had conceiued a ſingular inclina-
tion and affection, in the adminiſtration of mylitary diſcipline, with a naturall loue to E
their country, and eſpecially to the profeſſion of the reformed religion, from the
which they proteſted they would neuer bee drawne, neither for life nor death:
and to acknoledge for euer the good and ſincere affections which the ſaid Prince
carried vnto his country, whereof he had giuen ſufficient teſtymony in the late warres.

This anſwer of the Ganthois being ſeene by the States did not greatly pleaſe them,
which was the cauſe of the Princes going (as we haue ſaid) to Denremond, and from
thence (after many conferences and contradictions) he came the 4. of december to Gant
Articles propounded to the Ganthois by the generall eſtats. where being arriued hee ſent for the deputies of the Magiſtrats of the towne to heare
his propoſitions and demands, conteyned in ſixe Articles. Firſt that they ſhould
accept the articles of the act, which they had formerly ſent vnto them touching F
the accord. Secondly that they ſhould not forſake the union of the generall eſtats, but
ſhould ioyntly ayde to maintaine it. Thirdly that in the affaires of the country, and of the
Conty of Flanders touching the generality, they ſhould not reſolue any thing with-
out the aduice and conſent of the 4. members of Flanders. Forthly, ſeeing that there was

noe

A no order ſet for the time to gather in the common mony, nor for the prouiding thereof; 1578
that there ſhould bee a certaine rule ſet downe, (to take away all ſuſpition) as well for the receit as the diſtribution of the generall contributions. Fiftly that the affayres concerning the gouernment of the towne and common-weale ſhould bee managed by common voices, without diſorder or confuſion, according to their preuiledges. Sixtly and laſtly that their ſhould bee publiſhed a lawe of amneſty, or forgetfullnes, to take away all doubts, and that euery man may bee the more aſſured and content, to the end that their hearts might be vnited, and mutuall loue entertained.

Theſe articles were approued by moſt of the Bourguers and Magiſtrats, who intreated the Prince that hee would perſwade the companies of trades, and the members of
B the towne there-vnto, that no man might make any difficulty; for as for that which they pretended that two religions could not ſubſiſt in one towne, that had beene ſufficiently diſcourſed of, in a petition touching liberty of religion, exhibited by the proteſtants themſelues in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, going before vnto the Archduke, Prince and States, by the which they craue nothing more, but that they might freely exerciſe their religion, which free exerciſe being allowed them of Gant, it was reaſon that therein they ſhould agree with the Romiſh Catholikes, whereby euery one might ſerue God according to his conſcience, and as he will anſwer at the day of Iudgment, for the helth of his ſoule. As for the tranſporting of the priſoners out of Gant,
C to Antwerp, or any other place where they pleaſed, that they ſhould make no further difficultie, ſeeing the towne drawes no proffit thereby, but only great charge and trouble to keep them, the which they were not reſolued to ſend into any neuter place, without good caution and fideiuſſory bonds. To induce the Ganthois therevnto, the Prince alledged vnto them firſt the duty wherevnto they were bound, the inconueniences that were like to growe if they were not vnited, the neighbourhood of the Wallons Malcontents, who practiſed a priuate reconciliation with the Spaniards; the oppreſſions which the leſſer townes of Flanders were forced to ſuffer to contribute beſides their ordinary taxes, to theſe wallons, ſo as they of Oudembourg had for a long time paid eighteene hundred florins a day. That the other members of Flan-
D ders would not depart from the obedience of the Archduke, the Prince and States: that the other Poruinces, as Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland, might abandon them in danger of their enemies, who would ſoone bring them vnder, to their totall ruine. In the end ſo many goodly perſwaſions and reaſons were made vnto them by the Prince and others well affected to their country, as the ſixteene of December they agreed, and the free exerciſe of the Romiſh Relligion was eſtabliſhed. By reaſon whereof certaine Churches were reſtored to the Catholikes for their deuotion and
ſeruice, and liberty to go in proceſſion within the Churches onely, and to carry the Sacrament in the ſtreets without bells or other ceremonies. The religious men were reſtored to their Cloiſters and couents, but if any would not returne by reaſon of their
E conſciences, then the Magiſtrats ſhould appoint them reaſonable maintenance. And that for the greater eaſe and releeſe of their poore, the foure orders of their begging friars ſhould be excluded: ſome other cloiſters and monaſteries were made Colledges and ſcholes for both religions: none of the ſaid religions might moleſt, diſquiet nor ſcandalize the other in word nor deed. The Proteſtants might not enter into any Church of the Romiſh Relligion if they would not behaue and gouerne themſelues as the reſt: vpon feſtiuall daies limited, none ſhould doe any worke publikly nor open any ſhoppe. In regard of opening of the butchery and ſelling of fleſh, therein, they ſhould obſerue the auncient Statutes and orders of the towne. The ſubiects of both relligions ſhould take an oth vnto their ſuperiors, to bee obedient, and to helpe to
F puniſh the wicked, eſpecially the breakers of this decree. And according to the ſame the Archduke Prince and States, ſhall hould them vnder their defence and protection. All commanders, collonels, captaines, and officers preſent & to come, ſhal ſwere to entertaine al theſe points and articles, as alſo the cheefe of trades and companies with the miniſters, thoſe of conſiſtories, clergimen, chapters, colledges and couents, ſhall alſo ſweare the ſame. As for the priſoners, not any thing was determined, but that nothing

The Princes reaſons to perſwade the Ganthois to Concord.

The Romiſh Religion eſtabliſhed in Gant vpon certaine conditions.

All things reconciled in Gant.

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1578 should be attempted against them without good knowledg of the cause. After this accord, the clergy-men returned euery one into the possession of his goods, dignities, Monasteries and Churches, but this good vnion continued not long, as we will show. A

All things being thus reformed in the towne of Gant, the Arch-duke, Prince and States thought it good to treat and make an agrement with the Malcontents and Wallons that were at Menin, wherein they imployed some noblemen and gentlemen, whome they knew to haue some credit and authority among them, with the best perswations they could deuise to pacifie them, and to draw them to some good accord. But nothing was effected, for those that were the cheefe motiues of their alterasions for the kings seruice (as they said) that is *Damp Iohn* Sarasin Abbot of Saint Vaast of Arras, the Seignior of Capres, *William* of Vasseur Seignor of *Valhuon* B and some others, tending to desiunction, as we haue said, alleding that by this liberty of Religion graunted by the former articles, the pacification of Gant and the vnion which had followed it, were violated, and were directly repugnant vnto them, whereby they began to discouer that these alterations of the Malcontents, sought some other subiect or collour, to disioyne them from the generality, then the payment of their entertainement which they had alwaies made great shew of. The Marquis of Haurec and the councellor Meerkerke were sent vnto them, but nothing preuayled, and this mischeefe so increased, as by little and little the said Abbot and others with the Seignior of *la Motte* woone sometimes one and sometimes an other.

The Malecontents treated withall but in vaine.

The vicont of Gant and the Earle of Lalain leane the States. And in the end the Vicont of Gant fearing to loose his gouernment of Arthois, C (which he knew the Seignior of Capres Gouernor of Arras did affect) ioyned with them: The Earle of Lalain gouernor of Henault, hauing suffered himselfe to bee perswaded, thought also to draw his Brother the Seneshall of Henault vnto them being afterwards Prince of Espinoy.

The Ganthois on the other side imputing all these actions of the Malecontents (where of the Seignior of Montigni Heze, Capres, la Motte and Alennes were the cheefe) to mere ambition, priuate profit, desire of rule, and hatred to the Protestants religion, and for their parts hauing tasted the sweetnes of ecclesiasticall goods which they had formerly seazed on, the which to fall to some agreement with the Malcontents, they had left, seeing the practises of these gentlemen to continue that moued D them to stirre vp the comons againe against the clergy, to breake and beat downe Images more then before, and their insolencie grew so great, as to breake vp tombes and to open the sepulkers of Princes, among others that of the Queene of Denmarke sister to the Emperor *Charles* the fift to haue the lead she was wrapt in, troubling the rest of the dead, who lay for a time vpon the pauement without sepulkers. Then they began to chase away all Preests, Monks and other Church-men, pretending that they had broken the last accord, in suffring Monkes to preach in their Churchs, whereas none but their Curats and Viccars should haue beene admitted. And in truth a Monke preaching sediciously in Saint *Michaels* Church was the cause of the first mutine. The like happened in march at Denremond and Oudenard, so as those E Townes fell into a greater Labirinth of troubles then before. The States armie being as wee haue saide, broken and dispersed of it selfe, and Duke *Casimiers* troupes feeding vpon the poore countrymen all the winter about Tillemont, and Arschot, attending their pay. The Prince of Parma marched into that quarter with his army, and began to treat with them to make them retire, so as in the end they had a pasport to depart out of the Netherlands within fifteene daies; robbing, spoyling and carrying away all they could lay hand on in the villages where they past, hauing no entry giuen them into any towne. Duke Casimire being at Flessinghes at his returne from England, hearing of the retreat of his troupes, followed them with all speed, taking no leaue of the Archduke nor of the States, being then assembled at F Antwerp: who hearing of the departure of his army, they sent after them intreating the collonels that they might retaine still in their pay two or three thousand men, horse and foote but being already vpon the way they would not returne, the regiment of *Lazarus Muller* did also retire.

The retreat of Duke Casimire and of his army.

The

A The Germains that were in Deuenter after that they had made as great resistance as they could, vnder the gouernment of the Seignior of Hauercourt a Bourguignon, and had held it from the end of Iuly to the twentith of Nouember, making many skirmishes, so as of 1200. men which they had, they were reduced to fiue hundred, after that the Towne had beene battred three daies togither by the earle of Rheneberg Gouernor of Freezland, seeing the assault readie to be giuen, they yeelded vpon composition to haue their liues and goodes saued. The first of December the Earle of Swaertzenbourgh (of whome wee haue made mention before) being Ambassador from the Emperor, presented him-selfe againe vnto the States, by aduise of the Emperor, and of some Princes Electors, vppon the last propositions and treatie of Peace, demanding an answer B thereof, with the which, for the desire he had to pacifie the warres, and to settle the Netherlands in peace, he transported him-selfe to the Prince of Parma, but they could not agree, so as it proued fruitlesse. 1578. Deuenter yeelded to the States. Cont Swartzenbergh pursues his legation.

The one and twentith of the Moneth *Maximillian* of Henin, Earle of Bossu, generall of the Sates Armie, Lord Steward to the Arch-duke *Mathias*, Councellor of State, being taken with a burning feuer, died in Antwerp, who was much lamented both of the Nobilitie, soldiers, and common people. The fiue and twentith day the Duke of Aniou, defender of the libertie of the Netherlands (as he tearmed him-selfe) gaue the States to vnderstād by *Monsieur Domartin*, the causes which moued him to returne into France, & to leaue those countries. Among other points he alledged the instāce, which the king C his brother made, by reason of some tumults which had hapned in France: and that in the Netherlāds they had giuen the people to vnderstand, that his Presence did hurt the general Peace that was in hand, & that hee sought to seaze vpon the townes of the said countrie, wherein he would disproue them, in deliuering vp all thinges after his departure into the States hands. He also made an offer, that where-soeuer he were, he would remaine alwaies well affected vnto them: In the end taking his leaue of them, he wisht them to remember the great charges he had bene at to succor thē: leauing *Monsieur D'Espruneaux* for his Ambassador Leeger with the States. The States being amazed at this sodaine and vnexpected departure, they sent the Seignior of Fromont, and Doctor D *Gilles Martini*, Secretarie of the towne of Antwerp, to let him vnderstand how much they were greeued: beseeching him so to accomodate his affaires, as he might remaine in the Netherlands, and acknowledging the benefits and fauors they had receiued from him, they offred all seruice, with a promise of full contentment and satisfaction fit for his greatnesse. After his departure, a good part of his troopes retired to the Malecontents of Menin, especially of his footmen. The death of Cont Bossu. The Duke of Anious retreat into France.

In Ianuarie 1579. *Salentin* Earle of Isenbrug Arch-bishop and Prince Elector of Cologne, leauing his ecclesiasticall dignitie, married with the daughter of the Earle of Arembergh. The Chapter and the Dioceese could not at the first agree vppon the election of a new Prince, yet in the end *Trucses* was chosen, but being also married, E and seeking to reforme his Dioceese and to retaine the dignitie with his wife, there followed great warres, the Chapter hauing dispossest him: At the last *Erneste* the victorious Prince of Bauaria, hauing chased away *Trucses*, and dispersed his troopes, was acckowledged Arch-bishoppe of Cologne, Bishoppe of Liege, of Frissinghe, Hilessem & other Bishopprickes and great Benifices, and the Popes Legat in the lower Germany. The first of March the Prince of Parma caused his armie to aduance before Antwerp, trusting it may be vpon some intelligences, which he presumed to haue; presenting him-selfe in the quarter of Deurne and Burgerhout, suburbes of the towne. The Burgers hauing drawne the chaines of their streetes, set their rounds of euery side, appointed euery man his quarter, and shewed themselues very resolute and vnited to defend the towne; saluting the Spaniards with their great ordinance, who were in F skirmish with certaine companies of English and Scottish, in the trenches of those suburbes and of Berchem, whome they charged vntil night; but in the end they were forced to retier by the towne canon, after they had lost aboue 500. men and 200. of the States. The Spaniards retired presently towards Louuaine, after that they had burnt some houses and milles of the Iurisdiction of Antwerp: The Captaines and chiefe 1579.

1579. officers of the States ſide, that were either ſlaine or hurt, were brought into the towne: A the dead were buried, and the reſt were gratified by the Magiſtrates for their valour and good ſeruice: thoſe of Antwerp complaining of the bad paiment the States made vnto the ſoldiers, conſidering the great ſummes of money which they had furniſhed to that end for their parts. Wherevpon not long after the Engliſh companies, ſuing for their pay from the generall Eſtates beeing aſſembled at Antwerp, ſeeing they delaid them too much, ſome forty of them attending the comming forth of the States from the Councell, about noone day, ſeazed vpon the Abbot of S. *Michael*, (a rich Abbay in the ſayd towne) carrying him in the midſt of them through the towne, vnto the hauen, where they imbarkt him in a ſhip among their men, threatning him, that if they were not payd by his meanes, to caſt him into the water. But the Prince of Orange and the B Collonels of Antwerp, did pacifie them, and vppon promiſe that they ſhould bee ſpeedily paid, they deliuered the Abbot. Wee haue ſaid that before the mutine of the diſcontented Wallons, which had ſeazed vpon Menin (although that this ſeazure and ſurprize was not done by the ſole and onely authoritie of the Lord of *Montigni* him-ſelfe, but by a long pretended practiſe) was at the firſt colloured for their pay, and not (as they ſayd) to alter any thing in the generall Vnion of the States: The which *Montigni* him-ſelfe ſhewed his letters written vnto the Arch-duke, and to the Prince of Orange. Where-vpon the ſaid Noblemen were perſwaded to ſend the Seignior of Bours, Gouernor of Macklin to treat with them, and to reclaime them: He went and propounded certain articles vnto them, yeelding vnto all they could demand. The Malecontents C according vnto the articles which were granted vnto them vpon their demands, tooke a new oth. But the countries of Arthois, Liſle, Douay and Orchies, ſeeing the Dukes of Aniou and Caſimire retired with their forces, and that the Malecontents were yet within Menin; refuſing to leaue it (notwith-ſtanding all the promiſes of the States, and their new oth) began then to make open ſhew of the deſire they had to forſake the Vnion, the which they had kept ſecret ſince the moneth of Auguſt in the yeare before: when as they of Arthois failed to ſend their contribution for the entertainment of the army. And firſt of all, the Prelates of Arthois and Henault did corrupt with readie money the ſayd Lord of Montigni, (of all which trafficke *La Motte-Pardieu* was the broker) for the which he receiued a hundred and fifty thouſand florins: and as they of Arthois, thruſt D on by the Seignior of Capres, and the Abbot of Saint Vaaſt, and alſo by them of Douay (who had bene the firſt mutines) hauing torne the Arch-dukes letters, and committed the meſſenger to priſon, could not do any thing without them of Lille, whereas the Seignior of Villerval was Gouernor, who ſeemed ſome-what ſuſpect vnto thē, or atthe leaſt hard to bee drawne: one of theſe Prelates ſayd that he would giue 400 00. florins for his part to be aſſured of him: Wherevnto a certaine Gentleman of Arthois replied, that he aſſured him-ſelfe that for that ſūme he would draw him into their faction. And in the meane time the Seignior of Villeruall ſent one *Charles* of Calonne an aduocate of Lille, vnto the Prince of Orange, with letters of the ſeuenth of Auguſt 1578. and goodly proteſtations, that he would continue in the generall Vnion. The Seignior of E Bours who had bene (as wee haue ſaid) ſent to treat with the Malecontents of Menin, ſuffred him-ſelfe alſo to be corrupted, deliuering the towne of Macklin to the Spaniard, as well in hope of a marriage which he afterwards obtained, as for that he had no greater aduancement from the States, nor the penſion which hee expected from them of Antwerpe, hauing helpt to reduce the Caſtell. The Seignior of Mauny, Lieutenant Collonell of the Earle of Egmonts Regiment (being entred into Saint Omer and put the Burgers into a tumult, ready to cut one an others throat, when as ſome ſuffred themſelues to be ouer-ruled by the perſwaſions of the Seignior of Rumenghien, newly crea- Earle of Roeux) was alſo corrupted with money. The Seigniors of Heze and Alenes marcht in the ſame round. True it is, they ſaid that al this money was to pay their Male- F contented ſoldiers, but ſince it was well knowne how they were paid. For the making of all theſe bargaines, the Seignior of La Motte treated long before they could agree with *Alonſo* of Curiell a Spaniſh pay-maiſter, as it appeared by their letters which wee haue ſeene: Finally the capitulation being made in Grauelingh by the King of Spaines Commiſſaries,

The Engliſh men take the Abbot of S. Michaell.

The coullord reaſons of the Malecontents.

Diuers Knights and Gentlemen corrupted with money by the Spaniards.

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A Commiſſaries, made mention of ſeauen hundred thouſand Florins (that is to ſay to buy our faith good cheape) whereof 200000. were payd to the Lord of *Montigni*, according to the agreement made by *La Motte* at Mont Saint *Eloy*. Which accord was ſet forth by them, and printed at Douay by *John Bogard* a ſworne printer, the ſame yeare as followeth. Wee *Emanuell* of Lalain Baron of Montigni, &c. Do acknowledge and declare, that wee haue this day the ſixt of Aprill 1579. concluded and agreed with Mounſier *De la Motte* Gouernor of Graueling in his Maieſties name, in the preſence and with the reuerent conſent of the Biſhop of Arras, the Baron of Selles, and Mounſier *de Valliuon*, as well for our owne perſon as for that of the Lord of Heze, by vertue of the authoritie which he hath giuen vs; and alſo for all other Collonels, Captaines, Officers, & Soldiers, as well of foote as horſe, which haue obeyed vs in Flanders and other places, for theſe ſeauen or eight moneths, being at this preſent about ſeauen or eight thouſand foote, and ſome 400. horſe, and certaine Pioners, to ſerue his Maieſtie with that forme of oth which followeth. Wee ſweare and promiſe to maintaine and entertaine the Chatholike, Apoſtolike and Romiſh religion, & to performe the obedience due to his Maieſtie, and all according to the pacification of Gant, the Vnion which followed and the perpetuall Edict, to which end wee promiſe to ſerue his Maieſtie faithfully againſt all men, and to obey his Lieutenant and Captaine generall, whome ſoeuer he ſhall appoint, beeing pleaſing to the vnited Prouinces, to maintaine themſelues in the aboue named points. To which Prouinces if his Maieſtie giue reaſonable aſſurance, and doth not retire the Spaniards, Italiens, Albanois, Bourguignons, and other men of warre not pleaſing vnto the ſaid Prouinces, by the day and time that ſhall be prefixed, we ſhall not be then tyed nor bound by vertue of that promiſe, as alſo we ſhall not bee bound to attempt nor vndertake any thing before the retreat of the Spaniards & other ſtrangers out of the countrie: which oth we will cauſe to be ſworne by our troopes, & according to the ſame we will deliuer into his Maieſties handes the townes of Menin & Caſtell, and all others which we hold, with their artillerie and munition, to be diſpoſed of as ſhall bee thought fit for his ſeruice: And for the paying of what is due vnto the ſaid troopes, and for the making of them more voluntary, orderly, and ſubiect to Martiall diſcipline, for the well ſeruing of his Maieſtie. VVee *Valentine de Pardieu*, Seignior of La Motte, Gouernor of Graueling, promiſe in his Maieſties name, to pay and deliuer into the hands of the Baron of Montigni, the ſumme of two hundred and fiue thouſand florins, that is forty thouſand preſently, threeſcore & fiue thouſand by the ſixt of Maie next, and the other hundred thouſand by the ſeauenth of Iune following: in regard whereof, wee Lord of Montigny do promiſe to entertaine our troopes for all the moneths of Aprill and Maie next cumming, and to make a generall muſter of the ſayd troopes, to enter into ſeruice and ordinary paie in the beginning of Iune next. And we Seignior of La Motte do promiſe to cauſe them to be receiued in his Maieſties name, & to haue a moneths paie deliuered them, by the 15. of that moneth.

1579.

An accord made by the Baron of Montigni.

B C D

E In witneſſe whereof we haue ſigned theſe preſents, and ſet to our ſeales of armes in the preſence of the Vicont of Gant, *Monſier de Capres*, and of *Monſier D'Allennes*, the day and yeare aboue mentioned. This accord was publiſhed by the Baron of Montigni in an aſſemblie of the States of Arthois held at Arras, as followeth.

A confirmation of the Baron of Montignies accord.

My Lord the Baron of Montigni, in an open aſſemblie of the States of Arthois, and deputies of the States of Henault, Lille, Douay, Orchies, held in the Abbaie of Saint Vaaſt in Arras the 7. of Aprill. 1579. hath ſhewed the contract & accord made by him with the Seignior of La Motte, the which declared that the oth mentioned therein, tended to no other end but to ſerue his Maieſtie for the maintenance of the pacification of Gant, the Vnion which followed, & the perpetual Edict, eſpecially for the reall retreat of the Spaniards out of al theſe countries, with ſufficient cautions of a durable peace.

F Behold vpon what coullor the diſvnion was grounded, and the priuate reconciliation of them of Arthois, Henault, Lille, Douay & Orchies conceiued, the which burſt forth and ſhewed it ſelfe the 29 of Maie following, although the firſt foundation was laid 9. moneths before, as it appeared, by the failing of them of Arthois in their taxation: & by the Eſtates of Henault the 15. of October 1578. by their inſtruction ſent to the Prince

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1579. of Espinon their gouernor, and to them of Tournay and Tournesis, of the which we wil hereafter speake: meaning first to declare the course that was taken to attaine vnto the heigth of this diuision, wherof those of Lille made the first open demonstration by their resolution which they sent to the generall Estates assembled at Antwerp, the which wee haue thought good to insert, with the States answere to their letters, the tenor whereof was.

Letters from them of Lille, Douay and Orchies to the generall Estates.

My Lords, we would not fayle to aduertise you of that which by a generall and ioynt consent of the members of state of this Prouince hath beene resolued and decreed in an Assemblie held this daie, as well for the vniuersall good and generall assurance of all these countries, as for the quiet and maintenance of this Prouince in particular, which is to seeke and imbrace the meanes to put the Spanish souldiars and other strangers out of the countrie, being the spring and original of al our miseries. Or at the least once for al, to take away al difficu lties & doubts, if his Maiesties intention be to hold & effect that, which his deputies offer vnto vs in his name, or that those promises be but baites to diuide vs, and to reduce one by an other: the which breeds all these diuisions & distrusts, which at this present do so miserablie dismember the whole country, as the cleering therof may plainely cause a reunion, yea a full and absolute peace. And to this end, (as by our faith and oth we are al bound) we haue aduised and resolued to send deputies on our behalfe to the assembly of the states of Arthois; to the deputies of his Maiesty & the Prince of Parma, to let them vnderstand, that we haue alwaies bin and are yet ready to submit our selues to his Maiesties due obediēce, if it shal please him to cause the pacification of Gant, the generall vnion and the perpetuall Edict to be really obserued, with good and sufficient assurances: giuing powre to our sayd deputies, if they find matters likely to be effected, to treat further of necessarie assurances. And as those points be the only foundations, for the vniting of these Prouinces, and that wee can pretend nothing more, vnlesse we will greatly offend; we hope that your Lordships wil find it verie conuenient, yea and will aduance it all ye can. And to the end there be no difficulty in the effecting thereof, and that during these treaties no inconueniences may happen, wee hold it fit, and will put to our helping hands to raise a great army, that in case the Spaniards and other strangers shall make refusall to goe out of all these countries, to imploy them more resolutely against them then euer. The which wee most humblie beseech your Lordships, to take in such part, as the true and sincere affection which we beare to the publike good of all these contries doth merit: the which shall receiue an incredible benifit thereby, either by being freed from their aduersaries (wherevnto they haue alwaies chiefely aspired, and imployed all their meanes for the effecting thereof) or by such an explanation to bee out of all difficulties and diuisions, wherein we meane not in any thing to disioyne our selues, but rather to seeke the generall good, wherevnto wee haue alwaies aspired, as your Lordships may more particularly vnderstand by the act of the sayd resolution herevnto adioyned. And so pray vnto God &c. from Lille the last of March 1579. the subscription was, your most affectionat to please your Lordships the states of the towne and Chasteleine of Lille, Douay and Orchies, and the Clergy and Nobility of the same. Signed *Fontaine*.

Such was their resolution. The 30. day of March. 1579. in the assemblie of the foure chiefe Iustices of the Chasteleny of Lille, the Aldermen and Councel of the sayd towne of Lille, representing the states of the sayd townes and Casteleines of Lille, Douay and Orchies, with the Prelats, Clergy and Nobility thereof: Deputies of the accounts, Officers of the gouernment of Lille and other preuileged persons: resolue touching the reconciliation with his Maiesty, and the maintenance of the Prouinces strictly vnited, during the treatie and reall effecting thereof. The said States, Prelats, Clergie, Noblemen and preuileged persons, in the presence and with the aduice of Mounsier *de Villeruual* Gouernor of the sayd towne and Chastelenies, and of the Baron of Montigni, considering that the treatie of the sayd reconciliation begun long since on the behalfe of his Imperiall Maiesty had no succesſe: and that on the other side his Catholike Maiesty, as well by his Commissioners and deputies sent to the towne of Arras, as by the letters of the Prince of Parma, written vnto the states being in Antwerp the 9. of this

moneth

A moneth, to entertaine and keepe in euery point the pacification of Gant, the vnion, and the perpetuall Edict, and to giue sufficient caution and assurance. Hauing also plainely discouered, that many of the other vnited Prouinces will not imbrace the sayd reconciliation without interposing matters of religion. The sayd States, Prelats, Clergie, Nobles and preuiledged persons of Lille, Douay and Orchies, haue resolued to accept of the sayd offer. Alwaies prouided that the obedience demanded by his Catholike Maiesty, be conformable and nothing derogating to the sayd pacification, vnion and perpetual Edict. And as the first and chiefe point of the sayd pacification, vnion and Edict, and the onelie meanes to take away all iealousie and distrust, consists in the retreat of the Spaniards, Bourguignons, Italiens and other strangers men of warre, vnpleasing to
B the states; the sayd retreat shalbe really effected as soone as may bee, by his Catholike Maiesty; and the townes and forts held by them in the Netherlands, shalbe deliuered vnto them of the country. During the which there shalbe an army raised of them that are borne in the country, to preuent all inconueniences and to be imployd against the said Spaniards and other strangers in case they will not depart out of the countrie. His highnesse and the deputies of the states assembled at Antwerp, shalbe aduertised of this resolution by letters, to take away al sinister opinions which they may cõceiue of the sincere intention of the sayd States of Lille, Douay and Orchies, tending to the sending away of all Spaniards and strangers, and the restitution of the townes and forts held by them, to them that were borne within the countrie: A most necessarie and profitable thing
C for all the Prouinces; the which with the fruits of the sayd reconciliation euery one may enioy if hee please, meaning to comprehend them therein. By meanes whereof the sayd reconciliation may rightly be called generall, and not particular. And for the effecting thereof, the sayd States, Prelats, Clergy, Noblemen and priuiledged persons, of Lille, Douay and Orchies, shall send their deputies vnto the assembly of the states of Arthois, Henault and others, with ample instructions. And to end and determine such difficulties as may rise by the sayd conference, there shalbe a councell of state held in the towne of Lille, whom the sayd deputies shall aduertise from time to time of all difficulties, and demand their councel and resolution. Thus made and concluded in the sayd assemblie the daie and yeare aboue mentioned. I being present. signed *Fountaines*.

D Wherevpon the generall Estates answered, as followeth.

My maisters wee haue receiued your letters dated the last of March, with an act of the resolution taken by you the daie before, touching the reconciliation with his Maiestie. And although wee finde your desire and intention to bee commendable, to seeke and imbrase the meanes to free the countrie of Spaniards and other souldiars strangers, the spring and beginning of all our miseries. Yet we thinke the haste you make to treate in particular, verie dangerous; seeing that by this meanes the progresse of the treatie of a generall peace is staied and hindred, beeing alreadie begunne at our instance and request by his Imperiall Maiestie, and his Ambassador the Earle of Swartzenbourg, beeing greatly to bee feared that if you proceed in
E this priuate treatie with the enemie, in steede of procuring a good peace, you will kindle a more cruell warre against the other Prouinces then that at this present against the Spaniards: the which is the enemies onelie intent and drift, knowing well that it is impossible and verie hard for him to compasse his desseignes, if it bee not by the separation and distraction of the Prouinces: wherevnto by his flattering hee will seeke to allure you, not once thinking to performe that which hee promiseth. You remember the goodly letters and promises which the King made (as well in generall as in particular) at the comming of the Duke of Alua, and what crueltie and massacres followed, when as the sayd Duke was once entred into the countrie, and when as hee had no collour to accuse or blame the subiects to haue offended his royall Maiestie, as they doe now pretend: and since wee haue seene in what manner
F the Court of Spaine hath proceeded against the Noblemen of these countries, by the letters which the King did write vnto *Rhoda*: where hee was commanded to entertaine them, and to shew them a good countenance, vntill that hee were come to the end of his affaires: and in like sort commandement was giuen vnto *Don Iohn* of Austria

1579.

The States answere to them of Lille.

1579. „ Austria to doe the like. And it is apparent that he sent not the Spaniards out of these A
„ countries, before he was assured of the chiefe forts thereof, and of high Germaines and
„ Netherlanders, being yet in seruice, to draw the Spaniards in againe when hee pleased.
„ The offers and goodly promises which the Baron of Selles made, are also fresh in me-
„ morie, at his first comming into these countries, that the Catholike King would enter-
„ taine the pacification of Gant, and yet he himselfe returning brought the contrary: that
„ is, that the pacification of Gant was scandalous, and that they should not speake nor
„ make any mention thereof. So as you cannot expect nor hope for any thing of these
„ priuat treaties, but all fraude, circumuention and dangerous enterprises. Although they
„ haue perswaded you that the retreat of the Spaniards and other strangers shalbe really
„ effected with as much speed as may be, for it sufficeth the enemy to seperate you, and to B
„ hold you in suspence in this hope and expectation, that they may in the meane time hin-
„ der the common succors of Masstricht, and without their danger consume you, with a
„ great bodie of an armie, which you intend to raise, and to frustrate vs of our contri-
„ butions. And moreouer by that meanes to encrease the distrust, and to incense the o-
„ ther Prouinces against you: who being of the one side assailed by their enemies, and on
„ the other drawn into iealousie and distrust by the army which you shal entertaine (espe-
„ cially by reason of former letters & threates of them of Arthois and others) shalbe for-
„ ced for their safeties to enter into other leagues, and to leauie new forces, whereby a
„ dangerous ciuill warre may grow, and the totall ruine of the Prouinces. And this is the
„ end of their practises which propound this particular peace; wee therefore intreat you C
„ that you will haue regard and call to minde the oth and bond which you haue vnto the
„ generalitie, and not to seperate your selues from it. But contrariwise leauing the sayd
„ particular treatie, to assist the generalitie both with councell and money, as you haue so
„ often promised, to shewe vnto the enemie by effect, the good vnion and force of
„ the Prouinces: which is the true and only meanes to draw them vnto reason, and to at-
„ taine vnto an assured peace, for they that seeme most difficult, and haue their forces rea-
„ die to defend themselues, doe alwaies obtaine a better and more assured peace, then
„ they which rashly and by themselues, leauing their allies, enter into particular capitu-
„ lations, whereby they do neuer reape the fruite which they expected by their seperati-
„ on, but thinking to purchase their liberty and peace, they fall into seruitude and misery. D
„ Moreouer examples and histories do shew, that Kings and great Potentates, to recouer
„ their countries and authority promise wonders, and performe not any thing, especially
„ to their owne subiects, whom they haue once held rebells. And wee wonder much that
„ the sayd act of the 30. of March is grounded vpon the slackness of the Emperors trea-
„ tie, and that the Prince of Parma had written vnto vs by his letters, that hee would en-
„ tertaine and effect in all points the pacification of Gant, and that many Prouinces
„ would not imbrace the reconciliation, without entermingling matters of Religion: see-
„ ing that the stay growes neither from the Emperor, nor from vs, but from those Pro-
„ uinces which haue entred into priuate treaties, the which the enemie finding more a-
„ uaylable, he hath delaied to treate with the generality, by the meanes of his Emperiall E
„ Maiesty. It is vntrue that the Prince of Parma did euer make offer vnto vs by his letters
„ to effect the pacification of Gant, as you may plainely see by the coppie of those which
„ he sent vs, and our answere therevnto. Moreouer other Prouinces haue beene carefull
„ not to treat any thing in particular with the enemie, or to make declaration vnto him
„ that they would not haue the question of Religion handled. So as wee finde you are a-
„ bused by some wicked spirits, disciples of *Escouedo*, which seeke to diuide vs, and to
„ stirre vp a warre for Religion, and to chase away and massaker one by an other; as here-
„ tofore hath happened in Germanie, England, France and else-where. Intreating you a-
„ gaine to weigh and consider all things well, and to continue vnited with vs, to repulse
„ the common enemy, and presently to send your deputies hether, to determine and re- F
„ solue of publike affaires by a generall consent, and to send our deputies to Cologne, to
„ make a good and assured generall peace. Wee for our parts doe promise to helpe and
„ assist you in all things that shalbe needfull for your quiet and prosperitie: and entring
„ into a generall treatie, to yeeld vnto all reasonable conditions, as wee haue offred to
the

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A the Prince of Parma, as you may see more at large by the coppie of our answer. Whervpon we pray vnto GOD &c. From Antwerp the eight of Aprill 1579. vnder written your good and affectionate friends, the generall Estates of the Netherlands. signed. *A. Blyleuen.* The superscription was. To the states of Lille, Douay and Orchies. 1579.

During all these practises of priuate reconciliation of the of Arthois, Henault, Lille &c. The Prince of Parma holding Mastricht beseeged with a mightie armie, where as the sayd Prouinces had their deputies, who sollicited all they could, *Peter* of Melun, Prince of Espinoy, Seneshall of Henault (newly succeeded to the sayd Principality by the death of *Charles* of Melun his elder brother) gouernor; and the States of Tournay and Tournesis, according to the first practises, which were made in October 1578. and

Masstricht beseeged by the Prince of Parma.

The Prince of Espinoy tempted.

B the instruction giuen vnto the signior of Charpesteau by the states of Henault, at the same time when as the states of Arthois and they of Artas began their broiles: which instruction we haue also thought good to insert in this place, before we proceed, as followeth. The signior *Iosse* of Capen squier, signior of Charpesteau, Ostregnis &c. at the request and deputation of the states of the country and county of Henault, shall transport himselfe with all speed vnto the states of the country, towne and Citty of Tournay and Tournesis, and shall present vnto them the humble commendations of the said states of Henault & their letters of credit. According vnto the which he shal giue them to vnderstand, that we ought alwaies to stand vpon our gard, & to foresee al inconueniences that may happen; much more when we see the fire kindled, we must fly to the remedy, to hin-

Instructions giuen to the signior of Charpesteau.

C der and preuent a greater ruine and combustion. It is most notorious, that although the Prouinces in these parts, laboring to recouer their liberty, and to free themselues from the Spaniards and their adherents, and from the yoake and seruitude, whereunto they would subiect them, had treated a pacification with the Prince of Orange, and the states of Holland, Zeland and their associats: by the which it was expresly promised & sworn, not to attempt any thing that might be scandalous against the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion, vpon paine to be blamed and punished as troublers of the faith & publike quiet: & thervpon was made and sollemnly sworne a general vnion, containing the same points: yet it appeeres plainly of all sides, that the sectaries and heretiks carry

D themselues most insolently, preaching and making publike exercises of their sects and pestiferous religions, ruining and profaning the holy Sacraments, Cloisters & Abbaies, spoyling Churches and Images, and massacring Church-men and good Catholiks, surprizing and doing outrage to monasteries, townes and castles, forcing, rauishing and abusing holy virgins and other chast wiues and maidens, applying to their owne vse, the goods and reuenues of the church, imprisoning & putting to death with great indignity, Bishops, Prelats & honorable persons, that were iust & innocent: subuerting al ancient order of iustice, gouernment, and lawfull Magistrats, bringing to that end both men and ordinance to field, and doing al acts of hostility. And they did not only exceed therein, but haue also attempted against the nobility with such fury, as it appeers painly (and as

E some of the chiefe of them haue shewed openly) that they are resolued and fully determined to ruine and roote them out, one after an other, and all good Catholiks for euer. It is certaine they had not beene forward and violent in their pernicious desseignes, if they were not animated and supported by them which haue most sworne, promised, signed and ratefied the said pacification: who at the least for their iustification, should seeme to bee displeased therewith, and helpe to suppresse and punish such outrages. Whereas contrariwise we see that he which is come mercinarily, & to the great charge of the country, to serue and succor it against the common enemies thereof, is gone with his forces to succor them, being called (as the brute goes) to be not only their Protector and Defender, but also gouernor or Lord of the country: leauing and abandoning both the campe and the country, in prey to the common enemie, if they had powet to do it.

He meeteth the Duke of Anjou whom the Earle of Lalain had called, or the Prince of Orange, or Duke Casimire iudge which.

F The which wee ought to preuent in time, and to seeke all meanes (which is the Office of Christians) by a common course, and in discharge of the vnion so sollemnly sworne by the Prouinces, to suppresse such insolencies, rashe excesse, and outrages. The which hath not yet beene done: to the great preiudice, interest and decaie of our holie faith, Catholike and Romish Religion, and of all good men, and likely to augment

1579. „ augment daylie and to continue, to the ruine and rooting out of all Pietie, Nobilitie A
„ and order of pollicy and iuſtice, if it be not preuented: fore-ſeeing therfore that the neg-
„ ligence of many Gouernors, the diſſimulation of ſome, the ſecret practiſes of the chiefe,
„ and the ſmall zeale and courage, which they that hold the better partie, carrie to the
„ preſeruation of our ſayd faith and Religion, and the helth and publike peace, may ſoone
„ cauſe a ruine and generall deſolution. The ſayd ſtates of Henault haue fore-ſeene, that
„ it is needfull and more then neceſſarie, that thoſe Prouinces which are leaſt diſmem-
„ bred, and haue maintained themſelues till now vnder the pacification of Gant, and the
„ ſworne vnion, ſhould imbrace the affaires with more earneſtneſſe, and reſolue of ſome
„ ſuch remedie as ſhould bee thought moſt fit and conuenient. Not to attempt anie
„ new thing, or contrarie to the good of the common cauſe, but vnder an expreſſe pro- B
„ teſtation to maintaine and defend themſelues according vnto the termes of the ſayd
„ pacification and vnion, againſt the more then barbarous inſolencie (exceeding the
„ Spaniſh) of the ſayd ſectaries and of their adherents: and to preuent the rooting
„ out (as they pretend) of our ſayd faith and Religion, of the Nobilitie, and generally of
„ all order and ſtate. Beeing a matter greatly to bee conſidered, that the negligence of
„ the good (if thereby all bee ſupplanted and rooted out) will purchaſe vnto them (be-
„ ſides the irreparable loſſe) a perpetuall infamie, to haue bin ſo weake and faint hearted,
„ hauing ſo good a ground and foundation in the cauſe, as it may rightly be termed plea-
„ ſing vnto God, helthfull vnto men, and highly to bee commended before all Chriſtian
„ Princes, yea of the Catholike King our Lord. Moreouer they ſhould ſhew themſelues C
„ vnworthie of the ſuccors and aſſiſtance of my Lord the Duke of Aniou, hauing ſo wil-
„ lingly imbraced the defence, cauſe and quarrell of the Netherlands, againſt their com-
„ mon enemies, if they ſhould faile to make demonſtration, how much they are diſpleaſed
„ that a mercenarie (beeing called by the ſayd treacherous ſectaries) againſt the publike
„ faith, and the intention of the Prouinces and the generall Eſtates, ſhould take vpon him
„ their protection, his highneſſe beeing called, receiued and proclaymed with the title of
„ *Defender of the Belgike Libertie*, as euery one knoweth. Wherfore for that we vnderſtand
„ that the Prouinces of Holland Zeeland, Flanders, Geldres and others, are entred into
„ league: it is fit after the example of thoſe Heretikes, which thus ioyne togither to doe
„ euill; that in like manner the Catholike Prouinces of Arthois, Lille, Douay, Orchies, D
„ Tournay, Tourneſis, Valenciennes and Henault ſhould ioyne and vnite themſelues
„ ſtrictly togither, and by a good and mutuall correſpondency, ſeeke to maintaine them-
„ ſelues, defend the faith, and withſtand and ſuppreſſe all ſuch violence. The which being
„ once vndertaken, and publiſhed, there is no doubt but the Catholikes that are driuen a-
„ way and oppreſt, yea many Catholike quarters and townes (whereof there are yet many)
„ will declare themſelues, and ioyne alſo, and aſſiſt withall their means and powre. And al-
„ though that this vnion and coniunction, which is not new, nor tending to any other end
„ but to the preſeruation & execution of that which was ſo ſollemnly ſworne and allow-
„ ed by the Prouinces, wil be ſiniſterly interpreted by the fauorers of the ſayd ſeditious
„ Heretiks & periured ſectaries, yet it is not fit to ſuffer things to run to ruine & infamy, E
„ nor wilfully to caſt away our ſelues, ſeeing that the end of this buſineſſe wil be glorious,
„ and by Gods aſſiſtance fruitfull, the ground being ſo iuſt and neceſſary: wherfore ſeeing
„ that it concernes the honor, glory and ſeruice of God, the preſeruation of our holie
„ faith, and the Catholike Apoſtolike and Romiſh religion, togither with the Nobility &
„ al good Catholiks, and their honors, liues, wiues, children & poſſeſſions. The ſaid ſig-
„ nior of Charpeſteau ſhall do his beſt endeauor to repreſent them plainly & effectually
„ vnto the Eſtates of Tournay and Tourneſis: & to worke in ſuch ſort as they may yeeld
„ vnto the ſaid coniunction & vnion, as well in generall as in particular, laboring for their
„ parts with the ſtates and other Catholike Prouinces, to ioyne alſo in the ſaid vnion, aſ-
„ ſuring them that they ſhal be therein faithfully ſeconded by the eſtates of Henault, who F
„ will not faile, to hold good and mutuall correſpondence with them: this buſines requi-
„ ring al dilligence, for that the miſchiefe is at the dore, and that they may ſo long delay it,
„ as it wil be to late, or impoſſible to preuent it: deſiring to haue as ſoone as may bee, a
„ good end and a fruitful reſolution of their intention. Made at Mons in an open aſſembly

of

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A of the States, the 13. 14. and 15. of October, and signed vnderneath *Carlier*. 1579.

Vpon these points conteined in this instruction, being so inuectiue, and iniurious, they of Henault, Arthois, Valenciennes, Lille, Douay and Orchies, grounded their disiunction from the other Prouinces comprehended in the Pacification of Gant, and wrought their reconciliation with the king, laboring to draw the towne of Tournay, and Tournesis into it: but they did not consider that by this instruction they did secreatly pourchase the kings indignation, in that they did so much protest against the retreat of the Spaniards and other Srangers his seruants in whome he most relyed for the preseruation of these countries, the which being retired they spoyled the King of his forces and authority, as if vnder collor of a reconciliation, they would prescribe
B him a law. And also in that they speake so heighly of the Duke of Aniou, giuing him, the Title of defender of the Belgicke liberty: the which is a hatefull title to a naturall Prince and mutch suspected, when it is giuen to a foraine Prince: Iealousie holding no measure in that case, although for a time they dissemble and wincke at it. The Seignior of Chaerpesteau being come with this instruction to the Prince of Espinoy gouernor; and to the States of Tournay and Tournesis, he found but cold entertainement, and small acceptance of his speeches, notwithstanding that the Bishop of Tournay, called Pentaflour, made great instance, and was very importunate with the States and Prince, who being alwaies vnwilling to giue eare to priuate reconciliation, answered that to attaine vnto a generall one, hee would imploy both body and goods, but he would
C neuer disioyne him-selfe. That he had taken an oth vnto the Generality, against *Don Iohn* and his adherents, the which he would maintaine vnto the death vntill hee were absolued and despensed thereof of by the said generality: that they knew wel the condition of Kings that hold them-selues wronged by their subiects: that if hee had two heads he would hazard one of them for the Kings seruice, but hee had but one, no more then the Earle of Egmont: Where-vpon the Bishoppe replyed they would seeke to obtaine a generall peace: the Prince asked him how they would thinke of the question of relligion to attaine vnto the said peace: the Bishop then answered, alledging the parable of the husbandman, who suffred the darnell to grow among the good corne vntill the day of harueſt: whervpon the Prince asked him againe when that harueſt should be,
D whenas the King had subiected all the country vnto his will? noe said the Bishop, but at the last day of iudgment. If then (said the Prince) you can effect that I will not spare any thing for my part to attaine vnto it: where-vpon the Bishoppe being retired, the Prince adressing his speeches to them that were in the chamber, his familiar friends (although there were one that was a true Romish Catholike and so died) said, see how these men can apply the holy Scripture when as they thinke to make it serue their owne turnes? Thus the said Prince remayned vnto his death (being exiled in France) and the estats of Tournay and Tournesis, firme and constant, and would not disioyne them-selues, nor forsake the Vnion, vntill that the towne was taken by the Spaniard in the yeare 1581. Notwithstanding they of Arthois Henault. &c. continued the
E treaty of their reconciliation. Those of Brusselles who had beene alwaies wonderfully affected to the good of their country, as you may obserue in many points before mentioned, seeking nothing but peace and quietnesse, sent their deputies to Arras, to the estates of Arthois to diuert them (If it were possible) from the disvnion which was intreated, but not yet fully concluded. These deputies were *William van Hecke* tresorer, and *Cornellis Artsens* secretary of the said towne who were neither welcome nor well entertayned by the Seignior of Capres, Gouernor of the said towne, one of the cheefe Authors of the disunion.

They of Tournay and Tournesis refuse to Enter the reconciliation.

Deputies sent from Brusselles to the States of Arthois.

The States knowing well that all these practises of disiunction were managed by the Seignior of *La Motte* Gouernor of Graueling, they sent the Seignior of *La Noue*
F their Marshall of the campe with sixe hundred horse and two thousand foote into *La Mottes* Gouernment about Graueling, in the quarter of west Flandes, the which he wasted, and hauing taken the forts of Lincken and Watenen, which are vpon the riuer going from Saint Omer to Graueling, hee entred into the Valle and iurisdiction of Cassell, tooke the towne and castell, and then reduced all that quarter vnder

La Noue makes warre in Flanders.

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1579 the States obedience, hauing fortified Caſſel, Where he left the Seignior of Waroux A
and of Thyanti of the howſe of Merod, for Gouernor. They of Holland, Zeland, Gel-
dres, Zutphen, Vtrecht, Freeſeland, Oueriſſel, and other their aſſociats, finding in the
end of the yeare 1578. by all the former treaties, that the duke of Parma ſought
onely to diuide the vnited Prouinces, and that the mutine of the Malcontents tended
to no other end but to roote out the reformed religion, they reſolued to make among
them-ſelues, and with ſuch as would ioyne with them, a ſtricter vnion and alliance,
aſſembling to that end at Vtrecht, where it was concluded in the beginning of this
yeare 1579. The tenor whereof followeth.

As it it notorious ſince the pacification made at Gant, by the which the Prouinces
of the Netherlands were bound to ſuccor one an other with body and goods, to expell B
the Spaniards their adherents out of the ſaid countries: The ſaid Spaniards, with *Don
Iohn* and other their Commanders and Captaines hauing ſought by all meanes (as they
doe at this day) to reduce the ſaid Prouinces as well in generall as in particular vnder
their ſlauery, and as well by armes as by there practiſes to diuide and diſmember them
breaking their Vnion made by the ſaid Pacification, to the totall ruine of the ſaid coun-
tries, and continuing in their ſaid deſſeigne, they haue of late by their letters ſollicited
ſome townes and quarters of the ſaid Prouinces, hauing ſought to make an irruption
into the country of Gueldres; wherefore the Inhabitants of the Duchy of Geldres and
conty of Zutphen, with them of the conties of Holland Zeland, Vtrecht, Freeſeland
and the Ommelands, bewixt the riuers of Ems and Lauwers, haue thought it expedi- C
ent and neceſſary, to conioyne and vnite them-ſelues more ſtrictly together: not to
abandon the Vnion made at the pacification of Gant, but the better to confirme it, and
to arme them-ſelues againſt all inconueniences, whereinto they might fall by the prac-
tiſes, ſurpriſes and attempts of their enemies: and to ſee how they may preſerue and
defend them-ſelues in ſuch occurrents: and alſo to preuent any further diuiſion of
the ſaied Prouinces, and the members thereof. The ſaid vnion and pacification of
Gant remayning ſtill in force. According vnto the which the deputies of the ſaid Pro-
uinces euery one for his part, hauing ſufficient authority, haue concluded and ſet downe
the points and articles which follow, prouided alwaies that they meane not in any ſort
to eſtrange, nor withdraw themſelues from the holy Empire. D

Firſt that the ſaid Prouinces make an alliance, Vnion, confederation together: as
by theſe preſents they are allyed, vnited and confederated together for euer, to conti-
nue and remaine ſo in all ſorts and manners, as if all were but one onely Prouince, and
that they may neuer hereafter diſioyne nor ſeperate them-ſelues, neither by teſtament
codicill, donation, ceſſion, exchange, ſale, treaties of peace, or mariage, nor by any other
occaſion whatſoeuer; remaining not-with-ſtanding whole and abſolute, without any
diminution or alteration of the particular preuiledges, rights, freedomes, exemptions,
ſtatutes, cuſtomes, vſes, and all other preheminences, which any of the ſaid Prouinces,
townes, members and Inhabitants thereof may haue, wherein they will not onely for-
beare to preiudice or giue any hindrance: but will aſſiſt the one and the other by all E
meanes, yea with body and goods, if neede ſhall require: To defend and maintayne
them againſt all men that ſhall ſeeke to diſturbe and moleſt them, Prouided alwaies
that ſuch controuerſies, as ſhall grow betwixt the ſaid Prouinces, Townes and
Members of this Vnion, touching their preuiledges, freedomes, exemptions,
ſtatuts, ancient cuſtomes, vſes and other rights ſhall bee decided by the ordina-
ry courſe of iuſtice, or by ſome amiable and friendly compoſition, and that no
other countries, Prouinces, members or townes (whome thoſe controuerſies
doe no way concerne) ſhall in any ſort meddle, but by way of enterceſſion, tending to an
accord.

That the ſaid Prouinces in confirmation of the ſaid alliances and vnion, ſhall bee F
bound to ayde and ſuccor one another, withall their meanes, bodies and goods, to the
ſpending of their bloud, and hazard of their liues, againſt all attempts and inuaſions
which ſhall be made, vpon what collour ſoeuer made either by the King of Spaine or
any other: or for that by vertue of the Treaty of the pacification of Gant they had
taken

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A taken armes against *Don Iohn*, for for that they had receiued the Arch-duke *Mathias* for Gouernor, or for any thing that dependeth thereon, or for all that hath followed or may follow. And were it vpon coulour to restore the Catholicke and Romish religion, or for the alteration which hath happened since the yeare 1578. in any of the said Prouinces, members and Townes: or else for this present vnion and confederation, or for any such cause: and that in case they would make the said attempts and inuasions, as well in particular vpon any of the sayd Prouinces, as vpon all in generall. "1579.

That the said Prouinces should bee in like manner bound to ayde, succor and defend one another against all Princes and Potestats, countries, townes, and forraine common-weales, bee it in generall or in particular, that would molest, hurt or make
B warre against them. Alwayes prouided that the assistance which shall be appointed by the generalitie of this vnion, shall be done after knowledge of the cause. And the better to assure the said Prouinces, members and townes, against all enemies force, that the fronter townes, and those which shall be thought needfull in what Prouince so euer they be, shall by the aduise and order of the generalitie of this vnion, be fortified at the charge of the townes of that Prouince where they bee scituated, being assisted by the generalitie with the one moitie. But if it bee found expedient to build any new fortes, or to demantell any in the sayd Prouinces, that it shall bee done at the charge of the generalitie.

And to supply the expences they must bee at in this case, for the defence of the sayd
C Prouinces, it hath beene agreed that through-out all the Prouinces there shall be imposed and farmed out from three moneths to three moneths, to them that will giue most certaine customes or excises vpon all sorts of wine and beere, vpon the grinding of corne, vpon salt, and vpon cloth of golde, siluer, and wollen cloath, vpon cattle that shall be killed, vpon all horses or oxen that shall be sold or exchanged, vpon all goods that shall bee subiect to the great ballance, and vpon all other goods which by a generall consent shall bee thought fit; according to the orders and decrees which shall be set downe: and that to the like end they shall employ the reuenews of the King of Spaine, the ordinary charges deducted. The which meanes may bee augmented or
D diminished, raised or abated, according to the exigence of affaires, confirmed onely to supply the common defence, and that which the generalitie shall be forced to vnder-goe, the which may not bee applyed to any other vse, in any kinde or sorte whatsoeuer.

That the frontier Townes, and all others where need shall require, shall bee at all times bound to receiue such garrisons as the sayd vnited Prouinces shall thinke fit and conuenient, and that by the aduise of the gouernor of the Prouince, where those townes are, that require garrison, the which they may not refuse. And the sayd garrisons shall bee payed by the vnited Prouinces, and the Captaines and Soldiers, besides the generall oth, shall take a particular oth to the Towne or Prouince where they
E shall bee placed, the which shall bee set downe in the Articles of their entertainment. Also there shall be such order and discipline obserued among the men of warre, as the Bourgers and inhabitants of the townes and countrey, as well Clergie as Laye-men, shall not bee ouer-charged, nor oppressed, contrary to reason: which garrisons shall bee no more exempt from excise and imposts, then the Bourgers and Inhabitants of those places, where they shall be imposed, so as the generalitie of the sayd Bourgers pay them for their seruice, and giue them lodging, as hath beene done hetherto in Holland. And to the end that in all occurrents, and at all times, they may bee assisted by them of the countrey: the inhabitants of euery of the sayd vnited Prouinces, both in towne and countrey, shall within one moneth after the date of these presents, bee mustered and inrolled from the age of sixeteene yeares to three score, that the number being knowne
F at the first assembly of the confederates, they may determine for the better assurance and defence of the countrey, as they shall finde it most conuenient. No accorde nor treatie of truce nor peace to bee made, no warre begun, no impost raised, nor any contributions imposed concerning the generalitie of this vnion, but by the aduise and common consent of all the sayd Prouinces. And in all other things touching the

1579. entertainement of this confederation, and that which depends thereon, they shall A
gouerne them-selues according vnto that which shall bee resolued by the pluralitie
of voices of the Prouinces comprehended in this vnion, the which shal bee gathe-
red as they haue hetherto done in the generalitie of the Estates, and that by proui-
sion, vntill it shal be otherwaies decreede by the generall consent of the confederates.
But if in the treaties of truce, peace, warre or contributions, the sayd Prouinces
cannot agree together, the sayd differences shalbe referred by prouision vnto the Go-
uernors and Lieutenants, which are now in the sayd Prouinces, who shall reconcile
the parties or decide their controuersies as they shall finde most reasonable. And
if the sayd Gouernors and Lieutenantes did not agree togither, they may call any to
assist them whome they please, so as they bee not partiall: and the parties contending B
shalbe subiect to entertaine and performe whatsoeuer is determined by the sayd Go-
uernors and Lieutenants.

That none of the sayd Prouinces, Townes or Members, may make any cofedera-
tion or alliance, with any Noblemen or neighbour countries without the consent
of these vnited Prouinces, and of their confederates. It is notwithstanding agreed
that if any Princes or neighbour countries, shall desire to ioyne in League and con-
federation with these vnited Prouinces, that they shalbe admitted and receiued by
the aduise and consent of them all. That touching coynes, in the course and valua-
tion of gold and siluer, all the sayd Prouinces should conforme and gouerne themselues
according vnto the Orders which should bee set downe at the first oportunitie, the C
which the one cannot alter nor change without the other.

As for the point of Religion, they of Holland and Zeelande may carrie them-
selues as they please; and in regard of the other Prouinces of this vnion, they may
gouerne themselues therein according vnto the Proclamation of the Archduke *Ma-
thias* Gouernor Generall of the Netherlands, set forth by the aduise of the Councell
of State, and the generall Estates touching the libertie of Religion. Or else they
may either in generall or in particular, set such order as they should thinke most
fit and conuenient, for the peace and quiet of their Prouinces, Townes and parti-
cular members, both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill, euerie one in the preseruation of his
goods, rights, and prerogatiues: so as no other Prouince may giue them therein D
anie hindrance or let, euerie one remayning free in his Religion, and not anie waie
to bee troubled or called in question, according to the pacification of Gant. That
all Clergie-men or lyuing in conuents, according vnto the sayd pacification, shall
enioye their goods, lying in anie of these Prouinces respectiuely: and if there were
anie Clergie-men which during the warres of Hollande and Zeelande against the
Spaniards that were vnder the commandement of the sayd Spaniards and haue
since retired themselues out of their Conuents or Colleges, and are come into Hol-
land and Zeeland, that they shall cause sufficient maintenance to bee giuen them
during their liues, from them of their sayd Cloisters or Conuents, and they shall doe
the like vnto them of Holland and Zeeland, that are retired into anie of these vnited E
Prouinces.

That in like sort, entertainment shalbe giuen during life, according to the
commodities and reuenues of their Cloisters or Conuents, to all persones of these
vnited countries, that would depart, or are alreadie departed, bee it for Religion or
for any other reasonable cause. Alwaies prouided that such as after the date of these
presents, shall goe to liue in these Cloisters and Conuents, and afterwards would
depart againe, the shall haue no entertainement giuen them, but they may retire if
they please, and retaine that which they brought with them. And that all they that
are at this present in the sayd Conuents, or that hereafter would enter, shall remaine
free in their Religion, profession and habits, vpon condition that in all other things F
they shalbe obedient to their Generalls.

And if it should happen (which Almightie GOD forbid) that there should bee
anie question or diuision made betwixt the sayd Prouinces, wherein they could
not agree, that the same, so farre as it concernes one Prouince in particular
shalbe

A shall be ended and determined by the other prouinces, or by those among them which they should name: But if it concernes all the Prouinces in generall · it shall bee determined by the gouernors and lieutenatns of the Prouinces, as it is said in the ninth Article, who should be bound to doe iustice vnto the parties, or to reconcile them together within one month, or within a shorter space, if the case so requires, after instance made vnto him by one of the parties. And that which by the other Prouinces or their deputies, or by the Gouernors or lieutenant shall bee decreed and set downe, it shall bee followed and accomplished, cutting of all other remedies at law, either by appeale, releese, reuision, nullity or any other pretensions whatsoeuer. 1579.

That the said Prouinces, townes and members thereof shall bee carefull not
B to offer any occasion of warre or quarrell to any of their neighbours, Princes, noblemen, countries, townes or common weales for the preuenting whereof the said vnited Prouinces shall be bound to doe good and speedy iustice, as well to forreners and strangers, as to their owne subiects and Cittizens. And if any one among them should faile therein, the rest of their confederats, shal seeke by all conuenient meanes to haue it done, & that al abuses that might hinder them or stay the course of iustice, may be corrected and reformed, according vnto right and equity, and the ancient preuiledges and customes thereof. None of the Prouinces, townes or members, may impose any imposition, mony for conuoy, nor any other like charge, to the preiudice of the rest, without the generall consent of all, nor surcharge any of his confederats, more then
C himselfe or his inhabitants. That for the prouiding for all occurrents and difficulties, that may happen, the said confederats shall be bound vpon somons made vnto them by such as haue authority, to appeere presently in the towne of Vtrecht, at the day appointed, to vnderstand that which by the letters of rescription shall bee declared, if the cause requires not secresie to determine thereon, or by a generall consent or plurality of voyces to resolue and decree, although that some appeere not: in which cause they that appeere may in the meane time proceed to the resolution and determination of that which they shall find conuenient and profitable for the publicke good of these vnited prouinces. And that which hath beene so decreed, shall bee accomplished by them that appered not, if the matter bee not of too great impor-
D tance and may well be delaid. In which case they shall write vnto them that haue bin absent, to come at a certaine day limited, or else to loose the effect of their voyces, for that time. And when it is done, it shall remaine firme and inuiolable, although that some of the said Prouinces haue beene absent, yet such as shall haue no means to appeere, it shall be lawfull for them to send to them to send their opinions in writing, the which shall bee regarded in the collection of all the voyces. And to this end all and euery one of the said confederats shall be bound to write vnto them that haue the authority to assemble the said vnited prouinces of all things that may occurre, or that shall seeme vnto them to tend vnto the good or euill of the said Prouinces and confederats, that they may there-vpon call them together. And if there shall bee any
E obscurity or ambiguitie, whereby there may grow any dispute or question, the interpretation thereof shall bee long vnto the said confederats: who by a generall consent may explaine them, and decree according vnto reason. And if they agree not therevpon they shall haue recourse vnto the Gouernors and Lieutenants of Prouinces as is said before.

As also if it should bee thought necessary to augment or diminish any thing in the articles of this vnion, confederation and alliance in any of their points, it shall be done by the common consent of all the confederats, and not otherwise. All which points and articles and euery one of them in particular, the said vnited Prouinces haue promised and doe promise by these presents, to accomplish and entertaine, and to cause
F to be accomplished and entertained, without any opposition or contradiction directly in any sort. And if any thing shall be done or attempted contrary to the tenor thereof, they doe presently declare it voyd and of none effect. Binding there-vnto their persons, and of all the inhabitants respectiuely, of the said Prouinces, townes and members, withall their goods. The which in case of contrauention may bee (in all places,

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1579 and before all Iudges and iuriſdictions, where they ſhalbe found) ſeized on and arreſted A
for the accompliſhing of theſe preſents, and that which depends thereon, renouncing
to that end all exceptions, graces preuiledges, releeſes, and generally all other benifits
of law which contrarie to theſe preſents may any way aide and ſerue them. And eſ-
pecially in the law which ſayth that a generall reconciliation is of no force, if a ſpeci-
all doth not proceed.

And for the greater corroboration, all gouernors and Lieutenants of the ſayd Pro-
uinces, which are there at this preſent, or that may bee hereafter, togither with all
Magiſtrates and chiefe Officers of theſe Prouinces, townes or members, ſhalbe bound
to ſweare and take an oth, to keepe and cauſe to bee kept, all the points and articles,
and euerie one of them in particular, of this vnion and confederation. As alſo all bo- B
dies and companies of Burgeſes, ſhall take the ſame oth, in euery of the ſayd
townes and places of the ſayd vnion. Herevpon letters ſhall bee ſent out in forme,
by the Gouernors, Lieutenants, members and townes of Prouinces, beeing ſpecially
required therevnto. This preſent vnion was made and ſigned in the ſayd towne of
Vtrecht, the 23: of Ianuary. 1579.

Many enter into the vnion of Vtrecht. The fourth of February following this vnion was ſigned by them of Gant: the third
day of May by the Prince of Orange in Antwerp; the eleauenth of Iune by *George* of
Lalain Earle of Rhenebergh Gouernor of Friſeland, Oueryſſel, Groninghen and the
Ommelands. After followed they of Antwerp, Bruges, Breda, and manie others. All
this was done whileſt that they of Arthois, Henault, Lille, Douay and Orchies labored C
their diſunion and practiſed their priuate reconciliation, with the Prince of Parma,
beeing then camped before Maſtricht, excuſing themſelues to the other confede-
rates that they could not ſuffer any alteration in the Romiſh Religion, but for the reſt
they would duelie obſerue the pacification of Gant. This vnion and confederation
of Vtrecht, wrought not ſuch good effects with ſome as they expected, euery one at-
tending vpon the treatie of peace which was labored by the Emperor, (as wee haue
ſayd) at Cologne, excuſing themſelues thereon. Among others Boiſleduke one of the
chiefe townes of Brabant ſtrong and mightie, which diuides the Duchies of Gueldres,
Brabant and the Earldome of Holland, which the ſtates doubting, and hauing ſome ad-
uertiſment thereof (aſſuring themſelues to haue manie partiſans) they ſought firſt D
The ſignior of Boxtel gouernor of Boiſle Duc. by gentle meanes, and then by practiſes to put in a garriſon: which they of Antwerp
did alſo pretend, ſending ſome troupes of their Burgeſes to aſſure themſelues thereof.
Afterwards *Iohn* of Horne, Barron of Boxtell was ſent thether with commiſſion to
gouerne and to aſſure the towne for the ſtates. But as by the changing of captaines
he ſought to bring in a new order and gouernment, hee found great oppoſitions and
manie croſſes by them of the aduerſe partie, eſpecially by one *Henry Bloyman* Bay-
life and by others of the olde councell of the towne, tending to their priuat proffit,
and adhering to the Abbot of Saint Gheertrude, who was gone in the ſtates behalfe,
to the aſſemblie of the treatie of Cologne, and who paſſing that way had ſo perſwa-
ded them, as they deſired nothing more then the iſſue of the ſayd treatie. The ſig- E
nior of Boxtel (found ſo great contradiction, and ſo manie aduerſaries, as hee thought
it beſt to retire, leauing his Sonne *Maximilian* of Horne ſignior of Locren there.
True it is, that before that time the libertie of Religion had beene brought in; and
a ſworne companie of Harguebuziers erected, moſt of all the which were yong men,
who during the Spaniards gouernment were retired out of the towne and had
ſerued the Prince of Orange: theſe men maintained the liberitie of Religion all
they could and ſought to reduce the towne vnder the vnion of Vtrecht, but there
grew ſuch a iealouſie and hatred betwixt the Proteſtants and the Harguebuziers
of the one part, and the old Magiſtrates with the Catholike Romaines on the other:
as when the ſayd companie of Fencers had the gard of the port, the others placed an F
other of their faction in countergarde: ſo as in the end the vnion being proclaimed
as it were by force, there followed ſuch a great tumult betwixt both factions, as being
come to armes, there were aboue a hundred ſlaine & hurt of both ſides. Soone after the
Prince of Parma beeing called by the Catholike Burgers, ſent a trumpet to ſummon
the

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A the towne for the King of Spaine. Then did the Protestants insist more to receiue a garrison of English, Scottish or French, which should come from Brusselles, of which three nations they might haue their choise: but for that they were strangers the Inhabitants would haue none, although it seemed, they would willingly haue receiued that of Bryell. 1579.

Feare seizeth vpon the Protestants of Boilleduc.

The next daie after, as their distrust increased, and the feare of the enemie increased more and more, the Protestants were aduised and did resolue to receiue a garrison, so as they would leaue the ports open to suffer them that would depart, as if their chiefe and greatest feare had beene that they would retaine them. Wherevnto this answere was made. *That if anie one did feare hee might depart, and goe where hee*
B *pleased*. Wherevpon a great multitude went sodenly away out of the towne, one prouoking an other, as it is alwaies the vse and custome in such amazements: which feare did greatlie fortefie the aduerse partie: their retreate was not farre, to Heel, Heusden, Bomel, and diuerse other townes thereabouts of the Hollanders partie. Thus by the pollicie and practises of the one, and by the indiscretion and weakenesse of the other, this towne was abandoned by them of the states faction: and the two companies comming from the Brieyle were not receiued. And as the Spanish faction grew more shameless and insolent, they chased away the rest of the Protestants that were yet remayning: but they would not yet imbrace anie partie: but in the end
C they were perswaded for to reconcile themselues vnto the Noble Prince of Parma, and to receiue the peace of Cologne, so as they should not bee forced to receiue any garrison, without their owne consents: yet they found a great decaie in their commerce and trafficke.

Those of the townes of Amersfort and Montfort, vnder the iurisdiction of Vtrecht, as they also of Zutphen, refused also to submit themselues to the vnion of Vtrecht; wherefore meaning to force them, they beganne first with them of Amersfort, as neerest vnto Vtrecht, beeing accused to bee of a partie contrarie to the states, to haue refused to pay their partes of the contribution; to haue chased away the States garrison and the Protestants ministers, and to haue had secret intelligence with the enemie. Wherefore the towne was beseeged the seauenth day of March in the yeare of our
D Lord 1579. and the tenth daie following reduced vnto reason, manned with a garrison, the Magistrates renued, and the Protestants religion restored as before.

The vnion, and contract made in Vrecht, was signed by the gouernors of the sayd Prouinces, as first by *Iohn* Earle of Nassaue, gouernor of Gelderland and Sutphen, and then by the commities of the other townes and Prouinces, which was done in Vtrecht vpon the 23. of Ianuary, and vpon the fourth of February the deputies of Gant signed to the same. The third of May it was ratefied in Antwerp by the Prince of Orange, and the leauenth of Iune by *George de Lalain* Earle of Renebregh, gouernor of Freeseland, Oueriſsel, Groning, and the terretories thereof, and also by the townes of Bruges, Ipre, Breda, and others, and by that meanes those countries were called the vnited Pro-
E uinces. This vnion made in Vtrecht, produced good fruites amongst the Prouinces and townes, but not so great as were expected, for that many in hope of the peace to bee made in Colen fell from it, and drew backeward, excusing themselues by the same, as in Vtrecht, where by meanes of the iealousie the one had of the other, vpon the tenth daie of Iune, certaine controuersies did rise amongst them, whereby great hurt and insolencie was done in certaine Churches, where the Scoute, Burguemasters, and the Councell of Estates of Vtrecht, desirous to maintaine both the one and the other Religion in peace and vnitie, and to seperate the contentious persons one from the other, the better to withstand the common enemies, after diuers communications, and conferences had concerning the same, by consent of fiue Churches, with-
F in Vtrecht, in the name of the whole spirituality of the one part, and of the Colonels, Captaines, and Commanders of the towne, in the name of Burgers, togither with them of the reformed Religion on the other part, and also by the aduise of the Prince of Orange, gouernor of the towne, townes and terretories of Vtrecht, deuised a certaine contract of a Religions peace, bearing date the fifteene of Iune, making mention of the

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1579 pacification of Gant, the vnion, and 38. articles more, whereby they of the reformed religion had foure Churches and more if need were allowed vnto them. The Catholiks keeping the reſt of the Churches, and order taken for the buriall of the dead, maintayning of peace; and ſuch like things as you may ſee in the printed coppie. A

Groningen refuſing the vnion is forced.

In like manner thoſe of Groningen refuſed. Wherevpon the Earle of Rheneberg Gouernor of Friſeland and of the ſayd towne, receiued commandment from the ſtates to force them vnto it: for which effect he cauſed Delfs Ile, Winſum and other places there abouts to be fortefied. The Groningeois ſeeing themſelues beſeeged a farre off, would prepare to warre, but finding themſelues moſt commonly beaten, and that the chiefe townes in Friſeland were entred into the ſayd vnion, they ſent their deputies to treat an accord, giuing hoſtages, the which were led to Campen: and the 18. of Iune B the Earle of Rheneberg raiſed his campe, and after the compoſition made he entred into the towne as gouernor, depoſed the Magiſtrates, and created new, and there the liberty of Religion was alſo brought in. They of Bruges being ſommoned to receiue the vnion, the Clergy firſt opoſed themſelues, fearing to bee chaſed away (as they ſayd had beene lately done at Vtrecht) to whom there ioyned ſome chiefe men, and ſome of trade being ſtirred vp by the ſeditious preaching of that reuerent Friar *Cornellis* (of whō we haue formerly made mention) notwithſtanding that the Deanes had conſented to the ſayd vnion. The Magiſtrates of Franc whoſe iuriſdiction extends into the country, banded themſelues againſt the Magiſtrates of the towne, prouoking the Burgers to demande a Collonel of the company of Burgers, that were at their deuotion. Where- C vpon the ſecond of Iune the Romiſh Catholiks came in great troupes to Burcht before the towne houſe, and ſpeaking vnto *George Verbrakelen* ſignior of Hauteruie Bourguemaſter, they required to haue *Ieroſme* of Mol ſignior of Watermael to bee giuen them for Collonel, a ſupporter of Friar *Cornellis*.

A tumult at Bruges for the vnion.

The Burguemaſter was amazed at this demande, and would willingly haue delaied it vntill the afternoone, or till the next day, that hee had aſſembled the councell. But they vnderſtanding that the Proteſtants were at their ſermon, they would haue him to name the ſayd Collonel preſently. The Bourguemaſter ſeeing all the gard that was there aſſembled in armes to bee Catholiks, who would not depart, was forced to yeeld vnto them. This Collonel thus made in haſt accepted the charge, and preſently caſſired the D foure companies of ſouldiars that were leuied at the towne charge, diſplaced the eighteene deputies, which were men of good account, and put others in their places that were Catholiks; he would reforme all, and make them take a new oth, and committing many inſolencies, hee ſought for the Miniſter, who was a Wallon, to kill him, and not finding him, he beate his wife and troad her vnder his feete. The Magiſtrates and Burguemaſters ſeeing this diſorder and outrages, and fearing ſome greater inconuenience would follow, cauſed their foure companies of ſouldiars to come, commanding captaine *Hans Flyeſch* to ceaze vpon the Eaſt-gate, and captaine *Reinen Winckelman* of the Bridge which goes to the ſame Port. Captaine *Remy Artrik* had charge to ſeize vpon the Eaſt-ſhambles, and *Anthony Outreman* of the bridge of Oake in the fullers ſtreet, E theſe three laſt looking directly vpon the Market-place. One of the quarter-maſters or captaines of the Burgers, ioyned with the ſouldiars that were at the Eaſt gate with two hundred men. The Catholiks ſeeing this, put themſelues alſo in armes, to keepe the ſoldiars from ioyning. But ſeeing them to make barricadoes whereas they were in gard, and that captaine *Hans Fleyſch* had turned the Cannon towards the towne, keeping the port open to receiue in ſuccors: they went with the ayde of them of Franckford to beſeege the Burcht, they tooke the Magiſtrate priſoner in their towne-houſe, and kept the Proteſtant Burgers from ioyning with the ſoldiars.

A Collonel made in haſt and by force.

Both parties being thus in armes one againſt an other, in danger of great effuſion of bloud, by the meanes of ſome that were more temperate, they fell to parle, ſo as by F night the Magiſtrate was releaſed, vpon condition that the inhabitants ſhould leaue their barricadoes, the which happened in regard of captaine *Winckelman*: and then the accuſtomed gard entred the market-place and the Burcht which the Catholiks would keepe. But they could not ſend any gard to the Eaſt-gate, whether *Winckelman* was retired.

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A Collonell knowing how the Protestants had fortified themselues, did also seaze vppon two bridges, with whom many of Franck and of the Nobility did ioyne. In the meane time eyther party did send for succours abroad: the Catholikes called the Seignior of *la Motte*, and the malcontents, who approached as nere as Roullez, and the Protestants sent to the States, who were in campe at Tourn hout, and vsed more expedition, so as the next day morning eyght companies of Scotishmen of *Balfors* regiment with an 150 horse were at the East-port and entred the towne, marching directly to the market place and the Burcht, from whence the Catholikes fled. Collonell *Nol* abandoned also his Barricadoe, and thinking to saue himselfe by a hole through the towne ditch, was taken being in the water vp to the chinne. All they of Franck were taken prisoners except the Seignior of Breda and Nantius. There were also some of the chiefe mutines prisoners, the which after that the tumult was pacified, and the towne well assured, were deliuered, wherin the Burgers did carry themselues more modestly the they of Arras, in their rash and hasty executions: In the meane time the churches remained shut vp, and the Priests were fled away, since the which time the Catholikes remained, to whome the exercise of their religion was allowed, so as it were done without any brute or scandale. The Malecontents seeing that they were come an hower to late returned to *Menin*, burning that goodly Borrugh of Roullez for despight: the which was much to be pitied, being one of the most famous places of Flanders, for the infinit store of fine linnen cloth, that was vsually made there. 1579.

The States more quicke to succor Bruges.

B

C They of Brugges, hauing found them of Franck faulty in this and other things, determined vpon very good reasons to breake the member of Vrie, being one of the foure members of Flanders, and to bring the most part of it vnder the member of Bruges, but *Noel Carron* Seignior of Schoonewall (who that daie had beene imprisoned by the mutines in the towne house, and in daunger of his life, by reason of certaine letters of credit, sent vnto him by the Prince of Orange, which the mutinous companies, would conster as pleased them) resolued together with D. *Nansius*, and Mounsier *Withs*, *Schoti*, and *Capelle* (that had not medled with the said vprore) to seeke the liberty of the said Vrie or Franck, and at the last proceeded so farre therein, that

D they of Bruges granted to their desires, and the rather, for that they saw, that they of Gant, and of Ipre pretended to draw the best part of the Vrie vnto them, and by that meanes the member of the Vrie or Franck by there diligence, wisdomes, and authorities, was againe restored to the former State. Whilest that these things were in managing, and that the one were laboring to vnite them selues; and the other to disioyne and reconcile them-selues, the Prince of Parma lost no opportunity: for hauing gathered to gether all his forces, hee went to beseege (as wee haue said) the towne of Maestricht, which he sodenly caused to be inuested by his horse men; then his foot-men being arriued he camped of either side of the riuer of Meuse, causing forts to be built vpon all the approches.

Maestricht beseeged by the Prince of Parma

E The beseeged had within the towne a thousand soldiars, French, Wallons, Scottish and others, and twelue hundred Bourgers well armed. The Prince of Parma's army approching, some two thousand peasants with there wiues and children fled into the towne for their safeties, as into a place well assured. These poore men did great seruice in ramparing and countermyning, whereas the greatest part of them were slaine. The Seignior of *la Noue* was sent thether, but to late by reason of the great dilligence and speed the prince of Parma made to inuest it round, so as *la Noue* turned to Antwerp: Captaine Bastien a Frenchman, who comanded in the towne, did his best endeauor to defend it, affronting the Spanish campe dayly in diuers skirmishes, and annoying them greatly. The Prince of Parma (by the generall consent of all his Commannders) was aduised, to plant his cannon, whereas the

F towne seemed most weake, and vnfurnished of defence and the ditches narrow, that they might haue the better meanes to go to the Assault. But they that gaue him this councell, did not consider, that on the same side there was a great and large voyd place within the towne, where they (if they were industrious and tooke paines) might easelie make a new rampar and a double ditch: yet hee did batter

it

1579. it with about fifty peeces of ordinance, cannon, demie cannon and culuering. His first breach was made towards Liege, being ready to giue an assault, those that went to discouer the breach, found the ditch to be good and large, filled with powlder and peeces of yron; which the besieged had layed there, to set fire on comming to the assault. Which the Spaniards seeing, they did forbeare, changing their batterie to another quarter, where hee also made a great breach. This done the Prince of Parma hauing taken councell of his Collonels, resolued to assaile the Towne on both sides: The first assault was giuen to the Tierce or Regiment of the holy League (being so called for that they had beene with *Don Iohn* of Austria, at the defeat of the Turke, in the Strait of Lepanto) the second was giuen to the Tierce of Lombardie. Before they began to goe to the assault, they shotte eight houres continually at either breach. Collonell *Mondragon* was on the other side of the Riuer, shooting continually with two field peeces, vppon them that presented themselues to defend the second breach. First the Italiens of Collonel *Fabio Farneze* aduanced vnto the first breach: The Spaniards seeing it, being iealous that the honor of the victorie should bee attributed onely to the Italiens, ranne so sodainly to the assault, as they aduanced the others, and came to the toppe of the breach, fighting very furiously, whereas they were as couragiously resisted.

An assault appointed.

Before they went to the assault, they sette fire to a Myne, but it wrought small effect. The combat was so furious on either side, as the one would not yeeld nor giue ground to the other, neither was there euer place better assailed nor better defeded: the assault was but newly begũ at the first breach, whenas a horse-man came first alone, & then two others after crying to their men, that the second breach was wone; and in like manner messengers went to the second breach, crying that the first was forced: The which was but an inuention to incourage the assaylants, and discourage the defendants, hearing that their companies had beene forced on the other side. But whether the besieged discouered the practise, or that they were all resolued to die, & that to abandon it and to flye, could not preserue them, they defended themselues so valiantly as after the losse of many men, the Spaniard was forced to retyer. The greatest slaughter which the besieged made at these two breaches, was by six shippe peeces, and certaine harquebusses a croke, which flanked both the one and the other breach, from a Tower which the Spaniards could not beate downe; shooting continually, being charged with chambers, so as standing still firme, they neuer altred their marke, but were as sodainly charged as they were discharged. In this assault there died fifteene Captains and fiue Enseignes Spaniards: thirteene Italien Captaines, and about 3000. soldiers; For besides that they within the towne slue very many, fire fell into certaine barrells of powlder through the indiscretiõ of some soldiers going to fil their flaskes. There died many also of them within the towne but most part Peasants, whome *Mondragons* two peeces did wonderfully annoy. The besieged gaue the States to vnderstand how they had carryed themselues in these two assaults, requiring succors, the which were promised them: for the effecting whereof those of Antwerp did their vttermost indeauors, euery Burger and marchant, contributing a portion to relieue it, and to hasten the succors. But as in such affaires wee see (insteed of expedition) there is most commonly an iff, a when, or a how: Matters were so protracted and delayed, as after the Burgers had their mony disburc'd, the succors could not be made ready vntill the Towne was out of hope, and in the end lost: yet it held out very long, and resisted this mighty army beyond mens expectation.

A braue assault well defended.

A deere Assault without any fruite.

They of Antwerp labor to releeue Maestricht.

Whilst that the Prince of Parma was thus busied before Maestricht, those of Gant being very desirous to doe some seruice to the publike cause, and to doe an affront vnto those prouinces which laboured for a priuate reconciliation, which might hinder the conclusion: They sent foure companies of Wallons, to make an enterprise vppon the Towne of Douay, with the intelligence which Captaine *Cosne Pesarengis A Piedmontois* (who had beene sometimes a Lombard in the said Towne) said hee had with many of the baser sort.

Iohn Francis Petit the Author of this worke.

These foure companies (whereof I had the leading and charge) the first being that

A that of the sayd *Cosme*, the second of captaine *Mathew Villers*, the third of captaine *La Croix*, and the forth of captaine *Alladio*, with about thirtie horse, the which captaine *Hubert* did command, parted from Dynse, a little towne three leagues from Gant, as secretly as they could, and marched daie and night without any rest vntill they came about mid-night before Douay, on that side of the port of Ock, whereas they placed themselues in a great Farme, attending the breake of day, and the opening of the port. There was within the towne fifteene souldiars and a Sargent called *Vetspecke*, attired like marchants, who on the Thursdaie morning before Easterdaie should seize vpon the port. But beeing open, these souldiars hauing staied too long at break-fast, (to put themselues in heart) two poore women going towardes the B town, did aduertise a countrey-man being at plough, that this farme was ful of Spaniards. 1579.

This honest laborer (to whom the name of a Spaniard was odious) vnharnised one of his horses, and ranne to giue aduertisement to the towne: Captaine *Villers* following him as fast as his horse could runne cryed to him to staie, who still making hast (as captaine *Hubert* and my selfe aduanced with ten or twelue horse to seize vpon the Barre) hee discharged his pistoll at him: at which noyse they that were in gard at the port shut the Barre, which kept vs from entring: and in the meane time the fifteene souldiars that were within the towne, came vnto the gate, and were readie to seize thereon, but hearing the bell ouer the port giue the alarum, and seeing the Barre shut, they retired backe into the towne, and saued themselues by the other ports, all but the C Sargent, who was taken flying to the Rampar, and suffred for all the rest. The enterprise hauing thus fayled, wee put our selues notwithstanding in battaile, and sommoned the towne to receiue a garrison for the Archduke and the States. It seemed that some of the Burgers would haue yeelded therevnto: but the signior of Hertain made vs no answere but with the Cannon, which forced vs to retire, marching away like souldiars without any losse.

The Malcontents of Menin and Lanon, hearing that the souldiars of the foure members of Flanders were gone so farre vp into the countrie with so small a troupe, ment to attend vs in our returne, and knowing that wee were lodged at Blandin, a league from Tournay, they came with three hundred horse and some eight hundred foote D to charge vs. But wee beeing intrencht within the Church-yard, and hauing stopt vp all the passages with Barricadoes, these Malcontents hauing made diuers attempts from nine of the clocke at night vntill three in the morning, and could not force vs, beeing couered with the wall of the Church-yard, hauing set fire of the Parsonage house, the hospitall, of the lodging of the signior of *Courtenbus*, and of some other parts of the village, hauing lost aboue a hundred men, they retired, carrying awaie seauen or eight Wagons full of hurt men, fearing least at the breake of daie, those of Tournay (who had all the night heard their charges) should come to succor vs: Daie being come wee past by the suburbes of Tournay with the consent of the Prince of Espinoy, the Malcontents coasting vs on the other side of the riuer of Escaut, neere E vnto Audenarde. I had commission from the Magistrats of Gant for the order that should bee held in Douay, if the enterprise had succeeded. I cannot say whether it were resolutly or rashly done to attempt so great a towne with so small a troupe, bnt I am sure the Prince of Orange (without whose priuitie this enterprise was made) told mee at our returne, (relating vnto him the whole attempt) that wee were hardie fooles.

The 28. of May on Assention day, the Clergie of Antwerp being growne bould, and presuming vpon the presence of the Archduke *Mathias* Gouernor generall, and some Noblemen that were Catholiks, notwithstanding the perswasion of some to desist, for feare of an inconuenience and to be satisfied in making it in our Ladies great Church, F would needs make their procession generall throughout the towne, after their accustomed manner. But as they thought to passe by the Mill-streete, the Burgers that were in gard, by their captaines commandement, withstood their passage. Wherevpon some Italien Marchants drawing their rapiers would haue caused the procession to passe by force. The Burgers making head against them, discharged some shot, so as there was a man

A tumult in Antwerp at a generall procession.

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1579 man and a woman ſlaine, the Prieſts & the whole proceſſion flying towards the Church, A
in ſo great a preſſe as one troad vpon an other: which tumult cauſed a generall Alarme throughout the Towne, and did much perplexe them that had ſaued themſelues within the Church.

The Prince of Orange arriued with his Guard, and pacified the multitude, who cryed continually **Pape buit, Pape buit**, that is to ſay away with the Prieſtes, away with the Prieſts. The Arch-duke & his followers who were at the ſaid proceſſion, were in like ſort retired into the Church, whome the Prince brought forth, promiſing that no Prieſts ſhould come out, vntil it were otherwiſe decreed, within three houres, which the people limited, vpon promiſe that in the meane time they ſhould not offer any violence:

The Prieſts & Monks chaſed out of Antwerp by the people.

but afterwards they demanded to haue them all chaſed out of the Towne: which the B
Prince & the Collonells of the Towne refuſing ſo to doe, the people tooke all the Chanoyns, Prieſts and Monkes to the number of ſixe-ſcore, and ledde them to the Hauen, where they ſhipt them, and carried them two Leagues of from the Towne, ſuffering euery one to go where he pleaſed: The Arch-duke, Prince and States tooke this act of the confuſed multitude in very ill part: Where-vpon and for the new beating downe of Images at Vtrecht and at Macklyn, the Malecontents tooke an aduantage, giuing ſome Noblemen occaſion to ioyne with them, among others the Earle of Egmont and the Baron of Freſin. The fourth of Iune the Earle who as yet did couertly hold the

A ſham-full enterprize made by the Earle of Egmont.

party of the Malecontents and Spaniards, came early in the morning with his Regi-
ment before the Towne of Bruſſelles, where giuing them to vnderſtand that he went to C
ſeeke the enemie, who had certaine diſſeignes (for in that quarter of Brabant there was no ſpeech of any Malecontents, nor other enemies, but Spaniards) hee drew all his Regiment into the Towne by the high gate, cauſing them to aduance vnto the market place, and to a place called Kanteſteen.

The Burgers were on the ſodaine much amazed at theſe vnexpected troopes, ſeeing them to ſeaze vppon the chiefe parts of the Towne; where-vpon they went to Armes, euery one comming out of his houſe halfe vnready, and ioyned with certaine companies of the Regiment of *Oliuer vanden Timpell* Seignior of Corbeke, Gouernor of the towne, being there in garriſon. VVho being incouraged, and fortified, ſhut vp the Earle of Egmont and his men, with wagons, carts, tables, formes and other thinges fit D
for that purpoſe, being in the market-place and elſewhere, ſo as they could not aduance any further into the Towne, hauing Barricadoes made againſt them. And whereas the ſaide Earle left ſome threeſcore ſoldiers at the Port, the Seignior *Bemberghe* Collonell of the Burgers went to charge them in the flanke on either ſide of the Rampar, ſo as they were forced to abandon the ſayd Port. In the meane time the Seignior *Vanden Timpell* fortified the Court with ſome of his Regiment. The Earle being thus beſieged in the midſt of the Towne, and taken like a mouſe in trap, the Burgers were wonderfully incenſed, and ready to fall vppon him and his men: In this Eſtate hee pleading ſimplicity, and ſpeaking them fayre, and the Burgers being in armes, they ſtood one againſt another two daies and two nights, vntill the Seignior of Liſſieldt, Councellor of State, E
and other Deputies, being ſent from the Arch-duke and the Prince of Orange, did pacifie the Burgers: who in the meane time did great affronts vnto the Earle, ſhewing him the place whereas his father eleuen yeares before on the ſame day that hee attempted this enterpriſe had his head cut off by the Spaniards, whoſe party hee held; with a thouſand other reproches: telling him that if he did but vnpaue a ſtone or two, he ſhould yet ſee his fathers bloud: The which did ſo vexe him, as hee wept for griefe that his enterpriſe had bene ſo vnfortunate. By this meanes he was forced, and very willingly to retyer with his men, without any effuſion of bloud of either part, yet not without great danger: For all the time hee remained thus coopt vp, they had great difficultie to reſtraine the Burgers, who were once reſolued to ſette fire vppon all the hou- F
ſes about the Market-place, and ſoe to burne him and all his men, but a better aduice hindred it.

The Prince of Parma hauing receiued ſo great loſſes (as we haue ſaid) in his aſſaults before Maeſtricht, as wel of men that were ſlain, as of them that were wounded & made vnfit

A vnfit to fight, and that all his Artillery was not sufficient to batter so great a towne: hee intreated the Liegeois to lend him twenty peeces, the which they not onely granted with all munition requisite, but they also sent him 4000. pioners. Being then resolued not to rise from before it vntil he had taken the towne, he drew all the men he could out of the garisons that were neere vnto him, with the which he fortefied his campe. And seeing that he preuayled little by mine, batterie or assault, hee caused a high Cauelier to be made close vnto the towne, whereby hee might discouer all that was done within: without doubt the Prince shewed himselfe in all his preparations and attempts very actiue and diligent: and the rather for that hee did see the States protract the succors which they had promised vnto the sayd towne: and the bad order there was among the B Commaders in the conduct of this warre by their weake resolutions, rather hindred by contrarieties, then aduanced as was fitting, which caused the people of Antwerp to murmur greatly, hating contributed so much to succor them. Notwithstanding all this, the besieged fainted not: besides they were aduertised that they came to succor them and to raise the campe, with a hundred Ensignes of foote and 3000. horse. There was a little Iland in the midest of the riuer of Meuse, the Spaniards beeing of opinion that if they were masters thereof, it would annoie them much, whereupon they went into it and intrenched themselues: but they were so anoied and galled from the towers and walles of the towne as they were forced to retire, and to abandon it.

Moreouer there was a great rauelin ioyning without the rampar, with a large ditch, C the which did defend the courtine of the sayd rampar; the Spaniards would gladly haue seized thereon, that they might go more freely to the assault of the Courtine. It was sorely battred and often assaulted, yet could they not carry it in thirty daies, notwithstanding that the ditch towards the campe was filled vp with bauins and earth. In the end the Spaniards gaue a most furious assault, continuing and fortifying it still with fresh men, so as Maugre any resistance, they forced the defendants to retire vnto the rampar, at which assault, the signior of Hierges Earle of Barlaimont Collonel of a regiment of Wallons, a braue knight, was shot with a Harquebuse, whereof hee died soone after.

The States knowing well that the besieged had neede of many things, thinking to D victuall it, they found that all the passages were held by the enemies, and that there was no accesse vnto the towne by land, so as they resolued to send their supplies by the riuer of Meuse, in the midest whereof the Spaniards had a great shippe of warre, well armed, to stoppe the passage. But the high waters, and the swiftnesse of the streame, forced them to way anchor, and to haue giuen passage to the states shippes, if they had come in time (the which by their delay was neglected) it had beene effected, but in the meane time the Spaniards gaue them other lets. The besieged made many signes in the night, to let their confederats vnderstand in what extremitie they were. But seeing they fed them but with vaine hopes, and that the states did not greatly affect their succors, they beganne to growe somewhat cold, and to loose part of their first resolu- E on, which they had shewed in so many hard assaults, which they had defended: and finding that they wanted poulder, and that they had lost many men, and withall that the plague and other diseases did daily consume more, they began to giue eare vnto the enemy, seeming willing to accept of reasonable conditions, whereunto the Spaniard seemed to incline, so as during these parlees they became more remisse and careless, and did not performe their duties at their gards as they had beene wont.

In the meane time the Spaniards hauing beene so often chased from their rampars, did not returne to a new assault, but filling the ditch with earth, they came and lodged close to the wall, so as they might incounter the besieged with stones, and in this manner they did often skyrmish. But the besieged relying much vpon their treatie of an F accord, which they did hope soone to obtaine, were no more so actiue nor vigilant as they had wont to bee, wherevpon the Spaniards and Germaines creeping closely by the breach vnto the toppe of the rampar, did note and obserue the countenance of the besieged, and what was done within the towne, and that all the gard was almost a sleepe with their great toile, whereof they made report vnto the Prince of Parma: the which

1579. The Liegeois helpe the Spaniards at the campe before Maestricht.

The States negligent to succor Maestricht.

An other assault whereat the signior of Hierges was slaine.

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1579. he vnderstanding, although they were readie to part, yet hee commanded that they A
An assault giuen to Maestricht during a part and the towne taken with fury. should goe and assaile them in diuers places as couertly as they could: so as the 29. of Iuly the Spaniards, Wallons, Italiens and Germaines beeing put in battaile, they aduanced without any brute by the breaches to the toppe of the rampar, and cut the Corps de garde in peeces; so as notwithstanding any resistance they forced the towne and carryed it with a terrible furie, putting all to the sword, they incountred for three houres space; sparing neither men nor women, young nor olde, vntill that the Prince commanded them to cease from killing. Then they began to take the Burgers prisoners and to ransome them, yet this was a deere conquest vnto them, for they lost many men there: few of the states soldiars escaped the sword, but all were slaine. Captaine *Bastien* who commanded there, was sore hurt and brought prisoner to the Prince of B
Captaine Bastien taken prisoner. Parma, who for his valour receiued him courteously.

Swartsenburg of Herld was there slaine, and so Maestricht, after foure monthes siege was won, being one of the resolutest, and valianteſt defended townes, (considering the small meanes that it had) of all the former townes that were won by the enemy. Since that time the towne is wholy wasted, and in a manner desolate for that there stayed not aboue 300. Burgers therein, which afterward likewise went away, in whose places many Liegoeis came thether, and is yet a ruinated towne, the inhabitants beeing most soldiers that lie there in garrison, who afterwards burnt vp the emptie houses, for fire-wood: with this siege, the Prince of Parma's forces were much weakened, so as after that victorie hee could not attempt any thing of importance, and hee himselfe was very sicke. C

The losse of this towne caused many to murmur, and to accuse the states of negligence, for that they had not releeued it in time, as they might well haue, if they had vsed diligence and done their endeauors. During this siege they of Arthois and Henault, Lille, Douay, Orchies, Valenciennes Macklin and some castles of Flanders, hauing their deputies in the campe with the Prince of Parma, obtained their reconciliation, the which was concluded the seauenth day of May, and confirmed by letters patents the twelfth of September as followeth.

A priuat reconciliation of Arthois Henault &c. „ *Philip* by the grace of God, King of Castille, Leon Arragon &c. To all them to D
„ whom these presents shall come greeting. As after the retreat of our deare and wel-
„ beloued brother *Don Iohn* of Austria (deceased) vnto the castle of Namur, beeing then
„ Gouernor and captaine generall of our seauenteene Prouinces; there had happened
„ many dislikes and discords betwixt him and the generall Estates of our sayd Prouinces,
„ the which not beeing able to bee pacified, by the conferences that had beene made to
„ that end, had bred (to our great griefe) a great and cruell warre, to the ruine and deso-
„ lation of a good part of our countrie. Beeing therefore desirous to doe the part of a
„ father and a good Prince hauing since these last troubles alwaies sought the meanes
„ of reconciliation. Finally by our deere and welbeloued Nephew the Prince of Par-
„ ma and *Placentia*, Lieutenant, Gouernor and Captaine generall of our Netherlands,
„ with our Prouinces of Arthois, Henault, Lille, Douay, and Orchies, hauing to that E
„ end sent the reuerent father in God, *Mathew Moulard*, Bishoppe of Arras, *Iohn* of
„ Noricarmes Knight, Barron of Selles a gentleman of our priuie chamber, and Lieute-
„ nant of our gard, and *William le Vasseur*, signior of Valhuon, hath offred vnto them
„ in our name, the entertainment of the pacification of Gant, the vnion which followed,
„ and the perpetuall Edict, as also vnto the deputies of our other Prouinces in our towne
„ of Antwerp, by letters of the twelfth day of March last past. Which offers beeing
„ reiected by the deputies of some Prouinces, and otherwise interpreted then was our
„ intention; had by the sayd three Prouinces of Arthois, Henault, Lille, Douay and Or-
„ chies (vnderstanding better our sincere intention) beene imbraced: the sayd three Pro-
„ uinces hauing resolued vpon certaine points and articles, thereby to purchase a good F
„ reconciliation; which points after many conferences held in our Citty of Arras, be-
„ twixt the deputies of our sayd Nephew, & the deputies of the sayd 3. Prouinces, the 17.
„ of May last past haue bin concluded: which being presented to our said good Nephew
„ in our campe before Maestricht, to haue his consent and approbation, there was some

difficulty

A difficulty found in them: where-vpon it was decreed that commissioners should be depu- 1579.
ted on our behalfe and for the said Prouinces to explaine the said difficulties: and that
according to their resolution, the agreation and oth should be allowed which our said
Nephew the Prince of Parma tooke the twenty nine of Iune last past. According to
the which, there was sent on our behalfe, to our towne of *Mons*, our deere and faithfull
cousine the earle of Mansfeldt, Baron of Heldrune, knight of our order of the golden
fleese, of our councell of State, Gouernor & Captaine generall of our duchy of Luxem-
bourg, and marshal of our campe, and our beloued and faithful knights *Iohn* of Noyelles
Seignior of Rossignol of our councel at war; and *Adrien* of Gomicourt Seignior of the
same place a gentleman of our household, together with *Iohn* of Vendiuille, and *Anthonie*
B *Hault* Doctors of the law, councellors and maisters of request in ordinary of our priuie
councell, and *George* of Wezendorp a Doctor also of the law, and one of our councell
in Freesland, who hauing conferred there-vpon with our well-bee-loued and faithfull
cousine *Robert* of Melun Marquis of Rombais, Seneshall of Henault, vicont of Gant. &c.
Gouernor and captaine generall of our country and Conty of Arthois, and of our
towne and Baylewike of Hesdin: and with our deere and welbeloued the Deputies of
the country of Arthois, and with our deere and faithfull cousine *Philip* Earle of Lalain,
Gouernor, captaine Generall and great baylife of our country and conty of Henault,
and our deere and wel-be-loued the Deputies of the said country: our most deere and
faithfull *Maximilian Villian* Baron of Rassengien Gouernor and Captaine generall of
C the townes and Castells of Lille, Douay and Orchies: *Adrian Dogines* knight, Seignior
of Villerval, and our deere and welbeloued the Deputies of the said townes and
Castles, with other associates assembled in our said towne of *Mons*, haue concluded
and resolued vpon the said doubts and difficulties: wee therefore make it knowne that
the premises considered by the aduice and councell of our said good nephew the Prince
of Parma, and of our councell of State being with him, haue conformable to the said
Articles, for vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyned and decreed, ordeine and decree,
in forme of a perpetual edict irreuocable for euer, the points and articles which follow.

First that the treaty of pacification made at Gant, the Vnion, perpetuall Edict, and
ratification which followed on our behalfe shall remaine in their full force, and vertue,
D and shall be really effected in all points. And the better to vnite our said subiects in a
good vnion and concord, for the seruice of GOD, maintenance of the Catholike,
Apostolike and Romish Religion, obedience due to vs, and for the quiet, good and tran-
quility of our said countries: we haue granted, and doe grant a perpetuall forgetfullnes
of either side, of all that hath bene said or done, in what sort or manner soeuer, from the
first alterations, or by reason thereof; freeing them from all reproch or serch of Iudges
and other officers, as for matters which had neuer happned: ordayning that all sentences
and decrees made to that end, as well in these countries as where-so euer vnder our
iurisdiction, by reason of the troubles past, shall be disanulled and rased out of the re-
gesters, as an absolute discharge of all those hauing followed the one or the other party
E that doe contract. To which end wee haue defended and doe defend all men indiffe-
rently, of what quality or condition soeuer, to reproch one another, by reason of that
is past, yet not comprehending in this abolition or forgetfullnes, the common enemies
of vs and the said reconciled Prouinces, being banished or called to answere, for that
they had conspired against some townes. Not-with-standing wee haue ratified and
doe ratifie and allow that which in the said reconciled Prouinces hath beene promised
and granted by our Brother, and Nephew the Archduke *Mathias*, the estates and the
councell of State, so farre forth as the ordinary authority of our Gouernors and
Lieutenants generall in our Netherlands hath hethereto streched. And in regard of
prouisions especially reserued vnto our selfe, at the instance, request and intreaty of
F the said estates, wee haue in like sort confirmed and doe confirme them for this time
only, vnlesse it appeers that such as are aduanced be no Catholikes, and not qualified as
is fitting, to excuse the said offices, and that they be not repugnant to the pacification of
Gant, Vnion, perpetuall Edict, and the rights, preuiledges and freedomes of the coun-
try, as well in generall as in particular, referring not-with-standing all prouisions that

1579 might be made since the 17. of May last past, the which shalbe held for voide, not comprehending therein any of our Councellors of state or treasor. Wee will not prosecute or call in question, nor cause any one to be called in question for the demolition or beating downe of any castles or forts, which castles or forts may not be reedified nor built vp againe in the reconciled Prouinces, without the expresse consent of the Estates of euery Prouince in particular. *Item* wee doe grant, decree and ordaine, that all our men of warre as well Spaniards, Italians, Albaneses, Bourguignons and other strangers, not pleasing to the States, accepting this present treaty, shall depart out of our sayd Netherlands, and out of the Dutchy of Luxembourg, six-weekes after the publication of this present accord, or sooner if the army before mentioned may be leuied & on foote; and in case that prouisions necessary for their departure may bee sooner made ready: but how soeuer they shall depart within sixe weekes, for that the sayd Estates haue promised vs to imploy themselues with our counties withall dilligence and without fraude, for the leuying of the sayd army against the time of the departure of the sayd strangers, who within six-weekes after shall goe out of our county of Bourgondie, and neuer returne more into our sayd Netherlands, nor any others to bee sent thether, vnlesse we be ingaged in some forraine warres, and generally hauing no vrgent necessity the which shalbe well knowne and aprooued by the sayd Estates. And in like sort the the sayd Estates shall cause all French, Scottish or other strangers, ouer whome they haue any command or authority, to depart out of the countrey.

And the sayd men of warre, Spaniards, Italiens, Germains, Bourguignons and others, at their departure out of any townes and castles shall leaue all victualls, artillery, and munition there being. And such Ordinance as hath beene drawne out of any forts, they shalbe bound to returne them to the same places, from whence they were taken, with the first oportunitie, and not to transport them out of the country, which townes and castles of the sayd reconciled Prouinces, with all the victualls, artillerie and munition that shalbe in them, wee shall put (that is to say those that are vnder the gouernment of Henault within twenty daies after the publication of these presents, and the rest where soeuer they bee seated within twentie daies after) into the hands of them that are borne in the Netherlands, qualefied according to the preuiledges thereof, and pleasing vnto the Estates of the reconciled Prouinces respectiuely. During the which time of the retreate of the sayd strangers, wee with the sayd reconciled Prouinces shall at our cost and charges raise an armie of them of the countrie pleasing to vs and the sayd Prouinces. Prouided alwaies that the sayd Prouinces shall assist vs by contribution according vnto the twentieth article following, for the maintaynance of the Catholike Apostolike and Romish Religion, and the obedience due vnto vs, according to the pacification of Gant, vnion, perpetuall Edict, and this present treaty, in all points and articles. We command all Estates and gouernors both generall and particular, Consulls and Magistrates of Luxembourg and Bourgongne to maintaine in full force and vertue, the perpetuall Edict and this present treaty, and to take an oth and giue a sufficient act of all aboue mentioned. As also the Estates shall for their parts doe their duties reciprocally for to the end the traffick and comerce may be free betwixt the sayd countries, as it hath beene in former times with all assurance. All prisoners shall be deliuered of either side presently after the publication of this treaty, so far forth as it shalbe in their powre, without paying of any ranfome. And in regard of goods seized on, arrested and detained of either side since the pacification of Gant, as well in our sayd Netherlands, as in Bourgongne and els where; euery one shal presently re-enter into all his immouable goods, and as for the mouable, euery one shalbe also repossest, if they were not alienated by authority and order of iustice, or by the Magistrats, being forced thereunto by some popular tumult, wherein shalbe comprehended the goods of such prisoners as are detained by them of Gant and their adherents. And as for rents charged vpon the sayd goods, they shall gouerne themselues according to the 14. 15. and 16. article of the pacification of Gant, beginning at the feast of S. *Iohn Baptist.* 1579. Wee haue, and doe maintaine all new Gouernors of countries townes, places and forts that are reconciled as before the retreat of our deceased deere Brother *Don Iohn* of Nauar.

As

A As alſo thoſe ſhalbe maintained that haue beene aduanced to any Gouernments that were voide by death. And as for ſuch Gouernors as haue beene placed by prouiſion by reaſon of the impriſonment and detention of ſome Noblemen. They ſhalbe continued vntill the releaſe and returne of the ſayd priſoners. Alwaies prouided that if the ſayd priſoners ſhould chance to die, prouiſion ſhould bee made according to the eighteenth Article, promiſing for our part not to diſplace any one, ſo as hee hath held the partie of the Eſtates during theſe alterations, and maintained the Catholike and Romiſh Religion, according to the pacification of Gant, the vnion which followed, and the perpetuall Edict, and ſhall not hereafter do any act that may be preiudiciall to this preſent treaty of reconciliation. 1579.

B And for better aſſurance we haue and do ordaine according to the leauenth article of the perpetuall Edict, that the ſayd Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces and all perſones in any dignitie, Gouernors, Magiſtrates, Burgeſes and Inhabitants of Townes and Bourroes, whereas thereis any garriſon, and the ſouldiars ioyntly with them, and alſo all the Inhabitants of any townes and villages, whereas thereis not any garriſon, withall others that haue any Eſtates, charges or Offices of warre or otherwiſe, ſhall take an oth to maintaine the Catholike Religion, and obedience due to vs, according to the ſayd pacification, the vnion which followed, the perpetuall Edict and this preſent treatie. And not to receiue change or admit any garriſon without the priuitie of the gouernor generall of the Prouince, and the aduiſe of the Eſtates of euery Prouince, or of their de-
C puties. Alwaies prouided that in caſe of vrgent neceſſitie, the ſayd Prouinciall Gouernor, may haue garriſons in forts whereas they haue beene accuſtomed to bee, hauing taken an oth and being at our ſeruice in euery Prouince.

Wee promiſe not to charge nor cauſe to bee charged the townes nor countrie of the ſayd reconciled Prouinces, with any ſtrange ſouldiars, nor with them of the countrie, vnleſſe they ſhall deſire it by reaſon of warre or ſome imminent dangers, or that they haue beene vſually accuſtomed to haue them, in which caſe the garriſons ſhall bee of the naturall borne of the countrie, pleaſing to the ſayd Eſtates reſpectiuely. Wee will and ordaine that in all Townes and Borroughs where the Magiſtrates haue
D beene renewed, extraordinarilie ſince the beginning of the troubles, ſhall bee reſtored according to the cuſtomes and preuiledges of euery place, obſerued in the time of the happie and glorious memorie of the Emperor *Charles* our Lord and father. And that order bee giuen the ſayd Magiſtrates bee reſpected and obeied, as is fit, for the auoyding of all new inconueniences.

Wee promiſe to imploy alwaies in the generall gouernment of our Netherlands a Prince or Princeſſe of our bloud, hauing the partes and qualities requiſite for ſo great a charge, wherewith our ſubiects ought in reaſon to bee ſatisfied, who ſhall gouerne with all Iuſtice and equitie, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of the countrie, taking a ſollemne oth to maintaine the pacification of Gant, the vnion which
E followed, the perpetuall Edict, and this preſent treatie, in all points and Articles, and namely the Catholike, Romiſh Religion and our due obedience, fore-warning the ſayd Eſtates as wee haue accuſtomed of our choiſe; meaning that our Nephew for ſixe moneths (for the great deſire which wee haue aboue all things, to procure the peace and quiet of our good ſubiects) ſhall doe his beſt endeauor to aduance and effect the retreat of the ſtrangers and the deliuerie of places, to bee preſently receiued in the gouernment generall of our ſayd Netherlands, obſeruing the accuſtomed ſollemnities. And for the better ſatisfaction of our ſayd Eſtates and ſubiects, hee ſhalbe ſerued by them that are naturall borne in the countrie, and by as fewe ſtrangers as may be. And the more to gratefie them, we deſire that hee ſhall not entertaine aboue 25. or 30. ſtrangers, who ſhall not in any ſort deale with the affaires of the country. Hauing
F notwithſtanding ſuch a gard, as precedent Gouernors, Princes or Princeſſes of our bloud haue beene accuſtomed to haue, of Archers and Halbardiers borne in the countrie, or Germaines, vnder Commanders of qualitie of the countrie, with which our ſayd Nephew, the Eſtates ſhall hold good correſpondencie from hence-forth, and ſhall aduertiſe him of all things that ſhall paſſe touching the execution of the ſayd treatie,

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1579. and al that which depends thereon, all commiſſions, prouiſions and Edicts being made A
by and in our name onely. At the end of which ſixe moneths, if we haue not aduanced
to the ſaid gouernment, either him or ſome other of the like quality (to the end that no
diſorder nor confuſion ſhall happen) it ſhall bee gouerned by the councell of eſtate,
attending a new proviſion.

Which councell of eſtate ſhall conſiſt of twelue men at our choyſe, as well noblemen
& gentlemen as lawyers, borne in the contry, as hath bin accuſtomed: wherof two third
parts ſhall be pleaſing to the ſayd eſtates, and ſuch as haue followed their party from the
beginning vnto the ending. Of the which fiue ſhall haue an accuſtomed commiſſion
from vs, and the other three but a ſimple prouiſion for three monethes, at the end
whereof we may (if wee pleaſe) continue them, or choſe others of the like quality, to B
leaue a meanes for the Prouinces to reconcile them-ſelues. And with the reſolution
and aduiſe of the founder part of them, (who ſhall be bound to take the oth aboue men-
tioned) all diſpatches ſhall be made as in the time of our moſt honored Lord and father,
the Emperor *Charles* which ſhall be viewed by one of the ſaid councellors, to preuent
all inconueniences. That to all Gouernments which hereafter for ſixe yeares to come
ſhall fall voyde in the ſaid prouinces reconcyled, we ſhall preferre ſuch as are borne in
our Netherlands, or ſtrangers, either of them being pleaſing vnto the eſtates of the
ſaid Prouinces reſpectiuely, capable, fit and qualified according to the preuiledges
thereof.

And as for our priuie councellors, of the treaſor, and other officers of im- C
portance, we will aduance ſuch as are borne in the country, or others to the good like-
ing of the ſaid eſtates, who before their reception ſhall be bound to ſweare ſollemnly
this preſent accord, and promiſe by oth in caſe they ſhall diſcouer any thing that is
treated to the preiudice thereof, to aduertiſe the eſtats of the Prouinces, vpon paine
to be held periured and infamous. We haue alſo ratified and do ratifie all conſtitu-
rions of rents, penſions and other obligations, aſſurances and other impoſitions, which
the ſaid eſtates by the accord of euery Prouince haue made or paſt, or ſhal make or paſſe,
to all thoſe that haue aſſiſted or furniſhed them with mony to releeue their neceſſities,
and payment of debts contracted by reaſon of the warres and troubles paſt, conforma-
ble to the eighteene Article of our perpetuall edict. And hereafter they ſhall not bee D
taxed nor charged in any other ſort nor manner, then they haue beene in the time
and raigne of our deceaſed Lord and Father *Charles* the fift, and by the conſent of the
Eſtates of euery Prouince reſpectiuely.

That all priuiledges, vſes and cuſtomes, as well in generall as in particular, ſhal-
bee maintayned, and if any haue beene violated, they ſhalbee repaired and reſtored.
The ſayd reconciled Prouinces ſhalbe bound to renounce all leagues and confede-
tions which they may haue made, ſince the beginning of the changes and alterati-
ons. And for that the ſayd Eſtates held themſelues bound vnto our deere ſiſter,
the Queene of England, and to the Duke of Aniou Brother to the moſt Noble
and Chriſtian King, for the good aſſiſtance that they haue receiued from them. Wee E
will ſend (two moneths after that our ſaid Nephew the Prince of Parma and Placentia
ſhall bee entred into the Gouernment generall) perſons of quality vnto them to doe
all good offices, and the confederation and ancient amitie with our ſaid Siſter ſhall
bee continued reciprocally. And to in creaſe and augment the loue and affection
which Princes ought to beare vnto their ſubiects, and that they may bee the better
inclined to the reſpect and obedience which they owe vnto their naturall Prince;
The ſaid eſtates haue humbly intreted vs to ſend as ſoone as time and oportunity will
ſerue one of our Children that may ſucceed in the Netherlands to be noriſhed and
inſtructed there according vnto their maners, in all piety and vertue. Whereof wee
will haue ſuch regard as ſhall be fit. F

We are content that al prouinces, Chaſteleines, townes or priuate perſons of our ſaid
Netherlands, that would enter into reconciliation with vs, vpon the conditions of this
ſaid treaty ſhall be receiued by vs, and receiue the ſame benefit with the reconcyled

Prouinces

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A Prouinces, so as they come freely within three moneths after the reall departure of the sayd Spaniards out of our Netherlands. 1579.

Wee haue consented and agreed, and doe consent and agree, that the sayd Estates may beseech his Holinesse: our most deere and welbeloued good Brother Nephew and Cousin the Emperor: the Archbishops of Cologne and Treues and the Duke of Cleues, as Zealous of the good & quiet of the Christian cõmon-weale, that they wilbe pleased to locke and haue a care that this treatie and accord may bee in all points effected, accomplished and inuiolably obserued. And if in the execution and accomplishment of this pacification there shal grow any difficulty or questiõ to be decided after the publication thereof, wee and the Estates of the sayd reconciled Prouinces shall
B depute respectiuely commissioners to heare reconcile and execute. Alwaies vnderstanding, that by those words *Agreeable to the States*, put in many articles of this treaty, those that are naturall borne of the country shall not bee excluded, hauing followed either partie contracting. And to the end that of all and euery point and article aboue written, made, concluded and determined in our towne of Atras the seauenteenth of May last past, examined, made plaine and resolued on in our towne of Mons the 11. day of September, may be well and really obserued, fulfilled and executed, and that all that is conteined in the sayd articles, may bee firme, stable, permanent and inuiolable for euer: Wee haue caused, this present treatie to be signed by our deere and faithfull Cousin the Earle of Mansfelt and other deputies aboue-named on the one part; and the
C Gouernors and deputies of the sayd Prouinces and other associats on the other, promising to ratifie all in due and accustomed forme, within three moneths after this day. Giuen in our towne of Mons the twelfth of September 1579.

To this reconciliation ranne those of Macklin, which towne the signior of Bours (leauing the partie of the generality) deliuered into the Prince of Parmas hands: but soone after fearing that through his lightnesse he should do as much as he had done with the castle of Antwerp, he was displaced, and the signior of Rossignol his Cousin put in his place. The towne of Niuelle in Brabant, the towne and countrie of Allost, the towne and Chasteleny of Bourbourc, and manie priuat persons ioyned likewise: The rest of
D Brabant, Flanders, Geldres, Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, Querissell and Groninghen, remayning yet firme in the vnion of Vtrecht. Whilest the campe laie before Masstricht, in the moneths of May, Iune, Iuly and August, there met (at the pursute of the Duke of Terranoua Ambassador for the King of Spaine) in the Citty of Cologne, the Emperors Ambassadors with the Electors of Treues and Cologne, and some deputies from the Duke of Cleues, as intercessors, to finde some meanes of an accord and peace, betwixt the King of Spaine and the reconciled Prouinces, in whose name appeared the duke of Arschot and some Noblemen with the deputies of euery Prouince, and withall the deputies of the generall Estates which continued in the vnion of Vtrecht. But the conditions of the duke of Terranoua being long debated of either side, were not receiuable by them of the vnion of Vtrecht.

Many townes enter into this priuat reconciliation.

The treaty of Cologne vnprofitable.

E

The King of Spaine (among other points) refusing to allow generally throughout all his countries, of any other Religion, then of the Romish, and they of Holland and Zeeland would by no meanes be depriued of the reformed Religion, whereof they had made free and open profession for some yeares, so as they could not agree, whereupon the deputies of the generall Estates of the sayd vnion retired without any effect, hauing a stronge impression that they sought onelie to circumuent them by this offer of a peace, who beeing retired, the Noblemen which remayned, (among the which was the duke of Arschot and the deputies of the reconciled Prouinces, with the sayd duke of Terranoua) concluded certaine articles, which they qualified with the name of a peace. The sum whereof was, the obseruation of the Romish Religion, & obedience to the King. Moreouer that all Officers should be restored to their Estates, to the which the King
F would in no sort admit them of the reformed Religion. And that those of the reformed Religion, if they would not submit themselues vnto the Romish profession should depart the country, hauing liberty to enioy their goods which they should leaue behinde them, or to sell them, as they should think best, which peace was signed by the duke

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1579. Of Arſchot, and the Deputies of Arthois, Henault, the Chaſteleine of Lille. &c. Mac klin and Boiſleduc. In the meane time *Iohn* of *Imbiſe* Bourguymaſter of Gant, after their brech of the relligious peace, plaid the mad-man in ſpoyling of Churches and Monaſteries, ſeazing of their rents and goods, ſelling their mouables and timber trees, which his fauorits bought at an vnder rate: to conclude he would goueme all at his pleaſure, without the aduiſe and councell of his Bretheren and companions in the law. He forced Mounſiere *de la Noue* (for that he could not allow of his actions) to depart out of Gant in the night: and brought into the ſaid towne the twenty eight of Iuly great numbers of foote and horſe at his deuotion, and being fortefied and ſupported by them hee diſplaced the mageſtrates, and created new, confirming him-ſelfe of his owne priuat authority, in the dignity of the firſt Bourguymaiſter, vpon whome commonly depends the cheefe mannaging of affayres and the gouernment of the towne. This done hee cauſeth his reaſons to bee Printed, all which were grounded vpon iealouſies and Cauillations. The Prince of Orange being aduertiſed of all theſe practiſes, writ vnto them of Gant that hee would come in perſon, to take knowledge and to order all things. The which *Imbiſe* fearing, knowing where his ſoare did pinch him, he ſought with his partiſans to preuent it, where-vpon hee cauſed to bee printed fower articles of the reaſons why it was not fit the Prince ſhould come: yet the Seignior of Ryhuen great Baylife of Gant and his faction, being contrary to Imbiſe, with the members of the towne, thought it fit the Prince ſhould come, vpon promiſe that hee ſhold neither bring nor leaue at his departure any garriſon: that they ſhould enioy their preuiledges: that he ſhould leaue the cheefe of the trads in their Offices, and the eſtate of religion as he ſhould find it: that he ſhould not call any man in queſtion for what was paſt, and that hee ſhould ſigne and ſeale this promiſe vnto them. The Prince not reſpecting all theſe Articles which they would haue him promiſe, came to Gant the firſt of Auguſt: *Imbiſe* hearing of his comming, pretended ſome excuſe, and retired towards the Sas, where hee was purſued on the Princes behalfe by captaine *Monault*, but too late: for *Imbiſe* hauing cauſed the bridge to bee drawne vp after him, imbarked for Fleſſinghe, and from thence went into Germany to Duke *Caſimir*, where hee remained vntiil the Ganthois called him home againe, as wee ſhall hereafter ſhew. The Prince being at Gant, was much troubled to create any other Magiſtrate then *Imbiſe*, and to repaire the diſorders which had happened by his bad gouernment, yet he redreſt ſome part as well as he could. *Peter d' Ahene* a Flemiſh Miniſter, a great partiſans of *Imbiſes*, retired alſo, being in feare of his life, for a certaine Inuectiue which in fauor of *Imbiſe*, he had written againſt the Prince in the Dutch tongue.

The behauiour of Iohn d' Imbiſe in Gant.

A B C D

The Malcontents had at that time an enterprize vpon Gant, whereof hauing fayled, they marched towards Renay, where there was a garriſon of them of Gant, whom they defeated and ſlue many of them, as they did alſo at Boſſerode, which they burnt and abandoned. After that the Prince had ordred ſome thing in Gant, he went to Bruges, to ſettle their affaires, the which he did, ſuffring himſelfe to bee perſwaded vpon certaine conditions to accept of the gouernment of Flanders, and then he returned to Antwerp. The Prince of Parma ſome-what to ſatisfie the contract of reconciliation with them of Arthois, Henault, Liſle, Macklin &c. ſent the Spaniſh forces out of the countrie, retayning ſtill ſome Italian horſe. But they went not ſo farre but vpon the firſt occaſion hee called them back againe: yet this their ſhort abſence mooued many of the Noblemen in like ſort to reconcile them-ſelues.

The Prince accepts the gouernment of Flanders.

E

The Earle of Rheneberg gouernor of Friſland, hauing by ſeege, (as we haue ſayd) reduced the towne of Groninghen vnder the vnion of Vtrecht, marcht with ſome troupes and three field peeces towards Couoerden, the which was then but a Bourrough with a caſtle, giuing charge to captaine *Cornput* to fortefie it: the which he began with great ditches large and deepe, making fiue Rauelins, but this worke ſurceaſed for that time, the which was afterwards finiſhed by the *Droſſart Ens*, (vpon the ſame foundations which *Cornput* had laied) for the Kings ſeruice. The Germaine companies of the ſayd Earle of Rheneberg, lodging in the countrie of Oueryſſel, feeding vpon the poore country-man at diſcretion, for want of pay, the Peaſants put themſelues in armes, and chaſed away

The firſt fortification of Couerden.

F

A away the companies of horse of *Dedo Kan Laer* and *Rhynswond*, *Bartelt Entens* went to charge these clownes, and reseued the bootie which they had taken from the horsemen: yet hauing fortified themselues more then before, they in like sort chased away Cont *Hohenloos* troopes. But the Earle returning with greater forces, defeated them neere vnto the Cloyster of Sion, and cutte some 700. of them in peeces; so as hee forced them to lay downe their Armes, and redeeme themselues from spoyle. 1579.

After the Treaty of Cologne (which some did qualifie with the name of peace) the reconciled Prouinces, with the Malecontents of Menin, supported by them of Macklin, thought to cut of the passages to the towne of Brusselles, and to take away their victualls, thereby to force them to reconcile themselues with them. And as the

B Malecontents carryed a conuoy of fifty waggons with all sort of munition to Macklyn, hauing two hundred horse and foure hundred foote, they were incountred about Alost, with fiue hundred horse & about one thousand foote of the States, who defeated them, and brought all the bootie to Brusselles. A conuoy of the Malecontents defeated.

The Estates seeing the towne of Macklyn in the Spaniards hands, did forbid all persons by a publike proclamation, to carry any thing thether, vppon paine of forfeyture of body and goods; summoning them of Macklin to returne vnto their Confederation with the generallity, within four daies. This did much trouble the Burgers, and moued them against their Magistrates: Who vppon feare they had of the Estates, required a Spanish garrison: The which the Burgers refused, saying that they would

C hold themselues neuters, and keepe the towne: Seeing that they found themselues able ynough, without receiuing of any garrison: yet in the end they were forced to accept of one. In the meane time Mounsier *della Noue* Marshall of the Estates Camp, to free the Riuer which goes from Antwerp to Brusselles, went by commandement from the Prince of Orange, to charge the Germaines who began to make a Fort at Villebrouck, at the mouth of the great Riuer of Dschaut which runnes before Antwerp, who hearing of his approach, left the place, and passing the Riuer at Macklyn, cast themselues into the towne, *La Noue* finding of what importance that place might be, caused the fortifications to bee finished with all speed. The Prince of Parma being grieued that this place had beene thus wone, sent some troopes to recouer it; but they

D came to late, for it was finished: Whereas some companies of his horse-men were defeated by Captaine *Mornaut*; but whilst the victors were busie at the spoile, and pursued not their victorie, the Spaniards being rallyed againe togither, charged them & defeated all *Mornaules* company, who saued himselfe, with the losse of 40. of his men slaine vpon the place, and the rest prisoners. Macklyn summoned by the Estates, will remaine Neuters. La Noue makes the Germaines leaue Villebrouck.

The reconciled Prouinces of Arthois, Henault, &c. Hauing raysed the body of an Armie, as it had beene promised by the Treatie of their reconciliation: The Prince of Parma went to besiege the Bourg and Castell of Mortagne in Henault, where there were certaine companies of the Estates, both English, Scottish, and

E Wallons, the which her tooke by force; whereas Captaine *Sohey* brother to Collonell *Sohey* was slaine: From thence hee went to set vppon the Bourg and Abbay of S. *Amand*; which he likewise tooke, whereas Collonell *Morgan* an Englishman was taken prisoner. About that time they of Brusselles and other garrisons thereabouts, did subtilly surprize Niuelles a towne in Brabant, at the opening of the Port: where at their beginning they made some little resistance, and some were slaine. The Seignior of Glimes great Bayliffe of Wallon-Brabant Gouernor of the towne, was taken there, being found hidden in a stable: the towne was partly spoiled; & part ransomed, the Abbesse & religious women were also prisoners and carryed to Brusselles. This enterprise was made by the commandement of *Ollivier vanden Timpell* Gouernor of Brusselles, who came thether, and after hee had taken order for the garrison, hee left his brother

F *Denis vanden Timpell* to command in the place. The Seignior of Glimes had beene aduertised of this enterprise the night before, but regarded it not. About that time Collonel *Martin Schenk* of Nydecken a Gentleman of Gelderland, grew to great credit; in his youth hee had beene Page to the Lord of Iselstein, and after that hee serued the Prince of Orange with two horses, but after the pacification of Gant, The taking of Mortagne and S. Amand by the Parmois. Niuelle surprised by the Estates.

hauing

1579 hauing taken the houſe of Blyenbeek, neere to the riuer of Meuſe, lying beyond the Towne of Graue, from his Couſin, pretending an intereſt therein, and could get no protection from the Eſtates, hee fell from them, and hauing ſtabd an Enſigne-bearer, hee put himſelfe into the Prince of Parmas ſeruice, forcing the whole countrie of Gelderland to pay him contribution, and likewiſe the riuer. Wherevpon the Eſtates cauſed captaine *Hogheman* to beſeege it, but the Prince ſent both horſe and foote to releeue him, ſo as they were forced to retire.

As the Malcontents in the beginning of their warre had taken a great rich village in Flanders called Menin lying vpon the riuer of Lice, which by their chiefe commander called *Emanuel* of Lalain barron of Montigny, was made ſtronge, (calling it his firſt conqueſt) from whence they ouer-ranne all Weſt Flanders, and made them giue contribution, ſo they loſt it againe in the like manner, for that in Menin there was a brewer called *Peter Vercruiſſen*, who was much troubled and moleſted by the Wallons, for harboring of a preacher in his houſe, ſo as at the laſt they ment to proceed againſt him, as a cryminal offender by order of law. For which cauſe he diuiſed a meanes to get out of the fort; and early in a morning, beeing appareled like a countrie-man went out, and being to paſſe by a ſentinell, hee tooke his halbert out of his hand, and ſlue him, with the which alſo he killed two other ſentinells, and by that meanes eſcaped, from thence hee went to the Bourguemaſter of Bruges, called *Iaques Broucqſanke*, ſhewing him, by what meanes hee might free the country from their oppreſſions, which hee eſteemed an eaſie matter to effect and that with very fewe men: which the Bourguemaſter imparting to Colonel *Balfour*, hauing receiued charge and commiſſion to effect the ſame, from the Archduke, and the Prince of Orange, the ſayd Bourguemaſter, and his ſonnes, *Peter* and *Ioas*, cauſed a certaine number of ladders to bee ſecretly made in his garden-houſe, to ſerue for that purpoſe; and al things being readie prepared, vpon the one and twenty of October in the euening, Colonel *Baalfour* went vnto the Scottiſh companies that lay in Rouſſelaſe, and the next morning about foure of the clocke went with them vnder the walles of Menin, ioyning vpon the ſtone-way or cauſie that goeth from thence to Renſelaſe, and with them the ſayd *Peter Vercrayſſen*: At the ſame time alſo, there came certaine Flemiſh companies by ſhippe from Cortrick, which ſet vpon Menin on that ſide, and ſo on both ſides they ſecretly clome vp to the rampar, and there valiantly killing the ſentinels, forced the gard to flie to ſaue themſelues, whereby, (without loſſe of men, or any great reſiſtance,) they preſently got the fort, for that they within knew themſelues to bee to weake; for that part of their garriſon were gon out, about the like exploit, and therefore they fled and ſaued themſelues by the bridge that paſt ouer the water to Halewin; but it is not to be wondred at, for that the Wallon garriſons there-abouts, as at Waſtene, Werwicke, Comene, and part of thoſe of Menin were all as then (by counſell and procurement of the Lord of Erpe) gon towards Cortrike, beeing led by Mouſier *d' Allemes*, in the like ſort, and at the very ſame time to take and ſpoile it, the which garriſons beeing before Cortrike, and buſied to take the depth of the ditches with their halberds and pikes, the chiefe Baylife of Cortrike beeing as then in the top of the towers of the caſtle of Cortrike, to heare the alarum, that ſhould about that time bee giuen to Menin, called vnto the ſentinell in the Bulwarke, aſking him if hee had not heard any thing, (not knowing that his enemies were ſo neere,) wherevnto the ſentinell made anſwere and ſayd, no, wherewith the Baylife ſayd, that the time drewe neere, which words Mouſire *d' Allemes* hearing, ſuſpected that his enterpriſe was diſcouered, and that thoſe wordes were ſpoken to that end. For which cauſe hee went to his companie to conſult further with them, and preſently there-withall hee heard the alarum giuen at Menin, which made him withall ſpeed to returne backe againe to helpe them, and that if Menin ſhould chaunce to bee taken, to ſet vpon them, and to take it againe, while the ſouldiers ſhould bee buſied about the ſpoile; but aproching the fort, and by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the morning, being not able to iudge whether the pikes hee ſaw were launces or not, hee thought their enemies had ſome horſe-men there, ſo as hee was glad to alter his determination, and with his affrighted ſouldiars to goe to Werwicke, whereby

An enterpriſe by the Malcontents againſt Cortrike, but tooke no effect.

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A whereby the Scots and the reſt of the ſoldiers had the better meanes, to take the ſpoile in Menin, and to deuide that, which the Wallons in long time had gathered togither, whereby you may iudge if the ſpoile were ſmall. 1579.

Vpon thoſe newes, the Prince of Orange cauſed certaine Engliſh and French companies that lay in Willebrook & other Flemiſh companies to march thether, conducted by the ſignior of La Noue, to preſerue their victory, who vpon the foureteenth of Nouember came to Warwicke, wherein were two of the aforeſaid Wallon companies, that had inconſed themſelues in the Church, and two more in the caſtle, that lay on the other ſide of the riuer, thereby keeping the bridge free betweene both, thoſe in the Church were incloſed by the French men, and ſhot at by the ſouldiars that ſtood a-
B boue in the houſes, and leueled at them through the Church-windowes, they within ſhooting likewiſe at them, and defended themſelues as well as they could, in ſuch ſort, as they without tooke counſell what they ſhould doe, and whether they were beſt to batter the Church with ordinance, for that they within made no ſigne nor ſhew of yeelding, hoping to bee releeued by the garriſons therd abouts, for that to the ſame end, there were fiue companies comming out of Halewin; but they of Menin hauing inteligence thereof, gaue a hot and furious charge vpon them of Halewin, putting fire in their Court of guard; whereby they were in ſuch a great agonie and feare, as they were to ſend for their fiue companies backe againe, and it was aduiſedly done. For that Mounſire *De la Noue*, vnderſtanding that the Wallons aſſembled them-
C ſelues togither at Comene, was fully reſolued, if they entred into the field, to ſet vpon them, with his horſe-men, whereof hee gaue notice vnto all the Flemiſh companies, but perceiuing that they came not forward, (to looſe no time) hee ſcaled the Church with ladders, ſo as about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone hee tooke it, where the Flemiſh ſoldiars were much commended for their valor, eſpecially one that carried a target, who at the taking of the Church, receiued ſeauenteene bullets vpon the ſame: at there entry they ſlue fortie of the Wallons, the reſt beeing about 140. were all taken priſoners, one of their captaines was *Caroudolet* Lieutenant to the Earle of Egmont, the other *Croiſſet*, but neither of them both was found amongſt the reſt. They within the caſtle expecting no better vſage, in the ſame euening ſet it on fire, and fled to
D Comendé.

The ſixeteenth day of Nouember Mounſire *de La Nove*, being about three hundred horſe and foure hundred French foote-men paſt ouer the riuer of Leye to ſeeke ſome aduenture: and marching towards Halewin, met with foure cornets of horſe, the one beeing the duke of Arſchots, the other the Earle of Lalains, and the reſt newe cornets, which hee preſently charged with ſuch fury, as at the firſt incounter they were wholy broken and diſperced, and preſently beganne to flie, where they were followed till they came to Marquette: and if it had not beene ſo late, fewe or none of them had eſcaped, and yet the greateſt part of them were ſlaine, as it apeared by the horſes and the priſoners, which the Scottiſh captaines *Seton* and *Mornou* brought
E into Menin. Which they of Halewin vnderſtanding, without longer ſtaying ſet fire on the houſes, and preſently fled away, the houſes burning downe to the ground. The garriſon of Becelare, and Waſtene, left them places likewiſe, which forts *La Noue* preſently manned with garriſons, and diuers other places thereaboutes, In which exploit his French ſouldiars were ſo furious, as hearing that their paie was come to Menin, they refuſed to receaue it ſaying, that it was then no time to receaue monie, but to fight, thereby to ſhewe their valors, and to doe their dueties.

The Malcontents horſemen ouerthrowne by La Noue, whereby they forſooke many places in Flanders.

In the meane time the Prince of Orange ſeeing how negligent and careleſſe the Eſtates were of their affaires, whileſt that the Prince of Parma did domineere and forte-
F fie himſelf from all parts, and that in the end al would go ill being loth to lay the blame vpon any particular perſon, & not knowing where their griefe lay, deſirous to prouide for it in time, he would firſt adreſſe himſelfe by admonitions and exhortations vnto the Eſtates of Holland and Zeland, being aſſembled in the towne of Delf, whom he thought

his

1579. his reasons should be of more waight, and haue more credit and respect, to whome hee discoursed in this manner. A

The Prince of Oranges oration to the states of Holland & Zeeland.

„ My maisters although I am not ignorant of your good affection to preserue that
„ souerraigne good which it hath pleased our Lord God to giue vs in this countrie: yet
„ seeing you are now assembled in this towne, I thinke that this good occasion doth ad-
„ monish and bind vs to confer together to vnder-stand more particularly and more
„ certenly, what meanes wee may find to repulse the attempts and inuasions of our
„ enemies, as well by sea as land: and what orders may bee set downe to attaine
„ vnto so great a good: for it is more then necessary to prouide for it. And there
„ is no doubt but the enemies imploy all their forces and meanes to this end, to see if they B
„ may dant your resolutions; and finding no preparation answerable to oppresse and
„ ruine you, and so attaine to that which they pretend, I make no doubt but the King
„ of Kings that great God, conductor of armies, will finish the worke which hee hath be-
„ gun pouring out his blessings vpon vs. Yet it is necessarie that wee should acknow'edge
„ the meanes which he doth giue vs, and by his grace will giue vs hereafter, and that we
„ should vse them to his glory: other-wise our neglect and carelessenes, our ingratitude &
„ rashnes together with a contempt of his graces, cannot but prouoke his iust iudgement
„ against vs and our posterity. As if a man desirous to keepe the water in his cesterne,
„ would suffer his house to burne and not vse it, or referring him-selfe to the prouidence
„ of God for the maynteinance of his life, would not eate the bread which God sends C
„ him to sustaine him-selfe. And the better to vnderstand and prouide for all dangers,
„ it is necessary first of all to knowe what the enemies forces bee, and the end where-vnto
„ they tend; and direct all their desseigns: For my part I cannot conceale from you what
„ I vnder-stand, that we may fore-see and not fall into the confusion of those foolish buil-
„ ders, and warriors whereof *IESVS CHRIST* makes mention, who wanted meanes
„ to finish their worke. In the meane time my intent is not any waies to terefie you, or
„ make you faint, and abandon the worke begun: but that the consideration of their
„ desseins and meanes should open our eyes, and incline our hearts, to apply the remedy
„ and meanes to preuent it and to maintaine our selues happely. And in truth this pre-
„ uoyance and disposition may cause two very notable effects and of great consequence: D
„ first it is most certaine that our enemies hearing our firme resolution to defend our
„ selues, and to imploy all the means which GOD hath giuen vs to mainetaine and pre-
„ serue our liberties together with a fit and conuenient order which shall bee concluded
„ by a wise deliberation: they will bee greatly amazed and discorraged, so as such a re-
„ solution will serue for a sharpe counterpoyson to ouerthrowe, at the least to weaken
„ much the force of their fraud, conspiraces and attempts: and discorage them from
„ attempting any thing vpon vs and our country. Secondly such a resolution and con-
„ iunction of courrages, with a due order, will giue vs great satisfaction, assurance and
„ resolution in this worke, great increase of desire to imploy our selues, and great faci-
„ lity in the execution of all things requisit and necessary. And which is more it shall E
„ be a meanes to free vs from all remorse of conscience, sorrow before GOD, and re-
„ proches before the world, feeling in our selues, and hauing made it knowne, that we
„ haue executed those charges where-vnto GOD hath called vs; for the perseruation of
„ so great a people, relying vpon our wisdoms, vigilance, dilligence and fidelity. The
„ which shall bee also a reputation and honor vnto vs with all men, yea with our pos-
„ terity, by the relation of Histories, which shall yeeld a testimony of our holy affecti-
„ on, constancy and magnanimitie, to haue consecrated our selues wholy, and imploy-
„ ed our meanes faithfully in a cause so holy, so iust, and of such importance, for the glory
„ of GOD and the helth of men: whereas contrariwise our negligence and faintnes
„ would draw a horrible callamity vppon our posteritie, with blame and reproch F
„ gnawing our consciences all our liues, and blemishing our honors after death: be-
„ ing put in histories in the ranke of those which haue shewed themselues to be more
„ worthy to be slaues and sheepe then gouernors and pastors. To come then to our ene-
mies forces, without flattering of our selues, you know that they vnderstanding of our

preparations

A preparations as well in Germanie and Fraunce, as England and Scotland, haue alſo for their parts vſed all diligence to gather forces together, as well in theſe Netherlands, as in Germany and Spaine: So as they haue together ninetie Enſignes of Wallons, ſixtie of Spaniards, about fortie of Germans, and ſome fifteene or twentie of low Dutch. It is alſo moſt certaine that they haue made a great leuie of horſe in Germanie. There are alſo many aduertiſements from ſundrie places, of the preparation which is made in Spaine, for the kings comming into theſe countries, or at the leaſt of a great armie which ſhall come from thence. Wee know alſo, that the hatred to religion, and inſatiable deſire to tyranniſe, and to inrich themſelues with the ſpoyles of theſe countries, makes them reſolute and obſtinat to continue the warres, without any touch or apprehenſion of the ruine of the countrey. Behold briefly and truely what
B wee may conſider of their parts: Let vs now come to our ſelues. Firſt the iuſtice and equitie of our cauſe, and conſequently the aſſiſtance and protection of that great and mightie God, ſhould greatly comfort, incourage, and fortifie vs. Moreouer, beſides the forces which wee now haue, the readie meanes which are offered to recouer greater, and the which are partly drawne together, are not to bee contemned. God hath alſo giuen vs the ſuperioritie and commaund of the ſea, and hath aſſigned vs a countrey ſtrong of it ſelfe, and eaſie to bee guarded. And beſides all this, it is certaine, that as for money and victuals, there is ſufficient if it be well imployed: ſo as if wee will vſe the graces which God puts into our hands, wee may (with his bleſſing) not onely defend that which wee hold, but in a ſhort time chaſe the enemie out of the whole countrey. For if we will more ſtrictly examine the forces of our enemies, the
C Wallons for the moſt part are ſouldiers newly raiſed, by reaſon that the old regiments by their bad intreatie, as alſo through the ſieges of Harlem and Alcmar, three or foure defeats which they haue had in Zeeland, and the miſerie which they endured at Middlebourg, and elſewhere, are diſperſed and dead. As for the Spaniards, although they bee many Enſignes, yet for the former reaſons they are not verie ſtrong, and the beſt ſouldiers are ſlaine or hurt. Touching the Germans, it may bee their companies are compleat and full, but the moſt part for the ſmall meanes that is giuen them, although they be in townes, are male-content and diſcouraged, to ſee that their nation which hath beene heretofore ſo much reſpected, is now contemned and reiected, and that the enemie entertaines them rather to make a number, than for any exploit or combat. And as for their leuie of horſe, it ſhall bee a more charge
D for them, than danger for vs, conſidering the nature of the countrey. Wee know alſo what meanes and commoditie of victuals they haue, and how ill affected the people bee towards them, diſcouering daily more plainely their tyrannous intentions. And who doth not vnderſtand that they ſeeking to inuade the countrey of the one ſide, they feare a reuolt on the other.

Theſe things are propounded vnto you my maſters, not to lull you aſleepe and make you careleſſe and negligent, but rather to quicken and encourage you, and to the end you ſhould vnderſtand what aduantage wee ſhould haue ouer our enemies, if there were a true reſolution in vs to imploy the meanes, which God hath giuen vs, couragiouſly. And if a good and conuenient order were eſtabliſhed in the conduct of theſe affaires, how ſhould the enemies
E counſels bee troubled, how ſhould their hearts bee daunted, and their forces weakened, and thoſe which to their great griefe groane vnder their inſupportable oppreſſion, how much ſhould they bee perſuaded and incouraged to ioyne with vs? To the end alſo wee may feele what a reproach it ſhall bee vnto vs, to contemne ſuch a bleſſing and fauour of God, letting ſlip and reiecting the meanes which hee puts into our hands, for our preſeruation, and the happie accompliſhment of the entire deliuerance of our countrey. How can wee anſwer before God, for the deſolation and cruell oppreſſion of the people, whom hee hath recommended and committed vnto vs, and who depend vpon vs, if willingly by our negligence (euery one regarding and reſpecting his owne priuate intereſt, more than the generall cauſe) our enemies preuayling in their enterpriſes, ſhould plant their tyrannies ouer this coun-
F trey.

To conclude, the eſtate of our affayres, and the diſpoſition of our enemies is ſuch, as if wee reſolue to imploy the meanes which God hath giuen vs, as wee ought, wee haue reaſon to hope (by the bleſſing of God) not onely to preſerue our ſelues, but alſo to aduaunce our affayres, and to make the enemie to looſe all hope to compaſſe his deſignes.

1579 What forces the prince of Parma then had.

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1579 And contrariwiſe if we ſtand vnreſolued, we are halfe ſhaken, and the leaſt thing will ouer- A
„ throw vs, and caſt vs into ruine and fearefull deſolation. And if wee doe not ſpeedily pro-
„ pound a courſe, imploying the meanes which we haue receiued from the Lord, to attaine vn-
„ to it: our aduerſaries are not ſo void of vnderſtanding, courage, nor force, but it will be verie
„ eaſie for them that haue no other defence, but a general and confuſed deſire to preſerue them-
„ ſelues. Finally conſidering ſeriouſly in what eſtate wee are, and that you haue warre againſt
„ mightie enemies, ſeeking to tread you downe, and to tyranniſe ouer you; You muſt firſt ad-
„ uiſe if you feele in your ſelues a firme and conſtant reſolution, to preſerue your ſelues, and to
„ aduance as much as poſſible you may, that incomprehenſible good which God hath giuen
„ you, changing that tyranny of bodies, conſciences and goods, vnto ſo happie a libertie which
„ you now enioy. Then, whether you be reſolued to imploy thoſe meanes willingly, which the B
„ Lord hath giuen you, to attaine vnto ſo great a good, and to maintaine it. Thirdly, if you be
„ reſolued, to ſettle a courſe, to find and furniſh the meanes, which may bee ſuch, as there may
„ bee aſſurance to vſe and enioy them, and that there may bee conſideration not to charge the
„ poore more than the rich, that God bee not diſpleaſed with vs, curſe vs, and ouerthrow all
„ our enterpriſes. And for the fourth point, if you bee reſolued to ſettle ſuch an order for the
„ conduct of affaires; that there neither bee confuſion nor delay, in the execution thereof. If
„ all theſe reſolutions concurre ioyntly in you, I beſeech you in the name of God to declare it
„ plainely and openly, to the end that all the people relying vpon you and mee, bee not in the
„ end, yea ſodainely drawne into extreame calamitie, which would bee a griefe vnto vs, and
„ cauſe a remorſe of conſcience before God, and a reproach before men. C
„ I ſhould alſo bee verie ſorie, that through my negligence, ſtanding without any aſſured re-
„ ſolution, all the blame and reproach ſhould fall vpon mee, in recompence of my affection and
„ zeale, to imploy both the life and goods of mee and mine in the ſeruice of this cauſe: hauing
„ no intent to continue, vnleſſe I firſt vnderſtand your wills, and whether the courſe, meanes,
„ and order, which you ſhall ſet downe, ſhall be ſufficient to ground a hope of our preſeruati-
„ on againſt our enemies. Deſiring rather, and beeing more reaſonable, to giue it quite ouer, and
„ to ſaue our reputations by ſome appointment whatſoeuer, and what wee can of out liues and
„ goods, than to ſee our ſelues, as it were, melt away in languiſhing, and fall into the cruell hands
„ of our enemies. But contrariwiſe if you feele your ſelues reſolued, aduiſe if it ſhall not bee
„ more expedient, to depute three or foure among you, to examine, weigh, debate, and treat D
„ of the meanes with mee, and of the order which ſhall bee neceſſarie; and then afterwards to
„ bee authorized and put in execution by you and mee, if it bee thought fit and conuenient:
„ For my part I will not diſſemble that I deſire it greatly, to the end that without any longer di-
„ lation, which is dangerous and preiudiciall in our affaires, wee may determine that which
„ ſhall bee moſt fit and conuenient to attaine to the end of our deſires. Intreating you, for my
„ concluſion, to conſider within your ſelues, that it is againſt you and your natiue countrey,
„ wherein you dwell, and ouer which God hath made you gouernors, that the enemies bend
„ all their counſels and deſignes, to the end that you may vnderſtand, that it is you that muſt im-
„ brace the action and the burthen, and not imagine that the propoſitions, admonitions, and de-
„ maunds, which are made vnto you by me, be like vnto the kings, which are made vnto the e- E
„ ſtates of the whole countrey, who excuſe themſelues, and auoid charges as much as they can,
„ and refuſe all they can of what is demanded of them. They haue ſome reaſon, for it is not ſo
„ much their fact and benefit, as the kings. But you know that your condition is otherwiſe. Pro-
„ pound then vnto your ſelues, that I am abſent, conſider what reſolution you would take, and
„ whether on a propoſition made by any of you, the reſt of you, my maſters the Eſtates, would
„ grant the leaſt you could, excuſing your ſelues, although all ſhould go into confuſion and diſ-
„ order, not regarding if that which was demaunded were profitable and neceſſarie for the con-
„ duct of the affaires, and the preſeruation of you and the countrey. My preſence doth not tranſ-
„ port your fact and dueties vpon me. True it is, that I am readie for my part to imploy my
„ ſelfe, yea to expoſe my life, but remember it is not for my priuat intereſt, but for the whole F
„ countrey.
„ And if God hath called mee by your meanes, to ſerue you, leaue not therefore to embrace
„ the cauſe, touching the meanes, beeing more yours than mine owne. And if this bee well
„ vnderſtood and practiſed by you, there ſhall bee no more cauſe for the Eſtates to excuſe them-
ſelues

A selues vnto me, but (as if you were all but one head) hauing in charge the preseruation and gouernment of the countrey, you will ioyntly and sincerely seeke all fit and necessarie meanes for your defence and aduancement. And so euerie man imploying himselfe faithfully in his charge, I hope that God will blesse vs, to the confusion of our enemies, & the comfort and consolation of vs all. 1579. " " "

The prince of Orange seeing that the treaties of peace at Cologne, whereon they hoped, was vanished to smoke, did wish, that the Estates wold haue embraced their affaires with more zeale and earnestnesse, that through carelesnesse (and to speake the truth they went but lazily to worke) they might not fall into those inconueniences, which through the diligence of the Spaniards were to be feared. By reason wherof, for that in al assēblies of Estates the deputies of

B euery prouince or town, were bound (as it is said by the treatie of the vnion made at Vtrecht) to aduertise their masters of all propositions, & to attend the answer, during which time manie good occasions were lost, and before the matter could be fully concluded, the Spaniards had some vent thereof (God knowes by what meanes) so as no good action could be attempted, or if they did attempt any, they had most commonly bad successe. Wherefore hee was desirous they should erect a counsell of Estate, the which might absolutely dispose of all occurrents, without so many sendings and losse of time: and either to fight with the enemie, or to prouide for their defence. And therefore hee thought it fit they should alwayes haue a small flying campe, either to giue some camisadoe to the Spaniards, or to stop their courses: for otherwise with so many reiterated assemblies of the Estates, so many delayes, and losse of

C time in sending to and fro, such diuersitie and contrarietie of opinions in such a multitude of men of diuers humors and dispositions, hee said (and truely) that it was not possible to determine any thing that was good, and to execute it with celeritie. Greeuing that their hearts were no more inflamed to their owne safetie and defence, as they were in the beginning, when they had to doe with so cruell and tyrannous an enemie, as the Duke of Alua, and *Dom Frederic* his sonne, and when they had not the meanes to make head, and to assaile as they had now: For which cause some forreine princes which might haue come to their aide grew cold, and would not haue to doe with so great diuersitie of opinions: and none of those townes which the Spaniard held in his iurisdiction and keeping, sought to ioyne with them.

The princes aduice for the establishment of a counsell of State.

D He said moreouer, That it was not possible to subsist long, without an armie alwayes readie of twelue thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, besides the ordinarie garrisons, with sufficient artillerie: and that to haue good old souldiers, they must giue the colonels sufficient assurance for their pay. For to thinke to make warre with a multitude of raw souldiers, or with their aduenturers (whom they call Free-boters, that is to say, such as liue vpon the spoile, who serue without pay, vpon danger of hanging, were neither tied by othe nor honour, seeking nothing but spoile) it were a folly, and would nothing aduance the common cause.

All townes that had any cause of complaint, or to demand succors, came vnto the prince, but he could not relieue them, nor prouide for that which they required: so as there was great need of this counsell of Estate, the which should be erected of men of good qualitie, well ac-

E quainted with affaires, couragious, resolute, and faithfull, with an armie of old souldiers, whereby they might resist the Spaniards, and maintaine the countrey without feare in all safetie: if not, they must looke for a totall ruine of all their affaires.

These admonitions of the prince made in an open assemblie of the generall Estates at Antuerpe, were well accepted by them, but not greatly followed, whether it were for that the Estates feared the excessiue charge, or that there was enuy and iealousie among the great men, yet the said counsell of Estate was established.

The peace of Cologne broken off in such sort, as there was not any hope of peace to be expected from thence, vpon the 28 of September past, the prince of Orange, being then in Gant, caused this counsell and aduice to be put forth in print, which he had giuen, vpon certaine ar-

F ticles propounded vnto him by the Estates, concerning foure points, which were touching treatie of peace, contribution, their dealing which they sought to haue with the duke of Anion, and the gouernment of the land.

Concerning peace, he complained verie much, That he should be charged by certain men, to be the onely cause that it tooke not effect, whereas to the contrarie he had alwayes giuen

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1579 counſell, and did yet counſell them by all the meanes they could to procure the ſame; as know- A
ing well, that otherwiſe they were to expect farre greater warre and bloudſhed than euer they had: but he perceiued the matter to be brought to that paſſe, as thoſe of the reformed religion were wholly bent, not to forſake nor flie the country any more, and that there was nothing elſe ſought nor deſired by the treatie of peace, than to raiſe more diuiſion in the countrey, as by conſenting and deſiring to continue the pacification of Gant, which before in the treatie with the baron of Selles, they held and eſteemed to bee bad and vnlawfull, and that for the ſame cauſe they ought to bee rooted out: referring himſelfe further therein, to that which had beene anſwered thereunto by the generall eſtates. Adding thereunto, That the enemie vnder that pretence of treatie of peace, ſought nothing elſe but the liues and goods of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, when as all the townes and forts ſhould be deliuered ouer into the B
hands of ſuch as offered them no other ſecuritie, but the ſimple and meere othe of thoſe that had ſo much forgotten their honours, as they had vndertaken to beare armes againſt their natiue countrey: which othe ſhould by the ſame perſons (that were much harder and worſe affected than the Spaniards themſelues) ſoone and verie lightly be diſpenſed withall, as it appeared by diuers examples in Fraunce, and in the Netherlands in the yeare 1566. Further proteſting before God and all princes, potentats, and the whole world, That no man could pretend, proteſt, or prooue himſelfe to haue ſuffered more loſſe and hinderance by the warres, than he: and that no man more wiſhed, deſired, nor thought it more profitable or neceſſary, than himſelfe, it being ſufficiently and manifeſtly knowne, what lands and inheritances were by the enemy forcibly kept and withholden from him, without any recompence: As alſo that C
the detaining of his ſonne the earle of Buren, who againſt all reaſon was a priſoner in Spaine, could not chuſe but moue his fatherly heart, who without a peace was wholly out of hope euer to ſee him againe; which he notwithſtanding, next to the honour of God, and the welfare of his natiue countrey, moſt deſired, for that he (as other fathers) bore all naturall loue vnto his ſonne.

Secondly, That he had as then attained to thoſe yeares, which well deſerued reſt and quietneſſe, after ſo many labours and troubles by him endured: but for that many men, not onely ſuch as made profeſſion of the reformed religion, but thoſe alſo that ſeeke the freedom of their naturall countrey, wholly relied vpon him, he could not hearken nor conſent to any peace, but onely to that which tended to the ſecuritie of religion, freedome and priuiledges of the Ne- D
therlands, and ſuch as might be firme and permanent: againſt the which deſired peace, for diſcharge of his conſcience, he certainly affirmed and acknowledged, that the articles propounded at Cologne, were wholly repugnant, tending to the ouerthrow and aboliſhing of the reformed religion, and the liberties of the Netherlands, as he ſhewed and declared by many reaſons, which were ouerlong as now to be rehearſed, and therein I refer the reader to the printed copie.

Touching the contribution, he referred them therein to that which was done by the aſſembly at Vtrecht, as it appeared more at large by the anſwer by him made vnto euery particular article of the ſame.

Concerning the duke of Aniou, conſidering the great endeuors and earneſt meanes ſought E
by the Netherlands, to attaine vnto a good peace, and that on the kings behalfe, there had not as yet been any ſignes nor ſhewes of any kind of good will or liking thereunto, much leſſe vnto the reformed religion, and that there was nothing but all oppreſſion, and the ouerthrow of religion, to be expected at his hands, He ſaid, That if it ſo fel out, that the prouinces of the Netherlands wold chuſe another prince, that there was no prince nor potentat, that could as then be found, whoſe authoritie or means could effect more good vnto the Netherlands, than that of the queen of England, or of the aforeſaid duke of Aniou: for that notwithſtanding that the princes of the empire had ſeuerally and oftentimes beene moued and deſired, to take and receiue the Netherlands into their protection, and that the emperors Maieſtie likewiſe, by letters both from the arch duke *Mathias*, and the generall eſtates, as alſo by diuers men of good quali- F
tie and condition, ſent vnto him, had beene moſt humbly intreated to grant thereunto, yet would neither his Maieſtie nor the ſaid princes of the empire, once be ſtirred or perſuaded, to giue any aid or aſſiſtance to the Netherlands, notwithſtanding, that the ſaid prouinces are a member of the ſaid empire.

Second-

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A Secondly, that he had many and ſeuerall times vnderſtood, and made triall of the queene of Englands meaning and intent, not onely touching the defence and protection of the Netherlands, but alſo concerning the good affection, and great fauour that ſhee bore vnto the ſaid duke, hauing written in his behalfe vnto the generall eſtates: therefore (vnder correction, and for the good of the vnited prouinces and townes of the Netherlands) her ſaid, That there was no other meanes now remaining, than to haue their refuge vnto the aforeſaid duke, and the rather, for that ſuch an honourable worke required a prince that might perſonally effect the ſame, vpon condition, that the Netherlands might bee well prouided of ſouldiers, and ſufficient meanes to withſtand the Spaniards, with ſecuritie of religion and the priuiledges, and euerie prouince to remaine in their old and antient rights and cuſtomes, without any al- 1579.
B teration.

And that if the countrey thought it more conuenient to chuſe any other prince, he referred himſelfe therein to their iudgements, promiſing and offering his ſeruice according to his abilitie, for the defence of the countrey: in the meane time wiſhing them to conſider of the beſt meanes that might be found, for the withſtanding of ſuch an enemie.

Touching the gouernment of the countrey, hee referred that to the diſcretion of the prouinces, as alſo concerning that which they ſhould pleaſe to ordaine, touching the perſon of the archduke *Mathias*: but for himſelfe, he ſaid, hee could not let ſlip certaine manifeſt imperfections, which vntill that time were not by any meanes to be remedied, for want of obedience, the which had cauſed great complaints to be made by diuers perſons, ſome for want of vn-
C derſtanding, and others of meere hatred and malice. Hee likewiſe ſaid, That beſides that the diſobedience commonly ſhewed, was and had beene the cauſe of much euill, the money that was to be imploied in the warres not being brought in, but vſed otherwiſe than it ought to be, or politikely and deceitfully withholden, was no leſſe; and that therefore he for his part had beene vniuſtly charged and blamed for ſuch diſorders, for that without money and aid, he could not effect the thing they deſired: and that ſuch as ſlandred him therin, ſought nothing elſe but the ruine of the land, and yet were beleeued and credited by many. And although hee perceiued the vnthankfulneſſe of them (in whoſe preſence his ſonne was taken and carried away, and for whoſe ſake he had loſt three brethren, and run himſelf into great debt, his lands & goods being taken from him) that perſuaded him to accept ſuch reaſonable conditions as were
D offered vnto him during that treatie of peace, and otherwiſe: yet notwithſtanding, for the honour of God, and to preferre the welfare of this countrey, hee had not eſteemed thereof, but rather with great paine and labour (and almoſt without any) meanes, vpon good credit that hee had amongſt the ſouldiers vntill that time, had hindered the enemie from making any further inuaſion into the countrey, although he had not ceaſed by all policie, ſubtile deuices, and force, to ſeeke to inuade the ſame.

And whereas the vnited prouinces offered him the office of Lieutenant generall of the Netherlands, hee well knowing and conſidering what croſſes he had had therein, gaue them to vnderſtand, that for his part, he was content that the ſame ſhould bee laid vpon ſome other man, whom it ſhould pleaſe the ſaid prouinces to nominat and appoint, promiſing, accor-
E ding to his power, to doe his beſt endeuour for the ſeruice of the countrey, as hee had formerly done. Neuertheleſſe, for that it was their deſires to haue him to accept of the ſaid Lieutenant generals place (as hauing wholly deuoted himſelfe to the ſeruice of God, and their natiue countrey of the Netherlands) hee wiſhed and deſired the ſaid Prouinces, to giue eare and hearken vnto the cauſes of the aforeſaid diſorders, that better order might bee taken therein.

Saying firſt, That there was no prouince nor towne, that had beene required to receiue garriſons, but as much as in them lay, refuſed the ſame, and that hauing receiued any garriſon, did not preſently make all the friends they could, to bee diſcharged and vnburthened thereof a-
F gaine: whereby whole prouinces and townes were loſt, as it appeared by Aeth, Aloſt, Mechelen, and others.

And whereas at that time all the townes were perſuaded to take in garriſons, yet in ſo ſmall numbers, as they were not able to make any ſallies, by that meanes to moleſt and trouble the enemie, but were forced to ſtay within their townes, and by that meanes vnexperienced in armes and martiall affaires, ſo as the enemie did what hee would in the playne

1580 countrey euen to the verie gates of the ſaid townes: And for that cauſe alſo the ſmall townes A
and villages, how neere ſoeuer they lay to the great townes, were forced either to haue garri-
ſons, or elſe muſt be loſt: meane time the poore countrey man was on all ſides ranſacked and
vtterly ſpoyled.

Secondly he ſaid, That the diſorder daily more and more increaſed, by means that the pro-
uinces (in regard that they were ſo much waſted and ſpoyled) were not able to raiſe and bring
in their contribution, wherewith they were taxed.

Which to preuent, he ſaid, There was no fitter nor more conuenient meanes to bee vſed,
than to keepe good and ſtrong garriſons within their forts and townes, which might hinder
and keepe the enemie from ſpoyling of the champion countrey, whereby the reſt of the coun-
trey might be aſſured and vnburthened of ſo many vnneceſſarie ſmall garriſons, and the ſoul- B
diers better paid, in ſuch ſort, that fourteene or fifteene companies well paid, and kept in good
diſcipline, would doe leſſe harme, and not commit ſo great diſorders in a towne, as three or
foure companies vnpaid did, conſidering that without pay they were not to bee kept in any
good order. And therefore he deſired firſt, that hee might haue full power and authoritie to
take order for the garriſons of the frontier townes, as he ſhould thinke good, not onely for the
defence and preſeruation of the ſaid towns, but alſo with more conuenient meanes to inuade
the enemie.

Deſiring alſo, That they would conſider what in times paſt had been done in Holland and
Zeeland, where the townes made no difficultie to receiue garriſons into them, ſo that they
were not onely defended, but did alſo greatly annoy the enemie. Alſo deſiring (thereby to C
auoid and preuent all ſecret practiſes, and vnexpected inuaſions of the enemy, whereof hee
ſhould be ſecretly informed) that he might paſſe out and in with any ſouldiers, through any
towne whatſoeuer, without let or contradiction.

Deſiring alſo, That for the auoiding of all delayes in the execution of things, there ſhold be
a counſell of ſtate erected.

He ſaid moreouer, That great difficulties were growne for want of money to maintaine the
charges of the warres, and that thereby all good meanes, occaſions, and aduantages (to driue
and expell the enemie out of the countrey) were vtterly loſt, which the enemie himſelfe by his
intercepted letters confeſſeth that he ſhould haue beene forced to haue done. As alſo that the
contribution money ordained to be paid, was not gathered: and that if it were gathered, it was D
diſburſed againe at euerie mans diſpoſition: and therefore he thought it neceſſarie, that when
any contribution ſhould be granted, all particularities that were found faultie in the paiment,
or that refuſed to pay the ſame, ſhould preſently be forced thereunto by order of law. Alwaies
prouided, that they ſhall haue leaue to haue their recourſe vnto the generality of their prouin-
ces and townes.

Thus much I thought good to ſet downe touching theſe articles, thereby to ſhew the eſtate
of the countrey at that time: he that deſireth to ſee more, may read the articles themſelues.

The prince cauſed this his counſell and aduice with all ſpeed to be put in print, that euerie
prouince and towne might read and conſider thereof, to the end, that at the next aſſembly of
the generall eſtates in Antuerpe, they might be ſent with full power and authoritie, for the ful E
determination of that which ſhould be found requiſit and neceſſarie to be done, according to
the vnion and contract made: yet many things were not then determined of. For which cauſe,
vpon the ninth of Ianuary 1580, the generall eſtates being aſſembled in Antuerpe, the prince
Another declaratiõ made vnto the ſtates by the prince of Orange. once again ſhewed them of the difficulties and troubles that were like to fal vpon the Nether-
lands, if ſpeedie remedie were not had, eſpecially for that there was not a counſell of eſtate ap-
pointed, that had authoritie to determine vpon things that concerned the generalitie, for that
as then euerie particular prouince and towne did that which they thought fit and conuenient
for their owne particular benefit, without reſpecting what they & the country in general loſt,
by not aiding & aſſiſting euery particular towne when need required, which proceeded from
want of a bodie, or chiefe aſſembly, wherunto the particular members ought to bee ſubiect. F
Saying, That it was ſufficiently knowne vnto them, how often he had deſired and ſought, that
they ſhould entertaine certaine horſe and footmen in continuall pay, which if they had done,
the countrey of Tourney and Weſt-Friſeland ſhould not haue fallen into ſo great extremitie
as they then felt, neither ſhould the towne of Maſtricht haue beene loſt, but they might haue
beene

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A beene able to set vpon the enemie, or else haue caused him to haue broken vp his siege: For 1580
that to make an army out of the garrisons, he said it was impossible, without a counsel of estate that had authoritie to dispose thereof, for that otherwise euery prouince and towne, would discharge and send away their garrison, hauing no need thereof, and they that had need, would not suffer their garrisons to depart out of their townes, prouinces, or commands: and many other such like disorders, he said, would arise, onely by that means, which by a counsell of estate that had full and absolute authoritie, might be preuented.

By the which and such like disorders he sayd, That diuers good men were discontented, and vnderstanding not the ground of the cause, layed the blame vpon them that were most blamelesse, whereby it fell out, that they were forced to see and behold first one towne, then
B another, to reuolt, and to be lost, and that those that were most zealous, became faint and weake hearted: also, that no prince, potentate, nor any strange nation, offered to ioyne themselues with them, neither yet any of the enemy once came to yeeld to them, or take their parts, all making excuses, vpon their bad resolution, so that it was to be wondered at, that the country endured no greater losse.

Seeing then, that their bad resolutions were the onely causes of the aforesaid difficulties, and the bad accomplishing of that which was resolued vpon, therfore (he said) it was requisit that the same should be foreseene and amended, before all other things whatsoeuer: for that there were yet many good people in the Netherlands, that would earnestly proceed therein, especially for that as then there was much more disorder found to be amongst the enemy, than
C was amongst them, as want of money, powder, and all kind of munition, contention, factions, and dearth of all things amongst the souldiers, wherewith their townes flowed, whereby they might easily reape profit and commodity, if the prouinces (hauing means & strength ynough) would once determine to bring an armie into the field of foure thousand horse, twelue thousand footmen, and twelue hundred pioners, with artillerie and munition fit for the same, besides the garrisons: in which case, it were requisit to shew vnto the colonels, captaines & commaunders, what means they had to pay their souldiers, for that otherwise no good nor honest souldiers would offer their seruice, and bad souldiers (that come more to get meat and drinke, with impouerishing of the land, than of any good will or desire to do them seruice) were not fit for their turnes at such a time: and that if they could not well get any other horsemen, but
D Dutch, they should be carefull to take order what colonels they should chuse; and that if they ought them any thing for their fore-passed seruices, that they should see them satisfied.

In the collections of the contributions (he said) there was likewise great disorder, for that euery prouince receiued and vsed their owne mony for their best aduantages, and not for the profit and commoditie of the generalitie: as also, that some collected their common taxes with too much partialitie, whether it were to draw more traffique vnto their townes, or els by reason of negligence or carelesnesse.

That there should great respect bee had touching the oath that was vsually taken of the colonels, captaines, officers, and common souldiers, for that many of them, which were in seruice, were of opinion, that by reason of the oath they had taken vnto the king, they might
E enterprise and vndertake any thing against the estates. And that therefore (for more securitie) there was a certaine forme to be vsed, which was, what style should bee obserued in all proclamations, ordinances, decrees, and other acts touching the titles of the soueraignty. And for that by reason of the reuolting of the most part of the nobilitie and naturall borne gentlemen of the Netherlands vnto the enemie (to his great griefe) they were not sufficiently prouided of men of quality to be commanders, they ought to be very carefull what colonels they should chuse, and that they might be well vsed and payd, thereby to encourage them, to be the willinger to do the country good seruice.

Touching all these points, he said, it was more than requisite to be considered of; and that many things would be repaired and amended, if they would follow his aduice, and chuse cer-
F taine persons that should haue the ordering and managing of al causes, with assured and faithfull promise to be made by them which should be so chosen, to be obedient in all things, that they should not need so often to heare the ordinarie answere and excuse (which hath disappointed and hindered all good counsels and resolutions) which was, that we haue no commission nor charge from our townes or prouinces: not that we should (sayd hee) giue such

deputies

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1580 deputies authoritie to appoint and ordaine new impoſitions, or power to deale in all cauſes, A according to their owne wils and pleaſures, or ſuch like things, but onely to take order about the collection of the generall meanes of contributions, publickly agreed vpon, or that ſhould be ordained and appointed, and to diſpoſe them for the moſt profite and aduantage of the countrey; to cauſe the ſouldiers to aſſemble together, and the ſame againe (when occaſion ſerued) to ſend into garriſons, and to take knowledge of all politicke cauſes, for the ſeruice and welfare of the Netherlands. And whenſoeuer this ſhould be done, be doubted not, but that in ſhort time they ſhould find a good alteration.

Conſultation made by the deputies of the ſtates aſſembled in Antuerpe touching the chãge of their ſoueraigne lord.

The deputies of the eſtates being aſſembled together in Antuerp vpon the thirteenth of Ianuarie, there was another matter propounded vnto them, touching the changing of their ſoueraigne lord, that they might make report thereof vnto their townes and prouinces, that ſo B the generall eſtates might once againe be aſſembled with full power and abſolute authoritie, to reſolue thereupon, which was in effect, as hereafter followeth.

For that the preſent eſtate of the Netherlands was ſuch, as they could make nothing but a defenſiue warre, which was, onely to defend their townes and prouinces, and yet very hardly, and with great difficultie, by reaſon of the bad vnitie and concord which was amongſt them, together with the euill order which had beene taken touching the countries cauſes, both for warre and otherwiſe, as alſo the delaying and deferring of matters, whereby all good occaſions and opportunities were let ſlippe and neglected; and although good order were taken in all things, yet they could not (as it is ſaid before) make nothing but a defenſiue war, which might well endure long, and yet they muſt of neceſſitie looſe more than they ſhould win thereby, for C that many would be tyred with the warres, thinking, that no townes which were once beſieged by the enemie, could be relieued, and therfore would reuolt, and cauſe more ſuſpition and diſtruſt.

And that further it was to bee conſidered, That the continuall ſpoyling of the countrey would weaken and decay their power, and take from them all meanes of money, and other neceſſaries: and that therefore it was requiſite, reſolutely and courageouſly to reſolue vpon making of peace, or elſe of proceeding with the warres. As for peace, they found that it could not be made, vnleſſe they yeelded themſelues once againe, by as good meanes as they could, vnder the king of Spaines ſubiection.

Touching the king of Spaines meaning and intent, they ſayd it was well and ſufficiently D diſcouered by the articles of peace, propounded in the towne of Cologne: which articles, they ſaid, could not be receiued nor accepted, without bringing the Netherlands into imminent danger, to be reduced and ſubiected vnder the Spaniſh yoke, more than euer it had been before, to the vtter ouerthrow and ruine of an innumerable company of the inhabitants of the land, eſpecially thoſe that made profeſſion of the reformed religion, which would breed great confuſion, miſery, and deſtruction to the Netherlands, together with the aboliſhing of all trade of marchandiſe; ſo that there was no other meanes to be propounded for their ſecurity, but only to maintaine warre.

And for that it was impoſſible (in mans iudgement) to vphold the warre in ſuch ſort as it had in times paſt beene done, therefore it was requiſite, that they ſhould reſolue vpon ſome E other proceedings, thereby to ſhorten the warres, and to rid the countries of the enemie. And for that of themſelues they could not find the meanes, they muſt be forced to ſeeke it by ſome other potentate, and (*rebus adhuc ſtantibus*) the ſooner the better, before they fell into greater danger: for that it was to be doubted, that they in the next Summer (being vnprepared and not readie) either ſhould be ouer-run by the enemy (which they well knew made himſelfe ſtrong) or elſe forſaken by their reuolting friends, wherein their enemy vſed all the meanes and ſubtill practiſes he could deuiſe.

That in all Chriſtendome there was no king, potentate, nor prince, that had offered them more fauour and friendſhip than the duke of Aniou, brother vnto *Henry* the third, king of Fraunce, who likewiſe had the beſt meanes to annoy and hurt their enemie vpon the borders F of Fraunce, from whom they were to expect moſt aid and aſſiſtance, and who of himſelfe would willingliеſt vndertake the ſame with leſſe feare and prompter reſolution.

And therefore they were to determine, whether they ſhould yeeld themſelues into the hands of the ſaid duke, vpon ſuch conditions as ſhould be propounded vnto him, or not:

The

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A the principall cauſes why they had ſo long borne armes being theſe. 1580

Firſt, for the reaſonable and lawfull gouerning of the Netherlands, vnder the command of naturall borne inhabitants of the ſame.

Secondly, for the reſtoring, and perpetuall vpholding of the rights, lawes, ſtatutes, priuiledges, and freedomes of the land.

Thirdly, for the eſchewing and auoiding of all vnreaſonable perſecutions, and for the permiſſion of the exerciſe of the reformed religion, which was found requiſite and neceſſarie to be ſuffered, for the common peace and quietneſſe of the ſame. All other cauſes (in reſpect thereof) being of much leſſe importance: and therefore it was to be conſidered, whether they could agree better with the king of Spaine, than with the duke of Aniou, touching
B the ſame.

Firſt, it was moſt certaine, and (without all doubt) plainely and manifeſtly to be ſeene, that the will, meanes, and power to bring the Netherlands into ſubiection, and vnder a ſtrange yoke, were (without compariſon) greater in the king than in the duke, for that the king would haue all the lords of the land, commaunders, and other officers (whom he would appoint and ordaine at pleaſure) at his deuotion, and vnder his ſubiection, ſo that euery one would ſtriue to be the firſt that ſhould be receiued into his good grace and fauour; not they alone, that of long time had been affected vnto his ſeruice, and hoped for reward, but alſo thoſe which had alwayes beene his enemies: for that it had beene ſeene, that a great number of thoſe which had beene moſt earneſt againſt the Spaniards, had ſuffered themſelues to be ſeduced by *Mon-*
C *ſieur de la Motte*, and, vpon hope to be made rich, were reuolted from the other prouinces and townes, and ſo were bound and vnited together by oath. Whereby euery man might eaſily iudge, what was to bee expected from them, and ſuch as they are, if they (beſides the paſſions which had drawne them thereunto) ſhould adde the reſpect of their duties, whereby they ſhould thinke themſelues bound vnto the king.

To the contrary, the duke of Aniou could not in many yeares purchaſe ſo great credite with the people, as the king had alreadie obtained, for that the king had many townes in his hands (whereby hee had more meanes to attayne to his deſire, than the duke of Aniou, although his will were good) being likewiſe much mightier, eſpecially, if hee once recouered Portugall into his hands: whereby his power would euery way be too great for
D the Netherlands, if they ſought not another protector, or elſe tooke better order in their affaires.

That the kings euill will towards the Netherlands, was manifeſt, for that hee was greatly mooued and incenſed againſt the ſame, and therefore (whether it were to maintaine his honor, or to giue the reſt of his ſubiects an example and warning, that they ſhould not hereafter attempt the like, or elſe of his owne nature & deſire of reuenge) he would eſpie and watch all oportunities, to be reuenged vpon the Netherlands, as addicted thereunto by nature. Which by his former actions and proceedings in the country of Granado, India, and Italie, and eſpecially in the Netherlands, appeareth to bee moſt true: for that the bloud of the principalleſt lords (moſt lamentably brought vnto their ends by ſword, torment, and poyſon, againſt all
E lawes of God and man, and his owne promiſes) was yet in a manner warme: beſides many gentlemen, and great multitudes of the common people, that with fire and ſword, and moſt cruell torments, ended their liues; with great numbers that were forced to flye out of the countrey, and to liue miſerably in other ſtrange countries, with their poore wiues and children; whereby the trade of the land, and diuers kinds of manuall occupations, were carried into forraine countries, and the wealth and welfare of the Netherlands much hindered and impaired.

It was likewiſe ſeene, that vnto thoſe, againſt whom he had the greateſt ſpleene, and was reſolued to puniſh them, hee wrot the moſt pleaſing and gracious letters that could be deuiſed. And whereas hee made ſhew, as if he had altered his mind, and ſeemed to
F begin another more pleaſing and peaceable manner of gouernment, then did hee by his letters, that were written in cyphers, and with double inſtructions plainely and euidently ſhew, that he attended but ſome more conuenient and fit meanes, to vſe his extreame rigour againſt the Netherlands, as it appeared by his inſtructions ſent to *Don Iohn*, and others.

It

1580 It was likewiſe found by example, and many hiſtories, That ſuch kings and mightie potentates as he, neuer, or very ſildome, let their countries eſcape vnpuniſhed, when time and opportunitie ſerued, although for a time they ſeemed to winke thereat. For which cauſe, king *Salomon* giueth vs warning, ſaying, That the kings wrath is a moſt certaine dore or entry vnto death, as it appeared not long ſince in Fraunce, whereas neither the peace of two yeres, the deliuering ouer of all the townes, forts, and caſtles, nor yet the mariage of the kings owne ſiſter, could moue the king to refraine from taking reuenge vpon the admirall, and ſo great a number of gentlemen, and other perſons of diuers eſtates and qualities, whom he cauſed to be murthered without compaſſion. A

And in the Netherlands, they themſelues had ſeene, That the emperor *Maximilian*, grandfather to the deceaſed emperour *Charles* the fifth, notwithſtanding the peace which had been made by meanes of the princes of Germanie, who had ſigned and ſealed the ſame, and *Maximilian* himſelfe had bound it by an oath, yet neuertheleſſe hee was ſo reuenged vpon Bruges, and thereby ſatisfied his humor, as euery man that heareth therof, yet vnto this day, is ſtricken with feare and terror: and yet *Maximilian* was one of the moſt mild & courteous princes that had liued in many hundred yeares. B

What then was to be expected from the king of Spaine, that would not hold nor keep his promiſe? vnleſſe it were to aſſure the countrey in time to come, and not to fall again into ſuch great coſts and charges, as all potentates vſe to do, when they feare a reuolt, & eſpecially when as they thinke they haue receiued any diſgrace or vndutifull ſeruice at their hands, as the example of Gant in Anno 1539 well witneſſed. C

Beſides that, it was euidently knowne to euery man, That all the proclamations, promiſes, contracts, and oaths &c. that could or might be deuiſed, might be broken and diſannulled by the Popes Bull, as long as it was a certaine decree, That no faith nor promiſe was to be holden with heretickes, as he accounted them all to be. And that in their gouernment it is holden for a Maxime, or an vndoubted rule, That whatſoeuer the king ſhould promiſe and graunt vnto his ſubiects that were reuolted from him, he was not bound nor tyed to obſerue nor fulfill the ſame; for that they were not eſteemed nor accounted to be right and lawfull enemies, but rebellious peace-breakers, and (as they call them) traytors, (with whome (according vnto the lawes of nature) no man is bound to obſerue any promiſe; as thoſe, who at this day write againſt vs (beeing both Diuines and Lawyers) ſufficiently declare, as *Cornelius Calidius Chriſopolitanus*, *Iohannes Leuſcius Cunerus*, biſhop of Leeuwerden, and many others. D

And if it were ſo, that the king were content to keepe his faith and promiſe, yet it is manifeſt, that the Pope of Rome and the Inquiſition of Spaine would not ſuffer him, but ſtill would put him in feare of conſcience, and compell him to root out and vtterly extirpe all heretickes, as it is well knowne that they brought the king of Fraunce thereunto; ſo that without all doubt, the maſſacre of Paris was firſt hatched and inuented both in Spaine and Italie.

Beſides all this, it was to be conſidered, what thing had mooued the king vnto ſuch wrath and bitternes against the Netherlands; for that if it were meerely of his owne nature and diſpoſition, then there was no hope of any better to be expected, for that there is no ſuddaine action of man, but that nature can expell it; but if he be naturally giuen to be gracious, peaceable, mild, and gentle (as ſome men report him to be) then it might be, that hee was mooued thereunto through zeale of Religion, or by the counſell and prouocation of thoſe that are enemies vnto the Netherlands, as the Pope and the Inquiſition of Spaine. If it were zeale of Religion that moued him thereunto, then the ſame zeale was not diminiſhed (becauſe hee was perſuaded, that Religion was the onely ground and foundation of all the rebellion,) but had rather attained vnto the higheſt degree. Whereby (from thenceforth) it was apparent, what was to be expected from him, for that thoſe that had perſuaded and incited him thereunto, were then more exaſperated againſt the Netherlands, and bare more hatred and malice vnto the ſame, than euer they did, eſteeming the inhabitants to bee reuolters, rebels, heretickes, peace-breakers, and mutinous perſons. What ſecuritie, what freedome of the countrey and priuiledges, and what liberty of conſcience and Religion were there then to bee hoped for of the king? and what the king might do in a countrey, where he yet had ſo many townes vnder his commaund, and ſo many adherents and well-willers, the example of E F G H

Dom

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A *Dom Iohn* had ſufficiently declared, when as hee might eaſily haue made himſelfe maſter of the land, if he could haue behaued himſelfe ſomewhat cloſer and ſecretlyer for a while: or that his letters (by great fortune) had not fallen into their hands, or if that, in ſteed of going to Mechelen, he had gone to the caſtle of Antuerpe, and had taken it. 1580

Now it was to be examined on the other ſide, if that thoſe points might bee found in the duke of Aniou, or not.

As for him, he ſhould haue much leſſe meanes, he being a ſtranger, and ſuſpected of the inhabitants, hauing no correſpondence in the Netherlands, as alſo that he had neither towns, forts, nor any of the chiefe noblemen of the land at his commaund, nor would not lightly vndertake any bad enterpriſe, out of his owne countrey, vnleſſe he were better aſſured.

B Touching his power, it was alreadie declared; concerning his will, it was eaſie to be perceiued, that it would ſtand him more vpon, to win the hearts and good wils of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, than to bring them into diſtruſt or hatred againſt him: and as he ſhould be brought in by the good and well minded, he ſhould alwayes haue cauſe to bee fauourable vnto them, as hauing no cauſe of bitterneſſe or reuenge againſt the countrey. And touching the Religion, hee was ſufficiently accuſtomed to ſee the exerciſe of both the Religions in France, yea, and that in his owne houſe, hauing diuers of the Religion that were his ſeruants, and cauſing the religious peace to be obſerued in his owne countrey; ſo that both in matters of Religion, and in politicke gouernment, all ſecuritie was to be expected at his hands, in regard that good conditions & contracts ſhould be offered vnto him, which by no means could
C be done with the king of Spaine.

Touching his nature and diſpoſition, he was reported to be peaceable and courteous, hauing behaued himſelfe in very good ſort both at the time of the maſſacre, and in many other troubles, hauing giuen good teſtimonie, that he was diſpleaſed thereat, not without the danger of his life; yet at the laſt beeing mooued and prouoked, he alſo bare armes againſt the Huguenots, which was one of the cauſes of a peace, which he ſought to vphold and maintaine.

But howſoeuer it were, ſuch care and diligence might bee vſed, and hee ſhould haue ſuch conditions preſcribed vnto him, as that if he would bee mooued or procured to follow any euill counſell, he ſhould not by any means be able to effect it; and ſo much the rather, for that
D he ſhall continually haue the kings followers and adherents oppoſite vnto him, which will be a meanes to make him more deſirous to win the peoples hearts, and by that meanes he would alſo haue an eſpeciall regard vnto thoſe of the Religion in Fraunce, and not ſeeke to moleſt them; ſo that (to ſpeake after the maner of men) there was no better nor conuenienter means in the world than that, to ceaſe the warres in the Netherlands, for that the Spaniards (hauing Fraunce their enemie) would be wholly vnable to proceed with his warres, as hauing their prouiſion, munition, and money moſt brought vnto them, by the way of France, as it appeared by their ſiege of Maſtricht, which by reaſon of their prouiſion gotten out of Fraunce, was loſt. By that meanes likewiſe he ſhould be barred from bringing of his Spaniſh and Italian ſouldiers and his money into the Netherlands, eſpecially if the king of France (either ſecretly
E or openly) would declare himſelfe to be enemy vnto Spaine.

On the other ſide, it were to be hoped, that they of Arthois and Henault would ſeek to vnite themſelues with the eſtates, when they ſhould ſee & perceiue, that it would be too chargeable for them to maintaine warre on both ſides, or that they could hardly let the ſtates ſouldiers frō inuading them: by which means they ſhould get great ſtore of forcible contribution from thē, and ſo requite the iniury done vnto thoſe of Flanders. The duke likewiſe ſhould haue no cauſe to prefer the Wallons before other prouinces, which vntill that time had moſt beene vſed, and would be much more, as it euidently appeared, if the Spaniards once got the vpper hand: and further, it concerned the eſtates much, carefully to take heed, leaſt the Wallons ſhould procure the ſaid duke to hold on their ſide. And if any man ſhould maintaine, that the duke would not
F obſerue the pacification of Gant, or that the countrey might therby moue the Q. of England againſt them, they ſaid, that it was very vnlikely, that the duke would make any difficultie touching the pacification of Gant, as being made moſt againſt the Spaniards. Wherein the examples of the dukes of Burgundie might ſerue them for inſtruction, which were likewiſe brethrē of France, and with whom in times paſt the Netherlands made no difficultie to treat.

Tou-

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1580 Touching the queene of England, they knew ſhe had rather haue the duke than the king A
of Spain to be her neighbor, eſpecially then, whē as he had gotten the kingdome of Portugall,
whoſe power were to be feared, being the onely lord both of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and
ſo mightie a prince. Beſides, the queene ſhewed her ſelfe not to haue any bad opinion of the
duke, in regard that ſhe had proceeded ſo farre as to parle, and did yet parle with him about a
mariage to be made betweene them; and although the ſame tooke no effect, yet the Engliſh
lords (that were moſt addicted to the religion) would not be diſpleaſed, but rather deſire to ſee
ſome good proceedings in the affaires of the Netherlands. Beſides, that it was to be thought,
that Spaine would prouide ſo much worke for Fraunce, as England ſhould not neede to
feare Fraunce, eſpecially when as their intent was, to include the queene of England in that
contract. B

And whereas ſome might perchance ſuſpect, That the ſaid duke ſhould haue ſecret intel-
ligence with the king of Spain, that was not likely: but it was moſt true, and without doubt,
that the king of Spaine would alwayes rather take the Netherlands againe into his owne
hands, vpon ſuch conditions as thē were offered vnto him by the eſtates, thā to ſtand to ſuch
hazard, and after that be forced to receiue his country again at the king of France his brothers
hands, with many harder conditions than were then offered vnto him: beſides, that all his
dealings, letters, and actions ſhewed the contrary, ſo that there was no cauſe why any ſuch ſuſ-
pition ſhould grow in any wiſe mans head.

Therefore the prouinces were requeſted once againe to reſolue vpon that which they
thought beſt to bee done, that ſuch meanes might be wrought, as the Netherlands might C
once againe bee releaſed and vnburthened of their continuall miſeries, feares, troubles,
and warres.

Theſe reaſons and arguments being long debated and conſulted vpon both by the townes
and the generall eſtates, at the laſt they reſolued and agreed to accept the duke of Aniou for
their ſoueraigne lord, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed.

In September paſt, the captaine (which commaunded for the eſtates in Bryel) made a bar-
gaine with the captaines malecontents of Athois and Henault, to deliuer vp vnto them the
towne and Iſland of Bryel; but it was with an intent to ſurpriſe thē: the which they thinking
to effect, with ſome ſhips of Grauelinge, appointed like vnto them of the Hollanders, they
approched neere vnto the Iſland, but they were charged by them of Holland, and all ſlaine D
or drowned.

Courtray ſurpriſed by the Seignior of Alennes. The ſeignior of Alennes (mad for the diſgrace hee had receiued at Courtray, which was
redoubled by the loſſe of Menin) dreamed of nothing but of reuenge: for the effecting
whereof, he ſent a captaine of Henault, called *Ieans Corbetiers*, who (attyred like a peſant)
went to view the weakeſt parts of the towne, the which he found to be betwixt the caſtle and
the rampar of the towne. *D'Allennes* meaning to make a tryall, his enterpriſe ſucceeded ſo hap-
pily, as for want of a greater garriſon, he became maſter thereof by force. The 28 of Februarie
the town was ſpoiled, and the bourgers put to ranſome. A little before, the foure members of
Flanders had ſent them four companies of Wallons thither, but they excuſed themſelues, ſay-
ing, they had no need of them, which was the cauſe of their ruine. It happeneth ſo moſt com- E
monly, that to auoid a ſmall diſcommoditie, they fall into great miſerie.

The earle of Egmont taken in Nyenouen. About the ſame time, *Monſieur de la Noue* being generall of the Frenchmen, and of all other
ſouldiers that remained in Flanders, hauing intelligence, that the earle of Egmont, with his
wife, mother, and brother *Charles*, with diuers other gentlemen, were in Ninouen, which is a
ſmall towne lying betwixt Aloſt and Geersbergh, and not very ſtrong, nor very well manned:
they tooke it in the night by ſcalado on the 28 of March, with ſmall loſſe on either ſide. It was
taken before the earle heard any alarme, being in bed with his lady, who hearing the noiſe cō-
ming vp to his chamber, roſe in his ſhirt, and as the ſeignior of la Noue entred, hee only asked,
if his men had made no reſiſtance: to whom they anſwered yes; but it was the fortune of the
warre: then recommending the honor of his wiues women (who were alſo in bed) he intrea- F
ted they would do them no wrong: which *Monſieur de la Noue* promiſed; yet the Frenchmen
filled their pockets with their chaines and iewels: which done, they tooke him & the reſt priſo-
ners. The earle remained long priſoner in Gant, & afterwards in the caſtle of Ramekins in Zee-
land. The ladies and his brother *Charles* were ſoone releaſed againe.

Many

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A Many troubles and vprores riſing in Friſeland, and thereabouts, the prince of Orange went 1580
to Dort in Holland: the archduke *Mathias* going with him to Breda, he entertained him there very honourably, from whence the archduke went backe againe to Berghen vp Zoome, and ſo to Antuerpe: the prince going to Campen, to ſet all things in good order, for that the country peſants in Drenth, and thereabouts, were riſen vp in armes againſt the Eſtates commanders of their forces, and the reſt of *Caſimires* horſemen, where being very ſtrong, they denied their contribution, ſeeming to leane and to be affected vnto the articles of peace made at Cologne. The earle of Rennenbergh reuenged himſelfe likewiſe vpon the peſants vnder his commaund, and threatened them of Linghen and Oldenzeel, becauſe they would not accept of the religious peace. *Bartel Entens* plagued them of Berghe, and thoſe of the biſhopricke of Munſter. *Die-*
B *ricke Sonoy*, gouernour of North-Holland, alſo compelled them of Zutphen to receiue in garriſon.

The earle of Rennenbergh a little before began to encline, and to haue ſome intelligence with the prince of Parma, and for that cauſe had encouraged the peſants of Drenth and Oueryſſell againſt the ſouldiers, whereunto he was perſuaded by his ſeruants and his kinred in Henault, with whom he ſecretly dealt, and was a great ſeeker vnto the Eſtates, to procure, that the articles offered at the peace of Cologne vnto the ſaid Eſtates, might be accepted. And after that, a certaine vprore being made in Groning by the Catholickes (that would force the towne to allow of the ſaid articles, which by thoſe of the Religion was ſoone pacified) he perceiued thereby, that he might there haue a factious partie; which to procure, he ſecretly ſet the
C hoſtages of Groning at libertie, being all affected to the Spaniard. About the ſame time alſo there was an vprore in Campen, wherupon likewiſe he took occaſion to procure ſome of that towne to be of his faction.

Things proceeding in this ſort, vpon the one and twentieth of Ianuarie *Cornelia de Lalain*, his ſiſter, with the baron *de Monceau* her husband, came to viſit him, bringing with her his pardon and reconciliation from the prince of Parma, with certaine money, and many faire promiſes, as to be created a Marqueſſe, and that he ſhould haue the Counteſſe of Meghen for his wife, of whom he was enamoured. But the ſaid earle being doubtfull what to doe, his ſiſter neuer ceaſed to admoniſh him, and to perſuade him, not to damme his ſoule, by ſuppreſſing the Chriſtian faith, and by beeing a principall leader and captaine of heretickes and rebels, and
D to ſuffer himſelfe to be ruled by a multitude of weauers and other occupations, whereby he ſhould loſe all his lands in Henault, the loue of the Counteſſe whom he ſought to marry, the fauour of his mother, the good will of the earle his vncle, by whom he had the earledome of Rennenbergh, as alſo of the king, and ſuch like things. Whereby at the laſt, by reaſon of his youth, want of experience, and by means of the Religion wherein he was brought vp, he was moued to turne his coat, and yet not without great trouble and contrarietie in mind, diſſembling the ſame as long as he could.

But the prince of Orange & the Eſtates of Friſeland hauing had many cauſes to ſuſpect him, thought it better to begin with him, than he with them, and for that cauſe, in the moneth of February, determined to aſſure themſelues of the caſtle of Leewerden, and ſecretly cauſed *Bo-*
E *winga* and *Ferno* with their companies to incloſe it behind, and with the bourgers to fall on it before, placing the prieſts, monkes, and all the ſouldiers wiues that lay therin, before them, and ſo began to inſconce themſelues, and to fill vp the ditches: but captaine *Schaghe* (who after the death of *Mateneſſe*, was made gouernour of the caſtle) ſeeing the ſlackeneſſe of the ſouldiers to make reſiſtance, being terrified, yeelded it vp, with aſſurance of life and goods, and promiſe of a yearely pention. But the townesmen entring into the caſtle ſooner than they expected, were not ſatisfied, vntill they had throwne downe the wals that were next vnto the towne, & ioined the reſt of the wals thereof vnto thoſe of the towne. This caſtle was built in Anno 1499, at the charges of the towne, being thereunto forced and compelled (the towne being beſieged) by
F *Willeboort van Schouwenbergh*, generall for the duke of Saxonie, ſo that it had ſtood about 80 yeares. Whileſt that the bourgers were buſied about the raſing of the caſtle, the companies of ſouldiers that were without, came into the towne, and fetched all the friers out of their cloyſters, and ſo led them orderly in their ranks, euery ſouldier hauing a frier or a monke to follow him, with pipes and drums out of the towne.

The caſtle of Leewerden taken by the ſtates of Friſeland, and broken downe.

The next day *Beninck Cumminga*, and others, with foure companies, went to Harlingen, and

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1580 incamped themſelues in the towne, as then not walled, and ſummoned the caſtle to yeeld vn- A
to them, but they within denied it, and ſhot againſt the towne, and held it, vntill the earle of
Harlingen caſtle taken by the ſtates of Friſeland, and broken down. Rennenbergh hearing thereof, much abaſhed, ſent *Baly* his ſecretarie to Leewerden, with ſe-
cret inſtructions and authoritie to deale in that matter as he ſhould thinke good, and as time &
occaſion ſhould ſerue, thinking all had been well there. *Balie* being come thither, was preſent-
ly taken priſoner, and being ſearched, they found certaine blankes about him that were ſigned
by the earle of Rennenbergh, they of Leewerden compelling him to write in one of thoſe
blankes vnto the lieutenant of the Droſſart *Ozenbrighe* (who as then was at Groning) in the
earles name, to will him to deliuer the caſtle of Harlingen into their hands: who ſuſpecting
nothing, and knowing not, that he ought to haue bin thrice commanded ſo to do, vpon the 5
of February yeelded vp the caſtle, which was likewiſe demanteled on that ſide that lay next to B
the towne. This caſtle was firſt built in anno 1496 by the townesmen of Groning, when they
were maſters of Friſeland, and by the Friſelanders the ſame yere beaten downe againe, vntill
that *Albert* duke of Saxony built it vp againe in anno 1500, ſo that it had ſtood ſeuentie nine
yeares.

After that, *Soney* gouernor of North Holland, with certaine deputies, and four companies
of ſouldiers went to Staueren, where they ſummoned the caſtle to yield vnto them, which the
Droſſart *Pipenpoy* hauing receiued a good warrant and diſcharge from the prince of Orange,
The caſtle of Staueren take by the Eſtates, and broken downe. deliuered vnto them, which they preſently (without good aduice) demanteled, before they
fortified the towne; which afterward was their own diſaduantage, for by that means the earle
of Rennenbergh tooke it from them againe. This caſtle was firſt built by *Albert* of Leyden C
earle of Holland, in anno 1397, and after that being caſt downe in anno 1522, it was again new
built by *George Schenck*, in the emperour *Charles* the fifth his name, and ſo had ſtood 57
yeares.

While this was done, the earle of Rennenbergh being in Groning, was in great perplexity,
perceiuing, that he could not performe his promiſe with the prince of Parma, which was, to
yeeld vp all his gouernment into the kings hands, and that at his owne coſts and charges. But
while he kept this cloſe to himſelfe, he made complaint to euery man of the breaking of the
religious peace, the rebellion in Friſeland, and the great wrong & diſgrace that had bin done
vnto him, ſhewing his great ſeruices done for the Eſtates, in Mechelen, Valenciennes, Gro-
ning, and before Campen, Deuenter, and other places: and that for recompence therof, he had D
that great affront and diſhonour done vnto him, as if he had bin a traitor, with many ſuch like
ſpeeches. *Poppo Vlfkins* and *Iohn Cornput* (both well addicted to their country and the Eſtates,
and hauing great familiaritie with him) gaue him counſel to go to Vtrecht to the prince of O-
range (whither he had bin ſent for) there to make his complaints, and to remooue all ſuſpition
conceiued of him, & by that means the loſt places ſhould be reſtored vnto his gouernment a-
gaine. And touching the breaking down of the caſtles, they told him, that he knew long ſince,
that the ſame reſted at the will and pleaſure of the Eſtates, and had then bin done by their ap-
pointment, & that therfore he had no cauſe to complaine thereof, but only of the manner and
forme of the action, for that it was done in his gouernment, and without commiſſion frō him.
Not long after, as ſome of his practiſes were diſcouered, and that he and his adherents ſought E
to bereaue *Poppo Vlfkins* of his life, the ſaid *Vlfkins* left the town, not without acquainting him
with his proceedings, in preſence of the deputies of the country, as alſo of his friends, praying
ſome of them, namely, captaine *Cornput*, to giue the earle good counſell, and to perſuade him
to be conſtant, in regard that he ſhewed himſelfe to be wauering; which the ſaid captain did,
praying him to take better order in his gouernment, that the countrey people might not haue
cauſe to turne their hearts from him, and that from thenceforth he would be ruled by the ge-
nerall Eſtates, & not follow the ſecret counſell of *Ozenbrugghe*, *Gruyter*, *Costereau*, *Baly*, & ſuch
like, that were ſuſpected by the country; and eſpecially, that he ſhould without all delay go to
the prince and the deputies of the Eſtates at Vtrecht, thereby to put himſelfe out of all ſuſpiti-
on, if he could diſcharge himſelfe thereof, eſpecially when as he might be perſuaded, that the F
king could not giue him more than he had already, for that no prouince in all the Netherlads
was to be compared to that, whereof he was gouernor, the which, beſides ſo many faire towns,
was alſo enriched with fiue great, and as many ſmall ſea ports, whereby it was impoſſible to be
wholly loſt or taken from him by the warres, for that if it ſo fell out, that the country ſhould be

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A ouerrun, yet theſe townes would be able to maintaine themſelues by traffique at ſea, whereas to the contrary, the places that were vnder the kings commaund, muſt in the end of force be conſtrained to yeeld: for that their champian country being ſpoiled, all their hope & traffique were gone, for want of hauens, to bring in neceſſary prouiſion; ſaying, that the king could giue nothing but bare titles, that were no better than ſmoke, and deare honors without profit. And that if the Catholicke Religion moued him thereunto, he might well ſuppoſe, that he ſhould bring no more to paſſe by force, and with his owne ouerthrow, than the kings of Spaine and France, by ſo many fires, executions, and ruine of places had done: and therefore he gaue him counſell to keepe that he had, and ſo quench the fire that the houſes of *Lalain* had begun to kindle, remembring their deuice, *De Lalain ſans reproche*, and to remain in the vnion with the B prince and their aſſociates: and that if he did to the contrary, it was to be feared, that he ſhould find himſelf ruined, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. The earle all this while hearkened vnto the ſaid counſell with great patience, oftentimes changing colour, and at the laſt made anſwere with griefe, in ſuch ſort, that the teares fell from his eyes, and ſaid, that he was deſperat, complaining of the obſtinacie of the Friſelanders, and the diſobedience of *Bartel Entens*, making ſhew as then, as if he would be conſtant vnto the Eſtates, but his ſiſter ſtill heartened him on, whenſoeuer he ſeemed to make cõſcience of his oath, whereby he had bound himſelf vnto the Eſtates, and yet he diſſembled and concealed it as much as he could. 1580

After that, it fell out, that the Eſtates ſent letters and commiſſions vnto *Abel Frankena*, Doctor of both the lawes, which was gone to Groning about the Eſtates affaires: which letters C the earle of Renenbergh had cauſed to bee taken away from the poſt, as he entred into Groning: in the which letters he foũd the commiſſion, that the Eſtates had ſent for *Bartel Entens*, to commaund ouer his regiment, which grieued him much: for which cauſe he ſent for *Frankena*, and cauſed him to be kept priſoner in a chamber, although it was told him by diuers, that it was againſt the lawes of all nations, to ſhew any ſuch rigor to an embaſſadour; but not long after *Frankena* got out at a window, and ſo eſcaped away, by which dealing the ſaid earle ſufficiently diſcouered his intent. For which cauſe, amongſt others, captaine *Cornput* (who was alſo of the ſaid earles regiment) ſecretly counſelled ſome of the magiſtrates and bourgers of Groning (eſpecially the bourger *M. Iacob Hillebrand*, and others of the reformed Religion) to make themſelues maſters of the town, before their aduerſaries ſhould attempt it, offering to be D their leader, and to put the earle in ſafe keeping: but they made anſwer, that as yet there was no need to do it, and that they were the ſtrongeſt party, and would bee carefull ynough thereof, whereupon he proteſted, that he had giuen them ſufficient warning, and ſo ſhould be diſcharged of their imminent ruine, and that if they would not do it, he ſaid he would not hazard his life any longer in that place, and ſo went out of the towne, from whence *Viſkins* not long before was likewiſe gone. The earle for his part knew ſo well how to flatter with them of Groning, who by reaſon of the controuerſie they had with the territories therabouts, were ſo blinded, as *Iacob Hillebrand*, bourgomaſter, who was chiefe commaunder of the kings chamber in Groning, and the chiefe man in the towne, and he on whom they of the Religion did chiefly relie, the euening before the towne reuolted to the king, ſupped with him, and told him very E plainly of the report that men made of him, ſaying, That he hoped he had no ſuch bad entent in him; wherewith the earle wrung him by the hand, and ſaid, What, my good father, whom I truſt ſo well, haue you ſuch an opinion of me? and with ſuch like faire ſpeeches ſmoothed the matter ſo well, that the ſame euening the ſaid bourgomaſter being in company with certain of the magiſtrats and thoſe of the reformed religion, aſſured them of the earle of Renenberghes good meaning & intent towards them, & yet cauſed them of the religion to keep good watch in their owne houſes, wherby they thought to be ſufficiently aſſured. But the earle of Renenberghs practiſes being more and more ſuſpected, he began to feare, that the prince of Orange would enter into Groning with his guard, & therfore durſt not protract his deſign any longer, although as then he was not ſure of any reliefe: for that not long before he was certified, that F certaine ſouldiers that were comming to Campen, ſhould aid him, who (as they were paſſing ouer the Rhin) were by the Droſſart of Recklinghuyſẽ & others ouerthrown: for which cauſe, vpon the 2 of March he aſſẽbled his houſhold ſeruants; & diuers bourgers affected to the Spaniards, & certaine ſouldiers that he had kept ſecretly, & in the morning (when by his eſpials he vnderſtood, that the watch held by thoſe of the reformed religiõ, were aſleep) at 5 of the clock

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1580 being armed at all points, he rode out of his houſe, with all his adherents (euery man hauing A
a white ſcarfe vpon his left arme) into the market place, and hauing his ſword drawne in his
hand, he ſayd, Stand aſide, ſtand aſide, good bourgers, this day am I right gouernour of this
towne, let vs now accompliſh and effect that which is requiſite for the kings ſeruice, and our
owne defence, and therwith cauſed diuers trumpets and drums to be ſounded, & a great noiſe
to be made. The aforeſaid bourgomaſter *Hillebrand* putting himſelfe preſently into armes,
with ſome of the reformed Religion, marched thither, ſaying vnto him, How now ſir? is this
done as a good gouernour ought to do vnto the people? but one of the earle of Renenberghs
boyes ſhot at him, and ſlew him preſently: whereupon the reſt began to flie, whereof ſome
were taken priſoners, and ſome fled into their houſes, but there was no more killed, but only a
bourgers ſonne of Breame. After that, they ran through the ſtreets, ſhooting at all that looked B
out at the windowes; that done, they went and made ſearch throughout all the towne, and
tooke all thoſe priſoners that were not well thought on by the Spaniſh affected bourgers, be-
ing at the leaſt two hundred of the beſt townes-men, wherof ſome were very hardly vſed, who
notwithſtanding afterwards by diuers meanes were ſet at liberty: all the preachers and diuers
other good bourgers got ſecretly away.

The earle hauing in this ſort gotten Groning into his hands, preſently changed the magi-
ſtrats, and cauſed their reconciliation with the king and the prince of Parma to be proclaimed,
and the townesmen to ſweare, to be true vnto the king, writing vnto the territories therabouts,
to moue them to ioyne with him, with commandement, to arme themſelues to withſtand the
mutinous regiment of *Bartel Entens*, and others. But the ioy and triumph made by the earle C
and his adherents, endured not long, for that the ſame day they found themſelues incloſed
and beſieged, for that captaine *Cornput* the ſame morning hauing intelligence thereof, by cer-
taine that fled out of the towne, preſently cauſed *Olthofs* company of Dam, and the companies
Groning beſieged by the ſtates. of Suyetlaren, of Vliet, Schaghen, and Weda, to march towards Groning, that if peraduenture
thoſe that were affected vnto the Eſtates within the towne, could find any meanes to relieue
themſelues, they might be readie to aſſiſt them; who got good bootie in the cloyſter of Eſſen,
for that *Aelkin Ouſta* (who had maried the earle of Renenberghs aunts daughter) and *Aſſu*
Entes that lay at Vries, the ſame euening were come to the cloyſter of Eſſen: and for that *Corn-*
put feared leaſt they of Groning ſhould kil their priſoners, he wrot, that if they did ſo, he would
reuenge it vpon their friends and adherents. At the ſame time the earles letters were intercep- D
ted, wherein he wrot vnto all the great and ſmall townes in Queryſſel, and in the beſt manner
he could ſhewed them of his enterpriſe, hoping by his ſubtile perſuaſions, and by aid of thoſe
that were addicted to the Spaniards, to induce them to ioine with him; but he was preuented,
for that vpon the twelfth of March (by meanes of the bourgers which were addicted to the
Eſtates, and by the procurement of *Soney*) they of Campen receiued *Hans Playms* companie
into the towne.

Images broke and throwne down in Friſe-land and Queryſſell. The townesmen of Deuenter likewiſe roſe vp in armes, and brake downe the Images and
the cloyſters, in deſpight of the Spaniſh faction. The like did they of Swool, as alſo of Vtrecht
and other places round about, a moneth before. They of Friſeland, and the territories, and
thoſe of Drenth brake down the Images in euery place, and ſold their cloyſter lands & goods, E
and draue ſome of the prieſts out of their townes; ſo as the earle of Renenberghs reuolt pro-
cured much harme vnto the Catholickes.

The ſmaller townes, as Oldenzeel, Steenwicke, Haſſelt, and others, ſtill held with the earle
of Renenbergh, although they made ſhew to be for the Eſtates. But the prince of Orange
lying in Campen, ſought by all the meanes hee could to keepe thoſe of Queryſſel in obedi-
ence, willing *Soney*, with *Cornputs* and *Wynegards* companies, to goe to Coeuoorden, to keepe
the paſſage that way, and alſo by Wedden, that they of Groning might haue no aid. *Soney*
forthwith fortified Coeuoorden, wherein he vſed an enginor of Alcmar, and incloſed it with
ſeuen bulwarkes, letting the caſtle (that was begun by *Cornput*) lye as he found it, in regard,
that the countrey would not endure to haue any more caſtles: but not long after the male- F
contents built it vp.

This worke begun by *Soney* (for want of mony) was afterwards neglected, as alſo the new
fortification, with the fiue bulwarkes, made in the middle of Boertange, whereby the country
not long after endured much ſpoile and great trouble.

At

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A At the ſame time the prince of Orange ſent the earle of Hohenlo once more againſt the peſants that held with the Spaniards, as alſo to take the ſmall townes aforeſaid, who vpon the tenth of Aprill tooke the towne of Oldenzeel vpon condition, & from thence went to Linghen, but did little there. Meane time *Bartel Entens* had beſieged Groning with thirteen companies of foot, and two cornets of horſemen, which before were of the earl of Rennenberghs regiment, and euery day inſconced himſelfe neerer to the towne, making a dam in Reediepe, and certaine bridges ouer the other waters, whereby hee thought in ſhort time to famiſh them out, where many skirmiſhes were giuen on both ſides. They of Groning hauing raiſed certaine companies of their townes-men, fortified the ſuburbes and two myll-hils without the towne, by which meanes euery day they draue their cattell to paſture in the meddowes. 1580

B But for that there was little done in that ſiege, which *Bartel Entens* was told of, and in regard of a certaine controuerſie betweene him and thoſe of Duwſum, in the territories of Groning, the Eſtates ſent the earle of Hohenlo thither, with ſeuen companies of *Chriſtopher van Iſelſtein* his ſouldiers, and nine companies of the regiment belonging to *William Lodowic*, earle of Naſſau, ſonne to *Iohn* earle of Naſſau, as then made a colonel, which diſliked *Bartel Entens*, in regard that he thought to haue had all the honor, thanks, and profit vnto himſelfe, but it fell out otherwiſe: for that vpon the ſeuen and twentieth of May, being at Rolde with the earles of Hohenlo and Naſſau, where he had drunke and made good cheare, he rode with a drunken head vnto the campe before Groning, ſaying, That he would doe ſomething, that men might ſpeake of him: and when he came thither, and found the captains conſulting together about

C ſome enterpriſe to be done, he checked them as if they had been boyes, and bad them follow him, ſaying, That he would either enter the Scuytendiep, or the ſuburbes of the towne: and ſo without any more ſtay went thither with the couer of a butter barrell on his arme, in ſteed of a targuet, in ſcorne or mockage of his captaines baſe courages, as he thought: and being followed by diuers of them, and at the ſame time taking the Loopeſconce, where certaine captaines and commaunders were hurt, ſome of them told him, That it was impoſſible for them to take the Scuytendiep without ladders, or elſe by a breach. Whereupon he ſtood ſtil behind the loope-holes of the ſconce, where one leuelled at him with a fouling piece, and ſhot him through the head, whereof he died. His body was buried at Midleſtam, where he was borne. His father likewiſe long before was ſtabbed by one of *Wigbols* men of Duwſum. He had been

D a ſtudent in Groning, and commonly went apparrelled in white, and there had conſumed moſt part of his patrimonie amongſt women, and by other riotous meanes: and in anno 1571 he went with other freebooters to ſea, where he played his part ſo well, as for his ſhare alone, he had gotten a hundred thouſand dollars in his purſe: and in anno 1572 he went with the earle *vander Marke* to take the Bryel, where hee was his lieutenant colonel, and after that went with certaine companies to beſiege Ter-Goes in Zeeland, where (for want of experience, and before he ſaw the enemie) he fled ſhamefully away, as ſoone as he heard that *Mont-Dragon* had paſſed through the water, to aid them of Ter-Goes. After that, when Harlem was beſieged by *Dom Frederic*, ſonne to the duke of Alua, hee and the earle *vander Marcke*, with two companies of foot and ſome horſemen marched againſt the enemie, without any

E order, forgetting to take the reſt of his companies with him, where he was ouerthrowne, but he put the fault thereof in the prince of Orange and the Eſtates. For which cauſe, he hauing brought the ſaid earle *vander Marcke* to be ſo inſolent, as he began to make no account of any ſuperiors, the Eſtates committed him to priſon in Delft. But the ſaid earle *vander Marcke* ſeeking to carry him forcibly out of the towne, he was likewiſe taken and committed, where they remained priſoners a whole yeare after, and there *Bartel Entens* ſpent all the money he had gotten, vnprofitably. After that, being releaſed in anno 1576, hee once againe went to ſea, by conſent of the Eſtates, and did a certaine enterpriſe vpon Ooſtmahorn, where (in the beginning of May) he made a ſconce: but for that his mind was more vpon couetouſneſſe than any other thing, vpon the eighteenth of July *Monſieur Billy* draue him from thence. Af-

F ter that the pacification of Gant being made, and that *Monſieur Iſelſtein* had committed 2 or 3 murthers, that regiment of foot, and a company of horſe, was giuen vnto him by the prince of Orange, by the intreaty of *Viſkius*; which being diſcharged within 3 months, *Bartel Entens* ran away with their pay: for which cauſe he had like to haue bin taken priſoner (with the conſent of the prince of Orange) by the Markgraue of Antuerp; but hauing intelligence therof, he eſcaped.

The death of *Bartel Entens*, with a briefe deſcription of his life.

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1580 Not long after that, he holpe himſelfe, by meanes of the controuerſie betweene the towne A
of Groning and the territories, for which cauſe (hauing done ſome things againſt Groning)
he was by them taken and committed to priſon, where he lay a whole yeare, but after that, he
was againe entertained into ſeruice, and ſo remained (as I ſaid before) vntill his dying day. He
was a man much giuen to drinke, women, and playing at tables, ſetting fifteene hundred gul-
derns vpon a game with the lord of Koutsbach. He made no account of any Religion, and yet
his conſcience accuſed him of his bad life, and eſpecially for the drowning of diuers mar-
chants, which in his time he had throwne ouer-boord, whereof he was wont to tell, that once
a dead body ſwam a great while after his ſhippe, whereſoeuer it went. At the laſt, he began to
leaue off his great drunkenneſſe, and to looke more after getting of money, both from the pe-
ſants, and euery man elſe, in ſuch ſort, as he left great ſummes of money behind him, and yet B
ſpent and conſumed much vainely. He had made Delf-Ziel inuincible, as he thought, and
began to giue commiſſion for men to goe to ſea, and had bought the Iſland of Rottumrooge,
and cauſed great ſtore of ſtones of the broken cloyſters to be carried thither from all places,
intending to build a caſtle there, and thereby to commaund the riuer of Ems, preſuming in
time to become maſter of Groning, and the territories therabouts, and with his ſhips to domi-
niere ouer the ſea, which he could not refraine to boaſt of. This and much more was reported
of him both by his friends and kinred, as alſo by others that knew him well, which is here ſet
downe only for an example vnto others.

The earle of Rennenbergh and they of Groning were exceeding glad of *Bartel Entens* C.
death, and yet ſorry, becauſe the warre by that meanes ſhould be conducted by wiſer colo-
nels; the earle of Hohenlo being appointed to that charge, but for that he could not well at-
tend it, *Eſcheda* was by prouiſion made his lieutenant colonel. At the laſt, they of Groning
were driuen out of two ſconces, and yet although they heard bad newes, That Mechelen,
Willebrooke, & other places, were taken from the prince of Parma, and alſo that the ſuccours
promiſed them by the ſaid prince, & had been gathered about Carpen, were ouerthrown, and
that they ſaw more men and ordnance brought before the towne, and all things deare within
the ſame, yet they would not heare of any compoſition: for that receiuing letters daily, they
were promiſed by the prince of Parma to be relieued. The territories thereabouts were very
importunately deſirous to take Groning, to that end raiſing great taxes amongſt the peſants,
and ſeizing vpon the cloyſter goods, which for the bigneſſe of the countrey are in greater D
numbers there, than in any other part of the Netherlands. They of Drenth put themſelues in
the vnion of Vtrecht, and contributed three thouſand gulderns the moneth: and they in Friſe-
land reformed their eſtate, changing their magiſtrates in euery place, and ſold the lands and
goods of religious houſes. They likewiſe built much, about Harlingen, which by *Sonoys*
meanes they begun to fortifie, making a great new hauen thereunto; but they let Staueren,
Sloten, Docom, and other places remaine as they were. Theſe three territories notwithſtan-
ding could not reſolue vpon the fortifying and repayring of the paſſages of Coeuoorden and
Boertange, whereon moſt of their defence conſiſted, to keepe the enemie out of the coun-
trey. But what meanes ſoeuer *Sonoy*, *Compeur*, and others vſed, ſtill either the one or the other
of the ſaid prouinces drew backward, without any reſolution, although they daily heard of E
the new preparation made by the prince of Parma, to relieue Groning and the earle of Ren-
nenbergh, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed.

As ſoone as the prince of Parma had newes of the earle of Rennenberghs proceedings in
Groning, he cauſed a great troupe of ſouldiers to be gathered together about Carpen, who
hauing lyen long there, and much burthened the countrey, and thought with certaine horſe-
men to paſſe by Nuys ouer the Rhin, they were by *Philip*, lord of Hohenſapen, *Iſelſtein*, and
Hegeman, with certaine horſemen, ſet vpon and ſlaine, and thoſe that eſcaped, driuen
backe againe beyond Nuys, where the gentlemen of Bercke and Marcke likewiſe ſtopped
their paſſage. After that, for that they ouer-runne and waſted the territories of Cologne,
and would pay nothing for that they tooke, and for that the Elector had giuen them war- F
ning to diſlodge from thence, and yet they did it not, he commaunded the peſants to chaſe
them away, ſo as vpon the ſixt of Aprill ſome of them were ſlaine about Lins and Eyndo-
uen, with loſſe of eight of the Electors men, whereof two were gentlemen: the reſt with-
drew themſelues into the earledome of Manderſcheyet.

After

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A After that, in Iune, the ſaid troups were once againe renewed, and by the diligence and charges of *Bucho Aytha*, prouoſt of S. Baefs, there were fourteene companies of Dutch foot-men aſſembled together at Ghenet, and by him named the Friſeland regiment: wherof *Billy* was colonel, and in his abſence *Martin Schenck*, that ioined his horſemen vnto them, as alſo old captaine *Thomas* (a Grecian, or Albanoys horſeman, much ſpoken of, for that he had beene at the winning of ſix battailes) with three other Albanoys launciers, and a cornet of Carabins, being in all about three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſemen. All theſe went ouer the Rhin, with a monethes pay, but without any ordnance, and made great marches towards Linghen. 1580

Martin Schencks forces ſent to releeue Groning

The ſtates of Friſeland willed the earle of Hohenlo to march againſt *Martin Schenck*, and to
B that end aſſembled their ſouldiers about Boccholt, and cauſed ſome of earle *William* of Naſſaus regiment to ioyne with the earle of Hohenlo, and left the reſt before Groning with their colonel, to whom they ſent *Sonoy*, to aid and counſel him in the ſiege, little eſteeming *Schencks* forces. The earle of Hohenlo would gladly haue had more foot-men, and to that end wrot vnto the campe before Groning for more: But they of *Entens* regiment were vnwilling, and thoſe that were ſent came too late. And ſo vpon the ſixteenth of Iune he went to Vtſen, and that night to Coeuoorden, with full reſolution to ſet vpon the enemie. But for that they of Swool would take in no garriſon, the bourgers that were addicted to the Spaniards, againſt *Schencks* comming, had drawne certaine of the peaſants of their faction, into the towne, and hauing armed them, certified *Schenck* thereof: but thoſe of the reformed religion, and ſuch as
C were addicted to the Eſtates, being led by captain *Vlger* and others, preſently inſconced themſelues againſt them, taking the market place, S. *Michaels* church, the Lamper gate, and the red tower, ſending likewiſe for helpe to Campen and Deuenter. And although the meſſengers which they ſent were cruelly murthered, and ſome cut in peeces by the peaſants, yet vpon the ſixteenth of Iune in the morning, there came ſome of the garriſon of Campen, and about two companies of the bourgers of Deuenter, into Swool: whereupon diuers of thoſe of the Spaniſh faction were in great feare, and fled, whoſe houſes were preſently ranſackt. And not long after there was a companie ſent thither out of Holland.

Vprore in Swool.

The villages and places of Waſtenbrook, by reaſon of their faction and holding againſt the States, were for the moſt part burnt downe, whereas they of Oueriſſell alſo burnt the caſtle of
D Geelmuyden, which the emperour *Charles* the fifth had cauſed the keeper of the caſtle of Kuynder to make vpon the entrie or mouth of Swartwater on the South ſea.

The enterpriſe in Swool fayling, *Schenck* kept ſtill by Herdenbergh, and the earle of Hohenlo departing from Coeuoorden, marched towards him, wholly againſt ſome mens opinions, that diſſuaded him from fighting, giuing him counſell onely to cut off his paſſage from hauing any prouiſion, and ſo force him to retire, and that it was to be hoped, that for want of victuals, money, and by mutinie, they muſt of force depart from thence: as alſo that the aduenturing of a battaile was daungerous for him, in regard that he was too weake of foot-men, and had but a few pikes, ſo that he was wholly vnprepared for a battaile: But others prouoked him thereunto, eſpecially his horſemen, which cauſed him in great haſt to ſet forward, in
E the hot time of the day, and to paſſe ouer a dry heath, where they could find no water, ſo that many of them fainted for want of drinke, and by reaſon of the great heat; and amongſt the reſt *Iohn van Duyuenuoord*, a ſtrong yong gentleman: whereas *Schencks* ſouldiers had reſted themſelues in the ſhadow three howers together, and eaten well, and had foureteene barrels of beere ſpare.

But as ſoone as the earle of Hohenlo came thither, preſently without long ſtay, hee placed his men in order of battaile, hauing with him *Sedeneſca* his owne Enſigne bearer, with his companie that came out of Oldenzeel, and *Iſelſteen* with ſeuen of his, and ſixe of the earle of Naſſaus companies, led by lieutenant *Kunigam*; *Wingardens* companie, and an hundred men of *Cornputs* companie he placed on the right hand, which ſtood Southweſtward, and with them
F the earle of Naſſaus companies, and *Iſelſteen* with *Sedeneſca* on the left ſide, hard by a field wherein were diuers trees. Captaine *Wingarden* would willingly haue had the earle to haue taken the village of Herdenbergh, or the field, for their aduantage, and to haue ſtayed a while to reſt themſelues; but his counſell would not bee heard. All thoſe foot-men were not full eighteene hundred men. Before thoſe two battailes were placed three cornets of ſhot, belonging

1580 ing to *Euſtaes*, *Rinſwouden*, and *Aſin Entens*, all well appointed. On the other ſide ſtood the A
earle of Hohenlo himſelfe, with ſeuen peeces of ordnance, and the horſemen led by *Holſtein*, *Adelſdorf*, *Rampt*, *Tranſwits*, *Pier*, and others, & *Huybert van Kemen*, with three hundred horſe, that had promiſed the Eſtates twelue hundred horſe, ſo as they were not aboue foureteen hundred horſe. The village of Herdenbergh, which was not farre from them, lay but a mile from Coeuoorden, and foure miles from Swool, vpon the riuer called the Vecht. The battails beeing both placed in order, it was then about noone day, ſo as *Schenck* ſtanding towards the Southweſt, had the ſunne at his backe: and the earle of Hohenlo comming Eaſtward, the ſun in his face, the wind being ſtill and verie calme. When the earle had prayed, the ſouldiers caſting vp their hats, ſignes being giuen, and the ordnance ſhot off, the three companies of the
A battaile between the earl of Hohenlo, & Mar. Schenck. earle of Hohenloes Friſeland horſemen, rod forth, againſt two cornets of *Schencks* Albanoys B
lanciers, whereof the one was in a manner ſodainly ouerthrowne, and the other with great loſſe wholly ſcattered, which the Dutch horſemen purſued, and therewith *Schencks* footmen began to giue backe: ſo as it ſeemed as then that the earle of Hohenlo ſhould haue had the victorie, but as the Friſeland horſemen began to place themſelues in order againe, readie to giue a new charge, and that another company of *Schencks* lanciers, and ſome good harquebuſiers, ſet forward towards the earles footmen, who had no hope of any aſſiſtance to bee giuen them by their pikes, becauſe they had ſo few, they gaue back towards the field, wheras ſome of them yet were, but al the reſt fled away like a ſodain flaſh of lightning, through the midſt of the trees, and which way they could ouer the moore to Coeuoorden. The horſemen ſeeing this, were as readie to flie as the footmen, *Schencks* men following them: Captain *Wingarden* ſtaid fighC
ting till he was ſlaine, and *Niuelt* the Enſigne bearer, with diuers other commaunders, gentlemen and ſouldiers. Captaine *Niuelt*, *Renoy*, and ſome lieutenants, with others, were taken priſoners. *Pompeius Vlſkins* thinking to flie away in a wagon, was pulled backe, and ſlaine. *Schenck* got all the ordnance, and a little baggage, the greateſt part being left at Coeuoorden. The earle of Hohenlo went to Oldenzeel, to ſecure that: the horſemen and footmen got moſt to Coeuoorden, which was not aboue an houres march from thence, and brought both footmen and horſemen priſoners with them. Captaine *Cornput* who was left in Coeuoorden with 50 men, ſtood at the turnepike, and would not ſuffer the horſemen to enter, vnleſſe they would firſt ſweare to ſtay there by him, and helpe to keepe the paſſage: but hauing gotten in they kept not their words, but road out againe at the other turnepike, towards the Drenth: They were D
ſo much amazed, as they regarded not what he ſaid or did. At the laſt there came ſome of the captaines and commanders flying thither, who as well as they might cauſed the horſemen to ſtay, ſo as there aſſembled together about ſeuen hundred foot, and foure hundred horſemen, *Cornput* and *Stenſel* of Namſlo perſuading them to ſtay all together at Coeuoorden, and there once againe to gather a new head, ſaying, That they would preſently ſend for the foureteene companies that lay before Groning, but many were of contrarie opinion, becauſe the place was not ſtrong, & that the aduantage of the riuers was then nothing, by reaſon of the drouth, whereby men might paſſe cleane ouer them: as alſo that they had no neceſſarie prouiſion, nor any bisket: and for that cauſe they determined to leaue the place, which they did about midnight, and *Cornput* alſo with them, & went moſt to Oldenzeel, to the earle of Hohenlo. *Schenck* E
durſt not go far from the place where he was, eſteeming the victorie not to be altogether won, fearing that ſome ambuſcadoes might be laid along the paſſage, and at Coeuoorden, but being certified of the contrary, the next day he went thither, where he found neither inhabitants nor ſouldiers. The companies that lay before Groning made fires, and ſhot off their ordnance, as if the earle of Hohenlo had gotten the victorie, to moue them of Groning to yeeld vp the town, but when as the companies heard that *Schenck* was in Coeuoorden, they could not be perſuaded, neither by the earle of Naſſau, nor by *Sonoy*, to ſtay any longer there, but preſently they
The ſiege before Groning abandoned. ſet their ſconces on fire, and went into diuers places to lye in garriſon, as to Doccum and Collum, and ſome into Steenwick: and the walls of Oxlagh being newly repaired, *Sonoy* put compF
panies into it. This place lay about halfe an houres march from Nieuzeel towards the ſea, vpon the South ſide of the Reedeipes, and belonged to *Wigboldt van Encoſum*, lord of Nieuoort, that had his ſalt kettles there, & was by him in the time of the lord of Billy, made ſtrong againſt the water Gueux, but in the earle of Renenberghes gouernment it was againe caſt downe, as many others likewiſe were.

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A This victory thus won, *Schenck* ſtaied not, but went to Groning, where hee was receiued with great triumph, and after that the towne had bin beſieged three moneths and a halfe, vpon the 7 of Iuly he and the earle of Renenbergh went to Delfziel, which they preſently inſconced, and tooke in the mouth of the hauen, where the old caſtle once ſtood, for that *Bartel Entens* had made the fortification inwards, cleane contrarie to all other mens opinions; otherwiſe the walls were indifferent ſtrong, being high and thick, with 4 bulwarks, but no caſamates: the ditch was about 110 foot wide. The ſouldiers that lay in it, were three cõpanies that had bin of the earle of Renenberghes regiment, whereof many were yet addicted vnto him: which being beſieged, the earle of Renenbergh went with the reſt of the forces to beſiege Oxlagh, before it was prouided of victuals, and other munition: Which to preuent the Eſtates ſent the compa- 1580
B nies of *Rinſwouden* and *Eſcheda* thither: but *Rinſwouden* was incountred by the earl of Renenbergh vpon a ditch, and his companie being ouerthrowne, he himſelfe was taken priſoner, and *Eſcheda* retired back againe. Not long after that, Oxlagh was yeelded vnto the earle of Renenbergh, and the 5 companies of ſouldiers that were therein, went out vpon certaine conditions. From thence he went to Collum, and thought to get Doccum, in regard that it lay open, for that, ſince *Iohn Golſtein* Droſſart of Gueldre, in *an.* 1523, gaue it vp vnto the lord of Waſſenare, and *George Schenck*, the walls and the caſtle were broken downe, and laid open, and neuer ſince fortified, it being neuertheleſſe a place of great importance, and a frontier fea towne. Thither the earle of Hohenlo went, and cauſed it to be inſconced, & gathered a great troup of ſoldiers together, at which time alſo he cauſed Ooſtemahorn, a mile frõ Doccum, to be fortified. The
C Diep right ouer againſt Collum he defended by the peaſants, which done he inſconced Doccumſiel. The earle of Renenberghes troups on the other ſide, as *Ens* Droſſart of Coeuoorden with two companies of ſouldiers, and diuers peaſants went to Meppel, and made it ſtrong, and repaired the walls of Kinckhoorſt, lying hard by the towne, which in *ann.* 1536, being yeelded vp by *Mager Hern*, were broken downe: but they of Campen ouerthrew thoſe two companies, and tooke Meppel and Kinckhoorſt from them againe.

Meane time they of Delfziel were ſo hardly beſieged, and the hauen ſo well incloſed, as not any man could paſſe neither out nor in, and yet the Hollanders ſent at leaſt 50 ſhips of warre, with the admirall *Duyuenuoord*, into the riuer of Ems, to keepe the enemie from victuals that might be brought them from Embden: and the earle of Hohenlo did all hee could to relieue
D them, but he was not ſtrong ynough, for that his men were not al aſſembled together: he wrot vnto them to ſtay yet certaine daies longer ere they yeelded it vp, ſaying, That his men were on the way, but his letters came not to their hands: but for that there were diuers vnwilling ſoldiers therin, vpon the 29 of Iuly they yeelded it vp without any reaſon, & that vpõ ſhameful conditions, going forth with white wands in their hands, without any armes, leauing the captaine and chiefe commander priſoner, and yet had bin but three weeks beſieged, & had good ſtore of butter and cheeſe. In the meane time the earle of Hohenlo comming from Delfziel, went to Doccum againe, where he left the earle of Renenbergh, and beſieged Oxlagh againe, which not long after yeelded vnto him, and Monickerziel alſo, which the earl of Renenbergh had inſconced. About that time, in hope to relieue Delfziel, the States ſent Sir *Iohn Norris* in-
E to Friſeland, with ten companies of Engliſh, and diuers commanders, as captaine *Morgan. Cotton, Biſhop, Fitzwilliams, Chatterton, Dale*, and others, & one company of horſemen, and *Michael Caulier*, with ſix companies of Wallons, vnder *Iohn Petin, Grenu, Noir, Iaſper, Creſſoniere*, and a companie of Dutch horſemen, al which cõpanies ioined with the earl of Hohenlo at Noordhorn: There were likewiſe 4 companies more comming vnto him, but they were met by the earle of Renenberghes horſemen, and ouerthrowne, but two of the companies with their colours were preſently againe relieued by the Engliſh. With them alſo ioined *Iſelſtein*, and the earle of Naſſau, with either of them ten companies, ſo that the earle of Hohenlo beeing vnie ſtrong with thoſe companies, he went towards Groning, and draue the earle of Renenberghs ſouldiers out of their ſtrong ſconce of Ponterbrugge, and ſo kept the paſſage of Hornedeip,
F where Renenbergh lay very ſtrong with his ſouldiers, and could eaſily haue let the ſaid paſſage. The earle of Hohenlo being paſt, both parts placed their men in order of battaile, but the earle of Hohenlo hauing placed his battaile very politikely, and incloſed it wel with horſe and footmen, and hauing three field peeces, and beſides that hauing laid diuers ſecret ambuſcadoes, when he had prayed, and ſignes of battaile being giuen, the earle of Renenbergh retired

Delfziel yeelded vp to the prince of Parma.

cloſe

1580 cloſe vnder the walls of Groning, there to defend himſelfe, perceiuing that the States had more forces there than they had vpon Herdenbergh heath, leauing good ſtore of baggage and munition behind him. The next day the earle of Hohenlo went cloſe to the ditches of Groning, where they of the towne diſcharged their ordnance at him, and there was a hot skirmiſh, where Sir *Iohn Norris* behaued himſelfe valiantly; and there the enemy loſt 70 men. At which time they tooke counſell whether they ſhould beſiege Groning againe, but after they had well conſidered thereof, they found it not conuenient, and ſo vpon the tenth of Auguſt, they went and lay at Zuyet, and North-Laren, and inſconced the way to Pontenbrugge, where *Cornput* began to fortifie the great caſtle of Weerdenbras againe, which was built by *Edſard* earle of Embden, as generall for *George* duke of Saxonie, in *anno* 1505, to ſtop the paſſage that no corne might be carried through Drenth to Groning, and after that was throwne downe againe by *Enerwin* earle of Benthem, lieutenant to the ſame duke in *anno* 1516. The earle of Hohenlo went to Coeuoorden, whereas *Iſelſtein* with ſix companies tooke it: and about euening when it was late, the earles of Hohenlo and Naſſau paſt ouer the towne bridge, to the bulwarks of the caſtle, from whence *William Lodowick*, earle of Naſſau was hit with a faulcon ſhot, on the left leg hard by the knee, for which cauſe they were forced to carrie him in a coach to Swool, where he was cured of that wound. At the ſame time alſo was ſlaine the Enſigne bearer *Quaet*, beeing that day newly releaſed from impriſonment in Groning, vpon paiment of his ranſome.

Coeuoorden taken by the earle of Hohenlo.

The next day the earle of Hohenlo ſommoned them to yeeld vp the caſtle of Coeuoorden, and they within, being 150 ſouldiers, after counſell taken, although they had beſtowed two moneths time to fortifie the ſame, and had ordnance, powder, and prouiſion ynough, yeelded vp the place, with ſafetie of liues and goods, being ſworne not to beare armes againſt the Eſtates in three monethes after. *Blomart van Breda*, that once led *Montdragon* through the water to releeue Tergoes, & two commanders more were taken priſoners there. From thence the earle of Hohenlo ſent ſome of his ſouldiers into diuers garriſons, and went himſelfe to beſiege Linghen, and there left the Engliſh regiment to lye before it, and with the reſt of his forces went to Weeden, and for that the caſtle would not preſently yeeld, hee left certaine forces to beſiege it, with two peeces of ordnance, and went from thence to Slochteren, hauing great deſire to get Delfziel againe, which he ſought to effect by all the meanes he could: but the diuiding of his forces, and the taking of too many things in hand at one time, was the meanes to worke his owne ouerthrow.

Oxlagh taken by the earle of Renenbergh, and broken downe.

The earle of Renenbergh hearing that he was gone to Coeuoorden, marched againe with all his forces, and ſome ordnance, to Oxlagh, which place was wel fortified and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie: but the garriſon being a company of new ſouldiers, vpon the firſt of September, for want of experience yeelded it vp, with ſafegard of liues and goods; and ſo iſſued with their rapiers only, about two weekes after they had been beſieged, and but once ſhot at, contrarie to the opinion of the earle of Hohenlo, and diuers others: which being taken the earl of Renenbergh brake downe the walls thereof, and ſo in all haſt went to Slochteren, where in a morning betimes hee ſodainely ſet vpon the regiments of the earle of Naſſau, and *Michiel* with his light horſemen, where colonell *Michiel* had like to haue beene taken priſoner, but by his great diligence the ſouldiers were brought into order of battaile againe, and ſo retyred ſtill fighting, till they came to Heilegerlee, and Winſchoten, where they found the earle of Hohenlo with the German horſe, and ſo in haſt paſt by Weeden, to get to the Bourentang, where diuers times they bad the enemie battaile: but when as *Renenberghes* whole forces came together, he was forced to retire, and being purſued by *Renenberghes* launciers, many of them were ſlaine, and the eight companies of footmen, and a cornet of horſe, with the ordnance that lay before Weeden, were all taken, and great ſtore of their armes loſt, and throwne away. Meane time the earl of Renenbergh hauing left the new companies of the Droſſart *Ens*, and *Blanckennoort* in the abbey of great Auwart, they did ouer-run all the countrey thereabouts, and went towards Collum, the which cloiſter they tooke vpon the 8 of September, and ſlew at the leaſt 300 of them, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners, but fearing to bee forced and ſpoiled by their enemie, they abandoned the cloiſter, with al the prouiſion therin, becauſe they could not beare it away.

The earle of Hohenlo's forces ouerthrowne by Weeden.

The earle of Reuenbergh went preſently to Coeuoorden, which beeing not fortified, vpon

A on the 20 of September, after that they had begun to dig through the water, was yeelded vnto him, with safetie of liues and goods. From thence he went to Oldenzeel, wherein were the companies of the lord of Sneeten, and *Fisher* of Amsterdam, both beeing about two hundred men, and the horsemen of *Elleborn*, lieutenant to captaine *Goor*, their gouernor being the lord of Eck, a yong gentleman of the East countrey. This towne of Oldenzeel is a reasonable pretie towne, lying fiue small miles from Coeuoorden, and six miles from Deuenter, in the Eastland way, it hath no riuer, but a great high stone wal with towers, after the old maner, with a ditch, and without that an earthen wall, and another ditch, whereby it should seeme to be verie strong, and yet it hath no bridge, all the water in the ditches being kept in by dammes, by which means it may wel be let out, and hath no bulwarks at all on Benthen side (from whence B it lyeth but two miles and a halfe) it hath on the one side a hall full of bushes, and on the other side it is verie easie to be besieged. The earle of Renenbergh came sodainly before it, and presently burnt the gates, and gaue a great and furious assault, but with the losse of 300 of his men, and certaine captaines, for which cause they being in a feare, he was forced to leaue the town: but the bourgers being most of the Spanish faction, which for that cause had been much troubled by the garrison, fearing worse, sent after him, and deliuered the towne into his hand, vpon condition, that the garrison with all their prouision and goods, should depart out of the same, and sweare not to beare armes against the king in three moneths after. This was done vpon the 24 day of Septemb. as the Estates were making preparation to releeue it. From thence he went to Swool, which he besieged round about, where he ouerthrew *Petin*, lieutenant colonell to C *Michael Caulier*, & captain *Cressoniere*, that thought to haue entred therin, and both were taken prisoners, but staying for more men that were to come ouer the Rhin, which he feared would be incountred and spoiled, he went to meet them, as hereafter I wil shew, & so went to besiege Steenwick. There was also about this time a double treatie plaid against the male-contents of Arthois & Henault, in the towne of Bouchain in Henault. The seignior *Villers*, brother to the lord of Hautain, hauing in former time beene gouernor of Nyuelle in Brabant, where (as wee haue said) he had caried himself valiantly, was then gouernor of Bouchain. The malecontents, among the which one of their cõmanders was the baron of Selles, brother to the lord of Noircarmes, who treated with a lieutenant of a company of the towne, called *Grosbedon*, whom he thought he had won at his deuotion, to deliuer the said towne to the king of Spaine: whereof D the seignior of Villers being well informed by this lieutenant, suffered him to treat, & to manage this businesse, in such sort, as at an appointed houre they should haue a port open, whereby they might enter. This enterprise was in Iune when the dayes were longest. At the appointed day the baron of Selles, with good troups of foot and horse, among the which there were many butchers of Doway, carrying the standerd of S. *Meurant* their patron, presented themselues at the port, which they found open. The gouernour *Villers*, to the end the vndertakers might be assured of their enterprise, had the day before sent forth his horsemen as it were by chance: whereof the male-contents being aduertised, were the more assured. In the mean time they of the towne had prepared a banquet, to feast them at their entrie, after they had suffered as many to enter as they thought good, and as their forces would beare, the which they E might easily defeat: the which being entred to the number of fiue or six hundred, with the baron of Selles and these butchers, the portcullis being let down, and they cacht as mise in a trap, they of the garrison began to shew themselues, and to discharge their muskets, and the canon plaid vpon them that remained without, who the horsemen which went forth the day before came and charged behind, and chased them euen vnto their ditches, beeing in hope that their men which were entred should become masters of the town, vpon the report which was made vnto them of the small garrison which remained. Thus both they within and they without were defeated, whereof there was some 150 slaine, and the rest within the towne were taken prisoners, among the which was the baron of Selles, whom the seignior of Villers sent with some other chiefe prisoners to the castle of Cambray, to the end that not keeping them with F him, they should haue no desire to besiege him. Afterwards the baron of Selles and the earl of Egmont were carried to the castle of Ramekins in Zeeland, where the baron died, & yet the Estates had offered to deliuer him, the earle of Egmont and the lord of Champigni, all three together, in exchange for monsieur *de la None*, & some other prisoners of mean quality, which the king refused: wherein the Estates made shew of their loue and affection to strangers that came

1580

Coeuoorden taken againe by the earle of Renenbergh, & after that Oldenzeel.

volun-

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1580 voluntarily to ſerue them: and on the other ſide, the king his ingratitude to ſuch great perſonages, his naturall vaſſals, being priſoners for his ſeruice: Whereupon the baron of Selles exclaimed at his death againſt the king of Spaine, that forreine enemies were more reſpected by him, and held in greater eſteeme, than his naturall ſubiects, and faithfull ſeruants. A

The earle of Egmont diſtracted.

The earle of Egmont in like ſort for deſpight and hearts griefe, that the king would not exchange him for *la Noue*, grew diſtracted of his wits, and during his frenzie, hee ſo hurt the baron of Selles his fellow priſoner in the throat, as he died thereof: ſo as to bring him againe to his right ſences, and to comfort him, at the ſuit of the lady *Francis* of Egmont, his ſiſter, he was tranſported into Holland, where he was well intreated, vntill the king ſhould free him from his impriſonment, the which made him recouer his ſences, which before were much troubled. In the end he was ſet free in the yeare 1584, for the ſaid ſeignior of la Noue, yet vpon B promiſe (ſo much they feared him) that during his life hee ſhould not beare armes againſt the king of Spaine, vnleſſe it were by the commandement of the king of Fraunce his maſter, with ſome other conditions, vpon paine of an hundred thouſand crownes, for the which the duke of Lorraine was his caution and pledge, and the king of Nauarre his counterpledge.

This kind of rigorous proceeding in the exchange of ſuch priſoners, gaue great occaſion to the nobilitie of the Netherlands, the kings ſubiects, to murmure at his ingratitude, and of the eſteeme which hee made of them, and of their liues, which they ſo willingly expoſed for his ſeruice.

Bouchain yeelded by compoſition.

The male-contents hauing receiued this affront and loſſe at Bouchain, to bee reuenged thereof they went in Auguſt following to beſiege it, and did batter it with ſuch furie, as the C ſeignior of Villers hauing no hope of ſuccours, nor meanes (the place beeing verie little) to rampar or intrench himſelfe within, either by halfe moones, new rampars, or otherwiſe (fearing it ſhould be carried by aſſault, and the Spaniard in like manner doubting to come to it) he yeelded it by compoſition, to depart onely with their armes. And as the accord had been ſimply made, without the reſeruations neceſſarie in the like caſe, the ſaid ſeigniour of Villers had left a peece of a match ſecretly burning in a barrel of powder, among diuers others, which continued ſome houre or two, vntill that he and his men were retired towards Cambray, where being neere, fire tooke this powder, which carried away a part of the rampar, did much harme to the towne, and ſlue ſome thirtie ſouldiers: wherewith the Spaniard beeing iuſtly incenſed, ſent to purſue them, and to cut them in peeces if they might ouertake them: but it was too D late, the ſeigniour of Villers and his troupe beeing ſafely and without all daunger retired into Cambray.

The Eſtates knowing their owne forces by ſea, and vpon the riuers, and what the Spaniards were at land, they reſolued by meanes of their ſhips of warre to hinder the paſſage and diſtribution of victuals, and munition, by the riuers of Rhin and Meuſe: Wherefore they ſent their ſhips well appointed and manned, euerie one carrying eight, ten, or twelue great peeces of braſſe, beſides the leſſe, and hauing his pinaſſe: wherewith they held the ſame riuers ſubiect, and cut off the paſſage, both for men and victuals, that were appointed for the country of Groningue. The which did much trouble the princes of the Rhin, who alſo manned out certain E ſhips of warre, to chaſe away thoſe of the States: But for that they would not incenſe theſe princes, nor conteſt againſt them, they cauſed their ſhips to fall downe in Auguſt, the which before were vſually accuſtomed to mount vp aboue the towne of Cologne, to Bonne, yea further.

Macklin taken by the States.

Macklin beeing reuolted from the States, and hauing committed many inſolencies, this yeare they ſent the Engliſhmen that were in Liere towards Macklyn, with their colonell Sir *Iohn Norris*, a valiant gentleman, and with theſe Engliſhmen (the which would not leaue Liere without their pay) the Eſtates ſent *Oliuer vanden Temple*, gouernour of Bruſſels, with his garriſon, and that of Viluoord, and *Charles* of Lieuin, lord of Famars, with his cornet of horſe. Theſe troupes came vpon the ninth of Aprill in the morning, before the towne, where the Engliſhmen giuing an alarme on the one ſide, in the meane time monſieur *de Temples* ſouldiers, and the reſt, climing ouer the Bruſſels gate, got into the towne, where they fought a good while before they could force open the gates, to let in the horſemen, who being entred, the bourgers, with diuers monks and fryers, being in armes vpon the market place, defended themſelues vntill that manie of them were ſlaine: whereof *Peter Wolfe*, a mutinous fryer (who F had

A had before drawne them from the States) was one, who being well armed fought with a halberd in his hand. The gouernour *Roßignol*, and *Boeskerke* the ſcout, with certaine Albanoys, got out at the gates as ſoone as the towne was taken, where there was about an hundred ſouldiers, but moſt bourgers ſlaine. They began to ranſacke the towne, notwithſtanding that the bourgers had made a compoſition with the Engliſh (who were the greateſt number, beeing eight hundred ſtrong) to giue them certaine monethes pay: but that condition was not performed. And although the generall (for that the ſacke had continued certaine dayes) would gladly haue taken ſome order therein, yet he could by no meanes do it. This towne was ſo miſerably ſackt and ſpoyled, as no towne in all the Netherlands had ſuffered the like during all the ciuile warres: for that the Engliſh men (who had no meaſure in their doings) ſpoyled the B churches and religious houſes, without any pitie and compaſſion; for the which the reſt of the ſouldiers were much offended. 1580

After that, the chiefe commanders, as monſieur *Timpel*, and the lord of Famars (then made gouernour) fell out with colonell *Norris*, and would gladly after the ſacke haue gotten the Engliſh men out of the towne, but they being the ſtrongeſt, had gotten the keyes into their hands, and for a moneths ſpace did what they would, putting the bourgers to ranſome, and ſtill ſpoyling their houſes, ſparing not the bells nor the great dyall, which was many times forbidden to be touched: they tooke likewiſe the ſtones that lay vpon the dead, and carried many hundreds of them into England by ſhip. At the laſt the Eſtates hauing great occaſion to vſe ſouldiers (for that it was generally thought that for want of thoſe ſouldiers *la Noue* had bin C ouerthrowne and taken by *Inglemunſter*) they perſuaded Sir *Iohn Norris* to leaue Macklin, who at that time was fallen into ſuch a quarrel with monſieur *Timpel*, that (although they were ſtrangers there) hee would not march out firſt: for which cauſe they were forced to ſet ſome bourgers of Antuerpe, and of the towne, in the market place, and elſe where, to guard it vntill that at the ſound of a bell they both went out at ſeuerall ports, the which was not without ſome trouble; which happened by miſunderſtanding, by reaſon of the commanders high minds, which was the cauſe that the Engliſhmen with much hurt and loſſe were driuen out of the towne the ſixth of May. Monſieur *de Famars* was left there for gouernor, who ſought by all the meanes that hee could to reſtore the towne of Macklin to his former eſtate, and to repeople it againe.

D *Henrie* of Bourbon, prince of Conde, hauing with great difficultie retired himſelfe out of France into England, where hee was verie gratiouſly entertained by the queene, after hee had ſtaid there ſome time, meaning to goe into Germanie to leuie men, hee reſolued to paſſe into Flanders, and ſo into Brabant. He firſt arriued at Scluce, and from thence hee came to Gant the thirteenth of Iulie, where hee was honourably receiued by them of the towne, who ſent ſix companies of the regiment of the baron of Mortagne, to meet him, beeing feaſted by the magiſtrats of the towne in their State-houſe. The Vicent or Bourgraue of Gant (newly created marques of Ronbay by the king, in recompence of his ſeruice) whether that he had intelligence of the princes comming to the towne, or not, had gathered together about foure regiments of foot, and ſixteene cornets of horſe, the which hee cauſed to march preſently the E ſame night, thinking to ſurpriſe it by a camiſadoe, at a rauelin called by the name of *Imbiſe*, not farre from the port of Bruges, the which was onely ſhut in on the out-ſide with a palliſadoe, and certaine planks, being laid open in the day time, to carrie the earth out of a new ditch which was made right oppoſit againſt it, into the towne: which palliſadoe foure or fiue men might eaſily haue pulled downe with halters. The marques aduanced ſo faſt with his horſemen, as about two houres after midnight he came before the ſaid rauelin, which at that time was verie ill guarded, for of a whole ſquadron there were but fiue or ſix ſouldiers of captaine *Roſes* companie at the guard: but by reaſon of the continuall raine all that night, the footmen could not aduance ſo faſt, but the day begun to approach. The ſeigniour of la Motte lighted from his horſe, and going ouer the ditch came to the foot of the rampar, and ap- F proaching neere the rauelin, hee tried to pull downe the palliſadoe, and to make paſſage for the horſe, which ſhould not haue gone aboue the knees in the water.

A poore countrey man beeing without, came to giue an alarme to the towne, but *la Motte* ſlew him preſently, wherewith beeing diſcouered, hee was ſhot with a harquebuſe in

1580 the arme. Then the alarme growing verie hot, all the ſix companies of the colonel *Mortagne*, A and the prince of Conde himſelfe came with his traine with the firſt vnto the rampar: from whence a canon was diſcharged through a ſquadron of the marqueſſes horſe ioyning vnto a mill: who ſeeing that for want of footmen he could not doe any thing, retired. And ſoone after his footmen arriued ſo weary and wet, as they could haue no great courage to fight. The marques in his retreat (curſing his misfortune) burnt all where hee paſt in the territories of Gant.

I wonder at ſome writers, both Flemiſh and French, which ſay, That the marques was entred a good way into the towne: the which is falſe, for if it had beene ſo, hee would haue kept vs (for I * was there at that time) holding that great place which they call Eckerghem, from comming neere the rampar, and his horſemen might haue giuen his footmen leaſure ynough B to haue entred in like manner. Wee muſt notwithſtanding confeſſe the truth, that without this raine the towne had beene in danger to be loſt, not without great effuſion of bloud. The lieutenant to the ſaid captaine *Roſe*, called *Chaſteler*, for the bad order which was at the guard, was put in priſon, and grieuouſly tortured, yet there was no treaſon found in him, but verie great negligence.

* *Iohn Petit.*

After the retreat of the marques, the prince of Conde parted the ſame day to goe vnto Antuerpe, beeing conuoyed by the cornet of the ſeigniour of Rihouen, and the voluntaries of Gant: but hee was not halfe a league out of the towne, when as there was a falſe alarme giuen, which made him returne backe vnto the towne, leaſt they ſhould ſay hee had led away their horſemen: but hearing that it was nothing, hee continued his iourney to An- C tuerpe, where hee was honourably receiued by the prince and the counſell of Eſtate. Hauing reſted there ſome dayes, during the which they made him rich preſents, hee tooke his leaue, and continued his way into Germanie, to the faire of Francfort, from whence he returned into France by Switſerland.

Inglemunſter beſieged by la Noue.

Monſieur *de la Noue* being general of the Eſtates forces in Flanders, had gathered a ſmall armie together, and ſtaying for the Engliſhmen that came out of Macklyn to ioyne with him, in the moneth of May he beſieged Inglemunſter, which is a ſmal caſtle, which the malecontents had taken, lying vpon a riuer called Mander: where hauing planted his ſiege, and giuen charge to batter the ſame, leauing the lord of Marquette to commaund in his place, hee was put in mind of an enterpriſe to be done againſt Ryſſel, which hee reſolued to attempt, and for that D cauſe marched thither with certaine foot and horſemen: but finding himſelfe to be too weake to effect it, for that the burgraue of Gant, called *Marques de Richebergh*, or *Rombay*, with fifteene cornets of Albanoys horſemen, and certaine footmen, made towards him, hee retyred backe againe to his campe before Inglemunſter: and beeing on the other ſide of the riuer of Leye, he was forced to goe ſomewhat further downeward, whereas the Mander falleth into the Leye, and that night lodged in a village called Wackene, the burgraue of Gant ſtill following him: and while *la Noue* paſſed the Leye at Cortricke, hee tooke a new way to Inglemunſter, which *la Noue* perceiuing, hee made all the haſt he could to ioyne with his camp, but by reaſon that his men were wearie, hee was forced to ſtay all night at Wackene, which was two miles from Inglemunſter, where his campe lay: yet fearing leaſt the enemie (hauing E but a little way to march) might charge his campe before hee got thither, hee rod that night with certaine horſemen to his campe, commaunding the lord of Marquette with all ſpeed to breake downe the bridge that went ouer the riuer of Mander, that the enemie ſhould not fall ſodainely vpon them: but for all his commaund, they that kept the bridge thought it not requiſit to breake it downe, but meant to keepe it ſtrong, contrarie to all marſhall diſcipline, which monſieur *de la Noue* notwithſtanding would haue done.

The burgraue of Gant knowing that the Eſtates forces lay that night at Wackene, made towards the campe which lay before Inglemunſter, with all his troupes, and fell vpon them. *La Noue* perceiuing that, and hauing ſent for his men to come from Wackene with all ſpeed, defended himſelfe as well as hee could, although hee had not aboue fiue or ſix hundred men, F and two or three cornets of horſe, which were eaſily defeated. The Scottiſh ſouldiers beeing commaunded to hold play with the enemie as long as they could, and to diſcharge their peeces one after another, were too haſtie, and ſhot all together: which hauing done, they gaue

A gaue backe. Certaine French companies, that had not aboue ten or twelue men in a compa- 1580
nie (the reſt of their companions beeing at Wackene) kept all together like old ſouldiers, and
defended themſelues in ſuch ſort, as they eſcaped without any hurt; the reſt were all ſlaine
and ſpoyled. *La Noue* himſelfe, thinking it a ſhame to abandon the artillerie, and beeing yet
in good hope that it would bee better when the reſt of his men came (which he ſtill attended)
from Wackene, fought valiantly; and did what was poſſible for him to doe, vntill that hee
was furiouſly charged, and taken priſoner, hauing ſent his ſonne *Tiligny* to haſten his men
forwards, by the which meanes hee, with the moſt part of the horſe and footmen eſcaped.
The lord of Marquette was likewiſe taken, to whom the greateſt blame of that ouerthrow
was imputed, becauſe he cauſed not the bridge to be broken downe, as hee was commaun-
B ded, but truſted vnto others. Hee lay long after priſoner in Henault, till at the laſt, after cer-
taine yeares impriſonment, he brake out of priſon.

Monſieur la Noue taken priſoner before Inglemunſter.

Monſieur *de la Noue* being the burgraue of Gants priſoner, prince *de Eſpinoy* brother to the
margraue, wrot from Dornicke in his behalfe vnto thoſe of Flanders, who vpon the eleuenth
of May wrot their letters vnto the burgraue, to intreat him to vſe *la Noue* well, who by his
letters from Cortricke the twelfth of May, promiſed no leſſe; and yet notwithſtanding hee
gaue him vnto the king, at which time the regiments of Heſſe, Egmont, and Capres, mu-
tined, and would haue had the earle of Egmont diſcharged for *la Noue*: for which action
the burgraue was much blamed, as knowing well that hee ſhould not bee ſet at libertie for
any ranſome or exchange whatſoeuer, during the wares; beſides the want of ſo braue a ſoul-
C dier, whereof the Eſtates had great need, and yet hee was allied to the burgraue, who had
beene the cauſe of ſeending for him out of Fraunce, to ſerue the Eſtates, when hee himſelfe
held with them: but pride, hatred, and ſpleene made him doe it; whereof hee made ſhew
vpon ſome gentlemen that were taken priſoners, amongſt the which one was *la Nones* ſteward,
who beeing brought before him, hee ſtabbed him with his owne hands, when as all the fu-
rie was paſt, which an Albanoys ſouldier refuſed to doe, commaunding his men to doe the
like to all the reſt.

The ordnance, munition, and eighteene Enſignes (whereof moſt of the men were as then
abſent) were all taken, wherewith he rod triumphantly into Cortricke, and with him mon-
ſieur *la Noue* his priſoner, whom hee ſent to Berghen in Henault, vntō the prince of Parma.
D The number that were ſlaine was not great, ſo as the Eſtates had more miſſe of ſuch a cap-
taine, than any loſſe, in regard it was a great hinderance to their proceedings: but they aſſem-
bled their ſouldiers againe with all the ſpeed they might, by that meanes to keepe the enemie
from a further inuaſion after their victorie, who made ſhew as if they would ſet vpon the
towne of Niuelle.

About this time *William van Horne*, baron de Heſſe, ſonne to *William* lord of Gaesboecke,
of the houſe of Horne, brother to the earle of Vikercken, practiſed in the behalfe of the Eſtates,
and the duke of Aniou (with whom the States were in a maner agreed) to reduce certaine
places vnder the Eſtates commaund, or elſe to doe them ſome other ſeruice. With whom
conſented alſo *Iong Warrous* lord of Thian, gouernour of Caſſel, who likewiſe thought
E to deliuer Caſſel vnto the Eſtates: but their practiſes were diſcouered, and *Thian* flying eſca-
ped away, but the baron of Heſſe was by the ſaid burgraue, and the baron *de Montigny* taken
priſoner, and not long after, his proceſſe being made, by commaund from the prince of Par-
ma (who by that meanes knew how to ſet the noblemen of the Netherlands together by the
eares) was beheaded at Queſnoy in Henault, vpon the eight of November, beeing a luſtie
young gentleman, but wauering and inconſtantly minded. The lord of Hauſſy likewiſe of
the ſame conſpiracie, beeing ſommoned to appeare, was forced to flie, and came to his houſe
at Liedekerke by Bruſſels, which he deliuered into the hands of the Eſtates: but afterwards
by meanes of his wife, being found wauering and inconſtant, and much ſuſpected by the
Eſtates, hee was by them commited to priſon, yet by meanes of *Oliuer vanden Temple*, go-
F uernor of Bruſſels (who had maried the lady of Weerdenborgh, his wiues ſiſter) hee was re-
leaſed, and went into France.

The lord of Heſſe beheaded.

The eight of Iune in the morning, the garriſons of Hercntales, Bruſſels, and Macklyn, with
their captaines, and colonell *la Garde*, with a Spaniſh captaine called *Alonſo*, ſecretly and ſo-

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1580 dainely climed ouer the walls of Dieſt, vpon the marſh ſide; and beeing gotten vp ſlew the guard at the port of Sichem, where they let in the Spaniſh captaine (who ſerued the Eſtates faithfully) with the horſemen. Within were two companies of Wallons, that made great reſiſtance, and three companies of Dutch men (among the which one was a companie of the earle of Lodrons regiment, that had ſerued at leaſt foureteene yeares in the countrey) which valiantly reſiſted, and diuers times cauſed their enemies to retire, but at the laſt they were moſt of them ſlaine, in the ſame place where they fought, without once retiring a foot, fighting to the laſt man, which is not often ſeene. On the Eſtates ſides alſo there were certaine captaines ſlaine, and many men hurt. Sichem and Arſchot were likewiſe taken by the Eſtates: Halen was forſaken by the enemie, but perceiuing that the Eſtates proceeded no further, they returned thither againe. A B

Dieſt won by the States, with Sichem and Arſchot.

The like enterpriſe the malecontents of Henault (not long before) purpoſed againſt Bruſſels, thinking to take it vpon Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* day, being mooued thereunto by a captaine of the bourgers, called *Otto de Barker*, *Iaques le Court*, a proctor, who had dealt with the earle of Lalaine, the baron *de Montignie*, and the bourgraue of Gant, hauing deliuered them the print of one of the keyes of the towne gates, ſo as they came thither with good troupes of horſe and foot: but the foreſaid parties hauing made it known vnto the prince of Orange, monſieur *Aldegonde*, and monſieur *Temple* the gouernour, they made great preparation for them with ſhot, ſecretly placed vpon the high way, and other places, and within the towne there were diuers ſouldiers, ſecretly lodged in the houſes, not farre from the ſaid gate, monſieur *de S. Aldegonde* ſtanding readie at the portcullis to let it fall when they ſhould thinke good: but for C that it had rained all night long, and by that meanes the ſouldiers could not keepe their matches light, and being wearie with ſo long and tedious a march, hauing made great haſt, and ſome of them being behind, the reſt for that cauſe were verie vnwilling: but when as day began to apppeare, whereby they might eaſily haue beene diſcouered, many of them came to the port, which (according to promiſe) they found open, yet durſt not enter, but went backe againe, they of Bruſſels ſhooting after them with their canon, and from thence went to the enterpriſe of Gant aforeſaid.

Niuelle victualled by the States, but not long after taken by the prince of Parma.

About the ſame time they of Bruſſels, with diuers horſe and footmen hauing victualed Niuelle, as they returned backe againe, met with certaine cornets of Albanoys horſemen (which are a kind of people, that when the Turke won Grecia, being driuen from thence, entred into D the kingdome of Naples, where they won a peece of the countrey, and there inhabited and dwelt, ſtill keeping their owne language) whom they ouerthrew, and brought thirtie of them into the towne of Bruſſels, and yet the towne of Niuelle was not long after taken by the prince of Parmaes troupes, where the earle of Mansfield vſed very great and barbarous cruelties.

In the moneth of Auguſt, the ducheſſe of Parma and Plaiſance, the old regent, mother to the prince of Parma, came into the countries of the Netherlands, being ſent thither by the king of Spaine, to accompliſh the treatie made with the vnited prouinces: or for that it was thought that her ſonne was not ſufficient ynough to take ſo great a charge vpon him, and to gouerne ſo many young headed noblemen, the mother was thought fitter for the place, as E beeing better acquainted with the affaires of ſtate, and the humours of the nobilitie and the people of the countrey, than her ſonne, who departed out of the Netherlands, to the great diſcontent of the people, who would willingly haue had her ſtaied. Being come to Namur, and there viſited by her ſonne, there grew ſome iealouſie betweene them touching the gouernement, for that the prince of Parma, hauing left his wildneſſe, which he had vſed in the Netherlands, for the which hee had beene much ſpoken of, being come to more ſtaiednes, hee had ſo inſinuated himſelfe into the peoples fauours, as they held him worthy of the gouernment himſelfe, and to rule alone, for that the countrey had more need of a cheefe and a captaine generall, than of a woman: and therefore the Spaniards were of opinion (as knowing well, that nothing is more ſubiect to hatred than gouernement, and what preiudice might F thereby grow) that the ducheſſe ſhould returne backe againe, with ſmooth and good excuſes, as ſhee did in the yeare following. And by that meanes the prince of Parma kept the gouernment of the country alone, with the great good liking of the Wallon prouinces, where

hee

A he behaued himselfe verie wisely and vnpartially, betweene the Spaniards, Italians, and Netherlanders, as also amongst other nations, vsing all Italian manners in his dealings, thereby to procure the good will both of friends and foes, in such sort as hee did the king exceeding great seruice, more than all the rest of the forepassed gouernors, with their Spanish crueltie and pride euer did. 1580

I said before, That the generall Estates had resolued to chuse a new soueraigne prince to gouerne them, and that they found none more fit for them than *Francis* of Valois, duke of Anjou, Alanzon, &c. the onely brother to the French king: Whereupon the Estates sat in consultation all Summer, and at the last, in July, they concluded with full consent of the prouinces, townes, and members of the vnited prouinces, to yeeld the countrey vnto him vpon certaine conditions. Whereupon the deputies of the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Macklyn, Friseland, and the territories associat, beeing assembled in Antuerpe, vpon the twelfth of August they deputed and sent their commissioners with full instructions into France, whose names were monsieur S. *Aldegonde*, the seignior of Dohain, doctor *Hessels*, *Francis* seigniour of Lauenborgh, *Iaques Tayart*, pentioner of Gant, *Woel Caron*, seignior of Schoonewall, bourgmaster of the Vrie, or Franc of Bruges, and *Iasper van Vosberghen*, bailife of Campeuere, to treat with the said duke: which they effected vpon the 29 of September. The articles were concluded vpon at Plesis le Towers, the contents whereof (beeing 27 in number) were as followeth. The duke of Anjou receiued for soueraigne lord of the Netherlands.

1 First, That the Estates of the vnited prouinces had chosen & appointed the duke of Anjou for their prince and soueraigne lord, with the names, dignities, and titles of Duke, Earle, Marques, &c. and with such soueraigntie as their forepassed princes in former times had, with prouiso, That all alliances made by the house of Burgondie and the Netherlands, not onely with the empire, but also with the kingdomes of Fraunce, England, Denmarke, and all other alliances, in no sort contrarie to that contract, should continue in their entire and full force, without any alteration. Articles betweene the Netherlands and the duke of Anjou.

2 That his lawfull issue, males, should succeed him in the said countrey of the Netherlands, and that if hee happened to haue more than one sonne, the Estates of the Netherlands should bee at their libertie to chuse which of them they would haue to bee their soueraigne lord.

3 That if his heire were vnder yeares, the Estates should appoint him a gouernor, and keep the administration of the said gouernment in their owne hands, vntill hee should attaine vnto the age of twentie yeares, or that it should be otherwise determined by aduice of the Estates: and that if he and his heires should die, that then it should be lawfull for the Estates to chuse another soueraigne lord.

4 That he should possesse and enioy the demaines and reuenues therof vpon certaine conditions, and without raysing of them, vnlesse it were by consent of the Estates, according to their priuiledges, and that if they were too much ouer-burthened, the Estates should find meanes to appoint a conuenient entertainment for him.

5 That the said duke should hold and maintaine all their old priuiledges and customs, and namely the vnion which was made at Vtrecht, so as it were not preiudiciall to the said treatie.

6 That he should ratifie and confirme all the decrees made by the archduke *Mathias*, and Estates, as well in generall as particular.

7 That the generall Estates should be suffered to assemble once in a yeare at the least, and at all other times when they shall thinke good.

8 That he should be resident in the Netherlands, vnlesse it were vpon some great occasion, and that if hee stayed long out of the countrey, that hee should appoint one of the naturall borne Netherlanders to gouerne in his place, such a one as should bee pleasing to the Estates, and that with their consent.

9 That he should haue a counsell of Netherlanders, such as the prouinces thereof should appoint, or haue appointed, without aid or assistance of strangers, French men, or others, vnlesse it were one or two, with the consent and liking of the prouinces, to whom alwayes the gouernment should be referred.

10 That the principall officers in the Netherlands, should bee naturall borne subiects,

1580 iects, and others of meaner offices, as it ſhould pleaſe him, with condition, that the gentlemen A
ſhould be Netherlanders.

11 When any officers were to be choſen for the gouernment of the prouinces, and forts, and in the chiefe offices of the Netherlands, the ſaid prouinces ſhould nominat three perſons vnto him, whereof he ſhould chuſe one.

12 That hee ſhould promiſe to vphold and maintaine the reformed religion, and the religious peace in the Netherlands, in ſuch ſort as it then was holden, or as it ſhould be ordayned and appointed by the States of euerie particular prouince, and namely in the prouinces of Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Vtrecht, Macklyn, Friſeland, Oueriſſel, and the territories of Drenth and Twenth, without any alteration to be made by him.

13 That Holland and Zeeland ſhould remaine as they then were, touching religion and B
otherwiſe, alwayes prouided, that touching the money, mint, contribution, and the priuiledges of the ſaid prouinces and townes, they ſhould ſubiect themſelues vnder the ſaid duke and the generalitie, according to the accord made by aduice of the generall Eſtates, or elſe to follow the old cuſtomes, rights, and priuiledges.

14 That he ſhould not permit nor ſuffer any man to bee moleſted nor troubled for his conſcience, vnder pretence and colour of religion, receiuing both the religions vnder his protection.

15 That hee ſhould procure the French king to aid him and his heires with his forces and power, thereby to ſtrengthen him, and the contracted prouinces his ſubiects, againſt their enemies, whether it be the king of Spaine or any of his adherents, and that the ſaid king ſhold C
not permit nor ſuffer any aid or aſſiſtance to be giuen out of his kingdome vnto the enemy, but that the Netherlanders ſhould haue free paſſage in the frontier townes, with fauour and leaue of the gouernors of the ſame.

16 After that the ſaid duke ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, hee ſhould worke ſuch meanes, that the ſaid prouinces ſhould be vnited with France, and they to make war together, by common conſent, againſt all thoſe that would inuade any of the ſaid countries: prouided alwayes, that the Netherlands ſhould not bee incorporated with France, but ſtill remaine as they were, with their priuiledges, cuſtomes, rights, contracts, and lawes.

17 That for more aſſurance againſt the common enemie, and others that ſhould ſeeke to contradict their ſaid contract, as alſo for the vpholding and encreaſing of the good agreement, D
amitie, and concord, that it hath pleaſed the queene of England, the kings of Denmarke, Portugall, Sweden, Scotland, and Nauarre, the princes of the empire, the Hans townes, and other princes, potentats, and commonwealths, townes, and allies, to hold and make with them, he ſhould ſeeke meanes (together with the Eſtates) to enter into a more ſtrict league with them, for the common good of the countrey vpon the articles and conditions that ſhould and might bee agreed vpon with the ſaid ſeuerall kingdomes and eſtates, with all ſecuritie.

18 That hee ſhould bind himſelfe to make warre, and to maintaine the contrey by ſuch meanes, as hee ſhould haue from the king his brother, and of his owne patrimonie, whereunto the Eſtates ſhould yearely contribute two millions, and foure hundred thouſand gul- E
dernes, out of the which the ſouldiers of the Netherlands, and their garriſons, in conuenient numbers, ſhould firſt be paid.

19 Touching the commaunder generall ouer the forces of the Netherlands, the ſaid duke ſhould take order therein, by conſent of the Eſtates, and ſhould appoint a generall ouer the French forces, ſuch as ſhould be well thought on by the Eſtates.

20 That he ſhould not place any Frenchmen, nor other ſtrangers in garriſon in the towns and ſtrong places of the Netherlands, without the conſent of the prouinces wherein ſuch places ſhould be, and touching the naturall borne ſubiects, he ſhould place them by aduice of the aforeſaid counſell.

21 But for better and neceſſarie reliefe of the ſouldiers, the prouinces ſhould ordaine and F
appoint fit and conuenient places for the ſaid ſouldiers to lie in, in the Winter time.

22 That all forreine ſouldiers, both French and others, ſhould bee bound to depart out of the countrey, whenſoeuer the generall Eſtates ſhould deſire the ſame of the ſaid duke.

23 That

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A 23 That he ſhould make no alliance with the king of Spaine, either by mariage, or other- 1580
wiſe, neither yet with any other prince or country not vnited vnto them by contract of amity, but by aduice, conſent, and approbation of the ſaid prouinces, nor yet make any other alliance or contract to the preiudice or hinderance of the Netherlands, or this treatie.

24 Prouided alwaies, That the other diſunited prouinces, townes and places, that would ſubiect themſelues vnto him, and ioyne with the contracted Netherlands, ſhould at all times be receiued and accepted into that contract.

25 And touching thoſe that ſhould be compelled thereunto by force, the ſaid duke ſhould diſpoſe of them, by conſent of the generall Eſtates, as it ſhould be thought conuenient, whether they were of the diſunited prouinces, or others within the ſaid Netherlands.

B 26 That he and his ſucceſſors ſhould take the accuſtomed oath vſuall to be made in euery prouince, beſide the generall oath to be made and taken, for the obſeruing and maintaining of the ſaid contract: and that if it ſo fell out, that he or his ſucceſſors ſhould faile in the performance of any of the points of the ſaid contract, that then the ſaid Eſtates ſhould therby be preſently diſcharged of all faith and ſubiection towards him or them, and ſhould or might chuſe any other prince, or diſpoſe of their affaires, as they ſhould thinke good.

27 Laſtly, That whereas the archduke *Mathias* had beene requeſted to come into the Netherlands, and had acquited and behaued himſelfe in good ſort, according to his promiſe; the ſaid duke and the Eſtates ſhould conſult together, by what meanes they ſhould ſatisfie and content the ſaid archduke.

C Theſe articles were in this ſort paſſed and ſigned on both parts, although with reference, to be further treated and conſidered of, thereby to auoid all controuerſie and diſlike.

At which time there was certaine counters made in memorie thereof, on the one ſide hauing a Lyon with a collar about the necke, bound to a pillar, whereon ſtood the Image of a conquerour, which collar a mouſe knawed in ſunder, with this inſcription, *Roſis Leonem loris mus liberat*, that is, The Lyon being bound, is made free by knawing of the mouſe: on the other ſide ſtood the Pope and the king of Spaine, who (with promiſe of a holy peace) ſought to put the collar againe about the Lyons necke, with this inſcription, *Liber reuinciri Leo pernegat*, that is, The Lyon being at libertie, will not be bound againe. And at Gant there were counters made, whereon there was a ring ſhutting with two hands, wherein was written *Iehoua*,
D and round about it, *pro Chriſto, Lege & Grege*, that is, for Chriſt, the Law, and the people: on the other ſide, *Religione & Iuſticia reduce, vocato ex Gallia pacato duce Andegauenſi, Belgica libertatis vindice*, that is, Religion & Iuſtice reſtored, the duke of Aniou being called out of France, for the defendor or reuenger of the freedome of the Netherlands.

The archduke *Mathias*, brother to the Emperour, gouernour of the Netherlands, finding himſelfe to be abandoned by part of the prouinces, as namely the Wallons, who had ſent for him out of Germanie, and were now reuolted from him, and perceiuing that the peace of Cologne tooke no effect, as alſo that no manner of aid nor aſſiſtance was procured neither from the emperour, his brethren, kinred, nor friends, nor yet from the princes of Germanie, notwithſtanding both his priuat and publick admonitions made vnto his friends of the houſe
E of Auſtria, whereby the generall Eſtates were compelled to ſeeke aid elſewhere, he thought it fit and conuenient to take an honourable farewell, finding, that both his and the Eſtates admonitions, giuen vnto the Emperor, the king of Spaine, and the whole houſe of Auſtria, were all in vaine, although it concerned them very neere. For the ſame cauſes being moued to reſigne his gouernment, vpon the two and twentieth of Iuly he ſhewed the Eſtates by writing, deliuered vnto them by the prince of Eſpinoy, That it was not vnknowne vnto them, that he hauing beene called thereunto by diuers of the chiefe of the Netherlands, and after that with a generall conſent accepted and receiued, and all articles by him promiſed, well kept and obſerued, had behaued himſelfe in that miſerable eſtate and troubleſome condition, as time and oportunitie ſerued, without any regard of his owne particular profit, and that with the danger
F of his life: yet he was grieued, and much moued, that he (by reaſon of the vnfortunat ſucceſſe of the time) could not haue the power and meanes to reduce the Netherlands vnto their priſtinate freedome, proſperitie, vnitie and quietneſſe, whereunto neyther diligence, care, nor good will was wanting in him: and for that the generall Eſtates were then aſſembled to determine vpon the laſt extremitie, touching the relieuing and releaſing of the Netherlands from

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1580 from their miseries, he said he would not prescribe them any law or rule therein, nor yet be against their profits, but onely aduised them, not rashly to subiect themselues vnder a strange yoake, and doubtfull change or alteration, forgetting the Romish empire, and other great alliances, but to consider of his noble house of Austria (and his great loue shewed vnto them) whereof he was a member, praying them openly to tell him, what they pretended touching him and his house, that he might determine thereon accordingly: saying further vnto them, That their promise (touching the charges of his gouernment) had not beene performed. Lastly, he shewed them his good will and great desire to doe them good, offering them all the seruice he could. A

The archduke *Mathias* takes his leaue of the Estates.

Touching this declaration, the Estates thought it conuenient to giue the said archduke all good contentment, with an honourable reward, as also to pay him that which had beene promised him for his entertainment, and that he should enioy the reuenues of the bishopricke of Vtrecht. In the articles contracted with the duke of Aniou, they made mention of him, saying, That whereas he had beene called to the gouernement of the countrey, and therein had well and vprightly behaued himselfe, and that the countrey (together with the said duke of Aniou) should take aduice, touching the best meanes, to giue him honorable and reasonable satisfaction: which being long in question, and still deferred, the archduke (by that meanes) stayed there vntill the next yeare. B

And for that in the meane time many and great complaints were made touching the disorders amongst the souldiers, the archduke *Mathias* and the Estates set down certain new orders concerning better gouernment to be obserued in martiall discipline. C

Orders made by the Estates for martiall discipline and other things.

In Antuerpe they made new orders touching the watch of the towne, it beeing deuided into eight colonies and regiments, each colonie hauing vnder it tenne companies, besides six companies of the Guild or brotherhood of the towne, being in all 86 companies: no man was freed from that watch, but the magistrats and other officers, and the marchants of other nations, as Easterlings, Englishmen, and Portugals, according to their priuiledges; all other nations were forced to contribute to that watch, at the discretion of the colonels, as also the old men that were aboue threescore yeares of age. There were likewise diuers articles (which were very necessarie to be vsed in that watch) published to be obserued, vpon paine of great punishments. They also built vp diuers guard houses, where the ordinarie guard vsed to continue night and day, which are called *corps de guard*, and in euery corner of the streetes they made certain small centinell houses for the rounds, wherein euery night, and when they preached in the church, tenne of the neighbours vsed to watch, whereby the bourgers became expert in martiall discipline, and at euery tumult and alarme were presently readie in armes, euery man knowing his owne quarter. They likewise entertained diuers old experienced souldiers, which vsed to traine them, and to practise them in their armes, being as well prouided of all manner of armes, as any towne in Europe whatsoeuer. Vpon euery great *corps de guard* stood written, *Excludere facilius, quam expellere*: which is, It is easier to shut out the enemie, than to driue him out. Vpon the market place, *Sæpius læsa patientia*, that is, Our patience hath beene often wronged. Vpon the meere bridge, *Agere aut pati*, that is, Either it must bee preuented, or suffered: and vpon the Oeuer, *Sine bello securitas*, that is, If there be security in warre, then it consisteth in watching or resistance. And in euery street (where need required) there hung great heauie chaines, which could easily be crossed ouerthwart the streets, whereof certaine in euery companie had charge; which chaines were so great, strong, and so many, that they were esteemed to be worth aboue a hundred thousand gulderns. They likewise fortified the towne dayly, and made their ditches deeper and broader, and the wals thicker, planting trees all along the same, and made diuers turne pikes, appointing officers for euerie one of them. They likewise made orders about fires, how euery man should behaue himselfe, when any fire happened within the towne, as also touching the plague, and such like things; the which many other townes in Christendome (since that time) haue followed. D E F

And touching their seafaring, for that it is one of the principallest and profitablest commodities of the countrey, they made an order, That no shippes should goe to sea, vnlesse they were well prouided, armed, and manned, euery one according to their burthen, thereby to be freed from all danger of pyrats, and that euery prouince and towne should haue their ships of warre

warre ready; whereby they haue much encreaſed their ſhipping and ſeafaring, which the Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, and Eaſterlings had almoſt taken from them, during their warres: ſo that then againe they ſayled out of Holland, Zeeland, and Antuerpe, into Spaine and Portugall, and there traffiqued freely, vſing ſecret and diſcreet dealing, ſo that as then it ſeemed, as if there had beene no warre betweene Spaine and them, but onely with the Spaniards that were in the Netherlands, being for the moſt part well vſed and entertained by the inhabitants of Spaine and Portugall, and at that time alſo certaine Spaniſh ſhippes (ſuch as durſt) came into Zeeland, & were welcome vnto them, hauing free libertie to ſaile both out & in, but they durſt not long continue, for feare of ſea rouers, and other ſhippes of warre. The cauſe why the Netherlanders were ſo much made of, and welcommed into Spaine, was, for that Spaine
B conſiſteth much of trade of marchandiſe, as well as the Netherlands, thereby to vent their wares, fruits, and other commodities, hauing need of the Netherland handy works, and other marchandiſes, therby to maintaine their ſeafaring and trade into the Indies, whereby the king bringeth his gold and ſiluer from thence, and much encreaſeth his cuſtomes, the gentlemen and common people in Spaine hauing moſt of their liuings thereby; for that much of their reuenewes conſiſteth in wine, oyle, fruit, wools, and ſuch like commodities. But afterward in the baniſhment or preſcription made againſt the prince of Orange, wherein was mentioned, That all the ſaid prouinces ayders or adherents, their goods and debts whatſoeuer ſhould bee forfeit, in what place ſoeuer they ſhould be found, they feared that ſome ſtricter courſe would be taken for the ſearch of ſuch things in Spaine, but nothing was as then done therein; the E-
C ſtates of the Netherlands giuing warning therof vnto the marchants and ſailers, wherby from thenceforth they did traffique more diſcreetly, dealing vnder other mens names. 1580

They of Zeeland at that time (in remembrance of their great care and watchfulneſſe to be had) cauſed certaine counters to be made, on the one ſide hauing their armes, which is a lyon riſing out of the waues of the ſea, with this inſcription, *Vos terra, at ego excubo Ponto 1580*, that is, Watch, or take you care for the land, for I keepe watch vpon the ſea: On the other ſide ſtood a man, planting of young trees, and behind him hung his hat vpon a launce, ſignifying freedome, with this inſcription, *Si non nobis, ſaltem poſteris*, If they ſerue not for vs, yet they ſhall ſerue for our poſteritie.

The marchants of the Netherlands (for the furtherance of their trade of marchandiſe,
D which as then they vſed in England) according to the contracts and intercourſes made in times paſt betweene the ſaid countries, perceiuing, that by reaſon of the troubleſome times and warres, they could haue but ſmall aid or reliefe out of the Netherlands, or from their magiſtrates, erected a fellowſhip amongſt themſelues in England, thereby to maintaine their priuiledges (according to the contracts) in all princes courts, whereof they obtained licence from the chiefe magiſtrates in the Netherlands, bearing date the ninth of Iune 1580, which was after confirmed vnto them by the duke of Brabant and Anion, and after that, in ampler ſort by the king, vnder the gouernment of the duke of Parma: by vertue of which graunt, they choſe gouernours and aſſiſtants amongſt them, for maintenance whereof, they gathered certaine ſmall contributions amongſt themſelues; but that was ſoone left off by the loſſe of the
E towne of Antuerpe, which was taken by the prince of Parma, whereby the marchants were ſcattered into diuers places; by which meanes the officers in England reſpected the Netherland marchants no more than the ſtrangeſt nation that came into England, without any conſideration of the reciprocall contracts and intercourſes, or that their marchants in the Netherlands ſtill enioyed all their priuiledges, conditionally graunted vnto them, that they ſhould vſe the Netherlands in like ſort, according to the priuiledges giuen them by diuers ſeuerall townes.

They of Steenwicke obſeruing the earle of Reneberghs proceedings, after that he had gotten Groning wholly at his deuotion, hauing a care of their preſeruation, they ſent for ſome of the States men, the better to defend themſelues: ſo as the 21 of Iuly captaine *Herman Ockhof*
F entred with his company, who vſed all diligence to repaire the wals and rampars, and to prouide for all things neceſſary to maintaine a ſiege.

This yere in October, the prince of Orange had an enterpriſe vpon the town of Maeſtricht, which he thought to ſurpriſe by ſcalado, but his men being come vnto the towne ditch, they were diſcouered, and ſo returned as they came without any effect.

The

1580 The fiue and twentieth of the ſame moneth, the prince of Eſpinoy (gouernour of Tour- A
nay) cauſed the towne of Conde in Henault to be ſurpriſed by the Seignior of Eſtrayelles,
Conde ſurpri- his lieutenant: but when hee had taken it, hauing no meanes to furniſh it with all thinges
ſed. neceſſarie for a ſiege, knowing that the malecontents were not farre off, he preſently aban-
doned it.

About this time, the lord of Anholt, and *Martin Schenck*, that held the caſtle of Blyenbeeke, tooke a ſhip laden full of ſilkes, and other coſtly wares, that was comming downe the Rhine, and held it as good prize, which they diuided amongſt the ſoldiers, and yet moſt of the goods belonged to Italians.

The earle of Renenbergh being maſter of the field in Friſeland (as I ſaid before) and ha- B
uing beſieged Swool, intending to take it, as he lay before it, he thought good to ſend for his
new regiment of ſouldiers, which was comming vnto him ouer the Rhin, eſpecially for that
he was in doubt, that hee ſhould not ſo ſoone get Swool (although he had ſecret intelligence
therein) in regard that the towne is ſtrong, and ſituated in ſuch ſort, as it might eaſily bee
relieued: as alſo hearing that the earle of Hohenlo had againe renewed his forces in the
field, and that he lay about Deuenter, and that all the frontier townes were well furniſhed
with garriſons and other neceſſaries, for which cauſe he rayſed his ſiege. The regiment that
was comming ouer the Rhin to the earle of Renenbergh, he called it the Guelder regiment,
for that it conſiſted of Gueldrians, Vtrechts, Oueryſſellers, and others, their colonel being
Iohn Streuf van Emmericke: the captaines were *Iacob van Brouckhorſt* and *Batenburgh*, ſonne
to *Anholt*, with two companies, and *Balthaſar van Roſſum*, *Boeckehols*, *Tieſlinghen*, *Wurtſelman*, C
Redenuelds, with two other companies, that were very ſtrong: and for that *Anholt* ſerued a-
mongſt thoſe companies, and had reuolted from thoſe of Guelderland, captain *Hegeman* iſſu-
ing out of Nimmeghen tooke the towne of Anholt for the Eſtates, which he ſacked, notwith-
ſtanding that it belonged to the empire.

The earle of Renenbergh beeing fortified by this new regiment, thought eaſily to haue taken Deutichum, being neyther ſtrong, nor well prouided of garriſon: but finding more reſiſtance there, than he expected, as alſo for that the Engliſhment of Doesburgh and *Michels* regiment did much annoy him, he left it, and put a garriſon into Grolle, and ſo vp-
on the eighteenth of October went before Steenwicke, a weake town, and wherin there was
but one companie of ſouldiers, being altogether vnprouided of neceſſaries (which town con- D
cerned him much) thereby to free the Dreuth, and ſo to haue free paſſage into Friſeland and
Vollenhoue.

This ſiege of Steenwicke I will particularly ſet downe, yet as briefely as I can, becauſe it was a notable attempt, and is very profitable for them to read, that are accuſtomed to follow the warres.

Steenwick be- To beſiege Steenwicke, the earle of Renenbergh had eight and twentie companies of
ſieged by the ſouldiers, whereof foureteene companies were of the Friſeland regiment, whoſe lieutenant
earle of Re- colonel (called *Hans Men*) was ſlaine in a skirmiſh, in whoſe place ſucceeded *Iohn Baptiſta*
nenbergh. *Taxis*; nine companies of the new Guelders regiment, for that the lord of Anholt ſtayed
with two companies at Anholt and Bredeford; and fiue companies more of the earls owne E
new regiment, thoſe eight and twentie companies being at the leaſt ſixe thouſand ſtrong, for
that the companies in thoſe quarters are commonly aboue two hundred men, the horſemen
were about foureteene cornets, moſt part lanciers.

In Steenwicke lay captaine *Olthof* with his companie, captaine *Cornput* hauing charge to goe thither with his companie: but ſome of Steenwicke being of the Spaniſh faction (not-
withſtanding this charge from their friends and allies) would not ſuffer him to enter: for
which cauſe he entred by force, being let in by *Olthof* his companie: but before he went in,
he cauſed his ſouldiers to ſweare (after certaine ſpeeches vſed vnto them, and the better to
effect the Eſtates buſineſſe) That none of them ſhould once ſpeake a word of yeelding vp
the towne, or deale in any ſort with the enemie, before that hee himſelfe firſt ſpake or F
mentioned thereof, vpon paine preſently to bee ſtabbed by him which ſtood next vnto
him: Which oath beeing taken, they went into the towne the day before it was beſie-
ged: and for that the earle of Hohenlo had rayſed certaine high Dutch companies with
long pykes, ſeruing well for an armie, the Eſtates ſent two of thoſe companies, ledde

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A by *Plaet* and *Stupers* lieutenant, called *Iohn van Berenbroeke*, ſcout of Guelders, into Steen- 1580
wicke, they being freſh, wild, and diſordered ſouldiers: the garriſon being glad, that they had a piece of ſeruice whereby they might get ſome credit, iſſued out on both ſides of the towne, and burned downe many houſes that lay too neere it, and got good ſtore of powder and munition by ſhip into the ſame.

The garriſon was about ſix hundred men ſtrong, beſides the bourgers, that were about three hundred, amongſt the which, fiftie were ſuch as might well be truſted: they had no gouernor in the towne, nor almoſt any ordnance, neither any horſemen, onely twelue or fourteene horſes belonging to the captaines and commaunders, whereof they had greateſt want, to aſſayle the enemie, as it appeared by the ſeruice they did. The gouernours place was ſupplied by all
B the captaines together, the bourgomaſter being ioyned with them, who made diuers orders, both concerning their wants of ordnance and of powder (which they appointed to be made of Salt-peeter and brimſtone) as alſo for all kinds of fireworkes, and diuers inſtruments, both offenſiue and defenſiue; that they ſhould not be too lauiſh of their powder, that the ſouldiers ſhould be content with their lendings, without burthening the towneſ-men. They likewiſe tooke order about corne and victuals, as alſo touching fire, which to auoid and preuent, they cauſed all their hay, ſtraw, turfe, and all other things ſubiect to the fire, to be layed in the open ayre, and brake downe all the houſes couered with thatch, that ſtood neere vnto the wals: and aboue all other things, decreed to make as few ſallies as they poſſibly could, not onely for the
C loſſe they ſhould thereby receiue, and make the ſouldiers vnwilling, but alſo to ſpare powder, and to keepe the enemy from hauing any intelligence of the eſtate of the towne: which ordinances were not ſo well obſerued as they ought, for want of a gouernour.

As ſoone as the earle of Renenbergh had intrenched himſelfe before the towne, and had made bridges of boats ouer the riuer of Aa, they of the towne were deſirous to ſend preſently to the Eſtates for to be relieued; which captaine *Cornput* would not conſent vnto, ſaying, That they ſhould write onely touching the eſtate of the towne, and the enemies campe, without ſpeaking of any reliefe, and that eſpecially for two cauſes, the one, that the Eſtates might conceiue no bad opinion of their valour, the other, that the bourgers & ſouldiers ſhould haue no doubt of themſelues, and their ſecurity. This notwithſtanding, vpon the three & twentieth of October they wrot a letter, which they ſent in the night time to Campen, by a bourger cal-
D led *Mathias Kys*, wherein they charged the Eſtates with ſlackneſſe, and wrote expreſly, That it was impoſſible for them to hold the towne aboue eight daies. This letter was ſigned by captaine *Olthof*, *Plaet*, and *Coen Dierickſon*, a bourger, and an old ſouldier, but yet ſelfe-willed and vntractable; the bourgomaſter likewiſe ſet his hand to the letter, & at the laſt they got captaine *Berenbroeke* to ſigne it likewiſe, but *Cornput* would by no meanes do it, ſaying, That it was not onely a diſhonorable thing, but worthy puniſhment, to bewray vnto the Eſtates their ſo ſmall experience & iudgement, ſeeing that as then they had not any need of reliefe; and that princes and lords built and made forts, & put garriſons therein, to defend them frō their enemies, & to keepe thē from doing any further hurt in the country, and not to yeeld, & giue thē ouer at the firſt ſummons, but to giue them time with all conueniencie to aſſemble their forces, & ſo with
E better meanes & ground of reaſon to worke their deliuerie; ſaying, that their improuident and raſh writing might giue the Eſtates cauſe to ſeeke to relieue them with ſome ſmal forces, whereby they might faile of that which they ſo much deſired, for that in ſo ſhort a time it was impoſſible to prouide a ſufficient force, wherwith to relieue them. To this letter the Eſtates made anſwer with very comfortable words & ſpeeches: but not long after captaine *Cornput* wrote the contrary vnto the Eſtates, ſaying, That as yet they had no need, and that they were ſufficiently prouided of all things for 6 moneths, and yet that they ſhould prepare to relieue them with all conuenient ſpeed, in regard of the impatience of the bourgers & ſouldiers, more than for any other cauſe. For which letter the ſaid captaine *Cornput* was much hated of many of the bourgers, but at the laſt he got *Berenbroeke* & diuers others to concurre and hold with him.

F About this time, two of the Eſtates companies of *Iohn van Eſcheda* and *Roeloef van Linghen*, lying in the Kuyndert, vpon the three and twentieth of October the earl of Renenbergh ſent *Aert van Gemmen*, *Snaer*, and others out of his campe, to charge them by night, by whome (after ſome ſmall reſiſtance) they were forced, and the fort taken, in regard that it was not very ſtrong. There *Eſcheda* was taken priſoner, and his enſigne torne

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1580 in pieces, but *Rodolph van Laughen* eſcaped with ſome others, but his enſigne was taken, and A
moſt of the ſouldiers ſlaine in their beds, and ſome taken priſoners, after the which they ſacked
the village, and ſo left it. The enſigne they brought with them to the campe, and there drew
it at a horſe taile round about Steenwicke, with great triumph, and muſicke playing be-
fore it.

The earle of Renenberghs ſouldiers that lay before the towne, in deſpight that they with-
in the towne had burned a myll which ſtood without, determined by night to burne the pa-
liſado before the Gaſthouſe gate, and for that cauſe they made many muſket ſhot at the centi-
nell of the towne, to force him to retyre, and ſo (with ſtraw and a barrell full of Tarre & brim-
ſtone, which they placed there) they ſet it on fire, and ſo left it, without any hurt vnto thẽſelues,
onely one man was ſlaine: which they within the towne perceiuing, and knowing it to bee B
ſome hinderance vnto them, one of *Cornputs* ſouldiers offering himſelfe, was let downe from
the wall, who carrying a leather bucket in his mouth, ſwum ouer the ditch, and then taking
water vp with the ſame, went eaſily to the fire, and pulling away the barrell of tarre, quenched
A reſolute exploit of a ſouldier. the fire by often caſting water vpon it. Which the enemie perceiuing, ſhot at him as thicke as
haile, and yet (not without great wonder) none of them hit him, and although the fire bur-
ned very bright, neuertheleſſe he went eaſily to the place, calling them villains & theeues, and
ſaid, I am *Arent van Groeningen*, a brewers ſonne: and ſo hauing performed his work, he ſwam
ouer againe, and when he had gotten vp on the wals, he was rewarded by captaine *Cornput*
with a handfull of dollars.

The ſame euening there came a high Dutch ſouldier to the paliſado before the wall gate, C
where hee called and cryed out with deſpightfull words againſt the Eſtates and the earle of
Hohenlo, therewith vſing many prowd words and blaſphemies againſt God: but one of the
ſouldiers creeping in the darke to the place where hee heard the noyſe, leuelled at him with
his peece, and ſhot him full into the mouth, and cut that member in two, wherewith hee
had blaſphemed, which by all men was eſteemed to bee a iuſt puniſhment of God, lay-
ed vpon him for the ſame. His dead bodie (which his companions would verie gladly
haue drawne away) was borne into the towne, and ſo it was ſeene where hee had beene
ſhot.

The ſeuen and twentieth of October, the earle of Renenbergh himſelfe came into the
campe, with charge from the prince of Parma, not to leaue the ſiege, before he had taken the D
towne, and the next day ſummoned them in the kings name to yeeld it vp, with ſafetie of life
and goods, and to carry all they had away with ſafe conuoy; but he had a ſufficient and reſpe-
ctiue anſwere giuen him: whereupon he cauſed fiue peeces of ordnance to be planted before
the towne. The bourgers in the meane time laboured hard, to make the wals and the rampars
thicker, fearing the Ordnance: but captaine *Cornput* ſhewed them by many reaſons, that
they might aſſure themſelues better, and with leſſe labour, if they would firſt make a ſecret
way without the ditches, vpon the counterſcarpe, whereby the ditches would be ſo much the
wider, and all ſallies and retreats thereby much furthered; as alſo the breaking of the yce, if
it ſhould chance to freeze, and all aſſaults made by the enemie, might thereby bee hindered,
with diuers other aduantages: which way being made vp, they might eaſily make bulwarkes E
or rauelins in conuenient places, before the wals, and out of the ditches, firſt breaſt high, and
then to fill them with earth out of the ditches, and ſo make them thicker and higher: which
worke (he ſaid) the enemie could not hinder with his Ordnance, and that they ſhould not
forget (in making the bulwarkes) to place in the ſhoulders or ſides thereof certain caſamates,
which are low loope-holes, from whence they might free the dammes, whereon the gates
ſtood, from filling vp, and from vndermining or digging vnder: which counſell hee conti-
nually gaue vnto them: but the bourgers (ſeduced by one *Coen Dierickeſon*, vpon whom
they much depended) would not hearken therunto, but got captaine *Plaet* with his ſouldiers
to ioyne with them.

The exploit of the earle of Renenberghs men. In the meane time they of Friſeland ſent foure companies of foot, and ſome horſemen in- F
to Seuenwolden, to keepe the paſſage, and to ſtop the earle of Renenberghes ſouldiers from
running into the countrey, to force them to contribution; againſt them, the earle ſent *Iouw
Botma*, and the companie of the towne of Bolſweert. Which they hearing of, left the place,
leauing onely *Ferno* and *Steyn van Malſens* companies (with certaine horſemen) to keepe the
place,

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A place, who defended themselues as well as they could, but they were forced, whereas *Iohn van Ferno* and his youngest brother were slaine. From thence the earles souldiers went to Sloeten, which was but slenderly fortified, for which cause the two companies that were in it, left it, but they were pursued as farre as Balck, where one of their captaines (called *Marrena*) was taken prisoner: *Peter Andreas Greitman van Volega*, with his company, lying in the Lemmer, which neuertheless was insconced, left it, and went to Enchuysen. The earle of Renenberghes forces beeing increased, went from thence to Staueren, and made the castle vp againe (which they of Friseland, without any forecast, threw downe, before they had fortified the towne) and built a sconce at Macklin, running euery day before Harlinghen, Franycker, and Bolswort, and forcing the pesants to pay contribution: and although they were of opinion, B to let the water ouerflow the champian countrey of Friseland, it was not as then to bee done, both because the weather was too drie, as also for that the wind serued not. This is all which was done in October: now I will shew what they did in the campe. In the beginning of Nouember there issued fiftie men out of the Gasthouse gate, and set vpon a guard, which lay in a hollow place by the loop-sconce, and killed one and twenty of their men, and brought three prisoners into the towne. They without intrenched themselues night and day, and beganne to make a high mount, not farre from the Gasthouse gate, whereon they placed seuen sconce-baskets, wherewith they of the towne beeing in some feare, filled vp the gate with earth, notwithstanding that captaine *Cornput* spake against it, saying, That the gate so filled vp with earth, beeing battered, would fall downe, and so the enemie might the easilier climbe vp, and C haue means to myne, and that the loope-holes of the gates, were good defences for the town, which they ought not to take away, saying, that it belonged to the enemie so to doe, and that they ought not to cut off their owne armes, for that the loope-holes in a towne serued as well for their defence, as mens armes serue to defend their bodies; and that to assure and defend the gates well, there was no better meanes than to make the secret wayes, and the high counterscarpes which he spoke of before; or if that they would not doe so, then (for their better securitie) they might make a high mount within the towne between each two gates, in forme of a sharp pointed bulwarke, with conuenient loope-holes, the which they might doe, without any danger, which mount would not onely serue to defend such breaches as might bee made, but also to defend themselues from the shot, wherby the enemie should haue no means D to shoot with field peeces for their defence; which mounts beeing fully made (if need were, that the enemie should come to digge vnder the water, and to vndermine the wall) might bee ioyned together by a wall of earth, made along from the one vnto the other, and so would it be a new wall or fortification within the towne. But those reasons could not sinke into the bourgers heads, the captaines were willing thereunto, and began the mounts; but the bourgers (to spare their houses) were vnwilling, and so the worke went slenderly forward: captaine *Cornput* with the other captaines (to make the souldiers willing to worke) agreed, that billes should be giuen them, to pay them sixe pence a day for their worke, after the towne should be releeued, but the bourgomaster opposed himselfe: yet at last, beeing compelled by necessity; and finding that the counterscarpes could not be missed, in regard that it was hard frozen, and E that they must be forced to breake the yce, vpon the seauenteenth day of Nouember they began in all hast to make the counterscarpes. At which time once againe the impatienter sort within the towne wrot vnto the Estates for some reliefe, but *Cornput* and *Berenbroek* wrot to the contrarie, and willed them not to be too hastie, but to worke wisely and securely: *Cornput* also sent them his cyphers, and also a meanes how to speake one vnto another with lanthorns and firepans, and by day with broad clothes. 1580

The Estates to make some shew of relieuing the towne, sent captaine *Stuper* with his companie to Swart Sluys, and sixe companies of *Hegemans* regiment, to lie in a cloyster by Vollenhoue, called S. *Iohns* campe, which vpon the seauenteenth of Nouember were set vpon by the earle of Renenberghes forces, where, for that the cloyster hath no ditches (although they de- F fended themselues valiantly) they were slaine, taken prisoners, and put to flight, where three captains, *Iohn van Vianen*, *Gedeon van Roderen*, and *Hans Wichmans* were taken prisoners, whereby *Stuper* was forced to leaue Swart Sluys. These were the fruits of the impatient letters written and sent out of the towne.

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1580 The eighteenth of Nouember, the earle of Renenbergh began to batter the Gaſthouſe A
gate with the powder that they had taken from *Hegemans* ſouldiers, and ſhot downe all the
toppes or defences of the wals, and after that, the houſes beeing diſcouered, they ſhot fierie
bullets with wild fire into the towne, which preſently ſet the houſes on fire, and the ſoo-
ner, for that many of the houſes were thatched, and diuers of them full of ſtrawe, haie, and
turfe, whereby the fire was growne great, before they perceiued it: they imagining, that
the fire had beene made by treaſon within the towne: but at the laſt, when they perceiued
Steenwicke fired with ſhot from whence it came, the ſouldiers ranne all in armes vnto the walls, the bourgers in the
meane time doing their beſt to quench the fire, and to ſaue their goods; but by reaſon that
the wind was great, there was at the leaſt threeſcore and tenne houſes burned, and certaine
barnes with hay, ſtrawe, rie, and barley, and (to ſay the truth) a twelfth part of the towne. B
The fire was ſo great (by reaſon of a ſtrong Eaſterly wind, which then blewe) as it draue
the flame quite ouer the walls, whereby the ſouldiers were forced to leaue a third part of the
walls vndefended, euen in the very ſame place where the yce in the ditches was not broken:
but although the enemie ſtood round about the towne, ready to giue an aſſault, yet becauſe
of the fire and flame, they durſt not venture, thinking that they within would flie out of the
flame vpon them, as Foxes doe, when men put fire in their holes: but the ſouldiers ſtood
like Lyons. Doubtleſſe it was a fearefull thing to ſee, and yet a great mercie of God, that
the exhortations of the captaines gaue the ſouldiers ſuch courage, and the bourgers ſo
much comfort; as alſo that it chaunced by day, for if it had beene in the night time, it had
beene impoſſible, but the enemie would haue taken the towne, as eight and fiftie yeares C
before it happened in the moneth of December, in Anno 1522, when as they of Guelder-
land (after the old manner) ſhot fire into it by night, and by that meanes tooke and ſac-
ked it.

This was the ſecond time that hath been heard of, that ſuch fire was ſhot with burning bul-
lets into a towne, for that it was done by *Stephanus Battor*, king of Poleland, againſt Danske,
but in another manner it hath beene oftentimes done.

After this fire, the earle of Renenbergh ſent two trumpets, to ſummon the towne to yeeld,
offering them all the grace and fauour he could: but captaine *Plaet* anſwered boldly, where-
by at that time he did eſpeciall good ſeruice to the towne; for which cauſe the bourgers be-
gan to murmure, and yet at the laſt got *Plaet* to agree with them, and thought to haue had a D
generall aſſembly, and to conſult vpon the yeelding of the towne: which *Cornput* refuſed,
ſaying, That hee would not agree to deliuer vp a towne which was not theirs (for that a
young maid which beginneth to parle, is halfe gotten with child) and that hee would not
yeeld neither for life nor death: *Berenbroeke* and *Lazarus Auſtria* (*Olthof* his lieutenant)
ſaid the like: ſo as after many words and much diſpute it was agreed, with hands and promi-
ſes thereunto made and giuen, That they would not yeeld vp the towne, as long as there was
any victuals within it to be had. But the next day (beeing the 20 of Nouember) the bour-
gers fell into a mutinie, and aſſembled together vpon the market place, and with them diuers
of the ſouldiers: which captaine *Cornput* hearing of, hee cauſed a great number of the ſouldi-
ers to arme themſelues, and he himſelfe beeing armed vnder his clothes, went with *Beren-* E
broeke and them into the market place, and ſpake to the bourgers (who were encouraging one
another to yeeld vp the towne) ſaying, Get you home to your houſes, you villaines, and ſtand
not prating and telling of lies here, to diſcourage our ſouldiers, who know what they haue to
doe, and are wiſer than you thinke they are: and when ſome of them went away, and a but-
cher ſtanding ſtill, ſaid, What ſhall bee done then, when wee haue nothing more to eat? cap-
taine *Cornput* anſwered, That time is not yet come, and when it doth, then wil we firſt eat ſuch
a knaue as thou and thy fellowes are, before wee will yeeld. With which words and many
more, they were all driuen home againe, and all good order and diſcipline obſerued by ſuch
as were of good gouernment.

They without ſhotte diuers times more fire into the towne, but they within the towne F
tooke an order for the ſame, that in euery ſtreet and houſe, both night and day, the bourgers
kept watch, and ſo did the women and children, and when they ſaw where a bullet did light
(which the hole and the ſmoake ſhewed) they drew the ſame with yron hookes out of the
way,

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A way, and then hauing woollen gloues (which they first wet in the water) they tooke vp the bullet with their hands, and (without danger) cast it into the street, where it could doe no hurt. 1580

In these and many other actions, the moneth of Nouember was spent: meane time the wauering and mutinous minds of some of them within continued still; for that captaine *Plaet* was wholly of their faction, whereas *Cornput* and *Berenbroeke* opposed themselues, whom they sought to bring in hatred with the towne men, who for that cause were compelled to set their hands to the letters which they did write vnto the Estates, to bee relieued, and were likewise forced to graunt, That a stampe, with the armes of the towne (which is an anker) should be set vpon their money, which should be a token, that the same was raysed
B halfe as high againe as it was. The captaines would willingly haue had new money mynted as it went in Hasselt (the better to content the souldiers) but the magistrate was against it, notwithstanding that thereby all things were raysed in their prices, and became deerer, and they which bought any thing for vnstamped money, had it much better cheape than others, wherby the bourgers themselues were forced to pay much money for the souldiers lendings, and for their worke.

In the beginning of December it began to raine, and want of money made the souldiers in the earle of Renenberghs campe to bee weary of camping, whereby they within the towne made many valiant sallies vpon the enemie, which proued very successefull, and for that cause they opened the gates againe, which they had mured and rampared vp, and cap-
C taine *Plaet*, and others, that were against the making of any loope-holes vpon the counterscarpes, were the meanes to procure the making of them vp againe.

In the meane time the prince of Orange and the Estates tooke counsell how they might relieue Steenwicke, although they saw their forces to be small, and they very vnwilling, for want of pay, for that the prouinces, and especially Guelderland and Oueryssell (whome neuertheless it most concerned) did not then shew themselues as they ought to haue done: for which cause, some were of opinion, That it was in vaine to spend money or men about the relieuing of so weake a place. Others were of the contrarie mind, and said, That it was re- The Estates resolution for Steenwicke.
quisite to be relieued, as being a key of Friseland, Vollenhoue, and Drenth, which with the
D marishes held the countrey round about inclosed, and that the enemie hauing gotten it, might thereby cut off Friseland from the other prouinces, and trouble the seas, hauing alreadie gotten Swart Sluys, Vollenhoue, Blockziel, Kuinder, Lemmer, Staueren, Hindelopen, Worcum, Mocum, Reediep, and Delsziel, all coast townes, and most hauens. For which cause it was determined to rayse a strong armie, and to gather money for the same, to relieue the towne: and to that end Sir *Iohn Norris* (an Englishman) was appointed generall thereof, who comming with his forces to Swart Sluys, set vpon a new raysed companie of the enemies (their captaine beeing *Otto van Saut*) and killed the most part of them, and vpon the fifteenth of December set fire thereon. From thence he went to Meppel, with twentie three companies of footmen, which were not aboue eighteene hundred men, and a few horse, leauing but three companies in Swart Sluys: for which cause, the earle of Renenbergh sent
E eleuen companies of foot, and six cornets of horsemen thither, to passe ouer the yce, and so to take it: but they within defending themselues valiantly, Sir *Iohn Norris* had time ynough to come to relieue them, who draue the enemie from thence, so as many of them were slain, and diuers drowned on the yce, and amongst the rest, *Arent van Gemeghen*, a selfe-willed captaine. There Sir *Iohn Norris* got two of the enemies ensignes, and armes for fiue hundred men; one of the ensignes he sent into Steenwicke, with about fortie souldiers, that carried about 750 pounds of gunne-powder in leather bagges vpon their shoulders. In a certaine skirmish made by them of the towne, captaine *Plaet* being slaine, *Berenbroeke* was made captaine in his place, by commaundement from the Estates, but chiefely by recommendation from captaine *Cornput*, *Michael Hage* beeing made lieutenant of *Stuper* his companie in his
F roome, and with those commissions there was sixteene hundred gulderns in gold sent to pay the souldiers. And after that, vpon the last of December, Sir *Iohn Norris* fell vpon the enemies campe behind through the marishes: whereupon they of the towne also issued foorth valiantly, and caused the enemie to flye, breaking some of his ordnance in pieces with hammers.

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1580 During this ſiege, in December, the earle of Renenbergh had certaine enterprises vpon other places, as againſt Hattum, whereas by meanes of *Ladowicke van Monthort*, the Droſſart, he cauſed fortie ſouldiers that went out of the caſtle of Blyenbeek, belonging vnto *Schenck*, which were conducted by Sergeant *Fontheco* and the Droſſarts ſonne, to get into the caſtle of Hattum by night: meane time the Droſſart himſelfe made the Eſtates ſouldiers (beeing but fortie in number) all drunke, and ſhut them vp in a chamber, whileſt they of Blyenbeeke entred. With thoſe ſouldiers the Droſſart the ſame night came downe and tooke captain *Haen*, that was but a traueller through the towne, and two other gentlemen out of their beds, and carried them priſoners into the caſtle. Which the bourgers vnderſtanding, and ſome of the ſouldiers that kept watch in the towne, they ſuppoſed, that their enemie within the caſtle had beene ſtronger than he was. They of Swool being aduertiſed thereof, ſent captaine *Iacob van Mechelen* thither with certain ſouldiers, at which time alſo they of Deuenter and Elborgh ſent aid, and ſo they began to batter the caſtle of Hattum with ſix peeces from the towne, and preſently made a breach therein (although the wall were foure and twentie foot thick) ſo that vpon the eighteenth of December they were forced to yeeld vpon compoſition, by entreatie of captaine *Hegeman*, which was, that the ſouldiers ſhould depart with their liues, and the Droſſart and his ſonne ſhould remaine priſoners, who afterwards had his proceſſe made by the Eſtates of Guelderland, and ſo both he and his ſonne were beheaded & quartered, becauſe they had ſworne to be true vnto the Eſtates. A B

The third of Ianuarie, *Sonoy* (by commiſſion from the Eſtates) came out of North-Holland to Blockziel, with ſhippes of warre, and diuers ſouldiers, and all kind of prouiſion fit to make a ſconce, where in a ſhort time he made a ſtrong ſconce, which after ſerued the Eſtates to good purpoſe, beeing but a myle from Steenwicke, from whence hee could make ſignes to them within Steenwicke, which reuiued their courages, as being very impatient. And when as Sir *Iohn Norris* wiſhed them to ſend him a man of ſome experience in the warres, to ſpeake with him about the relieuing of the towne, they ſent *Coen Dierickeſon* vnto him, with an inſtruction, where (amongſt other things) it was ſet downe, that hee ſhould ſet vpon the enemie, or that if he would not attempt it raſhly, he ſhould ſecretly ſend them a thouſand men into the towne, and they would ſet vpon the enemie themſelues: againſt the which *Cornput* and *Berenbroeke* oppoſed, ſaying, That the diuiding of an armie (which was neither great nor ſtrong of men) was not likely to doe any good, or to relieue them, the enemie being ſo neere; whereof they alſo aduertiſed the Eſtates, and how that they were forced to ſigne to ſuch an inſtruction. The like contention and diſcord was dayly in the towne, oftentimes writing, to haue leaue to yeeld vp the towne, if they were not relieued in ſhort time, ſaying, That they had not victuals within the towne for aboue ſixe dayes. C D

The like tumults and vprore was amongſt them in the enemies campe, who were kept night and day in continuall alarmes, in exceeding cold weather, and with want of money, for the which they often called: ſo that at the laſt the earle of Renenbergh was forced to abſent himſelfe for a while, vntill he had gotten ſome money for them, wherewith he contented his ſouldiers, with many faire promiſes. The like contention hee had with *Schencks* horſemen, that once before had left the campe: ſo that on both ſides they were in great extremities. E

Vpon the nineteenth of Ianuary the earle of Renenbergh ſent a trumpet with a letter, ſigned by *Martin Schenck* and *Iohn Struef*, wherein they vſed all manner of perſuaſions, to moue the towne to yeeld; but they had an anſwere to the contrary by word of mouth. Euery day they did what they could to annoy one another, and vpon Shroue-tueſday they without the towne hauing often asked them within, if they had almoſt eaten vp all their horſes, they within mounted ſouldiers vpon all the horſes they could get (being about threeſcore) with launces, and when as they had therewith braued vpon the wals, they went ſecretly out of one of the gates, and gaue an alarme vnto the campe, and ſo went in againe at another port, crying vnto them, and ſaying, That they had gotten in a new cornet of horſe; ſo as they ſhewed themſelues to haue reſolutions, and no want of any thing. The like ieaſt was vſed by the earle of Renenbergh (whereby captaine *Cornput* had like to haue loſt his life) for that he wrot him a letter, the contents whereof were theſe. F

Ho-

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A Honourable and worthy gentleman, for that by reaſon of the preſent froſt, you can doe no good in the trenches, nor cannot paſſe the time away by drawing your ring vp and downe vpon your finger, becauſe you haue beene forced to lay the ſame to pawne, to pay the ſouldiers, and beſides that, haue not wherewith to ſet your teeth on worke, or to cleanſe your maw, and yet ſhould haue ſomething to buſie your ſelfe withall, therewith to paſſe away the time; therefore we ſend you the letter here incloſed, to pleaſe your humour, dated in the kings campe before Steenwicke the fifteenth of Ianuary. In the letter there was a booke printed in French, made by *Aßonuille*, or ſome other, whereof the title was, The prince of Orange his letters interpreted, which he ſent to the duke of Alanſon, with many annotations in the margent, which the prince in his Apologie maketh anſwere vnto. By this letter, certain of captain B *Cornput* his enemies in the towne, thought, that the enemie had ſent ſome reaſonable conditions of yeelding vp the towne vnto him, and that he for that cauſe would not let them ſee them, and therefore were deſirous to haue them, and ſo made a tumult againſt him, which was hardly pacified. To this letter captaine *Cornput* made as good an anſwere, and alſo ſent ſome Annotations vpon the marginall notes of the printed counterfeit Letters. 1581

Beſides this, to paſſe away the time, captaine *Thomas* (an Albanois captaine) ſent to Sir *Iohn Norris*, to challenge him to fight hand to hand with him, either with launce, pike, ſword, or curtleax: whereunto captaine *Williams*, his lieutenant colonel, made anſwer, that he would fight with him at all the ſaid weapons: which vpon certaine conditions was vndertaken: and C hauing giuen ſureties on both ſides, and both the armies ſtanding in order of battaile, they two (in preſence of them all) met together, and after certaine blowes giuen both with launce and curtleax, without any harme to either party, according to the agreement, they drunk one vnto another, and ſo departed. A challenge ſent to Sir *Iohn Norris*, anſwered by captain *Williams*.

The ſeuenteenth of Ianuarie, vpon the importunacie of them of the towne vnto Sir *Iohn Norris* (as alſo by the dayly interceſſion of *Coen Dierickſon*, that was with him at Griethorn, ſaying, That for want of victuals they within the towne could not hold out foure dayes) hee determined to doe ſome enterpriſe vpon Steenwicker Woldt, being in all (with his Engliſh regiment, the regiment of the earle of Naſſau, and that of *Michiel Caulier*, and ſome companies of *Hegeman* and *Stuper*) not aboue two thouſand men: which he certified vnto thoſe of D the towne, who with the halfe of their men iſſued foorth when it was darke, whereby they miſſed each other, and ſo did themſelues hurt: and Sir *Iohn Norris* (for his part) did nothing, for that he came into a field full of trees, the which was incloſed with a ditch, not farre from the towne. Which the earle of Renenbergh perceiuing, brought certaine field-peeces thither, and firſt hauing made his prayer, he gaue a terrible aſſault againſt the ſame, but he was valiantly repulſed, ſo that he thought it beſt for him (that euening) to returne backe againe vnto his campe, thinking to find him there the next day: but Sir *Iohn Norris* perceiuing in what danger he was, in regard that hee had neyther victuals nor horſemen, and that he might (perchance) haue beene ouerthrowne, if the enemie had incloſed him, was much mooued againſt *Coen Dierickſon*, that had made him beleeue, that E the towne was in ſo great neceſſitie, and therefore thought good to goe vnto Blockziel, to *Sonoy* his fortifications; where he vnderſtood by certaine perſons, that the towne was ſufficiently prouided (with all things neceſſarie) for a while: for which cauſe hee determined to ſtay for the Friſeland ayd, which he likewiſe certified vnto the towne. The earle of Renenbergh once againe ſummoned the towne to yeeld, writing them a comfortable letter, which captaine *Cornput* anſwered with many annotations, and cauſed it to be ſent him againe; which letter was openly read before the campe, in great deſpight to the earle of Renenbergh. After that, vpon the foure and twentieth of Ianuarie, the earle of Renenbergh vnderſtanding, that Sir *Iohn Norris* with all his forces lay in the cloyſter, called S. *Iohns* campe, he went thither with a great force, where he beſieged him round a- F bout, and battering the place, thought to take it, before he ſhould haue ayd out of Friſeland: Sir *Iohn Norris* preſently had great need of victuals, whereby hee was conſtrayned and enforced to eat his horſes, although *Sonoy* ſent him ſome victuals from Blockziel, whereas two of his companies ouerthrew two of the enemies, which were of the like number.

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1581 *Wighbolt van Euſum*, lord of Nyenvenoort, hauing made a contract with the Eſtates, to leuie ſouldiers at his owne coſts and charges, the which he ſhould entertaine by contribution enforced vpon the enemie, the Eſtates wrot vnto him, to helpe to relieue Steenwicke, who to that end came with ſix companies of his owne, and ſix Friſeland companies, vnder the conduct of *Adrian Meningh* (lieutenant colonel to *Merode*) to Blockziel, with waggons and victuals, being in all fifteene hundred men: which the earle of Renenbergh vnderſtanding, hee went ſecretly away in the night time. At his departure from the cloyſter, he left the wounded, dead men, and his priſoners, and great ſtore of victuals behind him, hauing beſieged the cloiſter three daies, and burned the village of Griethorn. After that, there grew a great mutinie amongſt his ſouldiers, which within certaine daies was pacified with ſome money, each ſouldier hauing receiued 21 ſtyuers. A B

The laſt of Ianuarie Sir *Iohn Norris* came to Oldermarckt, a myle from Steenwicke, with all his troupes: for which cauſe the earle of Renenbergh made diuers other ſconces, and left his lodging in Steenwicker Woldt: they of the towne (for that their gates were battered, and annoyed with ſconces) reſolued at the laſt to make a new gate, betweene the wall and Oſtergate, on the North ſide, which they called *Cornputs* gate, becauſe hee had alwaies giuen them counſell to make it there, that they might receiue their victuals therein from Sir *Iohn Norris*.

An Augure at Steenwicke. The fourth of Februarie three Wood-cockes (others ſay Partridges) came flying into the market place of Steenwicke, and were there taken by the ſouldiers, and eaten. Which being told to captaine *Cornput*, he ſaid preſently: God ſent the vnbelieuing Iſraelites ſuch kind of meat, and he for certaine will relieue this towne; but for that there are three, ſo it ſhall not happen vntill three weekes be ended, becauſe we will not beleeue him. This prophecie of *Cornput* (which the common bourgers made more queſtion of than the reſt) was taken in euill part, as if that he would preſcribe ſo long a time for their deliuerance: which hee ſeemed to haue ſpoken, onely to leſſen the great longing and deſire that the bourgers had thereunto, neuertheleſſe it appeareth, that God ſpake by his mouth, although he knew it not himſelfe; for it was true, for that euen the ſame day three weekes after, the towne was ſufficiently victualled by Sir *Iohn Norris*. C

The ſame day Sir *Iohn Norris*, the earle of Naſſau, *Merode*, *Nienort*, *Michiel Caulier*, *Iſelſtein*, *Hegeman*, and *Stuper*, with ſixe and fortie companies of footmen, being about three thouſand fiue hundred men ſtrong, and ſix cornets of horſe went to Steenwicker Woldt, and encamped himſelfe in the Eaſt end, in a conuenient place, called Heddinbergh, where there ſtood many ſmall trees, which ſerued for trenching or ſconces; but in the North end, where it was open, he made a defence of wagons: they of the towne might diſcouer his enſignes, and know them, being but 2400 paces from thence, and nothing betweene them but plaine fields, medowes, heaths, and mariſhes, in the middle wherof there ſtood a new ſconce made there by *Renenberghs* ſouldiers vpon the 31 of Ianuarie. D

To reſiſt them, the earle of Renenberghs ſouldiers put themſelues in order of battaile, and at the laſt (after they had ſtood ſo vntill the next day after noone) they went with their ordnance to aſſaile Sir *Iohn Norris* campe behind, not thinking to find the Wagon ſconce, & gaue a furious aſſault, where captaine *Hendrike Suaser* (their leader) was ſlaine, they of the towne in the meane time iſſuing out into the enemies campe, did them great hurt, and got good ſtore of bootie. E

The ſixt or ſeuenth of February there was a ſearch made in euery houſe within the town, to know what prouiſion of victuals they had, and they found corne and other victuals ſufficient to ſerue them two moneths, as well amongſt the rich as the poore, who thought they ſhould not haue bin ſo narrowly ſearched, as the rich men, each man being allowed 6 pound of bread a weeke: for which cauſe captaine *Cornput* ſhewed the foreſtallers therof in what danger they had brought both the countrey and the towne, for that the ſouldiers fearing want of victuals, were like to haue fallen into a mutinie, and bin diſcouraged, and thereby made the enemie to thinke that they were in great neceſſity, and gaue them more courage: as alſo that the Eſtates (through their impatient writing for reliefe) had bin almoſt compelled to aduenture a battail, which (as it appeared) would haue fallen out badly for them: but notwithſtanding al this, they of the towne were ſtill very impatient, and wrot importunately for reliefe. F

Euery

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A Euerie day they skirmiſhed, and the earle of Renenbergh ſtil made more ſconces between Sir *Iohn Norris* campe and the towne, which they firſt began vnder the defence of certain wagons laden with dung, which they placed there by night, and ſo made their trenches behind them: All the heapes of turfe the earle of Renenbergh cauſed to be burnt, that the way might be diſcouered, yet for all their great light, they could not intercept one letter or meſſenger that came out of the towne, the which was verie ſtrange. At the laſt captaine *Cornpus* cauſed certaine bullets to be made, of two pound weight apeece, thereby to preuent the danger of their meſſengers: which bullets were ſhot into Sir *Iohn Norris* campe. Theſe bullets had two holes, the one to thruſt in the letter, the other to put in the fire worke, for that by the ſmoke thereof they might the better be found. 1581

Bullets ſhot with letters in them.

B Vpon the fourteenth of Februarie, Sir *Iohn Norris* ſent them of the towne word, that they ſhould make three bridges ouer the riuer of Aa, and he would giue the aduenture to releeue them, appointing his men to place wagons along on both ſides, and ſo to conuey the victuals into the towne, wherein captaine *Cornpus* vſed great diligence, to cauſe certaine ſconces to bee made without the towne, and it ſeemed as though hee would haue had ſconces made cleane through from the towne, to Sir *Iohn Norris* campe: but all he deſired was not done; notwithſtanding they within made ſconces without the towne, in the Weſt part, with great toyle, hewing the hard frozen earth with hatchets and pit-axes, & made a bridge ouer the Aa, and ſo lay in the field without the towne; but after ſignes giuen on both ſides, touching the beginning of the enterpriſe, Sir *Iohn Norris* in ſeeking to effect it, found great difficultie, which was,
C that the wagons could not paſſe ouer the hard knobs of froſen earth, which lay in the marſhes; neither could they effect it without great noyſe, and therefore for that time he ſtaied, but they of the towne finiſhed their worke, and hindered the enemy from making their ſconces againſt them, & taking his dung wagons from him, they kept the field night and day.

The ſeuenteenth of Februarie the great froſt began to thaw, which did much comfort them of the towne, who were in good hope they ſhould not now haue ſo much cauſe to feare their enemies horſemen.

The 18 of Februarie Sir *Iohn Norris* began to make a trench of a thouſand paces without his camp, along by the old Aa, which was done with great labour & toile, for want of pioners, and neceſſarie prouiſion. This trench was battered and aſſailed by the earle of Renenberghes
D ſouldiers, but to no end.

The twentieth of February, a bourger and foure ſouldiers about noone time, went out of the towne, and paſt betweene the enemies centinels and the trenches, yet were not hurt, although they were ſhot at, and purſued from all places round about them; whereby Sir *Iohn Norris* ſouldiers were ſhewed the way how they ſhould releeue the towne: and vpon the one and twentieth of Februarie Sir *Iohn Norris* by the ſame way ſent certaine ſouldiers with thoſe fiue perſons, laden with an hundred and fiftie cheeſes, three hundred and fifty loaues of bread, with powder and match bound together: who hauing thrown it or laid it all vpon the bridge, went preſently backe againe: for the preuenting whereof, the earle of Renenberghes men came thither, but it was too late. The diligence and reſolution of theſe fiue men, was rewarded
E by the captaines with certaine peeces of gold.

Steenwick victualed by Sir Iohn Norris.

The next night Sir *Iohn Norris* made another trench of two hundred ſeuentie two paces long, which drew ſomewhat neerer the towne, whereby his trenches and the towne trenches were but eight hundred ninetie ſix paces one from the other; the earle of Renenberghes ſconces lying betweene them, diſtant from the towne ſeuen hundred ſeuentie ſix paces, the enemie ſeeking to draw their ordnance through certaine places of the Aa, where it might ſtand better and do more ſeruice, but it ſunke, ſo as they could hardly get it out againe. And the ſame night they made another defence of dung wagons, ouer againſt the new bridge, thinking to make a new ſconce, which they of the towne ſought by all the meanes they could to hinder them from effecting it.

F They of the towne going on with their trenches, vpon the two and twentieth of Februarie there happened a skirmiſh on all ſides, for that Sir *Iohn Norris* began to skirmiſh in diuers places, prouoking the enemie to iſſue forth, whereupon they placed themſelues in order of battaile. In the meane time they within the towne, paſſing ouer the new bridge, carried away all the enemies dung wagons into the towne, wherewith the skirmiſh grew hot on all ſides, the ord-

1581 ordnance thundering on both parts. They of the towne alſo fell vpon the enemie in diuers A
places, and yet were many times driuen backe by the enemies horſemen, but by means of their trenches they alwayes got ſafely, and with aduantage in againe, in regard that it thawed ſo faſt, that the horſmen could not paſſe al ouer the way. This continued for a while with great furie, whereby it ſeemed they would fall to a generall battaile. The enemies began to bee wearie, and to bee hungry; which began about noone time, and ſo they drew backward, eſpecially the footmen, who after their old maner, in a thouſand diuers names cryed out for money, ſo that the horſemen could make no longer reſiſtance, but withdrew themſelues after the loſſe of many of them.

Three howers after noone, when they had ſcarce reſted themſelues, they of the towne per- B
ceiuing Sir *Iohn Norris* ſouldiers to iſſue out of their trenches, came out with diuers hurdles, and drawing them along the bridge, laid them vpon the moriſh ſlipperie way, being neerer to Sir *Iohn Norris* trenches than the towne: whereby men might perceiue the diligence of thoſe that were in extremitie, and ſuch as were willing to helpe themſelues: Which done, diuers of Sir *Iohn Norris* horſemen, and a great number of peaſants horſes came foreward, all laden with corne, meale, and powder, wherewith they went vnto the bridge, and caſting it downe vpon ſtraw that lay there, ran to fetch more. Many footmen alſo brought bread and cheeſes. While this was doing, the ſconces that lay in the way were aſſailed by captaine *Cornput* and certaine ſouldiers, in the which they threw great ſtore of ſtraw, and burning pitched ropes, ſhooting brauely into them, with two companies of ſouldiers that fought like Lyons: but they of the next ſconces ſhot luſtily at them, yet the townes-men gaue it not ouer, hauing gotten the ord- C
nance, wherewith they ſhot at the bridge, which they began to draw towards the towne: but the earle of Renenberghes horſemen being ſent thither, forced them to retire againe into the towne, hauing ſlaine and wounded many men within the ſaid ſconces, whereof the next day they found ſeuenteene dead. In the meane time it began to be darke, and euery man with-drew himſelfe.

Steenwick releeued, and the ſiege broken vp.

The earle of Renenbergh being moued at this furious aſſayiing of his ſconces, and for that it began to thaw verie faſt, finding his men alſo vnwilling to lie any longer, and the town twice victualed before his face, he determined to raiſe his ſiege, cauſing his ordnance and other pro- D
uiſion to be ſecretly gathered together in the night time, abandoning all his ſconces: hee aſ-
ſembled his men in Weſt-Wicke, which neither they within the towne, nor Sir *Iohn Norris* did
once diſcouer, by reaſon of the darke night, hauing alſo no thought of his retreat: and ſo vpon the three and twentieth of Februarie hee left the towne of Steenwicke, and went to a place called Onnen, marching in order of battaile all that day. In the morning Sir *Iohn Norris* com-
ming to the towne, went after him, but yet found it not conuenient to charge him.

They within the towne entred into the enemies forſaken campe, where they found many beaſts, fleſh, wine, and beere: and the foure and twentieth of Februarie all the victuals that Sir *Iohn Norris* had brought with him, was carried into the towne: And by that meanes the towne was deliuered from the ſiege, vpon the laſt day of the three weekes, as captaine *Cornput* had foretold it, after they had beene beſieged foure moneths; and then was all the hidden
corne and other victuals brought forth, the bourgers complaining of their great impatience; E
and yet the money they laid out, was repaied them againe by the Eſtates, and meanes made vnto places round about, in charitie to releeue them; and beſides that they were acqui-
ted of all burthens with the generalitie. But they enioyed their goods not long, for the which they were in ſo great feare and care, for that the moſt part of them within one yeare after died of the plague, which happened in the towne, by reaſon of the ſtinke of bloud, and of the dead bodies that lay vnburied in diuers place: and the goods that they left, fell afterwards into the hands of their enemies: So that this diſtruſt in God (without cauſe) was not left vnpuniſhed, as it had beene ſhewed them out of the holy Scriptures.

The ſouldiers that had ſo long defended Steenwicke, thought they ſhould haue had ſome
reward giuen by the Eſtates; but captaine *Cornput* and *Olthof*, after long attendance, could F
hardly get their pay, yet the other two companies of Dutch men vnder *Stuper* and *Beren-
broeke*, to whom there was not much due, were well paid. But it was to be ſuppoſed, that want of money was the cauſe of it. Captaine *Cornput*, with the reſt of the valiant captains, bourgers, and ſouldiers, got great honour, prayſe, and glorie, amongſt all wiſe men, in regard of their induſtry,

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A induſtrie, conſtancie, reſolution, diligence, carefulneſſe, labour, and dangers, conſidering with what people they had to doe, as alſo what ſmall meanes they had, beeing ſimple people, that wanted a gouernour, ordnance, and horſemen. During this ſiege *Sonoy* with a few ſouldiers, had beſieged both the houſes of *Vollenhove*, wherein the earle of Renenbergh had garriſon, which were ſoone yeelded vnto him. 1581

The Engliſhmen, Wallons, and *Iſelſteins* ſouldiers, were ſent vnto the Kuynder, and there beſieged the church, which within few dayes vpon compoſition, was yeelded vnto them. The companies of the Friſeland regiment, vnder the lord of Merode, went before Lemmer and Sloten, which being battered, yeelded vp, and after that, the Engliſhmen and Wallons were diuided into ſeuerall garriſons.

B The lord of Nienoort went preſently into the territories thereabouts, wheras they of Groning had beſieged his ſconce at Winſum, which he at his comming thither releeued: by the which ſconce at Winſum, and thoſe at Winſumerziel, Warſum, Warſumerziel, and other places, he held a great part of the countrey vnder contribution. The earle of Renenberghes ſouldiers were then come into the territories of Steenwick, and lay at Midleſum, where the lord of Nienoort thought to hem them in, but they beat him from thence, and ſhut two companies conducted by *Renoy* and *Vercken* into a church, who were forced to yeeld, vpon ſafegard of life and goods, becauſe their captaines were abſent.

Oyenbrugh, whoſe reuolt was aſcribed vnto the earle of Renenbergh, at a skirmiſh before Lopperſum, was ſhot in the leg, whereof he died in Groning. The earle of Renenbergh him-

C ſelfe, with a companie of ſouldiers, went into Zeeland, and tooke the houſe of *Boxburgh*, fortified Goore and other places, and tooke great ſtore of bootie with him.

Hauing related what was done in the campe before Steenwicke, and in other places thereabouts, I will now returne and ſhew what was done in the later part of the yeare 1580.

The king of Spaine hauing ſetled it in his imagination, that the prince of Orange was the onely man that croſt his deſignes in the Netherlands, and that he could not reduce Holland, Zeeland, and their aſſociats vnder his obedience (for as the ſecretarie *Eſcouedo* had written vnto him, he muſt firſt begin with the iſlands) hee thought, that ſo long as the ſaid prince ſhould liue, he ſhould neuer ſee an end of thoſe troubles. Wherefore ſeeing he could not attaine vnto it by armes in the time of the duke of Alua, and of *Dom Louys de Requeſens*, nor by the poli-

D cie and practiſes of *Dom Iohn*, whereas the townes of Holland and Zeeland in generall, were not at the ſaid princes deuotion, nor allied with mightie neighbors, as the prouinces of Gueldres, Vtrecht, Friſeland, and Oueriſſel, he reſolued at what price ſoeuer, and whatſoeuer ſhold chance vnto him, to practiſe the meanes to attaine vnto his pretended end, and to haue the ſaid prince of Orange diſpatched, by what way ſoeuer: yet ſomething to colour and excuſe the fact and the execution thereof, he would vſe a kind of forme of proceeding, as depending vpon the order of iuſtice, vſing firſt a proſcription or baniſhment decreed againſt the ſaid prince, whom afterwards he leaues as a prey, abandoning him to all the world. Of which proſcription we haue thought good for breuities ſake, to ſet downe the ſubſtance and chiefe points, being proclaimed by the prince of Parma in two ſeuerall languages, vpon the nineteenth day of

E Iune.

Philip by the grace of God, King of Caſtile, Duke of Bourgoigne, Brabant &c. Hee ſheweth firſt, how gratiouſly and fauourably the late deceaſed emperour *Charles* the fifth, of famous memorie, his lord and father, had dealt with *William van Naſſau* to procure him the ſucceſſion of *Rene* of Chalons, prince of Orange, his couſin: and although hee were a ſtranger, had aduanced and furthered him in all he could: as alſo the king himſelfe, hauing made him knight of the order of the golden Fleece, and gouernour of Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, and Bourgoigne, colonell of a regiment of horſemen, and a counſellor of Eſtate: declaring further all other the fauours that had beene done him: And to the contrarie how vnthankfull hee had beene, in mouing and procuring the confederat gentlemen to preſent a petition vn-

F to him, bringing in of the reformed religion, with the exerciſe of the ſame, and the caſting downe of images, rooting out the Catholike Romiſh religion, and chaſing away the clergie. And laſtly, bearing open armes againſt his ſoueraigne lord: and that hee had reſiſted and withſtood all treaties of peace, and had broken the pacification of Gant, and the perpetuall

The king of Spaines reſolution to haue the prince of Orange murthered.

The edict of the prince of Oranges proſcription.

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1581 tuall edict, carrying himſelfe in moſt tyrannous manner, ill intreating all the chiefe nobilitie of the countrey, that hee might rule and dominier more abſolutely among a furious and tumultuous multitude, the good being chaſed away. And for that all this confuſion and miſerie, which his ſubiects, he ſaid, ſuffered, are found to proceed from the counſel, perſuaſion, and inſtigation of that wicked hypocrite, by his turbulent ſpirit, who put all his felicitie in the trouble of his ſubiects: For which cauſes being (as he ſaid) iuſt, reaſonable, and according vnto iuſtice, vſing in that regard the authoritie which he had ouer him, by vertue of the othes of fealtie and obedience, which hee had often made vnto him, for all his peruerſe and wicked acts, beeing the ſole author, head and contriuer of thoſe troubles, and the chiefe diſturber of all his Eſtates; he declared him a rebell, heretike, hypocrite, like to *Cain* and *Iudas*, hauing his conſcience obdurat, a villaine, head of the Netherland tumults, a plague to Chriſtendome, and an enemie to all mankind: And as ſuch a one did proſcribe and baniſh him for euer out of his ſaid countries, and out of all his other eſtates, realmes, and ſeigniories: forbidding all his ſubiects, of what eſtate, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer, to liue or conuerſe, talke or conferre with him, openly or ſecretly, nor to receiue nor lodge him in their houſes, nor yet to releeue him with meat, drinke, fire, or any other neceſſaries: Giuing all his goods, lands, life, and liuing, to them could take it. And that it might bee the better effected, and brought to paſſe, and thereby to releaſe and deliuer the poore people from his tyrannie, deſiring to reward and recompence all good actions, and to puniſh and chaſtiſe the bad, and ſuch as are offendors and tranſgreſſors, hee promiſed vpon the word of king, and as the miniſter of Almightie God, That if any one would bee of ſo generous a reſolution, and ſo zealouſly affected to his ſeruice, and the publike good, as to put in practiſe and execution the foreſaid edict and decree, and to free him from ſuch a plague, deliuering him the ſaid *William* of Naſſau, prince of Orange, either aliue, or dead, or elſe to bereaue him of his life, that hee would giue vnto him or to his heires, either in money, land, or annuall rent, twentie fiue thouſand crownes of gold, and therewithall forgiue him all crimes and offences whatſoeuer hee ſhall haue formerly committed and done: yea if hee were no gentleman, to make him a gentleman for his valour: Promiſing reward and aduancement to all them that ſhould aſſiſt him in the execution thereof, according to their eſtates, degrees, and qualities.

Hee likewiſe declared all thoſe that were his aſſociats and adherents, to bee baniſhed perſons, and their honours, liues, and goods, confiſcated, if they did not abandon and forſake him within one moneth after the publication of the ſaid proſcription: and their goods, whereſoeuer they ſhould bee found, either in Spaine, or elſewhere, marchandiſe, debts, actions, or inheritance, to be good prize to them that could take them, &c.

This baniſhment and proſcription the prince of Parma commaunded to bee publiſhed throughout all the townes of the king of Spaines obedience, by his leuers written to the gouernors and the Prouinciall counſels.

The prince of Oranges Apologie to the proſcription.

This ignominious proſcription which the king of Spaine made againſt the perſon of *William* of Naſſau, prince of Orange, did not much aduance his affaires, as wee may ſee by the progreſſe of the hyſtorie. Many men of great qualitie, that were Neuters, and good Catholikes, did wonder much to ſee the prince of Parma cauſe it to bee publiſhed and printed, ſeeing that he could not paſſe without an anſwere, which would touch both the king of Spaine and him to the quicke: For as ſoone as the prince of Orange had ſeene a coppie thereof, hee made an Apologie, the which hee cauſed to bee printed in diuers ſeuerall languages, and did dedicat and preſent it to the generall Eſtates of the countries of the Netherlands, aſſembled in the towne of Delft, vpon the thirteenth day of December, to whom he ſubmitted his authoritie, life and goods, and made them iudges of his ſeruice and anſwere, whereof I will make a briefe recitall.

His anſwer for the point of ingratitude.

Touching the point of ingratitude, wherewith hee doth charge him, for his aduancement to the ſucceſſion of his couſin *Rene* of Chalon, prince of Orange, hee ſaid, That therein hee was not bound neither to the emperour, nor to the king of Spaine, for that hee was his fathers brothers ſonne, and that hee might giue him his lands in Bourgoigne, and the principalitie of Orange, by his laſt will and teſtament, according to the priuiled-

A priuiledges of Burgoigne, called the French countie, whereas they may freely giue their lands by teſtament to whom they pleaſe, and yet the ſaid king *Philip* detained them from him, wherin he had beene wronged to the value of two millions of gulderns. 1581

He alſo complained of the ſentence giuen againſt him for the ſeigniory of Chaſteaubellin, the arrerages whereof amounted to 3 hundred and fiftie thouſand gulderns. And touching the principalitie of Orange, he ſaid, That no man had any thing to ſay thereunto, for that hee held it of no prince whatſoeuer, but was his owne freely, without any ſuperiour ſoueraigne: and that in regard of that principalitie hee had no need of any princes friendſhip and fauour, but of the king of France.

Then he ſhewed what ſeruices his predeceſſors of the houſe of Naſſau had done to the The ſeruices done by the houſe of Naſſau to the houſe of Auſtria.
B houſe of Auſtria. Firſt, cont *Engelbert* his great vncle, with the baron of Roemont, wonne the battel of Guynegaſt, for the emperour *Maximilian*, with many other great and notable ſeruices.

Then followed his vncle *Henrie* of Naſſau, who in a manner had planted the imperiall diadem vpon the emperour *Charles* his head, he beeing abſent in Spaine, and the princes electors making often motion to ſend for the king of France, to make him emperour; wherein hee was ſuch an inſtrument, as *Charles* inioyed that dignitie: whereof there could no tokens of thankfulnes be ſhewed on Spaines behalfe, as other kings and princes had done, and were yet to bee ſeene by ſome peeces of ordnance which the king of Hongarie had giuen to his anceſtors, as a teſtimonie of their valour and ſeruice againſt the Turke, the which were forcibly taken out
C of their houſe in Breda, by the duke of Alua.

After him followed prince *Rene*, who reſtored the loſſe which the emperour *Chales* the fift had ſuſtained by the ouerthrowe of an armie, and recouered him the duchie of Gueldres, and in the end died at his feet in his ſeruice.

Saying moreouer, that prince *Philibert* of Chalon, had alone in a maner gotten him the duchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples, and with the duke of Bourbon aſſured him Rome, keeping the pope priſoner.

And whereas he proclaimed him to be a villaine, and a traitour, he deſired him to tell what villaines, and who they were, at whoſe commaundement the cardinall *Granuelle* ſhould haue poiſoned the emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond: and that he knew what the ſaid emperor had
D ſaid vnto him, and how that he after that time had ſo much reſpected the king and the Spaniards, as he durſt not after that make profeſſion of the reformed religiõ, which he notwithſtanding held to be the beſt.

Touching the gouernments, honours, and titles, which had beene giuen him by the emperour and the king, he ſaid, they had beene exceeding chargeable vnto him, hauing ſpent aboue an hundred and fiftie thouſand florins, without any recompence; and that beeing generall of the armie, he receiued but three hundred gulderns the moneth, which was not ſufficient for them that pitched his tents.

Touching the order of the Golden Fleece, he ſaith, That he had beene choſen by the chapter of the ſaid order, & that he was moſt beholding to the brothers of that order for the ſame. Touching the order of the golden fleece.
E Saying moreouer, That the king himſelfe was fallen from that dignitie, in that he had broken the oath which he had taken, by the death of the earles of Egmont and Horne, the marqueſſe of Berghes, and baron of Montigny, all knights, whoſe proces ought not to haue been iudged but by the knights of the ſame order, as had beene ſeene in *Philip* duke of Burgoignes time, by *Iohn* lord of Luxembourg.

And for that he was of the counſel of ſtate, he ſaid, That he had often refuſed it, but that the Of the counſel of ſtate.
cardinall of Granuelle and others, had laboured to haue him called, onely to aſſiſt them with his authoritie with the people.

And whereas his mariage with the ladie *Charlotte* of Bourbon was obiected vnto him as Touching his mariage.
F diſhonourable, in reſpect of her profeſſion: he anſweres, That the duke of Montpenſer her father (a prince who was an earneſt Romiſh Catholike) was very wel pleaſed therewith; and in like manner all the princes allied to his ſecond wife, had giuen their conſents: neither had he concluded the ſaid mariage raſhly, nor without good premeditation, the which (although ſhe were an abbeſſe) was held lawfull, by the opinions and iudgements of learned diuines and lawyers, and therefore no iuſt cauſe why the king of Spaine ſhould take any exception againſt

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1581 gainſt it. Whereas on the other ſide, he charged the king to haue beene contracted to *Donna Iſabella Ozorio*, before that he maried with the Infanta of Portugal; and likewiſe taxed him for his mariage with his own ſiſters daughter, the which he ſaid was vnlawful, although the pope had diſpenſed therewith: with ſome other foule imputations, which I will forbeare to rehearſe. A

Vpon the obiectiõ of ſtranger. Whereas the king calls him a ſtranger, he ſaith, That he cannot be tearmed ſo (no more than the lords of Raueſtein, Luxembourg, and others) enioying great poſſeſſions in the Netherlands, where he hath bin bred vp from his youth, although he were borne in Germanie. And that his anceſtors had held duchies, counties, & baronies, in the Netherlands, before that they of Auſtria iſſued from the earles of Habsbourg in Switſerland, had been known in thoſe countries. B

Then with a long digreſſion he ſhewes, That all the miſeries of the Netherlands are iuſtly to be imputed to the counſell of Spaine, who ſought to bring it into perpetuall bondage and ſlauerie, and that the king had neglected the good admonitions which the emperour had giuen him, when he reſigned the ſaid countries and retired into Spaine, ſaying, That if hee did not bridle the Spaniſh pride, it would be the ouerthrowe and ſubuerſion of the countries of the Netherlands.

He confeſt that he had alwaies oppoſed himſelfe, and ſought to expell the Spaniards out of the Netherlands, leſt vnder colour of the Inquiſition, they ſhould ſubuert the liberties, and cauſe the ruine and deſolation of the countrie in generall, to which end he ſought the aſſiſtance of the nobilitie, gentrie, and others of good credit and authoritie. Confeſſing that he had alwaies affected them of the reformed religion, and that the cruell and ordinarie executions of fire, ſword, hanging, drowning, & other cruelties practiſed vpon them, did neuer pleaſe him. And that after that *Henrie* the ſecond, king of France (thinking he had beene one of the faction) had imparted vnto him the councels of the king of Spaine and the duke of Alua, to root out them of the religion, he was moued to pittie, for that thereon depended not only the ruine of the people, but alſo of the nobilitie; & therefore he ſought all means poſſible to chaſe away the Spaniards. C

He approoues the petition of the nobles. He doth not denie, but that he did like of, and approue the petition preſented by the nobilitie, in the yeare 1566, the which, if the kings wiſe counſellors had been wel aduiſed to grant, ſo many miſeries had not enſued: the which they ſhould not impute to the ſaid petition, but to their inſatiable crueltie: who not contented with the rigor of their edicts, but following the example of that fooliſh *Roboam*, and beleeuing the counſell of an ill aduiſed woman, and a cardinall, the popes creature, who ſaid, *The father hath chaſtiſed you with rods, but the ſonne will whip you with ſcorpions*; whereupon they ſought to bring in the Inquiſition and new biſhops, which were the cauſe of all the miſeries. D

Vpon the reproach againſt cont Lodowic. As for his brother, the deceaſed cont *Lodowic*, he ſaid, They ſhould ſuffer ſo good a knight to reſt in his graue, eſteeming it no more, that in the proſcription they call him hereticke, than our Lord Ieſus Chriſt did, when the Iewes called him Samaritan.

Touching the preaching. He denies, That the publike preaching of the reformed religion, was brought in by him, although afterwards (to auoid greater troubles) he had aduiſed the Regent to allow thereof, & to keep her word and promiſe. And that the tumultuous beating downe of images, had much diſpleaſed him. E

He ſaid, That they were falſe allegations, *That by the wiſdome of the ducheſſe of Parma hee had bin forced to leaue the countrey, and goe into Germanie*: for the which he had craued leaue of the king, as may appeare by his letters.

Touching his taking of armes As for the taking of armes, he ſaith, They ſhould haue beene contented with his voluntarie baniſhment, and not to haue purſued him further, ſeeing that hee had giuen them to vnderſtand by a man of quality, that if they attempted to touch his honour & goods, they would force him to take what courſe hee could: but they, like mad men, not able to draw him by their ſweet flattering words, the king thinking to intrap him by his kind letters, which hee knew to be full of deceptions, they firſt addreſt themſelues to his ſonne, the earle of Buren, a yong ſcholler, drawne violently out of Louvaine, againſt the priuiledges of the vniuerſitie, and againſt the oath, and ſo ſent into Spaine: then purſuing him by adiournements, ſeiſure of his goods, and other vnlawfull proceedings: He ſaid, he ſhould not only be vnworthie of his race and the name he bare, but of the name of father, if he ſhould not imploy all the wit and meanes F

which

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A which God hath giuen him, to seeke to retire his sonne out of that seruitude, and repaire the wrong that was done him. 1581

And whereas he said, That he had taken armes against his soueraigne, he sheweth, that *Henry* bastard of Castile, his great grandfather, had with his owne hands slaine the king *Dom Pedro* the cruell, his lawfull brother, and possest the kingdome, whose successors had held it by prescription to king *Philip*. Then he said, That there was a reciprocall bond betwixt the lord and his vassall: and that if the lord breakes the othe which he hath made vnto his vassall, that in like sort the vassall is discharged of the othe which he hath made vnto his lord. That the king of Spaine, as duke of Brabant, was receiued vpon certaine conditions, which he had sworne, the which hauing once broken, if the nobles according to their othe and bond, did not force him B to do the countrey right, they were to be condemned of periurie, infidelitie, and rebellion, to the Estates of the countrey. The lord and the vassall reciprocally bound.

And whereas it was obiected, *That he had practised to returne into Holland and Zeeland*, hee said, That if hee had done so, it had beene but his duetie: but he was so farre from seeking it, as hee would shew letters from the chiefe townes, by the which he was called to deliuer the countrey from the oppression and tyrannie of the Spaniards, and namely of the duke of Alua. And whereas hee is accused to haue persecuted priests, chased them from their liuings, and brought in the reformed religion, hee saith, That it was a worke of God more than of men, and that hee had beene often taxed, for that hee opposed himselfe too coldly against the aduersaries, and that he would be the ruine of the countrey, by his slackenesse in rooting C them out. Called to the gouernment of Holland.

As for the libertie of conscience, which they obiect, that hee procured, If they meane that he hath made way for such impieties, as are daily practised in the prince of Parmaes court, hee saith, They must seeke such disordered libertie, with the heires of the lord *Peter Louys*, confessing, that the flaming fires, wherwith they haue tormented so many poore Christians, were neuer pleasing to his eyes, as they reioyced the duke of Alua: and that hee did alwayes desire that the persecutions might cease in the Netherlands. And whereas they impute the massacre of some priests vnto him, hee said, That his nature was well knowne to all the world to be free from any such violences, yea hee had caused some to bee executed for such excesse: and some of noble families (meaning the seignior of Lumay, earl of Mark) to be apprehended by D some of his chiefe seruants, and detained long in prison, who in respect of their houses were set at libertie, Touching the libertie of conscience. About the massacre of priests

And whereas the king excuseth himselfe, *That he had not commanded the duke of Alua to impose the tenth and twentieth penie, but with the good liking of the people*, He demands what punishment was giuen to the duke of Alua, hauing exceeded his commission, which was the cause of the death of so many thousands, whereas contrariwise he was honoured, fauored, and well intreated at his returne into Spaine. Then he said, That the king of Spaine had long before taken a dispensation from the pope, for the othe which hee had made vnto the Netherlands, to keepe the priuiledges, wherein he did not onely violate his faith, but holding himselfe freed from that othe, and vnbound, he did consequently free the said countries from their bond of E obedience and subiection. Touching the imposition of the 10. and 20. penie.

That the king, contrarie to all right of antiquitie, had forbidden to studie in any other schoole but at Rome, to follow the steps of barbarisme: And that he had caused the counsell of Trent to be published, the which the French would neuer allow, as beeing vniust. That against the priuiledges of the countrey, hee had brought in new bishops in all places, all seruing to settle the cruell Inquisition of Spaine, and to haue Inquisitors, burners of bodies, and tyrans of consciences. The cruell edicts renewed, and commandement giuen not to omit any thing of their antient rigour. All which abuses, he said, had made him to enter twice with an armie into the Netherlands, after which ensued the pacification of Gant, the comming of *Don Iohn*, the perpetual edict, and the sending away of the Spaniards, still keeping foureteene F thousand high Dutch in the townes of the Netherlands, *Dom Iohn* saying, that he was no longer bound to keepe the contract, than vntill he should repent him. Defence of Schooles but at Rome. New bishops Inquisition of Spaine.

Whereas they accused him to haue broken the pacification, he denied it, saying, That all the alterations had happened against his will, and that it was the generall resolution of the prouinces, townes, and commons, that the articles of peace propouuded at Cologne were not ac- Pacification of Gant.

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1581 cepted. He complained of the reuolting of the male-content Wallons, who had taken vpon them to make warre againſt their vnited friends, contrarie to their oths, & at ſuch a time, when the forreine ſouldiers and the enemie ſhould haue beene driuen out of the countrey, and the towne of Maſtricht releeued. He likewiſe complained of the reuolted noblemen and gentlemen, who being deſcended of noble houſes and antient families, ſhould diſcouer their lightneſſe and inconſtancie: Firſt, ſeruing the duke of Alua, and the great Commander, like mercenarie ſlaues, and making warre againſt him, after that they reconciled themſelues vnto him, and became enemies to the Spaniards. When *Dom Iohn* came into the countrey they followed him, ſerued him, and practiſed the princes ruine. *Dom Iohn* hauing failed of his enterpriſe at Antuerpe, they forſake him, and call in the prince, whom preſently they abandon againe, and without any counſell or aduice ſend in all haſt for the arch duke *Mathias*, whom they preſently left, and without his priuitie called in the duke of Aniou, promiſing him wonders. But ſeeing they could not perſuade him to be their head againſt the Eſtates, and them of the religion, they forſake him, and ioyne with the prince of Parma and their enemies, whoſe counſellors they had ſo long held priſoners, which ſhewed their lightneſſe and inconſtancie.

The inconſtancie of the commanders of the Male-contents.

Whereas they obiected, That he had made himſelfe to be choſen by force and tumult gouernor of Brabant, he ſhewed, that he had refuſed it, and that in regard of the lieutenant generals place, he would not accept thereof, without the conſent of the commanders that were in the armie, which they ſent him ſigned vnder their hands: The gouernment of Flanders he alſo refuſed, notwithſtanding the inſtance that was made vnto him by the foure members of the countrey.

And whereas this proſcription found the vnion of Vtrecht of very hard diſgeſtion, he ſaid, There was no better remedie againſt the diſunion of the male-contents, than this vnion, and no ſurer antidote againſt the poyſon of diſcord, than concord: Confeſſing, that he had procured, aduanced, and ſought to entertaine it. As touching the receit of money, hee ſaid, he neuer medled therewith. And the reſt of the accuſations, as the chaſing away of the nobilitie, hypocriſie, diſtruſt, and the offers that were made him, being of leſſe importance, he refuted. At the laſt he came to the ſentence of baniſhment, ſaying, That al thoſe ſtormes of thunder and lightning, did not amaze him, and that if any Spaniard or other affected to them, of what qualitie or condition ſoeuer, had ſaid, or ſhould ſay, as this infamous proſcription had publiſhed, that he is a traitor and a villaine, had ſpoken falſely, and againſt the truth: And although the vſe of water and fire was forbidden him, yet he would vſe the ſame ſo long as God ſhould giue him leaue. And touching the twentie fiue thouſand crownes, with recompence of gentry and pardon for all offences, promiſed to him that ſhould attempt to murder or poyſon him, hee ſaid, That he doubted not, but God had and would preſerue him, ſo long as he pleaſed: wherin his enemies had ſhewed their baſeneſſe, that not able to vanquiſh him by the due courſe of arms, they ſeeke diſhonourably to murder or poiſon him. And although hee feared it not, yet if it ſhould ſo happen (which he hoped God would not permit) he ſaid, there was not ſo meane a gentleman to be found in any nation, where they knew what belonged to gentrie, that would eat and conuerſe with ſuch a wicked and infamous villaine, as had murdered any man for money: And that if the Spaniards eſteemed ſuch for gentlemen, and that men by ſuch meanes were aduanced to honour in Caſtile, he ſaid, That it was no maruel if all the world beleeued, that the moſt part of the Spaniards (eſpecially thoſe that held themſelues nobles and gentlemen) deſcended from the Moores and Iews, and obſerue that good qualitie, as ingrafted in them from their forefathers, that betrayed our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and gaue *Iudas* money to deliuer him vnto them, that they might crucifie him: For which cauſe he ſaid, he would beare that misfortune the more patiently, if it ſo fell out. Wherefore hee gaue the States to vnderſtand, that their peace and quiet depended vpon his death: for that ſo long as hee was among them, their warres ſhould neuer haue end, and therefore he wiſhed that his death might free them from the miſeries which his life procured, the which ſhould be a ſweet and acceptable death vnto him. That for their cauſe hee had ſuffered his lands and goods to be taken from him, loſt his brethren, yea and his ſonne, and yet hee deſired to purchaſe their freedome and libertie with his bloud, and that if they thought it fit and conuenient, they ſhould preſently command the ſame: ſaying, That his head was readie, ouer which no prince nor potentat had any command, but onely they, whereof they might diſpoſe as it pleaſed them,

A them, for their welfare. But if they thought good still to vse him, and his experience, woon by continuall toile and trauell, together with his life and goods, hee was desirous to imploy himselfe in theirs and the Netherlands seruice, wherein he desired their resolution. 1581

Whereunto the generall Estates vpon the seuenteenth of December, made answer, as followeth. The generall Estates hauing not long since seene a certaine proscript made and published by the enemie, against your Excellencies person, whereby they seeke to charge you with some clandetous and vnworthy crimes, thereby to bring you into hatred, as if by vnlawfull meanes and practises your Excellencie should haue sought the dignities and gouernments which you now enioy: and withal abandoning your person as a prey to them that would bereaue you of your life, and thereby depriue you of your honour: Hauing in like sort seene the B answer made hereunto by your Excellencie, we find, That for as much as concerneth the Netherlands, it is plaine and manifest, that the aforesaid crimes, and false imputations, are vniustly laid vpon you. And touching the place of lieutenant generall, & the particular gouernments which your Excellencie now enioyeth, that a lawful choice and election being made of you, you would not haue accepted thereof, but at our earnest intreaties and desires, and haue still continued therein at our requests, with the full consent and liking of the country, seeking the same at your Excellencies hands, with intreatie still to continue, and hold the same, promising all helpe, aid, and assistance, not sparing any of their meanes, together with all obedience vnto your Excellencie. And for that the said Estates are well & sufficiently assured of your Excellencies good and true seruice done vnto the Netherlands, and which from henceforth they C expect and attend of you, they offer and present vnto your Excellencie a cornet of horsemen, for the better safetie and guard of your person, desiring you to accept thereof from them, who acknowledge themselues bound to defend and preserue you. And for that which concerneth the said Estates, and wherein they find themselues taxed by the said proscription, they are resolued with the first opportunitie to iustifie themselues. Giuen in Delft, &c.

The States answer to the prince of Oranges Apologie made to the king of Spaine.

This answer being printed in diuers tongues, was sent to all the princes of Europe, to iustifie himselfe of the accusations laid vpon him in the said proscription, and to shew who had bin the first motiue and the cause of the troubles in the Netherlands.

This yeare died *Frederick Schenoke* of Tautenbergh, bishop of Vtrecht, being president of the chamber at Spiers, who in the yeare 1559 succeeded *Iordan van Egmont*, in the said bishop- D ricke, and was the 61 bishop of Vtrecht: Which bishops had gouerned that countrey 884 yeares, from *anno* 696 till *anno* 1580. This *Frederick* was a man of great learning, as doth appeare by his writings.

The eight and twentieth of December died *Gerard* of Grosbeke cardinall, bishop and prince of Liege, who (contrarie to the disposition of the Liegeois) had openly defended the Spanish faction. Some thought he died of griefe, for that the countrey would not yeeld to the contribution which he demaunded. The Estates would haue had some prince aduanced, who had beene better affected to their partie, and aboue all the archduke *Mathias*, who was then in the Netherlands, whereunto they recommended him, but the partisans of Spaine carried it by voyces for *Erneſt*, sonne to the duke of Bauaria, bishop of Fresingen, who had be- E fore laboured to haue the bishopricke and electorship of Cologne, the which hee had, together with the Postulat of Munster, with other great dignities: So as we may truely say, That the said *Erneſt* is at this day one of the greatest prelats in Christendome.

In Nouember past, colonell *Balfour*, generall of the Scots that were vnder the States seruice, being in garrison at Bruges in Flanders, went forth with a troupe of horse, and set vpon in the village of Wassenare (in Franc of Bruges) certaine light horsemen of the prince of Parmaes, the which hee defeated: but succours comming, *Balfour*, who had but threescore horse, after that hee had fought valiantly, was defeated and slaine, but not without great slaughter of the Spaniards. His bodie was carried to Bruges, and honourably interred. Hee was much lamented for the good seruices which hee had done in Flanders: neither died hee F poore. His wife was brought in bed soone after in the same towne.

In the beginning of May, the deputies of the prouinces of the Netherlands, that were sent into Fraunce to the duke of Aniou, returned backe againe, hauing made choyce of him for their soueraigne Lord, although some articles of the contract were not fully agreed vpon, as that the king for his brothers sake shold make war against the king of Spain, which the Estates

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1581 did much deſire, with ſome others. But the duke found many in France, that did croſſe his proceedings therein, beeing of the Spaniſh faction: for which cauſe about this time he made a declaration, and putting it in print, he ſent it to all the courts of parliament of France, ſhewing his firme and conſtant reſolution, touching the defence and freeing of the Netherlands from troubles, ſhewing, how honorable it was, and what profit it might bring to the kingdom and crowne of Fraunce. A

About this time there was an enterpriſe diſcouered in Bruſſels, by a miller, which carried letters, who being put to the racke, and tortured, accuſed the ſeigniour of Hauſſy, and his wife, of certaine practiſes, for the which they were committed to cloſe priſon, with the lady of Waerdenburch, ſiſter to the ſaid ladie, and others: who were ſoone after releaſed, except the ſaid lord of Hauſſy, who continued for a time in priſon, with doctour *Cornet*. But afterwards by the meanes of the ſeigniour of Timpel, gouernour of the towne, who married the ſaid ladie of Waerdenburch, the ſeignior of Hauſſy was ſet at libertie, and went for a time into France. B

And not long after there was an vprore begun and made by meanes of a preaching monke (that had been baniſhed out of Gant) called *Anthony Ruyskenuelds*, who ſeruing there in a certaine pariſh, by meanes of his preaching he drew diuers adherents vnto him, who laboured to fruſtrat and diſannull the good reſolution which the Eſtates had taken for their protection and defence, ſome of them hauing before conſented to the enterpriſe made by the earle of Egmont, and of others, as of doctor *Ioos Buskens*, *Andreas Anderlech*, the lord and lady of Hauſſie, and *Iohn Cob* an Engliſh man, who not long before had bin hanged and quartered in the ſaid towne. For which cauſe the magiſtrat of Bruſſels ſought diuers ſecret means to get that monk out of the towne, but all in vaine: at the laſt he being more and more ſuſpected, it was reſolued that he ſhould by ſome means or other be forced to depart: which comming to his knowledge, he and his adherents cauſed a great number of people to aſſemble together before the gouernors houſe, which ſeditiouſly cried out, That they being Catholikes, neither could nor would endure, that their peacher ſhould be driuen out of the towne, ſaying, That they would ſooner ſuffer themſelues to bee cut in peeces, with many ſuch words more: but for that time they were pacified with faire words: but in the afternoone the magiſtrat being come thither, they began another great outcry amongſt them, and in great rage they began to plucke vp the ſtones in the ſtreet, and made a great vprore with their weapons and the ſtones, the Amptman hauing a hatchet throwne at his head: but the garriſon, and the well affected bourgers arming themſelues, the vprore ceaſed. And after that, further information being taken therein, it was found, that diuers ſeditious enterpriſes had bin practiſed & inuented in the cloiſters, vnder pretence of going to maſſe, as alſo at the like aſſemblies of the ſaid ſeditious preacher *Anth. Ruyſkenuelds*; for which cauſe, by full conſent of the townes men and members of the ſame, they cauſed the ſaid *Ruyskenuelds* and ſome of his adherents to depart out of the town: determining further, to ſhut vp the cloiſters and the churches, that no more ſuch violences ſhould bee vſed by ſuch tumults, as alſo that by authoritie of the magiſtrats, all the images in euery place of the towne, ſhould bee broken downe, and that the beſt part of them ſhould bee ſold with moſt aduantage, towards the charges of the towne, and the reliefe of the poore. C D E

The exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, reſtramed in Bruſſels.

Whereupon a proclamation beeing made, ſhewing the abuſes and dangerous practiſes of the Papiſts within the towne, it was decreed by the Amptman and magiſtrats of the ſaide towne, for the peace, vnion, and ſecuritie of the ſaid towne, not to permit, nor allow of the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, in any church or chappell of the ſame; and that therfore it ſhould wholly be ſuſpended & forbidden, vntill that other order ſhould be taken in the cauſes concerning the ſaid town & the country, and that therin they ſhould follow the neceſſitie of the time, as they of the aforeſaid Romiſh religion, certain yeres paſt, vpon ſmal occaſions, had forbidden the exerciſe of the reformed religion, & namely in *an.* 1566, and many times after, & for many other cauſes, which the aforeſaid magiſtrats thought not conuenient as then to be declared. The ſaid magiſtrats therfore command, that euery man ſhal gouern himſelfe according to their reſolution aforeſaid: and that euery one ſhould behaue himſelfe peaceably, without vpbraiding or croſſing one another, for any forepaſſed action, in what ſort ſoeuer it had been done, for that the magiſtrats by their ſaid proclamation did decree, a generall forgetting and forgiuing of all actions on both ſides, receiuing and taking euerie one, of F

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A what religion ſoeuer they were, into their ſafegard and protection, except three or foure that were the chiefe motiues of the laſt tumult of Ruyskenueldt aforeſaid. And if, after that, any man were found to haue proceeded againſt any part of the ſaid ordinance, wherby the common peace of the ſaid towne, as alſo the authoritie of the ſaid magiſtrats might bee hindered or diſturbed, they ſhould bee puniſhed as common breakers of the peace, and enemies to the welfare of the towne. And that no man might pretend ignorance therein, the ſaid magiſtrats had appointed the ſame to bee publiſhed. Dated in Bruſſels the firſt of May, in the yeare 1581. 1581

In the end of May captaine *Iames* of Renſy (hauing firſt acquainted them of Ypre in Flanders with his enterpriſe) ſurpriſed the caſtle of Douxlieu, vpon the riuer of Lys, neere to Eſte-
B res, belonging to the ſeigniour of Vendeuille, whereof hee was made gouernor by the foure members of Flanders, the which he fortified againſt them of Arthois, and the Chaſtileine of Lille, which did much trouble them in their nauigation vpon the ſaid riuer: ſo as in the end *la Motte* went to beſiege it with foure peeces of ordnance, and the place was yeelded vnto him vpon hard termes, the ſaid *Renſy* going forth (not without great feare) after that he had ſeene ſeuen or eight of his ſouldiers hanged, who before had held the Spaniſh partie, hee himſelfe doubting that he ſhould not haue ſo well eſcaped.

The 7 of Iune M. *Iohn Scheyf* knight, chancellor of Brabant, died in Antuerpe, hauing a little before his death reſigned his place to the ſeignior of Lyſueldt, counſellor of State. He left a little booke, in forme of an Apologie, which he had written for his iuſtification, againſt the ſlan-
C derous and infamous letters written againſt him by the cardinall *Granuelle*.

In the ſame moneth they of Gant had an enterpriſe vpon Lille, thinking (with the helpe of ſome intelligence which they had) to ſurpriſe it earely in a morning with bridges and ladders: but they were diſcouered too ſoone, and all their deſigne turned into ſmoke: for the which one *Iohn Drumez*, a notable merchant of the ſaid towne, was accuſed, with ſome others: *Drumez* being found guiltie by his own confeſſion, was beheaded, others were hanged, and ſome leſſe guiltie were baniſhed.

About the ſame time there was beheaded at Mons in Henault, M. *Iohn Gilles*, regiſter of the king of Spaines Exchequer, a reuerent old man, hauing a little before reſigned his place to *Cronendal* his ſonne in law. Hee was accuſed to haue written letters to them of Bruſſels,
D aduertiſing them of ſome deſigne which the prince of Parma might haue vpon their towne.

The warre was mannaged ſomewhat ſtrangely at that time in Brabant, for want of diſcipline and good pay: whereupon the Scottiſh men did mutine at Viluoerden, chaſing away their colonell *Stuart*, ſo as they had much adoe to pacifie and content them. The like happened in the fort of Villebrouk, the which they could by no meanes appeaſe, ſo as in the end they were forced to bring the canon from Antuerpe. The like fell out at Berghen vpon Soom, ſo as for want of money the Eſtates and the prince of Orange had ſo ſmal authoritie and commandement ouer the men of warre, as it was a pitie to ſee. And although the king of Spaines ſouldiers were not much better paid, yet was he better obeied, for that hee endured the inſo-
E lencies and oppreſſions which they committed in all places where they came, as well in the champian countrey, as in good townes, and in their garriſons, without any reſpect, which on the other ſide was the cauſe that inhabitants went away, towns were vnpeopled, and all trades of merchandiſe and traffique decayed. True it is, that there came great aboundance of treaſure out of Spaine for the king, as well in readie money, as by letters of exchange: but it came but ſlowly, and with great charge, beſides that the warre which hee had in Portugall to aſſure that kingdome, was of an exceſſiue charge: Wherefore as the meanes were ſmall of either part, it made them of Brabant, Flanders, and Friſeland, to maintain themſelues with ſmall means, and ſmall forces, all the yeare 1581.

In May ſome troupes of baſe Flaunders, vnder the commaund of colonell *Moriant*, borne
F at S. Omer, hauing an enterpriſe vpon ſome places of Arthoys, demaunded paſſage by Menreuille, a great Borough vpon the riuer of Lys, confining vpon the countrey of Lalewe three leagues from Bethune; the which being too indiſcreetly refuſed, they forced a paſſage by the ſword, the towne was ſpoiled, and then burnt, and ſome which had ſaued themſelues in a church, were there roſted. You may ſee what the wilfulneſſe of fiftie or ſixtie men pre-

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1581 preuailed to defend a turnpike or a paltrie barricadoe, againſt fiue or ſix hundred men, which A
was the cauſe that goodly and rich place was quite ſpoyled. Thoſe troupes paſſing on by
the village of Wattou (their deſigne vpon Arthois beeing diſcouered by their long ſtay at
Menreuille) where they thought to force ſome ſouldiers of the male-contents, which had
fortified themſelues in a church, hearing that ſuccours both of horſe and foot came vnto
them, they abandoned it, marching towards Dixmuyden, where they were purſued and o-
uertaken, before they could recouer the towne, ſo as they were charged and put to rout, and
ſome were burnt in a barne, whither they had retired themſelues with their horſes: ſo the bur-
ners were themſelues burnt.

Baerle taken and recouered. The male-contents in Iune ſeized vpon the caſtle of Baerle in Campeigne, which
they cauſed to bee fortified by the neighbour villages, they lodged in the meane time at B
Hoochſtraten, and Tournhout, vpon the paſſage of Breda. The ſeigniour of Stakenbroeke,
gouernour of Breda, deuiſed how hee might take it againe, and to that end went to beſiege
it with ſome troupes, and two peeces of artillerie: but he had not made fortie ſhot for a triall,
to ſee if they would yeeld or not, and ſeeing no ſhew thereof, he retired.

After that, the Eſtates of Brabant ſent the ſeigniour of la Gard, a French colonell, with his
cornet of horſe, and foure or fiue hundred foot to ſeize vpon the caſtels of Hoochſtraten,
and Tournhout, the one he tooke by compoſition, the other by force, which made them of
Baerle quit the place and burne it. *La Gard* marched from thence towards Tillebourg, and
Lhoon opt ſandt, which he tooke in like ſort with Oſterhout, and other forts thereabouts, ho-
ping to make ſome good attempt vpon Eindouen, and Boiſleduc. He began now to aduance, C
whereupon the prince of Parma ſent the lord of Hautepenne and colonell *Schenck*, with his
horſemen, where there were ſome skirmiſhes: but *Hautepenne* and *Schenck* returned to Boi-
ſleduc, to attend a deſigne, which they had vpon Breda, as followeth.

Charles of Gaure, knight, baron of Freſin, afterwards earle of Beaurieu, brother to the ſeig-
niour of Iuchy, gouernour of Cambray, had beene generall of the Vitailes, and of the coun-
ſell of the generall Eſtates; who for ſome intelligence he had with the Spaniards, was put in
priſon. Firſt hee was ſent to the Ramekins in Zeeland, and afterwards was brought to the
caſtle of Breda: In the end being tired with his long impriſonment, he began to deuiſe ſome
meanes for his deliuerie, and ſeeing his guard not to be verie great, nor yet the whole garri-
ſon of the caſtle, with the which in time hee was growne familiar, by little and little hee cor- D
rupted fiue or ſix of them, whereof ſome hauing beene priſoners with the Spaniard, to pro-
cure their ſpeedie deliuerie, and good cheape, had promiſed to doe him ſome good ſeruice in
the towne or caſtle of Breda. Theſe ſouldiers beeing thus woon, the baron of Freſin ſent
word to the ſeigniour of Hautepenne of all their deſigne: whereupon a day was appointed
on the ſeuen and twentieth of Iune, to put it in execution. Theſe ſouldiers had giuen them
notice of a certaine reparation that was made in the rampar of the caſtle, where they might
The caſtle of Breda ſurpriſed mount on foot. The time appointed was the verie day when theſe ſouldiers ſhould bee in
guard, when as *Hautepenne* and *Schencke* failed not to come before the caſtle, to the very place
appointed. Then theſe ſouldiers drew the reſt of their companions to play at dice within their
Corps de gard, whileſt that one of them went to ſee if the troupes were arriued, and to ſhew E
them the paſſage, ſo as all together fell vpon the ſentinels, and chaſed away the guard, whileſt
that the others mounted vp the rampar, and by that meanes became maſters of the caſtle, and
the next day they fell vpon the towne. The bourgers ſought to fortifie themſelues with bar-
ricadoes, againſt the caſtle, ſo as the fight continued foure or fiue howers: but the artillerie
did ſo annoy them of the towne, as they were forced to giue it ouer: The youth of the town
behaued themſelues valiantly. *Godfrey Montis* the bourgmaſter was hurt, yet he found means
to get to horſebacke, and ſo to eſcape, and ſo did the gouernour *Stakenbroeck*, leauing his wife
and daughter in the caſtle, who were vnworthily intreated, which cauſed him to die ſoone
after for griefe. The towne was ſpoyled. The States men heard not of this ſurpriſe vntil the
next day, when it was too late, and all was woon. F

Thus the baron of Freſin procured his owne libertie, and the ſeigniour of Hautepenne
got the towne and caſtle of Breda at an eaſie rate, from whence ſoone after he made an enter-
priſe vpon the townes of Gheertruyden-bergh, and Heuſden, but yet hee fayled in
both.

A while

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A A while after, they of Brabant (to haue their reuenge) layed an ambuſh vpon Boiſleduc, a rich and a mightie towne, farre better than Breda. The chiefe and conductor of this enterpriſe, was Doctor *Iunius*, bourgomaſter of Antuerpe: but finding ſome difficultie for want of horſemen, it proued fruitleſſe: yet for that they would returne with ſome exploit, hauing taken vpon the way a ſouldier of the garriſon of Eindouen, a little towne of Campaigne, hee went thither and tooke the towne, in the which he tooke the captaine of the caſtle, whom hee threatened to kill, and in the view of his ſouldiers offered him ſome violence, ſo as by that meanes he forced them to yeeld him the caſtle, in the which there were two companies of foot and a cornet of horſe, which for the moſt part were ſtripped. This done, he marched to Helmont, which he tooke alſo, but he could not get the caſtle: the earle of Hohenlo arriued B there alſo with ſome troupes, who tooke certaine forts about Boiſleduc: this done, they of Brabant returned to their garriſons. Then were the regiments of *la Gard* a Frenchman, and *Stuart* a Scottiſhman, ſent into Flanders, to keepe the malecontents occupied, whileſt that the duke of Aniou ſhould be buſied about the victualling of the towne and citadel of Cambray: ſo as that quarter of Brabant in Campaigne was vnfurniſhed of ſouldiers for the States, wherby the Seignior of Hautepenne and the earle of Mansfield had good meanes to go & beſiege Eindouen without any contradiction, the which they tooke againe with ſmall toile, the towne and caſtle being not fully victualled, as it was intended. 1581

Eindouen recouered by the Spaniard.

In the moneth of May, the thirteene occupations and the ſixe ſworne companies of Antuerpe fearing ſome vprore amongſt the people, and that they would attempt ſomething a- C gainſt their Images, deſired the magiſtrates, that they might take away the coſtly tables or pictures, that euery one of them had ſtanding before their altars, and many others, which had beene ſaued, at the firſt breaking downe of the Images; the which (for that they were very coſtly pieces, and made by the beſt workmen) was granted, ſo it might be done without ſcandale. For which cauſe, they ſhutting the Church dores, brake downe their owne altars, being nineteene in number, and tooke downe the pictures, and yet there remained three and twenty more, which for a time continued in that ſort, vntill the colonels and captaines of the towne fearing, that their enemies (vnder pretence of free exerciſe of their Religion) would attempt ſomething to the preiudice of the towne, made ſute vnto the magiſtrates, That the exerciſe of the Romiſh Catholicke Religion might not be allowed: which the magiſtrates for a long D time denied, vntill they heard newes of the loſſe of Breda: for which cauſe (to pleaſe the common people) they forbad the exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion, and vpon the thirteenth of Iuly made a proclamation within the towne of Antuerpe, the contents thereof beeing as followeth.

Whereas the bourgomaſters and Schepen of Antuerpe, with the aduice of the colonels, captaines, and deanes of the ſix ſworne guilds or companies of the towne, for the quietneſſe and ſafetie of the ſame (the care whereof, by the common counſell of the towne, is committed vnto the ſaid magiſtrats &c.) haue found it fit and conuenient, by prouiſion, to forbid the exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion. Wherefore in the name of the Scout, bourgomaſters, and Schepen aforeſaid, it is commaunded, That no man whatſoeuer he be, ſhall take vpon him, E within the liberties of the ſaid towne, to ſay any maſſe either publickely or priuately, neither yet to heare it, nor to ſuffer any other exerciſes thereof to be done, onely baptizing, marrying, and viſiting of the ſicke excepted, and that without any great aſſembly, as alſo that they ſhall burie their dead without any ceremonies, and that onely in reſpect of the bourgers and inhabitants of the towne, and the liberties of the ſame, without permiſſion of the ſame to any ſtranger whatſoeuer, comming or trafficquing in the ſame, whereof euery captain in his quarter ſhall haue the ouerſight: and for the exerciſe of baptizing and marrying, they of the aforeſaid Romiſh Religion ſhould haue two places appointed them for the ſame, as the chappell of *Grauian*, and the chappell of the hoſpitall of the virgin *Mary*, in the Churchyard ſtreet: and for the executing of the ſame, there ſhould be ſix peaceable ſpirituall perſons choſen, which F ſhould be ſworne vnto the magiſtrats, to follow and obſerue that Ordnance, without fayling therein, vpon forfeiture of a hundred crownes, to the benefit of the poore, by them which ſhould ſeeke to doe any thing to the contrarie, or elſe to be otherwiſe puniſhed, as it ſhould be thought meet and conuenient. And furthermore, That all perſons, both ſpirituall and temporall, that ſince the eight and twentieth of Iuly laſt paſt haue gone out of this towne, or any

Orders made in Antuerpe.

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1581 any other of our vnited places, although that vpon ſome eſpeciall occaſion they were come againe and remayned there, ſhould within foure and twentie houres depart and retyre themſelues out of the liberties of the towne, and Marquiſite of the ſame, and not returne againe, vnleſſe it were with expreſſe libertie and conſent of the aforeſaid magiſtrates, and others, appointed to take knowledge thereof, vpon the paine aforeſaid. Alſo, that all others (vnleſſe it be the Engliſh nation) that within the ſpace of foure yeares laſt paſt had come out of any of the vnited townes, or other forreine places, to inhabite in the ſaid towne of Antuerpe, ſhould depart out of the ſame, vnleſſe that within foureteene dayes then next enſuing (according to the diſtance of the places) they brought lawfull and commendable teſtimonials or certificats (in their behalfes) made by the magiſtrats or conſiſtories, from whence they laſt came: which they ſhall ſhew firſt to the captaine and weekemaſters, in the quarters where they ſhall dwell: and if any doubt ariſe therein, they ſhould addreſſe themſelues vnto the magiſtrates and colonels of the ſaid towne, vpon paine aforeſaid. Forbidding alſo euery man, vpon like paine, to lodge or harbour any ſuch perſons in their houſes. We alſo forbid all thoſe, that reſort or are conuerſant among the Spaniards and Italians (thoſe onely excepted that are ſubiect vnto the guard of the ſaid towne) not to keepe any long weapons, nor ſhort pieces in their houſes, but to ſell the ſame, or otherwiſe to deliuer them, vpon aſſurance of reſtitution, into the hands of the captains of the quarters, where they vſe to keep, hauing onely their rapiers and poyniards, which they likewiſe ſhall not weare in the ſtreets, vpon pain of forfeiture of the ſaid weapons, which ſhall be taken from them, onely by the captaines or officers vnder whom they dwell: alſo that no ſtranger, nor ſuch as are not reſident, ſhall beare any long weapons nor piſtols, but ſhall leaue them in their lodgings vntill their departures, vnleſſe it were with conſent of the captaine vnder whome they doe lodge, vpon paine of forfeiture of the ſayd weapons. A B C

An enterpriſe againſt Fleſſingue, pretended by the prince of Parma, but not effected.

The prince of Parma (this yeare) thought to haue made a certaine enterpriſe vpon Fleſſingue, which was practiſed by *Dom Bernardin de Mendoſa*, embaſſadour for the king of Spain in England, who by meanes of certaine of his Netherland ſeruants, and one *Boucheert* an aduocat, had ſecretly dealt with certaine Netherland ſea captaines, who promiſed to employ themſelues to deliuer him the towne of Fleſſingue: but ſecretly they made it knowne vnto the prince of Orange (whoſe inſtructions they followed) treating ſo farre as *Don Bernardin de Mendoſa*, payed ſome fiue or ſixe thouſand gulderns to the ſaid captaines, one of the ſayd captaines leauing his young ſonne as an hoſtage with *Mendoſa* in London. The practiſe was, That thoſe captaines lying with their ſhippes of warre (whereof they had command) before the head of Fleſſingue, ſhould ſuffer certaine ſhippes laden with malecontents to goe into the towne, that vnder colour of ſome other action ſhould lye readie thereabouts. The day being appointed, they of Fleſſingue ſecretly reenforced their garriſon, thereby to welcome their enemies, and made themſelues readie, with all aduantage: meane time the prince of Orange ſent his ſecretarie *Chriſtopher Huges* into England, to get the captaines ſonne, eyther by fayre or foule meanes, out of *Dom Bernardin de Mendoſa* his hands (which the aforeſaid captain by the princes aduice had deliuered to the embaſſadour in hoſtage, for the aſſurance of his promiſe) the which he ſhould worke about the ſame time that the enterpriſe was to bee effected, ſo as the boy might not by that meanes bee ſtayed there. *Huges* beeing in London, found meanes (by the helpe of one of the princes halberdiers, as the boy ſtood at the embaſſadours gate) to take him away, and preſently conueyed him from thence, notwithſtanding that the embaſſadour and his men began to make great ſtirre about it, but the boy could no where be found. And although the deliuering of the boy fell out well, yet the prince of Parma his men came not thither at the day appointed, fearing leaſt their enterpriſe had bin diſcouered, by the impriſonment of the lady of Hauſſy, who about that time was committed priſoner in Bruſſels, whome they knew to bee acquainted therewith, and feared that ſhee might reueale it. D E

This yeare, about the ſame time that this enterpriſe aforeſaid ſhould haue beene attempted againſt Fleſſingue, the lordſhip of Fleſſingue and the Marquiſite of Campeuere belonging to *Maximilian* of Bourgoigne, lord of Beueren, were ſold by a decree of the Prouinciall court of Holland and Zeeland, for the payment of his debts, hee beeing dead without iſſue, and were bought by the prince of Orange for 44600 gulderns, which the towne of Antuerpe F

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A tuerpe would willingly haue bought, but the bargaine was the rather granted to the prince of Orange, that Zeeland might haue him for their protector, who by his will gaue them vnto his sonne *Maurice*. 1581

Many other exploits were done about this time in the Netherlands, as in Friseland, where the prince of Orange had beene in the month of Aprill, being come from Amsterdam (whereas the generall Estates were to assemble about the accepting of the duke of Aniou for their soueraign lord) and in the way had visited Harlingen and Leuerden, and appointed *Sonoy* with two companies of souldiers to lodge in the towne of Staueren, against the castle wherein *Reinard Dekema* lay, and held it for the earle of Renenbergh with some 170 men; where *Sonoy*
B made certaine mounts, with high rampars or parapets, keeping them within the castle from comming to the wals with their musket shot, for that they had no ordnance within the castle: but *Dekema* hauing made the wals vp againe both high and very thicke, he could do nothing to it, before that with six peeces of ordnance (whereof one *Thomas Bothe* was gunner) he had beat down their rampars, & had caused the pioners to fill vp the ditches, and began to vnder- The castle of Staueren won by Sonoy.
mine the wall, so as he forced them within to parle: but *Dekema* refusing to accept of the conditions, his souldiers compelled him thereunto, and deliuered him and eighteene Friselanders more prisoners to *Sonoy*, the rest were suffered freely to depart. This castle had the wall next vnto the towne throwne downe againe, and presently thereupon *Sonoy* caused the town to be fortified.

This towne of Staueren is very auncient, and in times past was a lordship, very rich and
C mightie, a great towne of marchandise, and the chiefe in all those Northerne parts, with a very good and a spacious hauen, but now filled vp with sand: it had great commaund, euen as farre Nimmeghen, as it appeareth by an authenticke writing grauen ouer the gate of the castle of Nimmeghen, whereas yet is to be seene in old letters this inscription, *Hucusq; ius Stauriæ*, that is, Thus farre stretcheth the iurisdiction of the towne of Staueren, and in another place, *Hic finitur regnum Stauriæ*, that is, Here endeth the dominion of Staueren.

Staueren in times past was so mighty, as in Anno 1345 with the aid of the Frisons, vpon the 26 of September they ouercame *William* earle of Henault with all his army, in Holland, hard by S. *Odolf* his cloyster, where the said earle with many of his men were slain, so that long after there were diuers dead mens bones (it being two hundred yeres since) found vnburied in that
D place: for which cause, in Anno 1545, *Mary* queene of Hungarie, the emperour *Charles* sister, and Regent in the Netherlands, caused all the dead bones thereabouts to be gathered vp, and sent to Staueren, where they were buried.

In May the earle of Renenberghs souldiers came out of great Auwart downe to the Reediep, and thought to make a sconce vpon the water, to exclude the lord of Nyenuenoort from the sea: but he being aduertised therof, went to encounter them, & hauing laid an ambush, he charged & defeated them, slew and took a great number of them, & caried away some of their ensignes. After that, the lord of Nyenuenoort hauing receiued 2 moneths pay for his soldiers of the Estates of Friseland, vpō condition, that he should in the Estates name besiege great Auwart, he for that cause went & besieged it with diuers companies of souldiers, & brought ord-
E nance before it to batter the fort: but the earle of Renenbergh being aduertised thereof, gathered together all his forces from Myddelstum, & other places, the which they did rase & abandon, and so passing ouer the Reediep, hauing a new supply of 300 horse, he marched towards Auwart: which *Nyenuenoort* perceiuing, he was in mind to haue left the siege, but the most part of his captains were of a contrary opinion, wherein they committed a great error, for that placing the pesants of Friseland among their squadrons of souldiers, they for want of experience, as soone as the earle of Renenbergh came to charge, presently, without any blows giuen, leaped ouer the ditches with their long staues, & ran away, which put the rest into rout, euery one seeking to saue himself, the earle of Renenberghs forces following them, who took *Haspelinus* & *Berenbroeks* ensignes, captaine *Stuper* and *Vischer* being taken prisoners, but not many
F slaine. Many of them fled into the sconce of Auwerderziel, where the earle of Renenbergh gaue two furious charges, but he was forced to leaue it with great losse of his men: but comming thither againe with the canon, and hauing battered it, and made a breach, after three assaults they forced it, killing all they found in it, where among the rest *Schelto Iarges*, a wise and a valiant captaine, was slaine.

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1581 The Friſelanders preſently after aſſembled the diſperſed ſouldiers againe, ſo that *Nyenuenoort* being made ſtrong with more ſouldiers, went to his fort of Winſum, but the earl of Renenbergh comming before it with all his power, the fort being not yet finiſhed, nor able to endure the canon, he was conſtrained by his own men to parle with the earle, ſo as it was agreed that he ſhould depart freely with bag and baggage, and leaue all his other forts. *Nyenuenoort* being thus ouerthrowne, the earle of Renenbergh was maſter all ouer the Ommelands, as far as Doccum. A

In the meane time, the Eſtates to aid the lord of Nyenuenoort (although too late) appointed Sir *Iohn Norris* to be generall ouer certaine forces, and with him eight companies of *Sonoy* his regiment, with ſome others, who being made ſtronger with the remainders of the broken companies, fought opportunitie to giue the earle of Renenbergh battaile, and as captaine *Schul*, with certaine ſouldiers, had taken Monikerziel fort, he tooke that from them, and forced the earle of Renenberghs troupes to goe out of the village in Gripskerke in battaile. Colonel *Sonoy* led the foreward, and began the charge coldly, by many skirmiſhes, vntill the reſt came on, and charged in groſſe, wherupon the Renenberghers fled, and were purſued till they came to Groning, with the loſſe of certaine enſignes, and ſeuen hundred of their men, beſides many which were taken priſoners (and ſmall loſſe to the victors) they tooke great ſtore of their armes, which they that fled, were forced to caſt away, and yet Sir *Iohn Norris* had no horſemen with him, but onely his owne cornet, whereby many of the Renenberghers ſaued their liues, moſt by means of the ditches: there was alſo foure peeces of ordnance taken from them, and all their prouiſion. B C

The 23 of Iuly died *George* of Lalain, baron of Ville, earl of Renenbergh, brother to the earle of Hoochſtraten, for griefe and ſorrow of this defeat, although his ſickneſſe was not without ſome ſuſpition of poyſon: during his ſicknes, he did often grieue and lament, that he had quit the Eſtates party, whereby he had drawne himſelfe into ſuch a laborynth, crying out often: *O Groning, Groning, whereunto haſt thou brought me*, curſing the day that he had euer ſeene it. The laſt 8 daies before his death, he exclaimed alſo vpon his ſiſter *Cornille* of Lalain, forbidding hir to come in his ſight, ſeeing that ſhe had ſeduced him, and was the cauſe of his perdition. This earle of Renenbergh was ſonne to the lord of Eſcornets, gouernor of Guelderland for the emperor, who had to wife the daughter of the earle of Renenbergh, & afterwards by the ſucceſſion of his couſin became earle of Hoochſtraten: as alſo the ſaid *George* of Lalain ſucceeded after the death of Cont *Herman* his vncle by the mothers ſide, chanon of Cologne, to the ſaid earldome of Renenbergh. His elder brother, earle of Hoochſtraten, was called *Anthony* of Lalain, a wiſe and valiant nobleman, who in the yere 1567 retired himſelfe with the prince of Orange out of the Netherlads, & was alſo baniſhed by the duke of Alua, as we haue formerly ſhewed. He died of a ſhot in the foot, in the firſt voiage which the prince made with his army into theſe countries, leauing ſome children, among others, his eldeſt was alſo earle of Hoochſtraten, who of the lady *N.* of Egmont, widow to the earle of Henin, lord of Capres, left one ſonne after his death. This earle of Renenbergh was a courteous nobleman, & well red in Greeke and Latin, a great louer of hiſtories and of muſicke, wherein he ſpent moſt of his time. He was an enemie to all tyrannie (although he committed that vild act in Groning, the which he afterwards repented 1000 times) and a great obſeruer of militarie diſcipline: he was withall very carefull to haue his ſouldiers duly paied. As for his religion, I will not meddle with it: but we may conjecture what the heart was, hauing red ſo many bookes of the learnedeſt Proteſtants, and had conuerſed ſo long with them: but the feare of his mother, of the chanon his vncle (who had made him his heire) of the earle of Lalain his couſin, and of the perſuaſions of his ſiſter, had made him to change his party, the which he often repented. Colonel *Gaſpar Verdugo* ſucceeded him in the gouernment of Friſeland and Groning.

The death of the earle of Renenbergh. D E

The Eſtates of Flanders ſent a little armie into the quarter of Ypre and Dixmuyden, vnder the commaund of the prince of Eſpinoy, whom they made generall, whereof the Seignior of Villers, before gouernour of Bouchain, was marſhall of the campe, to make worke on that ſide for the prince of Parma, during the victualling of Cambray. But the Parmois beeing ſtronger in horſe than the Eſtates, he defeated ſome neere vnto Dixmuyden. In the mean time the prince of Eſpinoys mē that remained in garriſon at Tournay, & in his gouernmēt of Tourneſis, gaue many affronts vnto their enemies in Henault, whom they annoyed all they could; F

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A as in like manner the malecontents did, beeing lodged in the fort of Hauteriue, betwixt Tournay and Audenarde, from whence they did runne dayly to the ports of either towne; who at the same time defeated a rich conuoy of ninetie wagons (with all sorts of marchandise) going to Antuerpe, and from thence to the fayre of Francfort, beeing guarded but by some few foot and fifteene horse onely. Of all these wagons there were about seuentie taken, the rest escaped. This vnfortunate incounter made many poore men, who went themselues to Gant and Antuerpe, to sell their marchandise, of the which there were some taken prisoners, who (besides all their losses) were hardly ransomed. Such encounters were made dayly on eyther side, whereby all traffique both in fayres and markets decayed. 1581

B At that time the Estates had their armie encamped neere vnto the village of Loos, in the Chasteleine of Furnes in West-Flanders, in a commodious place, hauing but three thousand foot and eight hundred horse. The malecontents thinking to rayse them from thence, went and encamped at Pont Rouard (called in Dutch Rousbrugghe) where they skirmished daily one with another: but seeing that they preuailed little, and got nothing but blowes, they retired from thence with the losse of three hundred men, to go and ioine with the prince of Parma before Cambray, where they expected the French.

The Seignior of Iuchy, gouernour of Cambray, had beene forced (but with the consent of the Estates) to treat with the duke of Aniou, brother to the French king, who had sent him certaine French companies, led by the Seignior of Balaigni, bastard to *Iohn* of Monluc,
C bishop of Valence. On the other side, the prince of Parma and the Wallon neighbour prouinces, fearing least the French should settle themselues, and lodge there, sought all meanes possible to dislodge them by faire meanes, money, secret practises and intelligences with their partisans within the towne; the which not succeeding, the prince thought to force them by necessitie and famine, and therefore built forts and made trenches at all the approches vnto the towne, as at Marquion, Creuecæur, Vauchelle, and other places, by means whereof he would besiege them farre off by whole yeares, cutting off the victuals and munition, which before the French brought vnto them. So as in the end beeing annoyed with the said forts and trenches, and by the horsemen which scoured the plaines, those of the towne grew to want all things, but bread and salt especially; for, as much as would be contained in a wo-
D mans thymble, would cost aboue a penny. For whose succours, the duke of Aniou, according to his promise, made all the hast he could to leuie men ouer all Fraunce. But before he could effect it, he was constrained first to seeke to pacifie the quarrell that was in Fraunce, touching the entertaining of the fifth Edict of peace, which some of the Spanish faction did kindle all they could, to crosse his designe.

The which being done, and the peace proclaymed in Fraunce, he assembled his armie about Chasteaudun, consisting of goodly troupes both of horse and foot, hauing the greatest part of the French nobilitie voluntaries, whom he had inuited to doe him this great and notable seruice; with the which were the old companies of men at armes, vnder the commaund of the lord of Bellegarde, all amounting to foure thousand horse and tenne thousand
E foot; the said duke marching with his artillerie in the head of his armie towards Cambray, being resolued to giue battaile to the prince of Parma, if hee would attend him. Among the chiefe of his armie there were the marquesse de Elbeuf, the earles of la Val, S. *Aignan* and his sonne *Rochpot*, *Montgomery*, and *Vassadour*, the Viconts of Tureine and la Guerche, the Vidame of Amiens, the lords of Feruaques, la Chastre, S. Luc, Dieu, la Mauvissiere, and many others, with foure marshals of the campe, whereof *Fernaques* was the chiefe.

The Queene mother sought by entreaties and all other meanes to call backe her sonne (the duke of Aniou) from this expedition, and to hinder him from relieuing of Cambray: but he reiected all entreaties as inhumane, hauing promised the Estates not to fayle them
F in this extremitie, which made him to persist in his pretended enterprise. Some gaue it out, that the Spaniards sought to corrupt him with great gifts, that he might desist from his intended enterprise: and that many of the French nobilitie, through the presents which they had receiued, and large promises, grew into suspition to haue secret intelligence with the Spaniard.

King

1581 King *Philip* hearing of the duke of Aniou his great preparations, ſuppoſing that ſuch great troupes, beeing like vnto a royall armie, could not bee rayſed without the kings conſent, hee complained by his embaſſadour of his brothers great preparation, to aid and protect his rebellious ſubiects of the Netherlands, who were enemies of the true Religion, and of the faith of Chriſt, againſt their naturall prince, againſt the Catholicke faith, and againſt a king which was his kinſman and good friend, hauing neuer giuen him any cauſe of ſo great a wrong; and therefore he could not beleeue, that ſo great forces could be gathered together, without the kings aid and conſent: entreating him therefore, that ſeeing he had receiued no wrong from him, he would alſo forbeare to iniure a king that was his friend and kinſman. Anſwere was made vnto the embaſſadour, That the French king had neuer wronged, nor yet thought to wrong a king which was his friend and allie, neither was it fit for his greatneſſe, who carrieth the name of moſt Chriſtian, to ſeeke the ruine of the Catholicke faith, or not to oppoſe himſelfe againſt them that ſhould contradict it: That thoſe armes were then rayſed againſt the kings will, the which had beene ſo often turned to the waſting, ſpoyling, and ruine of miſerable Fraunce; and who would thinke that it had beene with the kings conſent? neither could the king at this time fruſtrate his brothers reſolutions, no more than when the Huguenots turned their armes againſt the bowels of the kingdome: That the king of Spaine ſhould employ his forces againſt thoſe diſobedient and obſtinate Frenchmen, and puniſh them as his owne rebels, the which ſhould be very gratefull vnto him. And for that it ſeemed the French king feared, that vnder pretext of ſuccouring of Cambray, his brother (the duke of Aniou) might turne his forces againſt Fraunce; or that the Spaniard (if he were victor) ſhould break in vpon his frontiers, to be reuenged of theſe ſuccours which the king had not hindered, hee gathered together thirtie companies of men at armes, and threeſcore enſignes of foot, and ſent them to the frontiers of Picardie, to defend the confines of his kingdome againſt the furie and raſhneſſe of eyther partie that ſhould ouercome. Whereupon the prince of Parma grew into great feare and iealouſie at the approch of the kings troupes vnto the frontiers: but the French king ſent him word, That he ſhould not thinke that they were ſent to attempt any thing againſt his perſon, but onely to ſecure the confines of his kingdome againſt the inſolencie of the troupes that ſhould vanquiſh, that he might not leaue his ſubiects vpon the frontiers abandoned, for that all victories (how temperat and modeſt ſoeuer the generall be) are commonly inſolent by the diſorders of the ſouldiers.

With all this goodly traine (as aforeſaid) the duke approched neere to Cambray the ſixteenth of Auguſt, on which day certaine yong noblemen of his armie being too farre aduanced, were charged by the marqueſſe of Roubay, Vicont of Gant, generall of the prince of Parma his horſe, who put them to rout, ſuch as eſcaped running ſpeedily to the body of their armie. At which encounter the Vicont of Tureine and the earle of Vancadour were taken priſoners. The prince of Parma (who was alſo neere vnto Cambray with all his forces) making ſhew that he would hinder the victualling thereof, preſented himſelfe in battaile the ſeuenteenth day with all his armie, where he ſtood ſix houres in the face of the French, as if he would haue fought with them, wherunto the ſaid marqueſſe of Roubay did much perſuade and importune him. The duke had no other conceit, but that he came to giue him battaile; cauſing his armie to aduance ſoftly in good order, to receiue him, if he would ſeeke to ſtoppe his paſſage vnto the towne. But the prince ſeeing his reſolution, hauing taken good view of his forces (like vnto the duke of Alua) being loth to hazard any thing, hee retyred (abandoning all his forts) to Valenciennes, where he encamped.

The next day (beeing the eighteenth of the moneth) the duke of Aniou marching ſtill in good order, approched neere vnto the towne: where, hauing cauſed all the victuals and munition (which he had brought in great quantitie) to enter, after that hee had forced the Spaniſh armie to riſe, he victualled it to the full, and entred himſelfe in perſon, where he was triumphantly receiued with great ioy of all the people, and acknowledged protector of Cambray and Cambreſis, held ſimply of the empire, the which in old time were wont to be neuters.

Cambray victualled.

The twentieth of the moneth he tooke a ſolemne oath in the Cathedrall Church, and afterwards in the Towne-houſe, to gouerne and maintaine the ſaid citie and countrey, and the citizens, bourgers and inhabitants thereof, in their auncient liberties, freedomes, and rights,

after

A after which there was gold and siluer cast among the people. The one and twentieth day he departed from thence with all his armie, marching towards Arleux and Scluce, with an entent to fight with the Spaniards, who retyred further into the countrey. Then he returned to besiege castle Cambresis, which yeelded by composition, hauing endured 219 canon shot. There went foorth three companies with their armes, and their matches out. At this siege, the Vicont of Touar was slaine, and the Seignior of Balaigne shot in the calfe of the legge. 1581

The duke of Aniou being come thus farre, he was earnestly entreated by the generall Estates and the prince of Orange to passe on, and to enter into the Netherlands, hauing a part of their armie in Flanders, vnder the commaund of the prince of Espinoy, and the regiments B of *la Garde* and *Stuart*, all which should goe and ioyne with him: but Winter approching, and his armie consisting for the most part of voluntaries, and the best part of his horse, being the kings companies of men at armes, whereof he could not dispose at his pleasure, and withall, the nobilitie being at discord for the places of honour, there was no meanes to make them yeeld thereunto, the voluntaries and men at armes retyring home to their houses: yet there remained some troupes to enter into the countrey, the which not daring to passe by Arthois, returned into France, and tooke their way along the frontiers towards Calice, where they entred into Flanders, and ioyned with the Estates armie.

Castle Cambresis taken by the duke.

The Generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces of *Gueldres, Holland, Zeeland, Zutphen, Friseland, Oueryssel and Groeningen, hauing declared Prince* PHILIP *of Austria, second of that name, King of Spaine, fallen from the Seigniorie of the said Prouinces, by reason of his extraordinarie and too violent gouernment against their priuiledges and freedomes, solemnely sworne by him, haue by the way of right and armes taken vpon them all the gouernment of the politicke Estate, and of the Religion in the said Prouinces, in the yeare* 1581.

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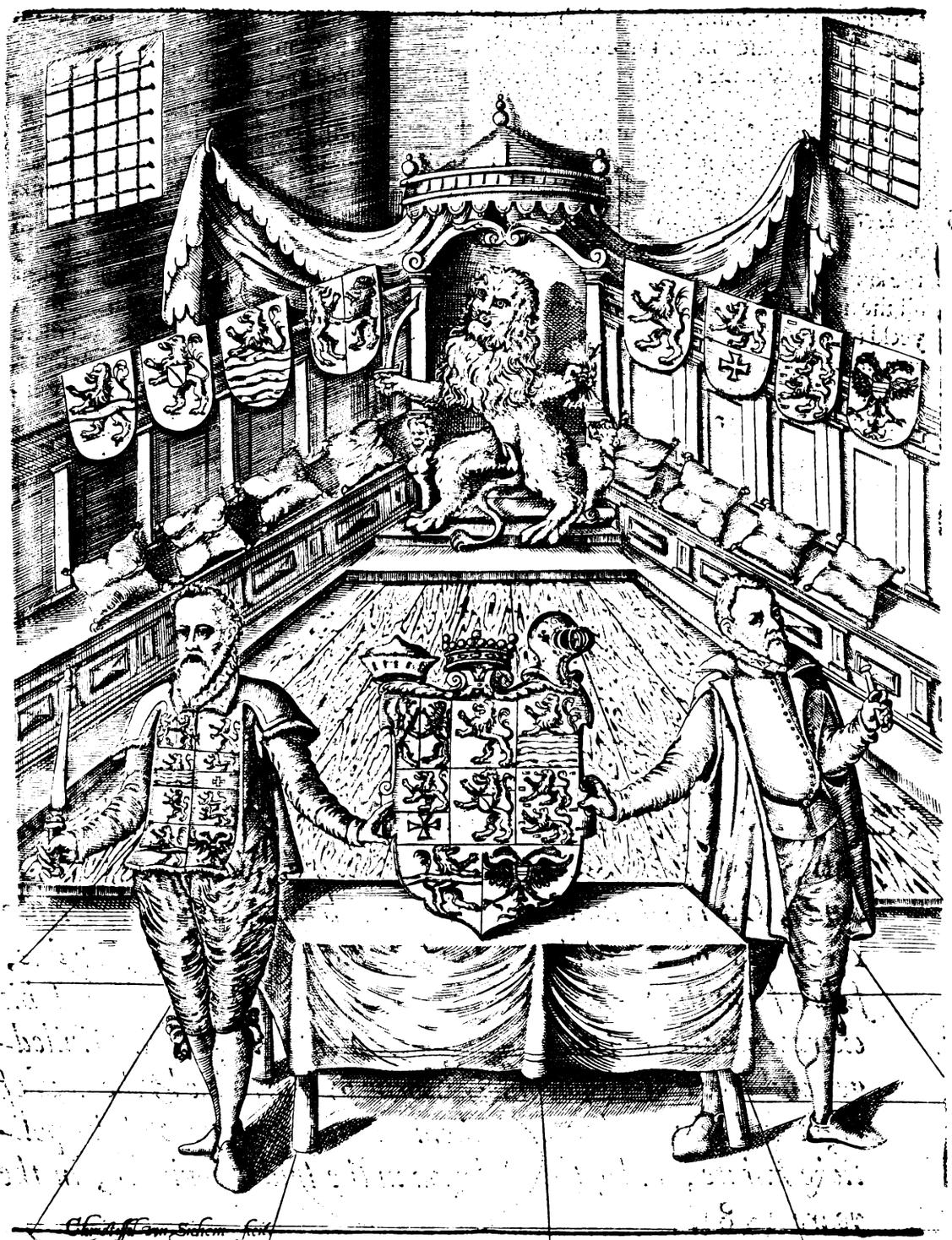
1581

THE GENERALL ESTATES of the vnited Prouinces.



The wicked counſell of the young King Roboam,
The moſt vnlawfull luſt that proud Tarquins *mind o'recame,*
And of thoſe two young kings the great peruerſitie,
Was th'onely cauſe that did bereaue them of their royaltie.
Of twelue Tribes, onely one to Roboam *remain'd,*
And Tarquin *driuen out of Rome, the people ſtraight obtain'd*
The gouernment, and the chiefe ſoueraigntie
Of Rome, and to the Senat did commit th'authoritie.
The crueltie of the Inquiſitors of Spaine,
That long in the vnited lands did ciuile warres maintaine,
In th'end was th'onely meanes and cauſe, that after we
The Spaniſh yoke long time had borne, obtain'd our libertie.

The

1581

THE XII. BOOKE.

The Argument.

THe generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces of Gueldrey, Holland, Zeeland, Zutphen, Vtrecht, Friſeland, Oueryſſel, and Groeningen, tooke vpon them the gouernment of the ſaid Prouinces, after they had declared the King of Spaine to be fallen from the Seigniorie therof by a ſolemne Edict, hauing abiured him, broken his ſeals, abſolued the ſubiects of their oath, and made them take a new one, for the preſeruation of their countrey, and obedience to the ſaid Eſtates. The prince of Parma beſiegeth Tournay, which in the end yeeldeth. The prince of Orange deſireth to quit the place of Lieutenant generall, after the departure of the archduke Mathias, *and is intreated to continue it, whereupon he giues ſome admonitions to the Eſtates, but to ſmall purpoſe. The duke of Anion commeth into the Netherlands, is created duke of Brabant. A bargaine made by the king of Spaine to kill the prince of Orange, who was ſhot, and in great danger of his life, and the murtherer ſlaine. The ſiege of Oudenarde yeelded to the Spaniard. Aloſt taken by ſcalado for the duke of Anion. Death of the princeſſe of Orange. The duke created earle of Flanders. An attempt againſt the duke and the prince of Orange at Bruges, for the which one was executed at Paris. The dukes armie charged neere vnto Gant by the prince of Parma, but it retires ſafe neere vnto Antuerpe. Lochen beſieged by the Spaniard, relieued by the earle of Hohenlo in the Eſtates name. The ſtrangers called backe into the Netherlands by the diſunited forces. The French king refuſeth to ſuccour the duke his brother, who aſſureth himſelfe of Dunkerke. Being ill aduiſed, he ſeekes to ſeize vpon the towne of Antuerpe, where his chiefe nobilitie was ſlaine: the like was attempted in diuers other townes, whereof the prince of Parma ſeekes to make his profit, and the duke growes odious, and yet the prince of Orange laboureth to reconcile all, the which he did by the meanes of the Seignior of Bellieure, ſent by the king of Fraunce. The duke yeelding vnto the Eſtates the townes which he had ſeized on, returneth into Fraunce. Another proiect to murther the prince of Orange, by one* Pedro Dordogne, *and another at Fleſſingue, by* Hans Hanſon. *The marſhall of Biron retireth with the duke of Anion his troupes. The prince leauing Antuerpe, commeth into Holland, where there is ſome ſpeech to make him earle of Holland, but without effect.* Imbiſe *called home by them of Gant, he plotteth his owne ruin, and is beheaded at Gant as a traytar, after that hee had ſought to yeeld it, with Denremonde, to the Spaniard. Ypre yeelded by neceſſitie to the Spaniard, and Bruges by the prince of Chymay his practiſes. Lillo beſieged in vaine by the Spaniard. The prince of Orange murthered at Delft. Prince* Maurice *ſucceeds his father in the gouernment: the towne of Antuerpe blocked vp: the riuer ſtopped: Gant and Denremonde yeelded. The endeuors of them of Antuerpe: the reſolution of the Eſtates vpon the demaund of a new prince: they ſend deputies to the French king, who excuſeth himſelfe vpon the ciuile warres. Nymmeghen, Doesborg, Bruſſels, Mathlyn, and other places yeelded to the Spaniard. The Eſtates men defeated at Coeſtein, and neere to Amerongen: in the end Antuerpe is yeelded. During this ſiege, the Eſtates ſent their deputies to the queene of England, who accepteth their protection, and ſends her lieutenant for their preſeruation.*

IN the alterations which happen ſometimes in an Eſtate betwixt the Soueraigne prince and a people that is free and priuiledged, there are ordinarily two points, which make them to ayme at two diuers ends: The one is, when as the prince ſeekes to haue a full ſubiection and obedience of the people, and the people contratiwiſe require, that the prince ſhold maintaine them in their freedoms and liberties, which he hath promiſed and ſworn ſolemnly vnto them, before his reception to the principalitie. Therupon quarrels grow: the prince will hold a hard hand, and will ſeeke by force to be obeied; and the ſubiects riſing againſt the prince, oftentimes with dangerous tumults, reiecting his authority, ſeeke to imbrace their full liberty.

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1581 In theſe firſt motions there happeneth ſometimes communications and conferences, at A
the inſtance of neighbours, who may haue intereſt therein, to quench this fire of diuiſion
betwixt the prince and his people. And then if any one of the parties groweth obſtinate,
and will not yeeld although he ſeeme to be moſt in fault, it followeth of neceſſitie, that they
muſt come to more violent remedies, that is to ſay, to armes. The power of the prince is
great, when he is ſupported by other princes, which ioyne with him for the conſequence
of the example, elſe it is but ſmall: but that of the people (which is the body, whereof the
prince was the head) ſtirred vp by conſcience (eſpecially if the queſtion of Religion bee
touched) the members ordained for their function, doing ioyntly their dueties, is farre
greater. Thereupon they wound, they kill, they burne, they ruine, and grow deſperately
mad: but what is the euent? God (who is an enemie of all tyrannie and diſobedience) iud- B
geth of their quarrels, weigheth them in his ballance of iuſtice, helping the rightfull cauſe,
and eyther cauſeth the prince for his rigour and tyrannie to be chaſed away, and depriued of
his eſtate and principalitie; or the people for their contempt and rebellion are puniſhed & re-
duced vnto reaſon; which cauſeth the alterations to ceaſe, and procureth a peace: whereof we
could produce many examples, both ancient and moderne, if the relation of this hiſtorie did
not furniſh vs ſufficiently.

So the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, ſeeing, that king *Philip* would not in any
ſort (through his wilfulneſſe) yeeld vnto their humble ſuite and petitions: and notwith-
ſtanding all the offers they could make to purchaſe a good, firme, and an aſſured peace,
(notwithſtanding all the interceſſions both of the Emperour, the French king, the Queene C
of England, and other great princes and potentates of Chriſtendome, yet would hee not
giue eare to any other reaſon, but what himſelfe did propound: the which the ſaid Eſtates
did not onely find vniuſt and vnreaſonable, directly repugnant to the liberties, conſtituti-
ons, and freedomes of the countrey; but alſo contrarie to their conſciences, and as it were
ſo many ſnares layed to catch them, which were in no ſort to bee allowed of, nor receiued,
conſidering the qualitie of their affayres and his, according to the time that was then. In
the end, reiecting all feare of his power and threats, ſeeing that they were forced to enter in-
to all courſes of extremitie againſt a prince, which held himſelfe ſo heynouſly offended, as
no reconciliation could be expected, relying vpon the iuſtice and equitie of their cauſe, and
ſinceritie of their conſciences (which are two braſen bulwarkes) they were fully reſolued D
(without diſſembling) to take the matter thus aduaunced in hand, and oppoſing force a-
gainſt force, meanes againſt meanes, and practiſes againſt practiſes, to declare him quite fal-
len from the Seigniorie, preheminence, and authoritie, which before the troubles, the breach
of their priuiledges, rights, freedomes, and immunities, ſo often and ſo ſolemnely ſworne by
him, and diſpenſation of his othes, hee had or was wont to haue in the ſaid prouinces reſpe-
ctiuely, whereof they made open declaration by a publicke Edict, the tenor whereof fol-
loweth.

The Edict of the generall Eſtates, declaring the king of Spain to be fallen frō the ſeigniorie of the Netherlands.

The Generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, to all thoſe that theſe
preſents ſhall ſee, read, or heare, greeting. As it is well knowne vnto all men, that a prince
and lord of a countrey is ordayned by God, to be ſoueraigne and head ouer his ſubiects, E
and to preſerue and defend them from all iniuries, force, and violence, euen as a ſhepheard
for the defence of his ſheepe, and that the ſubiects are not created by God for the prince,
to obey him in all that he ſhall pleaſe to commaund, be it with God, or againſt him, rea-
ſonable or vnreaſonable, nor to ſerue him as ſlaues and bondmen: but rather the prince
» is ordayned for his ſubiects (without the which hee cannot bee a prince) to gouerne
» them according vnto equitie and reaſon, to take care for them, and to loue them euen
» as a father doth his children, or a ſhepheard his ſheepe, who putteth both his bodie
» and life in danger, to defend and preſerue them. If the prince therefore fayleth herein,
» and in ſteed of preſeruing his ſubiects, doth outrage and oppreſſe them, depriueth them
» of their priuiledges and auncient cuſtomes, commaundeth them, and will bee ſerued F
» of them as of ſlaues, they are no longer bound to hold him and reſpect him as their
» Soueraigne prince and lord, but to repute and eſteeme of him as a Tyrant; neyther are
» the ſubiects (according vnto law and reaſon) bound to acknowledge him for their prince: ſo

as

A as without any offence, being done with deliberation and the authority of the Eſtates of the countrey, they may freely abandon him, and in his place chuſe another for their prince and lord, to defend them: eſpecially, when as the ſubiects by humble ſuit, intreatie, and admonitions, could neuer mollifie their princes heart, nor diuert him from his enterpriſes and tyrannous deſignes: ſo as they haue no other meanes left them to defend and preſerue their auncient libertie, their wiues, children and poſteritie, for the which (according to the lawes of nature) they are bound to expoſe both life and goods; as for the like occaſions, wee haue ſeene it to fall out often in diuers countries, whereof the examples are yet freſh in memorie: The which ought eſpecially to be of force in theſe countries, the which haue alwayes beene and ought to be gouerned, according vnto the oath taken by their princes, B when they receiue them, conformable to their priuiledges and auncient cuſtomes, hauing no power to infringe them: beſides that, moſt part of the ſayd prouinces haue alwayes receiued and admitted their princes and lords vpon certaine conditions, and by ſworne contracts; the which if the prince ſhall violate, he is by right fallen from the ſuperioritie of the countrey. So it is, that the king of Spaine, after the deceaſe of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth (his father) of famous memorie (from whome all theſe countries were tranſported vnto him) forgetting the ſeruices, which as well his father as himſelfe had receyued of theſe countries, and the inhabitants thereof, by the which eſpecially the king of Spaine had obtayned ſuch glorious and memorable victories againſt his enemies, as his name and power was renowmed and feared throughout all the world; forgetting alſo C the admonitions which his ſayd imperiall Maieſtie had heretofore giuen him: but contrariwiſe, hath giuen eare, beleefe, and credite vnto them of the counſell of Spaine which were about him; the ſayd counſell hauing conceiued a ſecret hatred againſt theſe countries and their libertie, for that it was not lawfull for them to commaund there, and to gouerne them, or to merit among them the chiefe places and offices, as they doe in the realme of Naples, Sicilie, Millaine, at the Indies, and in other countries which were ſubiect vnto the kings commaund, being alſo mooued thereunto by the riches of the ſayd countries, well knowne to moſt of them: The ſayd counſell, or ſome of the chiefe of them, haue oftentimes giuen the king to vnderſtand, That for his Maieſties reputation and greater authoritie, it were better to conquer the Netherlands anewe, and then to D commaund freely and abſolutely at his pleaſure, then to gouerne them vnder ſuch conditions, which he had at his reception to the Seigniorie of the ſayd countries ſworne to obſerue. The king of Spaine following this counſell, hath ſought all meanes to reduce theſe countries (ſpoyling them of their auncient liberties) into ſeruitude, vnder the gouernment of the Spaniards: hauing vnder pretext of Religion ſought firſt to thruſt in new biſhops into the chiefe and mightieſt townes, indowing them with the richeſt Abbeyes, adding to euery biſhop nine chanons to ſerue him as counſellors, whereof three ſhould haue eſpeciall charge of the Inquiſition: By which incorporation of the ſayd biſhops, being his creatures, and at his deuotion and commaund (the which ſhould happily haue beene choſen as well of ſtrangers, as of them which were borne in the coun- E trey) ſhould haue the firſt place and the firſt voyce in the aſſemblies of the Eſtates of the countrey: And by the adiunction of the ſaid chanons, had brought in the Inquiſition of Spaine, the which had alwayes beene ſo abhorred, and ſo odious in theſe countries, euen as ſlauerie it ſelfe, as all the world doth well know: So as his imperiall Maieſtie hauing once propounded it vnto theſe countries, vpon due information giuen vnto his Maieſtie, he ceaſed from any more ſpeech thereof, ſhewing therein the great affection which hee bare vnto his ſubiects. Yet notwithſtanding diuers declarations which were made vnto the king of Spaine, as well by the prouinces and townes in particular, as by ſome of the chiefe noblemen of the countrey, namely, by the baron of Montigny, and afterwards by the earle of Egmont, who by the conſent of the ducheſſe of Parma (then Regent F of the ſaid countries) by the aduice of the counſell of Eſtate, and of the generaltie, had to that end beene ſucceſſiuely ſent into Spaine: and notwithſtanding that the king had by his owne mouth giuen them hope, that (according to their petitions) he would prouide for the contentment of the countrey; yet that hee had ſince by his letters done the contrarie, commaunding expreſly, and vpon paine of his indignation, to receiue the new biſhops preſently, 1581

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1581 and to put them in possession of their new bishoprickes and incorporated abbeyes, to effect A
the Inquisition, where they had begun to practise it, and to obey and obserue the decrees and
canons of the counsell of Trent, the which in diuers points doe contradict the priuiledges of
the countrey. The which being come to the knowledge of the commons, hath giuen iust
occasion of so great an alteration among them, and greatly diminished the loue and great af-
fection, the which (as good subiects) they had alwaies borne vnto the king, and to his prede-
cessors. For they called chiefely into consideration, that the king not onely pretended to ty-
rannize ouer their persons and goods, but also vpon their consciences, whereon they held
themselues not to be answerable, nor bound to giue account to any one but to God onely.
For this cause, and for the pitie they had of the poore people, the chiefe of the nobility in the
country did in the yere 1566 exhibite certaine admonitions, by way of a petition, beseeching B
him, that for the pacifying of the commons, and to auoid all tumults and seditions, it would
please his Maiesty (shewing the loue and affection, which as a mild and mercifull prince hee
bare vnto his subiects) to moderate the said points, and especially those which concerned the
rigorous Inquisition, and the punishments for matters of Religion. And to informe the king
more particularly thereof, and with more authoritie, and to let him vnderstand, how necessary
it was for the good and prosperitie of the countrey, and for the maintenance of peace and
tranquilitie, to abolish and disannull those innouations, and to moderat the rigour of pub-
licke Edicts, for matter of Religion, the said marquesse of Berghes and baron of Montigny,
at the request of the said lady Regent, the counsell of Estate, and the generall Estates of all
the countries, went into Spaine as embassadours, whereas the king, in steed of giuing them C
audience, and to preuent the inconueniences deliuered by them (the which, for that they
were not remedied in time, as vrgent necessitie required, began in effect to discouer them-
selues throughout the whole countrey among the commons) by the instinct, persuasion,
and aduice of the counsell of Spaine, he hath caused all them to be proclaymed rebels, and
guiltie of high treason, and to haue forfeited bodie and goods, that presented the said pe-
tition: And moreouer (thinking himselfe to be fully assured of the countrey, by the forces
and violence of the duke of Alua, and to haue reduced them vnder his full power and sub-
iection) he had afterwards, against the lawes of nations (the which haue beene in all ages
inuiolably obserued, yea among the most barbarous and cruell nations, and most tyrannous
princes) imprisoned, and caused the said noblemen embassadours to be put to death, confis- D
cating all their goods. And although that all this alteration (which had happened in the
yeare 1566, vpon the foresaid occasion) was in a manner pacified by the Regent & her coun-
sell, and that the greatest part of them which had presented themselues vnto her for the liberty
of the countrey, were retired, or chased away, and the rest brought vnder obedience: yet not
to loose the oportunity which the counsell of Spaine had long expected (as it appeared plain-
ly the same yeare 1566, by letters intercepted, which were written by the embassadour *Alaua*
to the ducheesse of Parma) to haue meanes vnder some pretext to ouerthrow all the priuiled-
ges of the countrey, and to gouerne them rigorously by the Spaniards (as they did the Indies
and other countries, which had beene newly conquered by them) he by the instruction and
counsell of the said Spaniards (shewing therein the small affection which he bare vnto his sub- E
iects of these countries, contrary to that whereunto he was bound, as their prince, protector,
and good shepheard) sent into these countries the duke of Alua, very famous for his rigor and
crueltie, and one of the chiefe enemies of these countries, with a counsell of the same humour
and disposition. And although that the said duke of Alua entred with his army into this cou-
trey, without any let or opposition, & was receiued of the poore inhabitants with all reuerēce
and honour, expecting all mildnesse and clemencie, according vnto that which the king had
so often promised by his letters fainedly written; yea, that he was resolued to come himselfe in
person into the countrey, and to order all things to euery mans content; the said king hauing
besides all this (at the very instant of the duke of Alua his departure) caused a fleet of
shippes to bee armed in Spaine, to bring him hither, and another in Zeeland to goe and F
meet him (as the bruite was) to the great charge of the countrey, the better to abuse
his poore subiects, and to draw them more easily into his snares: notwithstanding, the
sayd duke of Alua presently after his arriuall (although hee were a stranger, and not any
way of the bloud royall) gaue it out, that hee had a commission from the king, of chiefe

captaine

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A captaine, and ſoone after of gouernour generall of the countrey, the which was quite contra- 1581
rie to the priuiledges and antient cuſtomes thereof: and diſcouering his deſignes plainely, he
ſodainly put garriſons into the chiefe townes and forts of the countrey, and then he built cita-
dels in the richeſt and ſtrongeſt townes, to keepe them in ſubiection. And by commaunde-
ment from the king (as they ſaid) he friendly called vnto him, as well by letters, as otherwiſe,
the chiefe noblemen of the countrey, pretending, that hee had need of their counſell and aſſi-
ſtance, for the ſeruice of the king, and the good of the country: after the which he cauſed them
to be apprehended, who (hauing giuen credit to his letters) were come vnto him, whom, con-
trarie to the priuiledges, he cauſed to be carried priſoners out of Brabant, where they had bin
apprehended, cauſing their proceſſe to be informed before him and his counſell (although
B they were no competent iudges;) and before any due proofes were made, and the noblemen
that were accuſed, fully heard in their defences, they were condemned to haue committed re-
bellion, cauſing them to be publikely & ignominiouſly put to death. Others, who for that they
were better acquainted with the Spaniards diſſembling, were retired and kept out of the
countrey, were declared rebels, and guiltie of high treaſon, and to haue forfeited bodies and
goods: All which was done, to the end the poore inhabitants ſhould not aid themſelues in the
iuſt defence of their libertie, againſt the oppreſſion of the Spaniards and their forces, by the
helpe and aſſiſtance of theſe noblemen, and princes: beſides an infinit number of gentlemen
and rich bourgers, whereof ſome he hath put to death, others he hath chaſed away and for-
feited their goods, oppreſſing the reſt of the good inhabitants, as well by the inſolencie of the
C ſouldiers, as by other outrages in their wiues, children, and goods; as alſo by diuers exactions
and taxes, forcing them to contribute for the building of new citadels and fortifications of
townes, which he made to oppreſſe them, and alſo to pay the hundreth and the twentieth
penie, for the paiment of ſouldiers, whereof ſome were brought by him, and others newly le-
uied, to imploy them againſt their countreymen, and them, who with the hazard of their liues
ſought to defend the liberties of their countrey: To the end that the ſubiects being thus im-
poueriſhed, there ſhould be no meanes to hinder or fruſtrat his deſignes, for the better effe-
cting of the inſtructions which had beene giuen him in Spaine: which was, to vſe the coun-
trey as newly conquered: to which end, in ſome places and chiefe townes, he changed their
forme of gouernment, and of iuſtice, and erected new conſuls after the Spaniſh manner, di-
D rectly contrarie to the priuiledges of the country. And in the end (thinking himſelfe free from
all feare) he ſought to bring in by force a certaine impoſition of the tenth penie, vpon all mer-
chandiſe and handiworkes, to the abſolute ruine of the commons, whoſe good and proſperi-
tie conſiſts chiefly in traffique and handiworkes; notwithſtanding manie admonitions and
perſuaſions made to the contrarie, as well by euerie one of the prouinces in particular, as by
all in generall. The which he had effected by violence, if it had not beene that ſoone after by
the meanes of the prince of Orange, and a good number of gentlemen, and others borne in
theſe countries, baniſhed by this duke of Alua, following the partie of the ſaid prince, and
being for the moſt part in his ſeruice, and other inhabitants affected to the libertie of their
countrey, the prouinces of Holland and Zeeland had not reuolted, and put themſelues vnder
E the princes protection: Againſt which two prouinces the duke hath ſince, during his go-
uernment, and after him the great Commaunder of Caſtile (ſent in his place by the king, not
to moderat any thing of his predeceſſors tyrannie, but to purſue it more couertly and cun-
ningly than he had done) forced the prouinces, who by their garriſons and citadels, were
made ſubiect to the Spaniſh yoake, to imploy their perſons and meanes to helpe to ſubdue
them: yet no wayes eaſing the ſaid prouinces, but intreating them like enemies, ſuffering the
Spaniards vnder colour of a mutinie, in view of the ſaid Commander, to enter by force into
the towne of Antuerpe, and there to remaine ſix weeks, liuing at diſcretion at the poor bour-
gers charge; forcing them moreouer (to be freed from their inſolencies) to furniſh foure hun-
dred thouſand florins, to pay the ſaid Spaniards: Which done, the ſaid ſouldiers (growing
F more bold through the ſufferance of their commanders) preſumed to take armes againſt the
countrey, ſeeking firſt to ſurpriſe Bruſſels, and in the place of the antient and ordinarie ſeat of
princes, to make it a neſt and denne of theeues. The which not ſucceeding according to their
deſigne, they tooke Aloſt by force, and ſoone after forced the towne of Maeſtricht. And
ſince beeing violently entred into Antuerpe, they ſpoyled it, ſacked it, and waſted it with fire

and

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1581 „ and ſword, in ſuch ſort, as the moſt barbarous and cruell enemies could not haue done more, A
„ to the vnſpeakable loſſe not onely of the poore inhabitants, but in a manner of all the nations
„ of the world, who had their merchandiſe, debts, and money there. And although the ſaid
„ Spaniards by a decree of the counſell of Eſtate (to whom the king by the death of the great
„ Commaunder, had conferred the generall gouernment of the countrey) were in the preſence
„ of *Ieronimo de Rhoda*, proclaimed enemies to the countrey: yet the ſaid *Rhoda* of his owne
„ priuat authoritie (as it is to be preſumed, by vertue of ſome ſecret inſtruction which hee had
„ from Spaine) tooke vpon him to be the head of the ſaid Spaniards, and their adherents, ſo as
„ without reſpect of the counſell of Eſtate, hee vſurped the kings name and authoritie, coun-
„ terfeited his ſeale, and carried himſelfe as a gouernour and the kings lieutenant in theſe coun-
„ tries. The which moued the Eſtates at the ſame inſtant to agree with the prince of Orange, B
„ and the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland: which accord was allowed by the counſell of State
„ (as lawfull gouernours) that they might iointly with their common forces, make war againſt
„ the Spaniards: Omitting not as good ſubiects, by diuers humble petitions, to beſeech the king
„ to haue regard vnto the troubles, oppreſſions, and inconueniences, which had happened,
„ and were like to follow: and that he would be pleaſed with all conuenient ſpeed poſſible, to
„ commaund the Spaniards to depart out of the countrey, and eſpecially thoſe which had bin
„ the cauſe of the ſacke and ruine of the chiefe townes of his countrey, and other innumerable
„ inſolencies and violences which his poore ſubiects had endured; to the comfort and eaſe of
„ them that had endured them, and to the example of all others: Yet notwithſtanding, the king
„ (although that he made ſhew by words, that what had happened, diſpleaſed him, and was a- C
„ gainſt his will, and that he had an intent to puniſh the heads and authors, and to prouide for
„ the quiet of the countrey with all clemencie, as it behooued a mercifull prince) hath not on-
„ ly neglected to puniſh the ſaid heads and authors: but contrariwiſe (as it appeareth) all
„ was with his conſent and former reſolution of the counſell of Spaine, as certaine letters of
„ his, intercepted ſoone after, doe plainely ſhew: by the which it was written vnto *Rhoda*, and
„ to the other captaines, authors of all the miſchiefe, That the king not onely did not blame that
„ action, but did allow thereof, and commend it, promiſing to recompence them, eſpecially
„ the ſaid *Rhoda*, as hauing done him a ſingular ſeruice: The which at his returne into Spaine,
„ and to all other miniſters of the oppreſſions that were vſed in theſe countries, he did ſhew by
„ effect. At the ſame time, the king thinking the better to blind the eyes of his ſubiects, ſent in- D
„ to theſe countries, for gouernour generall *Dom Iohn* of Auſtria, his baſtard brother, as beeing
„ of his bloud: who (making ſhew vnto the Eſtates, that he did allow of the pacification of
„ Gant, promiſed to ſend away the Spaniards, to puniſh the authors of all inſolencies and diſ-
„ orders, which had happened in the countrey, and to take an order for the generall peace, and
„ the reſtoring of their antient liberties) ſought to diuide the Eſtates, and to ſubdue one coun-
„ trey after another. By the permiſſion and prouidence of God, who is an enemie to all op-
„ preſſion, hee was diſcouered by the intercepting of certaine letters, where he was comman-
„ ded by the king to gouerne himſelfe in theſe countries, according to the inſtructions that
„ ſhould bee giuen him by *Rhoda*: And to couer this practiſe the king had forbidden *Dom Iohn*
„ to ſee or ſpeake one vnto another, commanding him to carrie himſelfe vnto the chiefe noble- E
„ men, with all mildneſſe and courteſie, to win their loues; vntill that by their aſſiſtance and
„ meanes, hee might reduce Holland and Zeeland, and afterwards worke his will of the other
„ prouinces. Whereupon *Dom Iohn*, notwithſtanding that he had ſolemnly ſworne in the pre-
„ ſence of all the Eſtates of the countrey, to obſerue the ſaid pacification of Gant, yet contrarie
„ thereunto he ſought by meanes of their colonels (whom hee had alreadie at his deuotion)
„ and great promiſes, to win the German ſouldiers, who were then in garriſon, & had the guard
„ of the chiefe towns & forts of the country, whereof by that meanes he made himſelfe maſter,
„ holding himſelf aſſured of thoſe places they held, & ſo by that means to force them that wold
„ not ioyne with him, to make war againſt the prince of Orange and them of Holland and Zee-
„ land, and ſo to raiſe a more bloudie and inteſtine warre, than had beene before. But as all F
„ things that are treated cunningly & with diſſimulation, cannot be long kept ſecret, *Dom Iohns*
„ practiſes being diſcouered, before he could effect what he had deſigned, hee could not bring
„ his conceptions and enterpriſes, to the end that hee pretended: Yet hee reuiued a new warre,
„ the which continues vnto this day, in ſtead of reſt and an aſſured peace, whereof hee did ſo

much

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A much vaunt at his comming. Which reaſons haue giuen vs great occaſion to forſake the king of Spaine, and to ſeeke ſome other mightie and mercifull prince, to helpe to defend theſe countries, and to take them into his protection: And the rather, for that theſe countries haue endured ſuch oppreſſions, receiued ſuch wrongs, and haue beene forſaken and abandoned by their prince for the ſpace of twentie yeares and more, during the which the inhabitants haue beene intreated not as ſubiects, but as enemies, their naturall prince and lord ſeeking to ruine them by armes. Moreouer, after the death of *Dom Iohn*, hauing ſent the baron of Selles, who (vnder colour of propounding ſome meanes of an accord) declared ſufficiently, That the king would not auow the pacification made at Gant (which *Dom Iohn* notwithſtanding had ſworne to maintaine) ſetting daily downe more hard conditions: Yet for that wee B would diſcharge our ſelues of our duties, wee haue not omitted to make humble ſuit by writing, imploying moreouer the fauour of the greateſt princes of Chriſtendome, ſeeking by all meanes without intermiſſion, to reconcile our ſelues vnto the king; hauing alſo of late kept our deputies long at Cologne, hoping there (by the interceſſion of his imperiall Maieſtie, and ſome princes electors) to haue obtained an aſſured peace, with ſome moderat tolleration of religion (the which doth chiefly concerne God and mens conſciences) as the eſtate of the affaires of the country did then require: But in the end we found it by experience, that nothing was to be obtained from the king, by the conference at Cologne: and that it was practiſed and did onely ſerue to diſunite and diuide the prouinces, that they might with the more facilitie vanquiſh and ſubdue, firſt one, and then another, and execute vpon them their firſt deC ſignes. The which hath ſince plainely appeared, by a certaine proſcription, which the king hath cauſed to bee publiſhed, whereby we and all the inhabitants of the vnited prouinces, and officers that hold their partie, are proclaimed rebels, and to haue forfeited liues and goods: Promiſing moreouer, a great ſumme of money to him that ſhould ſlay the ſaid prince, and all to make the poore inhabitants odious, to hinder their nauigation and traffique, and to bring them into extreame diſpaire: ſo as diſpairing of all meanes of reconciliation, and deſtitute of all other ſuccours, and ayd, wee haue, according to the law of nature (for the tuition and defence of vs and other inhabitants, the rights, priuiledges, antient cuſtomes and libertie of the country, and the liues and honours of vs, our wiues, children, and poſteritie, to the end they fall not into the ſlauerie of the Spaniards, leauing vpon iuſt cauſe the king of Spaine) D beene forced to ſeeke out and find ſome other meanes, ſuch as for the greater ſafetie and preſeruation of our rights, priuiledges, and liberties, wee haue thought moſt fit and conuenient.

Wee therefore giue all men to vnderſtand, That hauing duely conſidered all theſe things, and being preſt by extreame neceſſitie, Wee haue by a generall reſolution and conſent, declared, and do declare by theſe preſents, the king of Spaine, *ipſo iure*, to bee fallen from the ſeigniorie, principalitie, iuriſdiction, and inheritance of theſe ſaid countries: And that we are reſolued, neuer to acknowledge him any more, in any matter concerning the prince, iuriſdictions, or demeanes of theſe Netherlands, nor to vſe hereafter, neither yet to ſuffer any other to vſe his name as Soueraigne Lord thereof. According to the which we declare all officers, priE uat noblemen, vaſſals, and other inhabitants of theſe countries, of what condition or qualitie ſoeuer, to bee from henceforth diſcharged of the othe which they haue made in any manner whatſoeuer, vnto the king of Spaine, as lord of theſe countries, or of that wherby they may be bound vnto him. And for the aboue named reaſons, the moſt part of the ſaid vnited prouinces, by a common accord and conſent of their members, haue ſubmitted themſelues vnder the command and gouernment of the high and mightie Prince, the Duke of Anion and Alanſon, &c. vpon certaine conditions contracted and accorded with his Highneſſe: And that the archduke of Auſtria, *Mathias*, hath reſigned into our hands the gouernment generall of theſe countries, the which hath beene accepted by vs. Wee enioyne and commaund all iudges, officers, and all others, to whom it ſhall appertaine, That hereafter they leaue and forbeare to F vſe any more, the name, titles, great ſeale, or ſignet of the king of Spaine: And in ſtead thereof, whileſt that the duke of Aniou, for his vrgent affaires, concerning the good and welfare of the country, ſhall bee yet abſent, for as much as ſhall concerne the prouinces which haue contracted with his Highneſſe, and touching the reſt by way of prouiſion, they ſhall vſe the title and name of the chiefe and counſell of the country. And vntill that the ſaid heads and

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counſellors

1581 counsellors, shall be named, called, and really established in the exercise of their charges, and offices, they shall vse our name, except Holland and Zeeland, where they shall vse as they haue formerly done, the name of the prince of Orange, and of the Estates of the said Prouinces, vntill that the said counsell shal be in force, and then they shall gouerne themselues as it is agreed, touching the instructions giuen for the said counsell, & the accords made with his Highnesse. And in stead of the kings seals, they shall hereafter vse our great seale, counter seale, and signet, in matters concerning the gouernment generall, for the which the counsell of the countrey, according to their instructions shall haue authoritie: And in matters concerning the policie, administration of iustice, and other priuat acts of euerie prouince, the prouinciall consuls and others, shall respectiuely vse the name and seale of the said prouince, where the mater shall be in question, and no other, vpon paine of nullitie of the said letters, or dispatches which shall be otherwise made or sealed. And to the end these things may be the better obserued and effected, we haue enioyned and commaunded, and doe enioyne and commaund by these presents, that all the king of Spaines seals, which are at this present within these vnited prouinces, shall be deliuered into the Estates hands, or to him that shall haue commission and authoritie from them, vpon paine of arbitrarie punishment. Moreouer, We ordaine and command, that from henceforth the name and armes of the king of Spaine, shall not be put nor stampt in any coynes of these vnited prouinces: but there shall bee such a figure set vpon them, as shall bee appointed for the coyning of new peeces of gold and siluer. In like sort we enioyne and commaund the president and lords of the priuie counsell, and all other chauncellors, presidents, prouinciall consuls, and all presidents and chiefe masters of accounts, and others of all chambers of accounts, being respectiuely in these countries, and also all other iudges and officers (as holding them discharged of the othe which they haue made vnto the king of Spaine, according to the tenor of their commissions) that they shall take a new othe in the hands of the Estates of the Prouince, where they are, or to their deputies, by the which they shal sweare to be faithfull to vs against the king of Spaine, and his adherents, according to the forme set downe by vs: and there shall be giuen to the said counsellors, masters of accounts, iudges and officers, remaining in the prouinces which haue contracted with the duke of Aniou, in our name, an act of continuance in their offices, containing in steed of a new commission, a cassation or disannulling of their former, and that by way of prouision vntill his comming. And to counsellors, masters of accounts, iudges, and officers, being resident in prouinces, which haue not contracted with his Highnesse, a new commission shal be giuen vnder our name and seale, if the petitioners were not found faultie, to be of bad behauiour, to haue gone against the priuiledges of the countrey, or to haue committed some other disorder.

We also commaund the president and them of the priuie counsell, the chancellor and counsel of Brabant, the gouernor, chancellor, and counsel of Gueldres and the countie of Zutphen, the president and counsell in Flanders, the president and counsell in Holland, the gouernour, president and counsell in Friseland, the president and counsell at Vtrecht, the bailife at Tournay and Tournesis, the receiuors or chiefe officers of Beoosterscheldt and Bewesterscheldt in Zeeland, the scout of Macklyn, and all other iudges and officers whom it shall concerne, their lieutenants, and euerie of them, presently without any delay, to publish this our decree in all places of their iurisdictions, and whersoeuer they are accustomed to make proclamations, to the end that no man may pretend any cause of ignorance: And that they may keepe and obserue, and cause to be kept and obserued inuiolably this our decree, without any fauour, support, or dissimulation; for we haue so thought it fit and conuenient for the good of the countrey. For the effecting whereof, wee giue to euerie one whom it shall concerne, full power and authoritie, and speciall commission. In witnesse whereof we haue caused our seale to bee hereunto annexed. Giuen at the Hage in our assembly the six and twentieth of July 1581. Vnderneath was written, By the ordinance and decree of the said Estates, and signed *I. Van Asseliers.*

According vnto this declaration of the Estates, there was a new forme of an othe drawne, in maner of an abiuration of the king of Spain, and promise of duetie and obedience which euerie one should owe vnto the said Estates, by the publike officers, and magistrats of euerie towne and prouince, as followeth.

I sweare, That hereafter I shall not follow nor yeeld obedience to *Philip* king of Spaine, nor.

A nor acknowledge him for my prince and lord, whom I do renounce by theſe preſents, and doe hold my ſelfe freed from all othes, and bonds, by the which I might be formerly tyed vnto him: whereof finding my ſelfe preſently deliuered, I ſweare a new, and bind my ſelfe to the vnited prouinces, and namely to them of Brabant, Gueldre, Holland, Zeeland, and their allies, and to the ſoueraigne magiſtrats that are appointed, to be faithfull and loyall vnto them, to yeeld them all obedience, aid, and comfort, with all my power and meanes, againſt the king of Spaine and his adherents, and againſt all the enemies of the countrey. Promiſing as a good vaſſall of the countrey, to carrie my ſelfe faithfully and loyally, with ſhew of all obedience to my ſuperiours: So helpe me the Almightie God. 1581

The forme of the othe of abiuration of the king of Spaine.

This decree being thus proclaimed, all the ſeales, counter ſeales, and ſecret ſignets of the
B king of Spaine, were broken and cancelled with ſolemnitie, by all the conſuls of the ſaid prouinces, and others new made, by order of the generall Eſtates, for that which concerned the gouernment, and the affaires of the generalitie. And as for matters of iuſtice and policie, they vſed the ſeales, names, and titles of priuat gouernours, and prouinciall conſuls. From that time there was no coins of gold, ſiluer, or copper, made with the name or titles of the king of Spain, but vpon ſtamps which the Eſtates had cauſed to be made in euerie prouince. All gouernors, ſuperintendents, preſidents, chauncellors, counſellors, and other officers, were diſcharged and abſolued from their precedent othes, and did ſweare fidelitie to the generall Eſtates, againſt the king of Spaine and his adherents, according to the forme aboue mentioned, to whom an act was ſent for the continuation of their commiſſions. Many notwithſtanding made great
C difficultie to abiure the king, and to take this new othe. Among others a counſellor of Friſeland, a man of great iudgement and experience, called *Raalda*, hearing this abiuration, propounded in open counſell at Leuwarden, and the renewing of the othe (whether it were through a ſodaine amazement, or for the affection which he bare to the king of Spaine) was ſo mooued and troubled, as he fell preſently into a conuulſion, and died ſodainely. They were then in great doubt, that this would cauſe the king to arreſt all the ſhips and merchandiſe of the Netherlanders, that were then in Spaine: but the great and extreame neceſſitie of corne which they had at that time in Spaine, was the cauſe that nothing was attempted againſt them.

Mathias Archduke of Auſtria, hauing (as we haue ſaid) willingly reſigned vp the gouerne-
D ment of the Netherlands, parted from Antuerpe the nine and twentieth of October, to retire himſelfe into Germanie, with a goodly traine and well attended, being richly and honourably intreated by the Eſtates, at his departure, as well by annuall penſion, rich preſents, readie money, and diſcharge of his expences and debts; as in many other gratuities and courteſies, notwithſtanding that he was for a time ſuſpected to haue had intelligence with the king of Spaine, his vncle and brother in law, and that he had a practiſe againſt the prince of Orange, his lieutenant (for the which his baker was committed to priſon, who hauing confeſt ſome points of his interrogations, gaue cauſe to the world to giue ſome credit to theſe ſuſpitions) not for any loue he bare vnto the Spaniards, but for that, by the calling of the duke of Anion, brother to the French king, to the duchie of Brabant and earledome of Flanders, hee would
E not willingly haue ſeene theſe prouinces transferred into any other houſe, than that of Auſtria, out of the which hee himſelfe was iſſued, and from the which they were like to be diſmembred.

The departure of the archduke Mathias out of the Netherlands.

At the ſame time the prince of Eſpinoy, gouernour of Tournay and Tourneſis, ſent to ſurpriſe the towne of Guiſlain in Henault, three leagues from Mons. Captaine *Turqueau* had the charge of this exploit, whereof he diſcharged himſelfe happily, ſo as this towne was reduced vnder the States commaund, to the great griefe of the earle of Lalaine, great bailife of Henault: but ſoone after it was recouered againe by the prince of Parma, where the ſaid *Turqueau* was taken priſoner, who was afterwards ſo tortured, to make him confeſſe the ſecrets of the citie of Tournay, and of the prince of Eſpinoy, as he died thereof, being in a maner torne
F in peeces, againſt all law of armes.

S. Guiſlain ſurpriſed by the prince of Eſpynoy.

The prince of Eſpinoy being called (as we haue ſaid before) by the foure members of Flanders, to commaund their armie, going out of Tournay, hee had carried with him the beſt part of the garriſon of the ſaid towne, to march towards Eaſt-Flanders. The prince of Parma, by the aduice of the marqueſſe of Roubay, brother to the ſaid Eſpinoy, taking hold of this occaſion,

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1581. sion, and considering how much the towne of Tournay did import him, for the freeing of the countries of Arthois, Henault, and the Chasteleine of Lille, in the middest whereof it is seated, homade shew as if he would follow the prince of Espinoy, and his troups, to make frustrat a certaine enterprise which he had vpon Graueling: but turning head sodainly, hee went to besiege Tournay, the which was vnfurnished both of gouernor and garrison, except the castle, where the princesse was remaining with the seignior of Estrailles, the princes lieutenant, and some few souldiers of the ordinarie garrison. The siege being laid, the campe intrencht, and artillerie planted, in great number, and in diuers places, both the town and the castle were battered together with six and thirtie peeces, and many mines and counter-mines were made of either side, after many sufficient breaches, diuers furious assaults being giuen, the which were valiantly repulst by the besieged, in the which they slew a great number of the enemie: the bourgers, boyes, wiues, and maidens, shewed themselues as hardie and as couragious, as the old and well experienced souldiers. In which assaults the seignior of Vaux, newly made earle of Buguoy was slaine, with the seignior of S. Floriſſe, sonne to the lord of Glaison, and brother to the earle of Herlies, the seignior of Bours (before gouernour of Macklyn, who had yeelded vp the citadell of Antuerpe to the Estates) with many other famous and good captains, as wel Spaniards as others: At the which the lord of Montigny, chief of the male-cõtents (afterwards marques of Renty) and *Gaspar* of Robles, lord of Billy, were hurt. At these assaults, among diuers remarkable things, the Spaniards hauing blowne vp a mine, there were certaine maidens labouring at the rampar, buried in the ruines vp to the shoulders; the lord of Montigny comming to the assaults, and spying them, taking pitie of them, he commaunded they should be taken vp, suffering them to returne safe into the towne. During the siege, in the end of Nouember there entred some three hundred horse into the towne, vnder the command of colonell *Preston*, a Scottish man, who hauing forced the Germans quarter in the Spanish campe, beat some horsemen, among the which was the prince of Chimays band of ordnance, of the which they carried away some thirtie. But these succours did not so much fortifie the besieged, as it did them harme in wasting of their prouision, and to discourage the burgers (among the which those of the reformed religion were the most resolute) by the report which they made vnto them, that they might not expect any succors from the duke of Aniou, who was gone into England, and his troups dispersed, although that the princes of Orange and Espinoy did hope well, that they would ioyne with their forces which they had in Flanders, and so to go ioyntly and succour them, as the duke had done before Cambray: vpon which hope the besieged had alwayes done their best endeuors in all assaults. The princesse of Espinoy (incouraging the souldiers and bourgers vpon the rampar) was shot in the arme.

Tournay besieged by the prince of Parma.

In the end the Protestant citizens, vpon whom alone depended the whole burthen of the defence of the towne (the Catholikes being persuaded by frier *Gery*, not to defend themselues against the kings men) and withall *Arthur* bastard of Meleun, seignior of Fresne, lieutenant of the towne, growing cold, euery man did the like, neither did the bourgers performe their accustomed endeuors. The princesse and the seignior of Estraylles dispairing of all succours, they resolued to capitulat with the prince of Parma, after some conferences held betwixt her, the marquesse of Roubay her brother in law, and the marquesse of Renty, called *Emanuel* of Lalaine, lord of Montigny her owne brother: whereunto the prince of Parma did willingly giue eare, and the rather for that he began to haue want of many things in his campe, especially of money and victuals, Winter also growing on, his men fell sicke, and many died of fluxes and other diseases, others grew weake and faint for want of good nourishment, and for cold and other extremities which they endured, which made him to make the more hast, and to yeeld them a good composition: The conditions were,

Tournay yeelded by composition.

That the princesse might retire where she pleased, with al her family and houshold seruants, mouable goods, and baggage.

That the garrison should depart with their colours flying, armes, bag and baggage, whither they pleased.

That the townes men to redeeme themselues from spoyle, should pay two hundred thousand florins.

That the Protestants that would retire themselues, and go liue in any place that were neuter, should enioy their goods, causing it to be receiued by Catholike persons.

That

A That all prisoners taken during the siege, of either part, should bee set at liberty without any ransome. 1581

That king *Philip* should take the towne into his protection, and pardon all that had carried armes against him.

That they of Tournay should be held faithfull subiects, and acknowledge king *Philip* for their naturall prince, who should not alter nor change any of their priuiledges.

That the artillerie and munition should bee deliuered vntouched, to the said prince of Parma.

And thus the towne was yeelded the 29 of November 1581.

The princesse was much solicited by her brother and brother in law, to remain stil in Tour-
B nay, or at their house of Antoin, and to persuade the prince her husband to leaue the Estates, and reconcile himselfe vnto the king. But she continued constant, and retired, with all her family goods, mouables, and iewels being accompanied by the seignior of Estrailles, the souldiers that were in garrison in the castle, and many good bourgers and rich merchants, going towards Audenarde, and so to Gant. The seignior of Fresne, bastard brother to the prince, remained still in the towne, following the kings partie, yet liuing as a priuat man, and without any credit.

The towne being yeelded on S. *Andrewes* day (whom the Burguignons hold for their patron) and all things set in good order, *Maximillian* of Morillon, vicar to the cardinall of Granuelle, in his archbishopricke of Mechlin, was made bishop of Tournay, in the place of the seig-
C nior of Oyenbrugghe (who retired also with the princesse, for that hee had beene placed there by the sole authority of the prince of Espinoy) and liues at this day a priuat solitary life in Holland. It was then time to fortifie Audenarde, lying neerest vnto Tournay of any towne that held the States partie, and to man it with a strong and sufficient garrison. The which the vnwilling or vnaduised bourgers refused, saying, they were sufficient of themselues to defend the towne. By reason whereof the seignior of Mansard, a gentleman of Tournesis (who had alwaies followed the prince of Orange) being gouernor of the place, sought by policy to draw in souldiers for the prince and States: Which the bourgers discouering, after they had done him many affronts and indignities, hauing besieged him in the castle; in the end they forced him to forsake the towne with his company of foot, refusing to acknowledge him any more for go-
D uernor, neither was he. The prince of Parma hearing of this mutinie, and meaning to make his profit thereof, he sent certaine horsemen, who approaching neere vnto the towne, presented their seruice, but they would not hearken to them, which made the prince of Parma to goe and besiege them, as we will presently shew.

About the end of this yeare captaine *Sale*, gouernor of the towne of Bourbourg in West Flanders, for the Spaniard, hauing intelligence with captaine *Bouffart* of the States partie, promised to the prince of Orange and the said States, to deliuer them the town, to make his peace with them and to purchase his reconciliation. Captaine *Bouffart* with some French men of the regiment of monsieur *de Villeneufue*, were sent for the execution of this exploit, who with part of his men past ouer the towne ditch in a certaine place where there was least water: the
E rest which should haue followed him, loosing their way by the darkenesse of the night, remained behind. *Bouffart* thinking that he had beene followed, and seconded by the rest, marched on, & entred the towne, where the seignior of la Motte pardieu, gouernor of Graueling, was at that time. At his entrie (which was not without bruit) *Sale* and his followers went to ioyne with him giuing an hot alarme: *la Motte* & his people comming to incounter them, there was a cruell fight, whereas *Bouffart* for want of being followed, was slaine, and all they that entred with him, were either slaine or prisoners. *Sale* was also slaine, desiring rather to die, than to bee taken prisoner. And so this enterprise failed.

On the fifth of December the seignior of Berselle (sonne to the lord of Gaesbeke, brother to the seignior of Heze) marquesse of Berghen, in the right of his wife, who was daughter to the
F lord of Petersheim, of the house of *Merode*, hauing vntill that time carried himselfe a Neuter, and liued in his castle of Woude, a league from his towne of Berghen vpon Soom, hauing gathered certaine troups together, with the seignior of Hautepenne, gouernour of Breda, they made an enterprise vpon Berghen, thinking to wrest it from the States, and to reduce it vnder the king of Spaines obedience. For the effecting whereof, hauing some intelligence within

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1581 the towne, they cauſed foure hundred men to approach, whereof a part entred into the town, A
by a hole ioyning to the Sluce, although there was a centinell placed there, the which at that
time was halfe deafe, beſides the fogge was ſo great, as they could not diſcerne three paces off,
the which did wonderfully fauour their enterpriſe: But two hundred of thoſe vndertakers be-
ing entred without diſcouerie, by chance a ſouldier of the town guard, walking vp and down,
met them, and knew them, ſo as he preſently cried to armes, the which ſtaied the reſt that wold
haue entred, finding alſo ſome other ſtop. Yet thoſe that were entred marched in verie good
order through the towne, vnto the market place, bending towards the port of Woude, which
they thought to breake open by force, and to draw in the horſe which were there attending.
The French garriſon which was within the towne, of *la Gards* regiment, was at the firſt much
amazed with this ſodaine ſurpriſe: but colonel *Allein* and captain *Durun* arriuing, they took B
courage, and charged the enemie with ſuch furie, as they had no meanes nor leaſure to breake
the ſaid port, all flying to the rampar, to caſt themſelues downe into the ditch, and ſo to ſaue
themſelues. Whereof there were ſome ſeuentie ſlaine, and about an hundred priſoners, among
the which was captaine *Paulo Bobera*: captaine *la Riuiere* was ſlaine, and there were not many
eſcaped, but were hurt. See how by this enterpriſe which ſucceeded not the marqueſſe of Ber-
ghen declared himſelfe an enemie to the States, and ſo hee carried himſelfe vntill his death,
which was two or three yeares after.

In the meane time the affaires of Flanders were nothing pleaſing to the prince of Orange,
for the repairing whereof he was much troubled, and yet preuailed little, parting in December
from Gant, he returned to Antuerpe, where on the twentieth day of the moneth the generall C
The prince of Oranges deſire to be diſcharged of his place. Eſtates being aſſembled, he gaue them to vnderſtand, That by the voluntarie departure and
retreat of the archduke *Mathias* (whoſe lieutenant he had beene in the gouernment of the Ne-
therlands) he was in like ſort diſcharged of the ſaid office, and therefore they ſhould otherwiſe
aduiſe for their affaires. Whereupon hee was intreated by the Eſtates, to continue his charge
vntill the end of Ianuarie following, when as they attended the comming of the duke of An-
The States anſwer to the princes demād iou. Whereupon he made anſwer, That leeing for his honour, for the good of the countrey,
and for their ſeruice, they found it conuenient it ſhould be ſo, he would in the meanie time put
" them in mind of things which had happened the yeares paſt, for want of their good gouerne-
" ment. And although (ſaid he) that the enemie being maſter of the field, had in a manner done
" what he would, which they could not hinder, yet (God be thanked) he had not won all: ſee- D
" ing that with all his forces diſperſed here and there, hee had not much aduanced in Friſeland
" and Guelderland, nor yet in Brabant, but had been forced to imploy his chiefe power of men
" and artillerie, in Arthois and Henault, for the warre which the townes of Cambray and Tour-
" nay made him, hauing ſpent a whole yeare about Cambray, without whoſe great endeuours
" Tournay could not haue ſo long ſubſiſted, and the enemie would haue beene far aduanced in
" Flanders. He ſaid, That a yeare before (to preuent thoſe loſſes) he had giuen the deputies to vn-
" derſtand, being then aſſembled, that they muſt haue three thouſand horſe, and two regiments
" of foot of increaſe. That they were to render thanks to God, and after him to the duke of An-
" iou, for the deliuery of Cambray, the which they had no meanes to ſuccour, no more than
" Tournay, and all by their own fault, for if they had thoſe three thouſand horſe, and the ſup- E
" ply of foot, with their other troups, and had ioyned with the duke of Anlou, without doubt
" they had chaſed the Spaniard out of the countrey: being yet to be feared, that by their negli-
" gence, delayes, and weake reſolutions, they would fall the yeare following into greater incon-
" uenience than before. The which would happen (ſaid he) for that not any one of them in
" particular, did thinke that this warre did concerne his life, goods, wife, children, and poſteritie,
" ſeeking rather their priuat profit, than the publike: and withall euerie man refuſed to furniſh
" money, according as he is taxed, without the which neither he nor any man liuing can make
" warre. Not that he demanded the mannaging of the money, which they knew hee neuer had,
" nor euer deſired, wherewith ſome calumnious perſons (whoſe knowledge is better) would
" taxe him: but he had thought it good to admoniſh them hereof, that they might diſcerne and F
" prouide for that which was common to them all: ſeeing it hath beene hitherto obſerued (the
" which they could not preuent) that not only euery prouince, but euery towne, hath his coun-
" ſell of warre, his troups, and his treaſure apart. True it was, they had appointed a generall and
" head counſell, but without authoritie or power: for where there is neither authoritie, reſpect,

nor

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A nor obedience, how is it poſſible to ſettle any good order in militarie diſcipline, in the reue- 1582
nues, treaſure, iuſtice, or policie, and in all other things concerning an eſtate? Being impoſſible "
that ſuch a counſell can haue any authoritie or reſpect, when as they cannot diſpoſe of a penie, "
as neither he nor that high counſell neuer yet could. To conclude (ſaid hee) behold the fault "
and the inconuenience, which had hitherto detained them, and wherein they continued, the "
which (as he had formerly propheſied vnto them) would be the cauſe of their ruine, if God by " Pſalm.
his mercie did not preuent it. He therefore intreated them to conſider well of that point, and "
so call them that vnderſtood it, to the end the blame might not be laid vpon him. But if they "
would take a good courſe, and foreſee it in time, they ſhold find by the effects (as he is bound) "
that he would not ſpare any thing that is in his power. Wherein they ſhould ſtriue the more, "
B ſeeing that his gouernment extends but to the end of Ianuarie; and that for the preſent there "
was no other to gouerne but himſelfe, and to order all things with all conuenient ſpeed. "

This ſpeech of the prince, although it were truly and ſincerely deliuered, yet wrought it ſmall effect: ſome prouinces being of opinion, the warre ſhould be referred to the prince and the counſell of State, others ſaid, that they muſt ſtay their reſolution vntil the comming of the duke of Aniou. For the haſtening whereof the ſeignior of S. Aldegonde, and doctor *Imiad*, bourgmaſter of Antuerpe, were ſent into England. The princes of Orange and Eſpinoy, with the other chiefe noblemen of the countrey, going to attend him at Middlebourg in Zeeland, there to receiue him.

In the meanetime the townes of Doccum, Sloten, Stauoren, with the Nyeuwe-zyel in the
C countrey of Friſeland, being fortified for the Eſtates, the ſeigniour of Merode, gouernour of that quarter, thought it good to giue order for the ſeuen Forreſts, and to hold them better aſſured. Whereupon hee commaunded monſieur *Nieuwenoort*, a knight, to fortifie the Borough of Oldenborne, and to lodge there with ſix companies of foot. Colonell *Verdugo*, gouernour of Groningue for the king of Spaine, went therefore the 24 of Ianuarie, thinking to diſlodge him: but ſeeing himſelfe ſo roughly entertained by the ſallies of them of the garriſon, & hearing of the preparation which the Eſtates made to ſuccour it, he retired, not without loſſe: for the knight *Nieuwenoort*, fell vpon his rereward, the which he defeated, his men carrying away a great ſpoyle, and many priſoners. Some time after the places of Brouckhorſt and Keppel yeelded to the Spaniard: Colonell *Norris*, who was then in Friſeland, beſieged them, but hee
D preuailed nothing.

The duke of Aniou (as we haue ſaid) gone the firſt of Nouember into England, beeing ac- The duke of Aniou comes out of England into Zeeland,
companied by the prince Daulphin, ſonne to the duke of Montpenſer, the earles of Laual (ſon to the lord d'Andelot) S. Aignan and Chaſteauroux, the ſeigniours d'Eſpruneaux, Feruaques, Bacqueuille, Cheualier Breton, Theligny, and others, whither alſo came the ſeignior of Inchy, gouernor of Cambray. He was entertained with great pompe and ſtate by the Queen, where hauing ſpent three moneths in great pleaſure and delight, hee departed from London the firſt of Februarie, being accompanied by the Queene, who conducted him towards Douer. And the eight day following, after leaue taken, and that the Queene had recommended the affaires of the Netherlands vnto him, counſelling him to gouerne them mildly, and aduiE ſing him aboue al to win the hearts of the people and of the nobilitie, and to vſe their counſel: aſſuring him, that in ſo doing, his eſtate would haue a good foundation, and be durable. In the end he imbarked in the Queens ſhips, which attended him, being accompanied in his voiage by the earle of Leiceſter, the lord *Charles Howard*, admirall of England, and the baron of Honſdon, all three Knights of the Garter, and of her Maieſties counſell. To whom ſhe gaue charge to ſay vnto the prince of Orange, and other noblemen, and the Eſtates of the Netherlands, That the ſeruice they ſhould do vnto the ſaid Duke, ſhee would hold it, and repute it as done vnto her owne perſon. There were alſo many other Engliſh noblemen in his companie, as the lord *Willoughby*, *Sheffeld*, *Windſore*, and many knights, as Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Shurley*, *Parras*, *Drury*, and the ſonnes of the lord *Howard*, with diuers other knights and gentlemen of account, with
F a goodly traine of ſeruants richly appointed, with the which the Duke arriued at Fleſſingue the tenth of Februarie, whereas the princes of Orange and Eſpinoy, and the chiefe nobilitie, with the deputies of the Eſtates, went to receiue him, after that they had long attended his comming. The ſaid princes and noblemen put twice to ſea in a ſmall boat, to goe and ſalute him, but they could not get aboord his ſhip, nor come neere it, ſo as hee tooke his long boat

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1582 to go to land, whereas the prince of Orange imbracing his thigh, ſaid, That hee held himſelfe A
verie happie to ſee that deſired day, when as he might offer vnto him his moſt humble ſeruice,
all his meanes, his perſon, and his life, hoping that he ſhould be the only cauſe, that the Neth-
lands (after ſo long ſufferance) ſhould in the end be freed. Whereupon the Duke hauing im-
braced him, the prince of Eſpinoy, and the other chiefe noblemen, anſwered in few words and
* *Iohn Petis.* very modeſtly, Thanking them verie heartily for the honor they did him. I * did obſerue at
his landing (being then preſent, & an houſhold ſeruant to the prince of Orange) that the duke
going out of the boat to ſtep on land, tript a little with the right foot, and might haue fallen in-
to the water, if he had not beene held. Some diſcourſed afterwards of this ſmall miſhap, and
tooke it for an ill preſage.

Being entred into the towne of Fleſſingue (when he could not in a maner ſee any thing for B
the ſmoke of the canon, which was diſcharged from the town and ſhips) he was conducted to
the towne-houſe, where his lodging was prepared, and dinner readie, ſtaying there vntill the
next day, from whence after his repaſt (being then exceeding cold) hee went on foot with all
the princes and noblemen, to Middleburg, which is a good league diſtant from thence, where
he was receiued very honorably without the town gate, by the deputies of the Eſtates of the
countie of Zeeland; the bourgers being ten enſignes, were in armes wel appointed both with-
out and within the towne, to guard him. The next day hee had a very ſtately banquet made
him at the towne-houſe, the which was the moſt rare and ſumptuous (conſidering their ſmall
time of preparation) that had been made him in all the Netherlands, which made him admire C
the riches and ſumptuouſneſſe of ſuch a towne, ſeated in ſo ſmall an iſland, beſides the goodly
preſents which the magiſtrats made vnto him: hauing ſtaid vntill the 17 day, he departed to go
vnto Antuerpe, and lodged that night in the fort of Lillo, vpon the riuer of Eſcault.

Francis

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FRANCIS DE VALOIS, DVKE OF ANIOU, of Brabant, &c. Earle of Flanders, &c. Protector of the Belgicke Libertie. 1582



FRANCISCVS VALESIVS D. G. DVX ALENSON ET BRABANT COMES FLANDRIÆ. PROTECT: BELGICÆ.

By royall race I was the ſonne of valiant Henrie
The ſecond, king of France, and did behold with wofull eye
The maſſacre that in my youth in Paris once was made,
Whereat I was in heart ſore griev'd, and great compaſſion had.
The warres in France once finiſhed, I did then vndertake
To aid the Netherlands, that me their ſoueraigne prince did make;
Where peruerſe counſell of ſuch men as envi'd my eſtate,
Seduced me, and made my actions prone vnfortunate:
For ſeeking Antuerpe to ſubdue, in their defence
They did become my mortall foes, and draue me out from thence.
So, deadly hated of them all, in France I then retir'd,
Whereas in Chaſteau Thirry death my vitall dayes expir'd.

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1582 A

THE twentie ninth of Februarie the Duke of Aniou (to make his ioyfull entrie into the towne of Antuerpe, where hee was attended in great deuotion with an incredible preparation, all his ships of warre hauing their pauillions and standerds flying, with a wonderfull noyse of trumpets, drummes, and canon-shot) he sayled along the towne, whereas all the kayes were full of men in armes, and landed beyond the castle, in the suburbe beyond the towne, whereas the salt pits be called the Kiel: At which place there was a great scaffold made, and richly hanged, where being mounted, there was read vnto him in the vulgar tongue, and interpreted into French, the priuiledges, statutes, and ordinances of the duchie of Brabant, of the towne of Antuerpe, and of the marquisite of B the holy empire, which belongs to the same towne, and the iurisdiction thereof. The which he sware and promised to entertaine vpon the holy Euangils, in the hands of the seignior *Theodore* of Lysfeldt, chancellor of Brabant. As in like sort the chiefe noblemen, gentlemen, and others there present, his vassals, by reason of the said duchy and marquisit, tooke their othe, and did him homage, all with great ioy of the people, and of all the assistants. Then was hee attired by the princes of Orange and Espinoy, with the dukes robe of crimson veluet, furred with Ermins; the prince of Orange saying, Let vs make fast this button, that the robe may not be pulled away. Then was the hat put on his head, the prince Daulphin saying to the prince of Orange, Brother set it fast on, that it fly not off. All was performed with great pompe and ceremonies, the which continued almost two howers, there being all that day aboue twentie thou- C sand men in armes, as well within as without the towne. All these solemnities of his reception, inuestiture, othes, and homages, being ended, the pentioner of the towne of Antuerpe, called M. *Iohn vanden Werke*, made (by commandement of the magistrat) a speech vnto the people, shewing, That the Duke would in like sort take a particular othe, for the marquisite of the holy empire, and that they should pray vnto God, that by such solemne acts, redounding to his honour and gloire, the countrey might flourish in all happinesse and prosperitie. This Oration being ended, the Duke tooke the said othe in the hands of the seignior of Stralen, Amptman of the towne, who in signe of acknowledgement and obedience, presented him a golden key, the which the duke returned him backe againe, and commaunded him to keepe it safely. D

The Duke of Aniou created Duke of Brabant.

These solemnities being finished, the heralds with their coats of armes of Brabant, Lembourg, and Lothier, bare headed, began to crie, *God saue the Duke of Brabant*, and the trumpets sounding, they cast among the people many handfuls of gold & siluer. On the one side of the coynes was his picture with his name and titles, and on the other his deuice, drawne from the vertue of the Sunne, with these words, *Fouet & discutit*, that is, He doth nourish and chase away. This done, the Duke going from the scaffold with the princes and noblemen, that did accompanie him, went to horseback, being mounted vpon a goodly Neapolitan courser, and so went towards the towne. Before him there marched in goodly order, first the sergeant maiors, the officers of the town-house, the trumpets of the towne, merchant strangers, Dutch and Easterlings, all in white, and well mounted, the English in blacke veluet, the colonels and cap- E taines of the towne, then many gentlemen, as well of the Netherlands as French and English: after followed the magistrats and chiefe officers of the town, as the Amptman, Bourgmasters, Sherifes, Pentioners, Secretaries, Treasurers, Receiuers, and other officers, beeing followed by the trumpets of the Estates. Then marched in order the deputies of the Estates of euery prouince, first they of the duchy, and nobles of Brabant, after whom followed the chauncellor of Brabant, and with him cont *Lamoral* of Egmont, as baron of Gaesbeke: then his guard of Switsers, being followed by many gentlemen of the countrey, French and English: after whom came the Duke in his ornaments, hauing before him, first the Markgraue of Antuerpe, bare headed, carrying his long rod, the marke of iustice: then the baron of Merode, seignior of Petershem, who that day supplied the place of marshall of Brabant, carrying a naked sword: the F said nobleman marched in the middest of three of the sworne companies of the towne, that is, of crossebowes, archers, and harguebusiers, with as goodly armes as could be seene, seruing him as a guard: then followed his French guard on horseback, carrying petronels, attyred in crimson veluet, laid with silke and gold lace, the Duke marching in this pompe towards the towne.

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A towne. At the port there were ſix gentlemen, carrying a canopie of cloth of gold, richly embroidered, who attended him, vnder the which hee rode alone through the citie vnto his palace. 1582

At his entrie he found a triumphant chariot of the vnion, on the which was ſet a faire virgine, richly adorned, repreſenting the virgine of Antuerpe: and at euery corner of a ſtreet, where he ſhould paſſe, ſcaffolds were made, whereon they did figure diuers hiſtories and morals, fit for the reception of a new prince, to ſerue him as an example and preſident; the which for the moſt part were interpreted vnto him, with many arches, coloſſes, pyramides, and other ſhewes of triumph. All which ſolemnities and ceremonies continued vntill night, the canon ſtill thundering from the rampars. In the end he was conducted with this royall traine vnto
B his palace, in the abbey of S. *Michael*, where ſupper attended him, being alſo prepared for al the noblemen that did accompanie him. The dukes entrie into Antuerpe.

Thurſday following (being the two and twentieth day of the moneth) the duke went vnto the towne-houſe, before the which there was a great ſcaffold erected, and richly appointed, where (according to the accuſtomed ſolemnities and ceremonies) he tooke a particular oath to the towne of Antuerpe, in the bourgomaſters hands, with an oration to the people, pronounced by the pentioner. Then the Amptman did read with a loud voice in the vulgar tongue to the bourgomaſters, ſherifes, officers, counſell of the towne, and to all the people, the oath which they made vnto the duke, ſo as lifting vp their hands, they did ſweare fealtie and obedience vnto him; which done, they caſt gold and ſiluer abroad as before: after which
C the duke, with all the noblemen, French, Engliſh and Netherlanders, went and dined in the State-houſe. The dukes oth to the towne of Antuerpe.

The duke being thus inueſted in the duchie of Brabant, and the Marquiſite of the holy empire, the Romiſh Catholickes of the towne of Antuerpe did importune him to haue free and publicke exerciſe of their Religion, relying vpon the dukes profeſſion of the ſame Religion: to whom in the end there was graunted (by the aduice of the prince of Orange and the counſell of Eſtate) that they might aſſiſt at Maſſe, Euenſong, and other ceremonies in the temple of S. *Michaels* abbey, when as the duke ſhould be preſent, vpon condition, that they ſhould take the oath which was propounded vnto them. On the other ſide, the prince of Orange preſented vnto him the deputies of the conſiſtories of the Proteſtant Religion, who
D came to congratulate his happie comming to this new Eſtate and duchie of Brabant, offering him all ſeruice, fidelitie, and obedience, as to their prince and ſoueraigne lord, beſeeching him, that he would in like ſort receiue them vnder his defence, ſafegard and protection, as his moſt humble ſubiects and obedient vaſſals: and repreſenting vnto him the example of his grand father *Francis* the firſt, they beſought him to haue learning and learned men in recommendation, and then they ended their ſpeech, with a prayer vnto God, That hee would giue him the courage of *Dauid*, the wiſedome of *Salomon*, and the zeale of *Ezechias*. Whereupon the duke anſwered, That hee was glad and very well pleaſed to ſee their concord and vnities; that he did hope ſo to gouerne them, as they ſhould neuer be fruſtrate of that good expectation which they had of him, wherein he would imitate the ſteps of his predeceſſours; and ſo
E thanking them for the loue and affection they ſeemed to beare him, he receiued them and all the people in generall vnder his defence and protection, intreating them, that they would perſeuer in their profeſſion and good endeuors, promiſing to maintaine them therein, & to gratifie all learned men, profeſſors, ſchollers, and others.

After the conqueſt of the towne of Tournay, the prince of Parma ſuffered his armie to reſt ſome time in the townes and places which hee had recouered from the Eſtates, where they made themſelues to be ſerued and obſerued after the Spaniſh manner. And in the mean time hee held a counſell with the Eſtates of Arthois and Henault, not onely concerning the gouernment generall (which the ducheſſe his mother, being returned to Namur, pretended, as we haue ſaid) but chiefely to cauſe his Spaniſh, Italian, high Dutch, and Bourguignon for-
F ces to returne, who (according to the treatie of their reconciliation) were gone out of the countrey: whereon he did the more inſiſt, pretending that the ſaid article was put into the treatie, onely to induce and moue the other prouinces of Brabant, Flanders &c. to enter into the reconciliation, who if they had reconciled themſelues, as they did, the ſaid troupes had then beene quite excluded, as vnprofitable in theſe parts. But now (ſaid he) ſeeing it hath not ſuc-

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1582 ſucceeded, and that the vnreconciled prouinces had now ſhowne themſelues greater ene- A
mies to the king and them, than euer, hauing called the French to their aid, it was more
than neceſſarie for their good and the kings ſeruice to haue thoſe ſtrange ſouldiors called
backe. Whereunto in the end the Eſtates of Arthois and Henault yeelded, for the which an
Act was made, which *Damp Iohn Saraſin*, abbot of S. Vaaſt in Arras, carried into Spaine,
hauing his brother *N. Saraſin* (a taylor by profeſſion) with him, whom the king (for the
loue of the ſayd abbot) made a knight, and afterwards (by meanes of the church goods,
and the helpe of my lord abbot) hee attained to great wealth, and among other things hee
purchaſed the Seigniorie of Alennes: by meanes whereof, and of his knighthood, this tay-
lor (by the recommendation of his brother) obtained letters of Eſtate, to be admitted with
the chiefe noblemen in the aſſembly of the Eſtates of the countie of Arthois: and ſo might B
the ſaid abbot (whom the king had made counſellor of Eſtate in the Netherlands) diſcouer
the ſecrets of the particular Eſtates of Arthois: for which cauſe hee was afterwards exclu-
ded by the auncient nobilitie of the countrey, not without an affront, which hee diſgeſted
quietly.

This abbot (when as all men would ſeeme to make ſhew to be well affected vnto their
countrey, againſt *Dom Iohn* of Auſtria) did write a bitter inuectiue againſt the tyrannous
and cruell gouernment of the Spaniards. He was learned and well ſpoken, a right Cour-
tier, and exceeding ambitious, in the end he became archbiſhop of Cambray, in which
hee dyed, in the yeare 1598. According vnto the diſpatch of this abbot, touching the
accord which was made with them of Arthois and Henault, the king did preſently leuie C.
two regiments of Spaniards, two of Italians, and ſome of the high Dutchmen, both
horſe and foot, ſending ſeuen hundred thouſand duckets for the warres of the Nether-
lands.

A little before, and alſo at the ſame ſeaſon, the king honoured ſome noblemen (his vaſ-
ſales) of thoſe countries with goodly titles, but more honourable than profitable. *Robert*
of Melun, lord of Richebourg, and, by his wife, Vicont of Gant (although that in the
time of *Dom Iohn* he had beene a great enemie vnto him) and gouernour of Arthois, was
created marqueſſe of Roubay, the which being heretofore but a baronie, which his mo-
ther (the princeſſe of Eſpinoy) had giuen him: *Oudard* of Bournonuille, Seignior of Ca-
pres, gouernour of the towne and citie of Arras, had his baronie of Hennin Lietard tran- D
ſlated to an earledome: *Iohn* of S. Omer, Seignior of Morbeque, gouernour of Aire,
was made earle of Morbeque; but he dyed before his letters patents came, and his ſonnes
afterwards neglected it: *N.* of Longueual, lord of Vaux, ſometimes gouernour of Arras,
was a little before his death made earle of Bucquoy: *Maximilian* of Villain, Seigniour of
Raſſinghem, gouernour of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, had his Seigniorie erected into
an earledome: and afterwards, *Valentine* of Pardieu, Seignior of la Motte, gouernour of
Graueling, of a poore gentleman was made earle of Eckelbeque, the which hee had
bought of a Frenchman: The king of Spaine would alſo haue the marriage to be made
and ſolemnized of the daughter and onely heire of the deceaſed marqueſſe of Renty,
brother to the duke of Arſchot, with *Emanuel* of Lalain, lord of Montigny: ſo as the king E
of Spaine did gratifie and honour many of his ſeruants with vaine titles, without any
charge.

The duke of Aniou being newly created duke of Brabant, came into the aſſembly of
the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, in the towne of Antuerpe, with the prince of
Orange, to ſettle ſome good order for all that did concerne the well gouerning of the
countrey, and to haue an aſſured aſſignation of two hundred florins a moneth for the en-
tertainment of his armie, beſides thoſe troupes which the Eſtates entertained in their fron-
tier garriſons and other places: Thoſe of Brabant had vpon their charge the garriſons of
Liere, Macklyn, Bruſſels, Herental, Dieſt, Villeuorde, Hoochſtraten, Weſterlo, part of that
of Berghen vpon Soome; thoſe of the forts of Lillo, Willebrouck, and S. Marguerite, F
with all the ſhippes of warre vpon the riuer of Antuerpe. They of Flanders had alſo vp-
on their charge an hundred and thirtie companies of foot, and twentie cornets of horſe-
men, not comprehending the garriſons of Guelderland, Friſeland, and Oueryſſell: all
which beeing vnited in one bodie of an armie, and ioyned with the duke of Aniou his
forces,

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A forces, had beene ſufficient to chaſe the Spaniards and all ſtrangers out of the countrey: but all theſe places muſt of neceſſitie haue garriſons, for feare of ſome alterations and reuolts. 1582

At that time the Eſtates men being yet in Menin, defeated a great conuoy, neere vnto a village called Warcoin in Tourneſis, conducted by two hundred Albanois horſe, where they had a rich bootie, and many good priſoners. They of Friſeland in the beginning of this yeare, by fauour of the yce, ſurpriſed the towne of Meppel, and the caſtle of Brouchorſt, which they tooke by force.

At that time there was a certaine Spaniſh marchant liuing in Antuerpe, called *Gaſpar de Anaſtro*; who ſeeing his affaires to decline, and that he was likely to become bankerupt, if
B he were not preſently relieued with money by ſome other meanes than marchandiſe, his credit beginning to decay, he then bethought himſelfe of the ſentence of proſcription giuen by the king of Spaine againſt the prince of Orange, and of the reward promiſed to him that ſhould murther him. Hee being greedie of this prey (after that hee had conferred with ſome of the king of Spaines partie, and among others, with *Valentine* of Pardieu Seigniot of la Motte, gouernour of Graueling) to put this proiected murther in execution, he firſt addreſſed himſelfe to a ſeruant of his, who kept his accounts, and (with teares in his eyes) ſhewed him into what danger he was like to fall, and to become bankerupt, if hee were not helped with money, the which (he ſayd) there was no meanes to preuent, but in get-
C ting the reward promiſed in the proſcription for the murther: hee therefore intreated him (as he knew his ſecrets) to vndertake this act. The young man pitied his eſtate, and would willingly haue aſſiſted him with all meanes poſſible, but hee excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, That he had not the heart nor courage to doe it. Then hauing a little bethought himſelfe, he ſaid, that there was not any one more fit for ſuch an exploit, than *Ioan Iauvregui* (whom hee called *Ioanille*) *Anaſtro* his boy, who might bee eaſily perſuaded and aduiſed to vndertake and performe it, being a moſt wicked villaine, and reſolute to doe any miſchiefe whatſoeuer. *Ioanille* being called, they breake it vnto him, and hee vndertaketh it reſolutely, without any pauſing or further excuſe: hauing concluded when, how, and after what manner it ſhould be effected, this marchant *Anaſtro* leauing his people ingaged, retyred himſelfe out of Antuerpe, and went to Graueling to *la Motte*, to aſſure the fact. Be-
D ing vpon the way, he writ to *Ioanille*, That hee ſhould not fayle to put two rounds, and to take the meaſure behind, which was, that he ſhould charge his piſtolet with two bullets, and ſhoot him behind in the head. The day for this execution, was taken vpon Sunday the eighteenth of March, which day there was a feaſt appointed at the duke of Aniou his court, the prince of Orange aſſiſting. But *Ioanille* doubting that the preaſe would be too great, and that he ſhould not approch ſo neere vnto the prince his perſon, as was needfull to doe the deed, he thought it more conuenient to execute it at dinner, in the prince his owne houſe, he being at the table. This boy being thus deſperately reſolued, a certaine Iacobin Frier (called *Peter Timmerman*) came to confeſſe him in *Anaſtro* his houſe, fortifying him in his reſolution with many ſweet words, yet perſuading him and making him
E beleeue, that hee ſhould goe inuiſible, hauing giuen him ſome caracters in paper, and certaine little bones, as of frogges, which they found in his pockets, with many coniurations and ſuch like fooleries written in his tables. Beeing thus aſſured and preſerued (as he thought) he drunke a cup or two of Malmeſey, and being accompanied with the Monke (who went ſtill exhorting and ſtrengthening him therein) going towards the caſtle, they came vnto the prince his court, whereas his ghoſtly father hauing giuen him his bleſſing at the ſtayres foot, left him, and went away. The prince of Orange was ſet at dinner with the earles of Laual and Hohenloo, the lord of Boniuet, with many other noblemen, and ſome of the Eſtates. *Ioanille* entereth into the dyning chamber, who (being attyred almoſt like a Frenchman) they tooke him to bee ſeruant to ſome of thoſe French-
F noblemen: he ſought to approch neere vnto the prince his perſon, but hee was ſo enuironed by his gentlemen, as hee could not get neere for to ſhoot at him behind, as hee was inſtructed; yet hee thruſt himſelfe forward twice or thrice, and was ſtill repulſed. Dinner beeing done, and the prince going to retyre into his chamber, this boy fixed himſelfe

A plot laid to kill the prince of Orange.

1582. himselfe before a window in the hall, close by the dore of his withdrawing chamber. The A
prince passing on (before hee entred) shewed vnto the earle of Laual the cruelties which
the Spaniards had practised in the Netherlands, the which were wrought in the tapistrie;
and hauing his face turned on the left side, this murtherer discharged his little pistoll,
The murtherer shoots the prince. thinking to hit him in the hinder part of the head: but the prince turning at the same in-
stant, the bullet entred in at the throat vnder his right chap, being so neere, as the fire en-
tred with the bullet into the wound, burning his ruffe and his beard; it brake him one
tooth, and pierced the iugular veine, and yet his tongue was nothing perished, the bul-
let came out at the left cheeke, hard by his nose.

This blow being giuen (wherewith they were all terrified) one of the halberdiers could
not contayne himselfe, but hee thrust him through with his halberd, and then a page B
made an end of him. The surgeons being called, found, that the fire which had entred
The murtherer slaine. into the wound, had cauterised the iugular veine, and done him much good, wherefore
the wound was not mortall. The murtherer being at the first vnknowne, the bloud where-
with hee was poluted and defiled, was washed off, and then he was bound vpright vpon
a scaffold which went vpon wheeles, and carried from street to street, to see who did
know him. He was in the end knowne, and with that which they found written about
him, they were fully assured, that hee was *Anastro* his seruant: without doubt, the tu-
mult was great in Antuerpe, before that he was knowne; for that (beeing attyred like a
Frenchman) they did imagine, that the Frenchmen which were new come, had caused it
to be done; neyther could the bourgers be pacified, vntill that he was knowne, and that C
they were assured, that the prince was not mortally hurt. Presently *Anastro* his house
was forced by the bourgers, and the Cassier, the keeper of his booke, his seruant, the
Monke, and in the end he that made the pistoll, were all prisoners, but soone after relea-
sed, except the keeper of his booke and the Monke, who (after some dayes that the body
of the murtherer had beene publickely quartered, and hanged at the towne gates) were
also hanged and quartered, like vnto the murtherer. It was to bee feared, if the prince
had beene slaine, and the murtherer not so soone knowne, that both the duke of Aniou
and all the Frenchmen, yea, and all the Romish Catholickes which were in the towne,
had beene in great danger, notwithstanding the great endeuour of the magistrate to pa-
cifie the tumult: for the people beeing much mooued, cryed out nothing else, but, *Be-* D
hold the marriage of Paris, let vs spoyle these murtherers. The duke of Aniou was much per-
plexed and troubled in his court, beeing inuironed by the bourgers and the sworne com-
panies, who were all in armes. I haue since heard him confesse, That he was neuer more
*John Petit. deuout, nor neuer apprehended death more. He commaunded his followers to lay downe
their armes, and sent to entreat the prince of Orange to take him into his protection, who
writ vnto the colonels of the towne, excusing the duke, assuring them, that neyther hee
nor any of his had any hand in that action; but contrariwise, that hee was a mild and so-
ber prince, who sought nothing else but their good and safeties. In the end, the tumult
beeing somewhat pacified, the duke went to visit him, and did also grieue at his mis-
fortune, E

The prince of Parma on the other side, supposing that the prince of Orange was
slaine, and meaning to make his profit of this accident, writ presently to Brussels, Mack-
lyn, Gant, Bruges, and Antuerpe, letters full of sweet words, sending them word, That
the prince of Orange (who was the sole author of all the troubles) beeing dead, the
king of Spaine would vse on their behalfes all mildnesse and clemencie, and would for-
get all that was past, if they would returne, and yeeld themselues vnder his obedience,
for the which (he sayd) he had full commission from his Maiestie: wherefore they should
be well aduised, whilest that the gate of grace and mercie was open for them, and not to
suffer it to bee shut againe, and to loose so good an occasion as was then offered vnto
them. F

The duke and the prince of Orange were not ignorant of the prince of Parma his pra-
ctises: wherefore letters were written in their name, and in the name of the Generall
Estates of the vnited Prouinces, vnto the gouernours and magistrates of the townes of
Bra-

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A Brabant, Flanders, and other places, to containe them in their duties: and there was a new forme of an oath propounded to the Romiſh Catholickes, which they muſt take, if they would remaine free in the exerciſe of their Religion, the which was onely allowed in the duke his court: which oath did in effect contayne the abiuration of the king of Spaine, and fidelitie vnto the duke of Aniou, as duke of Brabant, and that the penaltie of a hundred crownes, impoſed vpon them which ſhould goe vnto the Maſſe, ſhould bee taken away. 1582

The prince of Parma hearing of this oath which the Romiſh Catholickes had taken, who would more willingly haue ſeene him commaund in thoſe parts, than the duke of Aniou, made and ſent foorth a proclamation in the king his name, not to diſcourage
B them, nor to make them deſpaire of grace and fauour: by the which hee did pardon the ſayd oath, imputing it to force, and (as it were) extorted from them, if from that time they would ſubmit themſelues vnder his protection and obedience, and ſhew themſelues faithfull.

Somethree thouſand foot and fiue hundred French horſe of the dukes, hearing that the earle of Barlamont, gouernour of Namur was abſent, came in the night with ladders made of rope blicks, to ſcale the caſtle of Namur, where at that time the ducheſſe, mother to the prince of Parma, was. But they could not carrie their enterpriſe ſo ſecretly, but they were diſcouered, and enforced to retyre, leauing their ladders behind them, with ſome part of their baggage. A vaine enterpriſe vpon the caſtle of Namur.

C The Seignior of Sainſeual, with captaine *la Croix* and *le Braue*, going out of Cambray with their horſe and ſome few foot, ſurpriſed the towne of Lens in the middeſt of Arthois: but hauing ſacked it, and thinking to hold it, the prince of Parma ſent to beſiege them by the marqueſſe of Roubay and the lord of Capres, ſo as they were not onely forced to leaue the towne and the booty which they had gotten, but alſo their horſes and their armes, the place lying in an open champian countrey, and not be held; for ſeeing they had onely an intent to ſpoile it, they ſhould preſently haue abandoned it: but as it is ſaid, they committed ſuch inſolencies and villanies, as God would puniſh them, taking from them all meanes to defend it. Lens ſurpriſed and loſt again.

The prince of Orange being hurt, as we haue ſayd, the eſclarre of the cautere which
D the fire had made in his wound falling, the iugular veine opened, and fell a bleeding in ſuch abundance, as all remedies which the phyſitions and ſurgeons could applie, preuayled nothing, ſo as they began to doubt of his life: for notwithſtanding that they did cauterize it with an aſtringent cautere, yet the eſclarre falling, it bled afreſh, ſo as hee grew exceeding weake by the loſſe of ſo much bloud; in the end they concluded, that nature in time, by the ſuppreſſion of the iugular veine, and the growing of the fleſh, ſhould ſtop and retayne the bloud, the which was done: and there were appointed both phyſitions, ſurgeons, and gentlemen of his chamber, who for nine dayes together, euery one keeping his turne, ſhould continually, night and day, hold his thumbe in the wound, vpon the veine that was cut; during which time (Nature working) it cloſed: and ſo
E the prince of Orange (by this onely troubleſome meanes) was freed at that time from danger.

Colonel *Martin Schenck* of Nydeck, a gentleman of good qualitie, and a ſouldier of great enterpriſes, hauing beene vpon the fourth of Aprill ſurpriſed in the towne of Xenten in the countrey of Cleues, by the Seignior of Hoochſaſſe, gouernour of the towne of Gueldre for the Eſtates (whither he was led priſoner, and there detained long) in the end, diſcontented with his long impriſonment, and ſeeing himſelfe abandoned by the king of Spaine, who made no meanes to free him (no more than the earle of Egmont, the baron of Selles, and other noblemen his ſubiects that were priſoners) he grew into ſuch a griefe and deſpight, as to be deliuered of this captiuitie, hee left his partie, and hauing treated
F with the earle of Mœurs, deliuering his ſtrong caſtle of Blyenbecke, and other places where he commaunded to the Eſtates, he followed their partie, ſending his wife and children vnto them for a gage of his promiſe: afterwards hee did great ſeruice to the Eſtates, wherein he died.

The

1582 The prince of Parma meaning to beſiege Audenarde (which is one of the ſtrongeſt townes in Flanders) before he came neere it, he made a ſhew as if he would beſiege Menin, and marching along the towne with his armie, the bourgers hauing ſix companies there in garriſon, ſent foorth three to charge his rereward. But the prince turning head, defeated them, & then caſting about with his armie, hee inueſted the towne, beeing weakened by the loſſe of theſe three companies: he planted fiue and twentie peeces of Ordnance, and tooke the caſtle of Gaure, a league from the towne, that they might not be relieued that way, nor his campe intercepted of their victuals: he alſo ſurpriſed by practiſe the caſtle of Caſtens, of another ſide, that he might aſſure his campe on all parts. Then he battered the towne twelue houres together, without ceaſing, and made a ſufficient breach: but the waters grew ſo high, as hee could not giue an aſſault (notwithſtanding that hee had bridges to paſſe the water of the ditch) they within the towne hauing ſtopped the courſe of the riuer of Eſcaut, which runneth through the towne. The Gantois by meanes of this inundation, did ſometimes ſuccour them with ſmall barkes. At one time among the reſt they thought to relieue them both with horſe and foot, but the marqueſſe of Roubay defeated them, and purſued them euen to the ports of Gant, in the which there were foureſcore horſemen ſlaine. There was a great fort without the towne, which defended them on that ſide: the prince of Parma tooke it by aſſault, but the beſieged ſallying forth preſently with great furie, chaſed them out of it, and recouered it againe, where there were ſlaine about a hundred of the Spaniards, and but foure of the beſieged; of ſuch force is a ſuddaine and a couragious reſolution. The prince ſeeing this, and that he preuailed nothing by his batterie, cauſed a bulwarke to be vndermined of another ſide, the which hauing woon, he lodged his men therein, whereupon they within the towne did preſently caſt vp a halfe moone before it.

Audenarde beſieged by the prince of Parma.

The duke of Aniou and Brabant being deſirous to raiſe the prince of Parma from this ſiege, ſent for all his garriſons both of horſe and foot, and for colonel *Norris*, with his regiment of Engliſh: ſo as it was ſuppoſed, that if the towne could haue held out but a little longer, there would haue beene a battaile giuen; but it yeelded by compoſition, in a manner like to that of Tournay: the prince of Parma, for that he would not be forced to rayſe his ſiege, nor to hazard a battaile, graunted them all they would deſire, for elſe they had not eſcaped ſo lightly. The conditions were, That the bourgers to redeeme their towne from ſpoyle, ſhould pay thirtie thouſand florins within ſix weekes: All ſuch as would depart and leaue the town, ſhould haue a yeares reſpite to ſell their goods: The ſouldiers leauing their enſignes, ſhould depart with their armes and baggage whither they pleaſed. It was yeelded vp the nine and twentieth of Aprill, after three moneths ſiege. If they had beene aſſured of ſuccours, they would haue held it longer, for they neyther wanted victuals, nor any munition of warre.

Audenarde yeelded to the Spaniard by compoſition.

The duke to recompence this loſſe, cauſed an enterpriſe to be made the two and twentieth of the ſame moneth, vpon the towne of Aloſt, by *Oliuer vanden Tympel*, Seignior of Corbeke, gouernour of Bruſſels, *Charles* of Lieuin, Seignior of Famas, gouernour of Macklyn, and the Seignior of Thiant, gouernour of Nieuwenhouen in Flanders. Theſe commaunders gaue a ſcalado to the ſtrongeſt part of the towne, whileſt that the garriſon of Lydekerke gaue an alarme on a weaker ſide, ſo as they woon the rampar by force, fighting furiouſly with loſſe on either ſide, whileſt that ſome of the aſſailants were labouring to breake open the port towards Bruſſels (after that they had cut the *corps de guard* in pieces) to draw in the horſemen, without the which, thoſe that were alreadie entred and had woon the towne, had been in all ſhew the weaker: but the horſemen being entred, they had an aſſured victory, and became maſters of the towne, the which was ſacked, where the Seignior of Thiant was appointed gouernor, the reſt returning to their gouernments. A little before this ſurpriſe, there were aboue foure hundred churchmen retyred into Aloſt, whereof ſome of the moſt buſie tooke armes at this ſurpriſe, and were there ſlaine; others who had remained quiet in their lodgings, were taken priſoners, and ranſomed. Many ſaued themſelues by leaping ouer the wall. The lord of Monſqueron and the abbot of Nieuwenhouen were taken there, and ſet at great ranſomes.

Aloſt ſurpriſed by the Eſtates.

The prince of Parma ſeeing Aloſt thus taken from him, for a reuenge, ſent his men to ſurpriſe

A ſurpriſe the caſtle of Gaesbeke, belonging to the houſe of *Egmont*, two leagues from Bruſſels: their enterpriſe was in this manner: There came certaine ſouldiers vnto the caſtle gate, who ſaid they were of the garriſon of Aloſt, and that they had a good bootie, which they would willingly put in ſafetie: they giuing credit vnto their words, and ſeeing their caſſocks, opened the gate, whereon they ſeized, and giuing entrie to the reſt of their men, became maſters of the place. 1582 The caſtle of Gaesbeke ſurpriſed by the Spaniard.

Some other of the prince of Parma his ſouldiers thinking to doe the like vnto the towne of Dyeſt (belonging vnto the prince of Orange) as the duke of Aniou his men had to Aloſt, they ſcaled the towne, entred as farre as the market place, and fought valiantly againſt the garriſon, part whereof went preſently to the gates, the which they defended, and kept
B out the horſemen: ſo as they that fought in the market, ſeeing their horſemen, did not ſecond them, fainted, and fled to ſaue their liues, of the which there were about two hundred ſlaine and taken priſoners.

The ſecond of May there was a generall faſt commanded by the duke and the generall Eſtates throughout all the vnited prouinces, to giue God thankes for the prince of Orange his health, and that they had obtained a good prince, in making choice of the duke, who did defend and maintaine them againſt the Spaniſh tyrannie.

The lady *Charlotte* of Bourbon, wife to the prince of Orange, hauing firſt conceiued an exceeding griefe for her husbands hurt, and afterwards by his recouerie an incredible ioy, being deliuered of child, ſhe fell into a continuall burning feauer, whereof ſhe dyed the fifth of
C May, leauing vnto the prince ſix daughters, who had all great marriages. Shee was buried in our ladies church in Antuerpe, with a ſtately funerall pompe.

The eight of Iune following, there alſo dyed in the ſame towne the lady *Mary* of Lalain, wife to *Peter* of Melun, prince of Eſpinoy, Seneſchall of Henault &c. and was buried in the Quier of the Church of S. *Michaels* abbey in the ſame towne, without the Romiſh ceremonies.

About that time the Seignior of Hautepenne, ſonne to the earle of Barlamont, made a rode with ſix hundred horſe about Antuerpe, from whence he carried a great bootie in priſoners, cattell, and other goods. Captaine *Alonzo* (a Spaniard, who ſerued the duke) a braue ſouldier, being in garriſon in Liere, went forth with his troupe of horſe, and charged
D them, but he was hurt and taken, yet he was preſently reſcued and carried backe into Liere, where he remained ſicke in his bed of this wound, vntill that hee was traiterouſly ſold to the prince of Parma by a Scottiſh captaine, as you ſhall preſently ſee. At this time the duke of Aniou his men made another enterpriſe vpon the towne of Arſchot, with ſome troupes of horſe and foot: but being entred a good way into the towne, they were repulſed, with the loſſe of thirtie men. All this Summer was ſpent in enterpriſes on eyther ſide, but few ſucceeded: yet the garriſons of Dyeſt and Herental ſurpriſed Tillemont in Brabant for the Eſtates; in the which there were three companies for the prince of Parma lodged in a cloyſter, which they defeated in their retrenchment: then they ſacked the towne, and abandoned it. Arſchot attempted in vaine.

E The prince of Parma keeping then his court at Tournay, went to Namur, to receiue the troupes, which the earle of Martinengues and *Dom Iohn* of Manriques de Lara brought vnto him. The duke of Aniou and Brabant about that time made certaine proclamations for his greater aſſurance, and brake quarter with the men of warre, commaunding them not to take any enemie to ranſome. He alſo brake the licences (which are certaine cuſtomes and tols impoſed vpon all marchandiſe paſſing from one countrey to another) not ſuffering that any thing ſhould be tranſported either by water or land vnto the enemie, and generally not to traffique, nor to haue any correſpondencie with them, by exchange, or otherwiſe, in what ſort ſoeuer.

The foureteenth of Iuly, the duke (being accompanied by the princes of Orange and Eſpinoy, and all their traine) departed from Antuerpe to go into Zeeland: from whence on the fix-
F teenth day he went to Scluſe, to make his entry the next day into Bruges. The bourgers went forth of the towne well appointed in armes, to meet him along the riuer which goeth from Bruges to Dam, hauing ſome number of the ſworn companies of croſſe-bows, harquebuſiers, and archers, in very good equipage appointed for his guard. They of the towne of Antuerpe

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1582 of the ſame qualitie, did attend him thither, and then returned home. The duke entring into A
the towne, was receiued with great humilitie, by the foure members of Flanders, and was conducted through the ſtreets with all the honour they could deuiſe, hauing triumphant arches, liuely repreſentations made vpon ſcaffolds, artificiall figures painted, ſtatues, pyramides, porches, with ſuch like, and diuers kinds of flames and artificiall fires flying in the aire: whereby they made ſhew how pleaſing and acceptable his comming and entry was vnto them, receiuing him for their prince and lord, as earle of Flanders.

An attempt againſt the duke of Anious and the prince of Oranges perſons diſcouered.

The duke being in this towne of Bruges, there was a great treaſon diſcouered, inuented by a Spaniard (or a Spaniards ſonne) called *Nicholas Salcedo*, of one *Franciſco Baza*, an Italian, of a horſeman of *Fernando* of *Gonzagues* companie, and of one *Nicholas Hugot*, called *La Borde*, a Frenchman, who were corrupted and ſet on by the prince of Parma, or his counſell, in the name of the king of Spaine, to murther the ſaid duke and the prince of Orange B
both together, or apart, in what ſort ſoeuer, as it appeared by the confeſſion and proceſſe of the ſaid *Salcedo*, and by that which happened to *Franciſco Baza*. This *Salcedo* had beene at the dukes requeſt ſaued from the gallowes at Rouan, being accuſed of coyning: being after that retyred for a time into Spaine, he returned into Lorraine, where he came into the dukes ſeruice at the victualling of Cambray, and ſo followed him continually vnto Antuerpe, thinking to be there employed, and to haue ſome charge: but he was alwayes held in iealouſie by the prince of Orange. And as the ſaid *Salcedo* was very familiar with the Seignior *Amoral* (afterwards earle of Egmont) whom the prince loued not onely for the good remembrance of his father, but for that the Counteſſe his mother had recommended C
him and all her other children vnto him at the houre of her death in Antuerpe: and alſo for that the ſaid Seignior *Amoral* made profeſſion of the Proteſtants Religion, and receiued the Communion: theſe reaſons made the prince to aske him once in ſecret, what great acquaintance and familiaritie he had with the ſaid *Salcedo*? Hee anſwered him, That hee had none but for the loue of *Alchimie*: whereupon the prince replyed, That hee feared ſome worſe matter, aduiſing him to beware of him, and not to conuerſe any more with him, wiſhing him withall, not to diſcouer any thing of this aduertiſement to *Salcedo*. Yet notwithſtanding, this young nobleman, whether it were of lightneſſe (or for that it is the nature of man to affect that moſt which is moſt forbidden him) at his firſt encounter with *Salcedo* he diſcouered all vnto him. Vpon certaine aduertiſements and ſtrong preſumptions, *Salcedo* D
was apprehended: *Franciſco Baza* was without the court attending for him, and ſeeing that he came not, in the end he asked for him, and ſo was in like manner laid hold on. *La Borde* fearing or diſcouering ſomething, ſaued himſelfe. *Salcedo* and *Baza* being examined vpon the aduertiſements and circumſtances which they had to confirme the preſumptions of their fact, they did confeſſe and ſigne it, that their deſigne was to haue murthered or poyſoned the duke and prince in what ſort ſoeuer. The young lord *Amoral* was in like ſort examined, who confeſſed preſently, that he had bewrayed vnto *Salcedo* all that the prince had ſaid vnto him, touching the conuerſation and familiaritie he had with him. And although he excuſed himſelfe of that wherewith *Salcedo* had accuſed him, yet was he for a time detained priſoner, and after (at the duke of Anious retreat out of the Netherlands into Fraunce) deli- E
uered. *Franciſco Baza* hearing on the nine and twentieth of Iuly, that being found guiltie by his owne confeſſion, they would put him to ſome cruell death, the next day he ſlew himſelfe in the priſon with a knife, whereupon he was drawne to the gibbet, and there hanged; but afterwards (by a new iudgement) he was quartered, the which were hanged vpon gibbets, with a writing, that he had attempted to murther or poyſon the duke and the prince, at the perſuaſion, and by the expreſſe commaundement of the prince of Parma. *Salcedo* was at the requeſt of the French king and the Queene his mother ſent vnto Paris, after the reuiew of his proceſſe and his confeſſion, to haue receiued foure thouſand duckets of the king of Spaine, hauing alſo reuealed ſome other ſecrets concerning the perſon of the king, and of the duke his brother, wherewith ſome great men in France were touched, the fiue and twentieth F
of October he was (according to his ſentence) in the preſence of the king, the queen his wife, the queene mother, princes of the bloud, and other princes & noblemen of his court, drawne with foure horſes, and diſmembred aliue, his quarters were hanged vpon gibbets, and his head planted vpon a pole.

Franciſco Baza kils himſelfe.

Salcedo drawne in pieces with horſes.

The

A The duke and the princes of Orange and Eſpinoy departed from Bruges to Gant, the chiefe towne of all the countie of Flanders, where he made a ſtately entrie, and there was receiued with great ceremonies, and ioy of the people, and acknowledged for earle of Flanders, after that he had taken the oath, and receiued an oath of the deputies of the foure members of the earledome. Then hauing (according to the cuſtome) renewed the magiſtrate, he went from thence to Dendermonde, where the like reception was made vnto him, according to the capacitie of the towne, and from thence he returned to Antuerpe. What happened vnto his armie all the time that hee remained and continued in Flanders, we will preſently ſhew. 1582

The duke of Anion inueſted earle of Flanders.

The firſt of Auguſt the towne of Liere in Brabant, three leagues diſtant from Antuerpe, Liere betrayed to the Spaniard.
B betwixt Macklyn, Antuerpe and Dyeſt (a good towne, and of great importance for all that quarter of Brabant) was trecherouſly deliuered to the Spaniard, after this manner. There was a Scottiſh captaine (called *Sempil*) in garriſon in this towne, who complained often of the ſmall entertainment he receiued from the Eſtates, and that the Seignior of Heetuelt (gouernour of the towne) was not a meanes to haue his companie payed, making this his pretext, to treat with the Spaniard, to deliuer vp the towne for a certaine ſumme of mony, which they promiſed him. For the effecting whereof, the firſt of Auguſt he came vnto the gouernour, and told him, That he knew where there was a good bootie, deſiring leaue to go forth, the which he graunted: being abroad, he returned about 2 of the clocke after midnight, crying vnto the guard to open the gate, and that he had brought a bootie of oxen, kine, ſheepe,
C and wagons with ſtuffe, and that hee knew the enemie followed to reſcue it, if it were not ſpeedily put in ſafetie. The gouernour commaunded the wicket to be opened: but he cryed out ſtill, that they ſhould open the great gate, to ſuffer the cattell and the wagons to enter, the which the gouernour refuſed, ſending him word, that he ſhould ſtay vntill day to bring them in. *Sempil* vnderſtanding this, entred by the wicket, and hauing his men in guard at the port, he ouerthrew the captaine, being a bourger, who carried a bunch of keies, the which he wreſted from him. The porter ſeeing this, thinking to goe vp and to let downe the portcullis, he was ouertaken vpon the ſtayres, and there ſlaine; and ſo with the helpe of his men he opened the great gate, and let in the Spaniards, being about ſixe hundred horſe, which the Seignior of Hautepenne had gathered together out of the neere garriſons: being entred,
D they ſlew all they found armed (the gouernour ſauing himſelfe ſpeedily in his ſhirt in a ſmall boat) ſpoyling the towne, and ranſoming the bourgers with all extremitie. Captaine *Alonzo* the Spaniard was found there in his bed, being wounded at the encounter before mentioned; and for that he was a Spaniard, and did ſerue againſt the king, the Spaniards hung him vp by one foot, & ſo put him to death, then they quartered him, and hung his quarters vpon gibbets without the towne: which the horſemen of Antuerpe did afterwards take downe and burie honourably in our ladies church, with militarie ceremonies, for his valour, and the good ſeruices which he had done vnto the eſtates and the prince of Orange, although he were a Spaniard.

The newes of the taking of Liere did much trouble and alter them of Antuerpe, the
E ports thereof remayning and continuing ſhut for a time, being doubtfull what to reſolue: in the end it was concluded and agreed vpon, to burne all the champian countrey of Campaigne, that the enemie being in that towne, ſhould reape no commoditie, cauſing the abbey of Saint *Bernard* to be fortified (being taken before, and afterwards abandoned by the Spaniards) a goodly place, ſeated vpon the riuer of Eſcaut, beeing a league from Antuerpe.

During this time, the duke of Aniou and Brabant had cauſed his armie to paſſe vnder the leading of the earle of Rochepot into Weſt-Flanders, about Graueling and Dunkerke: the Spaniard thinking to doe him an affront, came to take view of him, and was beaten, neere vnto Wynoxberghe, a league from Dunkerke, where he loſt ſome of his horſemen, & the baron
F of Balanſon (afterwards earle of Varax, brother to the marqueſſe of Warenbon, a high Bourguignon) was taken priſoner by the light horſemen of Colonel *Norris*, and carried to Antuerpe. The duke went thither to ioyne with the troupes of the Seignior of la Pierre, and the Reiſters which the earle of Mansfeldt brought: who paſſing along the frontiers of Picardie, through the countrey of Arthois, coaſting along the riuer of Authies, they ſpoyled all,

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1582. and tooke diuers caſtles, as Labroy, Auſſi-le Chaſteau, & others: which troupes by the dukes commiſſion, inſtead of entring into Arthois, as they had bin appointed, were by a new charge commaunded to come into Flanders, whereby there was a good oportunitie loſt in the countrey of Arthois. A

The duke hauing ſtayed ſome time with his armie in that part of Flanders, retyred the ſeuen and twentieth of Auguſt towards Gant, where the prince of Parma followed him with all his forces, meaning to fight with him, and to defeat him if he could, finding himſelfe much ſtronger than the duke, who at that time had not aboue foure thouſand men, the which went to lodge in a village neere vnto Gant.

The next day after their comming to the place, the Corps de guard of the dukes armie diſcouered the fore-runners of the Spaniſh campe, which came to charge them. The Seignior of *la Pierre*, marſhall of the campe, being aduertiſed thereof, put all the troupes in order with what ſpeed hee could, and ſeeing the Spaniards approch, hee cauſed ſome horſemen of the regiment of the dukes guard to entertaine the skirmiſh, where the Seignior of Saintſeual commaunded, giuing libertie for the baggage to retyre out of the village, to the end that according to the dukes commaundement the retreat might be made without fighting, conſidering the inequalitie of their forces: for without doubt, if they had wilfully made defence in that village, they had beene all defeated without any reſcue. And although that all the Spaniſh forces aduaunced (wherein they did not ſhew their accuſtomed diligence and furie) and that the dukes men were preſſed and purſued, yet they ſtill marched in battaile, retyring eaſily in good order towards the towne, for their more ſafetie. B C

In the head of the armie was the Engliſh regiment of colonel *Norris*, being ſeconded by the Reiſters of Cont *Mansfeldt*: after came a French regiment of colonel *Boucks*, hauing on his wing colonel *Norris*, with three companies of Engliſh horſe, and foure others of light horſe, Frenchmen: all theſe made the foreward. After marched three companies of French horſemen, and the regiment of *Fouquerolles*, with all the Dutch and Scottiſh companies, which made the battaile. For the rereward, there was the regiment of horſe of Saintſeual, with a regiment of Engliſh, in the which there were many pykes, and ſome companies of foot of Saintſeual that were gathered together.

The troupes being thus ordered, and the Spaniard marching, the two marſhals of the dukes armie put themſelues in the head of the troupes, commaunding the ſouldiers to march without diſorder, and not to turne their faces. The foreward of the Spaniards being about a 1000 horſe, and a great battailon of foot, preſt and purſued the dukes men, who retired ſlowly. And as they marched towards the towne, notwithſtanding the firſt order (the which was an act of lightneſſe, yet it ſucceeded well) there were certaine ambuſhes laied a quarter of a league one from another, by the regiments of *Fouquerolles* and *Bouck*: ſo as being ſeconded by ſome horſe of the foreward, they charged ſo fitly, as the Spaniard encreaſing ſtill as his troupes arriued, they were kept at a ſtand: and when as they would haue paſſed this high broad way, whereas the ambuſh lay, they were entertained with ſuch ſtore of ſhot, as notwithſtanding that the armie was freſh and full of reſolution, yet they loſt many men, without any great hurt vnto the dukes troupes, hauing ſtill ſome horſemen vpon their wings. In the meane time, the earle of Rochepot, who was yet ſicke at Gant (whereas many captaines alſo had ſtayed the day before at the dukes comming) went out of the town, and ſeeing his men preſt by multitudes of Spaniards (who had alreadie ſeized vpon a little hill and the myls neere vnto S. *Lieuins* gate) hee cauſed the foure companies, which marched in the foreward with colonell *Norris* horſe, and ſome Engliſh pikes, to returne to the charge, who did ſo well (eſpecially the Engliſh) as they ſtaied the Spaniard againe, who was now come very neere vnto the towne. This made the retreat the more eaſie for the dukes men; who cõming to the rampar with the princes of Orange and Eſpinoy, were of opinion that the army ſhould retire vnder the wals, whereas the 2 curtains might gaule the enemie, if he ſhould approch any neerer. But the skirmiſh being renued againe, before they could get thither, and be couered with the rampar of the town, there were many ſlaine on either ſide, ſo as the Spaniards recoiled againe. As the dukes army being put into battaile, retired vnder fauor of the towne, the artillerie from the rampar whereas the duke ſtood, plaied vpon the Spaniards, and ſlew many. D E F

The

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A The prince of Parma beeing now arriued with the body of his armie, ſeeing the dukes forces in ſafetie, made a ſtand almoſt two houres, ſtill renewing the skirmiſh, whereof followed the laſt charge which was giuen. Whileſt that matters paſſed in this manner, the duke commaunded, that the horſe ſhould retyre without diſorder or confuſion, except three cornets which ſhould remaine in guard neere vnto the foot, that by this meanes they might haue time to refreſh themſelues, and to lodge. The which was not done without good conſideration, ſeeing there was no more queſtion (as it ſeemed) of fighting: yet the prince of Parma ſeeing the dukes horſemen retyred, came againe to charge the footmen, whom hee draue vnder the towne wall: but he was ſo well receiued, as he loſt many men, and in like manner there were ſome of the dukes men both ſlaine and hurt. Night being come, the B prince of Parma rallying his army together, and burying about two hundred of his men neere vnto Gant, and filling all the wagons hee could get with dead and wounded men, hee was in the end forced to retyre. 1582

The next day the dukes armie marched towards Dendermonde, where he made his entry in qualitie of earle of Flanders: and from thence hee tooke his way to Antuerpe with the prince of Orange, where they arriued vpon the ſecond of September, hauing left the prince of Eſpinoy in Gant, to haue a care and charge of all thinges in that quarter of Flanders.

At that time colonel *Verdugo*, gouernour of that which the king of Spaine held in Friſeland, beſieged the towne of Lochum in the countie of Zutphen. Cont *William Lewis* of Lochum beſieged by the C Naſſau, gouernour of Friſeland for the Eſtates, with ſome ſmall troupes (in deſpight of all Spaniard. the Spaniſh forces) put certaine wagons laden with victuals and other munition, into the towne, and then retyred: his retreat was very pleaſing vnto the Spaniards; and therefore about the middeſt of September, knowing well that they of Lochum (before reduced to extreame neceſſitie) had not receiued all neceſſarie prouiſions for a place beſieged, and ſo vnfurniſhed, made his profit of this ſmall reliefe. Whereupon hee fortified himſelfe with good trenches, and made ſixteene or ſeuenteene forts about the towne. Hee alſo made three vpon the mountaine, whither hee retyred himſelfe in ſafetie, when need required. The earles of Hohenlo and of Naſſau being aduertiſed of his worke, hauing gathered together what forces they could in Gueldre and Queryſſell, making about two thouſand foot D and a thouſand horſe, they reſolued to goe and ſee the Spaniard againe, carrying with them two demie canons and foure ſmaller peeces. Being come neere vnto them, they skirmiſhed both with horſe and foot. *Verdugo* and his men retyring vnto this mountaine, made a ſtand there to ſee what would follow.

Two daies after, the Seignior of Allein commaunding a French regiment, went to aſſayle one of the Spaniards forts, the which was moſt neceſſarie for them: they of the towne hauing made a ſallie, being ſeconded by *d' Allein* his lieutenant, tooke a fort at the port of Moulin, where there were about foure hundred Spaniards ſlaine. And although it were newly aſſaulted by a great number of enemies, yet were they valiantly repulſed: and afterwards the beſieged laboured with ſuch dexteritie, as the bridge of the riuer, which had been E broken in that place, was repaired ſtrongly againe, and the towne victualled the ſame day by that bridge, better than before.

The night following two other forts were forced. But the next day the Eſtates horſemen going to a charge ſomewhat diſorderly, they were eaſily put to rout, with the loſſe of two captaines, and a good number of men; ſome ſlaine in fighting, others, in cold bloud; and ſo the Eſtates ſmall armie was quickly diſperſed. The Seignior d' Allein beeing entred into the towne with his regiment, aſſured it the more: in the which were alſo the earles, *Herman*, *Frederic*, and *Henry vanden Berghe*, nephewes by the mother vnto the prince of Orange (who ſince turned to the Spaniards partie) and the chiefe nobilitie of Guelderland.

F The Spaniard being not farre retyred, returned ſuddenly againe, recouered his forts, and beſieged it more ſtreightly than before, for the ſpace of fiue and twentie dayes; yet could they not keepe the beſieged from making of gallant ſallies, and taking of many priſoners out of the Spaniſh campe, whether came ſupplyes of ſixe hundred horſe and fifteene hundred foot, led by Cont *Charles* of Mansfeldt and the Seignior of Hautepenne:

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1582 then they ſummoned it more reſolutely than before. In the meane time, the earle of Hohenlo was retyred to Zutphen (and afterwards came with the ſaid three earles brethren to Antuerpe) beeing readie to gather together ſome troupes, to ſuccour Lochum againe: And fiue dayes after theſe ſupplies which came to Verdugo, there went to ioyne with the earle of Hohenlo two thouſand fiue hundred foot, and one thouſand fiue hundred horſe, French and Reiſtres, with the three Engliſh cornets, commanded by colonel *Norris*. With this equipage *Hohenlo* returned cheerefully the third time to relieue the beſieged. His troups were no ſooner diſcouered, but Cont *Charles Mansfelds* left his quarter diſorderly in all haſt, and paſſed the water to be neerer to Verdugo. The earle of Hohenlo ſeeing this, marched ſpeedily with the Eſtates armie to lodge in that quarter which *Mansfelds* had abandoned; yet they came to blowes at a fort on that ſide the towne, in which skirmiſh there were manie ſlaine on eyther ſide. The earle of Hohenlo cauſed a fort to be made in that place, betwixt two other forts which the Spaniards held, by the fauour whereof, a bridge was preſently made, by the which he might commodiouſly paſſe ouer with his footmen, and draw ſuch as were wounded and vnprofitable out of the towne, whereas colonel *Amaurie*, being newly arriued with a regiment of Gaſcoines, entred firſt of all, hauing no leyſure to refreſh themſelues, nor to take breath. This done, they built another fort, which fauoured the end of the bridge, that it might not be taken by the Spaniards: Whereat *Verdugo* and *Mansfelds* being much amazed, preſuming, that the towne was relieued; and fearing leaſt they ſhould goe and charge them behind, they began to retyre, and to abandon all their forts, and ſo marching in battaile, they went towards Grolle. The next day the Eſtates men victualled Lochum at their eaſe, and all the forts which the Spaniards had made, were razed. During this ſiege, there was ſlaine with an harguebuſe ſhot from the towne the baron of Anholt, of the houſe of *Battenbourgh*, colonel of a regiment of Germanes, who had ſo much ſollicited this ſiege of Lochum, for that his towne of Anholt it is not farre off, the which was dayly annoyed by the garriſon of Lochum, euen vnto their gates.

A B C

The ſiege of Lochū raiſed.

The caſtles of Keppel and Bronchurſt yeelded to the Eſtates.

This ſiege raiſed, and the towne thus relieued, the Eſtates forces went to beſiege the caſtle of Keppel in the ſaid countie of Zutphen, the garriſon whereof hauing endured a little batterie, yeelded by compoſition, deliuering the lord of the place (who had bin vnwilling to yeeld) into their hands. From thence they went before the caſtle of Bronchurſt, which did alſo yield by compoſition.

D

At that time there was ſome mutinie among the ſouldiers of the garriſon of Bruſſels, for their pay, yet they proteſted to keepe the towne for the duke of Aniou. The prince of Parma would willingly haue made his profit thereby, aduauncing ſome troupes about that towne and Aloſt, as if he would beſiege them. They of Boiſleduc (which is one of the foure chiefe townes of Brabant) beeing before ſummoned by the duke to acknowledge him for their duke and lord, in qualitie of duke of Brabant, they not only refuſed it, but offered the prince of Parma an hundred thouſand florins to goe and beſiege Bruſſels: The which hee did not, but only burned ſome villages of that iuriſdiction: and the ſouldiers were paid to appeaſe the mutinie.

In the end of September, the duke of Aniou ſent Monſieur S. *Luc*, gouernour of Brouage, and the colonels *Timpel* and *Seißeual* with two thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe, and ſome peeces of ordnance drawne out of Antuerpe at the requeſt of the Bruſſellois, to beſiege the caſtle of Gaesbeke, where there was a companie of the malecontents, Wallons, and halfe a cornet of horſe. Theſe commanders being come, and hauing made ſome foure-ſcore ſhot, they within began to parle, hauing no hope of ſuccours, and fearing to bee taken by aſſault, they yeelded, and went forth with white wands in their hands. This done, S. *Luc* cauſed the caſtle of Thoulouſe to bee ſummoned, the which was yeelded vpon the ſame tearmes.

E

Gaesbeke yeelded to the duke of Aniou

The earle of Rochepot (lieutenant generall of the duke his armie) to annoy *Liere* in Brabant, went with a thouſand French foot and two peeces of Ordnance to beſiege the caſtle of Enchouen, beeing a league and a halfe from Liere. They of the garriſon ſeeing the Canon planted, being ſomewhat loth to attend the hazard, yeelded like vnto the two others, yet not before the earle and the colonel *la Garde* had beene both hurt with ſhot.

F

Enchouen yeelded alſo.

The

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A The king of Spain knowing that he had a mightier enemy than before, would alſo increaſe his forces, the which he cauſed to march from all parts towards the Low countries. And as the duke of Montpenſier and the marſhall of Biron were come out of France into Picardie, to ioyne their armie with the duke of Anious other troups, the prince of Parma cauſed all his frontier places of Arthois and Henault, to be well manned. And about the end of Summer, there came vnto him out of Italy, one and forty enſignes of Spaniards, which made fiue thouſand men, vnder two colonels, *Chriſtopher* of Mondragon, and *Dom Pedro de Paes*, ſixteene enſignes of Italians, euerie one being three hundred ſtrong, being alſo fiue thouſand, vnder *Mario Cordoini*, and *Camillo de Monte*, colonels, beſides the Landskneckts, & high Bourguignons, with a great maſſe of treaſure, which the prince receiued out of Spaine, to pay his whole ar- 1582
B mie, where there was beſides theſe foure regiments of Spaniards and Italians, of ten thouſand men, ſix regiments of Germans, the colonels wherof were, *Robert Goudsberg*, the earl of Aremberg, the earle of Barlamont, *Dom Iohn Manriques de Lara*, cont *Charles* of Mansfeldt, and the ſeignior of Floion, brother to *Barlamont*, nine regiments of Wallons, vnder the marques of Renty, the earle of Egmont, *Gabriel de Liques*, the earle *Octauio* of Mansfeldt, the earle of Manderſcheit, *Philip* of Liques, he that was ſeignior of Bours, the baron of Aubigni, and the ſeignior of Manui. And aboue all theſe the regiments of *Hautepenne* and *la Motte Pardieu*, beſides the Bourguignons of the marqueſſe of Varenbon, with the garriſons vpon the frontiers of France, and thoſe that were neere vnto the vnited Eſtates, and the regiments of the lord of Billy, Verdugo, and the baron of Anholt in Friſeland, with foure companies of horſe. As for his
O horſemen, there were thirtie ſeuen cornets, Spaniards, and Italians, and twelue bands of ordnance, which altogether might amount to foure thouſand horſe: So as all the king of Spaines forces in the Netherlands, both of foot and horſe, in the moneth of September 1582, amounted to threeſcore thouſand men, the which according vnto the relation of ſome commanders and Spaniſh treaſurers, coſt monethly (if they had beene well paid) ſix hundred ſixtie eight thouſand, eight hundred fiftie and ſeuen florins, beſides the charge of artillerie, carriages, and all other things thereunto belonging, as well in pioners as otherwiſe, which could not be leſſe than a third part of the charge of the armie: Yet the prince of Parma complained, that of this great number of ſouldiers, he could not put thirtie thouſand men to field, by reaſon of the many garriſons which he was to ſupply. Without doubt it was a great power, and an exceſſiue
D charge, which he was to entertaine ſo many yeares together, Winter and Summer, againſt his owne ſubiects, and yet preuaile little; the which the Romans and other mightie kings and monarchs would haue reputed great, and ſufficient to haue effected great matters. Againſt which forces there were at the ſame time for the States, as braue, valiant, and expert captains and ſouldiers in militarie actions, both Dutch, French, Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Wallons, as the earth could beare. All which forces of either ſide, being well vnited and ioyned together, had been able to conquer a whole world.

The duke of Anious men being buſie about the fortification of a bourg betwixt Valenciennes and Cambray, the prince of Parma went and forced them to leaue the worke, and to retire: then he ſummoned Caſtle Cambreſis, in the which there were an hundred and fiftie
E French ſouldiers, who yeelded, to haue their armes and baggage ſaued. Then hauing taken ſome other caſtles and forts in that quarter of Cambray, as Bohain, and others, he then led his armie before the little towne of Nyuenhouen in Flanders, the which for want of ſuccors yeelded, and ſo did the caſtles of Lyderkeke and Gaesbeke, with which places, and for that he had his armie camped thereabouts, he thought to famiſh the towne of Bruſſels a farre off: but being well prouided of all ſorts of victuals (into the which there were two thouſand French and Engliſh foot put, beſides the twelue companies, and the foure cornets which they had of the ordinarie garriſon) finding that he ſhould preuaile little, after that he had ſpoyled the country thereabouts, his armie hauing alſo eaten vp Arthois and Henault, hee thought to goe into the land of Waes in Flanders: but the duke had ſo well fortified all the paſſages, as hee could not
F enter, ſo as dearth and famine began to creepe into his campe, all victuals beeing cut off and forbidden by the way of France; beſides that, Winter drawing on, his ſouldiers were much tormented with raine and cold, the which his new come Spaniards and Italians were not accuſtomed to feele: all theſe conſiderations made the prince to breake vp his campe, and to put his men into garriſons. As in like ſort the ſame Winter the duke of Anious Frenchmen

Caſtle Cambreſis yeelded to the Spaniard

ſuffered

1583 suffered much hunger and want, as wel by the bad gouernement of the victuals, as for want of good pay, and the rigour of the Winter. A

Steenwick surprised by the Spaniard. The seuenteenth of November colonell *Verdugo* surprised the towne of Steenwicke in the countrey of Queriſſel, by scaladoe: for the relieuing whereof (as I haue said) the States had taken so great paines. It happened by the direction of a peasant, who working in the town diches, had noted one place which might be waded through, by the which he guided *Verdugoes* men vnto the foot of the rampar, being duely informed before, that captaine *Hans Crom* and *Bocholt* were gone forth with most of the souldiers of the garrison of the towne, about some enterprise.

Meghen taken by the Estates. At the same time the earle of Hohenlo besieged the towne of Meghen in the countrey of Gueldres, the which he won, with some other, neither could the earle of Mansfeldt (who lay not far off with his troups) hinder him. B

The seuenth of Ianuarie after the new stile (the calender being reformed this yeare by the pope) the lord of Boniwet being conducted by a souldier of the country, called *Heincker Scherer* (who went first vp to the rampar) surprised the towne of Eindouen in Brabant, neere vnto Boisleduke, in the countrey of Campeigne, where there were fiftie horsemen Albanois spoyled, most of them hauing saued themselues, or yeelded. From thence the Frenchmen went before Helmont, Horst, and other places of the same quarter, the which they also won; so as it seemed they would besiege Boisleduke, the which was long in great feare, they of the towne thinking (for that they had no garrison) to compound with the duke, but his mind was of another prey, as we will presently shew.

Eindouen surprised for the duke of Aniou. C

The French king refuseth succors to the duke his brother, & some aduice concerning it. The duke by the intercession of his mother (as she made shew) had long solicited the French king for succours in his affaires of the Netherlands, against the king of Spaine: but the king refused him, fearing and foreseeing the danger which might happen vnto his realme, seeing hee was not assured (if his brother should die) of any recompence: yet he said, That if the Estates would acknowledge him, or else the crowne of France for heire and successor vnto the duke in the Netherlands, he would then do his best, which the Estates could not well yeeld vnto. The Agents of Spaine being in France, neere the king, and the dukes aduersaries (which was the house of Guise) made their profit of this deniall, which was the cause why the prince Daulphin and the marshall *Biron*, were so long before they entred the countrey with their armie: the which past not into Flanders, before they had deuoured all they brought out of France. D Some counselled the king, That to ioyne all the Netherlands in one bodie with the crowne of France (the which would afterwards be inuincible) he should not assist his brother, but in his extreame necessitie, when as he had exhausted all his meanes, and so weakened the countrey, as they should be forced to sue vnto him, and be content to receiue such conditions as he would prescribe them. Attending which time, and doing so, the king of Spaine should be also bare of money and credit: that then the king might make himselfe strong of men, money, and all things necessarie, and should know what contrarie designes the princes of the empire, the emperour, those of the house of Austria, and the allies and adherents to Spaine might conceiue. As for the duke (said they) he will the sooner humble himselfe and submit to such conditions as it should please the king his brother to limit him, rather than bee forced to abandon E to his enemies that which he held, and which had cost him so much. And that the king vsing this manner of proceeding, and hauing obtained of his brother what he desired, the countrey being ouer toyled and tired with warre, hauing consumed all their meanes, and seeing themselues frustrat of their hope which they had conceiued in the dukes person, through dispaire euer to be reconciled with the Spaniard, fearing also the proceeding in the calling in of another prince, would demand nothing more, than to giue themselues vnto him. And as for the other prouinces which remained vnder the obedience of the Spaniard, that hee should make open warre with all violence vpon the frontiers, suffering no victuals to enter, beeing an easie matter to hinder it, seeing that hee had no ports at his deuotion. As for the Rhine and Meuse, which are riuers running through the said countries, they were to be stopt, keeping an army F in the countrey of Luxembourg, and being master of the townes thereof, as of Luxembourg the chiefe, Theonuille, and Malmedi, the Spaniard should eat vp the countrey where he was. They might also make roads and burne the harueſt, which would force him to yeeld; so as the French king did stand vpon his guard, without hazarding any thing vpō the euent of a battel,

still

A ſtill lodging vpon the aduantage. And if it ſhould ſo fall out, yet might the king better endure it than the enemie, who beeing once ouerthrowne, could neuer riſe againe. Whereas beeing neere vnto France, hee might ſodainely recouer new forces. But if the king reiected all theſe goodly occaſions, and would not imbrace the Netherlands actions, that it was to bee feared hee ſhould bee forced thereunto, if hee would not haue a new ciuile warre in Fraunce. And the duke his brother hauing no more meanes to reſiſt the Spaniard, would be contemptible to them that had called him, not onely for the great charge they had beene at, but alſo to ſee themſelues fruſtrat of the great expectation they had of him. That the ſaid duke, rather than they ſhould doe him any diſgrace, would ſeeke to aſſure himſelfe of ſome places within the country, and then would returne into France, to complaine of the ſmal ſuc- 1583
B cours and friendſhip which hee had found in the king his brother, reuiuing the diſcourſe which he had made the yere before to the parliament of Paris, and in other places: that for the greatneſſe of the Eſtate and crowne of France, beeing freed ſo long from frontier enemies, which ſhould eaſe the realme from ſo manie charges and impoſitions, they ſhould not neglect ſo goodly an occaſion, ſeeing that their father, grandfather and predeceſſors had made ſo long warre againſt the houſe of Bourgoigne, to conquer in the end but a towne or two: and that now the whole countrey and the townes offered themſelues, and were in his poſſeſſion, the which hee might looſe againe for want of ſuccours from the king his brother. And that therefore ſeeing hee had no aſſiſtance from him, hee deſired fauour from the generall Eſtates of Fraunce, to preuent ſo great a diſgrace, and not to let ſlip ſo goodly an oportuni-
C tie, which tended to the greatneſſe and profit of all Fraunce. Wherefore they counſelled the king to conſider well of this action, which touched him neerer than any league or amitie with the king of Spaine.

Such aduice and counſell was giuen vnto the French king, concerning the affaires of the Netherlands, which came all vnto the knowledge of the Duke his brother, making him to fall into diuers conceits and iealouſies, as well of the king, as of thoſe that were chiefe in counſell about him, and neereſt his owne perſon: which ſeemed to make him run another courſe, thruſt on by his yong courtiers: who hearing that his forces being led by the duke of Montpenſier, and the marſhall of Biron, had paſt by Calez, and lay about Dunkerke, hee ſent for them to come into Brabant.

D The Duke being in Antuerpe, and hearing that his forces were arriued, hee cauſed his armie both old and new to approach neerer vnto Antuerpe, into one of the ſuburbs, which they call Bourgerhout: the Switſers were lodged in another, called the Kyel, behind the caſtle along the riuer of Eſcaut.

In the meane time, as the towne of Dunkerke did import him much, to keepe a paſſage open, and free from Flanders into Fraunce: the duke to aſſure himſelfe thereof in time, hauing ſent ſome French men thither, hee commanded monſieur *de Chamors* to ſeize thereon: the which hee did eaſily, during the abſence of the ſeigniour of Treſlon, admirall of Zeeland, and gouernour of the towne. *Chamors* pickt a quarrell againſt the bourgers, about the diuiſion of ſome bootie, ſo as they fell to blowes, and many were ſlaine: And whileſt that they
E of the towne had ſent to make their complaint to the Duke and the Eſtates, being in Antuerp, *Chamors* hauing in the meane time fortified himſelfe with more men, chaſed away the States garriſon, and became maſter of the towne the ſixteenth of Ianuarie. This was the firſt act of ill counſell which the Duke put in practiſe, which afterwards loſt him the Netherlands, and was the cauſe of his owne ruine. Dunkerke aſſured for the duke.

Without doubt the Duke (of whom for his owne diſpoſition they had expected all good, and on whom the Eſtates of the countrey had grounded the preſeruation, health, and maintenance of the people, againſt the oppreſſion of the Spaniards) had done wiſely, and had made himſelfe wonderfull great, if hee had giuen credit to the counſell of the prince of Orange and the Eſtates, who had called him to thoſe goodly principalities and ſeignieries,
F wherewith hee was ſo lately inueſted: And that if in ſtead of preferring the French nobilitie (who were but ſtrangers in the Netherlands) hee had countenanced the Netherlanders, and not haue contemned them, and held them in ſuch diſdaine: for aboue the ordinarie counſell which he had of the ſaid prince and other noblemen borne in the countrey, although he ſhold

not

1583 not haue any other for matters of ſtate, and the gouernment of the countrey, yet hee had a ſecret counſell, which they called *The Counſell of the Cabinet*, compoſed of yong giddie headed French men, moſt of them being penſioners to the king of Spaine, or relikes of the actors in the maſſacre at Paris. This ſecret counſell put into his head, that neither the prince of Orange nor the States did reſpect him as an abſolute prince, and would willingly haue ſeene him fully obeyed; the which the Spaniards had ſo much affected, and had beene the cauſe of the troubles and miſeries which had happened and continued ſo long in the ſaid countries. For the obtaining of which obedience and abſolute commaund, for the putting in of gouernours and French captaines into all townes and forts, and the excluding of noblemen, gentlemen, and others that were borne in the countrey, to reſtore the Romiſh religion, and roote out the Proteſtants; finally to reduce theſe prouinces into a worſe eſtate, than it may bee they had beene in during the rule of the Spaniards, they aduiſed him to make himſelfe maſter of the chiefe townes of Brabant and Flanders, but eſpecially of Antuerpe, with the which they thought and bragged to ſubdue all the world. A B

Three ſorts of humors in the dukes counſell

In this counſell there were three ſorts of humors of men, euerie one tending to a certaine end, but diuers and contrarie. The firſt (which we may ſay were the beſt) had no other aime (as faithfull ſeruants are bound) but to the greatneſſe and ſetling of their maſters eſtate, which proſpering, they could not but proſper themſelues, and thoſe were for the moſt part young, aſpiring to aduancement and honour. The others were ſecret penſioners to the king of Spain, who by a ſtrange alteration in this new eſtate, ſought nothing, but to worke for the Spaniard, and to ſend the duke home, from whence hee came, and ſo corrupted by gifts, preſents, or penſions, to fill their purſes: and theſe had moſt acceſſe and credit with the duke. The laſt were ſuch as looked to nothing, but to ſpoyle, relikes (as we haue ſaid) of the maſſacrers of Paris, thinking by the ſpoyle of theſe rich and mightie townes, to make themſelues all gold in one day: the which were knowne and noted for ſuch, who two or three dayes before the execution of this their deſigne in the towne of Antuerpe, went vnto the chiefe merchants, taking view of the richeſt iewels, plate, tapeſtrie, and other rich merchandiſe, making ſhew as if they would buy them, and agreeing vpon the price of ſome: ſaying, That they would fetch them, and pay for them on ſuch a day, which was the day of the execution: but it had beene with the Lions paiment. C

Conſider then, if of theſe laſt two ſorts of men, being of the dukes counſell, an vpright prince could make any good vſe. It was therefore concluded among them in this counſell of Gabinet (whereunto they alſo called the ſeigniour of Thiant, gouernour of Aloſt, a ſtirring young gentlemen, whoſe humor theſe counſellors knew to bee conformable vnto theirs) that this deſigne (without the priuitie of the duke of Montpenſier, the earle of Latall, and other noblemen of the Proteſtant religion) ſhould bee executed vpon the ſeuenteenth of Ianuarie that yeare 1583, on Saint *Anthonies* day, as well in Antuerpe, as in the townes of Bruges, Dendermonde, Aloſt, Dixmuyden, Nyeuport, Ooeſtende, Villeuorde, and other townes: So as the French men of thoſe garriſons, and other ſupplies that ſhould bee ſent vnto them, ſhould make themſelues maſters thereof. And as for their proiect laid vpon the towne of Antuerpe, the which ſucceeded vnhappily for them, it was in this maner. D E

The relation of the enterpriſe of Antuerpe.

The ſixteenth of Ianuarie, the eue before the execution of the French mens deſigne vpon Antuerpe, doctor *Peter van Aloſt*, bourgmaſter of the towne, hauing receiued ſome aduertiſement, that the ſame night there might be ſome enterpriſe made againſt the town, went late vnto the duke, to let him vnderſtand, That among ſo many ſouldiers that were entred into the towne, there might ſome ſlip in that were not well affected to his ſeruice, who they feared would attempt ſomething to the preiudice of the towne: and therefore they intreated the duke that hee would forſee it, and that the chaynes might be drawne an houre ſooner than of cuſtome: Whereunto the duke yeelded, after that hee had anſwered, That they had no cauſe to diſtruſt his troups, which were come to do him and the whole countrey ſeruice: adding thereunto many good words and faire promiſes. So the chaines were drawne betimes, and lanternes with lights hung out at the windowes in the ſtreets all night long, as they are accuſtomed to do in any time of doubt and diſtruſt. F

The

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A The next day the duke did conferre as well in perſon, as by his ſecretarie *Pin* (called *Quinſay*) with the prince of Orange, the bourgmaſters, and the colonels of the bourgers, ſent expreſly to that end. And as the prince told plainely and openly, That hee knew well, that they had pretended and reſolued that day, to force a port, and to draw in the whole armie; the duke proteſted, that he had neuer any ſuch thought, and that they ſhould haue no ſuch ſuſpition of his ſouldiers: that hee deſired to know who had inuented that ſurmiſe, to puniſh him as hee had deſerued: ſhewing what great affection hee bare to the confederat prouinces, the countrey of Brabant, and eſpecially to the towne of Antuerpe, ſeeking by all meanes to pacifie, and to giue contentment to the prince, the bourgmaſters and colonels: the which was eaſie for him to doe, ſeeing that their aduertiſements had no verie great B ground, neither would they euer haue thought that it had beene true, much leſſe that his Highneſſe would euer haue executed ſuch a deſigne, conſidering that he did ſee plainly they knew ſomething, and that they were growne into ſuſpition. Whereupon the prince perſuaded and intreated him, not to go out of the town, nor to take view of his armie that day: the which he promiſed him: But the marſhall of Biron beeing gone the day before to lodge in the armie, and hauing concluded, that the like deſigne ſhould be executed in other townes, on the ſame day, wherby al their villanie ſhould be diſcouered, if they ſhould delay it any longer, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the duke with all his nobilitie, making in all (beſides thoſe which marched before, and which came after) ſome two hundred horſe, and with all his guard both Switſers and French, went out of the towne by the port of Kip- C dorpe, the which they had expreſly left open by commaundement and charge which hee had giuen them. 1583

The foolish & cruell enterprise of the duke of Anion vpon Antuerp

Some of his men which went before, ſtayed vpon the bridge, as if they had there attended his Highneſſe: others which remained behind, ran from one ſtreet to another, towards that gate, cauſing the chaynes to bee let downe, as if his Highneſſe ſhould haue paſt by all thoſe ſtreets.

Beeing paſt the port, and the ſecond draw bridge, one of his gentlemen did counterfeit as if his legge had beene broken in the preaſe: ſome of the bourgers drew neere vnto him, to helpe him, and to carrie him into the towne, to the firſt Surgion: but hee crying out and lamenting (the which hee did to win time, vntill the footmen of the armie might approach) D ſeeing the footmen come, drew his ſword, and tooke one of the bourgers of the towne, which offered him his ſeruice, on the head, and withall, all his Highneſſe courtiers fell pell mell vpon the bourgers, beeing before their Corps de gard, bare headed, to ſee their prince paſſe, hauing no doubt or fear of any ſuch treaſon to be practiſed and committed againſt their towne.

After this beginning the noblemen and gentlemen (except ſuch as paſt beyond the port) aduanced with all the reſt of the armie, and firſt there entred foure cornets of horſe, and ſeuenteene enſignes of foot, crying out, *The towne is won, The towne is won, Liue the Maſſe, Liue the Maſſe:* the which they did, by that meanes hoping to draw all the power of the Romiſh Catholikes, and other the diſcontented rabble of the towne, to hold their partie: E his Highneſſe preſſing his men to enter, and ſaying that the towne was his, and that it was woon, cauſed the Switſers, and the reſt of the troupes to aduance, ſo as hee became maſter of the ſaid port, without any difficultie, although there had beene great reſiſtance: for it was dinner time, when as the bourgers were at table, and the moſt part of the guard were gone home to their dinners, and beſides the bourgers of that quarter had that day the guard in another place.

So theſe foure cornets, and the dukes courtiers, with the ſeuenteene companies of foot, being entred into the towne, ran ouer all where it pleaſed them; ſome went along the rampar towards the emperors gate, to ſeize vpon the artillerie, as they did: ſome ran towards the Meerbruge, others through the new ſtreet, ſome along that ſtreight ſtreet of Kipdorpe, and one F part vnto the rampars of the Red gate, and of Saint *Anthonies* ſtreet, crying continually, *Kill, kill, God ſaue the Maſſe, The towne is woon.* But as ſoone as the bourgers vnderſtood, that they pretended by this treaſon to ſurpriſe and ſpoyle the towne, going preſently with as much ſpeed as they could out of their houſes, ſome armed, ſome without arms, and in ſmall numbers, they went like gabions cloſe together, & planted themſelues before this great troup

of

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1583 of French men, keeping them from paſſing any further. In the meane time the towne drums began to beat, and to giue a generall alarme, the bourgers comming in troups from all parts, ſome by whole companies, who marching in battaile, went and charged the French, God (to whom the honour and glorie of this victorie is to be attributed) giuing ſuch courage to the bourgers, and the inhabitants, as they made them to turne their backes in all places, and to flie in great diſorder out of the towne, ſome caſting themſelues from the top of the rampar into the ditch, to ſaue themſelues, after that they had beene maſters of the port aboue an houre, with their colours flying, won the market place and the Meere. A

In the meane time the duke cauſed his Switſers (being about foure thouſand) and the reſt of his armie, to aduance, to ſecond them that were alreadie entred: but the bourgers hauing recouered the rampars, diſcharged their ordnance vpon his ſquadrons, the which ſtaied them ſodainely, and forced them to retire, finding that all went not well with them in the town; neither could they enter, for the great number of the dead, which lay heaped one vpon another in the port, the height of two men. The duke hauing at the firſt ſeene the port won, and that without any reſiſtance or ſtriking ſtroke his men were entred into the towne, hee ſaid then to ſome noblemen (who were not acquainted with his enterpriſe, and did complaine of it) that the towne was won, and that he had aboue foure thouſand men in it. Whereunto ſome of theſe noblemen anſwered, That it was not yet won, and that within halfe an houre they ſhold ſee a change, as it fell out by the grace of God, not without great effuſion of bloud, of either part: for of the good and valiant bourgers (beſides them that were wounded) there died ſome foure ſcore, among the which were colonel *Vyerendeel*, and the captaines *Balthazar Tas*, *Renold Michaut*, and *Iaſper* of Hoemaeker, ſargeant maior to the ſeignior of Schoonhouen. The ſeignior of Waenroy bourgmaſter, being gone forth of the towne with his highneſſe, marching in ranke with the nobilitie, and hearing this brute, eſcaped verie dangerouſly, and with the aſſiſtance of the ſaid ſargeant maior, cauſed the chaines to be drawne, which ſergeant was ſlaine cloſe by him, with diuers other valiant bourgers, which died fighting, to their immortall praiſe and honour. B

The number of them that were ſlaine. C

Of the French there were found both within and without the towne, vpon the rampars, and in the ditches, aboue fifteene hundred men, that were numbred and buried, beſides ſuch as died afterwards in the town, and the wounded and priſoners, among the which there were many gentlemen and men of qualitie: Beſides there were ſome foureteene or fifteene hundred taken priſoners, and among them ſome great perſonages, barons, and other of the French nobilitie. And although that the French ſouldiers would not haue ſpared any one, but would haue ſpoyled the towne, and vſed all ſorts of crueltie, if they had been maſters, yet after this victory the bourgers did not hurt any man, but drew from among the dead many that were yet liuing and panting, whom they preſerued. D

After this groſſe errour the duke retired with his noblemen, and the reſt of his armie, the ſame night, to be out of the danger of the towne canon, into the ſuburbs of Berchem, lodging himſelfe in the caſtle of that place, from whence he writ vnto the magiſtrat of Antuerpe, with a certaine inſtruction, which he gaue vnto two colonels bourgers, *Landmeter* and *Scholiers* being accompanied by a gentleman of his houſhold, whereunto they of the towne would make no anſwere in particular, referring themſelues to the reſolution of the prince and the generall Eſtates, who thought it expedient to ſend their commiſſioners vnto his highneſſe. You may coniecture in what caſe the prince of Orange was, during this fooliſh and furious enterpriſe of the French in Antuerpe, and whether he were aſſured of his perſon, vntill hee heard that all went well with the bourgers, and that the French were repulſt: then hee went to the rampars with his guard and gentlemen, to moderat the iuſt furie of the townes-men, who would haue plaied continually with their ordnance vpon the dukes armie, if hee had not forbidden them, yea intreated them: and he came happily to ſaue ſome of the nobilitie, yet was he forced to heare and endure ſome taunts and reproaches of ſome ill taught bourgers. In the end hauing ceaſed from killing (which had not laſted an houre) and the prince being retyred into his lodging, the bourgers fell to ſpoyle and ſtrip the dead bodies, where ſome got rich ſpoyles, as well of chaynes of gold and iewels, and of gold and ſiluer. E F

The noblemen that were ſlaine. The moſt remarkable among the dead, were the earle of S. Aignan, the marſhall of Birons eldeſt ſonne, the earle of Chaſteauroux ſonne, a verie yong nobleman, with the ſeigniours of Thiant,

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A Thiant, Seiſſeual, and others. Among the chiefe priſoners were the ſeignior of Feruaques, the baron of Beaulieu, the baron of Chaumont, the ſeignior of Freſnoy, and others (whereof many were of the Proteſtant religion, ignorant of the fact) all put vnder good guard for a time in the fencers chamber, and from thence they were ſent to ſome bourgers, vntill they were knowne: *Feruaques* was carried to the towne-houſe, and the common ſouldiers to the priſon of Backers tower, and other places, from whence they were afterwards deliuered without ranſome, and ſent by ſea to Callis, yet many died of cold, want, miſerie, and of the ſtinke one of another, the priſons being ſo full as they could hardly ſtirre. 1583

Such was the iſſue and end of this fooliſh enterpriſe of the duke of Aniou vpon the towne of Antuerpe, thinking by meanes thereof to make himſelfe more abſolute lord, than euer
B were any dukes his predeceſſors in Brabant, and to haue that ful and perfect obedience, which neuer any had, neither could the king of Spaine obtaine it, how mightie ſoeuer he were. He loſt in one day his eſtate, his credit, and his reputation, beeing forced to flie, and to make a retreat vnworthie of his greatneſſe: for from his lodging of Berchem, he went the next day to the abbey of Saint *Bernard*; hauing beene there one night, going to Villeuoorde, he found a ſecond miſchiefe at his quarter of Duffell, to the great loſſe of his men and baggage, by the inundation of the countrey, which grew by the opening of the ſluces at Macklyn: And if a countrey man had not ſhewed them a foord, at the old riuer which was woont to paſſe from Macklyn to Bruſſels, the loſſe had beene greater, and hee himſelfe had beene in daunger, as the duke of Montpenſier was, who, beſides this misfortune, was much grieued for the dif-
C loyaltie which had beene ſhewed to the towne of Antuerpe: for the way was verie narrow, and hard to hold, whereas many making too great haſt, were carried away by the ſwiftneſſe of the ſtreame, and there periſhed. The duke of Montpenſier beeing mounted vpon a luſtie horſe, was in this danger, if hee had not beene ſpeedily ſuccoured, who beeing verie wet in ſo cold a ſeaſon, being come to Villeuoorde, after that hee had beene well chafed, was let bloud for the recouerie of his health. The duke of Aniou ran to viſit him and to comfort him: *Montpenſier* did reprehend him ſharply, for the errour which hee had committed in Antuerpe, imputing this diſaſter to his periurie. To whom the duke anſwered, Couſin, leaue theſe ſpeeches, you will kill my heart. *Montpenſier* replying in choller, looking with an angrie eye vpon the noblemen which did accompanie the duke, beeing the chiefe authors of
D all the miſchiefe, ſaid, Nay, kill the hearts of all thoſe traytors, that gaue you that counſell. At which reply the duke of Aniou retyred verie ſad and melancholie, without ſpeaking of any word.

Montpenſier blames the duke for the attempt at Antuerpe.

His Highneſſe being vpon the way to Villeuoorde, hee wrot his letters to them of Bruſſels and Macklyn, laying all the fault of this inconuenience vpon them of Antuerpe, as if they had giuen him ſome occaſion, ſaying (wherein he did contradict himſelfe) That it was but a mutinie of his men: whereof the contrary is moſt manifeſt, for the ſame day that he thought to ſuppreſſe Antuerpe, he attempted the like in diuers other townes, as in Bruges, Aloſt, Dixmuyden, Nieuport, Ooeſtend, and Villeuoord, and it may be in other places whereas his miniſters durſt not begin.

The duke ſeeks to excuſe himſelfe, and to accuſe them of Antuerpe.

E The enterpriſes which the dukes men had vpon Dendermonde, Dixmuyden, and Villeuoorde ſucceeded, but not without great oppreſſion and outrage done vnto the inhabitants. But they of Bruges, vnder the leading of the ſeignior of Fougeres, failed, although there were fiue companies of French before within the towne: for as *Fougeres* deſired to haue paſſage onely through the towne, to goe and ioyne with the dukes armie neere Antuerpe, with ſixe companies: Being entred, and in battaile vpon the market place, *Fougeres* and the prouoſt generall of the French, meaning to ſtay ſome time, and reſt them there, went to the town-houſe, to haue tickets for their lodging. The bourgers diſcouering this practiſe, began to put themſelues in armes, and thereupon the magiſtrats commanded *Fougeres* not to depart from them, but to write to his men, that they ſhould depart preſently out of the towne, elſe he ſhould re-
F maine their priſoner. In the meane time they prouided, that the other fiue companies of the old garriſon, ſhould not ioyne with them that were on the market place, who according to their colonels command, departed out of the towne, and ſo did al the reſt. Thus this enterpriſe went to ſmoke, and the Brugeois were happily and eaſily freed from the French, who as *Fougeres* and the prouoſt did afterwards confeſſe, had made pitifull worke in the towne.

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1583 There was the like enterprise vpon the towne of Wynocx-berghe, the which succeeded, A
but modestly, Colonel *Villenenfue* a French gentleman and a Protestant, causing Captaine
Blacke onely to retire with his company of horse, to be master there alone, as he was vnder the
Dukes authoritie, vntill hee yeelded it vp by his consent, of the Estates and the Prince of O-
range, vnto *la Motte* Gouernour of Graueling ue, as we shall hereafter shew.

I haue thought good to insert here the letters which the Duke of Aniou did write from
the castle of Berchem to the Magistrate of Antuerpe, sending them by the Colonels *Landt-*
meter and *Scholiers*, with the instruction which followeth.

The Dukes letters to them of Antuerpe.

My masters, I send vnto you the Seigniours of Landtmeter & Scholiers the bearers here-
of, with an instruction which they shall present vnto you on my behalfe; whereunto I attend
» an answer that I may resolue: the fault shall be yours, if it be not for your good: referring my B
» selfe then to their sufficiencie, I will conclude, praying God to haue you in his keeping: from
» the campe at Berchem. Signed *Francis*, and vnderneath, *Pin*. In a post-script was written, I
» haue thought good to accompanie these two Bourgers, with this gentleman the bearer here-
» of, to let you vnderstand my intention more at large. Here followeth the tenour of the instru-
ction.

» His Highnesse by his wisdome and accustomed patience, after that he had exposed his per-
» son to hazard, lost and ruined many gentlemen and souldiers, some in the warres, others by
» diseases, and the most part by miserie, famine and want, to trie by all meanes, to let the people
» of these countries know how much hee desired to drawe them out of all the miseries and op-
» pressions which they had suffered, hath in the end found that he laboured in vaine, reseruing C
» the proofe of his saying for another time and place, to discouer more plainly to all the world,
» the spring and beginning of all the mischiefe, the which was sufficiently knowne to all good
» men. The neere ruine of the people, with his Highnes disgrace which followed, hath with
» great reason (beeing a Prince as euery man knoweth him) much altered his good nature and
» disposition, seeing himselfe so vnworthily intreated, as he may iustly say, that the absolute and
» soueraigne authoritie was in other mens hands. But the extraordinarie indignitie which hath
» beene done him this day, with so small respect, yea in contempt of his person and qualitie,
» hath so incensed him, as that hath ensued which you haue seene, for the which hee is won-
» derfully displeased and grieued. And for that his inclination is yet still disposed to the good
» of the common weale, and of all good men; hee would let them vnderstand it, to knowe how D
» they would carrie themselues to him, before hee did resolue of that which hee had in hand:
» whereof they should bee intreated to deliuer their mindes plainely to the Seigniors of Landt-
» meter and Scholiers, of whom they should learne more, according to the instruction which
» his Highnes had giuen them. They should be also intreated to suffer all French men that were
» in Antuerpe, to depart and goe freely vnto his Highnesse, and the Earle of Mansfeldt also; gi-
» uing free passage for all his Highnesse moueables, of the duke of Montpensier, the Count
» *Laual*, Marshal of Biron, the Seigniors of Rochepot, Rochefoucaut, Espruneaux, and Mauuis-
» siere the first steward of his household: as also and especially his Highnes papers, & the goods
» of the Seignior of Quinsay, his Secretarie, and his other Stewards, Treasurers, and household
» seruants, against whom he assures himselfe they haue vsed no rigour, beeing innocent of that E
» which hath happened. His Highnesse hath his chiefe Almoner sicke in Antuerpe, whom hee
» shall intreat them to send vnto him, and not to vse him vnworthily. Made in the campe at
» Berchem the 17 of Ianuarie.

These letters and instruction were imparted by the Magistrate of Antuerpe, vnto the gene-
rall Estates and the Prince of Orange; the particular Estates of Brabant thought it expedient
to send Commissioners vnto him: whereunto were named, Doctor *Elbert Leoninus*, chan-
cellor of Geldres, *Meetkerke* president of the Prouinciall Councel of Flanders both Councel-
lers of estate, and *Bloyere* Colonel of the bourgers at Brussels, to goe and treate with the
Duke, who was gone to Saint *Bernards* Abbey, and that according to the instructions
which they had receiued from the Prince of Orange, with the aduice of the generall E- F
states.

The Duke beeing ariued at Duffell, he wrote vnto *Oliuer vanden Timpel*, Seignior of Cor-
beke, Gouernour of Brussels, as followeth.

» Mounsieur *Timpel*, the indignities which I haue receiued by them of Antuerpe, with very
small

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A ſmall reſpect of my qualitie and perſon, haue ſo tranſported mee, as meaning on monday laſt " 1583
" to goe out of the towne vnto mine armie, there fell a tumult at the port betwixt them and my " The dukes
" men, whereas the ſouldiers lying at Bourgerhout ariued, ſo as to my great griefe there follow- " letters to
" ed great diſorder: whereof I thought good to aduertiſe you, and to let you vnderſtand " monſieur
" that this accident hath nothing diminiſhed my affection, to aſſiſt the good with all my meanes " Timpel.
" and forces, who in my opinion ſhould not growe colde, as I am aſſured you will not, continu-
" ing in the oath which you haue made vnto mee. I will alſo continue for my part in my firſt "
" will and affection: and eſpecially in regard of you, whom I haue alſo knowne to be a louer of "
" the publike good. Intreating you moreouer, beeing at this time incommodated in my armie "
" for want of victuals, to prouide that I may haue ſome ſent mee, by ſome number of boats, as "
B " ſpeedily as may be, and they ſhall bee well ſatisfied and paied. And for that I meane ſhortly "
" to let you vnderſtand more particularly the true and iuſt cauſes of my griefe, I will now "
" make an end, &c. From the campe at Duffell the twentieth of Ianuarie, 1583. Signed "
Francis.

Many thought diuerſly of this enterpriſe of the duke of Anious: ſome ſaid it was onely to force the bourgers of Antuerpe to paie his armie, as the Spaniards had done in the time of the great commander of Caſtilia, at the daie called *Fora Veillacos*, whereof wee haue made mention. Others ſaid that the duke beeing newely come out of a realme, whereas the king commands and hath abſolute authoritie, could not fit himſelfe vnto a countrey, which ſtands vpon their priuiledges and auncient ſtatutes, deſiring to rule after his owne will. Some feared C that if hee had become maſter thereof, hee would haue deliuered them ouer to the king of Spaine, with whom (they ſaid) hee had ſecret correſpondencie, and ſeeing they could not compaſſe it by force and open warre, they ſhould effect it by ſubtill practiſes, as hee had now thought. Theſe men were farre from his intention. Some others ſaid it was to ſettle and eſtabliſh the Romiſh religion, and they grounded the chiefeſt argument of this their iealouſie vpon the crie of *God ſaue the Maſſe*, during the exploit: beeing alſo notorious that he had with him diuers of the chiefe maſſacrers of Paris. And as the name of French men by reaſon of their inſolencies and exceſſe, was hatefull both to catholikes and proteſtants, by that crie of *God ſaue the Maſſe*, they thought to drawe the catholikes to their partie, and in the end to vſe them as the reſt: this might haue ſome ſhew. But my opinion was, and I haue heard it allow- D ed by many of good iudgement, that this young councell of the cabinet beleeued, that the duke holding this rich and mightie citie, and hauing cauſed the caſtle to be built againe, hee might by the meanes thereof conquer all the world. Whatſoeuer it were, this deſigne muſt be moſt pernitious to the one or to the other. To the towne if he had preuailed, (yet what the iſſue would haue beene if it had ſucceeded, I will not raſhly iudge) for him if he had failed, as he did. Seuerall opinions of the dukes enterpriſe.

Wherefore it is a matter to be duely weighed and conſidered: as I haue heard the marſhall of Biron did propound all the dangers vnto him, beeing without the towne, euen at the verie inſtant when the exploit ſhould begin, ſhewing him the artillerie vpon the rampar, the chaines in all the ſtreetes, the bourgers become more warlike then euer, by reaſon of their E firſt loſſes by the Spaniards, then the diſhonour, and laſt of all the great loſſe, and irrecouerable blame if it ſucceeded not, counſelling him as much as he could to deſiſt from it. But contrariwiſe the others ſaid, Why ſir, will you for feare of tenne or twelue raſcals which are at the port, looſe the opportunitie to make your ſelfe a monarch this daie? Whereupon the duke was a while in ſuſpence, but the worſer counſell ſo by their vnhappie aduiſe preuailed, that they carried it: God hauing ſo in his eternall wiſdome decreed to puniſh theſe wicked reliques of maſſacrers, and to make them of Antuerp, and the eſtates more circumſpect in their affaires.

The prince of Parma hearing that this enterpriſe was thus failed, meaning to make his benefit thereof, wrote his letters to the Bourgmaſters, great councell, and colonels of the F towne of Antuerpe, exhorting them to reconciliation with the king of Spaine: the meſſenger which brought the letters was ledde into the towne with his eies blinded, which made many to thinke that they feared ſome alteration, for ſome times they might heare the bourgers (ſeeing that the duke of Anion ſought by all meanes poſſible to circumuent

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1583 them) mutter among themſelues, and cry, God ſaue the King. Whereforeit was prohibited A.
by a publike proclamation within the towne, That no man ſhould preſume to ſpeake of making peace with the king of Spaine, nor to receiue any letters from the prince of Parma, for that hee had written the like to them of Gant, Bruges, and other townes, ſo as ſome townes of Flanders and of Brabant, ſent their deputies (among the which was the abbot of S. *Gheertruyde*) to the prince of Parma, to treat of their reconciliation.

The queene of England hauing newes of this accident, ſent her embaſſadors to the Eſtates, requiring them with all ſpeed to reconcile themſelues vnto the duke of Aniou, for that it was to be feared, that if they did not agree, the prince of Parma beeing growne weake for want of victuals, would fortifie himſelfe more than before, whereon they ſhould bee verie carefull. B.

Embaſſadors ſent to the States from England and France.

The ſame newes being come to Rouan, and to Paris, and made much greater than it was (as if the duke and all the princes and French nobilitie, had beene ſlaine there) the Pariſians ſtaied all the merchants and goods of Antuerpe, who (the truth of the matter beeing knowne) had great difficultie to recouer their goods againe, and not without ſome loſſe. The king ſent the ſeigniour of Mirambeau, to excuſe his brothers fault, and ſoone after monſieur *de Bellieure*, a counſellor of ſtate, with letters to them of Antuerpe, by the which hee excuſed (as much as hee could) his brothers errour, laying the blame vpon his youth, his bad counſell, and the mutinie of his ſouldiers: promiſing them, that in reconciling themſelues vnto him, hee would giue them all fauour and aſſiſtance. The duke himſelfe did write afterwards vnto the Eſtates, colouring ſomewhat his enterpriſe, and promiſing them all ſeruice, both C
of his perſon and meanes, deſiring to enter into ſome friendly conference with them, and to ſatisfie them that were diſtaſted. But the common people ſeemed at the firſt ſo much altered, as no excuſes could preuaile, refuſing to acknowledge him any more for the protector of their libertie, and much leſſe their prince: but they tearmed him an enemie to the publike good of the countrey, ſo great was their ſpleene in the beginning, after the deed was done againſt his Highneſſe: yet it had beene much better they had beene ſooner reconciled together vpon ſome good conditions, ſeeing that (beeing thus diſcouered) they ſhould euer after haue leſſe feare of him than before: and it was to bee hoped his future actions would bee ſuch, as they ſhould deface that firſt blemiſh. For the Spaniard (who ſlept not) beeing watchfull to imbrace all occaſions, ſeeing the countrey deſtitute of a head, of ſuccours, D
and of ſupport, might eaſily haue ouerthrowne all their deſignes, to his great aduantage, and the hazard of their fortunes.

All this beeing well knowne vnto the prince of Orange, one day in the aſſemblie of the great Counſell (which they call *Breeden Raed*) in the towne of Antuerpe, beeing required to ſpeake his mind, touching the reconciliation with the duke of Aniou, hee deliuered his opinion at large, the which was preſented alſo in writing vnto the generall Eſtates of the countries of the Netherlands: where, after that hee had excuſed himſelfe, hee ſayd:

The prince of Oranges aduice vpon the reconciliation with the duke of Aniou.

That the Eſtates ſhould remember what hee had propounded vnto them, whenas by the loſſes of Tournay and Maeſtricht, they were in a dangerous eſtate, the Spaniard go- E
ing on ſtill, and proſpering: and that it was then needfull to ſeeke ayd and ſuccours from ſome great prince, to preſerue and maintaine them: Intreating them, that they would reuiew the acts, and all that had paſſed betwixt them and him, when there was queſtion to
„ chuſe the Duke of Aniou. In doing ſo (for that it ſeemed they would blame him for this
„ election) they ſhould ſee to whom the fault was to bee imputed: ſeeing that hee had al-
„ wayes proteſted, That if the Eſtates could find any other better expedient, that hee would
„ follow it vnto the death: That they themſelues could witneſſe, that at that inſtant they
„ had no other helpe, but to call in the ſaid Duke of Aniou, as it was reſolued by them-
„ ſelues. Wherefore it were verie vniuſt (although the miſchiefe which hath happened had
„ beene greater) to blame him alone for this election, and to lay the fault vpon him for that F
„ which is paſt. He would not deny (for that the duke had done and attempted againſt his othe,
„ according to the treatie of Burdeaux) but that he was fallen from the right of this euocation, &
„ the ſeigniory of theſe countries, whereof hee had receiued the inueſtiture, although that hee confeſſed,

confeſſed, That his aduice was to call him to their ſuccours. But if they would iudge thereof without paſſion, they muſt alſo confeſſe what benefit they haue receiued in three yeares, that by his meanes they had made head againſt the enemie, who at that time had two mighty armies, the which by the grace of God and the dukes aſſiſtance, were made vnprofitable, the one before Cambray, the other much greater the laſt Summer. Moreouer, that with his ſuccours you had rayſed the enemies ſiege from before Lochum, on which towne depends the countrey of Gueldres, and the countie of Zutphen and Oueriſſell. That no man could denie the ſuccours which hee had giuen to the reformed churches in Fraunce, hauing beene the meanes to procure them libertie of religion. Holding it moſt certaine, that by the name and armes of the duke of Aniou, the name and forces of Spaine were obſcured. But in this preſent action, there were three points, whereon they muſt reſolue. The reconciliation with the Spaniard, for one, or with the duke, for another, and the third is to maintaine and defend themſelues alone with their owne proper meanes. Hee ſaid, That for the Spaniard there was no likelyhood to effect it, although the name and armes ſhould ceaſe: for if they thinke to reconcile themſelues with him, vnder the name of the male-contents, as *la Motte* writes, and that to that end the marqueſſe of Roubay, and the lords of Montigny and Raſſinghem, are met (whereunto it ſeemes ſome yeeld an eare) hee conceiues as much as may bee in this matter of eſtate, that thoſe men will not doe any thing, without the will of the prince of Parma: whereof they may be ſufficiently perſuaded by the treatie of Cologne, in the yere 1579, made betwixt ſome priuat men among the male-contents, and the ſaid prince of Parma: the which was no ſooner paſt, but they ſent them greater numbers of Spaniards and Italians, than euer before. Beſides, the treatie which now they may make with the male-contents, would miniſter matter to the duke of Aniou, to reproach the Eſtates withall, that whileſt hee offers to reconcile himſelfe with them, they treat with his enemies: the which ſhould helpe to iuſtifie him with the French king his brother, the queene of England, and other princes and potentats, and make their cauſe odious. And that to reconcile themſelues with the Spaniards, and male-contents, were all one deed. The queſtion is, Whether the Wallons (the Spaniard beeing retired) would be more tollerable vnto them, than the Spaniards, or French, ſeeing they know well that the ſaid Wallons haue the chiefe charges and commands; one beeing lieutenant of the armie, another generall of the horſe, the third maſter of the ordnance, and the fourth generall of the victuals and munition. And whereas ſome imagine, that (treating with the male-contents, and the Spaniard retired) they ſhall bee more aſſured to recouer their free traffique into Spaine, and that the Spaniard being farre from them, they ſhall be in leſſe feare of ſurpriſe, than of the French, who are neerer neighbours. Seeing it is ſo, as they hold the French an enemie in the ſame degree with the Spaniard, experience hath taught by this attempt newly happened, that whenſoeuer the French ſhall haue committed any errour, or broken the accord, what ſupport they ſhall find. But the condition of the Spaniard is otherwiſe: for hauing not onely the countrey, the townes, and the diſmembred States at his commandement, beeing in warre againſt the vnited States, hauing the chiefe members thereof profeſſed Spaniards, hee ſhall not need many Spaniards nor Italians, to ſubiect them to his will, thoſe which are borne in the countrey imploying themſelues with al violence, vnder the kings authoritie, which they haue in their hands; whereby the inhabitants ſhal be eaſily ſupplanted, depriued of their religion, and conſequently burthened with the yoke of the Inquiſition, and ſpoyled of their goods, priuiledges, and freedoms (notwithſtanding their treaties) without all mercie. Wherefore we muſt conſider, that the Spaniards are neerer than the French, beeing ſeated in the middeſt of both: for which conſideration hee ſees no reaſon to hearken to the Spaniard, if you wil not ſee religion, liberties, yea and the country loſt & ruined for euer. In regard of the duke of Aniou, whom hee would not denie (according to the treatie of Bourdeaux) to be fallen from all his rights in theſe parts, and that he hath no ground to challenge any benefit by the ſayd treatie, whereby it appeares what fooliſh and pernitious counſell hee hath followed: conſidering alſo the feare in the which both hee and his haue beene ſince this attempt, the which ſhould make him more wiſe and circumſpect to preſerue himſelfe and his nobilitie, beeing not the part of a wiſe and circumſpect man, to ſtumble twice at one ſtone: that it is common to all men to erre, the which may happen vnto them, if they doe not reconcile themſelues with him: whereby may grow ſo great a iealouſie

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1583 „ and diſtruſt betwixt the two nations, as afterwards there will bee ſmall meanes to reconcile A
„ them. Finally it were to bee feared, that they which are about his perſon would counſell
„ him, or that they vnder his authoritie, would attempt ſomething againſt religion. Hee ſaid
„ alſo, That he knew well, that ſome among them thought it not good to agree with one that
„ was not of their religion, for certaine conſiderations. Whereupon they were to conſider, that
„ the duke held many good townes in his hands, the which in caſe they reiected him, he might
„ deliuer vp vnto their enemies, ſeeing that of himſelfe hee ſhould haue no meanes to preſerue
„ them: whereby many other good townes ſhould fall into great danger, eſpecially the enemy
„ being maſter of the field. It was in like manner to bee feared, that if they did incenſe the duke,
„ they ſhould alſo haue the French king for their enemie, who would bee more heauie vnto
„ them than any other, whereby they ſhould bee in danger to looſe their nauigation both in- B
„ to Spaine and France, and alſo to bee ſodainely inuaded by two mightie enemies. As for the
„ queene of England, although he doubts not but ſhee will diſauow the dukes fact, yet will ſhe
„ be ſorie, for the great recommendation and good teſtimonie ſhee hath giuen of him to the
„ Eſtates: but when ſhee ſhall vnderſtand that it is by their faults that theſe breaches are not re-
„ paired, and that they would not reconcile themſelues againe vnto him, her Maieſtie will take
„ this refuſall in verie ill part. They muſt alſo conſider, how few friends they ſhall haue elſe-
„ where, and how euerie one will abandon them. And it is to bee feared, that if they agree not
„ with the duke, the French will preſently lay all paſſages open to the Spaniard, not onely for
„ their victuals, munition, meſſengers, embaſſadors, gold and ſiluer, but euen for whole armies,
„ both of horſe and foot, which ſhall quite ruine them; ſo as they may iudge if it doth import C
„ them or not. On the other ſide, they ſhould make a ſtrict examination of their meanes, if they
„ be able to defend themſelues, and to raiſe the ſiege of Eindouen, or of any other townes be-
„ ſieged, as when they were ſupported by the dukes forces: for the doing whereof, they had
„ want of good captaines and ſouldiers of their owne nation, not onely for that the warre hath
„ conſumed many, but alſo for that their countries were ſmall, and that the moſt part were re-
„ tired, or might retire to the Spaniard, whom they had beene accuſtomed to ſerue. Beſides, the
„ greateſt part of the people are more giuen to traffique and to handie trades, than to armes:
„ wherefore it ſhould be needfull to call in forreine ſouldiers, which would coſt much to leuie,
„ to bring hither, and to entertaine: ſo as hauing once reſolued, you muſt rather truſt them of
„ the religion than any other. And as for money, euerie one knew how troubleſome it had bin D
„ hitherto to prouide it, onely to pay their garriſons: ſo as it is a wonder how for want of good
„ paiment, they could euer maintaine their ſouldiers ſo well without mutining, ſeeing that mo-
„ ney is the ſinew of warre, without the which all other prouiſions are vnprofitable: praying
„ vnto God to ſend them meanes to recouer it. The which hauing well reſolued, hee propound-
„ ded vnto them an order which they ſhould hold, as well in the gouernement, as in the man-
„ naging of militarie and politike affaires, euerie one maintaining himſelfe in his ranke, all
„ which notwithſtanding ſhould bee without fruit, if money fayles. Whereupon he did exhi-
„ bit vnto them a liſt of the charges of the warre monethly, the which beeing not effectually
„ followed, and obſerued, their Eſtate could not ſubſiſt. Of the three points aboue mentio-
„ ned, hee confeſt freely vnto them, that hee had alwayes held the third to bee the beſt, ſo farre E
„ forth as they had meanes: to which end hee had laboured foure whole yeares, to induce the
„ prouinces thereunto, vnder a good and firme vnion, and yet had preuailed nothing. But ſee-
„ ing they had made ſhew that they would not yeeld vnto it, or that they had not the meanes to
„ do it, it was thought good by themſelues, to ſeeke the ſuccours of ſome forreine prince. And if
„ any one thought to attaine vnto it by the proper meanes of the countrey, without putting in
„ practiſe the order preſcribed and limited by him (conſidering the ſlowneſſe of their reſoluti-
„ ons) hee ſhould preuaile no more, than he that thinkes to build a caſtle in the aire: and in the
„ meane time he ſhould expoſe many townes and churches vnto danger. And if this counſell,
„ which he giues them, bee not allowable (as hee hopes it is) for the difficulties which they ſhall
„ find in the putting it in execution, yet he would tell them plainly and openly, that hee ſees no F
„ reaſon to enter into any conference of peace with the Spaniard. And if they muſt of force
„ make a new accord with the duke of Aniou, let them prouide that no towne fall into danger,
„ and bee well aſſured of all the forces, and that the captaines may be to the contentment of the
„ Eſtates.

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A This was the prince of Oranges aduice vpon the three points of ſo great importance, entreating them of Antuerpe to conforme themſelues vnto the generalitie, without doing any thing of themſelues, and to take this his aduiſe in good part, proteſting, that he would expoſe all his meanes, yea his life, for Religion, the generalitie, and for the towne of Antuerpe in particular. 1583

We haue ſaid, how that *Monſieur de Bellieure* was come vnto the Eſtates from the French king, as an interceſſor for the duke of Aniou his brother. The Eſtates hauing heard his Oration, and according vnto that which he propounded and required, begun to treat with him in the dukes name, deputing *Elbert Leemin*, chancellor of Gueldre, and *Adolph* of Meelkerke, preſident of Flanders, with ſome others on their behalfe; and for the duke were deputed men B of authoritie, pleaſing vnto the Eſtates, among the which was the earle of Laual, the Seignior of Eſpruneaux, and others. Monſieur de Bellieure treateth with the Eſtates for the duke of Aniou

During all this trouble, the Eſtates found ſmall ſupport in their neighbours of Germanie and England, but from Fraunce they had many goodly promiſes, which notwithſtanding taſted of ſome threats. They had ſmall meanes of their owne to free themſelues, and they feared much, that they ſhould be expoſed as a prey, and deliuered to the Spaniards, which made them to enter the more ſpeedily into the ſaid conference. On the other ſide, the duke feared leaſt the townes which he had at his deuotion ſhould want victuals; being alſo deſirous to free his nobilitie from priſon out of Antuerp, for S. *Anthonies* day, which made him yeeld vnto vnreaſonable conditions, giuing hope, that hereafter by his good carriage he would wipe a- C way this blemiſh and diſgrace. So in the end they made a prouiſionall treaty the 28 of March, the which was concluded in Antuerpe as followeth.

His Highneſſe ſhould willingly content himſelfe to chuſe his abode at Macklyn, yet conſidering that they will treat of new articles, and that the ratification of the oath which his Highneſſe demaunds, hath not beene preſently concluded,

1 His Highneſſe hath reſolued, according vnto the offer which hath been made vnto him « by the Eſtates, to chuſe the towne of Dunkerke, to reſide there for ſome daies, during which « time he deſires to treat of al things concerning the good of this eſtate, and to determine all dif- « ficulties that are now offered. «

2 His Highneſſe promiſing vpon the faith and word of a prince (that being finiſhed) that « D he hath no other intention, but is fully reſolued to returne preſently, and ſtay in the towne of « Macklyn, according vnto the articles contained in the Eſtates inſtruction on the eleuenth of « March laſt paſt, to be aſſured of the paſſage of Flanders, promiſing not to attempt any thing « againſt the eſtate of the countrey, the generall Eſtates, nor their deputies, who ſhall in like ma- « ner promiſe and ſweare. «

3 Thoſe of his guard, nor of the garriſon of Dunkerke, ſhall not attempt any thing againſt « the inhabitants of the ſaid towne, nor the reformed Religion: and his Highneſſe ſhall haue « free exerciſe of the Catholicke Religion in any Church hee ſhall pleaſe to chuſe within Dun- « kerke, euen as he had in Antuerpe. «

4 His Highneſſe ſhall cauſe his French garriſon to retyre out of Villevoorde, hauing a pro- « E miſe from the Eſtates, to fulfill all things that ſhalbe agreed vpon: and three of the ſaid depu- « ties ſhall remaine with his Highneſſe, and the towne ſhalbe manned with ſuch as are borne in « the countrey, and pleaſing to the Eſtates of Brabant. «

5 His Highneſſe ſhall commaund his armie to goe and lodge in the quarter of Lempeloo, « where it ſhall be ſupplied with victuals. And the next day the Eſtates aſſuring the ſumme of « thirtie thouſand crownes of gold to be put into the hands of a Commiſſarie, ſent to that end, « to deliuer them vnto the ſaid armie, it ſhall march to Villebroucke, whereas the commaun- « ders, colonels, captaines and leaders of the men of warre ſhall take an oath, well and truely to « ſerue his Highneſſe and the generall Eſtates: and not to attempt any thing againſt his High- « neſſe nor the Eſtates, neither in generall, nor in particular, but ſhall employ themſelues for « F the ſeruice of his Highneſſe and the Eſtates, againſt their common enemies, Spaniards, Ita- « lians, and their adherents: and to paſſe the riuer, hauing receiued money; the ſayd oath « being taken, his Highneſſe armie being payed, and the ſayd ſumme of thirtie thouſand « crownes furniſhed, to be diuided among the ſouldiers, according vnto a rate which ſhall « be made. «

6 This

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1583 „ 6 This done, the armie ſhall paſſe into Hellegat, where it ſhall in like ſort bee furniſhed A
„ with victuals, when as the Engliſh, Scottiſh, and other ſouldiers ſhall retire to Ruppelmonde,
„ and take the like oath vnto his Highneſſe. And at the ſame time, when as the hoſtages ſhall ar-
„ riue, and the ſaid payments be made, his highneſſe hauing receiued the hoſtages, and the
„ garriſon of Dendermonde being with him, the towne to be left and appointed to ſuch as
„ are borne in the countrey, and pleaſing to the Eſtates of Flanders, and that he ſhall march
„ towards Eckeloo.

„ 7 The armie hauing receiued theſe things, in paſſing at Villebrouck, at the ſame inſtant
„ the Engliſh, Scottiſh, and other ſouldiers which ſhall be retyred out of the land of Waes, ſhall
„ paſſe the riuer of Eſcaut at Ruppelmonde, to be employed where need ſhall require: and from
„ that time all ſhalbe paied equally out of the money that ſhalbe appointed to that end, and be B
„ furniſhed with victuals, without reſpecting one more than another. The exercise of the catho-
„ licke religion ſhalbe free to them of the armie, and in the campe.

„ 8 Doing this aboue ſpecified, and yeelding vp Dendermonde, hoſtages ſhall be preſently
„ giuen, for the aſſurance of the deliuerie and libertie of all the priſoners that are in Antuerpe,
„ and other places, detained ſince the 17 of Ianuarie laſt paſt, together with the reſtitution of
„ papers which were in a box in his Highneſſe cabinet, & were taken in *Quinſays* lodging, and
„ the goods carried to the towne-houſe, vnder the magiſtrates command, without taking of
„ any exception in regard thereof. And as for the moueables which are in priuate houſes, and
„ Frenchmens lodgings, they ſhalbe alſo reſtored, as much as was found in being the tenth of
„ this preſent moneth. C

„ 9 His Highneſſe ſhall alſo promiſe, that the decrees made in France ſhall be reuoked, and
„ that the priſoners, goods, and ſhips arreſted at Dunkerke, belonging to any perſon inhabiting
„ in theſe prouinces ſhall be ſet at libertie. His Highneſſe hath named for hoſtages, *Philip* of
„ Schoonhouen, Seignior of Wantoy, bourgmaſter of Antuerpe, *Iohn* of Stralen, Seignior of
„ Mercxen, Amptman of the ſaid towne, *Roger* of Leeſdael, Seignior of Meulem, ſhrife,
„ *Noel* of Caron, Seignior of Schoonwael, bourgmaſter of Franc, with the three deputies that
„ were at this preſent treatie, that is, *Adolph* of Meetkerke, preſident of Flanders, *Henry* of
„ Bloyere, bourgmaſter of Bruſſels, and *William Euerardi*, pentioner of Antuerpe. Alwaies
„ prouided, that if any of the aboue named cannot come, by reaſon of ſickneſſe, or any o-
„ther impediment, that then the Eſtates ſhall ſend others of the like qualitie, to his Highneſſe D
„ content.

„ 10 His Highneſſe ſhall retaine two or three hundred horſe, and foure or fiue hundred
„ foot, for the ſafetie and guard of his perſon vnto Dunkerke. And if any of the magiſtrates of
„ Gant or Bruges will come to ſee his Highneſſe, when he ſhal approch neere vnto their towns,
„ they ſhalbe graciouſly receiued and conducted backe when they pleaſe with all ſafety: and the
„ neceſſary bridges of Steeken, vpon the riuer of Waes, and in other places, where he ſhall paſſe,
„ ſhalbe repaired and made vp.

„ 11 His Highnes ſhall carry the hoſtages to the neereſt lodging that he ſhall make to Nyeu-
„ port, whither all the priſoners (detained in Antuerpe, and elſewhere) ſhalbe ſafely brought vn-
„ to him, with all the papers and moueables aboue mentioned. Prouided alwaies, that the pri- E
„ ſoners ſhall pay their charges, debts and gratuities promiſed, and moderated by the interceſſi-
„ on of the magiſtrat, and that one ſhall not be ſtaied for another, nor any goods, if he hath not
„ willingly entred into bond: The Eſtates making a declaration, that no Frenchmen not their
„ goods being in Antuerpe, or elſewhere, are detained but for their proper debts; which being
„ ſatisfied, they ſhall remaine in full libertie, to diſpoſe thereof as they pleaſe.

„ 12 And after that his Highnes hath cauſed his French garriſon to retire out of Dixmuyden,
„ the guard whereof to be giuen to ſuch as are borne in the countrey, his highneſſe ſhall retaine
„ the ſaid hoſtages, vntill that the priſoners and papers be reſtored: which done, they ſhall be re-
„ leaſed and fully deliuered, and are not to be detained for any goods remaining in priuat hou-
„ ſes, where the French had lodged, the ſame being not in the magiſtrats power, neither yet for F
„ thoſe priſoners, which haue not paied that which they owe.

„ 13 And his Highneſſe ſhall continue his way vnto Dunkerke, there to treat and reſolue of
„ all things, concerning the good and greatneſſe of his Highnes, and of theſe countries, whither
„ the deputies of the Eſtates ſhall goe to that end.

14 The

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A 14 The deputies of the townes and prouinces, and all other of theſe countries, may goe « 1583
freely to his Highneſſe, and ſtay and returne when it ſhall pleaſe them with all ſafetie, as alſo «
all marchants and paſſengers may imbarke and goe out of Dunkerke, as they did before. «
His Highneſſe leauing the townes, out of which he ſhall retyre his French garriſons, furni- «
ſhed with ſuch artillerie, munition, and victuals, as is in them, and ſhall be then found in «
being. «

15 Vpon the concluſion of theſe articles, the Eſtates ſhall aduertiſe their prouinces, and «
ſhall doe their beſt endeauours, that with all ſpeed they may ſend their deputies to his High- «
neſſe to Dunkerke, with full power and authoritie, to enter into an ample treatie, and to de- «
termine and conclude what ſhall bee held moſt conuenient for the ſeruice of his Highneſſe, «
B and the good, ſafetie, and preſeruation of the country. And all perſons ſhall carry themſelues «
indifferently one with another, as well bourgers as ſouldiers, like good brethren and friends, «
and the traffique and negotiation on either ſide, as well by ſea as by land, ſhall be free, as hath «
beene accuſtomed. «

16 His Highneſſe ſhall write his letters vnto the French companies that are in Winoc- «
Berghen, commaunding them to depart out of the ſaid towne, leauing the guard thereof to «
ſuch of the countrey as ſhalbe pleaſing vnto the Eſtates, and that vpon paine of diſobedience, «
and to incurre his indignation. «

17 And vpon the concluſion of that which ſhall be determined at Dunkerke, the ſaid E- «
ſtates ſhall make an Act, well and truely to entertaine and keepe it in all points and articles, «
C together with the treatie generall made at Bourdeaux the 24 of Ianuarie 1581, and the oath «
ſhalbe made which is requiſit in that caſe in ſuch places and townes, where it hath not yet bin «
taken, whereof an authenticall Act ſhalbe deliuered vnto his Highnes. «

18 According to the ſaid treatie, all things paſt ſhall be forgotten, from the tumult & trou- «
ble which happened the 17 of Ianuary, vnto the concluſion of this preſent treatie, with a de- «
fence to all perſons, of what quality ſoeuer, not to offend, reuile, or vſe any reproches by reaſon «
thereof; but they ſhall carry themſelues modeſtly and courteouſly one vnto another, as it be- «
longs to good brethren and friends. «

19 There ſhalbe a conuenient and ſafe place prouided for the ſicke men of the army, where «
they may remaine vntill they bee cured, and the Eſtates ſhall appoint ſome honeſt perſons to «
D aſſiſt them, and to ſee that they be not diſquieted nor moleſted. «

20 Thus made and concluded in Antuerpe the fiue and twentieth of March 1583, his «
Highneſſe hath promiſed and ſworne, faithfully to obſerue the contents of theſe preſent arti- «
cles, according to their forme and tenor. The 26 of March 1583, ſigned *Francis*, and vnder- «
neath, *Pin.* «

The duke goes to Dunkerke, yeelding the towns he held to the Eſtates.

Theſe articles being allowed by the Eſtates, and proclaymed in Antuerpe the ſecond of Aprill, after the payment aboue mentioned duly made, the Frenchmen went out of Ville-uoorde, vnder the commaund of the earle of Rochepot: and the hoſtages beeing deliue- red, the duke departed from Denremonde the ſixt of the moneth, and on Eaſter Eue came to Dunkerke.

E On the fifteenth day the French garriſon went out of Dixmuyden. The gouern- ment of Villeuoorde was giuen vnto the Seignior of Timple, gouernour of Bruſſels: that of Denremonde was giuen to the Seignior of Rihouen, great baylife of Gant, and Dix- muyden to the Seignior of Water-Vlyet, with garriſons in all theſe townes for the generall Eſtates.

The duke of Anion being departed from Denremonde, before he entred into Dun- kerke, hearing that the plague was ſomewhat rife there, hee ſent to requeſt them of Bru- ges, that he might lodge in the towne: but they (remembring the ſurpriſe of Antuerpe, which was yet freſh in memorie, and what the Seignior of Fougiere had in charge from him) refuſed him flatly, and ſo hee continued his way to Dunkerke, where hee ſtayed
F ſome time.

They ſay commonly, that one miſchiefe commeth not alone: for at that time, in the citie of Antuerpe, when as the bloud of the Frenchmens wounds was not yet ſtanched, there fell out another vnfortunat accident: for the foure and twentieth of Februarie, the place for the marchants meeting, called the Bourſe, which is an excellent building, hauing open galleries be-

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1583 beneath, with pillars of blew ſtone, and ſhoppes aboue for all ſorts of ware, was about tenne of the clocke at night, at one inſtant ſet on fire at the foure corners, beeing paſt helpe, and paſt any mans knowledge, how it came; ſome imputing the fault to one thing, and ſome vnto another: but the French were not freed from blame, nor the priſoners without great feare; ſome ſaying, that they had cauſed it to bee done, to be reuenged; others ſpake otherwiſe, and all diuerſly; but howſoeuer it came, the loſſe was very great for the poore marchants. This great fire made the bourgers of the towne to doubt ſome treaſon: wherefore they continued all night in armes, and vpon their guards, with the chaynes of the ſtreets drawne. A

The Bourſe at Antuerpe burnt.

In March one *Cornellis* of Hooghe was beheaded and quartered at the Haghe in Holland, tearming himſelfe to bee baſtard ſonne to the emperour *Charles* the fifth: hee was conuicted to haue treated with the king of Spaine, promiſing (vpon hope to be aduowed for his naturall brother, and ſo entertained) to make the vnited Prouinces reuolt; and that he had drawne many to be at his deuotion, who (when time ſerued) ſhould take armes, to make ſome new broyles in Holland. But he was diſcouered by his owne followers, conuicted of his deſignes, and puniſhed according to his merits, not for that he qualified himſelfe the emperours baſtard (whereof ſome doubted, by reaſon of his reſemblance) but for his apparent practiſes. B

In the ſame moneth there was taken in Antuerpe, and diſcouered vpon ſmall grounds, a certaine Spaniard, called *Pedro Dordoigne*, who confeſſed, that he was expreſſely come out of Spaine, to kill the prince of Orange, and that he had treated with the king himſelfe: although afterwards he would haue excuſed it, ſaying it was but with his Secretarie. Hee confeſſed, that paſſing by Grauelingue, he had conference with *la Motte*, gouernour of that place. He did counterfeit himſelfe to be a high Germane, ſaying, that hee was of Croatia: he was expert in the knowledge of many tongues, hauing alſo beene at the ſacke of Antuerpe: he was redde hayred, nothing like a Spaniard: there was neuer any man of ſo faint a courage after his ſentence, for ſo great an attempt. According vnto his confeſſion, he was afterwards ſtrangled, and then quartered, thanking the Iuſtice for ſo mild a death. C

The ſeuenth of Aprill there arriued in Zeeland the lady *Louyſe* of Coligni, daughter to *Gaſpar* of Coligni, lord of Chaſtillon, admirall of Fraunce, who was murthered at the maſſacre of Paris, in the yeare 1572, and widdow to the lord of Teligni, brother to the ladie of la Noue, who was alſo murthered at the ſame maſſacre: which lady *Louyſe*, the prince of Orange married for his fourth wife the twelfth day following, in the chappell of the caſtle of Antuerpe, of whom, vpon the ſix and twentieth of Februarie, in the yeare following 1584, he had a ſonne, called *Henry Frederic*, a prince well bred, and of a great hope. D

The thirteenth of the ſame moneth, *Hans Hanſze*, a rich marchant of Fleſſingue, was beheaded, who for meere hatred he bare vnto the prince of Orange, ſought to kill him, and all thoſe that ſhould be with him, ſetting fire to certaine barrels of gunne-powder, in a cellar ioyning to the houſe where the prince ſhould lodge: and thereof hee had treated with the Spaniſh embaſſador, being in the French kings court. He was diſcouered by another marchant (called *Anthony Auquema*, a Friſon) whom he truſted, thinking to haue him his confederat in ſo execrable an act, but God would not ſuffer it. E

The towne of Eindouen was at this time beſieged by Cont *Charles* of Mansfeldt, in the which, the lord of Boniuet, ſonne to the lord of Creuecuær, a Frenchman, commaunded, with eight hundred ſouldiers: but by reaſon of the difficulties that were betwixt the duke of Aniou and the Eſtates (although they hoped, that the marſhall of Biron ſhould goe and relieue him) the lord of Boniuet not able to hold it any longer, yeelded it, vpon condition to depart with their armes and baggage, and their colours flying, whither they pleaſed: the ſayd lord excuſing it vpon the want of powder, hauing firſt capitulated, That if within eight dayes he were not relieued, to yeeld the towne, as he did vpon the nineteenth of Aprill, ſeeing no ſuccours come into the towne, as he expected: for during all the ſiege, the Eſtates armie (vnder the commaund of the marſhall of Biron) was about Antuerpe, with great preparation to goe and relieue it: but for want of money, the ſuccours could not

Eindouen yeelded to the Spaniard. F

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A not be readie in time, wherein they of Antuerpe were ſomewhat reſtie, remembring how much money they had voluntarily furniſhed for the reliefe of Maeſtricht, in the yeare 1579, ſo as nothing was done at all, and the towne was loſt for want of a ſpeedie reſolution. 1583

After the loſſe of Eindouen, the marſhall lying with his armie before the fort of Verſele in the quarter of Liere in Brabant, after that he had battered it a little, it was yeelded by compoſition the three and twentieth of the ſame moneth, captaine *Wenſel*, who commanded there, and his chiefe officers remayning priſoners, and the reſt of the ſouldiers departing with their rapiers and daggers. At this paltrie ſiege, the Seignior of la Garde, a French colonel, maſter of the dukes artillerie, was hurt by one of his owne pieces, which brake, wher-
B of he dyed, hauing done great ſeruices to the prince of Orange, and the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland, in their firſt warres, during the time of the duke of Alua and other gouernors, hauing continued there vntill his death. His body was carried to Antuerpe, and interred in S. *Georges* church with an honourable militarie pompe. He had been one of the moſt valiant, wiſe, modeſt, and moſt expert captaines in all the vnited prouinces, a man of great counſell, learned, and well red in the lawes, and politicke gouernment. Hee behaued himſelfe worthily at the victualling of Leyden, and therefore was much lamented of the prince and Eſtates.

After the taking of this paltrie caſtle, the marſhall went to beſiege the ſtrong caſtle of Woude, a league from Berghen vpon Soom, from whence the marqueſſe of Berghen, lord
C of that place (of the houſe of *Gaesbeke*) was diſlodged ſome few daies before. There was in it ſixe ſcore ſouldiers, Italians, and an hundred and fiftie peſants. Hauing ſpent ſome fifteene hundred canon ſhot (although there were no ſufficient breach made) an amazement ſeized on the beſieged, ſo as they yeelded it by compoſition vnto the enemie, the ſouldier departing with their rapiers and daggers onely the ninth of May, and all the peſants retayned priſoners, and put to ranſome. The Italian captaine (who had commanded therein) at his returne to Breda, loſt his head for his reward, by the prince of Parma his commaundement. Woude caſtle yeelded to the Eſtates.

At that time they of the priuie counſell of the vnited Prouinces, whome the duke of Anion and Brabant had eſtabliſhed, comming to Antuerpe, were declared to be ſuſpen-
D ded of their offices, by an act made by the generall Eſtates, the which was ſignified vnto them by an vſher, forbidding them from thence-forth and at all times to take knowledge of any ſutes or matters of controuerſie, vntill it ſhould bee otherwiſe determined and decreed by the Eſtates, hauing treated with the duke. Whereunto they of the counſell oppoſed, and continued their courſe in matters of iuſtice, as before: maintayning, that they had beene eſtabliſhed by commiſſion, not from the Eſtates onely, but by the duke, the which muſt continue and hold good, vntill that he had beene declared an enemie, and fallen, and that the ſaid Eſtates had no authoritie to forbid them, as the duke did afterwards write vnto them at large; yet the ſayd Counſell did, not long after, diſperſe of it ſelfe.

E At the yeelding vp of the French priſoners, which ſhould be made vnto the duke of Aniou, there fell a controuerſie in Antuerpe, betwixt the bourgers and the Seignior of la Pierre, (a French colonel, and marſhall to the duke of Aniou) for the baron of Balanſon, who had been found in the towne, being taken at an encounter betwixt Dunkerke & Winocx-bergh: the bourgers maintained, that by the fact of the ſeuenteenth of Ianuarie hee ſhould bee their priſoner, and *la Pierre* held the contrary, ſeeing that all the priſoners on that day, & their goods being in eſſe, ſhould be reſtored by the prouiſionall accord made with the duke. By vertue whereof, the bourgers were debarred of their pretenſion, and hee was afterwards ſent away, hauing payed his ranſome. It was he, who (beeing called earle of Warax) was afterwards, in the yeare 1597, defeated with his troupes, and ſlaine at the encounter of
F Turnhout.

The earle of Mansfeldt hauing taken Eindouen, and ſome caſtles and forts of that quarter of Campaigne, hee went to beſiege the towne of Dieſt, belonging to the prince of Orange, where colonel *Paule Sohey* commaunded, with foure companies of Netherlanders, and two of Engliſh, the which could not in all make aboue three hundred men: True it is, Dieſt beſieged.

there

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1583 there were about fiue hundred bourgers carrying armes, but very vnwilling, remembring, A
that ſince the beginning of the troubles they had beene ſix times taken and retaken: beſides,
the towne was very weake, ouer which certaine ſmall hils commaunded, ſo as it might be
woon without artillerie: the which did much diſcourage the bourgers, and made them to
feare, that if they held out, the towne would be ſacked, whereupon they forced the colo-
nel to treat, the which he did, yeelding the place vpon condition, that the ſouldiers ſhould
leaue their colours, and depart with their armes and baggage, as much as certaine wagons
graunted to the captaines, could carry. By which agreement, ſuch bourgers as pleaſed
might depart and retyre themſelues, and ſo the eight and twentieth of May the ſouldiers
retyred to Bourgerhout, in the ſuburbes of Antuerpe. Colonel *Sohey* was committed to pri-
ſon, and the ſouldiers caſt, except the Engliſh. But afterwards colonel *Sohey* iuſtified him- B
ſelfe, imputing it to the ſmall number of men, and want of horſemen, to the weakeneſſe of
the towne, and the vnwillingneſſe of the bourgers, who were ſtronger than the ſouldiors, and
for other reaſons which he alledged, whereof he cauſed an apologie to be printed, and preſen-
ted it vnto the Eſtates, whereupon he was ſet at libertie.

Weſterloo yeelded to the Spaniard. From thence *Mansfelds* went to beſiege Weſterloo in the ſame countrey of Campaigne,
vpon the riuer of Nethe, in a good ſituation. Some peſants (ill affected to the beſieged, and
to the Eſtates) ſhewed the earle of Mansfeldt the meanes how to cut off the water that ran to
the caſtle halfe a league off, the which was done, ſo as the ditch became dry. Captaine *Vlyet*,
who commaunded within the place, ſeeing this, and that they battered it furiouſly, he was ad-
uiſed to yeeld the place the fifth of Iune, retyring towards Antuerpe, where he was wonder- C
fully blamed by the bourgers, and put in priſon, but he iuſtified himſelfe ſo well, as hee was
cleared and inlarged.

The prince of Parma being at Liere, and meaning to purſue his conqueſts, hearing, that
there was diuiſion in the Eſtates campe, for that the Engliſh and Scottiſh could not agree
with the French, the marſhall of Biron, generall of the armie, beeing lodged at Rooſendael,
and the Engliſh and Scottiſh about a league off, the ſaid Engliſh and Scottiſh being not fully
intrenched, the Spaniard came and charged them with ſuch furie, as a great part of them were
defeated, and the reſt put to rout neere vnto Seuenbergh. And although the generall *Biron*
were at Rooſendael, in a ſtrong lodging, and well fortified, whereas the prince of Parma durſt
not aſſaile him, yet riſing from thence, he ſet fire on his lodging, and went and encamped vn- D
der Berghen vpon Soom, whereas the prince of Parma went to affront him, but it ſucceeded
not ſo happily as againſt the Engliſh, being forced to retire, his men in the retreat leauing part
of their bootie to the Suitſers: the marſhall was ſhot in the foot in a skirmiſh, but not great-
ly hurt.

Zichem yeel-ded to the Spaniard. The prince of Parma knowing that he had to doe with an old politicke captaine, cauſed
his armie to march preſently away before the towne of Herental, hauing taken the towne
and caſtle of Zichem in his paſſage, the which were yeelded vnto him by compoſition, vpon
the firſt ſummons. Hauing planted his ſiege before Herental, he ſent ſome of his troupes to
the fort and abbey of Tongerloo, not farre from thence, the which was alſo yeelded vnto
him: and hauing continued his ſiege before Herental vntill Iuly, without any profit or any E
great hope of preuayling, for that they of Antuerpe (fearing leaſt after the taking of all theſe
forts and caſtles, the prince of Parma would come and beſiege them) had ſent ſixteene hun-
dred men thither in garriſon, hee was enforced to riſe with ſhame and loſſe in his re-
treat.

There was about that time ſome tumult in the towne of Lille, for the eſtabliſhing of a
new gouernour, after the death of *Maximilian Vilain*, lord of Raſſenghem, newly created
earle of Yſeghem by the king of Spaine, dying in his caſtle of Lemme, for that they would
haue giuen them a Spaniard to be their gouernour, and not one that was borne in the coun-
try, the which was contrary to their treatie of reconciliation: but in the end the lord of Liques
a Frenchman borne was made their gouernour. F

In the meane time the Eſtates affaires impaired daily, they hauing taken vpon them againe
(ſince the duke of Aniou his folly) the gouernment of the vnited prouinces, yet could they
not agree together, ſome enclining to the Spaniard, others to call in the duke of Aniou again,
and ſome were of another opinion: ſo as for want of a good and ſpeedie reſolution, there was

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A a great confuſion in their affaires. The deputies of the Eſtates were gone to Dunkerke, as it was decreed by the prouiſionall accord made the eight and twentieth of March, to ſee if they could reconcile all diſcontents: but the duke ſeeing that nothing was done, and that by their irreſolutions, or rather diuiſions, matters were protracted, growing wearie, and ſeeing his reputation blemiſhed with them which were ill affected, and that the marſhall of Biron with his armie preuayled little againſt the Spaniards; and finding withall, that the French nation was generally hated (the which encreaſed dayly by their meanes, that were affected to the contrarie partie) he grew ſo diſtaſted, as during the time that the Eſtates ſhould remaine diſputing of their affaires, hee reſolued to goe ſee Fraunce. And after that he had ſent backe the deputies, and the hoſtages, which had beene giuen him for aſſurance of
B the deliuerie of his nobilitie and ſeruants, that were priſoners in Antuerpe, hee departed from Dunkerke the eighteenth of Iune, being accompanied by the prince of Eſpinoy, and the lord *Lamoral* of Egmont, being freed from priſon at Scluſe, at his requeſt, and the ſame day he landed at Calais. 1583

The duke of Aniou was no ſooner departed from Dunkerke, but the prince of Parma (hauing rayſed his ſiege from Herental) ſent *la Motte*, gouernour of Graueling, to inueſt and beſiege it; where the duke had left the Seignior of Chamois to guard it, with twelue hundred ſouldiers ſtrong, as he had made him beleeue, and furniſhed with all other things neceſſarie, but of twelue hundred he had not full fiue hundred men. *La Motte* began his batterie aboue the hauen with foure peeces onely, and two which played vpon the entrie of the
C hauen, which was croſſed ouer with two great cables, to ſtoppe the paſſage into the towne. The duke hauing appointed a hundred and fiftie men to reenforce it, being in a tall ſhippe, and hauing a ſtrong Northweſt winde, which had beene able to breake ſix cables, yet they were afraid, and durſt not enter, but retyred to Calais. *Chamois* ſeeing himſelfe ſtraightly beſieged, and that his ſupplies ſucceeded not, began to faint, and without any great importunity yeelded baſely, retyring himſelfe with his troupes (which he had made ſo great to the duke his maſter) to Calais, where both he & his captaines receiued certaine taunting ſcoffes from *Monſieur Gourdan*, gouernour of that place. Dunkerke beſieged.

Dunkerke being yeelded to the prince of Parma, hee went and encamped with his armie before Nieuport, the which was ſuddenly yeelded vp, without any great toyle or
D charge. Nieuport yielded.

Vpon theſe doubts, the prince of Orange had cauſed Ooſtend to be very well fortified and furniſhed, being alſo a ſea towne vpon that coaſt; the which the prince of Parma went to beſiege: but ſeeing himſelfe ſo hotely receiued, and finding it ſtronger and better furniſhed than he expected, he retyred, and went before Furnes and Dixmuyden, lying in the champian countrey of Weſt-Flanders, the which hee tooke without any reſiſtance, yeelding at the firſt ſummons. He thought to find the like at Wynocx-berghen, beeing but a league from Dunkerke: but the Seignior of Villeneuſe, who was within the towne with his French regiment, made ſuch reſiſtance, as he thought it beſt to retyre, and to temporize, hoping to haue it in the end. From thence he went to beſiege the towne of Ypre, one of
E the foure members of Flanders; which ſiege continued long: wee will relate the yeelding thereof hereafter. Furnes and Dixmuyden yeelded to the Spaniard.

The vnited Prouinces beeing now without a head, or protector ouer them, the Spaniards embraced the opportunitie and occaſion, and made vſe thereof: For finding but ſmall reſiſtance, they made themſelues maſters whereſoeuer they came; yea ſome, who vntill that day had carried a low ſayle, and ſwom (as it were) betwixt two ſtreames, began then to ſhew themſelues openly on their partie. In the end they wrought ſo, as through the fauour of *Seruaes van Steelands*, great bayliſe of the land of Waes, and of his confederats, as of *Rowland Yorke*, an Engliſhman, married to the lady of Wolferdoucke, and others, they ſeized vpon the fort of Sas by Gant, which is the entrie into the ſea for the Gan-
F thois, whereas *Iohn* of Imbiſe had paſſed the day before, returning out of Germanie, to ſettle himſelfe againe in Gant, from whence he was expelled, being bourgomaſter, in the yeare 1579. This fort of Sas beeing gotten by the Spaniards, they preſently went and ſeized vpon the townes of Hulſt and Axelles, and not long after ſeized vpon Gant it ſelfe. The Sas ſeized on by the Spaniard.

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1583 The prince of Orange hearing, that the people of Antuerpe (at the inſtigation of ſome A
men vnder hand) began to murmure againſt him, and to taxe him openly for that which the duke of Aniou had attempted againſt them, ſaying moreouer, That he did countenance him (it may be) to haue done worſe, and to haue intended ſome greater miſchiefe. To auoid all diſorder, ſeeing that the magiſtrate durſt not puniſh them that accuſed him ſo boldly and raſhly, he retyred himſelfe out of Antuerpe the two and twentieth of Iuly, and went with all his familie to Fleſſingue in Zeeland, where hee kept his court for a time, hauing left *Philip* of Marnix, Seignior of Mont S. *Aldegonde*, a gentleman of deepe iudgement, and very fit for ſuch a gouernement, for the chiefe bourgomaſter of the towne of Antuerpe.

In the meane time the earle of Hohenlo ſpoiling the country of Campaigne, to famiſh the B
prince of Parmaes armie, the ſeignior of Hautepenne was ſent thither to hinder it, if he might: but they did no great exploits one againſt another.

Weert ſpoiled by the eſtates. Thoſe of the garriſon of Herental ſpoyled the towne of Weert in the County of Horne, and the prince of Parma his troupes did the like vnto the towne of Steenbergh in Brabant, which was of great importance not onely for the ſaid countrey of Brabant, but alſo for Holland and Zeeland, ioyning to the ſea of the ſaid prouinces. Whereupon the Eſtates were to be very watchfull of Berghen vpon Zoome, which is but two leagues off, into the which they put two thouſand foot, and foure cornets of horſe: for the payment whereof, there was fiue and thirtie thouſand florins appointed monethly, whereof they of Holland and Zeeland ſhould pay twentie thouſand, and they of Brabant the reſt. There was alreadie C
in Herental twelue hundred foot and two hundred horſe, as in like manner Bruſſels & Macklyn were well manned: and ſo the Eſtates reſolued vpon a defenſiue warre only, garding their frontiers well.

The priuate Eſtates of Zeeland (to reſtrayne and keepe in them of Dunkerke) ſent foorth certaine ſhippes of warre, the which they cauſed to lye at the entrie or port of their hauen.

The duke of Aniou his men, which had remayned in the vnited Prouinces, whom the generall Eſtates had diſmiſſed, and would haue ſent backe into Fraunce, were ſtayed for a time by the prince of Orange, vntill they had a more ample commiſſion. The duke of Aniou (before his departure out of the Netherlands) ſent a gentleman with letters vnto the D
Queene of England, to acquaint her with the reaſons of his retreat out of the ſaid countries: but the Engliſhmen growing iealous of his proceedings, they gaue no great credite vnto him.

The Seignior of Villeneufe, who was colonel of a French regiment of foot, beeing in garriſon in the towne of S. Wynocx-bergh, was fully reſolued to defend it, if they came to beſiege him: but *la Motte*, gouernour of Graueling, ſeeing, that there was no more but that towne onely in all the quarter of Weſt-Flanders, holden for the Eſtates, for the getting whereof by force, they muſt ſpend much time, and bee at an exceeding great charge: hee thought good to trie the Seignior of Villeneufe, to ſee if hee might win him thereunto by promiſe of pay, or by any other meanes. But he would giue no eare or conſent thereun- E
to, vntill he had receiued the aduice and counſell of the duke of Aniou his maſter, of the prince of Orange, and of the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, according vnto the which he would diſpoſe and gouerne himſelfe, were it to liue or dye. Whereupon they gaue him to vnderſtand, That ſeeing there was no meanes whereby to ſuccour and relieue the towne, if he ſhould be beſieged, or neerely blocked vp, as *la Motte* did threaten him; therefore he might freely (and without feare of any publicke ſcandale or reproch) ſeeke to make the moſt honourable agreement and compoſition that he could, as well for his owne perſon, as for his men. Vpon which anſwere, he entred into compoſition with the ſayd *la Motte*, promiſing to deliuer vp the towne vnto him, in giuing him three moneths pay for his whole regiment; the which was graunted and payed, vpon condition, that neyther he F
nor any of his regiment ſhould ſerue the prince of Orange nor the generall Eſtates for one whole yeare, but ſhould retyre into Fraunce. And thus the towne of Wynocx-bergh came into the power of the king of Spaine, with all the reſt of that quarter of Weſt-Flanders, except Ooſtend.

The

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A The marſhall of Biron, lieutenant generall of the duke of Aniou his armie, who (as we haue ſaid) had beene ſtayed with his troupes by the prince of Orange, vntill a ſecond commaundement (the iealouſie and diſtruſt of whome and of his men beeing growne ſo great, as they would not receiue them into any place (although that Bruſſels, Macklyn, and other frontier townes, which feared the Spaniards ſiege, would willingly haue had ſome (eſpecially of the Suitſers) in garriſon. In the end, beeing come vnto Biervlyet, which is a towne and Iſland in Flanders, beeing refuſed to land in Zeeland, hee was enforced to goe to ſea, and to returne into Fraunce the ſeuen and twentieth of Auguſt. In the meane time, the duke of Aniou gaue it out, that he would leuie new forces, to ſend them into the vnited Prouinces by the way of Luxembourg. Whereof the prince of Parma being aduertiſed, hee B ſent ſome of his troupes vpon thoſe frontiers, and vpon Flanders ſide, to ſtop the paſſage: but it was all in vaine, for not a man appeared. 1583

The Eſtates ſeeing themſelues now deſtitute and depriued of the meanes and ſuccours of the duke of Aniou, and that they had no more a head (without the which they thought their eſtate could not long ſubſiſt (after diuers deliberations and conſultations vpon eyther ſide) the prince of Orange was propounded to bee created Earle of Holland and Zeeland, the which reſted without any effect, through the diuerſitie and contrarietie of opinions of the townes: although that the moſt were wonderfully well affected vnto him therein, knowing him to be ſuch a one, as they could not eaſily recouer the like, that would more freely expoſe his life, goods, bloud, friends and kinſmen, than he: but fearing he was not powerfull C ynough of himſelfe to defend them, and that it might breed ielouſie in kings and princes that were their neighbours, the Eſtates concluded to ſend ioyntly to the French king, and to the duke of Aniou his brother, to craue new ſuccours from them: for which ſeruice, the Seignior of Lamouilerie, and *Iohn d' Aſſeliers*, Secretaries of the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, were deputed.

During this time, ſome Ganthois, turbulent ſpirits, and greedie of innouations, reiecting the duke of Aniou, had written to the duke *Iohn Caſimire*, entreating him to ſend them backe *Iohn d' Imbiſe* their bourgomaſter, and *Peter d' Athenes*, ſometimes their Miniſter, both remayning then at Frackenthael, whom they knew to be enemies to the duke of Aniou & the prince of Orange, that by the meanes of theſe two (who in former times had beene in great credite D with the people of Gant) they might worke ſome alteration; whereof *Imbyſe* made good tryall.

In the meane time the prince of Parma hauing ſome intelligence of theſe broyles, the more to alter them, hee tooke the nauigation from them; and that no victuals might enter by water, he cut off the three riuers which paſſe through the towne of Gant, which are the Eſcaut, the Lys, and the Dendre: the which he might eaſily doe, holding the towne of Audenarde, by which the Eſcaut paſſeth, and Courtray, which the riuer of Lys runs through: then betwixt Gant and Dendermond he made a paliſado ouer the riuer of Dendre, building a fort on either ſide of the riuer againſt the paliſado. He did alſo ſeize vpon a ſmall riuer which goes from Eckloo to Gant.

E The bourgomaſter *Imbiſe* being returned to Gant, and ſetled in greater credit than before, ſeeing all theſe proceedings of the prince of Parma, he began to conſider, into what danger the towne (and by conſequence himſelfe) were like to fall, if he did not foreſee it and preuent it in time: and ſuffering himſelfe to bee perſuaded by ſome of his familiar friends, who had beene the motiues of his recalling home (but eſpecially by the lord of Champagni, brother to the cardinall of Granuelle, being yet a priſoner at Gant, with the biſhops of Bruges and Ypre, who gaue him to vnderſtand, That the prince of Orange (whom hee knew he hated deadly) was very importunate to haue the duke of Aniou called backe againe) hee ſought to put his authoritie in practiſe, chaſing out of the towne all ſuch as he knew to be affected to the ſaid duke and prince: among the which, was *Adolph* of Meetkerke, preſident F of the prouinciall councell of Flanders. Then he ſent his deputies vnto the prince of Parma, to treat a reconciliation for the towne with the king of Spaine; yea, he ſpake it openly, That he had rather haue Spaniards there in garriſon, than French. Moreouer, hee caſt all them in priſon, that did aduiſe rather to reconcile themſelues with the duke of Aniou, than

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1583 with the king: among the which was Doctor *Ryme*, a lawyer, and other men of qualitie. He A
then thought that he ſhould bring this treatie to a deſired end, by reaſon of his great credit, and the authoritie which he did vſurpe ouer all men, no man daring to contradict him: for as hee was a moſt ambitious and high minded man, hee alone would haue the honour of the reconciliation. And for the well ordering and managing of his affaires, as ſoone as hee was returned backe out of Germanie, and created bourgomaſter in the towne of Gant, he diſplaced all them that had beene choſen into any place or office of the towne, during his abſence, ſubſtituting others in their places, at his appointment and deuotion. Then hee diſappointed them of the Proteſtants Religion of all magiſtracie, and put Romiſh Catholickes in their places. The greateſt and chiefeſt cauſe which mooued him to ſend deputies vnto the prince of Parma, was, that he had intercepted certaine letters written by the prince B
of Orange, contayning a Commiſſion to ſeize vpon his perſon, and vpon all his followers and adherents: Which letters he cauſed to be read before all the people, giuing them to vnderſtand, That it behooued him for to ſtand vpon his guard, for feare of the ſayd prince.

The prince of Parma hauing heard the deputies that were ſent by *Imbiſe*, hee ſent backe to Gant the Seignior of Manui, gouernour of Audenarde, and colonel *Segura*, a Spaniard, allyed to *Imbiſe* by his wife, to treat with the Ganthois. Theſe were very kindly entertained, and much made of by ſome of the people, which held *Imbiſes* party, for whoſe aſſurance he had ſent hoſtages to Audenarde. A truce was concluded betwixt them and the Ganthois for twentie daies: the which were ſpent in ſending vp and downe to their confederats, eſpe- C
cially into Holland and Zeeland, to renounce their confederation, which had made them to abiure the king of Spaine. But in all theſe practiſes they found many difficulties, as wee ſhall hereafter ſhew.

They of Bruſſels ſeeing the Ganthois to be wauering, and how deſirous they were to reconcile themſelues vnto the king of Spaine, writ vnto them letters with a large diſcourſe, perſuading them to perſeuerance, with many allegations, reaſons, and examples, exhorting them rather to die, than to renounce their allyes, and to ioyne againe with the king. They of Antuerpe ſent them letters of the like tenour, entreating them to conſider and examine with iudgement the conſequence of this reconciliation, ſetting before their eyes the cru- D
elties of the Spaniards, practiſed vpon the poore Indians, againſt whom they had not (by the thouſandth part) the like occaſion, as they pretended had beene giuen them by the Netherlanders. In like ſort, they alleaged the miſerable vſage of them of Granado by the ſame Spaniards; who (beeing once their lords and maſters) would pare their nayles ſo ſhort, as they ſhould neuer haue more meanes at all to ſcratch. And to the ſame end and purpoſe, there was a ſmall booke printed in the vulgar tongue, diſſuading them, vtterly to flye from this reconciliation, tearming it deceitfull, abuſiue, yea and trecherous: pretending moreouer, that they had no cauſe to be terrified and daunted at any thing, for that they found themſelues ſtrong ynough to reſiſt the Spaniards forces; the which they then obiected, for that the earle of Hohenlo had at that time a good army in field for the Eſtates in the countrey of Gueldres, and that they hoped the Queene of England and the Proteſtant E
princes of Germanie would giue them ſuccours.

They of Bruges were not a little perplexed for the towne of Ypre, their neighbour, being blocked vp on all ſides, and deſiring to relieue it, they ſent a conuoy of victuals with two hundred ſouldiers: but comming within two leagues of the towne, not farre from Vyuerbergh, this conuoy was defeated, all the victuals taken, the ſouldiers put to rout, and many ſlaine, the Spaniards hauing not loſt aboue twelue men. The bourgers not content with this loſſe, prouided eightie wagons more, laden with all ſorts of victuals and munition, with an hundred and fiftie baskets carried by peſants, the which was conducted by three hundred launciers, an hundred muskettiers, and fiue hundred harquebuſiers, moſt part Scottiſhmen. Theſe being come within halfe a league of the towne, the Spaniards ſallyed out of F
their forts, in the which there were three hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, the which charged this conuoy, & defeated them quite; ſo as little of all this prouiſion entred into Ypre, but moſt of it fell into the enemies hands. The bourgers beeing very much perplexed

for

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A for theſe two loſſes, ſought by all meanes poſſible to prouide better for their affaires, and to fortifie themſelues: whereupon they built certaine forts and trenches in the moſt acceſſible places vnto their towne, drowning the countrey round about, which was to bee drowned, ſo as the enemie could not approch; and they did the like three leagues off, at a little towne called Goſtbourg. And as the towne of Menin, lying in the champian countrey, in the middeſt of all their enemies, was a great charge vnto them, they retyred with their Scottiſh garriſon that was in it, and abandoned it, not without great ioy of them of Lille and Courtray, betwixt which two it lyeth: the which was done by the aduice of the prince of Chimay, gouernour of Flaunders, who then ſought meanes to reconcile himſelfe with the king of Spaine, deliuering him the towne of Bruges, the which hee did af- 1583
B terwards.

At that time there was ſharpe and cruell warre in the dioceſſe of Cologne, for that *Gebhard Truchſes*, archbiſhop and prince Elector of Cologne, hauing married one of the Counteſſes of Manſfeldt, would haue retained ſtill the ſaid archbiſhopricke and Electorall dignitie, with libertie of Religion throughout all his dioceſſe, maintaining, that his marriage was not repugnant to the word of God. But the Chanons and Chapter oppoſed themſelues ſtrongly againſt him, and (with the aſſiſtance of the Pope, and the Emperour) depoſed him, and cauſed him to be excommunicate, chuſing in his place *Erneſt* of Bauiere, ſonne to duke *Albert*, then biſhop of Leege and Freſſinghem, with diuers other ſpirituall dignities. *Truchſes* had fortified himſelfe in the towne of Bonne, three leagues
C aboue Cologne, where the archbiſhops doe often keepe their Court, and haue their Chauncerie. One of the Chanons of Cologne, of the houſe of Saxonie, named *Frederic*, holding part with *Erneſt* of Bauiere, and ſome other of his brotherhood, with their kinſmen, friends, and allies, went vnto the field, and tooke diuers places in the new elected biſhops name. *Truchſes* hauing alſo an armie in the field, vnder the conduct of the earle of Mœurs and of Nyeuwenoort, ſeized vpon the townes of Rhinbergh, Ordenges, and other places. Duke *Iohn Caſimire* came likewiſe to his ſuccour with ſome troupes, but he did little. *Auguſtus* duke of Saxonie ſhould alſo haue ſent, but his ſlackneſſe diſcouraged the reſt: ſo as they which held *Truchſes* partie, retyred themſelues by little and little. The Bauierois beſieged the towne of Bonne, which (by a mutinie of the Germane ſouldiors,
D which were there in garriſon) was ſold vnto him for foure thouſand Rycx-dallers, deliuering the Seignior of Truchſes, brother to the archbiſhop depoſed, being their gouernour, into his enemies hands. In the end, the archbiſhop of Truchſes ſeeing himſelfe thus diſpoſſeſſed and chaſed out of all his dioceſſe, hee retyred into Holland in the moneth of Aprill 1584, where he entred into league with the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, holding ſtill the towne of Berke, and afterwards Bonne, which Colonel *Schenck* ſurpriſed, and alſo that of Nuys, with the which hee did much annoy and hurt Cologne, vnder the gouernment of the earle of Mœurs, and the ſaid colonel *Schenck* beeing marſhall of his campe.

In the end of this Summer, the towne of Zutphen, Metropolitane of the Countie of
E Zutphen, was taken by the prince of Parma, after the manner which followeth: There was a ſouldier of that garriſon taken priſoner by the Spaniards at an encounter, going abroad to ſeeke ſome ſpoyle: his captaine caring not to redeeme him, ſuffered him to pyne in priſon. He finding this, and being deſirous to bee freed from this extreame and miſerable captiuitie, preſented his ſeruice to colonel *Taxis*, and to captaine *du Bois*, giuing them diuers inſtructions, and ſhewing them the meanes, how they might ſurpriſe and take the towne of Zutphen, and reduce it vnder the king of Spaines commaund and obedience. *Taxis* being loth to let ſlip ſo faire an opportunitie as this (promiſing vnto the ſouldier, beſides his libertie, to giue him a good recompence, if the enterpriſe ſucceeded well) lodged himſelfe, and captaine *Bois*, with ſome few of their men, in a little houſe, not farre
F from the port, where in the day time they were vſually accuſtomed to put ſome of their men in guard: in which place they likewiſe ſhould lye hidden, vntill a ſigne were giuen vnto them by this ſouldier. Day being come, and the port opened, the Spaniards ſallied out of this houſe, and charged vpon the townes-men, which were come to open the port, the which they forced, woon the entrie, and ſo, by the ſigne that was giuen vnto them,

Zutphen ſurpriſed by the Spaniard.

1583 them, entred into he towne: whereof (notwithstanding all the resistance of the bourgers) A
they made themselues masters, and spoiled it; and then they put in a good garrison both of horse and foote.

They of Deuenter (which are but two leagues from thence in the countrie of Oueryssell) beeing much amazed at the losse of this neighbour towne, to keepe the Spanish garrison that was in it (passing the riuer of Yssel) from spoiling the countrie of Veluwe, euen vnto the ports of the towns of Guelderland (which are scituated along the riuer of Rhin) of Vtrecht and of Amersfort, they built a great fort with the helpe of the Gueldrois, right against the said towne, vpon the riuers side, but soone after the waters did rise so high, as they were forced to abandon it, and it was presently seized on, finished, and manned by them of Zutphen. And as this towne and fort did wonderfully annoye and bring a thousand discommodities to the B
countries of Gueldres, Vtrecht and Holland, by their spoiles and ransomings, the said Prouinces interessed, made it knowne vnto the general estates, of what importance this fort might be vnto them, by the which they receiued daily so great losse and spoile: for the preuenting whereof, the earle of Hohenlo was sent thither with a little armie, who marching by the Veluwe went to besiege it; who seeing that hee could not take it by force, he blockt it vp round on the land side with diuers forts and trenches; so as if they of the fort or towne would make any courses into the Veluwe, they must make their passage with boats either beneath or aboue the said trenches: the which was very discommodious for them, for that the states men beeing in their forts, seeing them crosse the riuer, troubled them at their landing: so as Colonel *Taxis* went and enuironed all these forts and trenches with a good number of horse and C
foote, they within them (whom the earle of Hohenlo had left there in garrison) behauing themselues very valiantly, although they were not furnished with victuals and other munition fit to make head against an enemie, the which was promised should be sent them; attending the which, they were prest so neere, as there was no meanes to succour and relieue them, without some great force to raise the Spaniards. Yet captaine *Oger* who commanded in the said trenches, had aduertised the particular estates of the prouince of Vtrecht, aboue twelue daies before the preparation which *Taxis* made to come and inuest them, assuring them that they should be speedily besieged. But he had no other succours but foure hundred florins to make a small lendings to his men, with the which money he was commanded to returne, and to set all things in as good order as he could, meaning within fewe daies to send him a good D
refreshing of victuals and necessarie munition. These twelue daies were spent in consultation which towne or prouince should send these victuals and succours. In the meane time the frosts grew very sharpe, during the which, in the end there were sent from Amsterdam certaine wagons with bisket, but it was too late, for they had no meanes to enter, the passage beeing too well stopt.

You may see what it is to embrace an occasion and opportunitie in due time, when it is offered; for when as they had good meanes to doe it, they neglected it, and when they desired it, they could not, and all their expence was fruitlesse. So it often falls out in long and irresolute consultations, although there be no treacherie, where they resolue not speedily to preuent the enemies diligence. Thus in the end these forts and trenches fell into *Taxis* hands, beeing E
forced by necessitie to yeeld: who considering their extremitie, graunted them a reasonable composition, suffering them to depart with their armes and baggage, and not tying them by any oath (as he might well haue done) not to serue the estates or prince of Orange for a certaine time, as commonly they doe in places that are forced to yeeld by necessitie.

In October the Seignior of Nyeuwenoort and Assinga Entens tooke in the countrie of Gronigue the fort of Fermsum and Otterdam, the which they manned with good garrisons, and built other forts about the towne of Gronigue. They also built the fort of Reed, but in vaine, beeing forced to retire.

The earle *Vanden Berghe* and his wife, sister to the prince of Orange, his children and secretarie, were arrested prisoners in the towne of Arnham in Guelderland, being charged to F
haue had some secret intelligence with the Spaniard: whereof a little before one of the said ladies seruants (who carried a secret hatred vnto the prince her brother) was conuicted. In the end, the earle of *Vanden Berghe* and his children were set at libertie, who soone after went to the Spanish partie, and had charge and gouernment of some troupes.

Iohn

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A *Iohn d'Imbiſe* bourgmaſter of Gant, *Seruaes van Steelands* great bailiffe of the land of Waes, and the prince of Chimay there commander, ſought all meanes and occaſions, by ſome notable ſeruices, to reconcile themſelues to the king of Spaine. *Steelands* firſt of all yeelded vp the townes of Hulſt and Axell, and all other places of the land of waes to the Spaniard, with the fort of Saſz, which is the entrie for the Ganthois vnto the ſea, by the ſluces which are there. And the 28 of October, he alſo deliuered vp the caſtle of Ruppelmond to the prince of Parma, who by this meanes was maſter of all the land of Waes, and of the riuer which runs from Dendermond to Antuerpe, by the which he might with more eaſe annoy the Ganthois: beſides neere vnto Courtray he cauſed the towne of Dinſe to bee fortified, and towards Bruges, he had Eckloo and other places at his deuotion. The ſaid *Steelands* did alſo practiſe to deliuer
B three ſhips of warre which he had vnder his charge into his hands, if the mariners and ſouldiers which were in them had not disbanded and fallen from him, chooſing rather to ſerue the eſtates (for that they were moſt of them of Antuerpe) than the Spaniard. 1583

Steelands yeelds the land of Waes to the Spaniard.

They of Antuerpe beeing grieued for the loſſe of Ruppelmond, did beſiege and batter it, but they preuailed nothing; whereupon they cut certaine dikes or cauſies and drowned all the fields and meddowes about the villages of Burcht and Calloo. They alſo built a fort at Burcht and fortified the head of Flanders right againſt their towne. To conclude, they ſpared no coſt, but with one generall conſent, did voluntarily furniſh to the ſumme of 1300000 florins.

At the ſame inſtant the Earle of Hohenlo entred into Flanders with 19 companies of foot, where he built a mightie fort at Terneuſe, right againſt Zeeland, to aſſure the nauigation
C to Antuerpe, and from thence to ſpoile that which the Spaniard held in Flanders: he alſo cut through many dikes, which did much harme and annoyance to the countrie: but as hee thought to proceed further, he was preuented by the practiſes of the prince of Chimay.

Thoſe which at that time had the gouernment of Gant, hauing alſo (as I haue ſaid) intelligence with the Spaniard, making a ſhew to put in a new garriſon into Aloſt, of ſuch as were borne in the countrie, and to retire the Engliſh, ſought to deliuer it to the prince of Parma; but the Engliſh would not depart without their ful paie and arrerages. They ſought to haue done the like at Dendermond, whither they ſent their commiſſioners the 27 of October, the which were *Ioos Tryeſt*, *Anthonie Heyman*, and *Ieams Somer*, with charge to diſplace the Seignior of Ryhouen great bailiffe of Gant, and gouernour of Dendermond: but hee being then at Gant
D and hauing ſome notice therof, meaning to preuent them, went to horſe-backe, and notwithſtanding all lets and hinderances, was there before them, taking them priſoners, and ſeizing vpon all their papers and inſtructions. *Somer* who was pentioner of Gant, eſcaped hanging very hardly.

Afterwards the ſaid Engliſh garriſon of Aloſt beeing mutined for their paie, the Ganthois did not only refuſe to giue it them, but did threaten to force them out, or elſe to famiſh them. In the meane time the prince of Parma did not let ſlippe this opportunitie to make his profit thereby, but did ſollicite them by faire wordes and promiſes to paie them; and theſe Engliſh companies not accuſtomed to endure hunger and want, began to giue eare vnto him, for that Aloſt deliuered by the Engliſh to the Spaniard.
their Colonel ſir *Iohn Norris* and the ſtates were ſomewhat ſlowe to prouide for their paie:
E for the which they intended to giue order, but it was too late: for after that the Engliſh had chaſed away the reſt of the garriſon which were of the countrey, then did captaine *Pigot*, *Vincent*, *Tailor*, and others, agree to deliuer vp the towne vnto the Spaniard, giuing them for their paie, which they receiued, thirtie thouſand piſtolets. And ſo the ſaid towne was deliuered vnto the Spaniard in the beginning of December, and filled with Wallons. Moſt of theſe Engliſh went to ſerue the prince of Parma, in his campe before Eckloo, but finding that he truſted them not, they ran in a manner all away.

The prince of Parma beeing in his armie betwixt Bruges and Gant, all deuices were put in practiſe by them that fauoured the Spaniard, to aduance the reconciliation of the townes of Flanders with the king of Spaine: yea by ſmall pamphlets printed in the name of them of the
F proteſtant religion, among the which *Imbiſe*, *Bouckle*, and *Berlat* were at Gant, and the prince of Chimay and his miniſter *Heren* at Bruges, in the which it was diſcourſed that it was not with the Spaniard, that this reconciliation was intended, but with them of Arthois, Henault, Lille, and others alreadie reconciled, or ſubdued by armes; and that therefore they ſhould enioy the libertie of religion, and their priuiledges, according to the pacification: wherefore they

1584 they made ſo great a ſhewe. Whileſt they were thus buſied at Gant and at Bruges to talke of A
of peace, the lord of Montigni was in the fort of Werteren, betwixt Gant and Dendermond,
where he had made a Paliſado in the riuer of Eſcaut, ſo as they might goe on drie-foote from
one banke vnto another; at either ende of which there was a fort, which did ſtoppe the navi-
gation from Dendermond to Antuerpe. In the meane time the Ganthois had their deputies
with the prince of Parma at Tournay, to conclude their reconciliation, in hoſtage for whom,
there was in Gant captaine *Segura* a Spaniard, and Colonel *Manni*, who with the aſſiſtance of
the Seignior of Chapagni, treated ſo farre with *Iohn d'Imbiſe*, as the 24 of March, 1584, hee
commanded him that charge of the ſhippes, (whom they cal deane of the ſhippe-wrights) to
furniſh certaine ſmall boats, making preparation of ladders, beames, firre-boards, plankes, hur-
dles, and ſuch like, to be ſet vpon the riuer of Eſcaut. But as it could not be done eaſily, nor ſo B
couertly but it was diſcouered, ſome magiſtrates went and told *Imbiſe* that the common peo-
ple did not meane that thoſe boats and other preparation ſhould be carried forth, which put
them into ſome iealouſie: whereunto hee anſwered, that they ſhould let them goe, for hee
knewe well what he did, and that it was for the great good of the towne. But the people not
beeing ſatisfied therewith, the boats beeing ſtaied by them, could not by any meanes goe
forth that night.

The next daie the ſhirifs and councell of the towne beeing aſſembled in the towne houſe
to reſolue vpon this matter, *Imbiſe* cauſed his Colonels companie to come downe preſently
in armes, to drawe the chaines and to enuiron the place: the which ſome one of the councell
A tumult in Gant. eſpying, going out of the State-houſe to one of the Sergeants, he pulled away his halberd and C
perſwaded the bourgers to armes: ſo as ſome that were there preſent with their ſwords and
daggers, and ſuch armes as they could in haſt recouer, fell vpon the ſaid companie, tare away
their colours, tooke the captaine and all the officers priſoners, and put the reſt in rout. In the
end, all the towne beeing in armes, and the ſtreets full of armed men, they ſeized vpon *Imbiſe*
and many others of the councell, whom they put from their offices, and degraded *Imbiſe* of
his eſtates of Colonel and bourgmaſter, they caſſierd his guard, drewe forth of his houſe the
three peeces of artillerie which he had in his court before the gate, and then caſt him into pri-
ſon, for that the bourgers had intercepted certaine letters, which were written that day by
the lord of Montigni from Wetteren to captaine *Segura*: by the which he ſent him word that
he maruailed much that the boats and all the other equipage was not yet arriued, ſeeing that D
he was well informed of the depth of the ditches, and that it was but three hundred foot
broad; hauing alſo wonne the captaine of Dendermond, and that the night following hee
would put his deſigne in execution, and that the king of Spaine would not faile to acknow-
ledge it. Captaine *Rowland Yorke* was alſo of this enterpriſe, who beeing apprehended, con-
feſſed it all. The Seignior of Ryhouen gouernour of Dendermond, ſent to the baron of Mon-
tagne his couſin, commanding there in his abſence, willing him to ſeize vpon *Walter Seton* a
Scottiſh man, lieutenant of the horſe that were there in garriſon, aduertiſing him of the treſon
that was practiſed by him, with *Imbiſe* and *Yorke*, to deliuer the towne vnto the Spaniard.
The ſaid *Seton* beeing apprehended, and hauing confeſſed the whole conſpiracie, was hang-
ed, and quartered, the thirtieth daie of March. Then were there ſixe companies of ſupplies E
ſent by the Seignior of Timpel gouernour of Bruſſels to Dendermond. The Seignior *Charles*
of Vtenhouen was appointed in the place of *Imbiſe*, to ſupply the place and office of bourg-
maſter at Gant.

The fifteenth of Maie ſome deputies of Gant beeing returned from Tournay with the
articles of their reconciliation propounded by the prince of Parma (which the Flemiſh pro-
teſtants did tearme to be an accord that was captious, fraudulent, deceitfull, and full of diſſi-
mulation) the catholikes and thoſe which demaunded nothing but peace, as well nobles, as
the chiefe and beſt bourgers in the towne, beeing aſſembled vpon the place before the
A new tumult in Gant. State-houſe, with armes, would haue forced the magiſtrate to accept of the ſaid accord, cry-
ing out openly, *Where are they that will haue no peace? we will haue peace.* The proteſtants bee- F
ing alſo in armes, and in battell, drewe neere vnto the place, the reſt ſeeing them come, grewe
feareſull, and fled here and there. Yet by the aduice of the councell, they that had ſpoken
the wordes, and beene the motiues and ſtirrers vp of this tumult were put in priſon: and they
all reſolued with a common conſent to liue and die in the vnion of the generalitie, and to
perſiſt

A perſiſt therein vnto the laſt gaſpe, reiecting all articles and practiſes of peace with the Spani- 1584
ard: And they required ſuccours to bee ſent them from Antuerpe and from Bruſſels, from whence about the twentieth of Maie they receiued ſixe hundred foote, and a hundred horſe, the which did afterward conduct captaine *Yorke* priſoner from Gant to Bruſſels, to deliuer him to the guard of the Seignior *Timpel*. Hee was happie to haue found ſuch good friends, elſe hee had beene in danger to haue runne the like fortune with *Walter Seton*. But the prince hauing pardoned him, he was afterwards reſtored to his credit by the earle of Leiceſter, which fell out vnhappily for the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

In the meane time they of Ypre beeing thus beſieged, or rather ſtraitly blockt vp, ſince the moneth of September, hearing that they of Gant and Bruges tended to reconciliation with
B the king of Spaine, which they did hope ſhould bee generall, ſeeing their vittailes and conuoies ſtill defeated and taken, ſo as nothing aduanced for to deliuer them, and that the ſuccours which they attended from the other three members of Flanders, which are Gant, Bruges, and Franc, appeared not, that they neglected them, and that they fell into extreame neceſſitie and want; in the end they were forced (forſaking their conſtancie and firme reſolution which they had to the vnion of the generalitie) to giue way to neceſſitie, and by the conſent of the Seignior of Marquette their gouernour, to treat an accord with *Anthonie Grenet* Seignior of Werp gouernour of Courtray, commaunding then in all the forts which had blockt vp the ſaid towne.

The compoſition was made the twelfth of April, by the which all ſtrange ſouldiers ſhould Ypre yeelded
C depart with their full armes, and thoſe that were borne in the countrie with their rapiers and by compoſition.
daggers onely: that the towne ſhould paie fiftie thouſand florins to redeeme it ſelfe from ſpoile: that the prince of Parma ſhould haue foure bourgers at his choice, to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure, their liues reſerued, the which redeemed themſelues afterwards for 20. thouſand florins: the bourgers ſhould be maintained in their priuiledges, all exerciſe of religion, and that which depended thereon, ſhould be taken from them, and they ſhould receiue an Italian garriſon into the towne.

During all the practiſes of *Imbiſe*, and other alterations in Gant and elſe-where, the prince of Orange foreſeeing (by the inconſtancie of mens humors, and the falling away of townes from the generalitie) a ruine in their affaires, if they were not ſupported by ſome forraine po-
D tent prince; he firſt had aduiſed the general Eſtates to ſend their commiſſioners to the French king and the duke of Aniou his brother, for new ſuccours: and now in the moneth of March laſt paſt he procured Colonel *Norris* generall of the Engliſh to goe into England giuing him particular inſtructions from himſelfe, to impart vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, as followeth.

Firſt, the prince of Orange doth intreat monſieur *Norris* to let her Maieſtie vnderſtand on “
his behalfe, that hee is fully perſuaded and reſolued to continue in the maintenance of “
true religion in theſe countries, and the liberties thereof, vnto the end of his life. And to op- “
poſe himſelfe (according to the meanes which God hath giuen him) againſt the attempts of “
the king of Spaine. “

That the ſaid prince hath not beene ignorant what great forces the king of Spaine hath “
E had heretofore, and what he hath at this preſent, or may haue. He is alſo well acquainted with “
his alliances and leagues: and that by reaſon of his victories, and yet more by his meanes “
and practiſes, which hee hath in moſt of the kingdomes and common weales of Chriſten- “
dome, he hath filled almoſt all Europe with the terrour of his name. “

That the ſaid prince is not alſo ignorant of the ſmall power and meanes which God hath “
giuen him: and hee knowes ſufficiently by experience, the inconſtancie of humane things, “
the varietie of mens hearts, and the great errours which are daiely committed in theſe coun- “
tries, and in affaires of ſtate, and what the inconueniences bee which vſually followe ſuch “
confuſions. “

But beeing one the other ſide aſſured that the king of Spaines heart will neuer bee moo- “
F ued nor yeeld to a toleration of religion, and will neuer endure that it ſhould encreaſe, no not “
to haue it entertained: & to admit that by the perſuaſions of ſome he might be drawn to diſ- “
ſemble his bad intent for a time, yet he knoweth for certain that the true inuocation of Gods “
name ſhould ſoone bee extinct in theſe countries, and the libertie generally oppreſt. The “
which the ſaid prince foreſeeing, hee cannot in conſcience deſiſt from his enterpriſe, with- “

out

1584 „ out condemning of himſelfe before God and men. A
„ The ſaid prince hath long knowne the inward heart of the king of Spaine, and the
„ grounds of all his councels of eſtate: And euery one knowing how long hee hath dealt in
„ the affaires of this countrie, and of the councel of eſtate, may perſuade himſelfe that it is not
„ without reaſon that hee doth attribute vnto himſelfe this knowledge. And therefore hee in-
„ treats all men of iudgement, eſpecially thoſe that make profeſſion of the religion, to allowe
„ him ſomething which cannot bee knowne but to ſuch as haue pierſt into the bowels of the
„ affaires of Spaine, as he hath often and long time done.
„ But hee is content that all good men, which haue intereſt in the cauſe, ſhould conſider of
„ that which is ſet to the viewe of euery man, and knowne to all the world, and then iudge
„ of the king of Spaines reſolutions: that is, whether the beginning of this monarchie of B
„ Spaine, bee not wholly grounded vpon the ſtrict leagues, intelligences, and correſponden-
„ cies, which the kings of Caſtile and Aragon haue had heretofore with the Pope; which a-
„ mities beeing many yeares ſince begunne, haue ſtill increaſed, by the continuance of mutu-
„ all offices which they haue done one vnto another, the pope augmenting this crowne of
„ Spaine, and the king of Spaine embracing the popes quarrels againſt all the world, without a-
„ ny reſeruation.
„ The popes haue augmented the houſe of Aragon with the realmes of Naples and Sici-
„ le, and haue made the way for the houſe of Spaine to conquer Lombardie, and to hold the
„ princes of Italie ſubiect at his deuotion, ſome by citadels, ſome by feare, and ſome by practi-
„ ſes, alwaies managed and coloured by the popes: So as if at any time the houſe of France C
„ hath practiſed ſome little fauour from the Pope, preſently the houſe of Spaine hath felt the
„ foundations of his Seigniories in Italie to ſhake, and readie to fall, the hiſtorie whereof is well
„ knowne to all men of ſtate.
„ If then there were no other reaſon but this onely, the houſe of Spaine knowing well of
„ what importance the eſtate of Italie is, would neuer attempt any thing, but as he ſhould be in-
„ ſtructed by the ſpirit of the court of Rome, with the which no good man can haue any grea-
„ ter familiaritie, then Chriſt had with *Belial*.
„ But euery man knoweth that the great empire at the Indies, which Spaine doth at this
„ daie enioy, is due by the Spaniards vnto the free gift of the Romiſh Sea; and likewiſe the con-
„ iunction of the crownes of Aragon and Caſtile, to the popes diſpenſation: as alſo the con- D
„ queſt of the kingdome of Nauarre, and of late of the kingdome of Portugall, and countries
„ ſubiect to the crowne.
„ For theſe reaſons then we muſt thinke, that neither the king of Spaine, nor any of his ſuc-
„ ceſſors after him, will euer ſeperate themſelues from the amitie of that ſea: and conſequently,
„ he will be of neceſſitie an open enemie to the true religion, the which can no more endure the
„ the pope and his adherents, than the ſea doth a dead carcaſſe.
„ And for as much as all the dangers whereunto the ſaid prince may be expoſed with theſe
„ countries, (the which are very great, to iudge according vnto man) are yet nothing in com-
„ pariſon of the ruine of the true religion, whereof they that perſecute it are enemies, and the
„ ſaid prince ſhould be treacherous if he ſhould abandon it: for theſe conſiderations, hee is re- E
„ ſolued (with the helpe of God) to continue conſtant in his firſt reſolution vnto the end of his
„ life; and (if God giue him the grace) ſo to aſſure theſe countries, as after his death, he will leaue
„ it able to defend it ſelfe againſt the power of Spaine and his adherents.
„ The ſaid prince is not ignorant what reports are ſpread abroad by his enemies, in regard of
„ that which is treated betwixt the Eſtates of Holland, and his perſon; and that before that hee
„ would yeeld vnto them, he had foreſeene and dulie conſidered, both by himſelfe, and with
„ many men of worth and reputation: and moreouer, hauing condeſcended thereunto, he had
„ protracted the buſines, to auoyd the ſlaunders of the wicked, and the ſuſpition of ſome, who
„ are not of themſelues badde, but may interpret the ſaid treatie ſiniſterly, not knowing the true
„ cauſe and ground. F
„ But the ſaid prince beeing vnwilling to make any long diſcourſe vpon this point, where-
„ in hee ſhould do himſelfe wrong, for that it could not be ſo ſimply written, but it would rend
„ ſomething to his praiſe, he is content to ſay, & intreats monſieur *Norris* to aſſure her Maieſty,
„ the lords of her councel, & al good men, that if the ſaid prince had not bin perſuaded by many

pregnant

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A pregnant reaſons which haue beene propounded vnto him by many men of qualitie, whoſe 1584
pietie to religion, affection to their countrie, and wiſdome to iudge, are well knowne vnto
him, that it was neceſſarie and conuenient for the preſeruation of religion, and to keepe ſo ma-
ny good men from vniuſt deaths by the crueltie of their enemies, and that others liuing in
ſimplicitie and ignorance ſhould not bee ſeduced by the practiſes of the children of this
world, hee had neuer proceeded further; and yet matters being as they are, if they can ſhew
him a more ſafe way, hee proteſts that he is ready to follow it, and to march conſtantly after
him that ſhall guide him.

The ſaid prince doth intreat all good men ſo to temper their iudgements, as they giue no
place either to ſlaunders or falſe reports, nor to opinions grounded onely vpon ſuſpition, ho-
B ping that his word ſhall be ſooner credited, than a bare ſuſpition, the which may bee as ſoone
refuted, as it growes in the ſpirit of man without ground and aſſurance.

Nothing then hath mooued the ſaid prince to take that courſe which he hitherto followed,
but this holy reſolution aboue mentioned.

And if it ſhall now pleaſe her Maieſtie to vnderſtand what meanes the ſaid prince pro-
pounds vnto himſelfe for the maintenance of ſo iuſt, and yet ſo difficult a quarrell, to obey her
Maieſtie, to whom he deſires to continue a moſt humble ſeruant, and not to forget to aduer-
tiſe her, as much (as he may) of the eſtate of his affaires, hee intreats the Seignior *Norris* to ac-
quaint her Maieſtie with that which followes.

That firſt of all the great and eternall power of God is knowne vnto him, not onely by his
C holy doctrine where he hath learned it, but alſo by many experiences which hee hath made,
and diuers effects which he hath felt, in the aduancement & preſeruation of the true Church:
and firſt, in the time of his anceſtors in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in his time in Germanie,
Switſer-land, England, Scotland, France, and (in the end) in theſe countries, and euen in his
owne perſon: And that in all theſe kingdoms and prouinces, God hath made it viſibly known
to all the world, that he ſuffered men to propound in their councels, but he knew how to diſ-
poſe of all things, and to him alone belonged the honour and glorie of the preſeruation of
his people.

And although that this reſolution be ſetled in his heart; and that he referres himſelfe to his
holy prouidence, yet he knoweth the will of God is, that with his bleſſing wee ſhould vſe the
D meanes which are giuen and diſtributed vnto vs by that ſingular prouidence of God. Where-
fore looking vnto that which God puts into his hand, to vſe it to his glorie: if many times
councels and reſolutions ſucceed not as he deſireth, yet hee comforts himſelfe in that he hath
obeyed God, putting that in practiſe which he hath made him to ſee: and beeing nothing
grieued (after that he hath done his dutie) that God doth make it knowne that he is the maſter
and controller of all our councels, wiſdoms, and reſolutions.

This is the cauſe why he doth firſt ſeeke ſo to vnite the hearts of all theſe prouinces, as with
one reſolution and will, they may repulſe the violence of their enemies: he hath hitherto felt
many contradictions, for diuers towns, and many priuate perſons, ſome through want of cou-
rage, and others through manifeſt treacherie, haue choſen the enemies partie, chooſing rather
E not the delights of Egypt, but the cruell yoke of *Pharaoh* (which they will feele (too late) to
be inſupportable) rather than to endure with the people of God, a temporal affliction.

And as her Maieſtie and the lords of her councell know well, that there is in the world
great diuerſitie and peruerſitie of willes and iudgements; he doth alſo beſeech them to con-
ſider, that euen among them which hold firme againſt the Spaniard, there are many, where-
of part through pride, part by couetouſneſſe, and ſome through errour doe very much hin-
der the aduancement of that which is moſt profitable for them. The which the prince will
forbeare to diſcourſe of, for the ſmall delight her Maieſtie would take in ſuch a ſubiect, and he
in deliuering it: the which he referres to the ſufficiencie and diſcretion of the Seignior *Norris*,
who for his long continuance in theſe parts, is able to ſatisfie her Maieſtie, if it pleaſe her to do
F him the honour to demand it.

This deſigne was managed a whole yeare and more, and yet the ſaid prince to his
great griefe could neuer effect his intentions, ſo as euery one gouerning himſelfe after his
own fantaſie, and he (hauing only a goodly name and title of honour) could not execute any
matter of importance, neither in aſſailing nor defending; hauing not the meanes, nether yet

could

1583 „ could he aide (as he desired) the townes and priuate prouinces, for that they haue reiected his A
„ counsell, and the meanes which he laid open vnto them, as well to vse the meanes which they
„ had, as to seeke succour and an assured support in Germanie, when it was time.
„ By these errours there haue not onely ensued losses, but also such confusions in the publike
„ and priuate affaires of prouinces, and a generall ignorance of that which was done and trea-
„ ted, or that should be done; as the said prince could not with his honour write to any, nor ad-
„ uertise them of that which was vnknowne vnto him, and ouer the which hee had no power
„ nor authoritie. The which the said prince intreats generall *Norris* to represent vnto her Ma-
„ iestie, and to beseech her most humbly to hold him excused in this point. And moreouer, to
„ let her vnderstand how long the said prince had beene in speech with him to take the oppor-
„ tunitie of his voyage, to aduertise her Maiestie more particularly of all things concerning the B
„ affaires of these countries.
„ The said prince then seeing such disorder, and foreseeing, yea feeling by effect the miseries
„ that might ensue, continuing notwithstanding the soliciting of this generall vnion of all the
„ prouinces, not in name, title, or paper, but in resolution, will, meanes, and faculties, hee hath
„ thought it necessarie to deuise the meanes, vntill that this generall vnion might be concluded
„ and put in practise, to vnite most of the townes and prouinces he could, that they may serue
„ as a firme rampar for a time, to oppose against the violence and furie of the enemie, whilest
„ that the others should resolue in one will: And in the meane time also to preuent all extrea-
„ mities, that the said prouinces (in case that worse should happen) should defend themselues by
„ their owne proper forces and meanes, and also succour their neighbours, allies, and confede- C
„ rates, according to their small power and forces, hoping that God would blesse and prosper
„ their resolutions.
„ According to the which, the said prince hath of late set downe a proportion of horse and
„ foote, which may be entertained at the charges of the said prouinces which haue committed
„ vnto him the charge of the warre: with the which he will endeauour (with the help of God)
„ not onely to defend the said prouinces, but also to succour the rest, as hee hath done within
„ these fewe daies, and doth now at this present, hauing sent what forces he could to hinder the
„ enemies incursions into the dutchie of Gueldres, and to chase them out of the said countrie, if
„ it may be. He hath not also omitted by the same meanes and forces to succour the countrie
„ and countie of Flanders, in releeuing the towne of Oostend, and forcing the enemie to raise D
„ his siege; making it knowne to all the world, that the enemie did not thinke to take the townes
„ of Flanders by force, but by practises and amazement; for as soone as they found men resolute
„ to resist them, they thought it best not to spend their time against such, but to continue their
„ designes with them that had other discourses, which were ill grounded: ouer whom they
„ haue easily preuailed, holding it for a great honour, the which they haue not purchased by
„ force, but by the irresolution of many, who (it is said) held their partie.
„ Since, to fauour the towne of Gant, which was resolued against the Spaniard, and to keepe
„ the enemie from taking away the nauigation to Antuerp, he hath caused Terneuse to be for-
„ tified with the same forces; and by the same meanes to entertaine the garrison, the which be-
„ sides the benefit which our men hold and retaine thereby, hath disappointed many of the e- E
„ nemies enterprises.
„ And thus the said prince is resolued to continue, according to the occasions which shall be
„ offered, beeing well assured that a conuenient armie to oppose against the enemie, and to
„ chase him away, were very necessarie. But hauing not the meanes without some better reso-
„ lution of the prouinces, and forraine succours to raise it, he is content with that which hee can
„ doe, which is but little, if it please not God to assist him from aboue, as he praies and hopes.
„ The prince doth what he can to perswade them that haue not this resolution, to embrace
„ it, that by their vnited forces they may breake the course and proceedings of the enemie, in
„ the which he will labour vnto the end: seeing that such as will not giue eare to this resolution,
„ are some of them vndone, and some in the way to be vndone through their owne follies. And F
„ although that these affaires be so great and so waighty, as it is impossible for the said prince to
„ beare them, without the singular assistance of God; yet besides all these important affaires, hee
„ sees them of Mons Truchses elector of Cologne, to be very intricate, and not in so good an e-
„ state as it were to be wished. For he is in like sort assailed by great and mightie enemies, who

with

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A with open force make warre against him, and for his part, hee hath not at this day any prince 1584
that fauours him, and openly assists him; the which hath beene very preiudiciall vnto him, for
that he promised vnto himselfe greater aide and assistance than he hath yet found.

And forasmuch as the conformitie of religion, the neighbourhood of countries, and the
same aduersaries which presse him and vs equally, should incite vs to aide one another with
our meanes; the said prince continues to treat a league and alliance with him. that vntill it
shall please God to giue vs other succours, wee may imploy those forces which God hath gi-
uen vs, one for another: hauing in the meane time (notwithstanding our owne difficulties)
assisted him with a good summe of money.

But the said prince knowes well, that all the said meanes (to speake as a man) are not able
B to resist halfe the forces of the king of Spaine, the pope, and all those that fight vnder their en-
signes, or that contribute to this warre: hee will therefore endeauour to purchase as many
friends as he can, as well by his owne meanes, as the said elector, in Germanie and else-where,
and especially of them of the religion; the more easily to withstand, or at the least to diuert the
the forces of the enemie, the common enemie of Christendome.

According vnto the which, he hath intreated generall *Norris* to acquaint her Maiestie with
the forces of the enemies of these countries, and of the elector: Her Maiesties accustomed
bountie, which shee hath extended often to them that were in like sort oppressed, and name-
ly the fauour which it hath pleased her to shew to them of this countrie, who are much bound
vnto her, for that the enemie hath beene long staied from the execution of his designes. Hee
C shall represent vnto her Maiestie her happie and royall succours giuen vnto France, and to
Scotland, beeing oppressed for the same quarrell: her Maiestie hauing deliuered one of the
said kingdomes from the oppression of Rome, and hath giuen meanes to the other (liuing in
peace after so many miseries) to quench the blood which did yet flowe in all parts, and to pur-
chase a quiet abroad for so many good men fearing God.

In doing whereof, her Maiestie hath purchased so great honour and reputation with all
that be liuing, and shall leaue so pleasing a memorie to posteritie, & hath so wonne the hearts
of all men, as they would as willingly imploy their liues for her seruice, as if they were her na-
turall subiects. And therfore he shall most humbly intreat her in the behalfe of the said prince,
seeing that the necessitie seemeth greater than euer, the enemies bending all their forces a-
D gainst these countries, hoping that after they haue compassed their designe ouer this little
countrie, the rest of the world shall serue them but for matter of trophie; that shee will bee
pleased not to suffer, that before her eies, so many good men, and her most humble seruants,
should perish by the hands of such as are mortall enemies to her Maiestie, to her crowne, and
to the true religion, whereon aboue all the princes of our age, shee hath beene as it were, the
sole nurce and defendresse.

The said prince intreats generall *Norris* to propound some particular meanes, fearing ei-
ther to demand too little from her Maiestie, considering her power, which he neither can, nor
ought to limit; or that he should require too much, considering the extreame necessitie which
doth presse vs, referring all to her Maiesties good pleasure, the said prince hoping that she will
E bee more liberall to doe good to this countrie, than hee for his part hath beene bolde to
demaund it.

And although the meanes of these countries (exhausted with long warres) are very small,
yet her Maiestie knowing better than our selues, wherein it may please her to doe them of this
countrie the honour to imploy them to doe her most humble seruice; and for the great know-
ledge which God hath giuen her of all the Estates of Christendome, and especially of her
poore neighbours, her Maiestie knowes, if there yet remaines any meanes to doe her ser-
uice, namely for the prouinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Vtrecht, we humbly beseech her to
let vs vnderstand it. And the said Seignior *Norris* shall assure her, that the prince will doe his
best endeauour to giue her Maiestie contentment, beseeching her to hold as well the said
F prince, as the generall Estates, and particularly them of Holland, Zeeland, and Vtrecht, in her
good grace and fauour.

He shall also let her Maiestie vnderstand, that my masters the Estates haue sent their Em-
bassadours to the French king, and to his highnesse, and that their commission and instructi-
ons are altogether conformable to that which it pleased her Maiestie to let the prince vnder-

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1584 stand by sir *Francis Walsingham* her chiefe secretarie of estate. A

Finally, the said Seignior *Norris* shall most humbly beseech her Maiestie, and intreat the lords of her councell alwaies to shew some testimonies of their fauour to the subiects in generall of these countries, and particularly to them of Holland and Zeeland.

Soone after the departure of generall *Norris* into England with these instructions, the prince of Orange receiued a discourse sent out of Germanie to his Excellencie, by Count Iohn of Nassau his brother, perswading him to a reconciliation with the king of Spaine, and to reiect the amitie of the French; whereunto his Excellencie made an answer, the which for that it is a discourse of state, and worthie your reading, I haue thought good and necessarie to set downe at large. B

The Prince of Orange to Cont Iohn *of Nassau his brother.*

MY lord and brother, I haue seene the discourse which you sent mee, the which I cannot thinke proceeds from you nor your iudgement, for I find it better and more solide, than to build vpon such weake reasons as are produced in the same writing. Wherfore you shal not take my answer as directed vnto you, but vnto them that haue forged it, and sent it.

In the beginning the author spends much time to discourse of the great forces and meanes the alliances and intelligences of the king of Spaine, of my smal means, of the doubtful euents C of warre, and of the inconstancie of the peoples mindes; then hee speakes of the bad opinion which some of the religion haue conceiued of me, by reason of the treatie with the French; of the small assurance there is in their friendship, of their former errors, of the duke of Anious small meanes, and of the feare that the king will not enter a warre against so great and mightie a prince: and in the end hee comes to discourse of that which concernes our house more particularly.

As for the king of Spaines forces, I thinke there is none doubts, but I know them as well as any man liuing, for that I haue had speciall and long imployment in the affaires of these countries, as also hauing vndertaken so necessarie and honourable a warre, I haue for these many yeares felt them, tried them, and endured them; and whereof I assure my selfe, that this D countrie (with the helpe of God) had beene long since discharged, if they (whom it concerned and were of the religion, at the least made profession) had not beene drawne, some by their owne ambition and desire to commaund and manage the affaires after their owne fantasies (although they had no experience neither in matters of warre, nor of gouernment) some being induced and perswaded by others, who tooke pleasure to follow priuate counsels, farre differing from mine and them of the publike: if those I say had not armed the proper members of this countrie one against another, and against their owne bodie, by means whereof they haue againe drawne in the Spanish forces: and the griefe is, that such as haue committed these errors, being not yet amended, they giue the Spaniards meanes still to haue as many victories ouer them as they please, and vntill they be otherwise resolued, they will run E headlong into greater ruine.

I speake this to shew, that these great forces are not inuincible, seeing that we haue seene them in a manner readie to be wholly defeated and chased shamefully out of the countries. And in like sort, seeing God hath giuen me the grace to withstand them so long, it is no wonder if I know them well; so as all these admonitions can teach me no new thing. And as for that which concerneth my weakenesse, the which I hope (with the helpe of God, and their good resolution, which are determined to obey me) is not so little as it hath beene: neither do I expect that fourescore thousand men shall fall vpon mee, led by a duke of Alua, as heretofore, when I was much weaker, I haue felt them, and yet God did not abandon me, neither I hope will he at this daie. F

But as I haue discoursed at large in my instructions which I haue sent to the Queene of England, whereof I send you a copie, I take the soueraigne guard of the vniuersall God for my chiefe foundation, who hath hitherto made my weakenesse strong, and I hope hee will continue it vnto the end.

And

A And when I come to examine all theſe difficulties by my ſelfe, that is, when I come to compare the king of Spaines forces with my ſmall meanes, and what we commonly ſee in the alteration of mens mindes; and when as I alſo diſcourſe of that which may happen after me, I muſt confeſſe plainely, that if I tooke counſell of the fleſh and humane vnderſtanding, that I ſhould find great cauſe and ſubiect of amazement. 1584

But ſeeing the queſtion is for the glorie of God, and for our conſciences, for the libertie of the countrie, and the preſeruation of the liues of ſo many good men (ouer whom the crueltie of the Spaniards ſhould paſſe like a deluge of waters, if wee ſhould ſuffer them to recouer the power they ſometimes had ouer theſe countries) I can reſolue no other thing, but that hauing recommended my ſelfe vnto God, I conclude, that there remaines nothing but to oppoſe a-

B gainſt ſuch dangers with conſtancie vnto the end: reſoluing that for me and mine, there are no dangers comparable to a miſerable deſertion which I ſhould make of ſo good a cauſe, if I ſhould abandon ſo holy and ſo honourable a partie, the which I haue followed vnto this preſent daie.

And whereas he obiects that ſome of the religion loue me leſſe than they ſhould, admit it were ſo, it were no new thing, the which I haue long ſince foreſeene; for what man is he that hath had a chiefe charge, be it in the church or common weale, that hath not had many enemies, not onely of them abroad, but euen of ſuch as followed their partie, and tearmed themſelues of the ſame religion? Such an one was *Moſes*, who could not auoide the ſlaunders and mutining of *Corath* and *Dathan*: ſuch a one was *Dauid* who had his *Semei*: ſuch an one was

C *Ieremie*, who was buffeted in the temple: and ſuch an one was S. *Paul*, who was perſecuted by them that preached Chriſt by contention: yet none of them haue left to continue conſtantly in their charges, knowing well that God was their rewarder and not men. In like maner, when I vndertooke this great charge, I had no other hope, hauing ſeene the like happen to many great perſonages, who vpon ſemblable occaſions had ſuſtained the like quarrels in our time.

But I hope that ſuch men (who it may be are not abandoned to ſo great ingratitude, ſo much through their owne malice, as by the induction of others) will not continue in that error, but will remember themſelues, as many haue alreadie done, being warned by their owne follies, and ſo many loſſes which they haue had, following their priuate affections. And if

D they ſhould continue vnto the end (the which I hope not) yet conſidering the great nũber of ſuch as reſolue with me, I ſhal haue no great cauſe of diſcontentment for any other thing, than for the ruine of thoſe men, who haue drawne more vpon them by their owne raſhnes, than the enemie by his force.

But that which hath beene hitherto toucht in the diſcourſe is not the authors chiefe deſigne; but me thinkes all this beginning is like vnto ſome trialls of the diſpoſition of the bodie, which fencers vſe, before they plaie in earneſt, or like vnto a muſitians preludium: for all theſe preparatiues are made, to fall in the end vpon the alliance of France, which is the chiefe and maine point the author meanes to treat of, and for the which hee hath taken ſo exceeding great paines.

E But I obſerue in this part, among other things, want of iudgement in the author of this writing; for as no man can denie it, but that all doth proceede from the councell of Spaine, or their partiſans, what is he but will preſently iudge by the viewing and reading of this diſcourſe, that the Spaniard doth doubt, and aboue all things feare, leſt the French king ſhould vndertake this quarrell: knowing ſufficiently by the ſituation of the countries, by the ſaid kings forces, and by the reaſon of his friends and ſeruants, what meanes hee hath, not only to aide vs, but alſo to confine the king of Spaine beyond the Alpes and the Pyrene mountaines.

And as I can take no better counſell than of mine enemie, to chooſe that which hee feareth, and reiect that which he deſireth; ſo I confeſſe, that if I had neuer ſo much as thought

F on the alliance of France, that (hauing no other inducements or perſuaſions) this diſcourſe would make me to affect it much, and ſhould giue me occaſion to beleeue, that this counſell to treat with the French, is very good, ſeeing that it is ſo much feared and diſtruſted of the enemie.

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1584 The chiefe reasons are, that there is no assurance with the French, that we shall be circumuented by the, that they are no friends to religion, & that for the good of our house we should not incense our enemies more, hauing such a weake support as the French. First, to answer to that where he saith, that I haue made my name famous enough, I thinke it needlesse, for neuer any such vanitie did mooue mee to endure so great trauell, and so many losses, and to sustaine such and so dangerous hatreds. A

If then they thinke that the alliance of France be (for the aboue named reasons) not onely dangerous, but also vndoubtedly pernitious; what counsell then remaines? for as for mee, I confesse that I am vanquished, by many townes and prouinces of this countrie, which speake not secretly but openly, not before one or two, but before all the Estates, that it is necessarie to reconcile themselues with the king of Spaine, or to seeke sufficient succours elsewhere: and that hauing sought first to the princes which make profession of religion, and beeing forsaken & abandoned by them, they found no other means, than to haue recourse to the French king, and to his brother. I say I am vanquished, for when as such things are propounded to the Estates, I can make no other answer, but that wee must make proofe thereof, for if there comes no other good, yet we shall keepe the French king from beeing our enemie, that hee shall alwaies keepe the king of Spaine in breath, and make him consume a great treasure: it shall also be auaileable for them of the religion in France, to liue in peace, the which the king hath granted them, the preseruation whereof we ought to procure by all meanes possible. Neither doth the author of this discourse speake any thing contrarie to this conclusion, for he himselfe doth persuade by all the meanes hee can to make a reconciliation and attonement with the king of Spaine. B C

But if I may not for conscience sake make any agreement with the French king, how may my conscience be dispenst withall to accord with the king of Spaine? doe they differ in religion? the king of Spaine, is hee not the best beloued sonne to the holy Apostolike sea of Rome? and the French king a putatiue sonne, and that in title onely. The king of Spaine hath the popes fauour for the foundations of all his greatnesse: and the pope should acknowledge that he hath not a foote of land, but by the benefit of the auncient kings of France, who doth now requite it with so great ingratitude.

To say that the king of Spaine is the naturall prince of these countries, that question hath beene long since decided, and put out of doubt, seeing that by a generall iudgement of the Estates, after so many duties done as well to him, as to other princes, he hath beene declared fallen from his right: so as if wee must now treat with him, I must treat to submit my selfe to a stranger and an enemie, yea persecutor of the religion. D

They will obiect the massacre at Paris, the which as it is not to be excused, how will they excuse also the massacre of the poore Moores, where there were aboue threescore thousand slaine after the accord was made and sworne. And if they say they be no Christians, yet can they not denie that the king of Spaine and the pope are more cruell enemies to our religion, than to that of the Moores. If they will not beleeue me, let them looke vnto the difference of the effects of that which they haue practised against the Christians and the Mahometans, and then let them iudge without passion. E

At the least, wee cannot denie, but vnder the gouernment of the French king, there are many townes, castles, villages, and gentlemens houses, where there is exercise of the religion, the which could neuer bee obtained from the king of Spaine, so much hee was incensed against the true religion, the which hee cannot make shewe to endure. The like is not found in the French king, who allowes free exercise of religion in many and diuers places, and where it is not openly permitted, yet is it exercised without any great search, euen within the citie of Paris.

I would willingly that some of your diuines, which are so readie to iudge of another mans conscience, would shewe me by the word of God (which should be the rule of our consciences and not a zeale without that guide) that wee ought to agree rather with the king of Spaine (who will demaund for the first article, that religion shall bee quite abolished) than with the French king (who for the first article will make no difficultie to graunt and allowe of it.) F

And

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A And whereas they say that the French will deceiue vs, and take away our liberties, seeing for those reasons they hold that we should agree with the Spaniard; it followes then, that you will inferre that the Spaniard will not deceiue vs, but will preserue our liberties. And therefore they adde, that all the world will be better pleased that we accord with the Spaniard than with the French. 1584

I wish that all priuate passion and affection might be laid aside, and that the persons and all other circumstances might be well examined of all sides, to iudge, by whom we should most feare to be deceiued, either by the French or the Spanish.

I wil not deny but there is danger on both sides, but if we must passe ouer one of these two bridges, I thinke that any man will choose that which is most large and strong, rather than the
B weaker and narrower. And to iudge indifferently of all dangers, in my opinion, wee must alwaies regard the powes of him that can do harme, and will. But in these two points, we shall finde that the king of Spaine exceeds the French king without all comparison, if in doing ill we may say that the one exceeds the other.

The king of Spaines power is such in this countrie, as without bringing in of any Spaniard or Italian, within lesse than a yeare, and without any armie he may roote the reformed religion out of the countrie. The multitude of people that fauour him, and are of his religion, much exceede all the sect, and will not be backwards in all seruile obedience to doe all that the Spaniard shall commaund them, as it is daily seene; for if the enemie winnes any towne or part of the countrie from vs, the people doe presently seruilely obserue them, and do what
C they please.

This cannot be said of the French; for when any opposition was to be made against them, all haue ioyntly banded, some for religions sake, others to fauour the Spaniards, as experience hath taught, that such as haue most exclaimed against them, haue yeelded to the Spaniard, and haue betrayed the countrie, although that some ill aduised, haue esteemed them the better, for that they spake so ill and so boldly against the French, as the author of this discourse doth. But the end hath shewed their drift and intention, which was to deliuer vs to the Spaniards.

The olde officers which are yet in the countrie, carrie the king of Spaine grauen in their hearts, & all that haue receiued any rewards, pensions, or recompences, which are very many;
D besides, so many that are voluntarily banished, who would come in an instant like pigeons to a doue-house, the which would not onely be at the king of Spaines deuotion, but also all the proctors, sollicitors, and ministers of seuere decrees.

By these reasons wee may see, what power the king of Spaine hath to hurt vs, when as hee hath euen within vs all instruments prepared to ruine vs, both in goods, bodie, yea and in soule, if he could; and on the other side, the French haue no such might. Neither doe I doubt but that the king of Spaine and his adherents haue as great a wil to hurt vs, as they haue might and power.

Kings neuer esteeme offences light when they are committed against their owne persons, by such as they hold to bee their subiects: and therefore they hold their subiects that
E haue attempted any thing against them, guiltie of high treason. But when such an insurrection and of so great consequence happeneth, as that which wee haue seene in this countrie, there is no kind of crueltie but they practise against their subiects; for if nothing hath beene omitted that may be called cruel, vpon the Indians, who owe no obedience, what mercie can wee expect in this countrie?

His chiefe officers haue beene put in prison, chased away, and their goods seized on, and the ordinarie officers haue had no better intreatie: his armes haue beene beaten downe, an other prince first called in against his will, vnto the gouernment, and after that another chosen to be absolute lord. Shall wee thinke or imagine that hee will euer pardon or forgiue such things? He I say, who for small pretended faults, hath so cruelly intreated men of that
F honour and reputation (by their good counsell and seruice deseruing so well of their countrey) as the earles of Egmont, and Horne, and the marques of Berghes, and the baron of Montigni: and who hath beganne to persecute me and mine so outragiously for so small matters, in comparison of that which hath followed.

1584 » And if God ſhould giue me the meanes (after this reconciliation) to retire my ſelfe into A
» ſome place of ſafetie, although I know not where I may liue more ſafely than in this coun-
» trie; yet this infinite multitude of people, and ſo many good men which haue embraced the
» religion, and haue oppoſed themſelues againſt this crueltie, whither ſhall they retire
» themſelues?
» The duke of Alua going out of this countrie, did vaunt that he put to death by the hand
» of the executioner, eighteene thouſand men. Let vs now compare what had beene done by
» the inhabitants of this conntrie, before the comming of the duke of Alua, with that which
» hath followed, and thereby we ſhall iudge of the kings mind beeing incenſed.
» As for particular perſons, firſt of all the Clergie (which are in number like Locuſts) will de-
» maund their reuenues, their houſes, and their goods: and after them, the gentlemen, and B
» all other ſorts of people: but finding it not, ſhall not the poore men of the religion paie for it?
» yea they who did neuer benefit a halfe-pennie by them.
» The ſaid clergie men, nobles, and others, without any reaſon, but onely a poore pretext of
» religion, haue burnt, hanged, drowned, and baniſhed them that had but a little taſt of religion:
» and now beeing incenſed as much as men may be, doe we thinke they will be more merciful,
» ſeeing they haue not yet caſt off the wolues diſpoſition? but contrariwiſe, it is more augmen-
» ted, as if one ſhould caſt a heape of dried wood into a burning furnace.
» It auailes not to ſay, that many of ours haue excelled meaſure, the which is true: and all
» good and modeſt men knowe that it was not my fault. But doe we thinke the Spaniards can
» or will make any ſuch diſtinctions? Nay will it not bee a ſufficient crime to be condemned, C
» to ſay he is a Chriſtian? whereby will follow the ruine and loſſe of life, or at the leaſt of
» worldly goods.
» All theſe things ceaſe in regard of the French; but if they will obiect that they are affe-
» cted againſt them of the religion: firſt, they are not all ſo, as the Spaniards and their adhe-
» rents be, who are generally their enemies. The French are not incenſed, they haue no goods
» to demaund, as the Spaniards pretend. By theſe reaſons wee may eaſily conclude, that if for
» theſe apparant miſchiefs, it is dangerous to accord with the French, (as the author of this diſ-
» courſe ſaith) without all compariſon, it is farre more to bee feared in all kindes with the
» Spaniard.
» In the meane time, I can aſſure you, that hitherto I haue not much buſied my ſelfe to D
» perſuade the Eſtates to enter into any ſuch treatie. But many prouinces and townes of conſe-
» quence propounding and making open declaration, that they muſt of neceſſitie accord with
» the one or the other; I confeſſe that if of the two, wee muſt chooſe one, I would rather con-
» ſent to the one than to the other. And withall I adde, that euery one that is acquainted with
» the affaires of Spaine, muſt confeſſe, that the king of Spaine muſt of force (to maintaine his
» monarchie) hold himſelfe linckt to the pope, the emperour, and other catholike princes and
» potentates. The French king on the other ſide, to clippe his wings, ſhall bee forced to allie
» himſelfe with them of the religion, and by that meanes in fauouring them, by their aid hin-
» der their greatnes, which ſeeke to fill the whole world, as the king his father did vnto the em-
» perour *Charles*, when as he thought to haue commanded all Europe. E
» And as at that time the princes of the empire (graue and iudicious men) did their beſt
» and vtmoſt indeauours to perſuade the French king to that reſolution, whereon depended
» ſo great a good for all Germanie; ſo alſo our duties ſhould bee to doe the like: But con-
» trariwiſe, as if we were grieued that theſe two princes are not ioyntly armed againſt vs, wee
» doe what wee can to vnite them by all meanes poſſible, not weighing their forces and our
» owne infirmities.
» If they will alſo touch our houſe in particular, I am aſſured that both you my Lord and
» brother, and I, haue done ſo good offices to the king and emperour, and that the memorie
» thereof is ſo well grauen in their hearts, as the remembrance thereof can neuer bee defaced.
» The which I deſire not to trie in any ſort whatſoeuer, but am rather reſolued to all extremi- F
» ties for the defence of theſe countries, religion, and libertie; hoping that God will not aban-
» don me in ſo iuſt and neceſſarie a quarrell: for the which I pray vnto him with al my heart.
» Made at Delft, the 18. of March, 1584.

After

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A After the yeelding vp of Ypre, they of Bruges beginning to looke backe, refuſed to take a garriſon from Holland, the which the Proteſtants would willingly haue receiued into their towne: but the Catholickes, at the inſtigation of the prince of Chimay, who was their gouernour, and of *Iohn Heren* his Miniſter (who was become an Apoſtata) and afterwards ioyned to the Ieſuits ſect, hauing written againſt his firſt profeſſion, did oppoſe themſelues againſt the Eſtates party, ſo as there fell a diuiſion among the bourgers, the Catholickes being the ſtronger: who (after long contention) ſent their deputies to the prince of Parma, being at Tournay, to deſire to be reconciled to the king, in renouncing the vnion which they had with the Eſtates. In what manner this diuiſion paſſed in the towne of Bruges, and by what meanes the Catholickes became the maſters, we will ſhew it ſuccinctly, beginning to de- 1584
B ſcribe what the prince of Chimay was, being called *Philip* of Croy, ſonne to the duke of Arſchot.

This nobleman in his youth had beene well inſtructed, and was of a quicke capacitie, the which he afterwards applyed ill: beeing thruſt on by an ambitious ſpirit, to make himſelfe great, he left the party which his father held, which was that of the Spaniard: firſt, vnder the cloake of Religion, whereunto he ſhewed himſelfe wonderfully zealous (the iſſue of his deſignes hauing ſince ſhewed what his heart might be) he let not a Sermon eſcape, but he was at it, receiuing the Communion oftener than any other: yea, he did write a ſmall pamphlet in praiſe of the Proteſtant Religion, extolling the duke of Aniou to the heauens, to the blame and ſuppreſſion of the Spaniard, whom he diſgraced all he could: ſo as if it had not
C beene that his mother was iſſued out of the houſe of *Halewin*, a ſworne enemie to the Religion, to the prince of Orange, and to all them of the houſe of Naſſau, he might haue attayned vnto the marriage of the prince of Orange his eldeſt daughter. But hauing vnder this maske of Religion married with the lady *Marie* of Brimeux, Counteſſe of Meghen, widow to *Lancelot*, earle of Barlamont, a lady much affected to the ſaid Religion; he went firſt to Bruges, where hee was preſently made gouernour; and not long after, blinding the world with this goodly ſhew of Religion, he (in like manner) got the gouernment of all Flanders: during the which, and eſpecially after the duke of Aniou his retreat, matters being thus confuſed throughout all Flanders (in the which he was an actor) his courſes began to bee ſuſpected vnto the prince of Orange, whom all his counterfeit zeale could not pleaſe: who
D did once write vnto him, that hee ſhould otherwiſe gouerne and moderate the deuotion which he ſeemed to carry vnto God, the affection vnto his countrey, and the reſpect vnto his owne honour; the which had ſmall credit, and wrought leſſe effect with him, as it appeareth by a ſmall diſcourſe which was dedicated vnto him, and printed at Duſſeldorpe: in the which all his actions are orderly ſet downe vnto him: among others, his practiſes, thereby to deliuer all the countrey of Flanders to the Spaniards: the meanes which he had held to ouerthrow the reſolution to receiue in the duke of Aniou againe: That hee had beene the cauſe, that the townes of Dixmuyden, Nieuport, Furnes, and others had beene yeelded to the Spaniard: That by his meanes the marſhall of Biron, with the Suitſers, and the reſt of the duke of Aniou his French troupes, had beene mooued to retyre: That the
E towne of Dunkerke had not beene ſuccoured: That that of Menin had beene abandoned by the Scottiſhmen: That the dikes were not cut, which might haue drowned the Spaniards campe: That he had ill informed the Eſtates of duke *Caſimire* his ſuccours, to exclude the duke of Aniou: That he had left the garriſon of Aloſt in ſuch extreame pouertie and miſerie, as the Engliſhmen were mooued to yeeld it vnto the Spaniard, who did thereby ſeize vpon all the land of Waes, with many other practiſes wherewithall hee is charged.

If the actions and dealings of the prince of Chimay were ſuſpected and odious vnto the prince of Orange, they were no leſſe vnto the Seignior *Iaques de Griſe*, great baylife of Bruges, to *Kaſenbroth* bourgomaſter, to *Maximilian* of Horne, to the Seignior of Locke-
F ren, and many others, who were reſolued to ſeize vpon his perſon: for the effecting whereof (although they had the companies of the bourgers at their deuotion) yet they thought it good (by the aduice of the prince of Orange) to impart it vnto the colonel of the Scottiſhmen, and to require his aſſiſtance.

This colonel (whoſe name was *Bloyde*) did preſently and willingly offer them his ſeruice:

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1584 seruice: but soone after, vpon the tenth of Ianuarie 1584, a little before it should haue beene executed, he went and discouered all to the prince of Chimay, who presently sent for the Seignior of Grise, and the bourgomaster *Cosenbroth*, telling them what he had heard of their enterprise, accusing most of all the Seignior of Lockeren, whom (as being no bourger of the towne, but a meere stranger) he put in prison, not daring to attempt any thing against the rest, who were in great credit and authoritie with the people: but hee complayned much of them, and did taxe them before the magistrates of the towne and of Franc, whereby hee tooke greater occasion to aduaunce the reconciliation with the Spaniard as secretly as hee could. A

The Seignior of Grise being no lesse perplexed than the Seignior of Lockeren, he retyred himselfe out of the towne, and after that he had conferred with the Estates, he resolued to returne with fiue hundred men, through the fauour of the good bourgers: but as the trecherie of colonel *Boyde* was well knowne vnto him, and that he durst not trust in the garrison (although that captaine *Balfour* and others had alwaies carried themselues faithfully in the Estates seruice) hauing also taken the aduice of them of Zeeland, and of the Seignior of Groeneuelt, gouernour of Sluse, this second enterprise was likewise discouered to the prince of Chimay; who finding himselfe the more grieued, caused all them that were acquainted with this exploit, to bee put in prison. Then hauing grieuously accused the magistrates before all the people, he tooke occasion thereupon to displace them, and to chuse new after his owne fantasie, whom he knew to be at the Spaniards deuotion: by whose assistance he did easily induce the people to this reconciliation, so much affected by him; yea he drew them of Franc and of the towne of Dam to his partie, and to doe as they of Bruges did; the which caused many good countreymen and Protestants to retyre, some vnto Sluse, others to Oostend, where there was a good garrison: so as the prince of Chimay and his new magistrates were in great doubt, seeking all meanes (both by promises and money) to draw vnto them those garrisons; but they preuayled not: for the finishing of this negotiation of the reconciliation with them of Bruges, the prince of Parma sent the duke of Arschot, father to the prince of Chimay, thither, to the end hee might also draw vnto him them of Sluse and Oostend, which were of farre greater importance vnto him, than Bruges: and on the other side, the Estates sent doctor *Iunius* thither to dissuade them, who preuayled so much with his reasons, as neither the duke of Arschot nor the prince of Chimay could doe any good, considering that they of Gant had renewed a more firme league with the generalitie. And as a great number of them of Bruges were retyred out of the towne, it was easie for the prince of Chimay to conclude this reconciliation with the prince of Parma, the which was proclayned with great triumph and pompe vpon the fiue and twentieth of May, with reasonable conditions, to draw on them of Gant, Sluse, and Oostend. The Scottish garrison which were in it, were left to their choice, to retyre, or to continue in the king of Spaine his seruice, of the which few remained: and although that colonel *Boyde* did soone find how little the prince of Parma did esteeme him, yet he durst not trust the Estates. By this treatie of Bruges, they of Franc and Dam were also reconciled, in restoring the Clergie men vnto the possession of their goods, and leauing all exercise of the reformed Religion, suffering euery man to liue with libertie of his conscience, not committing of any scandale, and enioying of their goods; the which continued not long. The Seignior of Croisilles, of the house of *Montmorency*, was appointed gouernour there without any garrison, seeing that the Catholickes (who had fled away before) and the Clergie were fully restored. B C D E

Chimay yields Bruges to the Spaniard.

The prince of Chimay, after the publication of this treatie of reconciliation, required of the ministers of Bruges (wherein it was thought, that he did both mocke them and their Religion) a certificat of his good life and profession. But beeing departed with his Minister, home to his own house, they soone left their Religion, the prince discharging all his household seruants, which desired to continue in the profession thereof: by the which renunciation and trecherie, he purchased euen with the same partie which he tooke, dishonour for euer, with a marke of inconstancie and lightnesse. The Contesse of Meghen discouering his heart and his manner of liuing, would no more follow him, but retyred to Sluse, and from thence in Holland. F

The

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A The prince of Parma hauing at that time ſeized vpon the village of Burcht on Flanders ſide, vpon the riuer of Eſcaut, halfe a league from Antuerpe, and hauing cauſed it to be fortified, to keepe any thing from paſſing by water to Gant, Bruſſels, or Macklyn, they of Antuerpe ſent their ſhippes of warre thither, to chaſe them from thence, or to hinder the fortification, but it was in vaine; by reaſon whereof they made another fort on the other ſide of the riuer, vpon Brabant ſide, about the village of Hoboken, right againſt Burcht, to defend their nauigation to the ſaid townes: then they pierced the dike betwixt Burcht and the head of Flanders, the which drowned the whole countrey, vnto Beueren and Calloo. At the breaking of which dike, they made a fort oppoſite to that of Burcht, the which did batter one another continually with their great ordnance, and with musket ſhot, hauing nothing B but the ſaid breach betwixt the two forts. But this fort was made by them of Antuerpe ſomewhat too late, many ſhippes being paſſed by this hole to Calloo, during the ſiege of the towne. 1584

They of Bruges, Franc, and Dam, being (by reaſon of their reconciliation) well accorded with the king of Spaine, yet were they no leſſe free from enemies round about them, than if they had beene beſieged, for that they of Gant, Scluſe, and Ooſtend cut off their victuals vpon all paſſages: wherfore they did write to them of Gant on the ſeuenth of Iuly, to induce them to their party, ſhewing, that they being one of the foure members of Flanders, they had no reaſon to reiect the reconciliation with their king, and not to ioyne with the other three members, alreadie reconciled, alledging many perſuaſiue reaſons, the which for breui- C ties ſake I omit.

Hereupon the Eſtates of Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland ſent their deputies to Gant, to ſhew them, that ſuch priuate reconciliations could neuer breed a good peace, but rather a dangerous and miſerable warre, vnſheathing more the enemies ſword againſt their brethren and friends. And, if it happened that Brabant, with Holland and Zeeland, were in warre againſt them, that Flanders would be more miſerably oppreſſed than euer, conſidering the hinderance of the nauigation by ſea, whereof the Spaniards were barred, the breaking of the dikes in the land of Waes, and the inundation which ſhould cut off their victuals on all ſides: beſides, that Fraunce nor England would neuer ſuffer the Spaniard to lodge ſo farre within the countrey, whereby they might doubt to haue warre againſt him. And touching D the two points which the king of Spaine demaunded, which was the Romiſh Religion only, and the abſolute obedience which he maintained to bee due vnto him: as for the Religion, if onely the Romiſh were receiued there, the reformed then muſt bee quite baniſhed. And to aſſure this obedience, they muſt repayre and build the citadels vp againe, and make new, the which muſt be continually entertained with ſtrong garriſons, and ſo they ſhould be in worſe eſtate than before.

Theſe and ſuch like reaſons were layed before them of Gant on the Eſtates behalfe, with good hope to bring a goodly armie ſhortly to field, the which ſhould come into the country of Flanders, as ſoone as they had woon the forts of Zutphen, whereof they hoped ſoone to ſee a good end; the which retayned the Ganthois for a time, and kept them from making E of any reconciliation, vntill that their affaires were otherwiſe diſpoſed, as we will preſently ſhew.

At that time there was a Dyet of the Electors and other princes of the empire held at Bottenberch in Germanie, to treat of the meanes to keepe the Empire in quiet, rooting out all diſtruſt which was among the princes, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of Religion, whereby it was eaſie to comprehend, that *Monſieur Segur*, embaſſadour for the king of Nauarre (being ſent vnto the ſaid princes, to draw them into league with his maſter, and them of the Proteſtant Religion in Fraunce, and withall, to moderate the difference of Religion betwixt the Proteſtants of Germanie and the French) ſhould returne with ſmall fruit of his embaſſage: for they ſaid, that *Auguſtus* duke of Saxonie anſwered them, That hee would F not trouble the proſperitie of his Eſtate with the affaires of Fraunce; and that the Landgraue of Heſſen had ſayd, That age and experience had taught him, how dangerous a thing it was to enter into league with any ſtrangers. And therefore they did imagine (or elſe ſome would perſuade them) that the French (vnder colour of Religion) did ſeeke to make

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1584 make ſome broyles in Germanie, and (in the meane time) to aſſure their affaires, that the prince of Orange and the Engliſh might the better ſettle the eſtate of the vnited Prouinces, againſt the violence of the Spaniards, who began now to proſper more than they did before. A

Among the townes of the vnited Prouinces, it was propounded, Whether they ſhould continue the cuſtomes impoſed for the maintenance of the warre (vpon all marchandize that came in or went out) or take them quite away. Some ſaid, that ſeeing the countries and ſea townes depend vpon the profite which commeth vnto them by the trafique and free negotiation of all marchandiſe, that therefore this impoſition was neceſſarie for the maintenance of the warre: That the countrey of it ſelfe could not ſpend and conſume the great abundance of commodities which it yeeldeth, as butter, cheeſe, and fiſh, drie or ſalt, B wherewith moſt of the people get their liuings: That if they prohibite the inhabitants of the countrey to ſend them vnto the enemie, that other neighbours which haue the nauigation free, would not fayle to furniſh them at their owne wils, reaping the gaine and profite which they of the countrey (from whence ſuch commodities come) ſhould haue themſelues, as of their owne growing; and in ſo doing, it were to cut off the chiefe meanes they had to make money, to ſupport the charges of the warre. Others were of a contrarie opinion, ſaying, That it was a great ſhame and diſhonour to feed their enemies; the which if they did forbeare, they ſhould ſee them periſh for want, hauing no meanes to put an armie to field, nor to beſiege any townes, and that thereby ſhould follow the diſcouragement and mutinie of the enemies ſouldiers. To them it was anſwered, That it was impoſſible C to famiſh them, being ſo neere vnto Germanie and Fraunce, from whence they might ſupply their wants. Yet in the end, to auoid all murmure and diſcontent of the common people, vpon the two and twentieth of Iune it was forbidden by publicke proclamation, not to tranſport any thing into the enemies countrey, nor to receiue from thence into the vnited Prouinces, vpon paine of confiſcation of all ſuch wares and marchandizes. It was alſo forbidden, to carrie any thing into Fraunce, lower than Rouan, nor into England, nor into the riuers of Ems and Meuſe, neerer than the places which were limitted by the proclamation: And that thoſe that would ſayle towards the Weſt, ſhould be bound to lanch into the maine ſea: and if they were found and taken along by the coaſt of Flaunders, all ſhould be good prize, and confiſcated. The like was required of the French king, and D of the Queene of England, for otherwiſe all this defence had beene vnprofitable. And there were certaine ſhippes of warre ſent to that end by the Eſtates, into the riuers of Ems and Meuſe.

Although this defence was in force for a while, yet ſoone after, the Frenchmen by Callais, and the Engliſhmen by Dunkerke, furniſhed the Spaniſh armie of what they wanted, which otherwiſe had beene forced to retyre from Antuerpe: whereupon it followed, that the marchants of the vnited Prouinces did the like, and that theſe defences were no more obſerued.

In May, the prince of Orange and the Eſtates ſent the earle of Hohenlo againe with greater forces, to beſiege the towne and fort of Zutphen, being then well furniſhed with all E things neceſſarie, ioyning vnto him the troupes which the Elector *Truchſes*, and the noble *Henry* of Brunſwicke had brought out of Germanie: with all which forces the earle of Hohenlo beſieged the towne, in the which colonel *Taxis* was in perſon with two thouſand men. The earle of Hohenlo tooke from him at the firſt the vſe of the riuer, both aboue and beneath: *Verdugo* ſeeing that the ſiege could not be rayſed without great force and fighting, durſt not attempt nor hazard any thing; and the rather, for that hee knew there was much due vnto his ſouldiers for their pay, fearing that they would not fight without mony: wherfore he ſent vnto the prince of Parma, to haue directions from him, and that if he would haue him to raiſe the Eſtates campe, he ſhould ſend him greater prouiſion both of men and mony. Whereupon the Parmois writ vnto him, That he ſhould do his beſt to force the Eſtates campe, and to raiſe F them, ſending him money for his men, and the regiments of *Don Iohn Mauriques de Lara*, of the earle of Aremberg, and of ſome others, with good ſtore of horſe; who being ioined with *Verdugo*, had the honor to raiſe this ſiege, without ſtriking ſtroke, for that the earle of Hohenlo would

A would not attend their comming, nor hazard any thing vpon a doubtfull battaile, but rayſed his campe in time, and retyred part to Deuenter, and part to Arnham in Guelderland, and to other townes along the riuers of Yſſel and of Rhin, not without many reproches and ſcoffes of the common people of thoſe townes, ſaying, that they durſt not fight, and that they had fled before they had ſeene the enemie. The horſemen layed the fault vpon the footmen, who (they ſaid) would not make head againſt the enemie, vntill they were payed, as it is the Germanes vſe, when they muſt fight, whereof there was a good troupe, belonging to the Elector and to noble *Henry*. So the next day after their riſing and departure, the king of Spaine his men entred into Zutphen without any reſiſtance, where they reſted one night, meaning the next day to purſue their victorie: but hearing that the Eſtates armie had
B paſſed the riuer, they diſlodged not. 1584

The tenth of Iune, *Francis* of Valois, onely brother to the French king, duke of Anion and Brabant, Earle of Flanders, &c. before he was fully reconciled to the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, dyed at Chaſteau-Thierry, not without ſuſpition of poyſon. At his death he much lamented for that which had beene done the yeare before (through the aduice of ſome pernicious counſellors) in Antuerpe, and would willingly haue repaired it, if hee had eſcaped death. I haue heard him grieue nine or tenne daies before his death, beeing vpon his bed (whither he commaunded, I ſhould be called) that hauing beene duke of Brabant, he had neuer beene in Bruſſels, where the pallace is of the dukes of Brabant. He commanded me to recommend him to the Seignior of Timpel, gouernour of that towne (beſides
C the letters which he writ vnto him) and to tell him, that as ſoone as he ſhould be able to trauell on horſebacke, or in caroſſe, hee would goe to Bruſſels ſo well accompanied, as the towne ſhould haue no cauſe to feare any enemie. By his laſt Will hee did ſeriouſly recommend vnto the king his brother the affaires of the vnited Prouinces, bequeathing vnto him all ſuch right as hee had by election, title of donation, or otherwiſe, in the dutchie of Brabant, earledome of Flanders, and elſewhere in the ſaid Netherlands. To the queene mother he gaue the Dutchie towne and citadell of Cambray and Cambreſis. There were diuers opinions of his death, and of the manner of the poyſon which had beene giuen him. During his ſickneſſe, he did nothing but bleed at diuers paſſages or vents, vntill that hee gaue vp the ghoſt. All the time that he lay ſicke, nor in his extremitie, hee would not haue any
D prieſt to confeſſe him, declaring publickely, that he had confeſſed himſelfe ſufficiently vnto God, and that hee had grounded the hope of his ſaluation vpon the merits of Ieſus Chriſt, the Redeemer and Sauiour of the world, as thoſe haue teſtified, that were preſent at his death. He deſired to be interred with the ornaments, armes, and blaſon of the dukes of Brabant; the which the French kings counſell did not thinke conuenient, for feare of offending the king of Spaine.

* *John Petit.*

This death of the duke of Aniou did breake the bankes which did bound and keepe in the ouerflowing ambition of the league in Fraunce, for that they feared him more than the king, but it began now to ſhew it ſelfe, as you may reade at large in the French Inuentarie, vnto which I will referre you, for that it doth belong properly vnto that Hiſtorie. Hee
E that brought the firſt newes of the duke of Aniou his death vnto the Eſtates in Holland, was within one moneth after the murtherer of the prince of Orange, as we will preſently ſhew.

The third of Iuly the prince of Parma ſent colonel *Mondragon* with fiue thouſand men and tenne pieces of artillerie, to goe and beſiege the forts of Lillo and of Lyefkens-hoek, both oppoſite one vnto another, at the mouth of the riuer of Eſcaut, which goes from Antuerpe into the ſea. The Vicont of Gant (then newly called Marqueſſe of Roubay) beſieged Lyefkens-hoek, on Flanders ſide, the which he cauſed to be battered with all ſpeed, being not yet fully finiſhed; where, after he had ſpent three hundred canon ſhot, he cauſed an aſſault to be giuen, but at the firſt charge, they were ſharpely repulſed. At the ſecond aſſault hee cauſed certaine carts laden with hay and ſtraw to be brought neere vnto the breach, and to be
F ſet on fire, which made ſuch a ſmoake, carried through the fort by the wind, as the beſieged being not able to ſtand at the rampar, to withſtand the furie of the aſſaylants, they were forced; the marqueſſe cauſing all that hee found armed, to bee ſlaine, and amongſt the reſt, many bourgers of the towne of Antuerpe, who were come for freſh ſupplyes.

He

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1584 He cauſed ſome to be hanged afterwards in cold bloud, the which was deere for th Spaniards that were priſoners. He alſo ſlew with his owne hand *N. Berendrecht*, a captaine in the fort, who in former time had beene ſteward to the prince of Eſpinoy his brother. Colonell *Petaine*, borne in Arras, ſeeing the place forced, and the maſſacre of his men; hauing almoſt eſcaped, was taken, and brought before him, being deſirous to ſee him, whom he alſo ſtabbed, and being vpon the ground, he cauſed his men to make an end of him, exerciſing his accuſtomed rage and madneſſe vpon all that hee could meet; for hee was of ſuch an humour, as he cared not for the death of a man or two, hauing begun, tenne yeares before, his firſt apprentiſhip of murthering, vpon Cont *Philip* of Manſeldt, ſonne to Cont *Peter Erneſt*, gouernour of Luxembourg in the towne of Bruſſels; and the ſecond a yeare or two after vpon a gentleman named *Ponthus Naye*, Seignior of Chapelle, in the open market place of Bethune, being a priſoner in the hands of iuſtice. Theſe firſt beginnings in his youth, could yield no good fruits in his riper age. A B

Whileſt that the Marqueſſe was buſied before this fort of Lyefkens-hoek, the Superintendents of the towne of Antuerpe (whom it imported more to guard the fort of Lillo) ſent a full companie of their beſt trained young men, and ſome hundred men out of their ſworne bands, to fortifie the garriſon, who in the beginning were but ſixe ſcore men. Soone after, captaine *Gau* (being come from Terneuſe) entred with a companie of Gaſcoines: *Mondragon* beeing buſie to plant his artillerie, the ſaid captaine *Gau* made a braue ſally vpon the Bourguignons, ſo as hee put fiue companies to rout, with the loſſe of aboue a hundred and fiftie men, bringing away two captaines priſoners. The Seignior of Teligny, ſonne to the lord of la Noue, was ſent by the Eſtates of Brabant to commaund there, who entred with good troupes of Frenchmen, whereas a little before there were foure Scottiſh companies entred, being of the regiment of colonel *Balfour*. *Mondragon* ſeeking to plant foure canons vpon the dike on Zeeland ſide, theſe Scottiſhmen ſallyed forth, thinking to take it from thence, or elſe to cloye it: but as the dike was too narrow to make any ſpeed thither in troupe, they could not aduaunce themſelues, but the Spaniards made head againſt them; yet they did them a great affront, ſlew about three hundred of them, and carried away their maſter myner priſoner with them, who diſcouered vnto the Seignior of Teligny all the mynes which *Mondragon* had cauſed to be digged, remayning after that time in the Eſtates ſeruice, where hee did diſcharge himſelfe both faithfully and truely in his place of Maſter myner. C D

Mondragon, after he had ſpent fiue hundred canon ſhot, and made a faire breach, he made his preparatiues to giue an aſſault vnto the fort. The beſieged perceiuing it, they preſently made a ſpacious myne vnder the breach which they ſhould aſſayle, that hauing drawne their enemies thither, and then they retyring, as if they gaue backe, to blow it vp. The inuention was not bad, if it had beene well followed. But as the beſieged went out by the ſayd breach, to goe and encounter with their enemies, comming to the aſſault, making preſently their retreat, and being purſued euen into the breach, he that had charge of the ſaid myne, gaue fire too ſoone, ſo as there were ſome thirtie of their owne men blowne vp, and no harme done to the Spaniards that purſued them; whom the canon of the fort notwithſtanding did much annoy, and tooke from them all appetite to approch any neerer. They of Antuerpe ſent two great canons more, with the which they did diſmount a part of the enemies artillerie. E

Colonel *Mondragon* finding, that notwithſtanding all his endeauours, he could not ſtop the paſſage of the riuer, but that they of Lillo receiued what they needed from Antuerpe: the better to ſtop this paſſage, he cauſed certaine ordinance to be planted on the other ſide of the riuer, right oppoſite vnto the fort, and neere vnto Lyefkens-hoek, which might ſhoot cloſe by the water, euen vnto Lillo: but for all that, they did not forbeare to goe in and out, and to paſſe and repaſſe from Holland and Zeeland to Antuerpe; and ſeeing that they made no eſteeme thereof, he brought other artillerie to the dike that was broken at Calloo, where the riuer was moſt narrow, aſſuring himſelfe, that by that meanes hee ſhould take away their nauigation: but he preuailed no more than before. F

In the end, the prince of Parma conſidering the ſtrength of the place, the which had alwaies a port open by the riuer, and could not bee taken away, hearing alſo, that the beſieged were

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A were reenforced with fifteene or ſixteene companies, and ſufficiently prouided of all things neceſſarie, hee commaunded him to rayſe his ſiege, not without ſhame and loſſe, hauing ſpent three weekes before it, and done what he could: yet hee left ſome of his men, neere vnto Lillo, in certaine forts which he had cauſed to bee built at Coeſteyn, Oordam, and Blaugarendyck, where he alſo planted ſome artillerie, to ſhoot at the ſhippes that went and came from Antuerpe by the riuer into Holland, Zeeland, and other places. They doe hold for certaine, that during this ſiege, what by ſallyes, and the canon from the fort, the Spaniard loſt not leſſe than two thouſand men: whereat wee muſt not meruaile, ſeeing the beſieged in ſix and thirtie houres ſpent two thouſand weight of powder. Moſt of the Eſtates ſouldiers that were ſent to defend this place, after the Spaniards retreat, were B drawne foorth, and ſent into other garriſons. Thoſe which remained (the greater part of them being French) did mutine ſoone after for their pay, chaſed away the Seignior of Teligni, their commaunder, captaine *Plucket* and other captaines, demaunding their pay within a ſhort ſpace, the which did much perplexe the Eſtates of Brabant: wherefore they were forced to prouide ſpeedily, by reaſon of the great importance of the place (fearing leaſt the Spaniard ſhould make his profit and aduantage of ſuch a mutinie) ſo as they were pacified with the receit of foure moneths pay in money, and fiue in cloth and apparell. 1584

Although the prince of Parma had left the ſiege of Lillo, yet had hee planted artillerie in diuers places along the riuer vpon the banke; whereby they of Antuerpe knowing him C to be maſter of the field, iudged, that he would ſeeke to cut off the paſſage of their nauigation, and would build forts all along the riuer; the which beeing furniſhed with artillerie, would commaund it, and ſo would retrench the ſayd towne, which is the ſtore-houſe of all the countrey of Brabant, from Holland and Zeeland. Whereupon they of Antuerpe and the Eſtates of Brabant being then aſſembled there (among the which there were ſome barons, and the Seignior of S. Aldegonde for the towne of Bruſſels) hauing taken counſell what was to be done, for the preſeruation of the ſayd towne, they ſent the Seignior of Griſe, lately great baylife of Bruges (holding ſtill the partie of the generall Eſtates) into England, to leuie fifteene hundred men vnder colonel *Morgan*; for the leuying whereof, the Wallon and Dutch churches within that Realme diſburſed twentie thouſand flo- D rins, and they were ſent ouer. They ſent likewiſe into Fraunce, thinking that colonel *Allein* ſhould bring ſome, but nothing came: for that the money which the ſaid *Allein* had receiued to make the leuie, was kept by him for the arrerages of his pay, in regard of the ſeruice which he had done vnto the Eſtates.

There was an aduice giuen by the colonels that were bourgers of Antuerpe, who then had taken vpon them (although vnworthily) the knowledge of all matters concerning the warre, in the ſaid towne, and in all that quarter of Antuerpe, to abandon Herental, and to retyre the garriſon and the munition, to imploy them elſewhere. But this was done with ſuch diſorder, as all the powder was loſt. After they had prouided and taken order for the defence of Antuerpe, the Eſtates of Brabant found it needfull to entertaine foure- E ſcore companies of footmen, and ſixteene companies of horſemen, as well for the ſayd towne, as for Bruſſels, Macklyn, and other places, whereof Antuerpe ſhould beare the greateſt part of the burthen: ſo as they were forced to charge them with great impoſitions, which came to aboue three hundred thouſand florins, beſides other impoſitions which they payed afterwards. The colonels of Antuerpe abandon Herental.

Many of the chiefe bourgers and marchants of Antuerpe, ſeeing the fort of Lyeſkenshoek thus poorely loſt, and their fellow citizens that were in it, ſo miſerably ſlaine; that they had neither prince nor head; that the Spaniard began to build forts vpon the riuer, and to furniſh them with good artillerie, they began to feare; ſo as ſome hundred of them retyred out of the towne, who were afterwards commaunded by a publicke proclamation F to returne within a certaine time, to helpe to defend the towne, and the place where they had gotten ſo much wealth, vpon paine of confiſcation of ſuch goods as they had remayning within the towne: yet fewe returned; yea, there dayly retyred more and more.

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1584 The tenth of Iuly the prince of Orange hauing made his reſidence aboue a whole yeare A
at Delft in Holland, was traiterouſly murthered in his lodging, at the iſſue of his dinner, by
The prince of Orange traiterouſly murthered. one *Baltazar Gerard*, a high Bourguignon, borne at Ville Franche, whereof wee will relate the hiſtorie, or rather Tragedie, truely as it happened, and as ſuccinctly as wee can. The Spaniards thinking, that they had no other enemie in this world, and that he being dead, they ſhould attaine vnto their wiſhed deſires in the Netherlands, they neuer ceaſed, vntill that (in the end) they cauſed him to bee murthered, after the manner which followeth.

In May there arriued at the princes court (being then at Delft) a certaine young man, about ſeuen and twentie yeres old, of a meane ſtature, and carrying but a ſimple countenance: who as in paſſing deliuered a letter to the ſaid prince, who demaunded of him from whence B
it came: whereunto he anſwered, That it was his owne letter, whereby he would giue him to vnderſtand matters of great moment for the ſeruice of the countrey: the ſayd letter was ſubſcribed *Francis Guyon*. The next day he addreſſed himſelfe to one of the princes ſecretaries, who ſent him to *Peter l'Oyſeleur*, called *Villiers*, a miniſter and counſellor to the ſaid prince, whom he requeſted to procure him an anſwere of his letter, ſaying, That hee had matters of importance to impart vnto him, concerning the countrey and the Religion. Certaine daies after, the prince of Orange vnderſtanding the tenor of this letter, commanded *Oyſeleur* to heare what he would ſay: and ſo this gallant gaue him to vnderſtand, that his name was *Francis Guyon*, borne at Beſanſon, and that he had beene alwaies a moſt affectionate ſeruant vnto the ſaid prince, being Vicont of Beſanſon (as he was) and the greateſt no- C
bleman in all high Bourgogne: That he had alwaies deſired to doe him ſeruice, and eſpecially ſince the death of his father, who was borne at Lion, but married at Beſanſon; who after the enterpriſe of the Seignior of Beauieu made vpon the ſayd towne of Beſanſon, was (vpon falſe ſuggeſtions) put in priſon, and executed, for that he made profeſſion of the Religion. Since which time, for the diſhonour of his fathers death, and for his conſcience ſake, hee was mooued to come and liue in a place where there was exerciſe of Religion: which made him ſtill deſirous to retyre himſelfe, to ſerue the ſaid prince: for which occaſion he was come out of his countrey aboue two yeares ſince, with a good horſe and armes, to put himſelfe vnder ſome companie there. But as he paſſed through the Dutchie of Luxembourg, he was deſirous to ſee a couſin of his, called *Pre*, Secretarie to Cont *Peter Erneſt* D
of Mansfeldt. This couſin perſuaded him to remaine ſome time with him; the which hee did: yet was he ſtill deſirous to be gone, for that he continued there againſt his conſcience, and although he were often intended to depart, yet there was ſomething ſtill which retayned him. Notwithſtanding at Eaſter laſt, God (as it were) forced him to retyre, for that there was a prieſt of Bruſſels in the earles houſe, very ſeuere againſt them that were ſuſpected to bee of the Religion, going often into their chambers to ſee what they did: ſo as both he and his couſin had a great deſire to play him ſome bad part: for he threatened to accuſe them, if they went not to confeſſion and to the Sacrament: which made him retyre from thence to Treues, there to paſſe the feaſt of Eaſter: but being returned, this prieſt demaunded of him, where he had receiued the Sacrament? hee anſwered him, in the Ieſuites E
church at Treues, whereas one of the chiefe Ieſuits had miniſtred the Sacrament vnto him. But as this Ieſuite came vnfortunately to Luxembourg, the prieſt asked him, if *Francis Guyon* had receiued the Sacrament at his hands; the other anſwered, no: whereupon the ſayd prieſt knowing, that *Guyon* was in the caſtle of Fontaine, neere vnto Luxembourg, with the earle, he came thither, and would haue taken him; but he defended himſelfe, and hurt the prieſt with his dagger, ſo as he eſcaped, and went to Treues, from whence hee ſent to his couſin for his horſe and ſome little money: but as he ſtayed too long, fearing to be diſcouered to haue vndertaken this voyage vnto the prince of Orange, to doe him ſeruice, as hee had both deſire and meanes: and in ſaying ſo, this impudent affronter drew out of his ſleeue a packet full of blankes, ſealed by the earle of Mansfeldt, ſaying, That F
hee had the ſayd ſeale often at his commaundement and diſpoſing, beeing chiefe clerke vnto *du Pre*; and that therewith he had giuen many paſports to victuallers and others that had need thereof.

All

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A All this diſcourſe being deliuered vnto the prince by *Oyſeleur*, hee commaunded him to inquire of him to what vſe they might ſerue. Hee anſwered, That therewith they might make an enterpriſe vpon any towne in Luxembourg, or if that were too farre, it might ſerue for ſpyes to goe through the countrey. This being deliuered vnto the prince of Orange, he replyed, That there was no meanes to attempt any thing with thoſe blankes: but they might ſerue to cauſe meſſengers to paſſe from Bruſſels to Cambray, commanding, that they ſhould ſend part of them to Bruſſels: as for the reſt, the prince hauing conferred with the Seignior of Eſpruneaux, embaſſadour for the duke of Aniou, an occaſion being offered, it was reſolued, that *Caron*, Seignior of Schoonwal, returning then into Fraunce, ſhould carry him with him, to know if the Seignior of Biron (who it was ſayd ſhould bee gouernour B of Cambray) could make any vſe of thoſe ſeales, to make paſports for his men. Whereupon *Caron* hauing his diſpatch from the prince, was charged to take him with him, as hee did. This villaine being in thoſe parts, he writ into theſe parts, That he did hope to ſee the Seignior of Beauieu ſhortly (he called the murther which was proiected by him, *Beauieu*) who did well remember his father, that dyed in his ſeruice, by whoſe meanes he did hope to be aduanced, and to attaine vnto ſome better eſtate. See the conſtant coſenage of this wretch. 1584

Soone after, *Caron* ſent him backe with letters vnto the prince and the Eſtates, aduertiſing them of the duke of Aniou his death. The prince hauing red theſe letters, ſent for *Guyon* into his chamber, being yet in bed, to vnderſtand the particularities of the duke his C death (this wretch did ſince confeſſe, being in priſon, That if at that time he had had a dagger, or a knife, yea, a pen knife, that he had ſlaine the prince in his bed) who, after that he had talked a while with him, he diſmiſſed him. After that, hee came vſually to prayers and ſermons: He red commonly *du Bartas* workes, and eſpecially the Hiſtorie of *Iudith*, where there are certaine perſuaſions to encourage men to roote out tyrans. Sometimes hee borrowed a Bible of the Porter, to read ſome chapters before him, whereby (vnder colour of Religion) he grew familiar with ſome of the princes houſhold. In the end, his diſpatch being made to returne into Fraunce to Monſieur *Caron*, he was commaunded to depart, hauing no more to doe there. Whereupon he entreated them to giue him ſome money, ſhewing his hoſe and ſhoes, which were not worth any thing. The prince commaunded, that in D deliuering him his diſpatch, they ſhould giue him tenne or twelue crownes, the which was done, and he receiued his money the eight of Iuly. The next day hee bought a piſtoll of a ſouldier of the princes guard, called *Rene*; but finding that it ſhot not true, he bought a more of one called *Iohn de la Foreſt*, ſergeant to captaine *Claude Caulier*, the which he tryed three or foure times, and found them good.

The tenth of the ſame moneth he watched when the prince ſhould goe downe into the hall to dinner, from whom he demaunded a paſport, ſpeaking (as the princeſſe did obſerue him) with a hollow and vnſetled voice: ſo as ſhe demaunded of the prince (her husband) what he was, for that ſhe did not like his countenance. The prince anſwered her, that hee demaunded a paſport, the which he would cauſe to be giuen him. During dinner time, he E was ſeene walking about the ſtables, behind the houſe, towards the rampar of the towne. Dinner being ended, the prince going out of the hall, the murtherer ſtood behind a pillar in the gallerie, with his cloake hanging vpon one ſhoulder, and vnder his left arme theſe two piſtols hidden, holding in his right hand a paper, as if it had beene his paſport, to haue the prince ſigne it: as the prince paſſed, hauing one foot vpon the firſt ſtep of the ſtayres, this traytor aduancing, drew foorth one of his piſtols ſo ſuddenly, as no man did perceiue him before the blow was giuen, ſhooting him from the left ſide to the right, through the ſtomacke and the vitall parts. The prince feeling himſelfe hurt, ſayd nothing elſe but, *O my God, take pitie of my ſoule, I am ſore wounded: my God take pitie of my ſoule, and of this poore people.* Hauing ſpoken theſe words, he began to ſtagger, but his gentleman Vſher ſtayed F him, and ſet him vpon the ſtayres, but hee ſpake no more. Then the Counteſſe of Swartzenbourg (his ſiſter) asked him in high Dutch, if he did not recommend his ſoule to Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, to whom he anſwered in the ſame language, yea, and neuer ſpake more: but drawing towards his end, he was carried into the hall where he had dyned, and

The prince ſlaine.

His laſt words.

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1584 there gaue vp the ghoſt. Such was the end of the moſt wiſe, conſtant, and vertuous prince of Orange. A

The murtherer aſſuring himſelfe that he had done the deed, ſought to eſcape by the ſtables, whereof he had before obſerued the paſſages; and as hee was to goe downe foure or fiue ſteppes of the gallerie, he leaped them all at once, wherewith the other piſtoll fell from vnder his arme (with the which, being charged, hee thought to defend himſelfe) hauing no leyſure to take it vp, for that he fled away as faſt as he could, paſſing through the ſtable into the ſtreet which goeth vnto the rampar. But as hee ran ouer a dunghill, beeing the neereſt way, the ſtraw being long, he fell, yet he roſe againe, thinking to get vnto the wall, and ſo to caſt himſelfe into the towne-ditch, where he was taken by a lacquey and an halberdier, with the helpe of ſome others, which came running, who brought him vnto the B Court. At the firſt he was much amazed and perplexed: but ſeeing they did not kill him ſuddenly, and that they would keepe him, he began to grow reſolute. And as one of the prince his ſeruants ſayd vnto him, Thou art a wicked traytor, he anſwered, I am no traytor, I haue done that which the king commaunded: what king? demaunded one: The king of Spaine (my maſter) ſaid he. And when as captaine *Bathien*, a Frenchman, ſayd vnto him; Art not thou a wicked traytor, who haddeſt thought to haue killed the prince, if God had not preuented it? What (ſayd he) haue I fayled! curſed be the fault. From thence hee was carried to his lodging that kept the court, whither the magiſtrat of the towne of Delft came to examine him. There he demanded paper, pen and inke, promiſing, that ſeeing he was a priſoner, and as good (ſayd he) as dead, he would lay open the whole truth; the which he did not; C adding many lyes to ſome points that were true.

The murtherers confeſſion.

He confeſſed, that he was called *Balrazar Gerard*, of Ville-Franche in Bourgoigne, and that for ſix yeares, yea, after the breach of the pacification of Gant, he had had a great deſire to kill the prince. He made ſhew of the ſame deſire, for that (hee ſayd) remayning at Dole ſix yeares before with a Proctor, called *Iohn Villan*, he tooke a dagger, and ſtrucke it with all his force into a dore, ſaying, I would this blow were through the prince of Oranges heart: for the which he was blamed by one *Iohn Guillaume*, that kept the bridge at Vret in Bourgoigne, who ſayd vnto him, That it was not for him to kill princes. And hauing heard within three yeares, that the king of Spaine had giuen ſentence of death againſt the prince of Orange, and libertie to kill him whereſoeuer they could, he had come D in Februarie, in the yeare 1582, expreſſely out of Bourgoigne into thoſe parts, to put this ſentence in execution, and that being come to Luxembourg in March, he had heard ſay, that a certaine Biſcaine had murthered him: for which cauſe he went no farther, but put himſelfe in ſeruice with *Iohn du Pre*, Secretarie to the earle of Mansfeldt, gouernour of Luxembourg. But hearing afterwards that he was not dead, but recouered, hee then reſolued (whatſoeuer ſhould happen) to execute this deſigne, hoping to find ſome good opportunitie, the earle of Mansfeldt being in field, about the place where the prince ſhould be; to whom hee would preſent ſome flying ſeales, and blankes of the ſayd earle: aſſuring himſelfe, that in time hee ſhould find acceſſe into the ſaid prince his court, and ſo effect this his enterpriſe vpon the firſt occaſion, and with the leaſt danger that might be. Ac- E cording to his auncient and inueterate reſolution (theſe are his very words) in Nouember the yeare before, he deſired *du Pre*, being at Dyeſt, to ſuffer him to depart, for that he ſaw no better meanes to approch neere vnto the prince, than at that time, the earle of Mansfeldt being to returne into Luxembourg: yet *du Pre* (his maſter and couſin) entreated him inſtantly to follow him and ſerue him, perſuading him, that the earle would returne ſoone vnto the campe, yea, before a moneth were expired: but ſeeing that *du Pre* protracted the time to diſmiſſe him, being thruſt on, vnto the execution of this deſigne, hee reſolued to quarrell with him, and ſo to get away. But being returned to Luxembourg, hee thought to retyre to finiſh his worke. His maſter finding, that ſome one had ſtolne from him foure hundred and fiftie crownes out of his cofer, he then ſtayed in his ſeruice, to free himſelfe F from ſuſpition: but the money being found againe, he ſought all meanes poſſible to draw neere vnto the prince, and to follow ſome Wallon companies, ſent out of Luxembourg into Brabant: whereof hee was likewiſe preuented by *du Pre* his ſickeneſſe; the which,

con-

A continued eight dayes before, and fifteene dayes after Chriſtmas, before hee was fully recouered. 1584

At the laſt, in March laſt paſt, he tooke his leaue of his maſter: but before hee came into theſe parts, he went to Treues, where he confeſſed himſelfe vnto a Ieſuite, who kept him in their Colledge, diſcouering his deſigne vnto him, ſhewing him the flying ſeales, which hee intreated him to keepe ſecret vntill Eaſter, and then to acquaint the earle of Mansfeldt therewith: following alſo the counſel and direction of this Ieſuite, he alſo imparted this fact vnto the prince of Parma, by letters which he did write in Tournay, and preſented vnto the ſayd prince: but yet he durſt not ſtay for an anſwere, fearing leaſt hee ſhould take the ſtealing away of thoſe ſeales in ill part. And from thence hee came vnto Delft,
B where he preſented the ſayd ſeales, hoping it ſhould procure him ſome meanes to execute that which he had pretended, vntill they thought it conuenient to ſend him into Fraunce with *Monſieur Caron*, to deliuer ſome of theſe ſeales vnto the marſhall of Biron, and other noblemen, holding the duke of Aniou his partie. But the ſayd duke dying ſoone after, he deſired to be ſent backe into theſe parts, the which the Seignior of Caron did, with letters vnto the prince of Orange and the Eſtates, by the which he did aduertiſe them of the death of the ſayd duke. After which time he ſought all opportunities to doe the deed; and finding none more fit, than to ſhoot him, eyther comming from the Sermon, or going out of his chamber to dinner, or riſing from the table, the day before hee bought two piſtols, the which he charged, one with three bullets, and the other with two, ſhooting that which
C had three through the prince of Orange his bodie, hauing no meanes to vſe the other, for the let which was giuen him by the halberdiers, for the which he was very ſorrowfull; proteſting, that if he were at that time a thouſand leagues from thence, he would returne to performe the murther.

All this and more (which were ſuperfluous) was confeſſed and written by the hand of the ſaid *Baltazar Gerard*, in the keepers chamber; and there were found about him two bladders ſomewhat blowne, with a little pipe to blow them vp, hoping (although he could not ſwim) with the helpe thereof to get through the towne-ditches. He vſed alſo many ſpeeches to this end, That if the prince had beene in the middeſt of fiftie thouſand ſouldiers, if hee might haue approched neere him, hee would haue done it, yea, and would
D doe it againe, beeing very ſorrie (for that they made him ſo beleeue) that hee was not dead: Hauing asked if hee were not hurt, they told him yea: whereupon hee replyed, That he was very glad thereof, for he could not eſcape, but muſt needs dye. Afterwards (being in priſon) hee confeſſed more, wherein hee perſiſted vntill his execution, as followeth.

The murtherers ſecond confeſſion.

First (beſides his former confeſſion) he volontarily declared, and without torture, That he had not ſeene the ſentence of the princes proſcription, and libertie to kill him, where they could, but fiue moneths before; yet hee had heard it ſpoken of, and that ſome ſuch thing had beene proclaymed in the Netherlands. Hee ſayd moreouer, That in May laſt he had not beene eight dayes in theſe parts, but he ſought to execute his deſigne, if he had
E had the meanes, or any hope to eſcape: That after the death of the duke of Aniou, he preſented his ſeruice vnto the Seignior of Caron, that in carrying his letters, hee might doe that which he had proiected: That hee had neuer imparted this deed vnto the Seignior of Caron, whom he knew to bee too ſincere, nor made any creature liuing in thoſe parts acquainted therewith: That he had reſolued to doe it the day before at dinner time; but ſeeing no likelyhood to ſaue himſelfe, he durſt not attempt it: That this day (not able to delay it any longer) he was fully reſolued and determined to doe it, notwithſtanding any danger whatſoeuer, yea, had the prince beene in the middeſt of fiftie thouſand men: That he was very ſorry that the prince was not dead, but not that hee had done his beſt endeauour, and if he were a thouſand leagues off from thence, he would paſſe mount-
F taines, riuers, and all other difficulties whatſoeuer, to come and effect his purpoſe. As for the Ieſuite of Treues, he perſiſted in his firſt confeſſion: And moreouer, talking vnto the ſtanders by, he ſayd: That being in Fraunce, he enioyed no reſt day nor night, hee was ſo tormented with an extreame deſire to performe and execute this fact: yea, he had

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1584 quarrelled with the other ſeruants, to the end hee ſhould take an occaſion to ſend him A
away: and if he could not haue effected his deſigne at this voyage, that at his returne into Fraunce he would haue beene of the reformed Religion in ſome Church, and would haue carried himſelfe in ſuch ſort, as he would haue gotten acceſſe into the Conſiſtorie, and procured letters of recommendation, to haue returned into theſe parts, and ſo to find the better opportunitie to finiſh this proiected murther.

Before he was put vnto the torture, he confeſſed, That he had acquainted M. *Gery*, doctor of Diuinitie, guardian of the Franciſcan Friers at Tournay, with this enterpriſe, in March laſt paſt; in which confeſſion he perſiſted, being from the racke; and being brought vnto it againe, he ſayd, That for that he was a poore companion, and to get ſome helpe or meanes, he had made the prince of Parma acquainted therewith, who commaunded B
the counſellor *d' Aſſonuille* to treat more amply and at large with him. This counſellor laying before him the dangers that might be in the execution of ſo great a fact, ſayd vnto him, That hee ſhould doe a great ſeruice vnto the king of Spaine; but in caſe hee ſhould happen to be diſcouered, hee ſhould not in any ſort name the prince of Parma: And telling him of the hard acceſſe that he ſhould find into the prince of Orange his court, he anſwered, That he would call himſelfe by the name of *Francis Guyon* of Beſanſon, ſonne to *Peter Guyon*, ſometimes executed for Religion, and loſt all his goods; and that he (being but a poore companion) would faine himſelfe to be very zealous to the reformed Religion: and that he would goe into Holland to the princes court, where (to haue the better reception) he would preſent thoſe flying ſeales: wherewith *d' Aſſonuille* was well pleaſed, C
perſuading him to perſeuere in this reſolution, and to effect it, entreating him (as before) not to make any mention of the prince of Parma, for that it would auayle him little or nothing, and would be a matter of great conſequence, and turne to the diſhonour of the ſaid prince.

The next day hee confeſſed moreouer without any torture, that the day before hee came vnto the court, to ſee if the prince were come out of his chamber to dinner, and finding him ſet at the table, he went home to his lodging, and charged his two piſtols, and hung them at his girdle on the left ſide, ſuffering his cloake to hang downe vpon his ſhoulder, that they might ſuſpect the leſſe. He ſayd moreouer, that *d' Aſſonuille* (after that they had conferred together of this buſineſſe) promiſed to make report thereof vnto the D
prince of Parma; the which he hauing done, he told him, that the prince liked well thereof, and that (if he could effect it) he would be a meanes he ſhould haue the reward, which was promiſed by the proſcription: That *d' Aſſonuille* did propound vnto him againe ſome difficulties; but finding his courage and reſolution, he ſayd vnto him: Goe my ſonne, if you performe this deed, the king of Spaine will accompliſh and performe all that he hath promiſed, and you ſhall purchaſe an immortall name. Whereupon hee anſwered, That hee would counterfeit himſelfe ſo well of the Religion, as hee might get into ſome Secretaries ſeruice, and by that meanes watch an opportunitie to preſent ſome letters vnto the prince of Orange, for him to ſigne, in doing whereof hee would ſtabbe him into the bodie with a dagger. Being taken from the racke, hee ſayd againe, That hee did nothing E
repent him of that which hee had attempted againſt the prince of Orange, and that hee would doe it, if it were now to be done againe, although it ſhould coſt him a thouſand liues.

The foure and twentieth of the ſaid moneth he confeſſed moreouer, That *d' Aſſonuille* had promiſed him, That the prince of Parma would bee a meanes, that hee ſhould bee ſatisfied of that which the king had promiſed by the proſcription, and that hee had vndertaken this fact, to make himſelfe rich: That *d' Aſſonuille* had ſhewed the ſayd flying ſeales vnto the prince of Parma, who deliuered them backe againe vnto him, ſaying, That he was very well content, that he ſhould make vſe of them, and that the earle of Mansfeldt ſhould alter his ſeale, and change it into another manner or faſhion: That F
d' Aſſonuille had charged and commaunded him, that (comming into Antuerpe) if hee ſhould bee brought before the Seignior of S. Aldegonde, that hee ſhould boldly ſhewe thoſe ſeales vnto him: and that when he ſhould enter into the towne, he ſhould hide them

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A in ſome place before he came in, and then fetcht them againe: That the ſaid maſter *Gery* hauing heard his reſolution, ſaid vnto him, that ſeeing hee had vndertaken ſuch a thing, that hee ſhould finiſh it, and gaue him his bleſſing, promiſing to pray vnto God for him: the which the Ieſuite of Treues did in like manner promiſe, aſſuring him, that in caſe hee died in the execution of this deſigne, that he ſhould be put in the number of the holy glorious martyrs: the name of which Ieſuite he did not knowe, but as he was called the regent of the colledge, hauing a redde haire, who imparted this fact to three other of his brethren. 1584

According to which confeſſions, wherein he perſiſted vnto his death, he was condemned, the tenour of whoſe ſentence followeth.

Whereas *Baltazar Gerard*, borne at Fans in the franck countrie of Bourgogne, belong- A ſentence a-
B ing to the king of Spaine, beeing at this time priſoner, hath confeſſed, that to murther the famous and mightie prince of Orange, earle of Naſſau, &c, deceaſed, hee came out of the ſaid countrie of Bourgogne into Luxembourg, where putting himſelfe into ſeruice with the ſecretarie of the earle of Mansfeldt, gouernour of the ſaid countrie of Luxembourg, and there had printed vpon paper a great number of the ſaid earles ſeales, and learned to counterfeit his hand, thereby to get acceſſe vnto the prince of Oranges court; which reſolution of his, hee had in March laſt imparted vnto the prince of Parma in writing, beeing at Tournay, who appointed him to treat of that buſineſſe with the councellor *d'Aſſonuille*, who had promiſed vnto the ſaid priſoner, that if he could effect his deſigne, and execute the king of Spaines proſcription againſt the ſaid prince, that the king ſhould paie him that which was promiſed by
C the ſaid ſentence, and among other points ſhould giue him for recompence, fiue and twentie thouſand ducats. gainſt Baltazar Gerard the murtherer of the prince of Orange.

That the priſoner hauing conſulted with *d'Aſſonuille* touching this execution, had agreed and concluded betwixt them, that the ſaid priſoner ſhould goe into the princes court, and call himſelfe *Francis Guyon*, ſonne to *Peter Guyon* of Beſanſon, in former time executed for religion, and forfeited his goods.

That vnder colour to haue beene zealous to the religion, for the which he had loſt his father and goods, & vnder this borrowed name, and with theſe ſeals and blanks, he ſhould ſeeke and endeauour to haue acceſſe vnto the ſaid prince. According vnto which reſolution, the ſaid priſoner belying his name, and calling himſelfe *Francis Guyon*, had come vnto the ſaid
D princes court, and the ninth day of the moneth had bought two piſtols, and on the tenth daie eſpying the ſaid prince at dinner in his hall, had gone backe vnto his lodging or Inne, where hee charged the ſaid two piſtols, one hee charged with three bullets, and the other with two; and then he returned backe vnto the court, with his piſtols hanging at his girdle on the left ſide hidden vnder his cloake; that on the right ſide he had let his cloake hang off his ſhoulder, that hee might not ſeeme to haue any thing hidden vnder it. And that dinner beeing done, as the prince went out of the hall to goe vp the ſtaires to his chamber, the ſaid priſoner had diſcharged one of his piſtols charged with three bullets through the bodie of the ſaid prince, with which ſhotte (to the great griefe and ſorrow of all good countrimen) he had beene ſlaine: which fact, as a moſt execrable crime and abhominable treaſon,
E committed vpon the perſon of ſo famous and renowned a prince (as the prince of Orange was) ought in no ſort to remaine vnpuniſhed, but rather with all rigour to be made an example to future ages.

Wherefore the commiſſioners of the generall and prouinciall councell, together with the bourgmaſter and ſhirifs of this towne, vpon the examination and confeſſion of the ſaid priſoner, all beeing duely weighed and conſidered, haue condemned and doe condemne the ſaid *Baltazar Gerard* priſoner at this preſent, to bee laid vpon a ſcaffold in the market place of this towne, before the towne-houſe, there firſt to haue his right hand (with the which hee did commit that execrable murther) torne and pincht with two hotte burning yrons, then to bee pincht in ſixe ſeuerall places of his bodie with burning pincers, as vpon his armes,
F thighes, and other places where there is moſt fleſh, the which being thus burnt, his members ſhall bee pulled off, and in the end quartered aliue, beginning belowe, and ſo goe vp his bellie, then to haue his heart pulled out and caſt at his face, and his head cut off and ſet vpon a pole behinde the princes lodging vpon the watch tower, and his foure quarters to be hanged vpon

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1584 vpon foure gibbets, vpon the bulwarkes of the Hegeport, Ooſtport, Ketelport, and Waterſlootſcheport in this towne, declaring his goods to be forfeited, to whom it ſhall appertaine: Pronounced vnto the priſoner of Delſt vpon the foureteenth of Iuly 1584, ſigned, *Vander Meer*. A

The ſame day the houre of his death was ſignified vnto him, that hee might prepare himſelfe for the next day. At the firſt he was much amazed, curſing the houre that he had euer learned that wicked practiſe at Dole, wiſhing, that hee had rather beene a poore mechanicke tradeſman, than to haue fallen into that diſaſter; much lamenting his death: yet in the end he ſayd, That ſeeing hee had done and committed the folly, hee muſt now ſuffer for his folly. And the next day after he was executed according to the ſentence. B

The execution of the murtherer. Being there a ſpectator among many others that went to ſee this execution, I will ſhew you what I obſerued therein. This murtherer, although hee had his feet ſcortched and ſwolne with the torture, yet he went firmely betwixt two hangmen. He was of a ſmall ſtature, hauing the hayre of his head, beard, and of all his bodie ſhauen, doubting leaſt hee had ſome inchantment about him, which might be the cauſe that during his torments hee cried little or not at all. Beeing tied vpon the ſcaffold, hee might viſibly ſee the pincers and fire which ſhould ſerue to that vſe, hee might behold the table whereon hee ſhould be quartered, with the kniues and the axe, and yet all this did not mooue him. And as the two hangmen were buſied to breake the piſtoll (wherewith he had ſhot the prince) vpon an anuile, one of them ſtriking with his hammer, it flewe off the handle cloſe by the others eare: whereat the people laughing, this wretch could not containe himſelfe, but that hee ſmiled. Hauing his hand betwixt two burning irons, ſo as it ſeemed a furnace, he lifted it vp, as if hee would ſay and ſhewe, behold, this is the hand that hath done the deed. And after that hee had beene tormented with burning irons, the hangmen carried him betwixt them to lay him vpon the table: ſome ſillie woman ſaid vnto the aſſiſtants, Why do they thus torment this poore creature? when all is done, hee hath killed but one man, and yet he muſt endure a thouſand deaths: The bourgers hearing the woman to vtter theſe ſpeeches, thruſt her backe with reprochfull words. Thoſe that were ſomething farther off, hearing a noyſe, and not knowing what it was, began to murmure, ſome crying to armes, and beating their drummes. The murtherer being now layed vpon the table, the executioners grew to be ſomewhat amazed, and were readie to abandon him, and he as readie to riſe from thence, and flye away: whereupon the magiſtrates cryed out vnto the hangmen, that there was no danger at all, and that they ſhould performe and doe their duties. It is to be preſumed, that if there had beene any trouble there, or that hee had beene left alone vpon the ſcaffold, being in that miſerable caſe as he was, he would haue ſought to ſaue himſelfe. To conclude, in all his torments which he had, he neuer cryed out, nor ſeemed to feele any paine, for the which he was reſolute, and had ſo vaunted of himſelfe, when he was vpon the racke. C D

All men that haue any iudgement, or ſparke of pitie or remorſe in them, may ſee, if Paradice bee woon by ſuch trecherous and deteſtable murthers (as they ſeeke to perſuade the ſimpler ſort of people) ſeeing that both Law, Iuſtice, and Policie are repugnant vnto them, Nature doth abhorre them, yea, euen the prince of Parma his ſouldiers haue blamed and deteſted it, as alſo moſt of the commons of the enemies partie did not allow of it, neyther would the magiſtrates or gouernours in any place ſuffer (as the Ieſuites themſelues deſired) that any bonfires ſhould bee made in the ſtreetes, in ſigne of ioy thereof. E

The prince of Oranges funerall pompe. The foure and twentieth daie of Auguſt, the funerall pompe at the interment of the prince of Oranges bodie was performed with great pompe, according to the eſtate and qualitie which his greatnes required, and his merits, with the Eſtates of Holland and the vnited prouinces. Cont *Maurice* of Naſſau his ſecond ſonne (the earle of Buren his eldeſt beeing priſoner in Spaine, and the yongeſt beeing but ſeauen or eight moneths old) was the chiefe mourner, hauing on the right ſide of him *Truchſes* prince elector of Cologne, and on the left hand the earle of Hohenlo, then followed *William* and *Philip* earles of Naſſau his couſin germans, F

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A mans: and after them came the earle of Solms as the last mourner; the rest of the pompe following in good order vnto the new temple vpon the market place at Delft, where his bodie was intombed. 1584

He died at the age of fiftie and one years, eleuen moneths, and twentie fiue daies, of a meane stature and corpulent, the colour of his haire inclining somewhat to browne, somewhat leane visaged, but otherwise well set of his members. His bodie beeing opened to be embalmed, his inward parts which were not touched with the blowe, were found so sound and perfect, as by the course of nature hee might haue liued a great age. He was of an actiue spirit, and great memorie. As for his vertues, wisdome, constancie, and magnanimitie, his life, his actions, his toiles, and his patience, wee will rather leaue to all impartiall men to admire it, than B attempt to describe it, beeing impossible. The prince of Oranges age and disposition.

He had to his first wife, the daughter and onely heire of *Maximilian* of Egmont, earle of Buren, and of Iselstein, by whom hee had *Philip* (at this daie) prince of Orange, and *Marie* countesse of Hohenlo. By his second wife daughter to *Maurice* duke of Saxony, he had prince *Maurice* marques of Camphere and Flessingue, who succeeded him in his gouernments, *Anne*, who is now deceased, who was wife to Cont *William*, *Lewis* of Nassau, and *Emilia* princesse of Portugal. Of his third wife, who was daughter to the duke of Montpenser, hee had sixe daughters, *Louyse* the eldest, married to the elector palatin of Rhin, the duchesse of Bouillon and viconteſse of Turein, the princesse of Tremouille, Touars, &c. the countesse of Hennau, &c. and two remaining yet to marrie. Of his fourth wife, daughter to the Admiral of C France, and widowe before to the Seignior of Teligni, he had his third sonne, Cont *Henrie Fredericke*, at this time he is about twentie and foure yeares olde, of whom the vnited prouinces hope great matters, and expect good fortunes, Delft in Holland beeing the place of his birth. His wiues and children.

By this suddaine and vnexpected death of the prince, the vnited prouinces were vnfurnished of a gouernour, the which troubled many of the Estates, some fearing that through the disorder or small concord that would be among the Estates, they should not bee able to resist the mightie attempts of the king of Spaine, and that all would fall into a confusion. Yet the funerals beeing ended, the Estates beeing loath to seeme to faint, made choise of *Graue Maurice* his second sonne, beeing then but eighteene yeares olde, for their head, beeing as- D sisted in his affaires by a councell which was giuen him, the generall Estates remaining still in the soueraigne gouernment. Graue Maurice chosen gouernour.

This yong prince did thanke them for the honour which they did him, promising his best endeauour for the defence and preseruation of the countrie, maintenance of their priuiledges, and the reuenge of the prince his fathers death, and not to attempt any thing, without the aduice, resolution, determination, and good liking of the said Estates of the vnited prouinces: whereupon the earle of Hohenlo was made Lieutenant to the Captaine generall.

They of Gant hauing kept *Iohn d'Imbise* their bourgmaster a long time prisoner, finished his processe, and found him guiltie of treason in many points, by a sentence giuen by the E Shiriffs: they caused his head to be cut off in the open market place, and to be set vp for certaine houres vpon a pole, hauing confest before his death that hee had deserued it. It was strange to see the ambition and inconstancie of this man in his elder age, beeing almost seauentie yeares old. I say ambition and presumption, in that he durst first of all oppose himselfe against the prince of Orange: inconstancie, who (beeing a turbulent and factious man) had often beene the cause of troubles and mutinies in the towne of Gant, beeing readie to cut one anothers throat: beeing retired into Germanie, for feare of the prince of Orange: then beeing called home by the Gantois, that hee should seeke to turne to the Spanish partie, whom hee had in former time so highly offended: especially in the spoiling of so many churches, wherewith he had greatly inricht himselfe, such was his blindnesse (as they F truely said) that his ambition and presumption had brought him to the very place where hee died. Iohn d'Imbise beheaded.

The prince of Parma after the death of the prince of Orange, by the which hee did hope for some alteration in the vnited prouinces, would loose no occasion to make himselfe

master

1584 maſter of Antuerpe, Gant, Bruſſels, Macklyn, and Dendermond; for the effecting whereof, hee A
thought it fit to cut off the nauigation of the riuer of Eſcaut, which runnes before Antuerpe,
both aboue and beneath the town (the which he did almoſt effect and bring to paſſe) cauſing
many forts to be built cloſe to the riuer, to batter the ſhips that would paſſe and repaſſe from
Holland and Zeeland vnto Antuerpe. And although at the firſt it ſeemed a ridiculous thing
to ſtoppe vp ſo large and deepe a riuer, where the tydes ebbing and flowing are ſo ſtrong;
yet ſince experience hath taught, that the prince of Parma his diligence and induſtrie hath
made it feaſible.

This opinion of men, that hee ſhould not preuaile any thing, was the cauſe of their ſlacke-
neſſe and negligence to hinder him in the beginning, when as they had good meanes to doe
it: he therefore cauſed a mightie fort to bee built at Calloo in Flanders, vpon the riuers ſide, B
and another right againſt it at Oordam on Brabant ſide, which they of Antuerpe and the E-
ſtates did ſee made at leaſure, euen before their noſes: hee alſo cauſed a channell to be digged
with great charge (wherein hee continually imployed ſixe hundred pyoners, which came
from Steeken vnto Calloo, beeing foure leagues diſtant one from another, to bring what vi-
ctuals and munition ſhould bee needfull vnto all thoſe forts which he had built vpon the ri-
uers ſide. As for his perſon, and his chiefe campe, he lodged at Beueren, two leagues from
Antuerpe: he had alſo a pettie campe on Brabant ſide, in the village of Strabrouke, vnder
the commaund of Cont Mansfeldt: where as Colonel Mondragon cauſed a fort to be built,
not farre from the caſtle of Coeſteyn, and foure others betwixt the ſaid campe of Strabrouke
and the riuer. C

On the other ſide, they of Zeeland cut the bankes on Flanders ſide, neere vnto Saftige,
the which did drowne all the countrie from Hulſt vnto Beueren and Burcht, except the Doel
and ſome high grounds neere vnto Calloo, the which was afterwards of great aduantage for
the Parmois: for by meanes of the ſaid inundation, the dike beeing alſo broken at Burcht, hee
cauſed his ſhippes to enter, comming to Dendermond, which came to Calloo by the drow-
ned land, without any danger of paſſing before Antuerpe, for otherwiſe they had had no paſ-
ſage to come.

And to tier them of Gant and Dendermond on the other ſide, he cauſed a paliſado to bee
Dendermond beſieged by the Spaniard. made in the ſaid riuer at Baſſerode, a league from Dendermond. Then he went and planted
his campe at Lobec ioyning to the ſaid towne, and ſent a herauld to ſummon it to yeeld. The D
baron of Montagne, Colonel, who commanded in the abſence of the Seignior of Ryhouen
their gouernour (beeing then abſent in Holland) beeing reſolute at the firſt with the reſt of
the captaines, anſwered, that hee would keepe the towne for the generall Eſtates of the coun-
trie. The prince of Parma finding that they would not eaſily yeeld, cauſed the ſluces to
be taken vp, and the water to be drawne out of the ditch, and then battered a certaine bul-
warke without the towne; where hauing made a very bare breach, hee cauſed his Spani-
ards to giue an aſſault, who tooke it with the loſſe of tenne men onely, and of thirtie that
were hurt.

The beſieged who were but three hundred ſouldiers, ſeeing their ditches drie, and that
they ſhould ſoone haue a breach in the rampar, and beſides that, the bulwarke which E
the Spaniards had taken did commaund into the towne; moreouer (if they had held three
moneths longer) that there was no hope of any ſuccours, they began to parle, and in the
Dendermond yeelded. end (though to their great griefes) agreed to depart the ſeauenteenth day of Auguſt, with-
out any armour, but their rapiers and daggers onely, and that they ſhould be ſafely condu-
cted vnto the fort of Villebrouk. The bourgers were free from ſpoile, and were receiued
into grace and fauour, paying ſixtie thouſand florins within three moneths next follow-
ing: and if there were any that would depart with the ſouldiers, they might doe it freely,
no man ſhould hinder them. There went not aboue a hundred and fiftie ſouldiers out of
the towne, but many women, ſtrumpets, and children: the two miniſters were kept backe
againſt the promiſed faith, whereof the one was drowned, and the other hanged: the which F
made many to wonder, that the prince of Parma ſhould ſo much forget himſelfe, as to
ſuffer it.

Soone after, on the ſixt day of September *Villenoord* did alſo yeeld, being a little towne
vpon

A vpon the riuer which goes from Bruſſels to Antuerpe, where one muſt paſſe iuſt by the port. By this meanes Bruſſels loſt her nauigation, and the prince of Parma began to blocke it vp with ſome forts. 1585

The generall eſtates of the vnited prouinces conſidering with themſelues that they had to doe with a mightie enemie, ſuch an one as the king of Spaine, that his warre would bee long, and in the end might conſume them; diſtruſting of their meanes and abilities to ſubſiſt and to maintaine themſelues in their warre, they propounded to ſeeke ſuccour from the French king, or the Queene of England. The French king anſwered them, that hee would by no meanes enter into warre with the king of Spaine his brother in law, yet hee ſent monſieur *d'Eſpruneaux* (who had beene Embaſſadour with the Eſtates for the duke of Aniou
B his brother) into Holland, to vnderſtand their demaunds more particularly: which were, That it would pleaſe his maieſtie to declare himſelfe an enemie to the king of Spaine, and to make warre againſt him: that by the frontiers of Picardie, nor any other parts vnder his obedience, he would not ſuffer any graine nor victuals to bee brought vnto the enemie, offering him for aſſurance the townes of Ooſtend and Scluſe, to put in what garriſon his maieſtie pleaſed.

Thereupon the Seignior of *Eſpruneaux* made a long oration in the open aſſemblie of the Eſtates, extolling the bountie and power of his king, with the good affection hee bare vnto them, diſgracing as much as hee could the king of Spaine. In the end (yet without any certaine aſſurance at all) hee promiſed them in the French king his maſters behalfe, all aide
C and fauour.

The Eſtates ſent alſo M. *Paul Buys* aduocate of the particular Eſtates of Holland, and ſome other deputies, vnto the Queene of England, to make the ſame requeſt; to the end, that if they could not perſuade both to ſuccour them, yet at the leaſt that neither of them might bee oppoſite vnto them: yet it ſeemed they were more inclined to the Engliſh, by reaſon of the neighbourhood, and the ancient alliances betwixt both countries, and alſo for that they were ſtronger at ſea than the French.

The prince of Parma hauing (by the taking of Dendermond) no obſtacle, (and withall hauing blockt vp the Ganthois on euery ſide) knowing well that the Eſtates had no meanes to put an armie to field, which might hinder the fortification of Calloo, vpon the riuer of
D Eſcaut, on Flanders ſide, beeing lodged at Beueren, hee ſent Colonel *Mondragon* to aduance the ſhutting vp of the riuer of Antuerpe, as well with long heads, as paliſadoes on either ſide, planting many peeces of artillerie there, ſo as nothing could goe or paſſe from Antuerpe into Holland and Zeeland without imminent danger of the cannon ſhot, ſeeking to cut off the paſſage quite, as hee had done a little before to the riuer of Bruſſels, by the taking of Villevoord.

They of Antuerpe for their part wanted nothing that ſeemed neceſſarie for their ſafetie, and the preſeruation of the towne: Colonel *Morgan* with his regiment of Engliſh came to their ſuccours, and was lodged in the ſuburbs of Burgerhout. There was a great ſumme of money collected in the towne to ſupply all neceſſities and charges, as well for the en-
E tertainment of men of warre, as for the fortifications which they made along the riuer; as at Lillo, Terneuſe, S. *Anthonies* houcke, Vaert, Teligni, Toulouſe, Melckhuys, Boureſchans, Auſterweel, and other retrenchments, and alſo for the reparation of the rampars of the towne.

In the meane time the garriſon of Cambray made great roads and ſpoiles, vpon the countrie of Arthois and Henault, and ſometimes euen vnto the ports of Douay, taking all they could carrie: whereof the prince of Parma made his complaint vnto the French king, who made anſwer that it was not his fault, neither was it done with his leaue or conſent: be-
* ſides, the ſaid towne did not belong vnto him, but to the queene mother, by legacie and ſucceſſion from the duke of Aniou her ſonne. Vpon this anſwer, the prince of Par-
F ma ſent *la Motte* gouernour of Graueling to runne ouer all the countrie of Boulenois, from whence hee carried away a great bootie. The French complained in like manner to the prince of Parma, but hee made the like anſwer, that it was not done by his commaundement.

The

1585 The Ganthois hauing beene a long time coopt vp, and as it were inuested by the enemie, seeing also that Antuerpe was in as great or more danger than themselues; in the end they resolued to be reconciled to the king of Spaine, sending their deputies to Beueren to the prince of Parma the seauenteenth day of September: so as after many voiages and conferences, they made an accord or agreement with him, vpon condition to receiue thirtie companies in garrison, Bourguignons, Wallons, and high Dutch, by equall numbers, and no Spaniards, to remaine there as long as hee pleased. These companies beeing entred, the accord or agreement was published, with all solemnities fit and requisite in that case, the chiefe points whereof were: A

An accord made with the towne of Gant

„ A perpetuall forgetfulnesse, and absolute pardon for all that had past since the trouble, holding them from that time for good vassals & subiects: that the bourgers & inhabitants should B
„ inioy all their goods, as if they had neuer offended the king of Spaine. And to take away the
„ impressions which they might haue, that in the end they would confiscate their goods; the
„ bourgers were suffered to remaine within the towne for the space of two yeares, behauing
„ themselues modestly, and without scandall; and in the meane time to consider if they con-
„ forme themselues to the catholike Romish religion or not.
„ That at the end of the said two yeares, they might retire themselues freely out of the Ne-
„ therlands, with all their goods, or els sell them, exchange them, alienate them, or giue them
„ in charge to any other, who might send or conueye them vnto them into any neuter place;
„ where they should please to reside. That all suites ended, and sentences giuen, as well by the
„ prouinciall councel, shirifs, or other iudges, to auoide all confusion, should be confirmed and C
„ put in execution, reseruing their appeales to the great councell. That all obedience should
„ be yeelded vnto the king in the said towne, as before the troubles; and that hee should bee
„ restored to all his prerogatiues, the which during the said troubles might haue bin suspended;
„ or any waies altered.
„ That all prelates, abbots, chapters, conuents, hospitals, and other religious places, should
„ be restored and put in possession of all their goods, and the towne not to bee bound to the
„ restitution of any thing that had beene heretofore receiued; vnlesse it were some priuate per-
„ son which had receiued it without any authoritie from the superiours, whereof the iudge of
„ the place shall take knowledge.
„ But whereas the prince of Parma is giuen to vnderstand, that what hath happened within D
„ the towne, was (to the great griefe of the bourgers) done by some turbulent persons, which
„ had beene expulsed and banished out of other townes, beeing fledde thither, and not by the
„ bourgers of the said towne: hee is pleased, that of twelue men which he had reserued, to dis-
„ pose of them at his pleasure, onely sixe shall bee retained vnder this restriction: in deliuering
„ which vnto him, the towne should bee freed from all misdemeanours past: and if hee shall
„ so thinke it good, to deliuer three, in punishing the other three, as it should be found they
„ had deserued.
„ Finally, the bourgers, for the fauour which he had shewed them by the said accord, should
„ paie three hundred thousand florins, before that any one of them should depart out of the
„ towne, promising after the paiment of the said summe, hee will hold the Ganthois for good, E
„ faithfull, and obedient subiects, and will shewe them all fauour possible. Setting first at li-
„ bertie the lord of Campaigne, of Bruges, and Ypre, & all others that were prisoners by rea-
„ son of these troubles.

The sixe that were reserued, were M. *Anthonie Heyman* shirife, and of the councell, *Lucas Mayaert* receiuer, *Lievin Meynkes*, *Renier de Pestre*, *Dominicke Derban*, and *Iosse* of *Vleeschauwer*: the said *Heyman* and *Mayaert* escaped, *Lievin Meynkes* was deliuered at the suit of a gentlewoman, and the three others were put to ranfome. Of the three hundred thousand florins, the king forgaue a hundred thousand, that the inhabitants might not bee too much oppressed: the rest was gathered of euery one in particular, according to their meanes, or as they were able, so as no man could goe out of the towne before hee had paid his part whereat hee F was sessed. The lord of Campaigne made a change of his condition, for hauing remained eight yeares a prisoner in the said towne, he was now made gouernour thereof, with a good garrison of Wallons. This done, the citadel which had beene ruined, was built againe

stronger

A ſtronger than before. The port of the towne which was of old maſons worke, very thicke and flat aboue, whereon (during the ſiege which the Eſtates held before the citadell, in the yeare 1577, when it was yeelded vnto them) they had planted certaine peeces of artillerie, for that it did commaund ouer the ſaid citadel, was beaten down to the ground. The towne was by little and litle diſpeopled of the beſt inhabitants and bourgers, which during theſe two yeares retired themſelues, ſome into Holland and Zeeland, ſome into England, and ſome into neutrall places. 1585

In the meane time the biſhops of Cologne and Treues ſent the Seignior of Melro to the generall Eſtates aſſembled then at Delft in Holland, to exhort them vnto peace: but he could haue no audience, beeing told him, that they had ſpies enough without him, and therefore
B he was commanded to depart preſently without any delaie.

Notwithſtanding that the prince of Parma had planted aboue an hundred peeces of artillerie, great and ſmall, vpon either banke of the riuer of Antuerpe, yet the ſhippes of Holland and Zeeland paſt without any great danger of the cannon; for ſometimes there paſt a hundred or ſixe ſcore, yea more, altogether, whereof by miſchance the Spaniards tooke ſome one in the taile, or ſunke him: the which they had not done, but they came with the tyde out of the danger of their forts, vnder thoſe which the towne of Antuerpe had built on either ſide, as that of Toulouſe on Flanders ſide, that of Auſterweel on Brabant ſide, and others. True it is, that there arriued ſome daiely, carrying men and women, whereof ſome were ſlaine, and others without armes and legges, but all this did not ſtoppe the paſſage, ſo as there came daie-
C ly great ſtore of all commodities. And the ſuperiors of Antuerpe, whileſt they had yet this meanes, had done very well if they had furniſhed themſelues with corne, which the Hollanders would haue brought them in great aboundance, without any reſpect of the danger, if there had beene vent, and they might haue gained by it: ſo greedie that nation is of gaines, as they ſticke not at any perils: and whereas they looſe ſometimes, they haue a ſaying in Dutch, the which is in Engliſh, *We muſt trie againe, for one loſt, two recouered: we muſt ſeeke it where it hath beene loſt.*

The ſhippes enter into Antuerpe notwithſtanding the cannon.

Many were of opinion, that it had beene better to haue imploied the money of all thoſe forts, and of the great preparations to batter the Spaniſh forts (ſuch as was that great and fruitleſſe maſſe of floting wood, the which in mockerie was called Elephant, and the end of
D the warre; the which coſt aboue a hundred thouſand florins) in buying of corne, and other victuals and munition, and in the leuie and paiment of more ſouldiers (for it is admirable what money they ſpent during this ſiege) the which if they had done, it may be the towne had not beene loſt: for the winter after that it was yeelded vp, the froſts were ſo great, and there were ſuch heapes of yce one vpon another, as with the flowing and the ebbing of the tyde, and the force of the winde, if there had beene twentie bridges, and as many ſtocados, they had beene all broken, and the paliſadoes tied with chaines, cables and anchors had beene driuen away. But all this was neglected by them of Antuerpe, & their confederates were careleſſe to hinder the making of the bridge, and the ſtocado: and this opinion deceiued them of Antuerpe, and their confederates; for although it had beene impoſſible, yet ſhould they
E not haue beene ſo careleſſe to haue neglected or contemned the endeauours and expences of the Spaniard, nor the prince of Parma his great diligence and induſtrie. The which falls out commonly to them which haue no regard, or make no eſteeme of their enemies, and hold things impoſſible, which at the length, induſtrie, diligence, and labour makes poſſible, yea eaſie, as hath beene ſeene in the prince of Parma his great worke, the which hee aduanced as much as might be, whileſt that hee and a part of his armie lodged at Beueren, not farre diſtant from Calloo, and the other part of his armie at Strabrouke neere to Oordam, on the other ſide of the riuer, which made the two heads, where his bridge ſhould be made, to ſuccour them that were in the forts of Calloo and Oordam, if the Eſtates and confederate proteſtants ſhould ſeeke in any ſort to hinder their worke: which they careleſ-
F ly neglected.

Beſides, they of Antuerpe were very improuident in one point, that hauing cut the dike beneath Burcht, to drowne all the countrie about Calloo, they had ſet no guard at the hole of the ſaid dike: or at the leaſt, their ſhippes of warre ſhould haue kept the princes

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1585 flat bottomed boats from passing at noone daie, as wee haue heretofore seene them: for if they had onely sunke two hoyes in the breach and no more, the two and twentie flat bottomed boats which they of Gant and Dendermond sent to make the bridge, had neuer past that way as they did, within cannon shotte of the castle of Antuerpe, and of one of their shippes of warre, who fearing the artillerie of Burcht, durst not once approach them to stoppe their passage. And when as they were past without any opposition or hindrance, and come vnto Calloo, which was the place they desired to come to, then they of Antuerp sent to build a fort vpon the dike, close by the hole called Telignies fort, to keep any more from passing, but it was too late. A

Afterwards they began to build that great masse of wood in forme of a castle, floting vpon the water, called *The end of the warre*, of cannon proofe, with foure small bulwarks, and twentie great cannons planted round about it, besides a number of other smaller peeces: the which could not be battered so neere the water, but there would remaine fourescore musketiers, which could not bee hurt, beeing lodged lower than the cannon could batter. It was very heauie for saile, hauing three maine masts, and three rudders, most troublesome to gouerne, and also very vnfit to resist the violence of winde and tyde. With which castle they intended to beare downe all the Spaniards forts vpon the riuer, from Antuerpe to Lillo. There were within it fiue hundred musketiers, which were so placed, the enemie could not offend them; for this fort (for so it might well bee called, if it had continued alwaies in one place) was but two foot aboue the water, and could neuer sinke, by reason of the great aboundance of corke, and emptie barrels bound about with yron hoopes, which did support it. The rampars were fiue foot thicke, and the bulwarks tenne foot thicke, filled with rotten nets, well rammed in, which made them firme, and almost impenetrable. The top-castles of the three masts, were of musket proofe, full of musketiers, the which might shoot from aboue into the middest of a fort. B C

In the end when all was done, it was a very chargeable worke, and exceeding hard to bee gouerned, as the euent did shewe, before it began to worke any effect, remaining in the enemies power at the first shot, as we will shew.

About this time, there was one which spake in the open councell at Antuerpe, when as they treated of these preparatiues, after this manner. Although (said he) the prince of Parma could not finish his worke, and stoppe vp the passage of the riuer, doe we not yet see that hee hath made himselfe so strong on both sides, as it is impossible to chase him from thence? and besides, hee is master of the field, and can cut off the passages, so as nothing shall be brought vs into the towne. Hee hath neere vnto him a mightie armie, and inuincible for vs: hee hath raised his forts and trenches so high aboue the water, as the tydes ebbing and flowing cannot annoy them. And besides all this, the passage of the riuer is so stopped, as wee can haue no traffique of merchandise remaining, without the which the people cannot liue, nor the towne subsist. Wherefore all these difficulties beeing well weighed and considered, in my opinion wee should seeke in time to reconcile our selues to the king, else this siege will proue but vnfortunate for vs. A speech in Antuerpe tending to an accord. D

Some of the bourgers muttered the same words as they walked in the streets, so as in the end there were some fiftie foure who presented a petition to the Seignior of Lysuelt chancellor of Brabant, earnestly intreating him to be a meanes that they might accord with the king. This petition beeing come to the knowledge of the magistrate and the Colonels, the bourgers went presently to armes, as if the enemie had beene at the rampar; but it was onely to seeke out and seize vpon them that had presented this petition, whereof there were some thirtie put in prison, and euery one condemned to pale a certaine fine. Then a proclamation was made, vpon paine of confiscation both of bodie and goods, that none should presume to talke of peace, or any agreement. Yea, there was a newe oath propounded, which the bourgers should take; which was, to hold the king of Spaine and his adherents for their perpetuall enemies, that they should neuer make any peace with him nor his, that they should neuer speake of it, neither in publike nor in priuate, that if it were offered them, they should not accept of it: concluding, that hee or they that should goe against this oath, should bee punished both in bodie and goods, according to the exigence of the case. And the E F

more

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A more to terrifie the bourgers, they gaue them to vnderstand, with what crueltie the prince of Parma (contrarie to his promise before made) had intreated them of the religion in Gant, whereof hee had cast a great number in prison. And when as their friends made offer to sue for them, to haue them deliuered out of prison, and presented any petition vnto him, they were answered, that he did not receiue any more petitions, and that they should be intreated after another fashion. 1585

Hereupon the Seignior of Saint Aldegonde forraine bourgmaster of the said towne (which indeede is the chiefe dignitie) made an oration in the open assemblie of the great councell of the bourgers, to perswade them to defend the towne yet halfe a yeare longer; before the expiration of which terme, hee hoped to see a goodly victorie ouer their ene-
B mies; and that they should not onely chase them from their walles, but with the assistance and succours of many great princes, as of the Queene of England, and the French king, who had taken their cause and protection in hand, they would force him to abandon the Netherlands. Without doubt the halfe yeare had not past, from the twentieth of August (when as the towne yeelded) but the yce had ended the quarrell of this Stocado: the which, the winter following, beeing in Antuerpe, I haue heard the Spanish captaines confesse, who could not wonder sufficiently at the great heapes of yce which laie one vpon another: and where as they found any staie or let in their passage, they carried allaway with the tyde: such is the force of the water, the which is much more greater, when as it hath the assistance of the winde.

C The prince of Parma in the meane time aduanced his worke, not sparing either cost or la- The prince of Parma builds a bridge vpon the riuer of Antuerpe.
bour, vntil that the two heads of either side, beeing made as farre as was possible they could be into the riuer, they began with the flatte bottomed boats, which they of Gant and Dendermond had sent, to make the bridge, to passe ouer from the fort of Calloo to that of Oordam, and so from one campe vnto another, out of Flanders into Brabant, and backe againe; the said riuer of Escaut diuiding the two countries. The passage of those two and twentie flat bottomed boats, at the broken dike by Burcht (which they of Antuerpe did not esteeme, nor thought would haue beene preiudiciall vnto them) made the prince of Parma to hope for a good and happie ende of this great and painefull designe: yet in the first bridge made of these flat bottomed boats, there was some hindrance, beeing tied together but with cables:
D for sixe or seauen mariners boyes went thither in the night, and attending the returne of the tyde, sawed in sunder these cables; so as the bridge beeing dispersed with the comming in of the tyde, some of their boats ranne a ground neere vnto Antuerpe: but it was soone repaired and made good againe; for that other flat bottomed boats, with some shippes of burthen, and a good number of mariners came vnto him daily, by the channell of Steeken, which hee had caused to be newly digged.

At that time there came a spie from the States into the prince of Parma his campe, who was knowne and brought before him, not without great perplexitie, as you may easily guesse. The prince seeing him, willed him not to feare, and hauing caused him to see all his forts and trenches, and all his equipage, which he had prepared to subdue the towne of Antuerpe,
E then suffered him to depart freely, without any violence done vnto him, and commanded him to tell the superintendents of the said towne of Antuerpe, that hee was resolued rather to die in that place, and neuer goe further, than to rise, before hee had finished that which he had begun.

They of Holland and Zeeland did in the meane time fortifie Berghen vpon Soome, the which they did man with a good garrison, as well of the naturall countrie-men, as with English, to serue as a bulwarke for their frontiers. They of Antuerpe had also eight hundred English men in the suburbe of Bourgerhout, whereof thirtie went and yeelded themselues to the prince of Parma at one instant, to whom hee gaue a crowne a man. And thereupon he tooke an occasion to write vnto them of Antuerpe, perswading them, that they should not
F expect any succour or assistance from the Queene of England, seeing that the English did reuolt from their seruice, exhorting them moreouer to reconcile themselues vnto the king, promising them all fauour and assistance to haue them receiued into grace, although they had grieuously offended him. The bourgmasters, magistrates and Colonels of the

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1585 bourgers anſwered him alſo in writing, thanking him alſo humbly for his good will and honeſt offers, the which they did greatly commend and extoll: but beeing yet bound vnto the French, they could not forſake them, vnleſſe they would be taxed of lightneſſe, inconſtancie, and ingratitude. A

At the ſame time the Seignior of Teligni, ſonne to the lord of la Noue, who the yeare before had valiantly defended the fort of Lillo againſt all the Spaniards campe, parting in the night in a galley of Antuerpe to goe into Holland, hee fell among the prince of Parma his ſhips before Calloo, by whom he was ſet vpon: but ſeeing that he could not hold out, finding himſelfe wounded in the ſhoulder with a muſket ſhot, after that he had loſt three of his men, before he yeelded, he caſt a letter which he carried into the water, containing certaine ſecrets of the ſame towne, and among others to cut Coeſteins dike. This letter was perceiued and B
fiſht vp, by the which the prince of Parma vnderſtood all. Teligni was carried priſoner into Gant, and afterwards hee was carried to the caſtle of Tournay, where hee was detained ſixe yeares.

Teligni taken priſoner by the Spaniard.

The Seignior of Saint Aldegonde had inſiſted long (before that the prince of Parma had built ſo many forts along the riuer) to haue a fort built at the dike called den Cruydyck, beneath Lillo, in the mouth of the riuer, and to cut the dike neere vnto the village of Coeſteyn, to preuent the prince of Parma, that hee ſhould not build one, and hinder the opening of the ſaid dike: the which the Seignior of Coeſteyn did aduiſe and vrge very earneſtly, as one that knew the importance of the place better than any other, and the good that would redound thereby vnto the towne. C

But this good counſel was ouerthrowne by a rabble of butchers (which make a great companie in the towne of Antuerpe) who had their paſtures there for their fat cattell, and ſome others which had arable land in that place, who would not ſuffer it to be drowned, ſeeking rather their owne priuate profit, than the common good: and who for this occaſion grew into ſuch hatred of the Seignior of Coeſteyn, as they forced him to forſake the towne, and to retire himſelfe to the prince of Parma, vnto whom he reuealed the counſell which in that caſe he had giuen to them of Antuerpe, and they ſo mechanikely reiected. By reaſon whereof he was well entertained by the ſaid prince, who after the yeelding vp of the towne, in requitall of this aduertiſement, he honoured him with the place of Markegraue, which is the moſt honourable degree of a magiſtrate in Antuerpe. D

In Gant after the yeelding vp of the towne, all ſuch as were ſuſpected to be of the proteſtants religion, were put from their offices, and Romiſh catholikes ſubſtituted in their places: and their armes were taken from the ſaid proteſtants, and giuen vnto the papiſts who were in their places; of the which the prince of Parma made foure ſeuerall companies, to guard the ports of the towne.

They of Bruſſels, after that the nauigation of the riuer to Antuerpe had beene taken from them, began to haue want of victuals, and other neceſſarie prouiſion, but yet they would not by any meanes giue eare to any accord. The towne of Antuerpe did once relieue them, and ſent them a hundred wagons of victuals, the which entred ſafely with a good conuoy, whereby they of Bruſſels were greatly comforted and relieued: but in their returne, E
they were attended at the paſſage by the garriſon of Villevoord, who defeated them, and took almoſt all the wagons.

The prince of Parma hauing finiſhed all his forts along the riuer of Antuerpe, the ſhippes of Holland and Zeeland could no more paſſe ſo freely as they had done before, for that the cannon from thoſe forts did ſhoot cloſe by the water, wherewith many were ſpoiled; ſo as of a hundred or thereabouts, which were ſent in the feaſt of Chriſtmas, beeing laden with victuals and munition, fiue were loſt, two ſunke, and three were taken. The prince meaning to trie them of Antuerpe once more by his letters and admonitions, ſent them word, among other points, that according vnto their auntient priuiledges which they had ſworne, they ought not (ſeeing they did build ſo much vpon their ſaid priuiledges) to F
giue a law vnto their prince and ſoueraigne lord, and much leſſe to take armes againſt him: and whereas they did vaunt that the French king had taken them vnder his protection, that he would preſently let them ſee the contrarie, and how much they were deceiued,

by

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A by the kings owne letters, the which for the better proofe and manifeſtation, he ſent vnto them, reproaching them ſharpely for their rebellion, and yet promiſing to doe his beſt with the king of Spaine, to receiue them into grace and fauour, if they would reconcile themſelues, and giue ouer thoſe exceſſiue propoſitions and demaunds which they had before made. 1585

The magiſtrates of the towne ſent theſe letters vnto the Eſtates, beeing aſſembled at Middlebourg in Zeeland, intreating them to aduiſe thereon, the which they ſaid they did not finde conuenient to open, for feare leſt the people (who then ſeemed to bee inclined vnto peace) ſhould mutine againſt them. And in the meane time the French king ſent another Embaſſadour to the prince of Parma, to quench the brute which was generall, that hee had
B taken the Netherlands vnder his protection; declaring that he would not mingle the quiet of his realme, with the troubles of thoſe countries.

The Seignior of Hemert beeing gone with a good conuoie of horſe and foote, to carrie another victualling to Bruſſels, hee found trees cut downe and laid in the high waies where he ſhould paſſe; and withall the Spaniards were in all places in guard: ſeeing that it was impoſſible for him to paſſe with his wagons, turning head againe, hee was charged at the paſſage of a little riuer neere vnto the caſtle of Eyckhouen, defeated and put to rout, whereas many of his men were ſlaine. After this badde encounter, the Seignior of Merode laid before them of Bruſſels, the ſmall hope they had of any ſuccours or relieſe from their confederates, who hereafter ſhould haue worke enough to defend themſelues: wherefore conſide-
C ring the great neceſſitie and want which began to preſſe them, he did counſell them to agree with the king.

Whileſt that the riuer and towne of Antuerpe were thus blockt vp with theſe forts, and the riuer readie to be ſhut vp. The Eſtates of Brabant, Gueldre, of that which remained of Flanders, of Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland, Vtrecht, and Oueryſſel, being in their generall aſſemblie, they conſulted, ſeeing that by the death of the duke of Aniou, they were without a lord, and by the death of the prince of Orange without a gouernour, to what prince they might beſt giue themſelues. The Eſtates conſult to whom they ſhall giue themſelues.

The French and Engliſh were both in feare, leſt the vnited prouinces ſhould returne vnto the king of Spaine, who hauing recouered them, at his pleaſure would attempt warre againſt
D the one or the other. The Queene of England would not willingly haue ſeene the French king growe ſo mightie, by the adjunction of the ſaid prouinces, who by the meanes of their ſhippes, might haue made himſelfe maſter of the ſea, and take from the Engliſh their traffique and negotiation by ſea. In regard of the inclination of the Eſtates of the ſaid prouinces, it ſeemed (by reaſon of the errour ſo lately committed by the duke of Aniou) that they would rather affect the Engliſh, than the French: the which the Queene of England and her councell finding, would not make them aſſurance of any thing, vntill they had good townes, and places, of ſtrength, and importance deliuered them for their aſſurance, whereby they might bee ſtronger within their owne countrie, than the Eſtates themſelues were: which made them to bethinke themſelues, ſo as ſome ſaid, that the gouernment of the Eng-
E liſh would bee in that caſe more wayward and inſupportable, than the gouernment of the French, or of any others: whereupon ſome held opinion, that the religion which the Engliſh had common with the ſaid countries, might eaſily moderate that, and therefore they ſhould not reiect the alliance of England.

But there fell out another great difficultie, which was the doubt of the ſucceſſion to the crowne of England, after the Queenes death; the which might fall into the hands of the Queene of Scotland, although ſhee were then a priſoner: and that ſhee beeing of the Romiſh religion, and wonderfully affected to the king of Spaine, might deliuer vp the ſaid countries into his hands: and withall they could not ground any firme aſſurance vpon the king of Scotland. Whereas on the other ſide, the ſucceſſion of the crowne of France was more aſſu-
F red vnto them, ſeeing that after the kings death, it fell to the king of Nauarre, a prince making profeſſion of the reformed religion: beſides, France had more means, & power, to defend theſe countries againſt the Spaniard. And that by this confederation they ſhould be in perpetuall friendſhip with all their neighbors. And althogh the king were not of the proteſtants religion,

1585 yet would he giue offices to proteſtants, and other good countrimen, whereby the countrie, A
the churches, and their religion, ſhould remaine in peace and reſt. All this beeing well debated by the generall Eſtates, and the councell of eſtate, they reſolued to offer themſelues abſolutely to the French king, with the beſt conditions they could deuiſe and agree vpon, without any reſtriction or reſeruation, that Holland and Zeeland had beene formerly giuen to the prince of Orange and his heires, as it had beene concluded with the duke of Aniou (the which had bred iealouſie (as ſome ſaid) betwixt him and the prince, and had beene the cauſe of the error which was committed by the ſaid duke in Antuerpe the ſeauenteenth day of Ianuarie two yeares before) Finally after long deliberations and conſultations, there were deputed by the generall Eſtates, and the chiefe noble men of the ſaid prouinces, the third of Ianuarie 1585, twelue men of account: for the dutchie of Brabant, doctor *Iunius* bourgmaſter of Antuerpe, and *Quentin Taffin* Seignior of la Pree: for the dutchie of Gueldre, the Seignior of Oyen, and doctor *Elbert Leonin*, called *Longolius* chancellor of Gueldres: for the countie of Holland, *Arnold van Derp* Seignior of Maeſdam: for Zeeland, *Ieanis Valck*: for the Seigniorie of Vtrecht, *N. de Menin*: and for that which remained yet in the countie of Flanders, *Noel Caron* Seignior of Schoonwall: for them of Bruſſels (who were then diſtreſſed) *Arſſees* keeper of the ſeale of Brabant, to the which there was adioyned in the behalfe of the Eſtates, the Seignior of Lamouillene; and for the chiefe of the embaſſage, the prince of Eſpinoy, to offer abſolutely vnto the king all the ſaid countries, with the propertie, Seigniorie, and ſoueraigntie, for him and his ſucceſſors, beeing French kings, vpon conditions limited, and to bee limited. All which deputies, (except the prince of Eſpinoy, who was B
long time before retired backe into France with the duke of Aniou) hauing a good conuoy of eight ſhippes of warre, parting from the Brill, thinking to land at Diep, were through the extremitie of fowle weather, forced to goe on ſhoare at Bologne, from whence they tooke their iourney to Abbeuille in the moneth of Ianuarie, attending the kings pleaſure, hauing giuen him notice of their arriuall; who commaunded them to come vnto him to Senlis, whither they went with a goodly traine, and were there honourably receiued, and their expences were defraied by the king in al places where they paſt: from thence the king returning vnto Paris, to haue the aduice and counſell of his court of Parliament, concerning their affaires (whereof the deputies attended an anſwer) the ſaid deputies followed him: the ſucC
ceſſe of which legation you ſhall heare hereafter. I was ſent vnto them from the Seignior D
Iohn Petit. of Saint Aldegonde, and the magiſtrates of Antuerpe, to let them vnderſtand, and conſequently the king and queene mother, of the eſtate of the ſaid towne which was then beſieged, and of the great neede they had, together with the townes of Bruſſels and Macklyn, to be releeued.

The fourth of Ianuarie the Seignior of S. Aldegonde made a long oration to them of Antuerpe, in the open aſſemblie of their great councell, exhorting them with many liuely and pregnant reaſons, to preſerue and defend themſelues, feeding them with a continuall hope of ſuccours, and of the good ſucceſſe of the affaires of the ſaid deputies. And then the better to prouide for the defence of the towne, he created foure new Colonels, men of action, and capable of ſuch a charge. And moreouer he decreed, that ſuch as had abE
ſented themſelues out of the towne, as abandoning it in her greateſt neede and want, ſhould be called backe by a certaine daie prefixed, vpon paine of confiſcation of ſuch goods as they had left there: but few or none at all would returne for the great danger there was in the paſſage.

The countries of Arthois and Henault, beeing continually tormented and troubled by the garriſon of Cambray, made a truce for the ſpace of one whole yeare, with the Seignior of Balaigni, gouernour of the ſaid towne (the which they could not obtaine without bribing him) hauing ſince continued it for many yeares, ſo as this truce brought him in a good reuenue.

The Seignior of Nyeuwenoort being in the field in Friſeland for the Eſtates, he cunningF
ly ſeized vpon the village of Otterdom in the countrie of Groningue, vpon the riuer of Ems, preuenting his enemy who thought to lodge there, where in view of the Spaniards he intrenched him, and fortified with all diligence, though they were ſtronger than he. But hauing a good

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A good number of ſhips, both great and ſmall, to cary his men in, and the Spaniards being ignorant at the firſt which way he would turne head, hauing meanes to land them betwixt Maeren and right againſt Embden, they could not ouertake him, nor yet march ſo faſt with their horſe and foot by land, as hee did by water, ſo as they could not hinder his landing, nor his fortifying. *Verdugo* knowing how much this place did import, meant in the Winter time to beſiege it on both ſides vpon the dike: and for the effecting thereof, hee ſent colonel *Rhyneuelt* of Vtrecht, to winne it by famine, whileſt that the ſhippes of Holland ſhould bee retyred, by reaſon of the yce. But the Seignior of Nyeuwenoort had ſet ſo good an order for all things, as during that Winter they wanted not any thing: ſo as the Spring being come, the Hollanders ſhippes returned, which (in deſpight of all the reſi- 1585
B ſtance which *Rhyneuelt* could make) did ſuccour the fort, and forced him to retyre, hauing yet (before his retreat) taken three of the Hollanders ſhippes, laden both with victuals and munition.

Whileſt that the towne of Antuerpe was diſtreſſed, as we haue formerly related, the earle of Hohenlo, lieutenant to *Graue Maurice*, after that he had conferred with the Eſtates, gathered together ſome foure thouſand men, the which hee lodged couertly, not farre from the towne of Boiſleduc, one of the foure chiefe townes of Brabant, and approched as ſecretly as he could with ſome companies of foot, and two hundred horſe, cloſe vnto the towne. Captaine *Cleerhaghen*, a gentleman of Bruſſels, hauing married a wife in Boiſleduc, of the houſe of Erp, was conductor of this enterpriſe; who (knowing all the paſ-
C ſages) went vpon the tenth of Ianuarie with fiftie good men, who clyming ouer the port, ſeized vpon two *corps de guard*, whereas no man remayned in the night time: the which they did ſo quietly, and without diſturbance, as they were not heard nor diſcouered.

The next day in the morning, about eight of the clocke, the port beeing open, thoſe of the guard which were ſent to diſcouer, were preſently ſlaine by *Cleerhaghen* and his men; who (at the ſame inſtant) enforcing the reſt of the guard, the which were at the port, made themſelues maſters and commaunders thereof: and the ſaid captaine ſent certaine ſouldiers vnto the toppe of the gate, to be aſſured of the port-cullis, whereas they found none but an old man, whom they vſed in ſuch ſort, as they left him in the place for
D dead. This being done, the earle entred with his two hundred horſe, and ſuch footmen as he had neere vnto the port, who began to runne vp and downe the ſtreets, crying, Victorie. At this crie, the ſouldiers which were appointed to guard and keepe the port-cullis, went downe, fearing leaſt they ſhould come too late vnto the ſpoyle, according to that which the earle had promiſed them, to abandon the towne, if hee might become maſter thereof.

The day before there was come into the towne about fortie launciers, Bourguignons, and Italians, and ſome three or foure ſquadrons of foot, hauing conueyed certaine marchandize thither, elſe there was no garriſon. Theſe horſemen were readie to goe to horſebacke, to returne when the alarum was giuen, not knowing any thing, but hearing of the
E noyſe, they made haſt to horſebacke, and went to encounter the earles horſemen, who ran diſperſed through the towne; whereof they charged part, and ſlew as many as they encountred thus disbanded. At the beginning they did fight a little: but when they ſaw theſe ſquadrons of footmen come to charge them, they thought they had beene betrayed (for they had aſſured them, there was no garriſon) and fled towards the port to ſaue themſelues: ſome which could not get out at the port, caſt themſelues from the toppe of the rampar.

The earle ſeeing that there was ſome reſiſtance, and that his horſemen did fight, he poſted with all ſpeed, to cauſe the reſt of his troupes to aduaunce. In the meane time, the old man, whom the ſouldiers had left for dead ouer the port, hearing the noyſe, and that they
F did fight hard, and ſome fled, ſeeing no man neere him to hinder him, being ſore wounded, he laboured to let downe the port-cullis. The earle returning with colonel *Iſelſtein*, was much amazed, ſeeing the port-cullis downe, and his men to caſt themſelues ouer the rampar into the ditch; among the which was the Seignior *Iuſtin* of Naſſau, baſtard to the prince

of

1585 of Orange, at this preſent Admirall of Zeeland, who ſaued himſelfe by that meanes; but many were drowned and caſt away: and there dyed in this ill conducted enterpriſe foure hundred men, through the fault of thoſe ſpoylers which were ſet at the port cullis, for elſe all had ſucceeded well ynough. The earle curſing the fault, retyred to Gheertruydenbergh. A

They of Bruſſels hearing of theſe newes, the famine encreaſing more and more among them, and being without all hope of ſuccours, they ſent their deputies to the prince of Parma, to mediate an accord: but for that they propounded no articles that were pleaſing, or to be accepted, hee ſent them backe, more like ſpyes than deputies. The pouertie began to be ſo great there, as many dyed of hunger. Some to auoid this miſerie, ſought meanes to flye away, and to eſcape, if they could poſſible; but beeing taken vpon the way, the Spaniards chaſed them backe againe into the towne, or cauſed them to be hanged. B

They of Antuerpe were at that time nothing enclined vnto peace, and cauſed a newe Edict to be made, prohibiting to giue eare to any accord, vpon greater penalties than before, cauſing the bourgers to renue the oath in the forme that followeth: I ſweare, that with all my power I will maintaine the ordinances of the generall Eſtates, and will helpe to maintaine and defend them, according vnto the ſentence which they haue giuen againſt the king of Spaine and his adherents, enemies to the countrey: and that I will neuer depart from the ſayd ordinances, nor make any accord nor agreement with the ſaid enemies, nor will vſe any ſpeech openly nor couertly, nor meddle in any ſort whatſoeuer, but will hinder (as much as in me lyeth) all motion of accord, vnleſſe I be firſt allowed by the generall Eſtates. And if I may vnderſtand, that any thing hath beene done or attempted, or is done or attempted againſt this preſent oath, I ſweare to reueale it to the bourgomaſters and counſell, or elſe to the quarter maſters of this towne.

The bourgers of Antuerpe take a new oath.

C

In the meane time, the prince of Parma aduaunced the worke of his bridge and ſtocado, and they of Antuerpe went ſlowly to worke to hinder it, preſuming that hee ſhould neuer effect it: and that whileſt a ſayle might paſſe, they ſhould not haue any need: neither would he trouble the Eſtates in any other place, ſo long as they ſhould keepe him occupied there. The prince ſent a herauld vnto them againe with letters, and a copie of the precedent, being of opinion, that they had not beene imparted vnto the people: the which (he ſayd) had happened through ſome turbulent ſpirits, who ſought more their priuate profit by this warre, than the publicke good, aduiſing them, that through the infidelitie of ſuch men, they ſhould not ſuffer themſelues to be carried away to their vtter ruine: but rather embrace a peace, which was offered them, and no longer ingage themſelues with theſe turbulent ſpirits: for whereas they perſuaded themſelues, that the French king would take vpon him the protection and gouernment of the Netherlands, and come to ſuccour them, that they were but deuices, wherewith they did abuſe themſelues: And that the French king would not breake the league and friendſhip he had with the king of Spaine, to pleaſe his rebels, nor vndertake a new warre, to the preiudice of his owne Realme. D E

Bernardin de Mendoſa his ſpeech to the French king.

And indeed *Dom Bernardin* of Mendoſa, embaſſadour for the king of Spaine in Fraunce (after that he had beene chaſed out of England) ſayd openly vnto the king: That the Generall Eſtates and all the Netherlands reuolted from their king, had beene long ſince conuicted and declared guiltie of high treaſon, both againſt God and man; the which, (according to the ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them by the counſell of the Inquiſition of Spaine) muſt be quite rooted out: And therefore that hee ſhould remember the league, alliances, and conſanguinitie that was betwixt him and his maſter, and not giue eare thereunto, but rather chaſe out of his preſence and out of his kingdome ſuch reuolted rebels: The which ſhould not onely redound vnto the good of Fraunce (being ſo neere a neighbour vnto Spaine) but alſo to all Chriſtendome, which was put all into combuſtion by ſuch reprobate people: That therein they did manifeſt wrong vnto all kings and princes, to whome ſuch examples goe neere, and are very preiudiciall, if they will giue credit, fauour and ſupport vnto their rebels. The French king anſwered him, F

A him, That he would giue audience vnto the deputies of the generall Eſtates, not as vnto " 1585
rebels, reuolted from their lord, but as afflicted people, who complayned of the oppreſ- "
ſions that were done them: That (in all ages) Chriſtian kings and princes did neuer re- "
fuſe to ayde the afflicted, neyther ought they refuſe them, eſpecially ſuch as deſire no- "
thing, but to be reconciled to their prince (for that the deputies of the Eſtates had gi- "
uen the king to vnderſtand, That they had made diuers and ſundrie petitions and ſuppli- "
cations vnto the king of Spaine, and could neuer obtaine any anſwere thereunto) where- "
fore (and that, according vnto the lawes) hee thought it to bee lawfull and allowable "
for euery man when right and iuſtice is denyed vnto him, to ſeeke ſupport where hee "
can find it: and therefore he was not once to be blamed at all, if at the leaſt he did heare "
B them. "

The Queene Mother told the ſaid deputies (making a ſhew of loue which ſhe bare them, and to feed them with hope) that as heire to the duke of Aniou her ſonne, ſhe would come in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the town of Cambray, to be the neerer to the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces.

Many in the Netherlands were of diuers opinions concerning this legation of the deputies of the Eſtates to the French king. Thoſe that were beſt affected to the king of Spaine, could not perſuade themſelues, that the French king would embrace the cauſe of the Netherlanders, and that he ſought nothing but the quiet of his owne Realme. Others made themſelues beleeue (conſidering the good and honourable reception which hee
C had giuen them at their comming into Fraunce) that the king would take them into his protection, to the which they had charge to ſubmit and yeeld themſelues, and all the vnited Prouinces, both to him and to his ſucceſſors for euer hereafter. At their comming vnto the court, the king ſent them firſt vnto his mother; who hauing conferred and conſulted with them about two whole houres together, gaue them good hope and comfort. But thoſe of the Parliament of Paris told the French king plainely, That hee neyther could nor ought to aſſiſt the Eſtates, beeing rebels to their king, beeing a matter of too bad example, and contrarie vnto the law of Nations: yet the king heard them halfe an houre, and then he entreated them to haue patience for a little while, vntill the comming of the earle of Darby, who was embaſſadour for the Queene of England, whom he ex-
D pected; with whom hee muſt firſt conferre withall, before he could giue them any anſwere.

The ſaid earle of Darbie arriued ſoone after, being honourably attended. He brought vnto the French king the order of the Garter, which the Queene of England ſent him, as a teſtimonie of her loue; the which was very pleaſing and acceptable vnto his Maieſtie. The ſaid embaſſadour did recommend vnto the king, in the name of the Queene his miſtreſſe, the cauſe of the Netherlands, to the end the king of Spaine might not grow ſo mightie, as hauing ouercome and ſubdued them, hee ſhould fall vpon one of thoſe two Realmes. But to the end that we may not paſſe ouer ſlightly the ſucceſſe of this legation of the deputies of the Eſtates, wee will diſcourſe ſomewhat more at large thereof;
E wherein the ſame did chiefely conſiſt, when they had their audience, and what their anſwere was.

They had audience giuen them vpon the twelfth of Februarie, in the which they beſought his Maieſtie (the prince of Eſpinoy ſpeaking for them all) That it would pleaſe him to take them, their prouinces, and communalties, into his ſafegard and protection, as his owne proper ſubiects and vaſſales, and vnder his iuriſdiction, as they deſired to be, vnder ſuch honourable and reaſonable agreements and conditions, as it ſhould beſt pleaſe his Maieſtie to graunt vnto them; the which they would faithfully promiſe, and bind themſelues to obey, by vertue of the Commiſſion and authoritie which they had receiued to that end and purpoſe from all the Eſtates of the ſaid vnited Prouinces of The kings an-
F the Netherlands. Whereunto the king anſwered them with a great affection and good ſwere to the
grace: That their comming was very pleaſing vnto him, thanking them much for the deputies of
honour which they did him by ſo goodly an offer and preſentation, together with the the Eſtates.
loue which they bare him, ſaying, That before hee held himſelfe bound vnto the ſayd "
countries, "

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1585 „ countries, for the great honour which they had done vnto the late deceased duke of An- A
„ iou, his brother, of worthie memorie: and now he confessed himselfe to be more tyed vn-
„ to them, by this great and honourable offer which they made him; whereof hee made very
„ great esteeme, and for the which hee wished them all prosperitie and happinesse, promising
„ to shew himselfe hereafter (on their behalfes) a good, iust, mild, and gracious prince:
„ And seeing that they entreated him in what sort he should best please, and how he might
„ with most conueniencie, to assist and helpe them, and to haue a future care both of them
„ and of the sayd countries, like vnto a good and carefull father, as hee hath of his owne
„ naturall subiects, and that they were readie to bind themselues vnto him vnder some good
„ and reasonable conditions; for the which hee gaue them great thankes. But seeing that a
„ matter of so great importance deserued to be duly considered and aduised of, he thought B
„ it very fitting, that their intention were set downe in writing, to the end that it might
„ be imparted vnto his mother, his Parliaments, and his other counsellors, and then to re-
„ solue &c.

The Queene Mother hauing heard their reasons, and what they demaunded; after that shee had conferred with the Seignior of Bellieure, the Secretaries of Estate, and other of the king his priuie counsell, he gaue them a full answere thereof, as we shall hereafter see.

On the other side, the counsell of Spaine hauing a due consideration and regard of all those things which concerned the people of the Netherlands, did see plainely, that the French king might easily, and with small toyle, get the possession of the said countries C vnder his gouernment, whereunto the subiects hearts were much enclined; and that hee should want no meanes for the effecting and compassing thereof: The which did much perplexe and trouble both the counsell of Spaine and the prince of Parma: for which consideration he did greatly sollicite them of the towne of Antuerpe by his letters, to a reconciliation with the king of Spaine; fearing, that being in so faire a way to conquer it, the French king should crosse his victorie, if hee should embrace the affaires of the vnited Prouinces.

He had in December before sent one *Augustino Graffino* (an Italian) into England; but being a subiect of the Popes, hee was charged to haue beene acquainted with the prince of Orange his murther, so as he had no audience at all. And the Spaniards seeing, that D their practises preuayled nothing in the vnited Prouinces, nor in England, they bethought themselues of another course; to kindle a new ciuile warre in Fraunce, by the meanes of them of the house of Guise, as you may read thereof more at large in the Hystorie of Fraunce.

The French king seeing himselfe suddenly assayled by the Guisian league, in the which many of the nobilitie of Fraunce, gentlemen, and good townes were ingaged and carried away, vnder a colour of Religion and the publicke weale; he had no other helpe or meanes, but to flye vnto his Edicts, forbidding by publicke proclamation all his subiects and vassales that were vnder his iurisdiction, to leuie any men, or to serue them, without his leaue, declaring, that this league and confederacie was ill grounded, and against E all reason. But all this auayled him little or nothing, being forced for this time to strike sayle, and to forbeare to accept the offers that were made vnto him by the deputies of the Estates of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands. And finding himselfe suddenly oppressed by the league, being without any forces, and the aduerse partie growne to bee so strong, as they might easily haue deliuered halfe the countrey of Fraunce into the king of Spaine his hands; he gaue the embassadours and deputies to vnderstand (with whom he had begun to treat of the conditions) That (to his great griefe) he could not receiue them vnder his protection or gouernment, nor at that time assist them in any sort, saying, That his shirt was neerer vnto him than his doublet, complayning much of the violence which the king of Spaine and they of the house of Guise and the league did F offer him, entreating them to maintaine and defend themselues as well as they could, vntill that he had setled his Realme in peace, promising to ayde and helpe them willingly with his fauour and counsell in any thing he could. And as the Queene of England had

A had recommended the vnited Prouinces vnto him, in like ſort hee entreated the earle of Darbie (the Queenes embaſſadour) to recommend them vnto her Maieſtie, that it would pleaſe her to ſuccour them, and to take their defence in hand, making the like requeſt vnto the Queene by his owne embaſſadours, and alſo to the king of Nauarre; the which hee promiſed by the faith of a king, and hath beene euer ſince well affected vnto the ſayd vnited prouinces. 1585

The prince of Parma, to finiſh his worke, and to ſtoppe vp the paſſage of the riuer of Antuerpe from them of Holland and Zeeland, he ſent for all the maſters of ſhippes, mariners, and ſhipwrights of Flaunders and Brabant, whom hee cauſed to come to Calloo: So as vpon the fiue and twentieth day of Februarie the bridge was fully finiſhed, where-
B by they might paſſe out of Flanders into Brabant, and the paſſage to Antuerpe quite ſtopped vp: the which was a ſingular worke, and of great admiration to all the world, being built after the manner which followeth. On eyther ſide of the riuer hee had cauſed a mightie fort to be built; one at Calloo vpon Flanders ſide, and the other at Oordam, on the bankes of Brabant, in eyther of the which hee had planted twelue double cannons, which ſhot euen with the water, and the workes were aduaunced as farre into the riuer, as the foundation would ſuffer it: beſides the heads which were made of bridges, ſet vpon pyles of fiftie foot deepe, rammed into the ground, and well bound together. And whereas the depth or the ſwiftneſſe of the ſtreame would not ſuffer it, the reſt of the bridge, from one ſide vnto the other, was made of one and thirtie flat bottomed boats, e-
C uery one beeing made faſt with two ankers, one before, and the other behind, tyed together with ſtrong chaynes and cables, vpon the which were great beames layed croſſe, and vpon them certaine plankes, which finiſhed the bridge; ſo as they might paſſe on horſebacke, or with waggons and carts, to eyther ſide. About a thouſand foote from this bridge, both aboue and beneath, there was a floate made of maſtes of ſhippes, that were bound together, and vpon them other maſtes, croſſed and pointed, ſticking forth ſome twentie foote long, like vnto ſtakes, and therefore they were called Stocadoes, all being made faſt in the bottome of the water with ankers, like vnto the bridge, and on eyther ſide of the riuer bound with chaynes and cables, vnto the heads: ſo as the bridge and the Stocadoes did riſe and fall with the tide, the ſayd bridge beeing two thouſand
D foot long, lacking but two, from one head vnto another: And on eyther ſide thereof, there lay fiue ſhippes of warre, well appointed with men and artillerie, to withſtand the firſt aſſault, before they ſhould approch neere vnto the Stocadoes. Moreouer, there were planted on eyther ſide of the riuer, betwixt the two Stocadoes, aboue a hundred peeces of artillerie, both great and ſmall: the which in truth was a royall worke; for the making whereof vnprofitable, they muſt vſe other meanes than force, or elſe they ſhould haue foreſeene it in time, and not ſuffered them ſo much to haue aduaunced it; for, if they had done their endeauours to breake it, as they began the worke (the which they might well haue done) he had not ſo eaſily finiſhed it.

But beeing done and ended, they ſought to breake it with the force and violence of
E ſhippes of warre, as well of Holland and Zeeland, as of Antuerpe: yet before they could get this preparation readie, and a faire wind withall, as they deſired (for the which there was aboue a hundred ſhippes, laden with men and munition, attending with great deuotion) and during all theſe delayes and expectations, the prince of Parma finiſhed this great worke, and the riuer was ſhut vp by this bridge and Stocadoes: The which bred a great diſcontentment and murmuring amongſt the common people, as well of Brabant as of Zeeland; and for the which the Zeelanders did partly blame their admirall *Treſton*, and others which had had the chiefe charge: but euery man excuſed himſelfe of this negligence in the preuention thereof (in the which there was alſo ſome priuate commoditie or aduantage, as it is the vſuall cuſtome in matters which paſſe by ma-
F ny heads and hands) yea, they did greatly taxe the Hollanders therewith, ſome ſaying, that the prince of Parma could not haue finiſhed this worke without them: and it was generally ſpoken, that they had deliuered him cables and ankers, wherewith hee had made his worke firme.

The

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1585 The towne of Nymeghen in the countrey of Gueldres, ſituated vpon the riuer of Wahal (which is one of the hornes of Rhin) was at that time wauering, and it was to bee feated, that they would change their partie, and fall to the king of Spaine. The earle of Mœurs (who was gouernour) ſought all meanes to draw in a greater garriſon for the Eſtates, the which he could not effect, the bourgers oppoſing themſelues, not without great daunger of his life, two millers hauing diſcharged two ſhot vpon him, wherewith hee had beene ſlaine, if he had not beene armed at proofe: and in like manner hee was ſet vpon by two brewers, the one thinking to thruſt him through with his halberd, and the other ſtriking him on the head with a hatchet, but he was armed. A

This being paſt, and the tumult pacified, he put ſuch out of the towne, as he had noted. Whereupon the bourgers tooke counſell how they might chaſe away the garriſon which was in towne: for the effecting whereof, there were fiftie men of one reſolution, who thought to put it in execution vpon the firſt of March: but there fell out ſome other occurrents, which ſtayed it. Being afterwards aduiſed by an old captaine to ſuffer ſome of the king of Spaines men to enter, who might ioyne with them, they durſt not attempt, fearing leaſt the other bourgers, who were ignorant of their deſigne, would rather hinder the entrie of the Spaniards, than chaſe away the Eſtates ſouldiers. B

How Nymeghen came into the Spaniards hands.

Theſe vndertakers were in great perplexitie and feare to bee diſcouered: for there were fiue dayes reſpite from the day they ſhould haue executed it, before their companie came in guard. Theſe fiue dayes paſt, and the matter was not diſcouered. The day of their guard being come, ſome of this enterpriſe going the round about the breake of day, they found in one quarter, that thoſe that had the guard, were all Catholickes, with the which being fortified, they went to the *corps de gard* of ſouldiers, whom they ſhut vp there, and then ſeized vpon the Arcenal, and on the market place. The other bourgers which were in their houſes hearing this noyſe, ranne towards the market place. Theſe vndertakers went and met them, telling them, that the ſouldiers were in a mutinie, and meant to ſpoyle the towne. Whereupon euery man went to armes, and ioyned with the firſt motiues of this tumult, to defend themſelues, the towne, their wiues and children, falling vpon the ſouldiers and other bourgers which held their partie, whom they diſarmed, and afterwards chaſed the whole garriſon out of the towne, renewing their magiſtrates, and all their law. Yet at the firſt they would not receiue the king of Spaine his garriſon; although that *Martin Schenck* and *Camillo de Monte* did much inſiſt to put in ſome, whileſt they were in theſe garboyles: The which being pacified, they of Nymeghen ſent their deputies vnto the prince of Parma, with whom they agreed to ſubmit themſelues vnder the king of Spaines obedience. C D

The caſtles of Nienbeek and Hackfort taken by the Spaniards.

Whileſt that this was working at Nymeghen, *Taxis*, lieutenant to *Verdugo*, tooke the caſtle of Nyenbeeke, in the quarter of Veluwe in Guelderland, by force, whereas ſome of them were hanged, after they had yeelded vp the caſtle, and others put to raunſome. From thence hee went before the caſtle of Hackfort, the which held out long, and did him much deſpight: yet beeing forced in the end to yeeld themſelues vnto his mercie, he cut all thoſe in pieces that were within the place, except onely one clarke of a band, who was knowne by a Chanon that was there, at whoſe ſuite his life was ſaued, and hee put to raunſome. E

Doesbourg yeelds to the Spaniard.

Thoſe of Doesbourg, being a towne that is ſeated vpon the riuer of Yſſel, which is one of the armes of Rhyn, ſeeing how the Spaniard proſpered, and that they of Nymeghen had had good ſucceſſe in the expulſion of their ſouldiers, they did the like vnto their garriſon, and ſent meſſengers for others to Zutphen: ſo as vpon the nine and twentieth of March they concluded with the prince of Parma, as they of Nymeghen had done before.

The earle of Mœurs was all this time at Arnham, the chiefe towne of the Duchie of Gueldres, the which did in like manner wauer: for the which the ſayd earle was much troubled, and would gladly haue aſſured it with a greater garriſon, for that hee found the bourgers to be halfe ſhaken, who would ſoone haue followed the example of them of Nymeghen and Doesbourg: wherefore he cauſed ſome ſouldiers to come neere vnto the port: F

the

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A the watch who was in the ſteeple giuing the alarme (whether that he were woon by the earle, or that the bourgers miſtooke him) the townesmen being all in armes, went to another port, than that whereas the ſouldiers were, who in the meane time entred, making themſelues maſters of the bourgers *corps de gard*, whom they chaſed from thence. And by this meanes the towne was aſſured for the earle of Mœurs, holding the Eſtates partie; the which was much diſpleaſing to ſome bourgers, who deſired rather to haue had the Spaniards in their towne. 1585

Arnham aſſured for the Eſtates party.

The tenth of March, *Oliuer vanden Timpel*, Seignior of Corbeke, and gouernor of Bruſſels, after that he had beene long beſieged, and ſeeing no hope of ſuccours, made an accord with the prince of Parma for himſelfe, the ſouldiers, and bourgers, as followeth: Bruſſels makes an accord with the king of Spaine.

B That the ſayd Seignior of Timpel ſhould not for ſixe moneths ſpace ſerue in the countrey of Brabant againſt the king, nor the captaines for three moneths, nor the ſouldiers for foure moneths; the which ſhould depart with their armes and baggage: and vnto ſtrangers that ſerued them, ſhould bee payed what was due vnto them out of their entertainement: for confirmation of which accord, there were ſent into the towne, on the princes behalfe, *Richardot* Preſident of Arthois, and *Garnier*, Secretarie of Eſtate. In regard of the bourgers, it was agreed, That hee ſhould ſettle againe the Romiſh Religion within the towne, and reſtore the churches which the Proteſtants had held: That their priuiledges ſhould be maintained, vnleſſe there were any that might miniſter occaſion of new troubles, the which ſhould be conſulted of, and moderated by the counſell of Eſtate: That
C nothing ſhould bee imputed vnto them for all the warres paſt: That they of the Proteſtants Religion ſhould haue two yeares libertie to doe their buſineſſe, whether to ſtay or depart: That the king ſhould be reſtored to all his rights and prerogatiues: That the houſes of the Cardinall of Granuelle, the earle of Mansfeldt, and of other noblemen, hauing followed the kings partie, which the bourgers had ruined, ſhould be repaired and built vp againe, and all the goods which had bin taken there, reſtored, or the value therof: That the impoſitions which they had raiſed, if they were not vnreaſonable and vniuſt, ſhould be payed vnto the end of the terme. The ſame conditions were alſo propounded to them of Antuerpe and of Macklyn.

At that time, *William* of Blois, Seignior of Treſlon, who in the beginning, in the yeare
D 1572, with the Seignior of Lumay, earle of Marche, had taken the Iſland of Bryel, being Admirall of Zeeland vpon the riuer of Antuerpe, was ſent for to come to Middlebourg; where hee was preſently committed to priſon by the Eſtates, beeing charged with many things. But being about to make his proceſſe, the Queene of England wrot in his fauour, and withall, being able to iuſtifie himſelfe, hee was ſet at libertie; yet he loſt his place of Admirall, the which was giuen vnto *Iuſtine* of Naſſau, baſe ſonne vnto the prince of Orange.

They of Antuerpe knowing that the bridge and the Stocadoes were finiſhed, made a great ſhippe, to be a meanes to breake all this worke of the prince of Parmaes: this great ſhippe was made of maſons worke within, in the manner of a vaulted caue: vpon the
E hatches there were layed myll-ſtones, graue-ſtones, and others of great weight; and within the vault were many barrels of powder, ouer the which there were holes, and in them they had put matches, hanging at a thred, the which burning vntill they came vnto the thred, would fall into the powder, and ſo blow vp all. And for that they could not haue any one in this ſhippe to conduct it, *Lanckhaer*, a ſea captaine of the Hollanders, being then in Antuerpe, gaue them counſell to tye a great beame at the end of it, to make it to keepe a ſtraight courſe in the middeſt of the ſtreame. In this ſort floated this ſhippe the fourth of Aprill, vntill that it came vnto the bridge; where (within a while after) the powder wrought his effect, with ſuch violence, as the veſſell, and all that was within it, and vpon it, flew in pieces, carrying away a part of the Stocado and of the bridge. The mar-
F queſſe of Roubay Vicont of Gant, *Gaſpar* of Robles, lord of Billy, and the Seignior of Torchies, brother vnto the Seignior of Bours, with many others, were preſently ſlaine; which were torne in pieces, and diſperſed abroad, both vpon the land and vpon the water.

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1585 The ſame day the Hollanders and Zeelanders woon the forts of Lyeſkenshoek (where- A
as the marqueſſe the yeare before had committed horrible murthers when he tooke it) and
The forts of Lyeſkenshoek and Doel take by the Eſtates. that of Doel, which were not farre from the prince of Parma his forts vpon the riuer of
Antuerpe, that of Lyeſkenshoek being right againſt Lillo. The captaine, who had com-
maunded therein, for that he had yeelded it vp ſo lightly, loſt his head, by the prince of
Parma his commandement. The ſaid burning ſhip ſtrucke ſuch a terror into the prince his
men, which were within the forts of Calloo and Oordam, as they abandoned them for a
time, not onely for the fire which flew, but alſo for the great abundance of water, which
the violence of the powder caſt into the ſaid forts out of the riuer; ſo as the ſouldiers knew
not what ſhould become of them, no more than if the world had inſtantly periſhed by fire
and water. If they of Antuerpe had followed, and charged them preſently, it is to be B
thought they would haue done ſome great exploit. But to what end ſerueth it, to batter a
towne, to make a ſufficient breach, to amaze and diſcourage the beſieged, if withall they
will not giue an aſſault. They of Antuerpe had their forts not a league from them, and
their ſhippes of warre neerer, which might haue made a great attempt. But the wind
being contrarie, they could not (in a manner) doe any thing, but a long time after. The
Hollanders which were in the fleet, on the other ſide of the bridge, heard it, yea, it was
alſo heard into Zeeland, but they knew not what it was: and ſo they found it too late,
that they had loſt a goodly opportunitie, wherein they might haue done ſome great ex-
ploit. The prince of Parma cauſed that to be ſoone repaired, which this fire had broken and
carried away. C

An enterpriſe vpon Ooſtend wel begun, but ill followed. The eight and twentieth of March, *la Motte*, gouernour of Graueling, made an enter-
priſe vpon Ooſtend, the which ſucceeded ſo happily in the beginning, as he woon the old
towne, in the which there was an old church, from whence he might commaund with
his musket ſhot ouer all the towne. This part is diuided from the new towne by a bridge,
which the ſaid *la Motte* had giuen in guard to one of his captaines, attending the reſt of
his troupes, which ſhould enter by the hauen: but the ſouldiers of the garriſon, which
were within the new towne, beeing in armes, ſtrucke ſuch a feare and amazement into
the hearts of them which were in the old towne, as they ſuddenly abandoned it, and
ſo it was preſently recouered by the enemie: the which did wonderfully diſcontent *la
Motte*, being forced to retyre, by reaſon of the cannon, which played from the towne D
vpon his troupes, the which he led backe, curſing, not knowing to whom he ſhould impute
the fault.

At this time, the deputies of the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces returned
from their embaſſage out of Fraunce, after that the king had thanked them, and made
his excuſe vnto them, as we haue ſaid; yea, he aduiſed them to depart as ſpeedily as they
could, and to ſtand vpon their guards, for feare of them of Guiſe, hauing gratified eue-
ry one of them with a goodly chayne of gold: ſo as the deputies taking their leaue, gaue
his Maieſtie moſt humble thankes for the good will which he ſhewed to the vnited Pro-
uinces.

The Queene of England hearing how the affaires of the vnited Prouinces had paſ- E
ſed in Fraunce, was in great doubt, that the Eſtates through diſpayre (not able to de-
fend themſelues with their owne forces) ſhould be reconciled vnto the king of Spaines
obedience, beyond all expectation; by reaſon whereof, ſhe diſpatched away the Seigni-
or of Griſe, great baylife of the towne of Bruges (who had beene ſent vnto her Maie-
ſtie for ſome ſuccours of men) by whom ſhe gaue the Eſtates to vnderſtand of the good
will that ſhee bare vnto them, offering them her friendſhip: for which cauſe, the Eſtates
being aſſembled together, to conferre vpon theſe offers, they propounded certaine points
in counſell, whereupon they might enter into treatie with her: yet not omitting any
thing that might ſerue for their owne ſafegard and defence. And as theſe parleys of
treatie betwixt her Maieſtie and them, were ſomewhat long, by reaſon of ſo many ſen- F
dings to and fro (wherein they muſt attend the wind) it could not bee ſo ſoone concluded,
nor ſuccours ſent as they deſired: ſo as the towns of Bruſſels and Macklyn, and in the end An-
tuerpe were forced to yeeld.

Colonel

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A Colonel *Martin Schenck*, and the Seignior *Bentine*, gouernour of Stralen in Guelderland, for the king of Spaine, croſſed through the Betuwe in the Veluwe, and preſented themſelues before Arnham, the chiefe towne of Gueldres holding for the Eſtates, whereas the garriſon ſallyed out vpon them, and there was a fierce encounter, with the loſſe of many men on both ſides, ſo as neither part had any cauſe to brag of victorie. *Schenck* was wounded there, and carried to Nymeghen. 1585.

In the beginning of May, they of Antuerpe ſent their great floting fort (called, *The end of the Warre*) downe the riuer, neere vnto the fort of Oordam, where the Spaniards were. But comming too neere vnto the dike, it runne on ground, ſo as in the end they were forced to abandon it, hauing retyred with the Ordnance and all the prouiſion and
B munition that was within it: the which fell afterwards into the Spaniards hands. It was a worke of exceſſiue charge, the which moſt men held to haue coſt a hundred thouſand florins, and yet did neuer ſeruice, but to their enemies, who had built it with ſo great coſt.

The ſeuenth of May, the earle of Hohenlo and Colonel *Iſelſtein* came with all their ſhippes laden with choice ſouldiers, and a good number of pioners, to cut the dike of Coeſteyn, to the end that they might paſſe with long boates and oares neere vnto the fort of Lillo, through the drowned meadowes vnto Antuerpe, leauing the riuer and the Spaniards forts vpon the left hand; the which had beene eaſie to effect, if they could haue beene maſters of the dike, as they expected. But as the earle had put his men in order, and that the pio-
C neers began to digge, the Spaniards charged them with ſuch furie, as well vpon the dike, as in their ſhippes with their canon (whereof ſome were ſunke) as after the loſſe of three hundred men, they were forced to retyre vnto their ſhips, and to ſaile away, ſauing themſelues as well as they could.

Colonel *Verdugo*, gouernour for the king of Spaine at Groningue and in Friſeland, after that he had taken the caſtles of Rha, Rechteren, and Ruttenberch, in the countrey of Oueryſſel, went with two peeces before the caſtle of Schuylenburch, a place ſtrong by nature and by art; yet the beſieged fearing they ſhould not be able to hold it long, yeelded it vp. Schuylenburch taken by the Spaniard.

Whileſt that *Verdugo* preuayled thus in the countrey of Oueryſſel, Cont *William* of Naſ-
D ſau, gouernor of Friſeland for the Eſtates, with the regiment of Friſons and Waterlanders, beſieged the fort of Slyckenbourgh, ioyning vnto Kindert, the which was yeelded eaſily vnto him, although it were a place of great importance, to ſubiect the ſeuen forreſts (which they cal Seuenwolden) to contribution. Slickenbourg taken for the Eſtates.

At the ſame time, the earle of Mœurs, lieutenant and chiefe of all the troupes vnder *Truchſes*, elector of Cologne, hauing drawne forth ſome part of the garriſons out of Rhynbergh, and other townes of Gueldres, both horſe and foot, he ſurpriſed the towne of Nuys in the dioceſſe of Cologne, a very famous towne, for the great ſiege which *Charles* duke of Bourgoigne layed before it. It was ſurpriſed by ſcalado at the firſt by a few men, who, without diſcouerie of the guard, went from the rampar to a port, whereas captaine *Kuyn*
E attended with the horſemen; the which being broken open with hammers, and an engine called a Goats foot, he entred in with a great noiſe, running through all the ſtreets: the bourgers being awaked, put themſelues in defence, ſome being armed, and ſome vnarmed. The horſemen ran to the Ehenport, where the bourgers had inſconced themſelues with carts and wagons, from whence they returned, and ſeized vpon the market place. All the reſiſtance the bourgers made, was to no purpoſe, and without order, hauing beene much better for them to haue ſtayed in their houſes, and compounded with the earle to redeeme themſelues from ſpoyle: for this reſiſtance which they made, was the cauſe that they were ſacked, and many bourgers taken priſoners. The ſouldiers had a rich ſpoyle: for that all the nobilitie thereabouts, the cloyſters and abbeyes, the peſants, yea, and ſome of Cologne had ſent their goods
F thither, as to a place of aſſurance, thinking it ſafer there than in any place elſe. Beſides the ſpoyle, the bourgers were forced to redeeme themſelues, and to lay downe their armes, the which were to be deliuered to the earle, or to his lieutenant. The earle made *Herman Frederic Gleet*, a valiant captaine, gouernour of the towne, who from that place did afterwards Nuis ſurpriſed and ſpoyled.

1585 make sharpe warres against all the dioceſſe of Cologne, vnder the authoritie of the ſaid elector, but afterwards he had a pitifull end (as we will ſhew) at the recouerie of the ſaid towne by the prince of Parma. A

Colonel *Martin Schenck* hauing taken a diſdaine, that the king of Spaine had made no more account to free him, being a priſoner in Gueldre, as we haue ſaid, and that the ſeignior of Hautepenne was preferred before him (and all by the inſtigation of the bourgers) to the gouernment of Nymeghen, he had afterwards ſuch a hatred againſt the ſaid towne, as to bee reuenged, hee deſired to bee diſcharged of his regiment, the which the prince of Parma graunted him. Then hauing treated with the earle of Mœurs in the behalfe of the Elector *Truchſes*, who was in league with the Eſtates (and with the conſent of the ſayd Eſtates) he came to ſerue them in May, deliuering vnto them for aſſurance of his faith his ſtrong caſtle of Blyenbeeke, by meanes whereof hee had ſo much annoyed the dioceſſe of Vtrecht and the countrey of Gueldre: from which time he ſought many occaſions to be reuenged vpon them of Nymeghen; but in the end they of Nymeghen were reuenged of him. Soone after his comming vnto the Eſtates, hee ſurpriſed the towne of Roeroort, at the mouth of the riuer of Roer, which comming through Weſtphalia, falls there into the Rhyn. B

At that time, Cont *Philip* of Egmont, prince of Gant, was exchanged with the lord of la Noue, vpon certaine conditions.

The two and twentieth of May they of Antuerpe made new engines to breake and burne the bridge and Stocadoes which the prince of Parma had made. For the effecting whereof, they bound ſixteene flat bottomed boats together, with yrons ſharpe at the point, to cut the cables of the anchors, which held the Stocadoes firme; the which they let go with the tyde: but comming neere vnto the Spaniards forts, they were drawne by them vnto the ſands; the which was eaſie for them to doe, after they had once turned them out of the right courſe of the ſtreame, for that they drew but little water, ſo as all their paines and coſt was loſt. C

Afterwards they ſent foure ſhips prepared like vnto the firſt, which they had ſent downe the fourth of Aprill, to worke their effect altogether. But as they went not equally, the firſt was ſtayed by the Spaniards, and anchored right againſt the fort of Payſande, which was held by the garriſon of Antuerpe, where hauing remained ſome time, it tooke fire, and did more harme to their owne fort, than to any place elſe. The other two approching neere the bridge, it was opened, and they paſſed through a good way, before they wrought any effect, which was without any hurt to the Spaniard. The fourth being taken at the beginning by the Spaniards, the matches were found and put out without any danger, in the which they found good ſtore of powder: and ſo all this deſigne was more profitable to the Spaniard, than to them of Antuerpe, who receiued at this fort of Payſand more hurt than the enemie. D

Another deſigne to cut Coeſteyns dike.

The ſix and twentieth of May (as they of Antuerpe had ſent down the day before twelue ſuch ſhips with fire, to breake the bridge) they brought through the drowned land their flat bottomed boats, neere vnto the dike of Coeſteyn: the Hollanders and Zeelanders hauing for their parts ſent with the tide certain ſhips with fire, preſented themſelues before the breake of day with a hundred and twentie boats, neere vnto the ſaid dike, ſhooting with ſuch furie, as they that were in ſmall forts and trenches of the dike, where they would pierce it, were forced to retire to the great fort. The Proteſtants hauing landed vpon the ſame dike, carrying with them ſacks full of earth, ſtore of planks and hurdles, with wooll-packes, entrenched themſelues ſuddenly vpon either ſide of the dike, whereas their ſouldiers lodged themſelues, to defend their pioners, whileſt they ſhould be working in two or three places to cut through the dike. The Spaniards made many furious charges to chaſe them from thence, where they were as wel repulſed, with the loſſe of very many ſouldiers and captains: for the artilery from the proteſtants ſhips ſhot ſo into the midſt of them, as they neuer failed; ſo as they of Antuerp aſſured themſelues of the victory, hauing been maſters of the dike aboue three houres, commanding their ſhips laden with corn to approch, to paſſe through the holes which were almoſt ready in the ſaid dike, whereby they might haue paſt ſafely through the drowned medows to Antuerpe. E F

The

A The prince of Parma was not farre off, being much perplexed in his mind to ſee the Proteſtants ſo farre aduaunced, and his Spaniards ſo repulſed, as they had no more any will or deſire to attempt it. For as one *Pedro de Padille*, with eight braue caualiers, would make the point of a new charge, at his firſt approch he had his hand ſhot off, and was afterwards ſlaine: which preſumptuous charge was very ſhamefull and prenudiciall to the Spaniards. The prince of Parma taking counſell with the old earle of Mansfeldt, what was to bee done, the ſayd earle ſayd vnto Cont *Charles* his eldeſt ſonne: Charles *my ſonne, here you muſt eyther vanquiſh, or die*. Whereupon there were three peeces of Ordnance brought; the which playing vpon them of Antuerpe, the ſayd Cont *Charles* came reſolutely (with a regiment of Wallons and another of Germanes) to charge the Proteſtants in their trenches on the Eaſt ſide. He was twice repulſed, but at the third time he forced them, and woon their fort, whereas they ſlew all they met, and the reſt fled vnto their ſhippes, whereof ſome were drowned, comming too late. Thoſe that were retyred to the ſhippes, being loth to giue ouer, ſtayed ſo long skirmiſhing with their cannon and musket ſhot, as the tyde was ſpent, and ſome thirtie of them being on ground, fell into the Spaniards hands, in the which they found many dead men, and great ſtore of armes and munition for warre. Whileſt that the Proteſtants held the dike, thinking themſelues to be victors, the earle of Hohenlo and the Seignior of S. Aldegonde were gone to Antuerpe, to giue order for the ſafe keeping of the ſame dike. But hearing that the prince of Parma had recouered it againe, the earle returned through the countrey to Berghen vp-
B on Zoome. 1585.

There dyed in this fight (on both ſides) aboue fifteene hundred men: among others of the Proteſtants ſide, the Seignior of Honteyn, gouernour of the Iſland of Walchren, with many gentlemen and captaines of good ſort. On the Spaniards ſide there dyed many more captaines and commaunders (marching in the head of their troupes) than of the Proteſtants. Moſt of them were naturall borne Spaniards and Italians, as they were alſo that endured the firſt charge at their landing, and made the firſt attempt vpon the trenches made by the Proteſtants vpon the dike, as ſoone as they had made any thing to defend their pioners.

The next day (as nothing was done in Antuerpe, but they were preſently aduertiſed thereof in the Spaniſh campe) newes came vnto the prince of Parma, that they of
D Antuerpe would come with a great ſhippe of warre, and three gallies, to free their floting fort; the which (as we haue ſaid) was runne on ground, and had beene abandoned, that being degaged, they might plant it before one of the forts of Oordam or Calloo. The prince to hinder them, ſent the earle of Arembergh and the young earle of Mansfeldt with good ſhippes and well appointed; who vpon the eight and twentieth of the ſayd moneth charged the ſaid ſhippe and three gallies, and in the end tooke the ſhippe and two gallies; the which they brought with the floting fort to Calloo, ioyning to the bridge which did ſhut vp the riuer.

Colonel *Hautepenne*, gouernour of Nymeghen, had built certaine forts about the
E towne of Graue, to ſhut it vp: in the meane time Colonel *Schenck* went thither with certaine troupes for the Eſtates, thinking to chaſe him away from that part of the countrey. But Colonel *Hautepenne* hauing drawne the garriſons out of the neighbour townes thereabouts, thought to ſtoppe vp his paſſage from comming thither. Colonel *Schenck* being aduertiſed of his comming, and finding himſelfe too weake to encounter or fight with him, hee retyred with his forces to Arnham. In the meane time, *Verdugo* and *Taxis* did beſiege the fort of Berchhooſt in the countrey of Bethune, the which was battered, and endured ſome aſſaults: but being vndermyned, and readie to bee blowne vp, they that were within the fort, yeelded it vp, and went foorth without their armes. From thence *Verdugo* retyred vnto his gouernment at Groningue, and *Taxis* went to
F Zutphen.

They of Antuerpe conſidering, that all their deſignes and enterpriſes, to breake the bridge, and cut through Coeſteyns dike, prooued vaine and fruitleſſe, they began to bethinke themſelues how they might make an accord with the prince of Parma; to which

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1585. end the Seignior of S. Aldegonde ſhould goe vnto the campe on Trinitie Sunday, being A
the third of Iune. But there was yet ſome let: for they of Zeeland made a new preparation of Hulkes, the which with a ſtrong gale and a Spring tyde ſhould come with full ſayles vpon the Stocadoes and bridge; and although it could not be put in execution (as it was proiected) without the loſſe of men, yet was it liked and allowed of. But theſe Hulks approching to Lillo, the wind began to grow ſcant, and when the wind was good, the tyde was ſpent, or was againſt them, ſo as it was not poſſible to make them worke their effect.

This falleth out commonly, when they embrace not the occaſion which is offered, or neglect it: for (to ſay the truth) if they had ſhewed halfe thoſe endeauours in the beginning (when as the prince reſolued to make the bridge and Stocadoes) as they did afterwards when B
it was finiſhed, he had neuer compaſſed it, but had beene forced to leaue all with ſhame and loſſe. But there were ſo many errors committed, from the firſt day of the ſiege vnto the ending, through negligence, or by contempt of the enemie, as they cannot bee excuſed.

On the eleuenth of Iuly, the earle of Hohenlo going out of Lyeſkenshoek, went to aſſayle one of the Spaniards forts neere vnto it; in the which there commaunded one captaine *Witſienen*, who defended it valiantly, and repulſed the earles men, whereof ſome were ſlaine vpon the place, and the earle himſelfe had two horſes killed vnder him, the which made him retyre. At his departure he cryed out vnto them of the fort, that they ſhould tell the earle of Arembergh, That of late he had borrowed two of his horſes, the which C
hee had brought backe, and he ſhould find them before the fort. Three dayes after, the ſayd earle of Hohenlo did againe attempt this fort; but hee preuayled no more than he did at the firſt; for hee had one of his captaines hurt, and ſixteene of his men taken priſoners.

The vnfortunat mariage of the prince of Cleue.

This Summer, in Iune, *Iohn William*, prince of Iuilliers, Cleue, and Bergh (his father duke *William* being yet liuing) married with the lady *Iaqueline*, daughter to the marqueſſe of Baden; and the ſolemnities of this marriage were celebrated with great pompe in the towne of Duſſeldorp, in the countrey of Bergh. It was an vnfortunate marriage for this young prince, not onely for that ſhe was giuen vnto laſciuiouſneſſe and looſeneſſe of life (whereof ſhe was publickely conuicted) being alſo barren; but for that ſhee had drawne D
the Spaniards and other of the king of Spaine his ſouldiers into thoſe Duchies, who haue not onely ruined them, but haue beene the cauſe, that the Eſtates ſouldiers haue beene often there to diſlodge them, all redounding vnto the deſolation of thoſe neutrall countries. This good ladie dyed afterwards in priſon, being committed thither for her adulteries. Shee had ſo filled her husband with diſeaſes, as his ſences were much weakened thereby. God doth ſometimes ſend ſuch inſtruments, when hee will puniſh a prince or his people.

There was another proiect to breake the bridge before Antuerpe, made by one of Berghen vpon Zoome; the which the generall Eſtates (being then at Middlebourg) did like ſo well of, as within eight dayes he came before Lillo with his inuention, beeing of fiue E
great ſhippes of foureſcore foot long apiece, tyed from both ſides one vnto another, with ſeuen cables wreathed all in one, and with certaine long beames faſtened from one ſhippe vnto another, vnder the lower decke; which holes were well ſtopped, ſo as the water could by no meanes enter; and aboue the ſayd decke, vnder the hatches, there were many emptie barrels well ſtopped, which could not bee carried away by the water, although the ſhippes had beene full of water, vp to the hatches: aboue the which, and vpon the barrels, there was great ſtore of ſtraw, wood, faggots, ropes tarred, pipes full of pitch, tarre and roſine, and other ſtuffe, fit to entertaine a long fire, which might not bee quenched, nor the ſhippes ſeperated one from another, as the Spaniards had done to the flat bottommed boats of Antuerpe, for that the cables, and other bonds, which kept them firme toge- F
ther, were deepe in the water: for in the bottome of the ſaid ſhippes there were many holes ſtopped with leather; and when as they would ſinke the ſhippes vp to the firſt decke and barrels, they might eaſily doe it in piercing the leather with a halfe pike, whereby the water

A water might enter by little and little into the ſhippes vnto the hatches and barrels, and no further; ſo as after they which did guide them, had made thoſe vents and paſſages through the leather, and ſet fire on thoſe things which were ſubiect to burne, lying vpon the hatches, they had leiſure enough to make ſhift to ſaue themſelues in their long boats. In the meane time theſe ſhippes thus ſunke, but not on ground, had gone on burning vnto the Stocadoes, which they muſt needes haue burnt and conſumed. This deſigne was eaſie to be executed, and without any danger, beeing all readie, yet nothing followed; and they did not make any vſe of it, although that the inuentor did offer, that in giuing him fiue or ſixe men, hee would put it in execution: but it ſeemed that God would not ſuffer it, and that hee himſelfe would worke his will vpon the towne of Antuerpe. 1585

B The earle of Mœurs, Colonel *Schencke*, and the Seignior of Villers gouernour of Vtrecht were with the Eſtates armie about Amerongen, betwixt Vtrecht and Rhenen, whither *Verdugo* gouernour of Friſeland for the king, ſent *Iohn Baptiſta Taxis* his Lieutenant, the three and twentieth daie of Iune, with certaine troopes of horſe and foote, the which he laid in ambuſh in a wood neere vnto Amerongen. The earle of Mœurs men hearing that the Spaniards had beene ſeene in thoſe parts of the countrie, and that they came neere vnto them, went forth to charge them: the Spaniards to drawe them on, made a ſhewe of flying, and skirmiſhed faintly, vntill that the proteſtants were come into the ambuſh, then they diſcouered themſelues, and charged them behinde, and thoſe which ſeemed to flie, turned head vpon their enemies, and fought valiantly for a long time; till in the end the proteſtants being com-
C paſſed in round about, and charged of all ſides, were put to rout: all their foot-men were in a manner cut in peeces, and foure comets of horſe defeated. The earle of Mœurs ſaued himſelfe in Amersfort, and Colonel *Schencke* in Vtrecht, but the marſhall *Villers* beeing ſore wounded, was taken priſoner, with ſome captaines and diuers ſouldiers. They thought to haue put *Villers* to death, for that long before in the deliuering ouer of the towne of Bouchan he had dealt hardly with them: yet in the end hee was ſet free for a great ranſome, and in exchange of other priſoners.

This ouerthrowe giuen by *Taxis*, after a long and doubtfull fight, was much furthered by
D the two ſonnes of the earle of Berghes, who at that very inſtant came with a troope of freſh horſe to helpe them: theſe two young earles of Berghes are the prince of Oranges ſiſters ſonnes, and brought vp by him; but for that the Eſtates had their father in ſuſpition, they left them, and ſerued vnder the king of Spaine.

The earle of Mœurs and *Schencke* hauing gathered the ſcattered troopes againe together, built certaine skonces betwixt Vianen, Vtrecht, and other places, and *Schencke* not long after recouered ſome part of his loſſe from the enemie, by the ouerthrowe of two corners of horſe, and after that he had an enterpriſe againſt Groningue, but beeing diſcouered, hee was forced to retire.

The prince of Parma the more to preſſe them of Antuerpe, ſent ſome troopes from the campe to ſeize vpon one of their ſuburbs, called Bourgerhout, which they wonne eaſily, the place beeing abandoned by the garriſon which fledde. There was in the ſuburbe a great
E fort, which the Spaniards tooke by aſſault, chaſing the ſouldiers that were in it euen vnto the ports of Antuerpe. There was alſo another fort ioyning vnto it called Sterckenhof, in the which there were ſome thirtie ſouldiers, Wallons, with their captaine, who had the reſt of his companie at Cantercrois: he refuſed to yeeld vntill that he had ſeene and heard the artillerie; and then at the ninth ſhot hee did capitulate, ſo as hee and all his men departed with their armes and baggage, in yeelding vp the ſaid fort, and the other, where the reſt of his company was, the which was done. Sterckenhof and Cantercrois yeelded.

From thence they went to beſiege the caſtle of Stralen, the which they within it would not yeeld, vnleſſe they might ſee the cannon; the which beeing planted, and they offering them to yeelde, it would not be accepted, but to depart with their rapiers and daggers onely.
F The ſouldiers which had beene in theſe forts, comming to the ports of Antuerpe, they of the towne would not receiue them. But the prince of Parma cauſed them to be conducted vnto Berghen vpon Soome. The caſtle of Stralen yeelded.

Hauing the ſaid forts, he commanded the peaſants, laquaies, and horſe-boies, to cut vp all the

1585 the corne and pot-hearbes, and to pull vp all parſnips, carrets, turnups, and other rootes, and to bring all vnto his campe, willing them to ſpoile all that they could not carrie away, to the end that they of Antuerpe might reape no commoditie thereby. This happened in the end of Iune. A

At the ſame time the prince of Parma went to viſit his campe at Strabrouck lying on Brabant ſide. The deputies of the towne beeing come to Beueren, hauing ſpoken with the prince, returned the next day, which gaue ſome hope of an accord, for newes was brought vnto his campe, that they of the towne had nothing the firſt day of Iune but oate bread, and that the common people cried out that they would haue bread or peace. The councell of the towne aſſembled often, but by reaſon of the diuerſitie of opinions, they could not reſolue any thing. Of eight Colonels there were but two that deſired peace, and of foureſcore captaines, moſt of them holding with the people, demanded it. In the meane time they ſent many letters from Antuerpe into Holland and Zeeland, and backe againe, the which fell ſometimes into the Spaniards hands: ſuccours were promiſed by them of Holland, but nothing at all was done. B

The marqueſſe of Gwaſt generall of the Spaniſh and Italian horſe, incountred two cornets of horſe of the garriſon of Macklyn, the which he defeated, whereas captaine *Suiſſe* was ſlaine, and ſome taken priſoners, the reſt ſaued themſelues by flight: and ſoone after the marqueſſe of Renti and *la Motte* were ſent with ſome troopes of horſe and foot, and ſome little artillerie towards Macklyn, to importune them of Macklyn, as they had done them of Antuerpe. At the firſt they tooke the fort of Walhem and the Blochmy, then Neckerſpal, and ſome other forts about the towne, ſome of them by force, and ſome by compoſition. They tooke a ſhippe of warre going from Macklyn, whereas the skout of the ſaid towne was taken, with ſome other boats laden with victuals and munition. C

All theſe loſſes moued them of Macklyn to conſider of their affaires, and to giue eare to an accord, with the marqueſſe of Renti, vnto whom they ſent their deputies, who concluded vpon certaine articles, the which were ſent vnto the prince of Parma, and were confirmed by him: whereupon the towne was yeelded, the Seignior of Famas gouernour of the towne, and the ſouldiers going forth with their armes and baggage, hauing libertie to retire whither they pleaſed. Of all the captaines, onely *Benguatre* (a gentleman of Bethune, brother to the Seignior of Ourthon, nephew to Saint Aldegonde) remained with the Spaniards, but very fewe of his troope of horſe. After the departure of the gouernour Famas, which was the nineteenth daie of Iulie, the Seignior of Praneue a gentleman of Bruges, was made gouernour for the king of Spaine. As for the bourgers, there was a perpetuall forgetfulneſſe granted, and that ſuch as would liue in the Romiſh religion might remaine, and the reſt ſhould haue fifteene daies free, to ſell and make the beſt of their goods, and then to retire where they pleaſed. D

Macklyn yeelded by compoſition.

In the meane time they attended the deputies of Antuerpe at the prince of Parma his campe: but before they returned, the Hollanders would needes make an attempt vpon the bridge and ſtocadoes. They had with great charge prepared two great thundring ſhippes, like vnto thoſe of Antuerpe, in the which there was much poulder and great ſtones, which ſhippes they ſent vp with the tyde vnto the ſtocadoe, which the firſt brake: but the Spaniards opened the bridge, and it paſt through, then taking fire it brake, but did no harme; the other in like ſort tooke fire before it came halfe way to the bridge. The Hollanders ſuppoſed that the firſt had done much ſpoile, but hearing the cannon ſhoot off along the riuer, they were of another opinion. E

In the meane time they of Antuerpe began to bee extreamely preſt by famine, which was not likely to be releeued, but in the end they muſt be forced of neceſſitie to yeeld, or elſe the commanders would be in danger by reaſon of the commons want and diſcontent, who did nothing but murmure and would haue peace: ſo as the three and twentieth day of July they ſent twentie deputies to the prince of Parma, choſen out of the magiſtrates of the Eſtates of Brabant, ancient ſheriffs, Colonels, captaines, and deanes of companies within the towne: with full power and authoritie to treat and accord with the ſaid prince, according to the articles which they had propounded in councell; which beeing preſented vnto the prince, hee F

ſent

A sent them to the president *Pamele*, & to *Assonville*, & *Richard vander Burcht*, beeing all of the king of Spaines priuie counsell, with whom the said deputies hauing long debated all manner of difficulties, and in the end fallen to an agreement, there was a certaine treatie of reconciliation drawne betwixt them, the which was sent by some of the deputies vnto the towne, to impart it vnto the great councell, that so vpon the viewe thereof, they might resolue accordingly. 1585

A little before *Philip* earle of Egmont (who as wee haue said, had beene taken in his owne towne of Nyeuhouen, by monsieur *la Noue*) returned to the prince of Parma his campe, from a long imprisonment, hauing beene kept at Gant, and in the castle of Ramekins in Zeeland, since the yeare 1579. And in like sort, the said monsieur *la Noue*, taken at Engelmonster
B and kept in the castles of Tournay, and of Lembourg, since the yeare 1580, the said two noble men beeing exchanged one for another, but monsieur *la Noue* was tied to harder conditions than the other, promising vpon the penaltie of a hundred thousand crownes, neuer to carrie armes in the Netherlands against the king of Spaine, if it were not by the expresse commandement of the French king his naturall lord; for which promise, the duke of Lorraine was his caution, and the king of Nauarre his counter-pledge. It did much grieue and bred a great discontentment in the earle to be exchanged against monsieur *la Noue*, who was not equall vnto him in degree and qualitie, and the rather in regard of the promise, which hee thought to be done purposely to his disgrace: but the sweetnesse of libertie made him to digest these comparisons which seemed odious vnto him. It was confidently reported, that
C monsieur *la Noue* taking his leaue of the prince of Parma, said vnto him, *Sir, this towne of Antuerpe cannot escape you, when you shall enter into it, I would aduise you to hang vp your sword and armes at the gate, and there to end your victories.* To whom the prince answered, *You say well monsieur la Noue, and my friends doe also aduise me thereunto; but how may I retire my selfe, beeing ingaged in the Kings seruice, as I am?* Doubtlesse monsieur *la Noue* was not deceiued, for since the prince of Parma did not any thing that might equall the hundreth part of his precedent happie successe in the Netherlands, onely after that time he tooke the townes of Nuys and Schuse.

La Noues speech to the prince of Parma.

The deputies of Antuerpe that were returned vnto the towne with the articles of the accord, to impart them vnto the people, arriued the ninth day of August, and the next day the
D great councell was assembled, where they were seene and examined, and were allowed of by some, and reiected by others. Whilest they were disputing in councell vpon these articles, a good number of bourgers beeing tired with this long siege, and not able nor willing any longer to endure the extremitie of famine, came vnto the market place, where they began to crie out, that they would haue peace. Some of the councell looking out at the windowe, and seeing the people thus mooued, grewe afraid that it would turne to a popular sedition, making report thereof to the whole councell, the which did terrifie and amaze them in such sort, as they which at the first had opposed themselues vnto the said articles, fearing some great mutinie, and that they should be forced by the commons, yeelded ioyntly with the rest, giuing the people (there present) to vnderstand that the peace was concluded: the which did so reioyce
E them, as without any longer stay, they beat downe the duke of Anious armes, and set vp the king of Spaines.

In this treatie of Antuerp, there was great difficulties vpon the word *scandall*, the which by the pacification of Gant had beene strictly and bitterly interpreted, the which they desired to haue explaned, and not to haue the word of scandall applied to the least point that should be spoken or done by them of the religion, as it had beene often construed to the worst, since the said pacification of Gant; for it had beene said, that they should liue in libertie of conscience, committing no scandall. This word had beene generally taken against all those that would not conforme themselues to the ceremonies of the Romish church. The interpreters
F of this maintaining, that such as would not doe as the rest did were scandalous; and therefore this word thus construed and vnderstood, the libertie of conscience was nothing, neither had it beene lawfull to sing a psalme without scandall. The Dutch chronicle saith, that the Seignior of Saint Aldegonde insisted much vpon this word against the prince of Parma, alleadging some points which they would tearme scandalous amongst others,

that

1585 that if they did no reuerence vnto the prieſtes carrying the ſacrament through the ſtreets: A
whereupon the prince of Parma anſwered, Truely for the laſt point it were a manifeſt ſcandall: ſaying moreouer vnto the Seignior of Saint Aldegonde, can you not doe as the countrie man did at Rome, who paſſing along the ſtreetes before an *Ecce homo*, (which is the figure of the repreſentation which *Pilate* made of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt vnto the people, ſaying, *Behold the man*) hauing made a reuerence, and paſſing on, he bethought himſelfe, that *Pilate* might attribute this honour vnto himſelfe: wherefore returning and putting off his hatte againe, hee ſaid, *It is to the Chriſt, not to the Pilate.* Doe ſo ſaid the prince of Parma, and thinke that the honour and reuerence which you doe vnto the ſacrament, you doe it vnto almightie God.

The prince of Parma made knight of the Order. The eleuenth day of Auguſt, the prince of Parma receiued the order which the king had B
ſent him out of Spaine, with the accuſtomed ſolemnities, the which was alſo giuen to the earle of Egmont, the marqueſſe of Renti earle of Ouereinden beeing at that time there preſent, and to the marqueſſe of Renti who was dead, as wee haue ſaid, the old knights aſſiſting, as the duke of Arſchot, the old earle of Mansfeldt, and others, with the Seignior of Aſſonuille chauncellor of the order, the treaſurer, and the king at armes, whom they call *Toiſon d'Or*, or golden fleece. This was done publikely on a ſcaffold richly furniſhed in the fort of Calloo: this beeing ended, the ordinance in all the forts thereabouts were diſcharged.

The ſeauenteenth day of the moneth of Auguſt, the treatie of accord with the towne
of Antuerpe was fully concluded, and ſigned by the prince of Parma, who promiſed C
them to get it ſigned and ratified by the king of Spaine, vnder his great ſeale, whithin foure moneths at the furtheſt: which accord was proclaimed in the ſaid towne of Antuerpe with ceremonies, on the twentieth day following, the which beeing ſet forth in print, we omit for breuities ſake.

This proclamation beeing made before the towne-houſe, in the preſence of the prince of Parma his deputies, the magiſtrates and the ſuperintendents of the ſaid towne, the Herald or king at armes hauing his coate on him with the armes of Spaine, cried out thriſe, *God ſaue the king of Spaine:* the which was ſeconded by the ſhouts and cries of the people of the towne.

This beeing done, the prince of Parma his deputies went to the cathedrall church of D
the ſaid towne, the which beeing bleſt by the biſhop, and the pulpits whipt with roddes, and then pulled downe, a *Te Deum* was ſung; from thence they returned to the State-houſe, whereas a coſtly dinner was prepared for them. The magiſtrates intreated the prince that hee would ſtaie his entrie into the towne for ſome few daies, that they might haue ſome reſpite to prepare themſelues to receiue him in triumph, as a victorious prince, with all the honour and pompe they could deuiſe. And all ſtrangers, eſpecially the Geneuois, and the companies of trades, did ſtriue who ſhould exceed in ſumptuous acknowledgement of their dutie.

So vpon the ſeauen and twentieth day of the moneth, the prince of Parma (meaning to make his entrie into the ſaid towne of Antuerpe) ſent two thouſand and foure E
hundred footmen, Wallons and high Dutch men, and foure hundred horſe men, with two hundred gentlemen following them, among whom there were many great perſonages of good account. The bourgomaſters, ſhirifes, magiſtrates, and regents of the towne went to meete him; and the keyes of the towne were preſented vnto him by a faire yong virgin, the one beeing of yron, the other of pure gold, the which he tied to his coller, by his order of the golden fleece. There were along the ſtreetes many artificiall and coſtly deuiſes, of pictures, images, ſtatues, and writings, all tending to the prince his honour, glorie, and renowne.

At the ſame time the prince of Parma wrote many letters to the other townes of the prouinces of the Netherlands, to perſwade them to a ſubmiſſion and reconciliation with F
„ the king of Spaine their ſouereigne lord and king, after this manner enſuing. Wee haue
„ heretofore and of late written vnto you, and earneſtly intreated you in the behalfe of the king
„ your natural prince, to conſider of the miſerable eſtate whereunto you are now reduced, & to

embrace

A embrace the meanes to returne vnto the true obedience which you owe vnto your prince, " 1585
before you fall into greater calamities and miſeries than thoſe which hang ouer your heads, "
beeing enuironed on all ſides with the oppreſſions and ruines of warre, which you draw vp- "
vpon your ſelues: into the which, many townes haue fallen, and doe now (but too late) la- "
ment their misfortune, ſeeing that wee are forced to proceede by the way of armes. Not- "
withſtanding, wee haue alwaies conceiued a good hope of you, expecting a good anſwer "
from you, and that you will ſhew your ſelues, as it befitteth good and faithfull ſub- "
iects, if our letters may bee deliuered vnto you; for wee haue beene duely informed, "
that (God be thanked) your hearts are not ſo much alienated from his Maieſtie, as many o- "
thers bee, which perſiſt obſtinately in their errours. But, for that hitherto wee haue recei- "
B ued no anſwer, wee finde that our letters haue beene ſuppreſt by ſome, who for their pri- "
uate reſpects and profit, labour by all the meanes they poſſibly can, to nouriſh and maintaine "
a perpetuall warre among you, to keepe you in ſubiection, and to inrich themſelues with the "
ſweat of you and your children. Wherefore beeing mooued with compaſſion, we would "
not for our parts, ſpare neither labour nor coſt to diſcharge our ſelues, as it belõgs to a faithfull "
ſeruant to his Maieſtie, and as we haue now written vnto you: That once opening your "
eies you ſhould not reiect the good meanes that are offered vnto you, to free your ſelues of "
theſe miſeries, matters beeing not ſo deſperate, but they are yet in your owne hands: conſi- "
dering on the one ſide the kings great forces, which no towne can reſiſt, and on the other "
ſide his naturall bountie, which he ſhewes you, to drawe you to your obedience. And if "
C you will giue eare and yeeld to our perſuaſions, we promiſe you in his Maieſties name, "
ſuch good and courteous vſage, as you cannot expect better of ſo milde a prince, whoſe de- "
ſires and thoughts tend to no other end, but to deliuer his good countrie of the Netherlands "
from ſuch bloodie warres, and of his owne bountie to reſtore them to their freedomes and "
auncient liberties, wherein they haue heretofore liued happily: the which we would rather "
ſeeke to augment, than any way goe about to diminiſh, if the publike good required it, to "
the which we carrie a ſingular affection, and would by all meanes ſeeke the aduancement "
thereof: Whereof wee haue hitherto giuen ſufficient proofes and teſtimonies, referring "
our ſelues to all the world to iudge thereon: hauing alwaies ſought & done our beſt endea- "
uours to conforme our ſelues to his Maieſties will and intention, who cannot but with "
D a heauie and ſorrowfull countenance behold theſe countries, which haue alwaies, and "
aboue all others, beene ſo deere and ſo much recommended vnto him, ſo much to for- "
get themſelues, as hee hath beene forced to take armes againſt them: notwithſtanding "
that his Maieſtie in the beginning of the troubles, had ſought by all meanes to redreſſe it, "
and to pacifie them. "

Wherefore we doe exhort you againe by theſe our letters, that you will conſider of that "
which is fitteſt for you, and that you will giue eare vnto it, and not careleſly to let it paſſe "
without regard, and then you ſhall finde vs very readie to aſſiſt you in all that ſhall tend "
to your good; knowing well, that by the inſtigations and perſuaſions of ſome wicked per- "
ſons, you haue beene drawne into this warre, which doth now ſo much importune you: "
E although it hath not beene ſo much through the violent attempts of the peruerſe (who "
beeing but fewe in number gouerne you as we heare) as through the timerouſneſſe and "
want of courage in the good. But bee it as it may, the way is open vnto you, whereby you "
may returne to your firſt quiet and tranquilitie, vnder the peacefull gouernment and pro- "
tection of his Maieſtie, your naturall prince and ſoueraigne, and of vs as his Lieutenant: "
Wherefore embrace this opportunitie, before that warre oppreſſe you, and that you feele "
in effect that which we haue long delaied, before we would ſeeke to reduce you by force. "
If you will hearken thereunto, you ſhall find vs the readier and the more inclined to yeeld "
you that, on his Maieſties behalfe, which you can deſire with reaſon for your publike "
good. Hereupon wee will with patience attend your anſwer and full reſolution, and as "
F our good friends recommend you to the protection and preſeruation of the goodnes of the "
Almightie. "

The French king beeing forced this yeare in March (by the warres which were very like in a ſhort time to growe within the bowels of his owne kingdome through the practiſes of

1585 of the league) to refuſe the ſoueraignetie of the Netherlands, which was offered vnto him by the embaſſadours of the vnited prouinces, and to denie them ſuccours as they demanded: he aduiſed them to recommend their cauſe vnto the Queene of England, and to the king of Nauarre. The Queene beeing duely informed of the eſtate of their affaires, leſt they ſhould be forced to make ſome deſperate agreement with their enemies, had ſent them many comfortable wordes, as well by the Lord of Griſe, as by maſter *Dauiſon* her Maieſties Embaſſadour. A

Whereof the generall Eſtates beeing aduertiſed, during the ſiege of Antuerpe, they reſolued to giue the ſoueraignetie of the Netherlands, abſolutely vnto the Queene of England, vpon lawfull and reaſonable conditions; or elſe to treat with her, to take the protection and defence thereof vpon her, or otherwiſe to craue her aide and aſſiſtance, by ſome forces to ſuccour and releeue them. B

And to that end, vpon the ſixt of Iune, their deputies arriued in England, which were theſe; for Brabant (although by reaſon of the beſieging of Antuerpe not fully authorized) was ſent *Iacques de Griſe* chiefe bailife of Bruges; for Guelderland, *Rutgert van Harſolt* bourgmaſter of Harderwicke; for Flaunders (although likewiſe not fully authorized) *Noel* of Caron, Seignior of Schoonewall, bourgmaſter of Franc; for Holland and Friſeland, *Iohn vanden Does*, lord of Noortwicke, *Ioos* of Menin counſellor of the towne of Dort, *Iohn van Oldenbarnevelt* counſellour of the towne of Rotterdam, doctor *Francis Maelſon*, counſellour of the towne of Enckhuyſen; for Zeeland, *Iacob Valck*, a ciuile lawyer, and one of the counſell of eſtate; for Vtrecht, *Paul Buys* doctor; for Friſeland, *Ielgher van Feyttema* counſellor of eſtate, *Heſſell Ayſma* preſident, and *Laeſt Iongama*: all which had full power and authoritie by procuration, from their ſeuerall places and prouinces, to treat either for the deliuering ouer of the abſolute ſoueraigntie to the Queene of England, or els to make a treatie for protection and defence, or for aide and aſſiſtance by ſome Engliſh forces: the Hollanders for their parts were reſolued and content to deliuer ouer ſome of their townes vnto the Queene, for her ſecuritie. C

Their deputies procuration and authoritie was made from the nobilitie, gentlemen, and townes; as Dort, Harlem, Delft, Leyden, Amſterdam, Gant, Rotterdam, Gorcum, Schiedam, Briel, Alcmar, Hoorn, Enckhuyſen, Schoonhouen, Eedam, Monickedam, Medenblick, Woerden, Oudewater, Heuſden, Gertruydenberghe, Weeſp, Naerden, Muyden, and Purmerend, anſwering for the reſt of the ſmall townes, lordſhips, and villages of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland in generall. D

Theſe embaſſadours beeing arriued in England, they were well and courteouſly receiued, (and while they abode there) honourably feaſted, and entertained at the Queenes charges; and vpon the ninth of Iune were admitted to her Maieſties preſence, beeing then at Greenwich, where with all honourable and ſubmiſſiue dutie, in humble wiſe they preſented their requeſt by word of mouth, deliuered by *Ioos* de Menin, the effect whereof was as here followeth.

That the Eſtates of the vnited Netherland prouinces greatly thanked her Maieſtie for the honourable and many fauours which it had pleaſed her to ſhewe and vouchſafe vnto them in their neceſſities, hauing not long ſince renewed and confirmed her princely clemencie, when after the cruell murther of the prince of Orange, it pleaſed her Maieſtie by her Embaſſadour M. *Dauiſon* to ſignifie vnto them, the great care ſhee had for their defence and preſeruation; and after that againe by the lord of Griſe, by whom ſhee let them vnderſtand how much ſhee was diſcontented to ſee them fruſtrated of their expectations, repoſed vpon the hope they had in the treatie of France: and that neuertheleſſe the care ſhee had for their proſperitie and welfares, was not in any thing diminiſhed, but rather increaſed, in that ſhee ſaw greater reaſon to mooue her thereunto: for the which, the whole Netherlands in generall, and euery of them in particular ſhould reſt bound vnto her Maieſtie for euer, to deſerue and requite the ſame with all fidelitie and ſubmiſſion. E

And therefore the Eſtates aforeſaid obſeruing that ſince the death of the prince of Orange, they had loſt many of their forts and good townes, and that for the vpholding and defending of the ſaid vnited Netherlands, they had great need of a ſoueraigne prince, and chiefe commander to gouerne the ſame, who by his power and authoritie might protect and preſerue them F

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A them from the inſolencies and oppreſſions of the Spaniards, and their adherents, who ſought daiely more and more all the means they could, with their vnreaſonable armes & other ſiniſter means, to ſpoile and vtterly roote vp the foundation of the aforeſaid Netherlands, and thereby to bring the poore afflicted people of the ſame into perpetuall bondage (worſe than the Indian ſlauerie) vnder the vnſupportable and accurſed inquiſition of Spaine. Finding likewiſe, that the inhabitants of the ſaid Netherlands were perſuaded, and had an aſſured confidence, that her Maieſtie out of her princely minde, would not ſuffer nor endure to ſee them vtterly ouerthrowne, as their enemies expected and deſired, by moleſting them with ſuch long and tedious warres; the which the Eſtates (according to their duties, and in reſpect of their places, in the behalfe of their fellowes and brethren) were forced to withſtand, and as
B much as in them lay oppoſe themſelues againſt the manifeſt ſlauerie, which they thought to impoſe vpon the poore common people, and by their beſt indeauours to defend and maintaine their auncient freedomes, lawes, and priuiledges, with the exerciſe of the true chriſtian religion, (whereof her Maieſtie, truely, and by good right bare the title of defendreſſe) againſt the which the enemie and all their adherents, had made ſo many leagues, attempted ſo many fearefull and deceitfull enterpriſes, and treaſons, and yet ceaſe not daiely to ſeeke, inuent, practiſe, and deuiſe the deſtruction of her Maieſties royall perſon, together with her eſtate and kingdomes, which the almightie God vnder the protection of his euerlaſting goodneſſe hitherto had preſerued and kept from all dangers, for the good and vpholding of the church of Chriſt here vpon earth. For theſe reaſons, and many other right good conſiderations, the E-
C ſtates aforeſaid, with one full and free conſent, had altogether determined, and fully reſolued to flie vnto her Maieſtie, in regard it is an vſuall thing for all oppreſſed and diſtreſſed people and nations, in their great need and neceſſitie, to ſeeke iuſt aide and aſſiſtance againſt their enemies, from the kings and princes their neighbours, and eſpecially from thoſe that were indued with courage, feare of God, vprightneſſe of heart, and other princely ornaments: and to that end, the Eſtates aforeſaid had ſent them, and giuen them charge to deſire and beſeech her Maieſtie, to accept of the ſoueraignte and lawfull gouernment of the ſaid vnited prouinces, vpon good and reaſonable conditions, eſpecially tending to the vpholding, maintaining, and furtherance of Gods true religion, and the auncient priuiledges and freedomes to them due and belonging, together with the gouernment and managing of the warres, poli-
D cie, and iuſtice of the ſaid vnited prouinces of the Netherlands. And although the ſaid Netherlands had indured diuers wrongs, and that many of their townes and forts had beene wonne from them by the enemie, during thoſe warres; neuertheleſſe in Brabant, Guelderland, Flaunders, Macklyn, and Oueriſſel, there were yet many good townes and places that held againſt the enemie, and the prouinces of Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, and Friſeland, were by Gods grace and wonderfull prouidence ſtill kept and preſerued in their whole and entire poſſeſſions, wherein they had many great and ſtrong townes, and places, faire riuers, deepes, and hauens, whereby her Maieſtie and her ſucceſſors, might haue good commodities, ſeruices, and profits, whereof it were needleſſe to make any longer diſcourſe; and one in ſpeciall, that by the vniting the countries of Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland, and
E the townes of Ooſtend and Scluſe, vnto her Maieſties kingdomes and dominions, ſhee might haue the abſolute commaund, gouernment, power, and authoritie ouer the great ocean, and conſequently, ſhee might haue a perpetuall, aſſured, and happie traffique for the ſubiects and inhabitants of her Maieſties kingdomes and dominions: Moſt humbly and ſubmiſſiuely beſeeching her royall Maieſtie to vouchſafe of her royall fauour and princely bountie, to agree and conſent to the foreſaid points of their requeſt, and ſo to accept for her, and her lawfull heires, or ſucceſſors, in the crowne of England, defendors of the true Chriſtian religion, the ſoueraigne principalitie and chiefe gouernment of the ſaid Netherlands, and in regard thereof, to receiue the inhabitants of the ſame countries, as her Maieſties moſt humble and obedient ſubiects, into her perpetuall safe-
F gard and protection, a people as true, faithfull, and louing to their princes and commaunders (without vaine boaſting bee it ſpoken) as any other in chriſtendome. And ſo doing, ſhee ſhould preſerue and protect many faire churches, which it had pleaſed almightie God in thoſe latter daies, to gather together in ſeuerall countries, being now in many

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1585 places hardly beſet, and ſore incumbred and oppreſſed, and to deliuer the Netherlands and A
the inhabitants thereof out of miſerable thraldome, who (not long before the wicked and
dangerous inuaſions of the Spaniards) were ſo rich, and flouriſhing in all kinds of wealth,
by reaſon of the great commodities of the ſea, hauens, riuers, traffique, manuall trades
and occupations, whereunto they are much giuen, and very apt by nature. Shee ſhould
likewiſe preſerue them from vtter deſtruction, and perpetuall ſlauerie both of bodie and
ſoule, and ſo effect a right princely and moſt royall worke, pleaſing to God, profitable
for all Chriſtendome, worthie of eternall praiſe, honour, and glorie, and fitting well the
greatneſſe and ſtate of her princely Maieſtie, including therein the aſſured ſecuritie, proſ-
peritie, and welfare of her owne kingdomes and ſubiects. Which done, they preſented
their Articles vnto her Maieſtie with all humilitie, beſeeching God, who is the king of B
kings, to defend, protect, and preſerue her from all her enemies, to the encreaſe of his
honour and greatneſſe, and perpetually to hold and keepe her in his holy protection and
ſafegard.

This humble petition, tending ſo much to the honour and glory of the moſt magnifi-
cent and royall Queene and princeſſe in the world, was with all thankefulneſſe receiued at
their hands.

Thereupon the Queene willed them for that time to depart, and in the meane while
ſhe aſſembled her counſell, to conferre with them, what was to be done in this ſo vrgent
a cauſe, and to haue their aduice touching the ſame. To conclude, ſhe found all her ſub-
iects generally addicted thereunto, ſaying, That ſhee might not by any meanes altogether C
abandon or forſake the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands; alledging the great hatred
conceiued againſt her by the king of Spaine, for the altering of his Religion in England,
which he (not long before) had planted therein: which appeared by the treatie of peace
The Queene taketh counſell what to do touching the low countries. made at Chaſteau in Cambreſis, holden in Anno 1559, wherein he was verie ſlacke and
careleſſe for procuring the deliuerie of the towne of Calais vnto the Engliſh againe, the
which was loſt by meanes of his warres; and on the other ſide he cauſed the French to deli-
uer many townes ouer vnto the duke of Sauoy, and left her in warre, both againſt France and
Scotland, without any aſſiſtance.

They ſhewed likewiſe the vnkind refuſall by him made, of paſſage through the Ne-
therland countreys, with munition, armes, and powder, which ſhee as then had cauſed D
to bee prouided and bought by her factor Sir *Thomas Greſham*, vnto whome it was
denyed.

Further, That when her Maieſtie, by her embaſſadour the lord Vicont *Montague*, deſi-
red the king of Spaine to renew and confirme the ancient contracts made betweene his fa-
ther, the emperour *Charles* the fifth, and her predeceſſours, hee would by no meanes bee
drawne to yeeld thereunto.

That hee had ſuffered the Inquiſitors in Spaine to perſecute her poore ſubiects with
all crueltie and extremitie, and commaunded her embaſſadour out of Spaine, becauſe of
his Religion.

That his gouernour (the duke of Alua) in the Netherlands, had vſed all manner of hoſtili- E
tie and violence againſt her ſubiects, arreſting both their bodies and goods, contrary to the an-
cient contracts betweene England and the Netherlands.

That he had ſent an armie into her Maieſties kingdome of Ireland, and with colours
flying inuaded the ſayd kingdome, vpon a ſuppoſed gift thereof made vnto him by the
Pope of Rome, which hee thereby excuſed, intending alſo to enterprife the like againſt
the Realme of England, as it manifeſtly appeared by the Ieſuite *Sanders* letters, to that
end diſperſed abroad, and by the Ieſuite *Creyghton*, who was then a priſoner: and many
other ſuch like practiſes alſo were diſcouered by the dealings of his embaſſador *Dom Bernar-
dine de Mendoſa* in England.

Beſides theſe many forepaſſed iniuries, the Counſell layed before her Maieſtie the dan- F
ger that ſhe was to expect, if the Spaniard once obtained *merum imperium*, that is, full and
abſolute authoritie in the Prouinces of the Netherlands; how he would alter their Religi-
on, breake their auncient priuiledges, and ſubiect them wholly to his will and pleaſure:

which

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A which done, out of his malitious heart and intent he would eaſily inuade England, with the aide of the multitude of ſhipping and ſailers of thoſe countries, together with his Indian treaſure: firſt depriuing England of all trade of marchandize with the Netherlands, and within the land procuring domeſticall diſſention; and that therefore ſhee was not as then to let ſlip the preſent occaſion, nor yet to attend vntill the Netherlands were fully planted with Spaniards and Italians; for that the warre was not vndertaken againſt the Netherlands, but with a further intent and meaning to make a greater conqueſt. 1585

On the other ſide, there was laied before her Maieſtie, what difficulties and troubles might ariſe, by entring into warre with the king of Spaine: as firſt, that thereby ſhee ſhould breake the auncient contract betweene her and the king of Spaine, and that it would not bee well
B thought on, nor by forraine princes eſteemed an honourable action, to aide and aſſiſt the ſubiect againſt his lawfull ſoueraigne, and that ſhee ſhould hardly be able to contend againſt ſo mightie a monarch, ſo ſtrong of men, money, meanes, and friendſhip, which he ſhould haue from the Pope, domeſticall Engliſh malecontents, and many other his adherents; whereby ſhe ſhould haue worke enough in hand to defend herſelfe, with many other obiections.

To theſe reaſons aforeſaid it was anſwered, that therein ſhee ſhould breake no contract nor league made with the houſe of Burgondie, for that thereby ſhee was bound to aide and aſſiſt the Netherlands, and to vphold them in their auncient lawes and priuiledges, and not to permit or ſuffer ſtrange nations to plant and ſettle themſelues there, and ſo intrude themſelues into the gouernment: and that if ſhee let ſlippe this faire occaſion, and did not aſſiſt them, the
C French might ſet foot therein: moreouer, that ſhee intended not to aide any rebels againſt their king, but to protect and defend her oppreſſed neighbours, whereunto all princes were bound, eſpecially for religions cauſe, as the Spaniards had done the like to her in her kingdom of Ireland, with her rebels: as alſo to keepe backe and preuent the warre, with the miſeries and troubles thereon depending, if it be not foreſeene and preuented: and how dangerous and troubleſome ſoeuer the warres be, yet were the apparant danger much more and greater, to be ouerrunne by forraine enemies, and therefore it behoued her the more, both in conſcience and in honour, to ſeeke to preuent all future danger; for that the prouinces of the Netherlands could not be able any long time to withſtand the enemies forces, without ſome aide and aſſiſtance; which beeing once brought vnder his ſubiection, ſhee ſhould bee aſſured
D to beare the burthen vpon her owne ſhoulders in England, which would be much more preiudiciall, inſupportable and chargeable to her; and that therefore it were better to haue and maintaine warre abroad, than within the heart of her owne kingdome. As touching the looſing of friends, the cauſe would bee ſo honourable and ſo good, as ſhee ſhould haue the kings of France, Nauarre, Portugal, Denmarke, Scotland, & other potentates, her welwillers.

Theſe reaſons and allegations thus propounded and anſwered, were communicated with the aforeſaid deputies for the Eſtates, who at that time made knowne vnto her Maieſtie, the eſtate and power of the Netherlands, and what contributions the ſame were able to raiſe; as alſo what the charges of an offenſiue warre would be, and what by loue and good gouernment might bee hoped for, and gotten from ſuch as were willing thereunto, ſo as they might
E be maintained and kept in their freedomes, lawes, and auncient priuiledges: for that it was well knowne and found to bee true, that Holland alone, ſince the pacification of Gant, in 9 yeres (beſides their owne charges within the ſaid prouince) had contributed to the warres in the Netherlands in generall, aboue 3500000 gulderns. It was further declared, how much it concerned the kingdome of England, hauing beene long vnited to the Netherlands by many auncient contracts, and bound to hold and maintaine the ſame, in reſpect of the ſituations of both thoſe countries, for that the Netherlands had many great riuers, and England an iſland lying right ouer againſt it, who being enemies, might doe great hurt one to the other, and being vnited together, might rule and haue the ſoueraigntie of the great ocean ſea, whereby they both get their liuings, and without it could not maintaine themſelues: England hauing no
F ſtrong forts, but the high and ſteepe cliffes vpon the ſea ſide, the Netherlands many ſtrong townes, which liue moſt by their traffique by ſea, & therfore are ful of ſhips & ſea-faring men, whereby Englands ſteep banks might in time be made vnprofitable, & ſo eaſily aſſailed: England alſo with the great ſtore of good harbours & hauens that are in it, might greatly impeach

What money Holland had contributed in 9. yeares.

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1585 and hinder the traffique of the Netherlands: and therefore in times past these causes especially moued them to make so many reciprocall contracts and alliances one with the other, and not to suffer them to be inuaded or gouerned by strangers; and that not onely betweene the princes of the said countries, but also with the Estates of the same, as perpetuall friends and welwillers. A

These things on both sides well weighed, debated, and considered, had moued the Netherlands, once againe to make a motion vnto England, and likewise had stirred England to hearken vnto their request, and the rather, for that now by meanes of the vntimely death of their prudent protector the prince of Orange, the losse of many townes and castles, and the refusall of aide to them made by the king of France, by the procurement and secret practises of their enemies, they were brought into a miserable and desperate estate: and therefore it was B now much to be feared, that by their mistrust and diffidence (the rather because they had many weake members amongst them, which were continually suborned and solicited by the subtilties of their enemies) they might fall into some treatie of reconciliation and peace, or agreement with their enemies, and afterwards inuade England with their helpe and meanes, to the which they bare no lesse enuie and hatred in their hearts, than vnto the Netherlands, as it not long since plainely appeared by the arresting of diuers English shippes in the hauens of Spaine, without any speech or cause of breach of peace, cruelly handling and hostilly tormenting the marchants and sailers of the same.

The Queene of England was herewith not a little in minde perplexed and troubled, being a matter that much concerned both her owne person, and her kingdomes and dominions, C and therefore could hardly be resolued therein.

Reasons why the Queene of England did not take vpon her the absolute gouernment of the Netherlands.

The reasons why the Queene tooke not vpon her the soueraignetie and chiefe command ouer the prouinces of the Netherlands, for an inheritance to her, her heires, and successors, all wise men persuaded themselues to be these: first, that shee was a princesse in yeares, past hope of hauing any children, and that shee had not any man within her kingdomes, fit in all respects to take vpon him the command and authoritie of so absolute a gouernment, and to execute the same as it ought to be done: that shee was not mightie enough to rule ouer both places, because shee did not beleeue, nor could be persuaded, that the power and contribution of the Netherlands was so great and so much as it was affirmed to be (wheras for good considerations they made it not knowne to bee so much as it was) but to the contrarie shee D thought the Netherlands beeing compelled by extremitie, had made it much more than it was, and that her counsell had not taken sufficient information of the estate thereof: that shee would not put her selfe wholly to the hazard and aduenture, not onely fearing the great pride of the king of Spaine, but the inconstancie of France, knowing her owne might, and that her subiects were not accustomed to the warres, and vnwilling to contribute any great summes of money for the same, especially to aide and assist a forraine nation. Thus did this wise and prouident Queene aduisedly measure and weigh her owne meanes and affections, (and yet shewed her care and commiseration shee had of the Netherlands in their miseries) with the assurance of her owne estate, first and chiefly to be respected, and after that to aide and assist the Netherlands as time and occasion should offer opportunitie. These and many other like E reasons moued both parties to the conclusion of a prouisionall succour for the releeuing of Antuerpe, which at that time was besieged, and much distressed: and thereupon it was contracted, concluded, and agreed, between the Queene of England, and the deputies of the Netherlands, by a contract made the second day of August, that the Queene should send foure thousand men to releeue the towne of Antuerpe, and disburse all such summes of money as should be paid for the presting and imbarking of these troops, and to be paied them monthly, for three moneths together, from the day of their mustering, which together with the transportation and other things necessarie, was accounted to amount to the summe of fortie thousand gulderns, and the three moneths paie to be 184600 gulderns; which summe should be repaid againe within sixe moneths after the raising of the siege from before Antuerpe, and F if it were not done, then to be paid within twelue moneths after the first daie of their muster: for assurance whereof, it was agreed by the deputies, that the towne of Oostend or Sluse, should within one moneth after bee deliuered ouer to the Queene, with all the prouision of

A of munition, ordnance, and other marſhall furniture therein: and that ſhee ſhould take ſeauen hundred of the ſaid foure thouſand men, and place them in garriſon in the ſaid towne; alwaies reſerued, that the ſaid town ſhould continue (concerning the ciuile gouernment) vnder the iuriſdiction of the Eſtates of the ſaid prouinces, and not bee burthened nor charged by the Queene with any thing whatſoeuer. 1585

This beeing thus concluded, ſir *Iohn Norris*, that worthie gentleman, was appointed to bee generall of theſe forces, for the relieuing of the towne of Antuerpe. The inhabitants of the ſame towne that had fledde from thence, (beeing many marchants and others, as then remaining in the citie of London) did willingly and freely giue the ſumme of tenne thouſand gulderns.

B And after that, when the Queene could not be perſuaded to take the abſolute ſoueraignty of the Netherlands vpon her, nor yet to vndertake the continuall protection of the ſame (although ſhee found her ſubiects willing and readie, both with their bodies and goods, to doe any thing whatſoeuer ſhee pleaſed to command them) ſhee dealt with the deputies of the Eſtates about a contract and treatie of aide and aſſiſtance, which vpon the tenth day of the moneth of Auguſt was agreed on at Noneſuch, containing theſe articles hereafter following.

1 That the Queene of England ſhould ſend foure thouſand foot men, and foure hundred horſe men into the low countries, to aide the ſame: but preſently, after it was agreed that ſhee ſhould ſend fiue thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen, ledde by a generall by her C thereunto appointed, which ſhould be a man of authoritie, qualitie, and reſpect, addicted to the profeſſion of the true religion, with other ſufficient commaunders, all to be paid by the Queene during the warres. Aide of 5000 foot, and 1000 horſemen.

2 For the repaiment whereof, the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, as well in generall as particular, ſhould be bound (when it ſhould pleaſe God of his mercie, by her Maieſties help and aſſiſtance, to ſend them peace and quietneſſe) to paie all the money which her Maieſtie ſhall haue diſburſed for them, as well for preſt money for the leuying and taking of them vp, and tranſporting them ouer the ſeas, as for their paie and entertainment, in this manner: that is, all the ſummes of money that ſhall haue beene diſburſed by her Maieſtie in the firſt yeare, ſhall be paied againe, within the compaſſe of the firſt yeare next enſuing after the peace, and D the reſt within foure yeares then following, euery yeare one fourth part of the ſaid ſumme, that ſhall be found due by iuſt and true muſters to be made on both ſides, at the firſt arriuall of ſouldiers into the Netherlands. The time of repaiment of the money diſburſed.

3 And for the better aſſurance of the repaiment of the ſaid money, it is agreed, that within one moneth after the confirmation of the ſaid contract, the towne of Fleſſingue, and the caſtle of Ramekins, in the iſland of Walchren, and the towne of Bryel, with two skonces thereunto belonging, in Holland, ſhall be deliuered ouer into the hands of ſuch gouernours, for her vſe, as it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to appoint, to be kept by her garriſons, vntill ſuch time as her Maieſtie ſhall be fully ſatisfied and paied, within the citie of London, all ſuch ſummes of money as ſhee ſhall haue diſburſed for them: and if the Eſtates thinke it good for the coun- E trie, and profitable for the common good and vnitie of the ſame, that her Maieſties ſouldiers ſhall lie in any other townes, or forts in garriſon, that the ſame ſhall be taken out of the 5000 footmen and 1000 horſemen aforeſaid. Fleſſingue and the Bryel giuen to the Queene in caution.

4 That the ſaid townes and places ſo deliuered vnto her Maieſtie for her ſecuritie, ſhall be prouided of ordnance, powder, and other munition fit for warre, in ſuch ſort and quantitie, as the gouernour generall for her ſaid Maieſtie ſhall thinke expedient and neceſſarie, to defend and keep the ſaid townes and places; vpon condition, that a iuſt and true inuentorie ſhall bee made thereof, that (when time ſhall ſerue) the ſame may be redeliuered againe in like order. The townes ſhall be left furniſhed with ordnance, &c. as they were found.

5 That the Eſtates ſhal retire their garriſons out of the ſaid towns and forts (excepting ſuch F perſons of qualitie as dwell therein, and are appointed to gouerne in politicke and ciuile cauſes) that her Maieſties gouernours may haue the free command, in al things that concerne the keeping and defending of the ſaid places: alwaies to bee vnderſtood, that they ſhall not meddle with ciuile & politicke gouernment, but only in caſes concerning the garriſon of the ſame. Receiuing in of Engliſh garriſons, but ſtil holding the owne ciuile gouernment.

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They shall not haue any conference or conspiracie with the enemie, &c.

6 That neither the gouernour for the Queene, nor the souldiers of the said garrisons, shall haue any dealing, intelligence, correspondence, nor conuersation with the Spaniards, nor any other of the Estates enemies, neither suffer it in any man, but to the contrarie shall let it, and vse all kind of hostilitie against them, in regard of the safetie and preseruation of the said places. A

The obseruing and keeping of priuiledges.

7 That the said cautionarie townes and places, concerning policie, iurisdiction, priuiledges, and freedomes, shall bee gouerned according to their generall and particular contracts and vnions, obseruing their owne lawes, customes, and magistrates, without imposition of any manner of taxes, imposts, or contributions, on her Maiestie behalfe, or for the souldiers.

The English souldiers must paie impost & excise.

8 That the English souldiers of the said garrisons, shall bee bound to paie the imposts and excises, as all other souldiers (in the Estates garrisons) doe, without abating them, vnlesse it be by the consent of her Maiesties Lieutenant generall. B

Prouision for discipline and pay to be made by the Queene.

9 And that the inhabitants of the townes aforesaid may not bee ouercharged by the souldiers of the garrisons, her Maiestie shall take order for their paie, and all good discipline: and that the said inhabitants shall not in any wise bee molested and troubled, for the accomplishing of any part of the contract, which is to bee obserued on the Estates behalfe, so they doe that which in dutie belongeth vnto them to doe.

Deliuering of the townes againe when the money is paid.

10 That when her Maiestie, or her successors, shall be satisfied, contented, and paied, all the money by her disbursed, the said townes and forts with all their ordinance and munition, shall be deliuered againe into the hands of the Estates, without any exception or deniall, and not into the hands of the king of Spaine, or to any other enemies of the countrie; nor shall be put vnder the command of any other lord or prince, but only for the assurance of her Maiestie, and to the profit of the Estates aforesaid. C

An oath of fidelitie to bee made by the souldiers.

11 That the generall and the gouernour of her Maiesties garrisons, shall be sworne to bee true and faithfull vnto her Maiestie, and to the Estates in generall, for the safe keeping and defending of the said townes places, and dependances, and for the maintenance of the true christian religion, as it is now at this present vsed and exercised in England, and the vnited Netherlands and to obserue and cause to be obserued all points of this contract, concerning them: and that the officers, captaines, and common souldiers shall take the like oath of fidelitie to her Maiestie, and to the generall Estates of the said vnited prouinces, as also to be obedient vnto their rulers and gouernours. The like shall the inhabitants of the said townes and places sweare. D

Prouision for the field.

12 That the souldiers beeing in the field shall be lodged and victualed at reasonable prices, without any imposition to be taken for that which is to be eaten, and other necessaries, but shall in all things be intreated like other of the Estates souldiers.

Monethly paiment.

13 That the gouernours of the said townes shall bee paid their entertainment euery moneth, which money her Maiestie shall cause to bee brought vnto the same townes: and that the nnmber of the souldiers shall not be greater than the number of the garrisons were sixe moneths before the deliuering ouer of the said townes: and it shall not bee thought any wrong, if it happen that the said paie bee sometimes brought eight or ten daies after the time of paiment due. E

The souldiers shall haue free exercise of religion.

14 That the gouernours and souldiers of the garrisons of the said townes, shall haue the free exercise of religion, as it is now vsed in England, and to that end in euery of the said towns they shall haue a church appointed for them.

Order for victuals.

15 That the said garrisons shall be vsed as other garrisons that haue lien there before them haue beene, as well for their lodgings as victuals: and the Estates shall take order, that they shal haue victuals at as reasonable prices as the inhabitantes of the said townes haue, and shal haue powder, match, and bullets in like quantity as the garrisons before them haue heretofore had, and as other souldiers in other garrisons vsually haue.

Entrance and permission to sit in the counsell of Estate.

16 That it shall be lawfull for her Maiestie (besides the gouernour generall that shall bee there) to appoint two of her subiects to sit in the counsell of Estate, beeing men of good qualitie, and professors of the true christian religion: and also in the marshals court, as need shall require, to iudge of all such persons as the gouernour and the counsell of Estate shall thinke good, F

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A good, and as the cauſe ſhall require. And that the two gouernours of the townes that ſhall haue the ſayd garriſons aforeſaid in them, ſhall and may come into the counſell of Eſtate at any time, when they ſhall thinke it moſt conuenient and neceſſarie, for any matter of importance, touching the ſeruice of her Maieſtie, and the benefit of the vnited Prouinces, and yet ſhall not be accounted nor held for any members of the ſaid counſell of Eſtate. 1585

17 That the gouernour aforeſaid, with the counſell of Eſtate, ſhall haue power and authoritie to redreſſe all diſorders and abuſes committed in the Impoſts, and to cut off all exceſſiue fees of the officers, and to ſee that the moneyes proceeding thereof be emploied to the moſt profit and commoditie of the countrey, for the better reſiſtance of the enemy, both B by water and by land. The authoritie of the gouernour generall.

18 That the ſaid gouernour generall, with the counſell of Eſtate, ſhall reforme the diſorders in the mynts of the ſaid vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands, and reduce them to a conuenient number, and that they ſhall not exchange the moneyes currant in thoſe countries, or any others, thereby to inhaunce or raiſe the values thereof, without the conſent of her Maieſtie, or her gouernour. Reformation of the Mint.

19 That her Maieſtie, or the generall gouernour of her forces aforeſaid, with the counſell of Eſtate, ſhall take order for the reeſtabliſhment and reſtoring of publicke authoritie, as alſo the vpholding and obſeruing of martiall diſcipline, the which at this time are both much decayed, by reaſon of the equall powers and authorities of gouernors, and multitudes, or confuC ſion of counſels. Proviſo for publicke authority & martiall diſcipline.

20 That her ſaid gouernour generall, with the counſell of Eſtate, ſhall haue the ouerſight and ordering of all things concerning the common vtilitie and welfare of the land: prouided alwaies, that they ſhall not take vpon them to alter any thing in the aforeſaid true Chriſtian religion, neither in the lawes, priuiledges, cuſtomes, freedomes, ſtatutes, nor ordinances of the ſayd Eſtates, prouinces, members, townes, colledges, or inhabitants of the ſame in generall or particular. The gouernor ſhall haue ouerſight of all things without altering religion or priuiledges.

21 That neyther the Eſtates generall nor particular, ſhall haue any dealing with the enemie, without the knowledge and conſent of her Maieſtie: nor yet with any forraine prince or potentate, without her knowledge, or the conſent of her gouernour generall aD foreſaid. No compact to be made with the enemie without conſent of her Maieſtie &c.

22 That her ſaid Maieſtie likewiſe ſhall not deale with the king of Spaine, nor yet with any other enemie to the Eſtates, concerning any cauſe or matter that toucheth the vnited Prouinces in generall or in particular, without the aduice and conſent of the generall Eſtates, lawfully called thereunto. The Queene ſhall make no treatie but by conſent.

23 That the raiſing and paying of new forces, which are to be raiſed for the defence of the land, ſhall be done by the ſaid gouernour generall, and the counſell of eſtate, with the conſent of the generall Eſtates. Taking vp of new ſouldiers, & paying the, to be done by the gouernour &c.

24 That at the death or alteration of any prouinciall gouernours, or of frontier townes, the Eſtates or prouinces where any ſuch alteration happeneth, ſhall nominate two or three E ſufficient perſons, well addicted to the religion, whereof the gouernour generall aforeſaid, and the counſell of Eſtate ſhall chuſe one. To change or chuſe new gouernors.

25 That as often as her Maieſtie, for her defence and ſecuritie, ſhall ſend any ſhippes of warre to ſea, if the enemie ſend any fleet into the narrow ſeas, betweene Fraunce and England, or betweene England and the Netherlands, the Eſtates ſhall ſend foorth as many ſhippes to ſea, as her Maieſtie ſhall then doe, ſo they exceede not in number and charge the limitted number, in times paſt preſented in Anno 1584, vnto the prince of Orange by M. *Dyer*, or more, as the neceſſitie, and the Eſtates vttermoſt meanes may reach vnto, which ſhall ioyne with her Maieſties ſaid fleet, and bee vnder the commaund and appointment of the admirall of England; with this prouiſo, that whatſoeuer ſhall be gotF ten or woon by that fleet, ſhall be equally diuided, according to the charges and expences diſburſed by either partie. The authority of the admirall of England.

26 That her Maieſties ſhippes being at ſea, ſhall alwayes haue free egreſſe and regreſſe into the hauens and ſtreames within the ſaid Netherlands, and there bee victualled at a rea- Free vſe of the hauens on both parts.

1585 reasonable price: and that the ships of warre belonging to the Netherlands, shall likewise enioy the same priuiledge and freedome in all the streames and hauens of England, and others her Maiesties dominions. A

To end all questions and controuersies. 27 That the ordering and taking vp of all controuersies and contentions which may fall out and happen betweene any of the vnited Prouinces, or any townes, that cannot be ended by ordinarie course of iustice, shall be sent vnto her Maiestie or to her gouernour generall, to take order therein, with the aforesaid counsell of Estate, within the vnited Prouinces.

Free passage for horses. 28 That it shall be lawfull for her Maiesties subiects to carry their horses (which they shall buy in the said countries of the Netherlands) ouer into England, paying the ordinarie customes and charges for the same, vpon condition, that they shall not carrie them elsewhere. B

The Englishmen may passe ouer with the generals passport alone. 29 That the English souldiers that are desirous to goe ouer into England, shall passe freely, without any other passport than the generals, signed and sealed with his hand; conditionally, that the number of the Englishmen be complete, and that the Estates be not compelled to any further charges, for taking vp and transporting of new souldiors in place of them that are gone away.

The commanders oathes. 30 That the gouernour generall, chiefe commaunders, colonels, captaines, officers, and other her Maiesties souldiers, shall take the accustomed oath (as aforesaid) to the Estates of the same Prouinces, alwaies excepting the homage and fealtie by them due vnto her Maiestie. This contract was in this forme made and concluded at Nonesuch vpon the tenth of Auguſt 1585. C

In memorie of this contract, the Zeelanders caused certaine counters to bee made, hauing stamped on the one side thereof the armes of Zeeland, being a Lyon rising out of the waues of the sea, with this inscription, *Lactor & emergo, 1586.* On the other side was the armes of the townes, with this inscription, *Authore Deo, fauente R. ina*; that is, The Zeelands Lyon clymeth out of the water by Gods power and her Maiesties aid. And according to the said contract, there were certaine souldiers sent ouer, vnder the commaund of Sir *Iohn Norris*, and others.

A declaration in print made by the Queen of England. At this time the Queene of England caused a booke to bee printed, both in English and in French, therein shewing the reasons that had mooued her, to aid, assist, and protect D the miserable and oppressed Netherlands, wherein there was at large declared, what auncient contracts, intercourses, and alliances had from time to time beene made and passed, not onely betweene the princes of those countries, but with the Estates and inhabitants of the same, as namely the Gentlemen, Spiritualtie, and Commons, for their particular defence. In the same likewise was shewed the barbarous and cruell gouernment and oppressions of the Spaniards vsed in those countries, and what meanes the said Prouinces and shee had sought, to make a peaceable end, but all in vaine; and therefore she was now enforced to aid and assist them, for three causes especially: The first, that the Netherlands might be restored to their auncient freedomes, priuiledges, and gouernment, and so brought to a peace: The second, that she might for her part be assured against the inuasion of her ma- E licious and enuious neighbours: and thirdly, That the traffique betweene her subiects and the Netherlands, together with the aforesaid intercourse and trade, might be assured and kept.

To the same declaration was added the Queenes answere, vnto two seuerall slaunders imposed vpon her, and published by a certaine famous libell, written in Italian: The first, for vnthankfulnesse shewed by her to the king of Spaine, who (as the author reporteth) in her sister Queene *Maries* time, had saued her life: The second, that shee had sought to procure certaine persons to kill the prince of Parma, and that two men were executed for the same. To the first the Queene said, That her faith and fidelitie was neuer in any such question in her sisters time, and much lesse, that euer any sentence of death was pronounced a- F gainst her, and that therefore hee had no cause why, to seeke to saue her life, confessing and acknowledging neuertheless, that she was as then somewhat beholden vnto him, and that in all princely and honourable manner she had beene thankfull vnto him for the same:

Tou-

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A Touching the prince of Parma, ſhe ſayd, That ſhee had no reaſon to bee more enemie to him, than to any other of the gouernours before him, and that ſhee had alwayes held a good conceit of him, and neuer ſought any other courſe againſt him, and that euery man of iudgement might well conceiue, that if ſhee ſhould practiſe his death by any ſiniſter meanes, yet the troubles in thoſe countries could not thereby be ended, with many other reaſons to that purpoſe. 1585

According to the contract aforeſaid, vpon the nine and twentieth of October 1585, the Eſtates cauſed the earle of Hohenlo in their behalfes, and in the name of prince *Maurice* (the lord thereof) to deliuer the towne of Fleſſingue and the caſtle of Ramekins to Sir *Philip Sidney*, knight, to the vſe and behoofe of the Queene of England, who preſently
B put an Engliſh garriſon into the ſame, and was himſelfe made gouernour thereof. The like was done at the Bryel, which was (by the earle of Hohenlo, and ſome of the deputies of the Eſtates of Zeeland) deliuered into the hands and authoritie of Sir *Thomas Cecile*, knight, gouernour thereof for her Maieſtie, where hee tooke his oath in the towne-houſe, in the preſence of the ſayd earle of Hohenlo, and the magiſtrates of the ſame towne.

Prince *Maurice* himſelfe likewiſe (as marqueſſe of the townes of Campuere and Fleſſingue) by aduice of *Loiſe de Coligni*, princeſſe Dowager of Orange, the lords of his bloud, and others his friends and ſeruants, wrot vnto the embaſſadour of England (as then M. *Dauyſon*) touching the deliuering ouer of Fleſſingue vnto her Maieſtie, ſaying, That hee
C thanked God for the fore-paſſed contract made betweene the Queene of England, and the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, beſeeching God to bleſſe the proceedings thereof; and that he was very willing, and well pleaſed, that the towne of Fleſſingue, being his patrimonie, ſhould bee deliuered into her Maieſties hands; and that although the towne was of ſo great importance, that they in reaſon (for it, and for many other good ſeruices done by his father) might well aske ſome recompence, notwithſtanding, reſpecting the good and furtherance of the Netherlands, he was content to yeeld thereunto; and the rather, for her ſaid Maieſties commoditie, hoping (by her good fauour) to doe her ſuch ſeruice, as that (in time to come) both he and the houſe of Naſſau ſhould deſerue thankes for the ſame: and that as the houſe of Naſſau had alwayes beene her Maieſties humble ſeruants
D and well-willers; ſo now they thought themſelues much more bound vnto her, in reſpect of the ſaid contract made with the Netherlands, which both he and Graue *William* of Naſſau by that their proteſtation auouched: and ſo he, with the princeſſe, the children, and the whole houſe of Naſſau, deſiring nothing more in this world, than the fauour, good will, and aſſiſtance of her Maieſtie, recommended themſelues moſt humbly vnto her protection; praying the embaſſadour to recommend them likewiſe to the earle of Leiceſter, deſiring him to vſe all the meanes hee could (if it pleaſed almightie God to graunt it) that ſome one of great qualitie ſhould fall priſoner into his hands, that his brother, the prince of Orange, and earle of Buren &c. might be exchanged and ſet at libertie, and that he would be pleaſed to be a meanes therein. As alſo, that if any new ſoul-
E diers were to be rayſed for her Maieſties, or the countries ſeruice, that thoſe of the houſe of Naſſau might be aduaunced and preferred to ſome places of commaund. And whereas ſince the death of the late prince of Orange, certaine gentlemen of Prouence and Dolphine ſought to perſuade the French king, to graunt them the title of the principalitie of Orange, which (for that cauſe) was brought in queſtion before his priuie Counſell, without any knowledge or conſent of the houſe of Naſſau; hee beſought her honouralent Maieſtie to bee an interceſſour for them, and (if occaſion ſerued) to bee a meanes, that the ſayd houſe of Naſſau might continue in the auncient authoritie and honour, that his auncеſtours (the princes of Orange) had alwayes held and maintained, according to the contract of peace made in the caſtle of Cambreſis *Anno* 1559, betweene Fraunce and
F Spaine.

Graue Maurice letter to the Queene, for conſent of deliuering Fleſſingue into her hands.

And whereas the principall inheritance that belonged vnto him and his brother, prince *Fredericke Hendericke*, lay in the earledome of Burgundie, and that there might bee ſome hope in time to recouer the ſame into their hands, hee beſought her Maieſtie to ayde and aſſiſt

1585. assist them, with her fauour and authoritie, vnto the French king and the Switzers, bordering thereupon, and especially to the lords of Berne, that some meanes might be wrought for the recouerie of the same, as occasion should serue. A

And further, as it was manifestly knowne, what great losse of lands and possessions, the said house of Nassau had sustained and endured by the king of Spaines, and his adherents meanes, he besought her Maiestie to interpose her authoritie (good occasion beeing offered) that they might bee recompensed (being now almost depriued of all their inheritance) with some possessions and lands, of the like nature vnto those which they had lost.

And if it should so fall out (as the sayd prince *Maurice* and the princesse in heart desired) that her Maiestie would be pleased to take the chiefe soueraignetie and gouernement of those countries vpon her, he besought her to haue a regard vnto the articles (as shee should find them conuenient) presented vnto her by the Estates, touching the house of Nassau, inserted together, with the articles offered vnto her Maiestie concerning the soueraignetie. B

Also if it pleased her Maiestie to employ any men of honour and qualitie of the countrey of Germanie in her seruice, he besought her to preferre Graue *Iohn van Nassau*, as one well affected to doe her Maiestie any seruice whatsoeuer, and one that alwayes had beene true and faithfull vnto those countries, and whose zeale vnto religion, wisedome, and experience, was knowne vnto all men.

Lastly, he besought her Maiestie to be pleased to cause some act to be drawne and made, in such order as shee should thinke good, concerning the aforesaid humble petition, made by the said princesse, earles, and children of the house of Nassau, to no other end, than only to serue for a sufficient testimoniall for those of the said house, to shew and beare witnesse of their endeauours and good meanings, for the welfare and vpholding of the sayd house of Nassau. Written in the Hage the foureteenth of October 1585. Signed, *Loise de Coligni & Maurice de Nassau.* C

And before the comming ouer of the earle of Leicester, the generall Estates gaue vnto prince *Maurice* of Nassau a commission for the gouernment, captaine generals, and admirals place of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, with due respect to be had vnto the gouernour generall which her Maiestie should send ouer. They likewise ordayned and thought it expedient, to set downe the title of the said prince *Maurice*, which should be vsed in all commissions and executions of thinges that should passe out of the Courts of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, in the same manner as followeth: *Maurice*, prince of Orange, earle of Nassau, Catzenellebourg, Vianden, Dietz, &c. marquesse of Campuere and Flessingue, baron of S. Vijt, Doesbourg, of the towne of Graue, and of the land of Guycke, &c. gouernour, captaine generall, and admirall of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland; and since that time there was added thereunto the earledome of Mœurs, and others. D

The nineteenth of December, *Robert* lord *Dudley*, baron of Denbigh, and earle of Leicester, sonne to *Iohn* lord *Dudley*, duke of Northumberland, appointed by the Queene of England, to bee her gouernour generall ouer the English forces in the Netherlands, and in all things to represent her person, beeing followed with a goodly traine, arriued in the prouince of Zeeland, where he was honourably and courteously receiued: of whom, and what was dont by him, wee will speake hereafter, and shew (while these thinges passed and were agreed vpon in England) what was done in the warres in the Low countries. E

After the losse of Antuerpe, the Seignior of Saint Aldegonde (who had beene bourgomaster of the said towne, and a chiefe actor in the treatie with the prince of Parma for the yeelding of the towne) was fallen into disgrace with the Estates of the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, vpon the false suggestions (as hee pretended) of his enemies, whereupon hee wrote a letter vnto the Seignior of Metkerke, on the foure and twentieth day of October, concerning the peace, the which I haue thought good to insert here. F

A Letter

A

1585

A Letter of aduice written by the Seignior of Saint Aldegonde, *to the Seignior of Metkerke, preſident of Flaunders, touching the peace.*

MY good couſin, I doubt not but you are informed of the particularities of the yeelding vp of the towne of Antuerpe, and how that ſince mine enemies (hauing ſought by falſe and ſlaunderous ſuggeſtions, to blame me, and to wrong mine honour) haue gotten ſo great credit with the Eſtates which gouerne there, as they haue written plainely vnto me, that they would not ſuffer me to remaine in the vnited prouinces, I haue made many complaints to
B the Eſtates of Zeeland, but it hath auailed me nothing, ſo as I am reſolued to leaue the countrie, and to ſeeke my fortune, applying my ſelfe to that wherunto God ſhall call me, attending only the comming of my yong ſonne, to make him partaker of his fathers fortunes: aſſuring you, that aduerſities ſhall neuer change me, nor take from me the aſſurance that I haue in my God and Father, by his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt. I am ſorrie to ſee my ſelfe reduced to that extremitie, to go wandring vp and down like a vagabond, depriued of wife, children, and all domeſticke commodities, yea in my declining age, which hath moſt need of reſt. But I muſt truely confeſſe, that the miſerable eſtate of our poore country, doth afflict me much more than mine owne priuate fortune; and the more, for that I cannot aſſiſt it, neither with counſell nor with action.

C And on the other ſide, I ſee in my example, as in a cleere glaſſe, that ſuch as gouerne the helme in this horrible tempeſt, ſuffer themſelues to be carried away by the winds of reports and paſſions, not giuing place to reaſon, the which in the end muſt needs be the cauſe of all miſeries: for this manner of proceeding doth incenſe many againſt them, hauing alreadie too many enemies, and puts them in danger with their owne fall to drawe the whole countrie into ruine. We haue ſeene the examples of times paſt, when as truſting to ſome ſmiles of fortune, we made no account to offend all the world, and vpon light and vaine iealouſies, we did often laie the foundations of great quarrels. For the preſent, it ſeemes that our miſerie is come to ſome *Criſis*, the good or bad conduct whereof will be of great importance, and may qualifie the laſt euent.

D I would they would take example of the towne of Antuerpe, and others, which haue runne headlong into theſe extremities, and haue left no meanes for their preſeruation, but what depended on the conquerours diſcretion and clemencie, who if hee would haue followed the ſteppes of his predeceſſors (yea and of many among the reſt, who hauing mingled their victories with much blood & proſcriptions, haue yet purchaſed the title of humanity and clemencie with poſterity) I feare the reliques would ſcarce haue beene preſerued. It is true, that the hatred to religion is as great, or rather greater than euer, the which is a great teſtimonie of the wrath of God, and one of the greateſt calamities. But yet I thinke ſometimes with my ſelfe, that if they laid aſide all paſſion, and would proceede with wiſdome and moderation, it might happily be helped, at the leaſt ſome part of it: a milde word doth oftentimes pacifie
E choller, and time moderates all things. Whatſoeuer it be, they muſt ſeeke to auoide the totall ruine of the countrie, and of religion, either by armes, or els by an accord. If they be reſolued to armes, they muſt then take another courſe than they haue hitherto done: they muſt obey and ſubmit themſelues vnder a head, which may commaund with authoritie, they muſt watch and be diligent when it is time, and not attend extremities. If an accord doth pleaſe them, they muſt alſo ſeeke it before they be at the victors mercie. In the meane time, I muſt confeſſe I ſhould be much troubled to ſpeake my opinion reſolutely: but as farre as I can iudge of the princes diſpoſition, if euer any equitie or reaſon may be expected or hoped
F for, it will come from him, or not from any that ſhall come to gouerne in theſe parts. I know well what difficulties there are in Spaine, but if they become victors, they will bee much greater, and it may bee paſt all remedie; whereas now it may bee, that in trying the foord, there would be ſome hope to eſcape many dangers on either ſide. But there is great difficultie to maintaine the common people in their dutie and conſtancie, if they once open this gappe, and giue them any hope of peace. I foreſee it well, and therefore they muſt proceed wiſely

and

1585 „ and with great diſcretion. But there will alwayes ſome difficulties ariſe, the which (it A
„ ſeemeth) may bee preuented, if they vſe therein authoritie, wiſedome, and diligence.
„ Wee haue ſeene it in the warres of Holland, that they haue attempted it twice or thrice
„ without ſucceſſe, and yet we haue not ſeene the publicke affaires of the Commonwealth
„ runne to wracke and confuſion: for when as they diſcouered the ſhelfe, they preſently
„ turned away the courſe of their ſhippe. But there was a good and a wiſe pylote, who
„ gouerned the helme, and knew well ynough how to fit the ſayles to the violence of the
„ wind. Hauing none ſuch now, I know not (if hauing once let ſlippe a cable) how they
„ ſhall recouer it againe, but that the ſtorme will ſoone ouerſet the ſhippe, euen in an in-
„ ſtant. It is therefore a very difficult and hard thing to giue any counſell or aduice in
„ this caſe, and yet there muſt be an abſolute reſolution therein: For you muſt vndoub- B
„ tedly expect, to haue all the burthen and extremitie of the warres to fall vpon you in
„ thoſe parts: you haue an enemie that is vigilant vpon all occaſions whatſoeuer, hardie
„ at aſſaults, indefatigable in trauell, wiſe in counſell, and prompt in execution and perfor-
„ mance of any thing: And yet on the other ſide, he is ſo wiſe and circumſpect, as he doth
„ preciſely weigh and conſider the difficulties and hazards of warre, eſpecially in ſo ſtrong
„ a countrey, and ſo diſaduantagious for ſouldiers. He doth alſo conſider, what ſmall pro-
„ fit or commoditie will redound to him and to his maſter, ſeeing that howſoeuer the chance
„ ſhall fall, hee can attend no other, but onely the loſſe and ruine of his owne patrimonie.
„ Wherefore I thinke it ſhould bee eaſie to preuent and auoid the danger thereof, if there
„ were occaſion offered to doe it with honour. Wherefore thinke well vpon this, I pray C
„ you, firſt with your ſelfe, and then with your wiſe and temperate friends, and conſider
„ what you ſhall thinke moſt fit and conuenient to be done. For (to ſpeake the truth) we
„ are in all thinges much inferiour vnto our enemies; their authoritie is abſolute and firme,
„ and ſupported and maintained with the title of a great and mightie king; ours is not one-
„ ly floting betwixt the inconſtant waues of popular humours and fantaſies, but (in a man-
„ ner) nothing at all: the commaunders in the warre differ; the meanes are nothing like;
„ the ſouldiers are no wayes to be compared, neyther in number, experience, vertue, nor
„ courage to fight. True it is, that wee haue the ſituation of the countrey for our aduan-
„ tage: but the duke of Alua his time hath ſhewed ſufficiently vnto vs, that the ſituation
„ thereof cannot hinder the exploits of warre, no not in the very hardeſt time of Winter. D
„ And when I doe examine the cauſes and reaſons which croſſed his proſperitie and wel-
„ fare, I can find but ſmall hope or comfort remayning for vs at this preſent: for on the
„ enemies ſide you had the crueltie of the Generall, the pride of the leaders, the inſolencie
„ of the ſouldiers, the extreame ouer-weening of the Nation, the examples of exceſſe that
„ was vſed at Rotterdam, Naerden, Harlem, and other places, being yet freſh in memo-
„ rie. On our ſide you had a commaunder that was of great power and authoritie, ſin-
„ gular wiſedome, admirable humanitie, wonderfull patience, and incomparable dexteri-
„ tie, were it to animate the people, to content the common ſouldiers, to winne the hearts
„ of the captaines, to imploy men of worth and reputation, and to embrace all aduantages
„ both of places and ſituations, and to iudge preſently of all defects whatſoeuer. In the E
„ people you had a great diſdaine of things that were paſt, a diſlike of the preſent, and a
„ hope of the future, a great zeale and deſire to libertie, and a great loue and affection to
„ their auncient gouernment: and yet all this was, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. Now it is
„ quite contrarie: For on their ſide, the late examples of clemencie and humanitie which
„ hath beene ſhewed to many conquered townes and caſtles, dazell the eyes; the courte-
„ ſie and diſcretion of the Generall winneth the hearts and minds of all men; the ſeueritie
„ and diſcipline vſed againſt the common ſouldiers, taketh away all iealouſie and diſtruſt.
„ On our ſide, I know not if we haue a commaunder, if the gouernours haue any ſhad-
„ dow of authoritie and commaund, the ſouldiers and men of warre any kind of obedience,
„ or the common people any zeale to Religion, or to libertie: warre is hatefull vnto them, F
„ and peace their onely wiſh; traffique and priuat profit is the thing which they chiefely
„ ayme at, and all their hope reſteth in the change and alteration of the Eſtate, and yet no
„ man ſetteth to his helping hand, to vphold and keepe vs from vtter ruine. I know not

yet

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A yet what hope prince *Maurice* doth giue: yet I beleeue, that want of experience will dayly weaken his forces (eſpecially in the middeſt of ſo great diſaduantages:) and as for ſuccours to be hoped for from the Engliſh; if they be maſters, you ſhall haue an alteration of the people; if they bee not, you ſhall reape ſmall profit. Wee haue one point yet remayning, which doth ſerue as a ſacred anchor, to be our ſtay euen in the greateſt calamities, which is, that God will preſerue and defend his Church in the middeſt of all ſtormes, whereof I am aſſured. But the queſtion is, by what meanes? It may bee his pleaſure will be to trie it vnder the yoke of bondage and perſecution: it may be he will preſerue it by the hand of a mightie *Cyrus*, an *Artaxerxes*, or an *Alexander*: it may bee hee will diſperſe them into the foure corners of the world, and take the light from among them, that haue B not ſhewed themſelues worthie of it. We know, that the church of God is not tyed or limitted to any certaine place: it is Catholicke, that is to ſay, vniuerſall, not of Alexandria, nor of Rome, nor of Belgia. The examples of Aſia, Egypt, Greece, and Affricke, ſhould make vs tremble vnder the mightie and heauie hand of the Lord: *Goe vnto Silo, and ſee what I haue done*, ſayth he: And his Apoſtle ſayth, *If he hath not ſpared the naturall branches, doe you thinke he will ſpare you:* Wherefore wee muſt not in any caſe relye vpon bare words, and crie, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, or the children of *Abraham*, and the race of *Iſrael*: for God can out of ſtones rayſe vp children to *Abraham*, and there are none but the children of promiſe that are accounted for ſeed. I am therefore of aduice, that wee ſhould euery one of vs humble our ſelues vnder the Lords hand, C that we ſhould heare his word diligently and ſincerely, and that we ſhould examine carefully the meanes which he hath vouchſafed to giue vnto vs; but aboue all, that we beware of tempting him. I know well, that he is not tyed to meanes, yet his eternall and euerlaſting wiſedome (which hath diſpoſed of the euents of all thinges whatſoeuer before the foundation and beginning of the world, and hath withall determined of the meanes and ſecond cauſes) will not be tempted: and you well know, that it is not fit nor conuenient, that for our pleaſures he ſhould be enforced to worke miracles. Wee doe not allow of it, that our aduerſaries ſhould ſeeke to draw him to that neceſſitie, when there is any queſtion of doctrine which dependeth immediately of his mouth: and would wee doe it in politicke actions (the which he hath himſelfe, by his admirable wiſedome, as it were, tyed D and bound to the ſecond cauſes, to be guided and directed by the counſell, foreſight, and diſpoſition of his creatures) wee know the rule which the ſonne of Almightie God hath giuen in the Goſpell, for them that vndertake warre againſt their neighbours: by the which hee doth not take away the meanes from God to giue the victorie to the weaker partie; but he ſheweth plainely, what the true experience of all ages hath rightly taught vs (I ſpeake this by way of diſcourſe) for wee cannot by any meanes auoid the ineuitable neceſſitie of waging warre, ſeeing it is but defenſiue, the which we cannot abandon, vnleſſe we will betray the cauſe and honour of Almightie God, the which wee ſhould more eſteeme of, than all worldly conſiderations whatſoeuer, and which ſhould vtterly deface all other reſpects, ſeeing the great bitterneſſe of the malicious & ſpight- E full aduerſaries of his holy Word to bee wholly bent to extirpe and root it out, ſtopping their eyes and eares againſt all reaſon whatſoeuer, and ſeeking with all the force and violence they can to ſubiect the diuine Oracles of the Almightie God to the Ordinances and traditions of mortall men. Wee muſt therefore continue the warre with all perſeuerance that may bee, and attend the end thereof, euen ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe our good God to giue it, ſeeing that the choice and diſpoſition thereof reſteth not in our power to determine of. But yet the better to ſound the ground of this matter, let vs ſee if this oppoſition be not ſubiect to a replye: for when I caſt mine eye vpon the infinite diuerſitie of meanes which almightie God hath in his diuine and euerlaſting power, to preſerue and defend his Church euen in the middeſt of wicked Babylon, and that he holdeth F and ruleth the hearts of kings and princes in his hand, to worke them and turne them like waxe, euen at his good will and pleaſure, I thinke then ſometimes, and conſider with my ſelfe, that it is a very ſtrange and wonderfull thing, why that in any our actions and enterpriſes whatſoeuer we ſhould ſeeme (as it were) to diſtruſt or make any doubt of this

1585

1585 „ his great power and vertue; the which notwithſtanding wee ſee more often exerciſed by A
„ him, to the good and benefit of his ſeruants, than that which we attend of him. For with-
„ out doubt, almightie God is as powerfull to bend the hearts of kings and princes to mer-
„ cie vnto their ſubiects, and to make them doe that which they had neuer before preten-
„ ded, as hee is to giue victorie and conqueſt vnto them, that without any apparance of
„ meanes (hauing no ſpeciall reuelation, nor warrant) attempt warre againſt great and
„ mightie kings and potentates: but hee doth it much more commonly: for in peruſall of
„ all the auncient hyſtories of fore-paſſed ages, you ſhall find a thouſand examples of the
„ one, and ſcarce one or two of the other. *Iacob* meeting with his brother, relyed vpon this
„ ſupport, and ſped very well. Sending his children afterwards into the land of Ægypt, hee
„ gaue them no other armour but this. His children being in bondage vnder the crueltie of B
„ *Pharao*, felt the omnipotent hand of God ſtretched foorth, turning the kings and the E-
„ gyptians hearts, ſometimes to loue, ſometimes to hatred, now to crueltie, and then to
„ mercie; ſometimes to chaſe them away, and then againe to ſtay them. And I pray you
„ by what meanes or miracle did the Iſraelites obtaine health and proſperitie from king *Na-*
„ *bucadnezzar*, and afterwards from the kings of Perſia, from king *Alexander*, and in the end
„ from *Pompey* and the Romanes, by the way of armes? Nay contrariwiſe, their continu-
„ ance in armes had alwaies drawne them into miſerie and bondage, and in the end quite
„ ruined and ſpoyled their goodly citie Hieruſalem, vtterly defaced the memorie of the
„ Sanctuarie, and diſperſed the people into all the corners of the earth, like duſt. And there-
„ unto it is referred, when as the holy Prophets of God doe exhort vs ſo often to attend C
„ with ſilence and hope, and to ſuffer the ſcourge of God to paſſe from vs without oppo-
„ ſition. But what? doe I therefore wholly condemne armes? God forbid: for I know
„ full well, that the lawfull calling, the iuſtice of the cauſe, and the neceſſitie to preſerue
„ and defend that which God himſelfe hath giuen vs in guard, may make them holy and
„ pleaſing. But I offer to your further conſideration, whether certaine experience doth not
„ dayly teach and make knowne vnto vs, that we may with greater fruit ſeeke an accord,
„ with hope, that God will mooue their hearts to clemencie, who are now ſo much harde-
„ ned to ſeeke our ruine and deſtruction. You will ſay vnto me, that it hath beene often at-
„ tempted, but in vaine. I know it right well, and doe ſee plainely, that the greateſt mild-
„ neſſe and clemencie which they vſe in all their treaties and accords, is ſtill accompanied D
„ with a deſigne, to root out Chriſtian Religion in time, and the true ſeruice of God, as it
„ is commaunded and expreſſed vnto vs in his holy Word: and which is more, they are
„ more vnwilling at this day to heare it ſpoken of, than they were euer, I meane amongſt
„ the common ſort of people. But, in the meane time, I ſee alſo, that we haue ſo often at-
„ tempted armes in vaine, and that the more the warres continue, the more the knowledge
„ of God and of true pietie decayeth (omitting to ſpeake of the ruine and bondage of our
„ countrey) and yet they will againe trie force, and hope euen againſt all hope or likely-
„ hood. Why may we not, in like manner, once againe trie the ſucceſſe of a generall ac-
„ cord, and hope (beyond hope) that God will yet at length mooue their hearts, and doe
„ that which he hath not yet done? Without doubt, after that we haue a thouſand times E
„ attempted armes in vaine, wee may foure or fiue times trie the meanes of a peace and
„ concord. It may happily be in vaine; and peraduenture with great fruit: and if it doth
„ not produce the good fruits which we attend and hope for, it may be God will cauſe vs
„ to feele ſome other, which we expected not. If we bee refuſed in ſo loyall a requeſt, the
„ neceſſitie of our warre ſhall be the greater, and the cauſe more iuſt and fauourable, and it
„ may be God will mooue the hearts of ſome other princes, to haue pitie and compaſſion
„ on vs, and eyther by force of armes or meanes of interceſſion to take our cauſe in hand,
„ and to reuenge our quarrell. All warres from the beginning of the world to this day haue
„ once had an end, eyther by the ruine of one of the parties, or by an accord. To attend
„ the ruine of one partie, it is much to bee feared, that it would fall vpon our ſide: for F
„ the lambe, our head, is a good warrior by the vertue of the ſpirit, and by the ſword
„ of the Word, but he doth ſildome employ any ſubſtantiall armes; whereas on the other
„ ſide, the beaſt which maketh warre vnto the lambe and his followers, is victorious in this

world

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A world by armes, and is drunke with the bloud of Martyrs. An accord hath not alwayes " 1585
ſucceeded, after it hath beene attempted: our neighbour (Fraunce) doth ſhew it, and our "
owne bowels haue felt it, and the examples of all ages and nations doe witneſſe it: But "
in the end, when the Impoſtume is ripe, it muſt be then broken. But ſome will ſay vnto "
me, that they feare too great inconueniences may ariſe by theſe treaties of peace; I con- "
feſſe it, and (without doubt) they are exceedingly to bee feared, yet a wiſe man muſt "
(with due deliberation) conſider of the inconueniences on eyther ſide, and where there "
is greateſt likelyhood of remedie and helpe. If they hope to obtayne victorie againſt the "
enemie by armes, to preſerue the libertie, lawes, and priuiledges of the countrey, to de- "
fend the true Religion, to warrant the Church of God from oppreſſion and ruine; in the "
B name of God let vs reſolue to take armes, but let vs vndertake it couragiouſly and cheere- "
fully, and employ both our hearts and hands therein. But on the other ſide, if our for- "
ces doe dayly decay; if armes doe ſubiect our countrey and people vnto the yoake of "
ſtrangers; if armes deface all lawes and auncient policie, diſperſe the Church of God, "
ouerthrow all true pietie and Religion, wipeth out all remembrance and reſpect of the word "
of God, and in the end draweth vs one after another into our enemies power; why doe "
wee not then looke vnto that which is moſt likely to preſerue and defend vs? Wee ſaw "
by experience, when we had all our forces ioyned together to vphold vs, when wee had "
a head to conduct and direct vs, when our meanes were entyre, yet the chiefe townes of "
the countrey were enforced to come to an agreement with the enemie one after another, "
C ſo as ſo many townes, ſo many priuate accords were made and entered into. Wee "
know that theſe priuate accords are a ruine and confuſion vnto the countrey, and yet "
we cannot preuent theſe priuate accords, nor will not make any motion for a generall "
peace; in time; but are like men that were inchaunted and drunke with this opi- "
nion, that we muſt attend and hope euen vntill the laſt houre of our extremitie, and ne- "
uer ſpeake or make motion of any peace, but when we are ſo neere driuen, that we can "
doe no more: which is the very cauſe, that all our actions are not guided and ma- "
naged by reaſon, but carried headlong (as it were) by paſſion and neceſſitie. With- "
out doubt, when wee are brought vnto the vtermoſt extremitie, it is impoſſible for vs "
to obtaine any good or reaſonable conditions from the winning enemie: for the victor "
D doth alwayes preſcribe a law vnto the vanquiſhed, and hee that fighteth, doubteth "
the danger thereof, and oftentimes is compelled to giue eare vnto an vnequall accord. "
Wherefore the fitteſt time to make good conditions to make peace, is, when both parties are "
ſtrong, and fit to abide the fight: but when the one is vnderfoot, and not able to hold "
out any longer, there is no time then of reconciliation, but of humilitie. I doe not yet "
giue counſell to make an accord: but if that one towne after another ſhall be forced in "
the end to agree vnto the enemie, I am of opinion, that they ſhould take an antidote "
againſt this deadly poyſon, and begin when it is time: for it is better to treat of a re- "
conciliation for all the townes together, than for the yeelding vp of one towne in parti- "
cular. But it is greatly to bee feared, that if they once ſpeake of a treatie of peace and "
E reconciliation, and that the common people haue once any vent of it; they ſhall con- "
found and ouerthrow all their courſe of warre, and bee enforced to runne headlong in- "
to ruine and confuſion, without any meanes eyther to preuent or withſtand the ſame. "
Verily I beleeue it, and it is moſt certaine, that this daunger proceedeth onely from "
want of authoritie and command. If this bee not now to be redreſſed, what will it bee "
hereafter, when as we ſhall haue ſuſtained greater loſſes and calamities? But I thinke "
it is yet to bee repayred, and that there is much leſſe difficultie or hazard to doe it pre- "
ſently, than there will be hereafter. I haue alwayes beene of opinion, that when the ma- "
giſtrates and gouernours, and thoſe that are appointed to manage the affaires of the coun- "
trey, hold a ſtreight hand ouer the people, and doe not allow euery man to ſpeake of a "
F peace at his pleaſure, but reſerue the authoritie and determination thereof vnto themſelues, "
they haue meanes to gouerne the helme, and not to ſuffer themſelues to bee violent- "
ly carried away with the inconſtant humours of the giddie multitude. And therefore "
in this towne of Antuerpe I was of opinion, to puniſh thoſe that did but ſpeake of any "

1585 accord, and to expreſſely forbid, that no man ſhould talke priuately thereon; but in the A
meane time I thought it fit, that the magiſtrate and the counſell of the towne ſhould
" conſult alone of that buſineſſe, and manage it with all the wiſedome and diſcretion they
" could. And ſo it happened, that the magiſtrat, after the defeat of Coeſteins dike, ſeeing
" how we were diſtreſſed for victuals, munition, and other neceſſaries, did make the firſt
" motion: but this buſineſſe was handled priuate in counſell, with great alterations for a
" moneths ſpace, before it was vented to the multitude, the which did auayle vs much for
" the accord: but the error was, that it was not propounded, vntill we were ſo bare of vi-
" ctuals and other meanes, as what hard conditions ſoeuer the enemie had offered vs, we
" muſt haue beene forced to accept them. If happily we had ſpoken before we had tryed
" the fortune of the fight, wee ſhould eyther haue obtained a more eaſie and fauourable B
" accord, or had a more happie ſucceſſe. Wherefore I thinke that our example may well
" ſerue for an inſtruction. Aboue all wee muſt conſider; *Quid ferre recuſent, quid valeant*
" *humeri*, and gouerne the affaires of our countrey with wiſedome and diſcretion, and not
" to ſtand vpon popular opinions. My meaning is not to giue you counſell herein, for
" that were preſumption and raſhneſſe; but falling vpon this ſubiect, I thought good to
" diſcourſe on both ſides, as it commeth often into my mind. I would I were a fit man
" to ſerue my countrey, eyther for matter of counſell, or action, eyther in warre or peace.
" But ſeeing that my misfortune will not permit it, yet it hath beene ſome eaſe and com-
" fort vnto me, to diſcharge my thoughts in the boſome of my friend, whom I hold to be
" wiſe, circumſpect, and zealous to true Religion and the good of his countrey. If there C
" be any thing worthie of conſideration, you may make vſe thereof, and impart it to your
" diſcreet friends; if not, in caſting my letter into the fire, our diſpute ſhall bee ended. In
" the meane time, wherefoeuer I ſhall be, you ſhall haue a true friend, a good kinſman, and a
" faithfull ſeruant, &c.

Ph. de Marnix.

" This Summer there were many attempts made againſt Groning, and the Hollanders
" and they of Weſt-Friſeland (meaning to bring it to extremitie) maintayned and kept
" certaine ſhippes of warre continually in the riuer of Ems, for that they of the towne of
" Groning fetched their victuals and all other their prouiſion from the towne of Emb- D
" den, hauing alſo intelligence, that the prince of Parma ſought to make himſelfe maſter
" of the riuer of Ems, intending to make vſe thereof for the reliefe of his armie, and to
" get the command of the towne of Embden into his hands, which lay in the king of Spaines
" way, and croſſed his deſignes, as much as Collen, Leege, Aken, Weſel, and many other
" townes did.

" The Eſtates ſhippes of warre lying vpon the riuer of Ems, would not ſuffer any
" ſhippes to paſſe vp to Embden: whereupon the earle and the towne of Embden ſent
" vnto the admirall of the fleet, whoſe name was captaine *Knoop*, and alſo to the Eſtates of
" Holland and Weſt-Friſeland, complayning of the great wrong and iniurie that was offe-
" red vnto them: but finding no redreſſe thereof, but onely good words and many delayes, E
" vntill their enterpriſe had taken effect, they armed and ſent out ſix ſhippes of warre, and
" ſome ſmall pinnaces; and for that there were at the leaſt fortie ſhippes of their towne la-
" den with marchandize, which were kept out and hindered from entring into the ſaid riuer
" of Ems by the Eſtates ſhippes, vpon the ſecond day of the moneth of Nouember they
" went out of the towne, demaunding leaue of the Admirall for the Eſtates, to haue
" their ſhippes paſſe vp the riuer to the towne of Embden, who (being then gone downe
" with all his ſhippes vnto the mouth of the riuer, entring into the ſea, and lay at Berchum
" for his beſt aduantage) made anſwere vnto them, That as yet hee had no direction
" nor commaundement from his ſuperiors, ſo to doe. But whileſt that the Embden ſhippes
" returned this anſwere vnto the towne, and attended their directions, vpon the fifth day F
" of the ſaid moneth of Nouember, there ſuddenly aroſe ſo great a ſtorme of winde and
" tempeſtuous foule weather, as all the Hollanders ſhippes were diſperſed, and in great
" danger; the Admirall for the Eſtates was funke into the ſea, *Knoop* eſcaping hardly
into

A into another ſhippe; the admirall of Embden was forced to cut downe her maine maſt, and ſo did many other ſhippes. The Hollanders ſhippes beeing thus ſcattered by the handie worke of God, the marchants ſhippes got free paſſage vp the riuer, to goe vp vnto the towne of Embden, and their ſhippes of warre with them, who (by fortune) tooke a gentleman of Embden, called *Onne van Eweſſen*, priſoner, who ſerued vnder the Eſtates, and carried him with them to Embden: which tempeſt (through the prouidence of Almightie God) preuented a great quarrell, which otherwiſe had fallen out betwixt the Eſtates and the towne of Embden: yet the Summer following, the Eſtates ſent their ſhippes thither againe, and ſtayed the comming of the Embden ſhippes, as they had done before; but vpon the foure and twentieth of Iune there was an agreement made, by the B meanes of certaine Engliſhmen, who were dealers in it: and yet many times after they fell out againe. 1585

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1585 Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defen-
dresse of the Catholicke Faith, and Protectrix of the libertie
of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands.



ELIZABETHA ANGLIÆ REGINA

When God by grace had me aduanc't vnto my regall ſtate,
(Which till this time I ruled haue in peace moſt fortunate)
To ſerue him, and my ſubiects good to ſeeke, it was my care:
And thoſe that forced were to flie by meanes of bloody warre,
'Gainſt them by Spaniards made, I did moſt willingly relieue,
And with a feruent zeale to them all aid and comfort giue,
And by what meanes I could deuiſe, my mind I alwaies bent,
Their imminent decay and danger great for to preuent.
And to that end protectrix of their countrey I became,
Defending them with all my power (to my eternall fame)
Wherein no feare of Spaniſh force ere could my courage quaile,
Nor in my reſolution good, make me in ought to faile.

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A 1585

THE XIII. BOOKE.

The Argument.

THe Queene of England hauing taken vpon her the protection of the vnited prouinces, ſent the earle of Leiceſter to be her Lieutenant. They receiue him with pompe, and acknowledge him for gouernour. The Spaniards proſper in Friſeland. Colonel Schencke *ouerrunnes the countrie of Weſtphalia. Graue beſieged and yeelded to the Spaniard. Iarre betwixt the Eſtates & the earle of Leiceſter,* B *who is diſcontented, and they diſcontented with him. Nuys beſieged by the Spaniard, and taken by aſſault, whileſt they are in parle. The earle of Leiceſter recouers certaine places. Iealouſie betwixt the noble men of the countrie and the Engliſh, by reaſon of gouernments that were giuen vnto the Engliſh, and they reiected, whereof the Eſtates complained vnto him going into England. A great dearth of corne in the yeare 1587. Deuenter ſold vnto the Spaniard, with the great fort of Zutphen. Factions increaſe betwixt the Eſtates and the Engliſh. Scluſe beſieged, and in the end yeelded to the Spaniard. The towne of Guelder ſold. The Eſtates labour to reconcile the* C *earles of Leiceſter and Hohenlo. Apologies on either ſide. Leiceſter failes to ſeize vpon the towne of Leyden. Hee is called backe into England, and reſignes his gouernment into the Eſtates hands. Bonne ſurpriſed by* Schencke. *The king of Spaine makes a counterfeit ſhewe to deſire peace with England. Deputies on either ſide at Bourbrouc, who doe nothing, whileſt the Spaniſh fleete aduanced. Prince* Maurice *takes his place in the gouernment after the earle of Leiceſter retreat. The Spaniſh fleet thinke to inuade England, and is diſperſed. Geertruydenbergh ſold to the Spaniards by the ſouldiers that were mutined without cauſe. The death of Colonel* Schencke *at an enterpriſe vpon Nymeghen. The death of Mœurs: Rhinberck yeelded to the Spaniards. The Eſtates ſend* D *ſuccours of men and money vnto the French king. Breda happily ſurpriſed. The prince of Parma releeues Paris. Prince* Maurice *recouers many townes and places for the Eſtates. Groning ſtraitly preſt.*

ACcording to the accord made betwixt the high & mighty princeſſe, *Elizabeth* Queene of England, and the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, her Maieſtie ſent certaine troopes of horſe and foot, into the countries of Holland and Zeeland, vnder the command of ſir *Iohn Norris* knight, a gallant ſouldier (who had long done ſeruice to the E ſaid Eſtates, and to the prince of Orange) who came to the *rendez vous* which was giuen them in Vtrecht, where hauing paſt muſters, they were preſently imployed, and led by the earle of Mœurs before the fort of Iſſelloort, neere vnto the towne of Arnham, vpon the Veluwe, where the riuer of Iſſel comes out of the Rhin, which fort had beene taken by *Verdugo* for the Spaniard long before: the earle of Mœurs hearing that Colonel *Taxis* was gone forth the day before, made haſte to beſiege it, and to batter it, ſo as the beſieged ſeeing no hope of ſuccours, and fearing to be taken by aſſault, they yeelded vp the fort by compoſition, to depart with their liues and goods. Although this ſiege was not without the loſſe of ſome few men, yet the earle of Mœurs and the Engliſh were ſo incouraged, as paſſing the riuer of Rhin, they went to beſiege the fort of Berchſchooft in the higher F Betuwe, in the which captaine *Turc* commanded for the prince of Parma: who notwithſtanding the weakenes of the place, which was ſhewed him by his owne men, would needs endure the cannon, but the ſouldiers mutined againſt him, and deliuered him, with the fort, into the earle of Mœurs hands for the Eſtates.

Iſſelloort yeelded to the Eſtates.

Colonel

1585 Colonel *Schencke* had at that time an enterpriſe vpon the town of Nymeghen, by an intelligence which he had with a bourger of the ſaid towne, who dwelt in one of the towers of the rampar. This man had in time digged a hollow paſſage vnder the rampar, which went from the foot of the ſaid tower vnto the ſtreet, and had ſo vndermined the wall of the ſaid tower within, hauing ſet vp the ſtones againe one vpon another, without cyment or morter, as with a blowe with ones foot they might thruſt it downe, and thereby haue a free paſſage into the towne: for to finiſh this enterpriſe, *Schencke* drew forth certaine companies out of the garriſons of Venloo, Guelder, Wachtendonc, Graue, and Blyenbeek, with the which hee marched ſecretly the eight and twentieth of September, in the night: but the night before, this bourger (hauing let ſlippe certaine wordes) was apprehended, with his ſonne, who vpon the circumſtances of the ſaid ſpeeches, and his anſwer vnto the interrogatories, was put to the racke, with his boy, and there confeſſed the fact: whereupon they of the towne put themſelues ſecretly into armes: *Schencke* beeing neere with his troopes, hauing nó ſigne from his man, and beeing ignorant what place to goe to, fearing the matter was diſcouered, he retired. The earle of Mœurs ſeeing that this enterpriſe had failed, reſolued to haue the towne by force, and planted his campe in the village of Bendt right againſt it, vpon the other banke of the riuer of Wahal, where hee did build a mightie fort, the which ſince was called Knodſenborch: and placing certaine ſhippes of warre in the riuer betwixt the towne and the fort, to ſtoppe the paſſage from this fort (where he had planted fiue or ſixe peeces of ordnance) he battred the towne at random, and ſhot fierie bullets into it to burne the houſes, but they were ſuddainely quenched, ſo as there was not aboue two houſes burnt.

In the meane time the garriſon of Nuys did nothing but hunt after bootie and ſpoile, running euen vnto the gates of Cologne, carrying from thence oxen, kyne, and other cattell, the which did ſo incenſe the duke of Cleues, vpon whoſe countrie (beeing a neuter) they were daily running (for that they could not goe into the dioceſſe of Cologne, but they muſt needs paſſe through the dutchie of Iuilliers, of Berghe, or the countie of Marck, which are his) as he made a proclamation throughout all his territories, giuing all them of his countries free libertie to ſet vpon and ſpoile the garriſon of Nuys, whereſoeuer they ſhould encounter them in his countries, the which did ſomewhat reſtraine the courſes of the ſaid garriſon.

The Hanstownes of the eaſt countrie, fearing that by this alliance betwixt the Queene of England, and the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, their nauigation into Spaine would be cut off, they wrote vnto her Maieſtie, intreating her to ſatisfie them of that doubt. To the which ſhee anſwered the fift of Nouember, beeing at Richmond, after this manner.

The Queene of Englands letters to the townes of the eaſt countries.

I beleeue you are not ignorant of the diſlike and breach betwixt vs and the king of Spaine; what will enſue we cannot yet iudge: if matters tend to a peace, we will not reiect you, as our auncient allies; but if it grows to a warre, you ſhall vnderſtand (as men of iudgement may wel conceiue) that we ought not to ſuffer our enemies to be releeued with victuals, nor fortified
„ with munition of warre: wherefore you may conſider, that you ought not to require any
„ thing of vs that may turne to our preiudice and diſaduantage. But touching all other ſorts of
„ marchandize, whereby they of Spaine or Portugall may not be aided with victuals and mu-
„ nition of warre againſt vs, our meaning is not to ſtoppe it, but are willing that your ſubiects
„ ſhippes ſhall enter with their lading into our ports and hauens, at their pleaſures, as they haue
„ formerly done.

About that time Cont *Charles Mansfelds* marched out of the countrie of Rauesteyn, with the chiefe regiment of Spaniards, beeing foure thouſand ſtrong, all old ſouldiers, and paſſed ouer the riuer of Meuſe into Bommels Weerd, which is a rich iſland betwixt the riuers of Wahal and Meuſe, the which had not of a long time ſeene any enemie. The Eſtates beeing aduertiſed hereof, were at the firſt ſomewhat troubled, but hauing inueſted the riuer with their ſhippes round about the iſland, the earle was very much perplexed, fearing to be ſhut vp: in the meane time the prince of Parma beeing returned from Antuerpe to Bruſſels (where he had beene receiued with all ioy and ſtate, as a victorious prince) hearing in what danger Cont *Mansfelds* was, went to horſe-backe, with foureteene or fifteene poſt horſes only, and came to Boiſleduc to ſuccour him. This, iſland which may be eaſily drowned, is a clay

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A clale ſoile, and very myerie when it raines. The earle of Hohenlo hauing inuironed the whole iſland with the Eſtates ſhippes, and broken the dikes in diuers places, the countrey was in a manner couered all ouer with water: the Spaniards retired vnto the other ſide of the riuer of Meuſe, to a caſtle highly ſeated, called Empel, where they might preſerue themſelues from the inundation, from the froſt, and from the windes; beſides, they endured much pouertie and famine, for they were in a manner beſieged by the waters, and by the Eſtates ſhippes which *Hohenlo* had cauſed to enter into the drowned land; beeing ſeperated from the reſt of the prince of Parma his armie, the which lay on the other ſide of Boiſleduc, ſo as they grew to deſpaire, hauing continued there foure daies in great miſerie, by reaſon of the cold; and if the weather had not changed, it was likely that all this troope (beeing foure thouſand of the oldeſt B and beſt ſouldiers, Spaniards, that the king of Spaine had in all thoſe countries) had beene conſumed, or elſe had fallen into the earle of Hohenlo his hands: God ſent them a North-weſt winde vnexpected, with a ſharpe and bitter froſt, ſo as the fields and medowes began to be frozen, and the water to fall; *Hohenlo* finding this ſuddaine change in good time, fearing his ſhippes ſhould want water (as without doubt they had) and ſo not be able to retire them; yea he had beene in danger (the Spaniard beeing ſixe times ſtronger than he) to haue beene loſt there with all his men: whereupon hee weighed anchor and went away. His ſhippes were no ſooner retired, but the weather changed, and it began to thawe, ſo as the townes thereabouts, eſpecially Boiſleduc, did helpe to retire the Spaniards from the place were they were, with boats and barkes, beeing halfe ſtarued with hunger and cold; whereof many died C afterwards, and ſome had their limbes ſo benummed and frozen, as they fell off, and ſome were forced to be cut off. And thus by a ſuddaine change of the weather they eſcaped a great danger. 1585

The prince of Parma thanked them of Boiſleduc for their readineſſe to releeue his Spaniards: he gaue vnto the poore of the towne foureſcore fat oxen, and to the towne it ſelfe a gilt cuppe.

The earle of Mœurs was ſtill lodged before the towne of Nymeghen, for by reaſon of the waters the lord of Hautepenne had no meanes to diſlodge him; but the fourth day of Nouember, the waters beeing fallen, he cauſed certaine barks to be made readie at Nymeghen, to paſſe his troops to the other ſide of the riuer into the Betuwe, cauſing them to paſſe along the D riuer towards Bomel, which put the Hollanders ſhippes in great feare, and made them to flie, ſo as *Hautepenne* had good meanes to paſſe ouer ſixe thouſand choiſe men, Spaniards, Wallons, Germanes, Italians, Burguignons, and Albanois: the Engliſh knowing them to bee ſo neere, before they retired, they ſet fire on the church of Lents, as they had done the night before on a gentlemans houſe, whereas the earle of Mœurs had lodged: they did the like vnto the church of Oofterholt, whereas they had a farre greater fort than that of Knotſenbourg. The lord of Hautepen meaning to beſiege it, cauſed it to be inueſted the night of his arriuall, but approaching neere, they found that the Engliſh men had abandoned it with ſixe peeces of artillerie, and great ſtore of victuals and munition for warre in it. The lord of Hautepenne hearing that they were retired, ſent part of his men before the caſtle of Dornick: they E of the garriſon burnt the bridge themſelues: yet the Spaniards gaue them ſo furious a charge, and did ſo amaze them, as they yeelded vp the place: the captaine was kept priſoner, but the ſouldiers were ſlaine: the reſt of the lord of Hautepennes men which purſued the Engliſh tooke the caſtle of Bœnen, where they hung vp all the ſouldiers that they found in it.

The ſixteenth day of December, the lord of Hautepenne brought his troopes to the other ſide of the riuer of Wahal, and went to beſiege the caſtle of Duekenbourg, the which he wonne: the next day the Engliſh men which were in the caſtle of Berckſhooft, beeing terrified with the flight of their companions out of the Betuwe, they in likemaner left the place the nineteenth day of December: the ſame day the Spaniards tooke the caſtle of Hœmen F vpon the Meuſe; from thence they approached by little and little towards the towne of Graue, meaning to beſiege it afarre off, in cutting off and hindring their prouiſion of victuals.

On the twentieth day of the ſame moneth of December, the ſouldiers of the garriſon of

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1585 of Nuys ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Grimmelyckhuyſen, which was then held and commaunded by captaine *Hambach* for the biſhop of Cologne, whereas they ſlew ſome of the ſouldiers of the garriſon, and kept the reſt priſoners: and thus they made warre againſt the biſhop and dioceſſe of Cologne. A

The prince of Parma beeing at the ſame time in the countrie of Brabant with his Spaniards, thought to haue put in practiſe and executed ſome ſecret deſignes which he had vpon the Cloender, Rogghenhill, and Geertruydenbergh, by reaſon of the hard froſts, but they tooke no effect.

B

Robert

Robert Dudley Earle of Leiceſter, Lieutenant and Captaine Generall for the Queene of England, Protectrix of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands. 1586



ROBERTVS DVDLEVS COMES LEYCESTER GVB: BEL:

My Princeſſe, that Protectrix was of the vnited lands,
Aduancing me to high eſtate, did put into my hands
The rule and gouernment thereof, the which (though not long time)
I managed, vnto my power, but in the very prime,
My gouernment it was ſo bad, and found ſo full of trouble,
That it did not their griefes decreaſe, but rather made them double.
So that in fine, ſuſpition growne twixt mé and them, I left
The country, and in England was of vitall breath bereft.

The

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1586 THe Earle of Leiceſter, according to the agreement made betwixt the Queene of England, and the Eſtates, being come on the 30 of December from Fleſſingue to Dordrecht in Holland, accompanied by many earles, barons, and other great perſonages of England, he was receiued by the magiſtrats, councell, and bourgers of that town with great ſtate. And the 2 of Ianuary 1586, he parted frō thence to go to the Hage, where he was in like ſort very honorably receiued by the generall Eſtates, with all good reception & ſhews of ioy for his cōming: & on the 17 of the month, after many ceremonies, he was accepted for gouernor of the ſaid coūtries, and ſworne to maintaine, defend, and preſerue them, againſt the oppreſſions of the Spaniards. And in like manner, the Eſtates did ſweare vnto her Maieſty and to him (as her lieutenant) the conditions & agreement that was concluded betwixt them: which done, the ſaid Eſtates made a decree, what euery prouince ſhould contribute towards the charges of the warre, and ſo did the Queene for her part, that with their common means, they might reſiſt the king of Spaines power. And the fift day of Februarie the earle of Leiceſter was by the Eſtates proclaimed Lieutenant and captaine of the vnited prouinces, and commandement giuen to all the particular gouernours or their Lieutenants of the ſaid prouinces and townes, officers and magiſtrates, admirals, colonels, captaines, treaſurers, receiuers, and others, for matters of eſtate and warre, with all that depends thereon, ſo to acknowledge him.

The earle of Leiceſter acknowledged gouernour generall.

At his reception to the gouernment, doctor *Leoninus* chancellor of Guelderland made an oration, ſaying, that the generall Eſtates of the vnited Netherlands, hauing had ſo great aſſurance of the Queenes Maieſties, and his excellencies honourable diſpoſition, and fauours vnto them, and finding it to be a thing neceſſarie, that publike authoritie ſhould be maintained within the prouinces, and relying vpon his wiſdome, experience, and integritie, by common conſent, and with one voice they had choſen and named him for their gouernour and captaine generall, ouer the ſaid Netherlands; that is, of the dukedome of Guelder, the earldome of Zutphen, the earldomes and countries of Flanders, & Holland, with weſt Friſeland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, giuing him full power and authoritie (beſides the title and commiſſion of her Maieſtie, together with that which was contained in the coūtract made with her) to gouerne and commaund abſolutely ouer the ſaid prouinces, and their aſſociates, in all matters concerning the warres, and their dependances, both by ſea and land, and to command ouer all gouernours, colonels, admirals, vice-admirals, commanders, captaines, and officers, and ouer al ſouldiers of the ſame, both horſe and foot, and to that end had appointed an oath to be taken vnto his excellencie, as gouernour and captaine generall, to be true and obedient vnto him: beſides, that the ſaid Eſtates gaue vnto his excellencie full power and authoritie, concerning policie and iuſtice, to be done ouer all the aforeſaid prouinces (with the councell of Eſtates which ſhould be choſen) to gouerne the ſaid Netherlands, as they had beene gouerned before, (eſpecially in the time of the emperour *Charles* the fift) by the gouernors generall, according to the lawfull cuſtomes of the prouinces. Vnderſtanding that out of the reuenues of the ſaid prouinces, the gouernors, officers, and rent-maſters ſhould be paied their duties and fees, according to the auncient manner, and that the ſaid prouinces, townes, and members of the ſame ſhould be maintained in all their auncient priuiledges, lawes, and cuſtomes, as it ſhould be more at large declared vnto his excellencie. And touching the gouernment of the country, principally concerning the warres (which cannot continue nor be maintained but by contribution) the ſaid prouinces conſent and agree, that beſides the aid of 1000 horſe and 5000 foot lent them by the Queene, the dutchie of Guelders, Flanders, and the vnited townes of Brabant, conſent to giue the generall meanes of their ſaid townes and villages of the countries adiacent, as farre as they had power to command at that preſent time, and from time to time, as they were farmed, let out, and preſently collected; and beſides that al the booties and compoſitions with the champian countries, made for their ſafetie, where they haue no meanes to get contribution, and ſuch ſummes as they paie vnto the enemie: & they of Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Friſeland, haue agreed to giue the ſumme of 200000 gulderns the moneth; which moneys the ſaid prouinces will put into his excellencies hands to be managed by him, with the councel of eſtate that ſhall be appointed; and beſides this, all that ſhall be receiued by contribution, and gotten from the enemie, and other meanes out of the countries of Oueriſſell, Drent, and the territories thereof, with other places lying vnder the enemies command.

A B C D E F

And

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A And further that all the vnited Prouinces were agreed, and had consented, that " 1586.
the conuoye mony, and impoſts, raiſed vpon marchandiſe, comming in and going "
forth of thoſe countries, according to the order taken therein the yeare of our Lord "
1581. and the moderation, and augmentation thereof, ſhall continew and bee im- "
ployed for the charges which they ſhall bee at, for the ſetting forth maintayning and "
paying of the ſhips, and boates of war, which ſerue and are retained vnder the ſayd Pro- "
uinces, and that if neede were, are to bee ſet out, according to the contract made with "
his Maieſtie, wherevnto alſo all the priſes, and licences ſhould be imployed, if his Excel- "
lencie thought good to permit and allowe thereof, and this for the ſpace of one whole "
yeare; and if it fortuned that the warre; continued long, vpon his Excelencies motion "
B and deſire, a new compoſition ſhould be made before the ſayd yeare were fully finiſhed, "
according to the ſtate, and meanes of the ſayd Prouince, and as neceſſitie ſhould re- "
quire. And therewith he humblie diſired his Excellency to bee pleaſed to accept and "
take vpon him the ſayd gouernment and authoritie, and to execute the ſame, to the "
honour of GOD, and the maintenance of the Netherlands, promiſing him that the "
ſayd ſtates ſhould alwaies hold good correſpondence with him, and ayde and true- "
ly ſerue him, in all occaſions and ſeruices whatſoeuer. Further by their acts and pro- "
clamations the ſayd ſtates would command all the Commanders ouer horſe and foote, "
and all ſoldiars both by ſea and land, to ſhow all obedience dutie and fidelitie vnto his "
Excelencie, which they agreed to ſweare vnto and confirme by oth, one vnto the other, "
C reſerning the homage which his Excelency ought vnto the Queenes Maieſtie. In the "
Hage the firſt of February. 1586. *Signed.* C. *Aertſens.* "

According to this agreement the Earle of Leiceſter tooke the gouernment vpon him, and therevpon the States, Officers, Prouinciall Gouernors, Coronels, Captaines and Soldiars tooke their othes vnto him, wherein Prince *Maurice*, and the Earle of Hohenlo and other captaines vſed all the meanes the could to bring the ſoldiars therevnto, being accuſtomed in ſuch accidents to haue mony giuen them for a reward. The ſtates vpon the Earle of Leceiſters acceptation of the gouernment, had drawne a certaine in- ſtruction, or order of the Councell of Eſtate, which ſhould ayde and aſſiſt him in the ſayd gouernment, the contents whereof were how the affaires of Eſtate and others D touching the gouernment of the Netherlands, ought to bee lawfully executed with the full conſent and priuitie of the Counſell of Eſtate, as it is vſed in all common-welthes, eſpecially in the low countries, and was alſo obſerued by the gouernors and regents of the ſame, being great perſonages, of royall bloud, and ſome of them Queenes, but it was anſwered by the Earle of Leiceſter, that all inſtructions were no other in effect, then limitations of his commiſſion, and that the gouernment generall of the Nether- lands beeing abſolutely giuen vnto him, hee ſhould neede no ſuch inſtructions. In the end (to content his Excelency) the deputies of the ſtates ſayd, that hee ſhould not bee bound to thoſe inſtructions, but that they were made for the Councell of Eſtate, and that his Excelency was not to bee bound to conclude, any matter of importance by E plurality of voices, but by the aduiſe of al the Councel of Eſtate being heard, he theron ſhould conclude, as hee found it moſt conuenient for the good of the common-weale. To this reſolution the Eſtates were hardly to bee drawne, as well foreſeeing, that hee not beeing tide to any inſtructions might eaſily bee ſeduced by bad Counſell, and ſo deceiued, (as commonly ſuch kind of men, intrude themſelues into Princes Courts, and vpon all occaſions are ready to ſtrike a ſtroke, to further themſelues and hin- der the common-weale,) which in the Earle of Leiceſter, was moſt to bee feared, in regard he was wholy vnexperienced in the nature, manners, and ſcituation of thoſe countries, and had no knowledge, nor iudgement touching the Eſtate of the countrie, neither yet of good and expert Councelors, and therefore the likelier to fall into grea- F ter errors: but the Eſtates finding themſelues in great perplexitie touching the gouern- ment, agreed vnto all his deſires, as farre as poſſible they might, and withall gaue him libertie to chooſe one Councelor of Eſtate out of euery Prouince, togither with the al- teration of the great ſeale and counter-ſeale, adding in their great ſeale a ſhield of his armes, and for the counter-ſeale his whole armes, which was neuer granted to any

The Earle of Leiceſter re- fuſeth all in- ſtructions.

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1586 gouernor before him. Theſe things being imparted to the Queene, ſhe was much mo- A
The Queene of England offended with the ſtates for giuing the Earle of Leiceſter the gouernment. ued thereat, eſteeming thereby that they ſought to ingage her further in thoſe affaires then ſhe was willing to vndertake. Where-vpon ſhe preſently ſent Sir *Thomas Hennage* her Vice-chamberlaine, and one of her priuie counceſl into Holland, with letters dated the 13 of February, finding fault that the Earle of Leiceſter had taken the abſolute gouernment of the Low-countries vpon him, which ſhe thought very ſtrange, in regarde that ſhee her ſelfe had refuſed to accept it, and now to giue that vnto her vaſſaile and ſeruant, which ſhee had refuſed, and that without her conſent, ſhee thought they offered her great wrong and indignitie, as if ſhee had not diſcretion inough of her ſelfe, to know what ſhee were beſt to take or leaue; ſaying amongſt other things, that it was cleane contrary to the declaration ſhee had made and put forth in Print, wherein ſhee B proteſted to take on her the aſſiſtance of the Netherlands, to no other intent, then onely to ayde her good neighbours, without any deſire or meaning to meddle or make with the protection or ſoueraigntie of the ſayd countries, and that by their action euery man might haue occaſion to iudge the contrary: or at the leaſt ſuch as take on them the authority and priuiledge to iudge and cenſure Princes actions, as they thinke good, whereby their honor ſhould bee much interreſſed. And that therefore her intent was (to ſhew the vprightneſſe of her proceedings) to reuoke and recall the aforeſaid authority, and to command the ſayd Earle not to vſe any further or other authoritie then was ſet downe in the contract; which if it were well obſerued, ſhee doubted not but it would extend and reach to the good and furtherance of the common C cauſe: affirming, that her refuſall in that point, proceeded not from want of care to further the countries good and common well-fare, but onely in regarde of her honor, and to ſtop the mouthes of her enimies and euill-willers, referring the reſt of her intent vnto the bearer of thoſe letters.

This letter gaue the Eſtates great cauſe of ſuſpition, and therefore being in Amſterdam, they made anſwer there-vnto by letters dated the 25 of March, with all humilitie, excuſing the action, and proteſting that there was no meaning in them, thereby to charge or binde her Maieſtie any further then the contract leadeth her vnto: but that the neceſſity of the countrey required to haue this authority giuen to one, for that it was D better to haue one gouernor then two: and in regarde of her Maieſtie, they had rather chooſe one of her ſubiects there-vnto then any other, giuing his Excellencie no other authoritie, then other gouernors before him had had, and which was alwayes reuocable, the word [*Abſolute*] being put in, to diſtinguiſh his gouernment from others, that were put in but by proniſo, and bound to inſtructions; as alſo to procure more obedience and care in the people, for the maintaining of martiall diſcipline, furthering of the contributions, and better execution of his commiſſions, and not to giue his Excellencie the ſoueraigntie, therein following the examples of the Romaines and others, that it was alſo done, to leuy and breake of certaine enterpriſes of the enemie, as alſo to comfort and ſtirre vp the hearts of the diſtreſſed people, and that the recalling thereof, would breed great confuſion, aſſuring her that it was not any thing contra- E rie to the contract, the whole ſoueraigntie of the Prouinces ſtill reſting in the Eſtates hands, and the gouernment or adminiſtration thereof in the Earle, as in all other gouernors. The ſoueraigntie ſtill beeing reſerued, vntill her Maieſtie would bee pleaſed to accept of the ſame, hoping that ſhee would vouchſafe to haue a regarde vnto the diſtreſſed and lamentable eſtate of the countrie, and that there conſiſted more in maintaining the authoritie and gouernment of the Earle of Leiceſter, then in ſending a great armie, as her Maieſtie ſhould bee further inſtructed by Sir *Thomas Hennage*.

Sir *Thomas Hennage* being returned into England, and hauing made report of his F ambaſſage, the Queene made anſwer by letters dated the one and twentie of June 1586. that ſhee perceiued by their letters that they had done that in regarde of their good affection, and vpon vrgent cauſe, where-with ſhee was the better ſatisfied, in that they confeſſed their fault, and that they might haue giuen her knowledge thereof before it had beene done, wiſhing them in any caſe to keepe and obſerue all their promiſes,

to

A to deliuer the mony ouer into his hands, and to augment their contributions, giuing him full authority to execute all things by aduise, and as neceſſitie required. Shee likewiſe excuſed the ſuſpition giuen out by ſome, that ſhee ſought to make a peace without their conſent. This in effect was the contents of the letters on both ſides ſent and receiued touching the Earle of Leiceſters gouernment, where-with her Maieſty ſeemed to be ſome what pleaſed, but yet it was an occaſion that many men eſteemed his Excelencie the leſſe. 1586.

With this authority, the Earle of Leiceſter was inſtauled in his gouernment, and the contributions of the countrie, deliuered into his hands, amounting vnto the yearely valew of foure and twenty hundred thouſand gilders and aboue, beſides the conuoy
B mony, the profits of the admiralty, and her Maieſties ayde, his owne intertainement being 100000. gilders a yeare: preſently therevpon hee ſet downe an order for marſhall diſcipline, amongſt his ſouldiers, and made a proclamation bearing date in Vtrecht the fourth day of Aprill, whereby was forbidden the tranſporting and carying of all kind of neceſſaries, victualls, ammunition for warre, or any manner of marchandiſe whatſoeuer, vnto the enemy and their aſſociates, or to any newtrall places, as alſo all manner of dealing, or correſpondence by letters of exchanges, or otherwiſe, not onely with Spaine, but with France and the Eaſt countries, vnder what pretence ſoeuer it might bee, vpon paine of death, and loſſe of ſhippe and goods. The letter to execute theſe things one *Iaques Ringoult* (a man verie familier with the Earle of Leceſ-
C ter and the onely inuentor of the ſayd proclamation) had gotten by an extraordinarie commiſſion, wholy without the aduiſe of the Councell of Eſtate, thereby to deale and proceede extraordinarily, with thoſe that had any dealings with the enemie, by forme of inquiſition, ſearch, and examination, ſearching all the marchants letters, bookes, and ſecret accountes, a thing not vſed nor accuſtomed in theſe countries and wholy againſt manie priueledges, old orders, and freedomes, of the Prouinces and townes; and not content therewith he ſought meanes to haue the ſame order vſed in England, againſt the Netherlanders inhabiting there in Sandwich and other places.

A proclamation made by the Earle of Leceſter for marſhall diſcipline, and for the prohibiting of traffick with the enemy &c.

This proclamation and commiſſion much diſliked the Eſtates, and mooued them to
D cõplaine againſt it. At that time likewiſe it was put in practiſe, (& hoped to be effected) to raiſe a generall contribution vpon all nations trafficking to ſea, for the furtherance of the warres, in regard that England being vnited with Holland and Zeeland, it might preſcribe and giue lawes, as Lords of the ſea, how, and whether men ſhould trafficke: which lawe beeing ſet downe, the Earle of Leiceſter, thought to compell all ſailors and ſea-faring-men, to come and buy paſſe-ports, or ſaffe conducts of him, thereby to haue libertie, to deale freely in euerie place, contributing ſome thing to the warres. But when many letters of complaint concerning the ſame were ſent into England. The Noble Councell of Eſtate, eſteemed it a verie hard matter for to bring the French, Scottes, Danes and Eaſt-countrie-men there vnto, and therevp-
E on the contribution beganne to bee behinde-hand, and the proclamation ſtanding in force cauſed great trouble, and hindrance in the Netherlandes, for that by it much traficke was conuerted, and ceaſed in theſe countries, for that many rich marchants, and ſailers of Antwerp and other places, (withdrawing them-ſelues and flying from thence) would not ſtaie and inhabite in the lowe countries, becauſe they might not vſe there trade as they were wont to doe, but went to inhabite and dwell at Hamburgh, Breame, Emden, Stode, and diuerſe other places, from whence they might freely traficke into Spaine, Italie, Portugale, and the Iſlandes, and by that meanes made other Nations acquainted both with their traficke by ſea, and brought much dealing into many other townes, ſo that at the laſt in Holland and Zee-
F land, they were forced to diſpence with that proclamation, and againe to permit the traficke by ſea Weſt-ward, or els in ſhort time, they ſhould haue driuen all trade of marchandiſe, and ſea-faring out of their countries, togither with their richeſt inhabitants, thoſe Prouinces liuing moſt by fiſhing, and ſea-faring, hand-labors and trade of marchandiſe.

The Earle of Leceſter ſought to force the ſea-fareing men to buy paſſe-ports, and to contribute ſomething to the warres.

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1586. The fiue and twenty day of Iuly the Earle of Leiceſter, being in Vtrecht made an act A
concerning the erecting of a new treſory in the vnited Prouinces, whereof hee apointed to bee principall in that office, the Earle of Niewenar, and Menes gouernor of Gelderland, Zutphen, and Vtrecht, with authority to ſit in the councell of Eſtate: for the ſecond man, hee apointed Maiſter *Henry Killegray*, one of the receiuers of her Maieſties Exchequer in England, and a Councelor of Eſtate in the low countries: the third perſon was *Reynardt de Aeſwin* Lord of Barkelo, and for treſorer *Iaques Reingoult*, Lord of Canwenbergh, and for commiſſioners, *Sebaſtian Looſe*, *Ioſſe Teylink*, and Maiſter *Paul Buys*. The Receiuers generall, the Treaſuror for the warres, the Clarke, nor the Vſher beeing not named, but blankes left, to put in their names, one *Danell Burgrate* being apointed chiefe ſecretary, with free liberty to goe into the Councell of E- B
ſtate, and there to haue audience.

The King of Spaine arreſted the Engliſhmen in Spaine.

After the contract and vnion made by the Netherlands with the Queene was paſt and agreed vpon, the King of Spaine cauſed all the Engliſhmen through all his dominions, to bee arreſted and their ſhippes and goods confiſcate, vſing them moſt rygorouſly, wherevpon many of them became men of warre, hauing commiſſions, from the Queene, for that they might not otherwiſe doe it in regard that as then there was no open warre proclaimed with Spaine, who beeing at ſea made good vſe of the ſayd arreſt in Spaine, for that all ſhippes going or comming Weſt-ward, that they could come by, vnder that pretence, were taken and made prize, and at that time the Netherlanders could hardly deale or traficke into Spaine, Porting- C
all, and the Iſlandes, vnleſſe it were vnder Spaniards names, their Factors dwelling there, and eſteemed for naturall bred and borne Spaniards, and vpon this ſuſpition the ſhippes were brought into England, and the keeping and poſſeſſion of the goods that were in them was deliuered into the hands of them that tooke them, (and if it were ſuch wares as would not keepe long, they had authoritie to ſell them,) giuing ſecuritie for reſtitution thereof, if the ſayd goods were not found to bee good prize.

The Engliſhmen of warre take the Netherlanders at ſea, and make them prizes.

In the beginning of this winter in Ianuary, *Taxis* Lieutenant to *Verdugo* Gouernor in Friſeland for the King of Spaine, gathered togither the garriſons thereaboutes, and entred into Weſtergoe, where hauing found meanes and oportunitie for to paſſe D
through the countrie by reaſon of the great froſts and yce hee had wonne Worckcom, Coudom, Hindeloopen, and ſome other places. The nine and twentie day of Ianuarie it beganne to thawe; wherefore the Spaniards beeing loath to bee ſhut vp in that waterie countrie, thought to make their retreate, and not to attend anie further hazard.

In his retreat he met with ſome peſants armed, whom he defeated, wherof ſome ſaued themſelues in a Church, and refuſing for to yeeld were burnt, from thence they went to the village of Boxom a league from Leeuwaerden where they were told that there was nere them 2 000. Friſons Proteſtantes, being intrencht with Cartes and Wagons, and hauing two field peeces, yet the Spaniards went to charge them in their trenches, and E
as at the firſt charge the horſes which were in the carriages, were amazed and terrified at the great noyſe of the ſhot being vnacquainted with it, they began to run and breake their fort, wherevpon the Spaniards charged them verie furiouſly and put them to rout: whereof part of them ſaued themſelues in the Church of the village, and afterward yeelded vpon ranſome. Of the Proteſtants there died in this charge fiue-hundred foureſcore and ſixe, and about ſome three hundred taken priſoners. Of the Spaniards verie fewe, ſome ſayd but fiue and twentie. Amongſt the which *Olſwald*, one of the Earles of Vandenbergh loſt his life in the flowre of his age. Captaine *Hendricke van Delden* a braue ſouldiar was alſo ſlaine. Among the Proteſtant priſoners, was captaine *Stein Malte* a Dane, Lieutenant to Count *William* of Naſſau, who F
was then at the Hage at the reception of the Earle of Leiceſter. This Gentleman had bin ſent for by his King, and had taken leaue of the Eſtates, and was richly rewarded by them, ſo as hee was now vpon his departure: but by reaſon of the Earles abſence, the Spaniards being thus ſodenly entred into the country ouer the yce he was intreated

Certaine Proteſtants Friſons defeated.

to

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A to doe this seruice, the which for the loue, honor and respect of the said Earle he would not refuse. 1586.

At the same time Collonell *Martin Schenck* being in Venloo, he sallyed forth vpon eighty Spanish horse hauing past the riuer of Meuse, whome hee defeated, yet with some losse of his owne men. A little before he had defeated some forty Italien horse of the company of captaine *Appio Conti*, of the which eighteene were slaine and twenty two prisoners. The King of Spaine hearing of the succors which the estates had gotten from the Queene of England, sent more mony by diuers meanes to the Prince of Parma for that as then his soldiars began generally to mutine. And at that time also the King sent downe the Marquis of Guast and of Pescara, the last being of the B house of Aualos, with many others: this Marquis was by the Prince of Parma made Generall of the horse. The seauenteene of Ianuary they of Antwerp appointed a day euery yeare of sollemne procession for the expelling and killing of the French three years before, the which they called the day of the French fury, in perpetual remembrance of the Duke of Anious ouerthrow, being at that time Duke of Brabant, in the which action the Catholiks did challendge the greater honor, but they of the reformed religion gainsaid it. In the beginning of February some soldiars of the garrison of Nuys went disguised like marchants to the towne of Zybrich: these men hearing that their troupes approched went vnto the castle (knowing well that the captaine was not there) and intreated his wife (all the country as they said being full of Freebooters) to giue C them a gard to conduct them vnto Cologne the which being refused, they stayed a while betwixt the ports, looking of euery side, then being resolued, they slue the Porter and seased vpon the Castell. The captaines wife seeing that they were enemies cried out murther: They to giue a signe to their men to make hast, hung an enseigne out of one of the towers, And being busie to open them the castell behind, the Bourguers being in armes came running thether: the vndertakers quitting all defence, fled into an old tower, to make some defence. But they of the towne fearing that their long delay might be hurtfull vnto them, they set fire of the said tower, and forced the soldiars to yeeld. They had with them a glasier of the same towne and his sonne, who were carried to Bonne and there quartred.

80. Spanish horse defeated

An enterprise vpon Zybrich failed.

D About the end of February Collonell *Schenck* and captaine *Cloet*) who commanded within Nuys) past the riuer of Rhine with certaine troupes of horse and foot, marching towards West-phalia, to make an enterprise vpon the towne of Werel. On the 27. day being come by fower of the clocke in the morning before the towne, they set fire of a house ioyning to the port, the which flew into the towne. The townsmen ran thether from all parts to quench it: on the other side *Schenk* with his men gaue a sodaine scaladoin one part farthest of from the castell: and hauing past the rampar they went to the port, the which they opened so sodenly, as their horse men were vpon the market place before the Bourguers did knowe the towne was taken. There was with in the towne a castell which *Herman van Weda* some-times Bishop of Cologne, had caused to E be built to keepe them in awe. The Bourguers fled with such feare towards the castell and in such a throng, as the garrison fearing that the Protestants would enter pel-mel with them, shut the ports against them, letting none in but *Gerard Brandt* the bourguemaister, and the Lieutenant of the Castle. The towne being thus taken, was kept very straightly that none might come in nor get out to carrie news thereof. The castell was sommoned, but the Gentleman that held it called *Iohn Verminkheuysen* refused to yeeld. This place was of great importance whereon depended the preseruation of all the country of Westphalia. The Captaine sent a messenger withall speed to Cont *Euerard van Solms*, Marshall of the country of Westphalia, giuing him to vnderstand the estates of the towne and castell intreating him to send him some F succors, for that hee wanted men to maintaine a long seege, and also to haue some victualls and munition for warre. The Marshall sent him presently certeine wagons conducted by two hundred and fifty foote, the which entred into the Castle without any incounter, Whereof the Captaine retained onely a hundred and sent backe the rest.

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1586 In the meane time the Marſhall made all the ſpeed that hee could to raiſe men in the countrey, and to get the Nobility to horſe-back (as it is their manner when they are interreſſed) ſo as hee made a little armie, the which he brought and conducted neere vnto the Caſtle of Waterlap, halfe a league from Werell, whereof the greater part of them were footemen, and all in a manner peaſants, with ſome which were the fewer part horſe-men. A

Collonell *Schinke* and Captaine *Chet*, knowing their enemies to bee ſo neere, would goe with all the ſpeed they could and skirmiſh with them, on the Sonday the ſecond of March, putting their horſe-men into three ſeuerall ſquadrons, which went and charged them of Weſtphalia, which were but three ſcore horſe at the moſt: who hauing with-ſtood the firſt charge, wheeling about (according to their cuſtomes) to recharge their Piſtols, the peaſants thinking they had turned their backs to flye, and that they muſt pay for all, fledde away preſently as faſt as they could: among whom *Schincks* horſemen fell and made pittifull ſlaughter of them: among the which there were thirty ſouldiers, harquebuziers, of the garriſon of *Arensbergh*, the which carried themſelues very valiantly, who ſeeing theſe peaſants turne head and flie, they put themſelues into a deepe and narrow way, whereas the horſe-men could not annoy them, of the which they ouer-threw ſome. *Schenck* ſeeing the hurt this handfull of men did him, approching neere vnto them, hee ſayd. Souldiers I haue knowne you well, and now I haue tryed your valours: wherefore ſeeing your troupes are in route, if yee will yeelde, I will make you a good compoſition, and intreate you like good Souldiers and men of warre. Whileſt hee ſpake theſe words, one ſhotte at him, and although hee aymed at him, yet hee toucht him not, but ſlew another heard by him. B C

The Marſhall of Weſtphalias men defeated.

The brauery of thirty ſoldiers.

This vncourteous anſwer did amaze *Schencke*, and as hee returned backe, another ſhotte at the hinder part of his ſaddle, the which paſt through and entred into his thigh, where the bullet remained. And as his men would no more approache, fearing at the leaſt to bee diſmounted from their horſes, hee retyred, and ſo did thoſe Souldiers with-out any hurt or loſſe. Among the Gentlemen of the Weſtphalian horſe, were ſlaine *Hendric* and *Guytterman van Pleytenberth*, and *Merffart van Borch*: Of the Peaſants there were ſlaine about three hundred men vppon the place, the which lay eight dayes in the fields before they were buried, and there were about three hundred more drowned in the riuer of Roer. D

After this defeate or ouerthrow, *Schencke* and his men returned to the Towne, the which was kept cloſe as before, but that ſome-times hee ſent his men into the countrey for ſome bootie. They within the Caſtle were not idle in the meane time, annoying the garriſon of the Towne with their Artillery: and firing the new gate, whereby they had acceſſe vnto the towne, which *Schenckes* men could not preuent, by reaſon of the great Ordinance which played continually from the Caſtle. Yet *Schenck* meaning to cutte of this paſſage, built a Fort within the Towne, right ouer againſt the caſtle, the which did much annoye the Bourguers, beeing alſo forced to labour themſelues, ſo as there were aboue forty of them ſlaine with the ſhotte of the Cannon. E

The Lord of Hautepenne had goodly troupes about Keyſers-weerd, with the which hee paſt the Rhine, and marcht directly to Werell, with an intent to beſiege it before that *Schencke* had fully fortified, whereof hee beeing aduertiſed, hee reſolued to make a retreate in time, the which hee might eaſily doe for that Hautepenne came on but ſlowly. Beeing ready to make his retreate, (which was the eight day of Marche) hee kept the gates ſhutte all the day, during the which hee laded all the ſpoile vpon Wagons, and at nine of the clock at night he parted out of the towne towards Ham, and from thence hee returned vnto Bercke vpon the Rhine, carrying with him ſome thirty of the Bourguers priſoners, to haue their ranſome, after which exployte *Schenck* came into Holland to the Earle of Leiceſter, by whom hee was honoured with Knighthood. F

Whileſt

A Whilſt that the Prince of Parma was before Graue, Collonell Schenck ranne ouer the Dioceſſe of Cologne, ſpoyling all that came in his way: And the ſixt of Maie, hee made a road vp to Brulle (whereas the Biſhoppes of Cologne ſometimes keepe their Court, and haue a goodly Pallace) but finding them vppon their guard, and well prouided, hee retyred, and came before Cologne, making warre throughout all the Territorie, as well againſt the Gentlemen of the Champian countrie, as againſt the Burgers, not ſparing any. At his retreate hee forced the Caſtell of Monqchuyſen, and tooke the Seignior of Grosbergh (Nephew to the laſt Biſhoppe of Leege) priſoner, who was carryed to Nuys. The garriſon of Nuys, went and built a Fort in the Iland which is betwixt the towne of Neuſt and Cologne: This place ſeruing conuenient for B them to cutte of the victuals that came to the Spaniards Campe, if they came to beſiege them againe. 1586.

Schenck ouerruns the Dioceſſe of Cologne.

The fifth of Iune there went a ſhippe of warre from Nuys, well appointed with men and artillerie, the which mounted vp the Rhyne, and anchord before Cologne, right againſt Duytſch. The Captaine of which ſhippe was called *Peter van Allen Vrieenden*. The Magiſtrates and Councell not knowing what to thinke of this affront, ſent for the Captaine to come and ſpeake with them, & to giue them a reaſon of his action; hee went boldly and told them that hee was come by the commandement of Captaine *Cloet*, Gouernor of the Towne of Nuys, to hold the place; and to receiue the towle of all goods and Marchandiſes that ſhould paſſe and repaſſe vppon the Riuer of C Rhyne, in the name of the Prince Elector *Truches*, Arch-biſhoppe of Cologne: And that hee would hold all for good prize that ſhould offer to reſiſt him. Heere-vppon the Councell made him anſwer, that it was againſt the lawes and priuiledges of the towne, and of the Burgers, which might not ſuffer (according to the conſtitutions of the Empire) that any one of his owne priuate authoritie, ſhould alter the towles and duties of townes, much-leſſe impoſe any new and vn-accuſtomed: And that they would not indure that (beeing thus armed) he ſhould lye before their towne, and collect any towle or Impoſt. This Captaine demanded an act of their anſwer, to ſend it vnto his Commander the Gouernor of Nuys, the which was deliuered him, and hee ſent it vnto Captaine Cloet: Who writte vnto them, that he had commandement D from the ſaid Prince Elector, their Arch-biſhoppe and Prince; and that to the ſame end hee had ſent Captaine *Peter* with his ſhippe, and that if any one would dare to hinder him, that hee would force him to obey: And therefore hee requeſted the Magiſtrates of Cologne not to take it in ill part: The like hee writte to the Burgers and Magiſtrates of the towne, that it might not ſeeme ſtrange nor grieuous vnto them, if they were forced to pay the ſaid towle, and that hee ſuffred nothing to paſſe without a diſcharge.

The Councell of the towne was in doubt what to do, whether they ſhould chaſe him away by force or not: Where-with they were much troubled, the iſſue of this buſines ſeeming ſomewhat doubtfull vnto them. In the end they reſolued to com- E pound with *Cloet* (who was come vnto the ſaid ſhippe) and yet notwith-ſtanding they did write vnto the Emperor, to their Princes Electors, and to the Duke of Cleues. In the meane time they ſent two Doctors, one Secretarie, and a ſworne meſſenger of the Towne to *Cloet*, to let him vnder-ſtand that this new Impoſition did Impugne the Statutes of the Empire, and the liberties and freedomes of the Towne: And therefore the Councell did not meane to allow of this Innouation. *Cloet* demanded their anſwer in writing, to impart it vnto Prince *Truches*, without whoſe warrant hee might not depart by any meanes: And ſo the Deputies retyred, whome *Cloet* had feaſted moſt curteouſly wiith great loue and kindneſſe in his ſhippe.

F After the yeelding vp of Venloo, the Prince of Parma on the tenth of Iuly, came with all his forces before the Towne of Nuys, at the requeſt of the Biſhope of Beyern and Cologne, thinking to purchaſe vnto himſelfe great honor and fame by the taking thereof, in regard that Nuys was a good Towne, lying not farre diſtant from

The Prince of Parma beſieged Nuys.

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1586 from the Rhine, and much ſpoken of, for that the valiant Prince *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne, had ſpent a great treaſure, and lyen a whole yeare in ſiege before it, and yet could not take it. Hee brought thether a great and mightie armie of Spaniards, Italians, Germaines, Netherlanders, Bourguignons, and Wallons, lead by the Marquis of Warrenbon, *Charles* and *Octauio* Earles of Mansfield, the Earle of Aremberg, *Iohn Manriquez de Lara*, *Bonnine*, *Liques*, *Camilla*, *Capuzucca*, *Oſſon Sphrola*, and many other Commanders of Regiments. The Marquis of Guaſt was generall of the horſe: they had their victuals and munition from Cologne. The Prince himſelfe lay in the ſtrong Cloiſter of Ghenaden-dael, where hee was viſited by the Biſhop of Beyern and Cologne, the young Duke of Cleues, the Margraue of Baden, and other Princes and Lords. Within the Towne of Nuys Captaine *Herman Cloet* was Gouernor, a wiſe young Gentleman, who with a thouſand ſoldiers prepared to defend themſelues valiantly. Betwixt the towne and the Rhine there is a ſmall Iland, in the which they of the Towne had built a Fort, the which the ſoldiers abandoned vpon the firſt approach of the Spaniards. A Spaniſh Captaine perceiuing it, went and ſeized thereon with his company: but they of the towne ſallied forth, defeated all his company, and tooke him priſoner, and then they quitted the Fort againe. Then the Prince planted foure Canons in the ſaid Iland, ſixe before Neerport, & foure before Rhinpoort, to batter the Rampar behinde the cloiſter of Mariembergh, which was the weakeſt part of the towne. The beſieged for their parts ſlept not, but wrought day and night to fortifie it, both Bourgers and ſoldiers: the Gouernor *Cloet* did ſo preſſe them thereunto, as they had ſcarce any leiſure to feed. The Prince hauing all his batteries ready, and all things prepared to giue an aſſault, as ſoone as the breach was made, he did firſt ſummon the Gouernor on the 24. of Iuly, that if he would yeeld vp the towne, hee would make him a good compoſition: if not, that hee muſt attend the extreamities of a ſiege, and the fruites of his aſſaults. An anſwer was ſent him in writing, that they did thanke him for his kinde offer: and that knowing him to be a vertuous and a valiant prince, they would willingly treate with him: but being a matter of great importance, wherin they ſhould be well aduiſed, they demanded ſix houres reſpight to conſult.

Nuys ſommoned.

The prince had ſent a drumme into the Towne to demand hoſtages of either ſide, and that the beſieged ſhould ſend their Deputies with Commiſſion and full power to treate. But one of the Captaines called *Felix Poucher* anſwered, that they found not the prince of *Parmas* Articles tollerable: ſaying, that hee had not kept the accord made with them of *Venlo*, the which the prince denied. During theſe ſendings vp and downe, the Canons of the campe played vpon the towne, and that of the towne vpon the campe againſt the law of armes: ſo as the prince who was come neere to parle with them, was forced to hide himſelfe in a drie ditche: for the which hee blamed Conte *Charles* of Manſfieldt, maiſter of the Ordinance, at his returne to the campe: who excuſed himſelfe, ſaying that it was without his priuitie. Afterwards the Prince ſent Colonell *Taxis* vnto the beſieged, to know whether they were reſolued to defend themſelues, or to hearken to a good compoſition: who demanding to haue the articles in writing, they were ſent them by a Trumpet: which were in ſubſtance, that they ſhould depart with their coulours flying, and with all their armes, goods, baggage and booty, and that hee would cauſe them to bee ſafely conuayed to any place where they pleaſed, giuing them halfe an houres time to reſolue therevpon. *Taxis* with other Commanders were before the Port attending. This Trumpet remained in the towne from noone vntill night following: about ten of the clock at night one came to tell them that the Trumpet was gone to ſleepe, and that they might goe to bed if they pleaſed, and that the next day they ſhould haue an anſwer. In the end this Trumpet returned the next day about ſixe of the clock in the morning, with this anſwer. That they of *Nuys* wondered that the Prince of *Parma* made warre againſt their towne, belonging to the Prince Elector *Truchſes*, and depending of the holy Empire, demanding a truce for ſixe weekes, the which hauing obteined, they would enter into ſome reaſonable courſe of an accord. The Prince hearing this anſwer, and thinking that they mockt him, he cauſed the towne to be battered the ſame day, with thirty Canons, being Saint

The Prince of Parmas offer.

The anſwer of them of Nuys.

Iames

A *Iames* day the Patron of the Spaniards, neuer ceasing from morning vntill night, so as there was neuer a more furious batterie heard, hauing made that day aboue three thousand shotte. So as Rhynport and Neerport were battered to the ground, with a great part of the wall euen vnto the riuer: then changing the batterie to the other side of Rhinport towards the cloyster of Maryenbergh, they beate downe an other curtaine of the wall; so as there was a breach aboue three score foote long, by the which they might looke into the middest of the Towne. Betwixt the great Church and the Port there was a Tower, whereof part was beaten downe: a Spanish Captaine aduentured to creepe vp into it, and looking round about him, seeing no man (for that the besieged in that place lay close, by reason of the continuall batterie) B approach, he made a signe with his hand to his men to approch the which they did, and wonne that side of the Rampar. The Gouernor *Cloet*, hearing that the Spaniards were so farre aduanced, matched thether with some of his men, to chase them from thence, the which hee could not doe, but that they remained still in the Tower. 1586. Nuys battered.

At this charge the Gouernor *Cloet* was shotte in the calfe of the legge, and was carryed to his lodging. Soone after one of the Spaniards went out of the Tower to the Prince of Parma, telling him that the Towne laye open of that side, and that there was no flankes to hinder his entrie. This did encourage the Spanish souldiers beeing greedy of the spoyle, thinking the time tedious vntill they went vnto the assault, and the rather for that it was their Patrons day, who they hoped would giue C them victorie. But the Prince of Parma for that it was very late, and night approched, deferred it vntill the next day, causing the battery to continue all that night following, that the besieged should haue no leisure to rampar vp that which had been beaten downe in the day. The gouernor Cloet shot in the legge.

The next day in the morning the Princes campe beeing all in armes, and ready to goe to the assault: the Captaines of the Towne came vnto the Gouernor, to demand his aduise and counsell touching their yeelding; who seeing himselfe thus hurt, and beeing full of paine, hee wisht them to compound as well as they could, at the least to haue their liues and goods saued. Capraine *Rittall* was sent and an Ancient with him to the Prince, to treate of an accorde: comming neere vnto the Campe, an D Italian Collonell caused them to stay there, vntill hee went to tell the Prince, and to know his will and pleasure touching that which they sayd they came for, which was to treate an accorde, and to yeeld vp the Towne. The Prince made answer vnto this Collonell, that they should returne and attend with the rest, the hazard of the assault. Where-vpon the Captaine and his companion returned, and deliuered vnto the besieged the answer which had beene giuen them. They of Nuys offer to yeeld and are sent back.

Those of the Towne had by foure of the clocke in the morning discryed and seene great troopes of horse come out of a wood neere vnto the Towne, euery one carrying a Faggot, which they cast into the ditch to fill it vp, whereby they might easily iudge what their intent was: Wherefore the day beeing a little more spent, they E sent three of their Captaines againe to the Campe, but at their arriuall they were layde holde on and kept prisoners. The Spaniards burned with desire to goe to the assault, some say they went of them-selues, and were within the Towne before the Prince had beene aduertised or had any knowledge thereof. So the Towne was forced of the one side by the Spaniards, and soone after about Meerporte by the Italiens. The besieged leauing the Rampar, retyred vnto the Market place, thinking to make it good, but they were soone forced and defeated: the conquering soldiers putting all to the sword that they mette in the streetes, were they armed or not armed.

In the meane time the Wallons, Germaines and Liegeois were quiet in their F quarters, lying by Hochporte, beeing ignorant what was done in the Towne: but as soone as they heard that the Spaniards and Italiens were within the Towne, they fell to scale it on their side, and so did the high Bourguignons. Those that were lodged in the Iland swamme ouer, and made all the haste they could to goe to the spoyle. The slaughter was great, for that they spared not any. The great spoile and slaughter at Nuys.

There

1586. There were ſome two hundred ſoldiers retired towards Hochport, and had caſt A
downe there armes: but the Spaniards ſtript them naked, that their apparell ſhould
not be ſpoild with their bloude, & then (the firſt furie being paſt) they did murther them
in cold bloud. There were three hundred more gotten out of the port (thinking to
eſcape and to make their way by force, or to die in fighting) were compaſſed about by
the horſemen, and cut in peeces without all mercy. The towne being thus taken, and
the Gouernor *Cloets* houſe ſeazed on, hee was found lying wounded in his bed; his wife
and two ſiſters being by him: the enemy being entred into his chamber, they willed
him to prepare himſelfe to dye: wherewith being much troubled, he intreated them to
ſaue his life, being a ſoldiar, and that he had in diſcharge of his duty to his maiſter,
The cruell death of Cloet Gouernor of Nuys. done the part of a ſoldiar and an honeſt man, whereunto anſwere was made that both B
he and his maiſter were baniſhed and condemned by the Emperor, and muſt bee pu-
niſhed accordingly: who ſeeking to excuſe himſelfe, they put a halter about his necke,
drew him out of the bed, and hung him out at a windoe of his howſe. The Miniſter and
2. captaines were in like manner hanged. Some diſcourſing of this cruelty, ſaid that *Cloet*
and his Captains had not done ill in their reſolution to keepe and defend the towne
for their maiſter, but that they committed a great fault to mocke the Prince of Parma,
as we haue ſaid; hauing ſo mighty an army, and ſo great ſtore of artillery, able to force a
ſtronger towne then Nuys.

It was not ſufficient for the Spaniards to haue ſacke and ſpoyled the towne, but they
withall burnt it: and yet ſome to excuſe it ſay that fire fell among certaine fagots C
and old drie wood that was prepared to rampar with, and ſo tooke ſome neere houſes
that were couered with ſtraw. See the end of the miſerable ſeege of this towne, the
twenty ſixe of Iuly, the which will not in long time bee reſtored to her former eſtate
the deſolation was ſo great. The Prince of Parma being yet in his campe after the
The Pope ſends a hal-loued ſword to the Prince of Parma. taking of the towne, the firſt of Auguſt there arriued the Biſhop of Verceil Noncio to
Pope *Sixtus* the fift, whether alſo were come the cheefe Noble-men and gouernors:
This *Noncio* (hauing on his right hand the Arch-biſhop of Cologne Prince of Lieg,
and on his left the Prince of Cleues) brought from the Pope to the Prince of Parma,
a Sword and a Hat hollowed by Pope *Sixtus* owne mouth, with letters congratulatory
vnto the ſaid Prince, for his happy ſucceſſe: in the which there was an expreſſe clauſe D
that ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt at the Maſſe which the ſaid *Noncio* ſhould ſay when as the
Prince ſhould receiue the Sacrament at his hands with the ſaid Sword and Hat, being
firſt confeſt and communicating at the ſaid Sacrament, ſhould haue full remiſſion of
their ſinnes. Then the *Noncio* made an oration to all the Noblemen, Gouernors, Col-
lonels, Captaines and men of warre there preſent: exhorting them to carry them-
ſelues valiantly, and to die for the Romiſh Catholike faith, with promiſe of all Apoſ-
tolicall bleſſings, and in the end eternall life. Which being done hee came vnto the
Prince, and put the Hat vpon his head, and girt him with the Sword, which was richly
wrought. The which the Pope ſent him, (as the letters made mention) in remem-
brance of his valour and vertue, E

Whileſt that the Prince of Parma was at his ſeege before Nuys, Prince *Maurice* and
Sir *Philip Sidney* Gouernor of Fleſſing for the Queene of England (to prouide worke
for him in another place) landed at the fort of Ferneuſe, with three thouſand ſoldiars,
to make a road into Flanders, thinking by that meanes to diuert him from the ſeege of
Nuys; and the twenty fiue of Iuly they tooke the towne of Axel not farre from the
Sas of Gant. This did ſome-what trouble them of Flanders and Brabant; fearing ſome
greater miſcheefe, ſo as they of Flanders wrote very importunat letters to the Prince of
Parma, intreating him to come to ſuccor them, ſaying that it was more reſonable and
neceſſary to defend their country then to beſeege an imperiall towne lying out of the
iuriſdiction and limits of the Netherlands: yet would he not forſake that ſeege but ſent F
la Motte Gouernor of Graueling, to goe and beſeege Axel: the which hee pretending
to doe, the ſtates cut the dikes and drowned all the country therabouts, ſo as with their
ſhipping they forced them to leaue the towne. At the ſame time *la Motte* by meanes
of a Wallon ſoldiar, called *Nicholas Marchant* ſome-times Sargant to the company of
Captaine

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A Captaine Brugnastre in the States seruice, layded a plot to intrappe the cheefe Com- 1586.
manders, Colloniels and Captaines of English. This marchant adressing him-selfe
to the Earle of Leicester, and some of the deputies of the Estates, giuing them to
vnderstand that he had good intelligence with many officers and soldiars of the gar-
rison of Graueling, and that vnder coullor of caryingof corne thether by sea; bring-
ing men into the hauen, they might easely enter into the towne. His desseigne
was found reasonable, and he had mony giuen him to buy corne and to imbarke it. This
exploit was to bee done by Sir *Philip Sydney* and other commanders. But this mar-
chant hauing bought and imbarckt his corne and brought it into the hauen, hauing
assured them that those hee carried with him and those of the garrison which were
B of his confederacie, should open the port at a certaine houre appointed to Sir
Philip and his men: he being come neere the towne, and finding the port wide open
sooner then he expected, hee began to doubt, for that some things fayled which had
beene concluded in this enterprise, the which staied them from passing any further.
La Motte and his men (who attended them with great deuotion) were greedy of
their prey, and thought it long vntill they entred, sending two or three soldiars to
wish them to make hast, but their marchant kept still within the towne, and neuer
shewed him-selfe, which made them to doubt the more, and in the end to retyre.
La Motte seeing this, fell vpon them that were entred with the marchant, who at the
first were well entertained by them of the counterfet and deceitfull faction, but
C in the end they smarted for all the rest, being about some thirtie of the English-men
that were slaine.

The affaires of the vnited Prouinces were some-what impayred by the losse of
Graue, Venlo and other places, the which the Prince of Parma had won, who pros-
pered more and more. There fell out among the sayd Prouinces and some particular
townes a secret iarre and disagreement (as it happens often in an estate where as
many command) the one seeking to be freed from chage to lay it vpon his compani-
on: And with all Collonel *Schenke* (during the time that hee serued the King of
Spaine) had noted some men, who gaue cause to suspect some of the estates, as if they The Earle of
were not to bee trusted, on the other side, the Earle of Leicester newly made go- Leicester
D uernor of diuers Prouinces, euery one hauing seuerall preuiledges and freedomes, discontented.
being heretofore vnited together vnder one Prince, by heriditary successions, alli-
ances of marriages, guifts, pourchase, and other wise; retayning yet still their liberty
and the preheminences of their estats: hee perswaded him-selfe that the authority
which he ought to haue, by reason of the place which he held in the said Prouinces,
was much diminished, for that the gouernment and absolute command depended not
vpon him alone nor of his councell: but that the generall estats of the vnited coun-
try according to their ancient rights (although that in the Duke of Aluas time this
order had beene broken) had in regard of them great authority to take know-
ledge of all things concerning their Estates.

E This bred a ielousie and distrust, the which was after-wards the cause of a grea- Paul Buys pri-
ter mischiefe, for Maister *Paul Buys* (some-times aduocate of the particular Estates of soner at
Holland, and appointed a Councellor to the Earle of Leicester,) beeing at Vtrecht, was Vtrecht.
put in prison, and there kept, without proceeding iudicially against him, nor knowing
who was his aduerse partie. The captaines which had taken him, sayd they had done it
by the Earles commandement, the which he denied. There were also some of the chiefe
of the towne, among others the signior *Nicholas van Zuylen* Scout or Baylife, and some
other priuate men, who were dismist and commanded to depart the towne by sunne
setting; who retired into Holland, from whence they sent their complaints in writing
vnto the Earle, who made himselfe ignorant of all: so as no man could iudge whether it
F were by his commandement or not. They of Vtrecht being more incensed against their Some bani-
Burguers that were sent away, they banished them not onely out of their iuris- shed from
diction, but also out of Holland, and out of all the vnited Prouinces for a certaine Vtrecht.
time, vpon paine of confiscation of such goods as they had in their signeury and
Diocese.

The

1586 The ſtates of Holland ſeeing with what rigour they of Vtrecht proceeded againſt A
their fellow Cittizens, would gladly haue pacified this ſpleene: but not able to preuaile any thing, many of theſe baniſhed men paſt the Seas, ſome going to liue in the Eaſt-countries, and the reſt in ſome other neutrall places: ſome careleſſe of this rigorous proſcription, remained in Holland. In the meane time Maiſter *Paul Buys* remaining ſtill a priſoner, and no proceeding againſt him, by practiſe, or rather by ſuffrance of ſome of the priſon, found meanes to eſcape out of Vtrecht, and to retire into Holland: whereas his inlargement was confirmed, being bound vpon the penalty of 25000 Florins, to appeare and to anſwer to all that ſhould bee obiected vnto him: but neuer any man came to accuſe him.

Paul Buys eſcapes out of prison.

During theſe loſſes which the vnited Prouinces had ſuſteined, and the alteration in B
the gouernment of their affaires, their mindes were much troubled with a new apprehenſion of feare, being diuulged and ſpread abroad that the Queene of England was intended to make a priuate peace with the King of Spaine, for her owne eſtates without any regarde of the ſafety and liberty of the vnited Prouinces, her neighbors: To ſatisfie their diſtracted mindes, and to free them from theſe doubts and iealouſies: her Maieſtie ſent ouer Mr. *Thomas Wilkes* with letters to the councell of Eſtate, whereof I haue thought good to inſerte the coppy, as followeth.

A Letter from the Queene of England, to the eſtates C
of the vnited Prouinces, ſent by Mr. Thomas Wilkes *the 19. of July* 1586.

MY Maiſters, and our good friends, wee haue beene aduertiſed of late, that not-with-ſtanding the aſſurance which wee haue already giuen you by Sir *Thomas Hennedge*, of our firme reſolution to proceed in this action, wherein wee haue ſo willingly imbarkt our ſelues for your defence and preſeruation: there are ſome bad inſtruments among you, who neither well affected to vs, nor deſirous of the publick good of their owne countries, haue giuen it out, that wee haue an intent to make an accorde D
with the King of Spaine, and to yeeld to make a priuate peace for our owne proper aduantage, not comprehending the vnited Prouinces, nor caring any more for their ſafety and preſeruation, and that you could attend but one yeares ſuccors from vs at the moſt, with other ſuch like inuentions, rather maliciouſly deuiſed, then grounded vpon any diſcourſe of reaſon. For it is apparent to all men of any ſence or iudgement, that there is ſuch an indiuiſible concurrence betwixt the eſtate of affaires, and the publicke good of both countries, as we cannot abandon your cauſe, and leaue you to the mercie of your enemies, being ſo farre ingaged in this action, and hauing imployed a perſon of that qualitie and eſteeme with vs, as is our couſine the Earle of Leiceſter, without doing wrong and preiudice to our ſelues, beſides the conſideration of our honor, which E
is ſo farre ingaged, wherein wee hope wee haue neuer made breach, nor giuen occaſion to be iuſtly taxed: and therefore wee thinke that you will not giue any credit to the paſſionate diſcourſes of ſuch men. But yet to auoyde the ſuſpitions and iealouſneſſe which they might breed among the generalitie, and in the hearts of ſuch as know not well how matters paſſe, wee haue thought it fitte to ſend this bearer Maiſter *Wilkes*, one of the Clerkes of our councell of eſtate, expreſly vnto you; to giue you a more ample and certaine aſſurance of our ſincere and conſtant reſolution, in any thing that concernes the good defence and preſeruation of your countrey, the which wee haue ſo deepely vndertaken, as our fortune is inſeperably conioyned to you. Wherefore it ſeemes expedient and neceſſary, that wee bee fully aduertiſed from point to point of F
the preſent eſtate of your affaires, as hauing therein an extraordinary intereſt. Wherefore wee intreate you to giue vs therein the beſt ſatisfaction you can poſſible by the ſayd Maiſter *Wilkes*, to whom wee haue giuen expreſſe commandement to informe himſelfe by your meanes as particularly as hee can: doubting not but you will conferre freely

A freely with him vpon this ſubiect, as it is fitting, ſeeing it concernes your priuate and proper good. And as for our parts you ſhall alwayes finde vs ready (as you haue formerly done) to performe that which we haue promiſed for the ſuccour and defence of the country. In like manner wee attend that for your parts you doe that which you haue reciprocally offered, the which (to ſpeake freely) hath not hetherto beene duly accompliſhed, as you ſhall vnderſtand more particularly from the mouth of the bearer. Beſeeching the Creator, &c. From Richmond the 19. of Iuly 1586. Signed. 1586.

ELIZABETH. R.

The ſame moneth her Maieſtie did write an other letter to the Prince of Parma, in
B anſwer of one written by her concerning a treatie of peace, betwixt her Maieſtie and the King of Spaine, which ſhe refuſeth to hearken vnto. The tenor whereof was.

A letter from the Queene of England, to the *Prince of Parma, in Iuly* 1586.

C THe letters which your Excellencie haue written and ſent by one *Auguſtin Graffigna*, being accompanied by one *William Bodenham*, ſeemes very ſtrange, for that mention was therein made, that you vnderſtood by the ſaid *Graffigna*, how that wee had commanded him to make an ouerture of an accord vnto you on our behalfes, & that you had heard it with great pleaſure and content: and although wee cannot but approue and like of your Excellencies inclination and deſire, to bring matters to ſome good end, offring to that effect all the good meanes that are in your power: notwithſtanding your Excellencie muſt know, that in this buſineſſe there hath beene a great error committed, that in our name, without our knowledge, and againſt our diſpoſition, and in ſome ſort to the preiudice of our honor, any ſuch perſon as *Graffigna*, or any other of better qualitie, ſhould preſume to begin any ſuch matter in our name, or in our behalfe, as if wee had in that manner (by meſſages ſent vnto your Excellencie)
D ſought to make a peace with the Catholicke King, who hath in ſuch ſundry ſorts recompenced our good offices with contrary effects, whereby wee haue beene conſtrained (contrary to our naturall diſpoſition) to enter into theſe actions, the which is to no other end but for the defence of our eſtate, neceſſarily conioyned with our ancient neighbours of the Netherlands. And herevpon the ſaid *Graffigna* being by our commandement demanded by ſome of our councell, if hee had receiued commiſſion from vs, or if he had dealt with your Excellencie by order from any of our Councell, he denied it peremptorilie, as your Excellencie may ſee by his owne hand writing, the which we haue ſent you here incloſed: and for a greater proofe hath offered to returne to iuſtifie the ſame. As for *Bodenham* ſent hether by you, wee haue cauſed ſome of our coun-
E cellers to talke with him, and to vnderſtand what he had to ſay on your behalfe: Who ſayes that there is a great deſire in your Excellencie to procure a peace betwixt vs and the Catholicke King, and to this end (as hee ſayes) your Excellencie offers to procure authoritie from the King, to treate with vs, by the meanes of ſuch perſons as ſhall bee thought fit, if it may be firſt knowne that we haue any inclination therevnto: wherein as well the King as your Excellencie may vnderſtand by our publick declaration, what our minde was then, and ſhall be yet, and how important the reaſons be, which haue moued vs to deale in theſe actions: not being thruſt on by any ambition, or the deſire of effuſion of bloud, but only to ſecure our owne eſtate, and to free our auncient neighbours from miſery and ſlauery: and to theſe two ends we haue directed our actions, with a re-
F ſolution to continue them, notwithſtanding that by indirect meanes there are certaine rumors ſpred abroad, (eſpecially in the Netherlands) that we are inclined to a peace, without any reſpect of the ſafetie and libertie of thoſe our neighbors, who haue moued vs through compaſſion of their miſeries, and for other iuſt cauſes of importance, to aide and defend them from perpetuall ruine and ſlauerie: and therefore we haue had

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1586. „ great wrong offered vs therein, for ſuch is our compaſſion of their miſeries, as wee will A
„ not by any meanes haue their ſafety diuided from ours, knowing well how they concurr
„ together. And therefore we intreate your Excellencie, that you will hold our reſoluti-
„ on to be ſuch, notwithſtanding any rumor that ſhall be ſpred to the contrary, the which
„ is greatly to our diſhonour. Yet we would haue you perſwaded, that if wee may ſee rea-
„ ſonable conditions of peace offered vnto vs, which may bee for our ſafety and honor,
„ and the libertie of our neighbours; we will as willingly accept of it, as wee were vnwil-
„ lingly forced to the contrary. Seeing that wee cannot doe any thing more pleaſing to
„ Almighty God, then to procure a generall peace throughout all Chriſtendome: The
„ which ſhould bee the chiefe care of vs that bee Monarkes and Princes: and ſo it is
„ knowne vnto the Almightie (who is the God of peace, and the onely ſearcher of all B
„ hearts) how much we haue beene therevnto alwayes inclined. To whoſe iudgement no
„ appeale, againſt the malice of all the tongues that ſeeke to perſwade the world to the
„ contrary.

Nuys being taken, the Prince of Parma deliuered the emptie towne vnto the Biſhop of Cologne, ſending his troupes to Alpen and Mæurs, and the caſtle of Crako, belonging to the Earle of Nieuwenar and Mæurs, which hee preſently tooke, and from thence they went before Rhinberke, whether he himſelfe came in perſon the thirteenth of Auguſt: where as Sir *Martin Schenck* and Sir *Thomas Morgan* an Engliſh Gentleman, with about one thouſand Engliſh, and ſome ſeauen or eight hundred other good C ſoldiers lay in garriſon, to defend it againſt the Prince. The States ſhips of warre that were in garde before the ſaid towne, being falne downe the Rhine, the Iland which lies oppoſite againſt the towne, was ſeized on by the Spaniards, who preſently planted ten Canons there, but the garriſon that was within the towne defended themſelues ſo well, by the good conduct of Collonel *Schencke*, as the Prince preuailed nothing, onely he cauſed certaine fortes to bee built there-abouts. The Earle of Leiceſter meant to take ſome courſe to deliuer it: but as hee had in the beginning of September planted his campe aboue and beneath Elten, paſſing on, hee went to beſiege the towne of Dousbourg, lying vpon the riuer of Yſſel. The Princes men continuing their deſſeigne vpon Berck, after they had finiſhed their fortes, ſubiected all the fortreſſes there-abouts D euen vnto Wezel: Before the which towne is that of Bruycke, belonging to the Duke of Cleues, which they ſeized on, and put ſome of their men in garriſon there: betwixt which two townes of Wezell and Bruyck they made a bridge vpon the Rhine, to ſtoppe the paſſage of ſhippes that came vpward, and that the eſtates ſhould ſend no victuals to Berke.

Rhinberg beſieged by the Prince in vaine.

The garriſons of Oſtend, Sluice and Terneuſe, after the taking of Axel did great hurt in Flanders, cutting of the conuoyes that brought corne to Bruges, Ipre, and other places, for that as then there was a generall dearth of corne throughout all the countrey, in ſuch ſort as the poore people within Bruges dyed for hunger: at which time, notwithſtanding their great want of corne, and dearth in the whole Prouince, the hatred E that many of them bare (vnto ſuch men as gouerned the towne of Bruges in former times, when the reformed religion was permitted) and yet continued there, truſting vnto the liberty and freedome of conſcience, which was promiſed vnto them, by the contract made, betweene the Prince of Chimay, and the Prince of Parma, began as then to breake forth and ſhew it ſelfe. Whereof *Peter van Hauterine*, called *Brouqſaulx* was one, againſt whome (becauſe hee was ſonne to the Bourgomaiſter *Brouqſaulx*, that fled from thence into Zeeland for the religion, whereof the foreſaid *Peter* his ſonne ſecretly made profeſſion) they ſought all occaſion to trouble and moleſt him, or elſe to put him to death; and to that end at laſt deuiſed (vpon vntrue and falſe ſugieſtions) to charge him to haue beene conſenting to a certaine enterpriſe that ſhould F haue beene made (as they ſayd) againſt the towne of Bruges, vnder pretence that hee ſhould haue beene preſent in company, when a Burger of that towne (called *Ioos van Peenen*) began to complaine of the alteration of the time, whereby hee had ſuſtained great loſſe in his marchandiſe, and ſayd moſt plainely that it would bee much better

Dearth of corne in Bruges.

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A better, if the aforesaid towne weere vnited againe vnto the Prouines of Holland and Zeeland &c. and although the said Brouqsaulcx, excused him of all matters so as they could make no proofeof that where-of they accused him, yet they sought by most vniust meanes, and vnspeakeable torments (as by setting him in a chare purposely made and placed before a fire, for the space of nine daies and eight nights keeping him continually waking) to force some confession out of his owne mouth, whereby they might seeme to haue some lawfull collour to condemne him to death, and although these torments could not make him to confesse any thing of that which was demaunded of him, and layd to his charge as it appeared by the letters he wrot of his persecution and troubles, and by good meanes caused them to be conuaide 1586

B into Zeeland yet vpon the thirteene of Iune 1586: they caused his head to be stricken of, with the said *Ioos Peenens*, without any lawfull proceeding, and against all due course of iustice, and besides this confiscated all his goods, directly against the priueleges of the towne of Brugges, which import thus much, that a magistrate, can not lose both his life & goods together, wherwith being not yet content, the desired the Prince of Parma to haue the point of permission and freedome of conscience graunted by the foresaid contract made to the Prince of Chimay (for awhile restrayned) established amongst them againe, the better to attayne vnto their purpose & intent of mischeuous reueng, and for that cause they banished many others out of the towne, in all which indirect courses, the new crept-in Iesuites, hauing most voyce and authority, hould

C this principle or maxime, that all contracts, promises, priueleges, and vowes, must giue place, and yeeld vnto the Catholicque, Romish Church and religion. In the moneth of August the earle of Leicester hauing gathered certaine troupes of soldiars together, sent his vantgard, conducted by Sir *Iohn Norris* and Sir *Thomas Cicile* to lie at Saint *Seuenter* by the Rein, and vpon the sixt of September went him-selfe from Arneham, to Elten, in the duchy of Cleue, accompanied with *Don Emanuel* Prince of Portingale, some to *Don Antonio* King of Portingale, the elector *Tuses* bishoppe of Colen, Prince *Maurice* Earle of Nassawe; *Philip* Earle of Hohenlo; *William* Earle of Nassaw, and *Philip* Earle of Nassaw his brother (both sonnes to *Iohn* Earle of Nassaw,) the Earles of Solmes, and Ouersteine.

Peter de Bronsqualx & Ioos van Peenen beheaded in Brugges.

D The Earle of Essex, generall ouer the English horse, The Lord Willoughby; the Lord North, Sir *William Pelham*, Marshall of the English forces, Sir *Phillip Sidney*, and many others of good estate and qualitie, where he mustered his army, and found it to bee seauen thousand foote and a thousand foure hundred horse, but knowing it too small a number, to raise the Prince of Parmaes campe from before Berck (who was reported to bee twelue thousand foote and three thousand fiue hundred horse) he determined to set vpon Doesborch, thereby to moue the Prince of Parma to leaue Berck. This towne of Doesborch belongeth to the Earledom of Zutphen which had the name of Duysborch, or Drusus Borch (as some men say) long since giuen it by Drusus, (brother to the Emperor *Tiberius*,) that brought

The discripsion of Doesborch

E the Rehin from aboue Arnham, into Isell, to the towne of Doesbourch, being yet called *Fossa Drusiana*, the towne hath high wales after the auncient manner, and broad deepe diches; at that time there was in it three hunderd Walons, vnder the command of Captaine *Stenson*, and the townes-men that bare armes, were about three hundred more. The Earle of Leicester sent the Earle of Hohenlo, the Earle of Essex, Sir *Phillip Sidney*, and & others with fiue hundred horse, eight hundred foote men by night to inuest the towne, and vpon the ninth of September followed with his whole army, marching from a village called Elten and causing his trenches presently to bee made; so as within three daies after, he had planted tenne peeces of ordinance, against the towne, wherewith he made two indifferent great breaches, but by reason that they

Doesboroh wun by the Earle of Leicester the 13. of September.

F within repared them vp againe, and made them strong, and also for that the dich was sixty foote broad, and about 24 foote deepe, the assault was had to bee giuen, but the diligence, willingnes, and forwardnes of the soldiars was so great as the Earle of Leicester, resolued to giue an assault, appointing the Earle of Hohenlo, with the Dutches and Scots, to begin, and Sir *Iohn Norris*, with the Englishmen and freezlanders

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1586 to ſecond them; which they within perceiuing, ſent word to the Earle of Leiceſter, that A
they would yeeld vp the towne, vpon certaine conditions, which were denied them,
whervpon they yeelded themſelues, only with ſauegard of their liues, and the captaines
and officers to remaine priſoners, and preſently Sir *Iohn Berowes* and Sir *William Stanley*, entered into the towne; Sir *Iohn Borrowes* being made gouernor thereof. After that,
to draw the Prince of Parma from Berck, the Earle of Leiceſter marched towards Zut-
phen, one of the 4. principall townes of the Duchy of Guelders, and yet of it ſelfe is an
The Earle of Leiceſter marcheth to Zutphen. Earledome, and hath a ſpeciall gouernment within it, beeing a very ſtrong, and a good
towne, and for that hee had intelligence, that the towne had no great ſtore of victualls
within it, he was in good hope to win it, or els to force the Prince of Parma to come the-
ther, as after he did. Within it there lay *Iohn Baptiſta Taxis*, a braue ſoldiar, lieutenant to B
Verdugo gouernor of Friſeland, & for that this town lieth vpon the riuer of Iſſell, and by
that means troubled the paſſage into the riuer of Velue, and Holland, the ſtates long be-
fore had made a ſconce vpon the other ſide in the Veluwe, but by reaſon of high floods,
they were forced to leaue it; they of Zutphen tooke this ſconce, and made it ſtronger,
rayſing two bulwarks and 4. ſconces hard by it, which ſconce, they of Holland, 2. yeares
before, had beſieged ten months togither, but could not win it, & ſo were compelled to
ſuffer the enemy to ouerrun and ſpoile the Veluwe. The Earle of Leiceſters forces be-
ing ſomewhat more increaſed, he brought his army along by the riuer, right before Zut-
phen, and vpon the 18. of September, made a bridge of boates ouer the riuer, within leſſe
then halfe a mile from the towne, taking certaine gentlemens houſes, as Hackvoort, & C
Voorden. While the army was thus buſied, the Earle of Leiceſter went to Deuenter
The Earle of Leiceſter entreth into Deuenter. wheras then they began to mutine & would not liue friendly with thē, where by means
of biſhop *Truceſe* he got 400. foote and 200. horſe, to enter into the towne and beeing
there, newes was brought him, that the Prince of Parma had left Berck, whervpon hee
made haſt to returne vnto his army, which he preſently cauſed to bee more ſtrongly in-
trencht towards Zutphen.

The Prince of Parma fearing that the Earle of Leiceſter, might do ſome thing againſt
The Prince of Parma leaueth Berck. Zutphen, and finding that Berck was to well prouided, hauing taken the Iſland lying be-
fore it in the Reine and made it ſtrong, & raiſed other ſconces about it, all wel furniſhed
vpon the 12. of September he departed from thence, & marched to Weeſel, and tooke D
Burick a ſmal towne in Cleaueland, and the caſtle, and there made a bridge of ſhips, and
ſo paſt ouer to the other ſide, and being ouer, made certaine ſconces, to keepe both the
bridge and his paſſage, and went to Bunckloo, from whence he ſent certaine victuals in-
to Zutphen, going himſelf in perſon with his vantguard, which the Earle of Leiceſter,
knowing, that the towne was not yet fully victualled, he thought the next time they vic-
tualled it to ſet vpon the conuoy, whervnto he appointed Sir *Iohn Norris*, & Sir *William Stanley*, with certaine foote, and others with ſome troupes of horſemen. The 22. of Sep-
tember in the morning betimes, the Prince of Parma, cauſed more victuals to be ſent vn-
to Zutphen with the ſame conuoy of his vantgard, as they had before, being 6. or 700.
horſe, and 2000. pikes and musketiers. They ſtaying in a ſtrong place, by a village called E
Warnſuelt, halfe a mile from the towne, and ſo let the cartes and wagons paſſe along,
which being diſcouered by a troope of 30. horſe: Sir *Iohn Norris*, the Earle of Eſſex, the
Lo. Willoughby, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, and others road
thether, with about 200. horſe, and 1500. musketiers and pikes, meeting with their ene-
mies before they expected them, by reaſon it was then very miſty: they of the Prince of
Parmaes ſide, led by the Marquis of Guaſt vpon their watch-word giuen, beganne to
ſhoot furiouſly out of their ambuſcadoes, being a place of great aduantage, as if it had
bin a ſconce, which they on the Earle of Leiceſters ſide manfully withſtood, not any one
once retyring out of his place, to the no little amazement of the enemy, which beeing
paſt, & the enemy not knowing how ſtrong the Engliſhmen were, and perceiuing them F
to aduance; they ſent out a cornet of horſe vnder the leading of captaine *George Creſſier*
an Albanois, which was preſently ouerthrowne, and the captaine himſelfe taken priſo-
ner: after that they ſent Count *Hanibal Gonzaga* with his cornet of horſe, the which was
likewiſe valiantly charged, put to rout, and part thereof ſlaine, and he himſelfe ſlaine,

or

A or deadly wounded, they purſewed the reſt cloſe vnder their ſhot, where the third cornet made ſhow to come to charge them, but it being likewiſe driuen backe, they parted one from the other in regard that the Prince of Parma began to ſend more men to ſtrengthen them. The Spaniards had a hundred men, ſlaine and wounded, on the Engliſh part were ſlaine and hurt about thirty men, whereof one was Sir *Philip Sidney*, being ſhot into the thigh, as he changed horſes, whereof he died within fiue and twenty daies after. A yong lerned wiſe & valiant gentel-man, & very for-ward, whoſe death was much lamented, hee was gouernor of Fleſſing, and the Earle of Leiceſters ſiſters ſonne, his bodie was conuaied into England, and honorably buried with in the Cathedrall church of Saint *Paul* in London, wherevpon the Engliſhmen not knowing how
B ſtrong the enemy was, with-drew themſelues vnto their campe, and ſo did the Prince of Parma vnto his. 1586.

Sir Philip Sidney ſhot before Zutphen whereof hee died.

The Earle of Leiceſter ſought to get the ſconſes before Zutphen, and layd his campe in the veluwe vpon the Iſſell, there being an Iſland that lyeth right ouer againſt the towne, from whence ſome-times men might goe dry-foote to the towne, which was kept but by thirty men in a ſmall ſconce, he cauſed it in the night-time to be aſſailed and taken, killing ſome and taking others of the ſoldiars priſoners, the reſt ſaued themſelues by flight. This Iſland he cauſed to be fortified and made ſtronge, and ſo brought his campe, before the ſconſes by Zutphen, making a bridge from the land to the Iſland, for that, from that Iſland he could hinder and keepe backe any aide that ſhould be ſent out
C of the towne to the ſconces, and preſently made his plat-formes, and planted his Ordinance, which being certified to the Prince of Parma, and that the Iſland was taken, hee was yet in feare to looſe the towne, therfore vpon the fourteenth of October, he came againe perſonaly with his army hard by the towne, and victualled it ſufficiently, the Earle of Leiceſter being not ſtrong inough to impeach him. The next day he departed and went two mile off to Bruckelow, and ſo to Weſell, and from thence to Burick, where he paſſed ouer the Reine vpon the bridge that he had made, and becauſe he was ſome-what ſickely, hee went from thence to Bruſſells, leauing the Marquis of Renti, Barron of Montigni, of the houſe of Lalain, generall in the campe, the which as then was full of ſickly ſouldiars, and diſeaſed by reaſon of their want.

The Earle of Leiceſter beſieged the ſconce at Zutphen.

The Prince of Parma victualeth Zutphen.

D The ſixteenth of October, the Earle of Leiceſter, hauing battered the ſmall ſconce, lying North-ward, in the afternoone the ſame daie, hee cauſed an aſſault to bee giuen, wherein were about three hundred men, and in open viewe and ſight of eight hundred men that were in the great ſconce, and two thouſand in the towne, the Prince of Parma himſelfe being then not aboue a mile or two from thence, hee tooke it by force, whereas an Engliſh Gentleman, called *Edward Stanley*, Lieutenant to Sir *William Stanley*, behaued himſelfe moſt valiantly, leaping into the ſconce, by meanes of one of the enemies pikes, wherewith the enemy thruſting at him, he claſped it in his hand, and holding faſt, (what meanes ſoeuer the enemie wrought to pull it from him) got vp with it, and beeing vp, drewe out his courtelas, and beganne to laie vpon the enemie, and
E with that other following him, the enemy was conſtrained to retire, and ſo hee was the chiefe meanes of taking the ſconce, for which the Earle of Leiceſter (as hee well deſerued) made him knight vpon the trench, with a guift of three ſcore poundes ſtarling yearely pencion during his life; at the taking of this ſconce there were not aboue eight men loſt, but the Earle of Hohenlo was ſore wounded in the face. The Earle of Leiceſter therevpon, beganne to make preparation againſt the next daie to aſſaile the great ſconce, for that this ſconce lying Northward, and the Iſland Southward, hee ſhould quite cut off the paſſage betweene the towne and the great ſconce, which they in the great ſconce fearing, fled by night into the towne, before the Earle had planted his Ordinance, leauing all their Ordinance within it, and ſo that ſconce was likewiſe
F taken, with other places there-abouts, as the caſtle of Nienouer and Bocx-berghen whereby the veluwe, was freed from all incurſions.

The Earle of Leiceſter takes one of the ſconces by Zutphen forcibly.

Sir Edward Stanley for his valor made knight by the Earle of Leiceſter.

The greateſt ſconce by Zutphen forſaken by the enemy.

To beſiege the towne of Zutphen they thought it not conuenient, in regard it was too ſtronge, and for that as then it laie incloſed round about by the garriſons of Deuenter, Doesborch, Lochum, Deuteculi and the ſconce, it was to bee hoped, that in

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1586. time by want of victuals, they ſhould bee compelled to yeeld it vp, and therefore winter being farre aduanced, the Earle of Leiceſter brake vp his campe, as the Prince of Parma had done his, placing his men in diuerſe garriſons, and honoring many of his Captaines with the order of Knight-hood. A

Rouland yorke made gouernor of the ſconce before Zutphen.

The ſconce being taken, he tooke order for the fortifying thereof, placing *Rouland Yorke* gouernor therein, with eight hundred Engliſh foote, and a hundred horſe, to free the Velue, whereof the ſtates diſliked, becauſe hee had once before ſerued vnder them, and after with the enemy, and had beene a double traytor, and that therefore his faith was to bee ſuſpected. But the Earle of Leiceſter (beeing light of credit, and hauing a great truſt in his owne nation) offered his owne perſon and honor for aſſurance of his loyaltie. In Deuenter hee placed Sir *William Stanley* for their gouernor, with one thouſand and two hundred Engliſh and Iriſh men, and two hundreth horſe, for the which alſo the States were not well pleaſed, beeing one that had likewiſe ſerued the enemy. In Doesborch he placed Sir *Iohn Borrowes* gouernor with two hundred horſe, and eight hundred footemen, as alſo to keepe the caſtle of Brouchoorſt, whereby the garriſons of Lochem, Deutecum, Sheuenbergh, and Zutphen were in a manner blockt vp. B

Sir William Stanley made gouernor of Deuenter.

The Earle of Leiceſter hearing that the Prince of Parma was retyred, and that it began to bee deepe in the Winter, and that the ſouldiers that ſhould haue beene leuied in the Eaſt countreys, (by ſome indirect meanes) beeing then out of ſeaſon to raiſe any more, were all diſperſt, hauing forced the Prince of Parma to breake vp his campe before Berke, (from whence Sir *Thomas Morgan* was newly come) hee went to the Hage, which gaue many cauſe of diſlike, for neglecting ſo good an occaſion when it was offered, ſeeing that the Prouinces vnder the Spaniards, were ſo ſore diſtreſt for want of corne, and other victuals, by reaſon that the Hollanders with their ſhippes had ſtopt the paſſages of all the cheeſe Hauens, from whence they might get corne, but in the breaking vp of the campe his men that were in the Iland by Zutphen, were ſet vpon by *Taxis* him-ſelfe, but ſoone releeued, with loſſe of ſixe or ſeauen Engliſhmen. C

The Earle of Leiceſter breakes vp his campe in Nouember.

The Earle of Leiceſter being returned backe vnto the Hage, the States moued him to take order, that their complaints and griefes (which in Auguſt laſt paſt, and now againe were exhibited vnto him, and wherein they found themſelues much burthened, and in a manner wronged) might bee redreſſed, which they ſet downe in forme of a petition, made in the name of the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and townes of Holland, Zeeland and Freizland, containing the ſeuerall points here-after enſuing. D

The States requeſt to the the Earle of Leiceſter

Firſt they deſired that the money receiued for contribution, might bee put into the Treaſurers hands, choſen by the Eſtates, and that all the Commiſſions for any payments to bee made, ſhould bee ſigned by the gouernor, and three of the counſell of eſtate, of the three ſeuerall Prouinces aforeſaid, which they ſayd was onely done, and paſt through the hands of one *Iacques Ringualt*, whom they with many others accounted to bee ſuſpitious perſons. E

That her Maieſties ayde of Engliſhmen, beeing fiue thouſand foote, and one thouſand horſe, might bee kept full and in their complete numbers, beſides the garriſons, and that they might bee muſtered, and payde, in the preſence of ſome one of the States Commiſſaries according to the contract.

That the leuying of new ſouldiers, according to the three and twentith Article of the contract, might bee done by the gouernor, with the conſent of the States, that the Prouinces and Townes might not bee charged nor burthened, aboue their powers and habilities.

That according to the foure and twentith Article, no gouernors of Prouinces, Townes, or places, ſhould bee choſen, or placed therein, before that three were firſt nominated by the ſayd ſeuerall Prouinces, whereof the gouernor with the counſell of eſtate might chooſe one. F

That hee would obſerue good Marſhall diſcipline, and let no ſouldiers be ſuffered to goe forth with out commiſſaries with them, to take a note of their charges and expences

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A pences, which by the Prouinces are to bee payd, that the commons from whom the contributions are to bee gathered, might not be ouer much burthened. 1586.

That the garrisons might bee payd, which the Commanders ouer them complained of, fearing mutinies, and reuolts, in regard that the fourth part of the contribution gathered in Holland would suffise to pay their frontier garrisons, and the halfe of the contribution of Zeeland, for the garrisons of Zeeland, and that therfore the three parts of the Hollanders contribution, and the other halfe of the Zeland contribution, would serue for the rest of the garrisons.

That no pioners nor laborers Wagons, should bee forcibly taken out of the country villages, contrary to the ordinances.

B That according to their priuileges, no man should be summoned to answere to the law, out of the Netherlands.

That the authority of Magistrats which was much diminished and decaied, namely of Vtrecht might be vpholden and restored againe.

That Vtrecht might not be seperated from Holland, but be againe reduced vnder the gouernment of Prince *Maurice*.

That the proclamation, dated the fourteenth of August concerning traficke and nauigation, and the letters of the fiue and twenty of August, forbidding the carrying forth of any kind of wares or marchandises, tending to the ruine and ouerthrowe of the Netherlands, might be called in againe, and free liberty permitted vnto all men,

C That the mony belonging to the admiralty, should not bee distributed, nor vsed to any other end, then to the same for which it is appointed: That new or strange manner of collection of contributions might no more be vsed, and that no more question might be made, against the administration of spirituall goods.

That concerning the contributions of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland not touching matters of policie, neither yet in the administration thereof, there should bee no audience, nor good credit giuen, vnto any person what soeuer, that had beene any dealer in the treasory of Brabant, Flanders, or other the enemies countries, not hauing any knowledge or vnderstanding of the state of these Prouinces, and that his Excelency in all causes, concerning the contribution, policie, or such like affaires, would

D vse the aduise and Councell of the sayd Prouinces.

Vnto these demandes and complaintes, the Earle of Leicester made many excuses, and diuerse faire promises, that all should bee amended, but that as now hee had some occasion to goe into England, in regard that some matter of importance, and great waight, was then to bee handled in the high Court of Parliament in England.

The states sought all the meanes they could to stay him from going, but it was in vaine, and so the reformation, was deferred tell his retume againe, whereupon they desired him to leaue some good order for the gouernment of the Netherlands, during his absence, for which cause vpon the three and twenty daie of Nouember

E hee made an act whereby hee committed the gouernment thereof to the Councell of Estate, with this clause, that all should bee done by aduise of the generall States, authorising them with full powre to consult, and dispose of all causes whatsoeuer, with as full authoritie, as if hee himselfe were personaly present, not onelie for Marshall causes, but also for policie, according to their good discretions, for the preseruation and welfare of the Netherlands, common peace and quietnesse of the State, and the resistance of the enemie; with this *prouiso* that all dispatches, and commissions should bee made and vnder written, *In his name* (with his expresse commaundement and authoritie,) *by his Cousin Prince Maurice Earle of Nassaw*, and one of the Councell of the Noble Estate, beeing there for the Queenes most excelent

F Maiestie; or in their absence, by two other of the sayd Councell of Estate, and that the sayd Councell of Estate, should deale in all other causes according to their ordinarie instructions, without diminishing any of his authoritie, and that the garrisons of townes and fortes, should bee placed, altered, and changed, according to their aduise and counsel, but in his name, and that the commissions, and

The Earle of Leicester at his departure commandeth the gouernment of the Netherlands to the Councell of Estate, by act dated the 23. of Nouember.

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1586. authorities of the ſame, as alſo the paſſes, and lodging of the ſouldiers, in the champian countrie, ſhould in like ſort be made in his name, and no man to deale or meddle there-with, notwithſtanding any commiſſion or commandement to the contrary, and that the warre by Sea, and the moneys appointed to that end, ſhould reſt in the diſpoſition of the Admirall and the counſell of the Admiraltie. And further for the ordering of the warre, the ſayd counſell of eſtate, ſhould appoint a ſufficient and expetienced man, that ſhould ſit and conſult with them in the ſaid counſell, commanding all gouerners, Coronels and Captaines of horſe and foote, both by ſea and land, and all Magiſtrates what-ſoeuer, &c. to bee obedient vnto the ſayd counſell of eſtate, as if he were perſonally preſent, and that during his abſence, or till that it ſhould bee otherwiſe appointed by the generall eſtates, promiſing vpon his princely word, to allow, maintaine, and ratifie, and cauſe to be allowed, maintained, and ratified, all and whatſoeuer the ſaid counſell of eſtate in his abſence ſhould decree and ordaine. Dated the 24. of Nouember 1586. ſubſcribed *Robert Leiceſter*, and vnder by order from his excellencie.

Signed *Gilpin.*

The ſame day the Earle of Leiceſter made an other act of reſtraint, or recalling of the counſell of eſtates authoritie aforeſaid, the effect whereof was as followeth.

An act of reſtraint made by the Earle of Leiceſter during his abſence.

That although his Excellencie had committed the gouernment of the countrey vnto the counſell of eſtate, with full power and authoritie both by water and by land, commanding they ſhould be obayed in all things, as his owne perſon, as by his act appeared, yet his Excellencies intent and meaning was, that neuertheleſſe, during his abſence, hee would reſerue certaine cauſes to his owne will and diſpoſition, and therefore decreed by this other act, that the aforeſayd councell of eſtate, notwithſtanding the aforeſayd commiſſion, and generall, abſolute, and free power, vnto them committed and granted, ſhould not alter nor change any thing touching the gouernment and command of places by his excellencie, already giuen and beſtowed, nor touching the keeping of any Caſtles or Fortes, as alſo that they ſhould not meddle with the chiefe officers of armies, as generalls of horſe and foote, nor their Lieutenants, nor with any other principall officers, vnleſſe it were with the knowledge and conſent, firſt had from his Excellencie, and when any one ſhould chance to dye, they ſhould not put any other in his place, but with *prouiſo*. They ſhould not diſcharge any priſoners, nor yet take any aſſurances. They ſhould not diſpoſe of confiſcations, and ſpirituall goods, without his knowledge or pre-conſent. And further that they ſhould put to their helping hands, that the order concerning the Engliſh companies may be obſerued. As alſo touching the carrying of victuals out of the Prouinces, eſpecially of that which groweth within the ſame, that they ſhould haue a ſpeciall care & regard, that it were done (as much as might be) to the profit of the Netherlands, and ſo he could bee well contented therewith, and that the liſt of conuoyes by the generall eſtates, might bee augmented as much as poſſible might be.

Laſtly, touching the nominating of the counſellers of eſtate, they ſhould haue a regard, that nothing ſhould therein bee added nor altered, to the deminiſhing of the authoritie that belonged to his Excellencie, touching the chooſing of one in euery Prouince, to ſit in the counſell of eſtate, dated in the Hage the 24. of Nouember 1586. This act of reſtraint did afterwards cauſe great iealouſie and diſlike to grow, it being once knowne, and thereby procured great hurt and preiudice to the Netherlands, and to the Earle of Leiceſter himſelfe much diſquietneſſe, as here-after you ſhall heere.

Before the Earle of Leiceſter went out of the Netherlands, hee cauſed his image or picture at life to be made of pure golde, waighing three or foure ounces a peece, to giue vnto his friends to weare it in remembrance of him, vpon the one ſide was his picture excellently well made, with an Inſcription. *Robertus Comes Leiceſtrie & in Belgis Gubernator* 1587. On the other ſide, there was a flocke of ſheepe feeding, whereof ſome were ſcattered abroad, and before them a faire Engliſh Dogge, looking about for the ſheepe, and many ſheepe following him, and round about it was grauen. *Non gregem ſed ingratos*, and vnder the Dog was written, *Inuitus defero.*

The Earle of Leiceſters picture made in gold & giuen to his friends in the Lowe-countries.

In September *Anthonie Perrenot* Cardinall of Granuelle, firſt of all Biſhop of *Arras*, and

A and afterwards Archbishop of Macklyn, dyed in Spaine, hauing many riche Abbaies and benefices: he was borne the twentie of August 1517. sonne to *Nicholas Perrenot* Lord of Granuell, one of the chiefe Councellors to the Emperor *Charles* the fift. This Cardinall by the quickneſſe of his witte being very ambitious, would gouerne the Netherlands alone, and ouer-rule the Dutcheſſe of Parma that was Gouerneſſe, and the Princes and Lords of the Kings councell of State at his pleasure: whereby there grew iealouſies and factions among the great men, which were couered afterwards with the cloake of religion: ſo as to redreſſe it (or it may bee to bee better ſerued with his councell) the King called him out of the ſayd countries into Spaine, where hee did farre worſe offices then if hee had remained in the Netherlands: for hee did ſo debaſe
B the countrey, and diſgrace the Princes and Noblemen vnto the King, as by his vnmeaſured ambition, with the hatred hee bare them, and his deſire to bee reuenged of them, hee was (to ſpeake plainely) the onely Anuill, whereon all the miſeries of theſe countries were forged, the which doe yet continue vnto this day, of whoſe life, and actions, wee haue diſcourſed at large in the eight Booke of this Hiſtorie. 1586 Death of the Cardinall Granuelle.

The Earle of Mæurs was gone into Germanie to make a leuie of Reiſters, which they attended with great deuotion in the Eſtates campe before Zutphen: with the which hee came downe as farre as Bremen in the East countrey, whether the Eſtates had ſent a great ſumme of money for their pay. Theſe Reiſtres beeing come to the Rendez-vous and place of muſter, the Rytmaiſters began to mutine for their pay, for
C the ſeruice which they had not yet done. The Duke of Parma (whoſe father was newly dead) hearing thereof, ſent certaine troupes into the countrey of Linghen, to incounter them, and if it might bee to doe them an affront. At which place ſome of theſe Germanie horſe went to the Spaniſh party, and the reſt disbanded and retired into their countrey: ſo as the Earle was left alone with the Cornet of the Rytmaſter *Plettenberg*, and not daring returne into Holland by land, being too weake to make his way by force through the enemie, being aſſured that hee ſhould bee charged, hee imbarked with the reſt of his men. Some Princes of Germanie (in whoſe countries theſe mutines had beene leuied) were wonderfully incenſed againſt them for this baſe act, and puniſhed ſome Gentlemen as well by priſon, as otherwiſe by way of infamie and
D degradation of name, honor, and armes, hearing that they had not wanted any pay, ſeeing there was money ſufficient, the which was ſent back into Holland. The Earle of Mæurs his Reiſtres and they mutine.

The Duke of Parma hauing auoyded this ſtorme, and diſperſt theſe troopes of Germaine horſe without fighting, which the Eſtates had expected with ſuch great deuotion, hee cauſed his forces to returne neere vnto Zutphen, and commanded to take vp all the corne in the countrey there-abouts, and to carry it into the Towne, the which was eaſie to bee done, the Earle of Leiceſter hauing retired all his armie vnto the other ſide of the riuer vpon the veluwe, about the great Fort which hee had taken before, right againſt the Towne: into the which hee had put three and twenty companies, Wallons, and naturall Dutches of the countrey, the which were ſoone after caſt and re-
E duced to ſixe Enſignes, what the cauſe was I could neuer yet learne. All this ſummer the drought was very great throughout all the Prouinces vnder the King of Spaines obedience, which cauſed an extraordinary dearth of corne: for the corne being twiſe or thriſe ſowne, as ſoone as euer the blade began to appeare aboue ground, it was preſently eaten in one night by a kinde of little graye ſnailes, which in the day time hid themſelues in the ground by reaſon of the great heate of the ſunne, and fed onely in the night, the which I haue ſeene by experience returning in the night time to my houſe at Tyl in Flanders, whereas all the wayes were ſo full, as they cauſed a loathing in them that went vpon them, by reaſon of their ſlimie viſcoſitie, which made men beleeue, that it was a puniſhment ſent from God. It hath not beene read of in former hiſtories, nor
F ſeene ſince, that generally in whole countries, a meaſure of wheate waighing two hundred pounds, ſhould bee worth forty fiue Florins in the market. And as this drought continued aboue a whole yeare, betwixt the yeare 1586. and 87. (ſo as in that of 87. they had three pounds of beefe for one of bread) many poore people dyed for hunger and want, as well in Arthois (which is a great corne countrey) as in Flanders A great drought. Deuouring Snayles. An extraordinary dearth of corne.

where

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1586 where the plague was very violent, and withall they were much tormented with A
Flanders punished with three scourges this yeare. Wolues, which deuoured men, women, and children by hundreds: so as Flanders was afflicted this yeare with famine, plague, and with sauage and cruell beasts.

At that time the Estates to keepe the Esterlings from bringing of any graine into the sayd countries, hauing aduertisment that there were certaine ships laden with corne at Hambrough to be transported to Dunkerke: they sent some ships of warre, vnder the command of Captaine *Ludt Iacobsen* (otherwise called the *Great Luth*) of the towne of Medenblyke in West Friseland, towards the riuer of Elbe to stop the passage. The said Captaine was sent for to Hambrough before the Magistrate, where beeing demanded what made him presume to enter into their riuer to stoppe their nauigation and traficke. He answered freely that hee had beene sent by his Masters the Generall B
Estates of the vnited Prouinces, with commandment that both there and in al other places hee should make warre against their enemies, yea and against all them that would assist and fauour them. Wherevpon answer being made vnto him, that it was a neuter towne, and not any waies partiall, but free vnder the Empire: whether any man, as well of the one part as of the other, might come and haue free accesse, as well Spaniards as Hollanders: wherefore they commanded him to depart and instantly to leaue their riuer free. The which hauing refused to doe, vntill hee had the like commandement from his Maisters, they cast him into prison, and there kept him a long time vntill
Captaine Luth a prisoner and inlarged. that by letters from the Estates and the King of Denmarke hee was set at libertie, but not without suspition to haue beene first poisoned, for that at his release out of prison, C
hee refused to sweare neuer to bee reuenged for this imprisonment, but onely for his owne priuat person, and not for his Maisters, if they commanded him, who (hee sayd) had beene more interessed therein then he himselfe. Soone after his returne into Holland hee died, and there were found in him all the signes, and tokens of one that had beene poysoned.

In the village of Linter neere vnto Tillemont in Brabant, on the tenth daie of De-
A prodigy of bloud. cember in the night, it did raine bloud vpon the yce, in the ditches of a Gentlemans house, the drops falling so hot, as the yce did melt, and they did peerce almost a foote deepe, as it was obserued by many. The Earle of Leiceſter parted out of the Netherlands in the end of this yeare, by commandement (as hee sayd) of the Queene of Eng- D
land, to assist in Parliament, whereas matters of great importance were to bee treated off. The Generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, were not well pleased with his de-
Deputies of the Estates sent into England to attend on the Earle of Leicester. parture, by reason of the discontent and murmuring that was of either side: to preuent the which they sent their deputies to him into England, to bee nere vnto his person, as a Councell of Estate: the which were *Iames Valcke* (at this present treasorer generall of Zeeland) *William van Zuylen* signior of Nyeuelt, *Iuste Menin* Pensionar of the towne of Dordrecht, *Camminga* of Friseland, and others, with a Secretarie, who arriued there in the end of Ianuary 1587. carrying him from the generall Estates a rich and stately present, which was a cup of the heigth of a man, of siluer and guilt, curiously wrought, in signe of acknowledgment and gratuitie. During the discontent of the Ne- E
therlanders, for the errors which they sayd the Earle of Leiceſter had committed, hauing exhibited their greeuances vnto him, and yet receiued no redresse, but dilatorie excuses: there was one did write a discourse of aduise, touching the abuses which had happened in the state since hee came to the Gouernment, the which I haue thought good to insert, hoping that the content and profit which the reader may reape thereby, will in some sort recompence the tediousnesse thereof. In the end of his preface he sayes.

I thanke God, that he hath sent a wise and discreet Gouernor to command ouer these
A discours of aduise to the Earle of Leicester. vnited Prouinces, who hauing no other designe, but the glorie of God, the peace and tranquilitie of these poore countries, and the seruice and greatnesse of the Queene his F
Soueraigne: it is not to bee feared, that hee will take in ill part that which with all modestie and respect may bee deliuered vnto him, touching the abuses and errors which haue happened in this Estate, since he was admitted to this gouernment. Humblie beseeching his Excelency to consider that it is but his first yeare of a prentiship. And

how

A how wiſe, ſufficient, and iudicious in affaires ſoeuer a Prince, Gouernor or Councel- 1586.
lor bee, yet beeing new come into a country, amongſt a people ſo diuers of humors and opinions as theſe bee; ſo full of factions and partialities; ſo troubleſome, wayward and importune, by reaſon of their long and violent infirmitie; ſo extenuated and weakned of meanes, and almoſt reduced to deſpaire, and abandoned of the Phiſitions and of all humaine ſuccors: in an Eſtate which is ſo pittifull an Eſtate, confuſed, diſordred and without gouernment: where wee can ſee nothing but cloudes of errors, and gulphes of miſeries and pouertie: And whereas in the beginning hee did ſcarſe knowe the merit, valour and dexteritie of anie one perſon: And whether hee had alſo brought new men like vnto him-ſelfe, but yet in all commendable qua-
B lities much inferior vnto himſelfe. It is no wonder then if hee hath found himſelfe for to bee ſet with a thouſand difficulties; if hee hath contented ſo fewe perſons, and diſcontented ſo many: yea if with in theſe few monthes it hath endured ſo rude and furious a ſhocke, as it was in danger of ruine.

And although the cure of this diſeaſe dependes not vpon the counſell and aduiſe of a young Phiſition, and that wee may ſaie with *Tacitus*. *Non perinde diiudicari poſſe quid optimum factu ſit, quam peßimum fuiſſe quod factum eſt*. It cannot thereby bee iudged what is beſt to bee done, but that it was ill that was done. Yet there is ſome hope that wee ſhall not heere-after fall into the like errors, and that wee will bee no leſſe circumſpect then the mariner, who doth all hee can to auoide the rocke;
C where hee was once in danger of ſhip-wracke, for as an old doctor of the church ſayth. *Non niſi idiotis datur bis ad eundem lapidem impingere*, that is, none but fooles ſtumble twiſe at one ſtone. Whereunto I will adde for my concluſion, the ſaying of an ancient Poet, *Nulla res tam facilis eſt, quin difficili fiat ſi inuitus facias*. Nothing is ſo eaſie but it will prooue difficult, if you do it vnwillingly. The contrarie is true, that to a reſolute minde nothing is to high, to great nor to difficult. And wee muſt ſay with *Alexander* the great when he incorraged his ſouldiars. *Nithil tam alte natura conſtituit, quo virtus not poſſit enitie*, nature hath ſet nothing ſo high, whether vertue may not aſpire.

The greateſt error and the leaſt excuſable, is that the trearie hath not beene due-
D lie obſerued; and the greateſt aduantage which theſe men haue had to blame vs, is, that the ſuccors promiſed haue neuer beene full and complete, aſſuring that there were neuer ſeauen hundred horſe nor foure thounſand foote. Moreouer that the muſters were neuer duelie made, with the aſſiſtance of a Commiſſary appointed by the Eſtates as it is fit and neceſſarie, ſeeing that the countrie is bound to make reſtitution of that which ſhall bee disbourſed by her Maieſtie. It were a leane excuſe to ſay, that it was forgetfullneſſe, and that they had ſpoken of it. But what are words without effects and execution? And to whome belongs this care and charge but to him that is Gouernor generall, who hath command ouer all other things? What a ſhame is it if there bee more fault and negligence in the Phiſition then in the ſicke patient? *Infeli-*
E *citer egrotat cui plus eſt a medico periculi quam a morbo*. Hee is vnfortunatly ſicke that is in more daunger of his Phiſition then of the diſeaſe. This people is a ſicke weake, extenuated bodie; you vndertake to cure it: next vnder the Almightie GOD they attend no other ſuccors nor cure but from you: and yet by your delaies, negligence and ſlackneſſe, you bring them into greater daunger then they were euer. If you replie that it was in them to beare with your faultes, for that they are ſuppliants and haue need of your ſuccors. I anſwere, firſt that contracts are in the beginning voluntary, but after they bee once made and ſworne, they muſt of neceſſitie bee kept of either ſide.

Secondly that the Phiſition which vndertakes a cure muſt firſt do his dutie, and not
F bee found in fault.

Thirdly this poore people relie vpon you, and as I haue ſayd, neither can nor wilbe deliuered but by your meanes and ſuccors. And you maie well thinke ſeeing that iealouſie and libertie hath brought them to that point as to reuolt from, and to incenſe ſo great and mightie a Monarch; that if they had any meanes to preſerue themſelues by them-

1586. them-ſelues, they would not haue adreſt them-ſelues, to any other ſeeing that this A
crauing of ſuccors, proceeds, from the weakeneſſe of their owne forces, to the
end that being vnited with you they may doe that which of themſelues were impoſſible.

But if neither the ſuccors bee complete nor the troupes paid as wee haue ſeene this
winter, that all the Engliſh companies haue not in fiue monethes receiued one peny
what may theſe poore people expect, but ruine, the which they haue for many yeares
and with great toyle ſought to auoyd? So as it ſeemes they are in their hands that will
aduance their ruine, rather then preſerue them. If there were queſtion to pay thirty
twenty or tenne thouſand men, but there are but ſixe thouſand and not complet, the
which are in as poore termes for their pay as thoſe that are entertaynd by the country.
This doth not onely diſcourage the ſoldiars which ſuffer, but doth alſo bring vnto B
diſpaire, them who hauing offred the Soueraignty with their liberty bodies and goods
to be her Maieſties ſubiects: and not able to obtaine this grace, haue bound and ingaged
the keyes of the cheefe townes of their eſtates for the aſſurance of that which ſhould be
disbourſed for the entertainment of ſixe thouſand men onely. The French king *Lewis*
the twelth ſuffered his friend and confederate the King of Nauare to bee ruined when
he delayed to ſend him the ſuccors which he had promiſed againſt the Catholike King,
who ſeazed vpon, and doth yet hold at this day the Kingdome of Nauarre, for thoſe
which are bound to ſuccor an other, and yet protract the time and are ſlow to ſend it,
bring their friends into danger and pourchaſe blame, and are held vnfriendly, and by
their ſlackeneſſe ouerthrow the action which ſhould haue brought honor and proffit C
to them all: for if they which call are whot in their enterpriſes, and they which are
called are cold, mingling one with the other it makes a luke warme, which is nothing
worth, moreouer this defect hath made many thinke that her Maieſty had more will to
make a peace for them with the King of Spaine, then to ſuccor them cherefully againſt
their enemies.

They complaine much that Captaines and officers of the Engliſh troupes are great
gameſters, and conuert their ſoldars pay to their owne pleaſures or priuat proffit, the
which is a manifeſt theft. That they are not as they ought to bee with their companies
and charges, whereby there haue growne great abuſes and inconueniences: yea the laſt
day all the commanders, Collonels and captaines, and in a manner all the cheefe officers D
of companies both of horſe and foote were abſent, which fault cannot be imputed but
to the generall of the army or the gouernor generall of the country.

That which hath loſt the hearts, loue and affection, of the ſoldiars and men of warre
of the one and the other party is, that they haue beene worſe paid this yeare then the
former: and being accuſtomed to receiue foure or fiue moneths pay in a yeare, they
haue for the moſt part receiued but two or three at the moſt. And in truth if we looke
into the great and extraordinary charges which haue beene made in this yeare more
then in the former, wee ſhall not finde it ſo ſtrange: and the fault (if it bee a fault)
is in a manner excuſable, for the enterpriſe of Axel hath coſt a good ſumme of
money: That of Graueling (which fayled) the campe before *Nymegen*, when as they E
tooke the forts and caſtells of the Betawe: the victualing and exployt before Graue: the
victualing of the townes of the heigh country; the money vnprofitably imployed for
the leuying of Reiſtres: and the laſt campe before Doesbourg and Zutphen, taking of
the forts, aſſuring of Deuenter and of the veluwe: beſides the eſtabliſhment of a councel
of eſtate, and a councel of the treaſure. &c. The officers whereof haue bin very wel paied,
guifts and preſents of importance to ſome commanders, recompences to ſome priuat
perſons yea for ſeruices done in times paſt: reception of Ambaſſadors; paſſing of
ſoldiars out of England and Scotland: wagons, Spyes, Intellligences: voyages of
deputies and commiſſionars and other things as well ordinary as extraordinary. So as
the firſt yeare it is not poſſible through the ignorance of affayers to manage the F
expences ſo well as before. Beſides that the two hundred thouſand florins moneth-
ly contribution or any other extraordinary ſumme, furniſhed by the eſtates: the
greateſt part was not deliuered in redy money but abated and defaulked, as well
for the tranſpor of ſoldiars, as for wagons, and cheefely for munition and victuals
brought

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A bought at a farre leſſe price, then they haue beene deliuered in the Towne to the Co- 1586
miſſaries: the exceſſiue and vnreaſonable pay of Pioners: beſides the deduction of other charges: and yet they impute the receyt, and totall expence to his Excellency, as if hee had receiued it all in readie mony, or that hee alone had had the diſburſing and the managing of the ſayd money; the which is falſe. But if the charges haue much exceeded the receipt, and that by conſequence they haue anticipated for many moneths the generall meanes and aydes of the country: Wee muſt either confeſſe that wee haue beene abuſed in the beginning, in not making an equall eſtimate betwixt the charges of the warre, and the meanes of the country; or elſe wee muſt anſwer as the Generall of the Greekiſh armie did in the Peloponeſian warre; being
B demanded what ſumme of money would ſuffice yearely to continue the warre, and at what rate they ſhould taxe euery Prouince. There is not (ſaid hee) any thing certaine nor aſſured in warre: They muſt haue as much as they ſhall ſpend, and not ſpend as much as they may haue: And if hee which builds a new houſe, makes accoumpte to ſpend as much more as hee had ſet downe for his worke: with greater reaſon it ought to bee done by them that vndertake a warre, bee it offenſiue or defenſiue: For that a Generall cannot fore-caſt all exploits which it ſhall behoue him to make in one yeare, neither can he diuine of his enemies diſſeignes, who will happely prouide worke for him which he neuer dreamt of: Beſides the loſſes and accidents which happen daylie in matters of warre. The which may ſerue for an
C aduertiſment and inſtruction for ſuch as are deputed to make Treaties, and to reſolue vppon the forme of ſuccors. Yet it had beene a great wiſdome and diſcretion, not to haue leuied and paſt more men out of England or Scotland then they had meanes to pay within that yeares contribution. The which may alſo ſerue for an inſtruction hereafter.

The baniſhment of many Papiſts out of Vtrecht, hath beene found very ſtrange of many both without and within the country: For that moſt of them are old Chanoins, and Clergie men, whereof ſome haue neither the ſpirit nor the meanes to hurt: and that this baniſhment is contrary to the pacification of Gaut, and to the Vnion of Vtrecht, and as they thinke againſt all reaſon and forme of iuſtice: ſeeing that they
D had all in former time conſented to expell the Spaniard; and haue ſince voluntarily contributed to make warre againſt him: and that without accuſation or hearing they haue baniſhed them out of the towne and Prouince: For ſeeing this warre is not made ſo much for Religion as for the Eſtate (as it appeareth by the Treaties, and among others by the ſaid Vnion) the one haue as great an intereſt in the preſeruation of this Eſtate as the other: And it is vniuſt to intreat the one worſe then the other. But the baniſhment of fiue men of quallitie, hath beene iuſtly found of bad example, and of all men held moſt vniuſt, as well in the matter as in the forme and proceeding: for it is well knowne that theſe men haue beene alwaies ſworne enemies to the Spaniards: That they haue bene the firſt authors of the eſtabliſhment of their libertie,
E and of the reformed religion: They neuer ſince make any profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, although ſome ſuſpect them to be Papiſts.

They haue alwaies beene imployed in all affaires of importance, for their Prouince and for the State, and they were neuer before taxed to haue committed any remarkeable fault in the Eſtate: Nay it is moſt certaine that they were open enemies to the French partie, and that they haue allwaies laboured to haue the ſuccors of England: And when his Excellencie came into theſe parts, two or three of the chiefe of them, haue imployed their paines and done their beſt indeauours they could, that his Excellencie might haue the generall gouernment and all the authoritie, yea more then ſome other Prouinces would haue had. Where-
F vppon it is ſaid that there is manifeſt iniuſtice in this fact, and a great ingratitude: Iniuſtice, for that they were neuer accuſed, heard, nor examined, of any thing, although they haue required it with great inſtance; Ingratitude, in that hauing fauoured, ſerued and aduanced the Engliſh party, they haue receiued this cold recompence by the Engliſh, for although that they pretend the publike

1586 good, and to auoid a greater inconuenience through diuiſions and factions in Vtrecht, A
(whereof theſe were heads of one of the parties) they haue beene forced to vſe this
rigor: yet they are much deceiued in thinking to preſerue an Eſtate rather by Iniuſtice
then by iuſtice. *Quia Ius et æquitas vincula et fundamenta ſunt ciuitatum.* For that
Iuſtice and equitie are the bonds and foundation of Citties, as *Tully* ſaith in his
Paradoxes; if they haue committed a fault, let them bee accuſed, heard, conuic-
ted, and condemned: If they will not once heare them in their iuſtifications, what
can wee thinke but that there is paſſion and violence in this action? Beſides con-
ſcience and the rules of Chriſtianitie will admit no reply. Do wee ill that good may
come of it? If you do otherwiſe, and thinke by this Iniuſtice to preſerue your Eſtate,
you are *Macheuells* Diſciples, who teacheth it, and not our Sauiour *IESVS* B
CHRIST and his Apoſtles who forbid it. If you will now ſay the fault is paſt: but
if wee reſtore ſuch men as are now incenſed, wee ſhall commit an other foule and
groſſe error in the Eſtate, for they are heads of a partie, they are of the chiefe of
the Towne: They would returne into their places and offices, and would trouble
our whole Eſtate: And by the communication which they haue had with them of
Holland, they will happily fauor the Hollanders diſſeignes which they practiſe ſe-
cretely vppon the Towne of Vtrecht. And what know wee whether (through deſire
of reuenge) they will do as *Salinator* did vnto the Romaines who had wrong'd him?
or as many others in the like caſe, and for the like occaſion. Heere-vppon intruth
I am much troubled to anſwer you, yet would I not heape one error vppon another, C
but rather follow the example of *Ariſtides*, who preferred that which was iuſt
and honneſt, before the vtilitie and profit of the common weale; Then of *Themiſtocles*,
who had aduiſed them to make their beſt profit of that which was diſhoneſt & vniuſt.

As for the impriſonment of *Paule Buys*, all men haue ſeene the proceeding: The
which good men haue found ſo farre from Iuſtice, as thoſe which before held
Paule Buys to be worthy of puniſhment, for his miſdemeanors paſt, and aboue all
for the croſſes which hee had giuen to the good and commendable diſſeignes of the
deceaſed Prince of Orange, and began now to do the like to the Earle of Leceiſter,
to whome hee had ſhewed him-ſelfe light, inconſtant, and vnthankfull: Beſides
other crymes wherewith hee might haue beene charged, accuſed and conuicted: D
Euen theſe men and his greateſt enemies, (in hatred of the vniuſt and extraordinary
proceeding which was held againſt him) began to pitty his fortune, and by little
and little to change this hatred which they bare him, into a deſire to aſſiſt and fauor
him, and to draw him out of priſon.

For as *Tacitus* ſaid of the Emperor *Galba*, *Digniſſimus imperandi niſi imperaſſet.*
Moſt worthy of ruling if hee had not ruled. So wee may ſay of this man. *Digniſ-*
ſimus Carcere, niſi eo Carcere fuiſſet incluſus. Moſt worthy of priſon if hee had not
beene ſhutte vp in that priſon. For beſides the fault which they haue committed in
Iuſtice, ſuffering ſome Captaines and factious perſons to vſe this authoritie; to
ſeaze vppon the perſon and papers of a Councellor of Eſtate, the which doth be- E
long onely to the Prince and to the Gouernor generall; and then to ſuffer him to
languiſh ſixe moneths in a filthy and loathſome priſon, without hearing him or
arraigning him, notwith-ſtanding that both hee and all his kinſe-men had ſought it
with great importunitie.

Beſides this error I ſay there is by the ſame meanes an other committed in the
Eſtate; which is, that ſuch a man as *Paule Buys* is reputed to be, the head of a partie,
turbulent, paſſionate, reuengefull and ambitious, ſhould not haue beene put in pri-
ſon, but his proceſſe ſhould preſently haue bene made; or at the leaſt he ſhould
haue beene better guarded then he hath beene heretofore: Euery one fore-ſeeing,
that if hee once gotte out hee would bee reuenged on thoſe who hee thought had F
wrong'd him: as we haue ſeene what broiles he hath made ſince his eſcape, to the great
blame and diſhonor of the Gouernor generall, and to the great preiudice of this
Eſtate: Beſides the diſcontentment of all the other Councellors of Eſtate, and
other cheiſe men of this countrie, who haue rightly iudged, that if they did open

a dore

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A a dore to ſuch Iniuſtice, and did abandon men of honor to the rage and paſſion of priuate men and of a multitude; the like hanged ouer their heads, for as *Seneca* ſayth. *Minatur multis vni qui facit iniuriam*. Hee threatens many, that doth wronge but to one. And the fact cannot bee honeſtly excuſed, that the captaines had not giuen aduertiſment but an houre before, for all their othes and execrations ſhall neuer ſatisfie them who knowe how the ſayd Captaines, the Sheriffe *Pottere* and Maiſter *Webbe* (one of his Excelencies houſhold) were then in credit with his Excelencie, who at the ſame inſtant was in Vtrecht. Moreouer the ſayd *Pottere* ſayd to many before his death, that neither hee nor any of his companions durſt euer haue attempted ſuch a thing, without the ſilent conſent of his Excellencie, and that they found B themſelues to bee well grounded. If then the ſayd impriſonment were done without the knowledge and againſt his Excellencies authoritie, why haue they not yet done iuſtice? Hee that allowes and ratefies a fact is like vnto him that is the author. This indirect proceeding againſt *Paul Buys*, hath beene the cauſe, that hee who before was held a wicked man, is now reputed an innocent, and that they haue done him wrong, Iniuſtice, and indignity. Finally wee muſt remember the wiſe aduiſe of *Tacitus*, *Non vtendum eſſe imperio, vbi legibus agi poſsit*. Wee may not vſe violence where as the laws are in force. 1586.

The eſtabliſhing of a Councell of the treaſor, without the conſent and contrary to the admonitions and expreſſe will of the Eſtates, hath beene the more odious, for that C his Excellency hath appointed for chiefe thereof, a man that is generally hated of all the Hollanders, and not very well lik'd of the other Prouinces; a man who was knowne to bee of a ſodaine and violent ſpirit, an enemy to the Eſtates, and fit to breed diuiſion and iealouſie betwixt a Gouernor generall and the Eſtates. A matter as it hath well appeered ſince, of moſt dangerous conſequence: and if hee had no other qualitie but the name of a Brabanſon, (which all men knowe is odious to the Prouince. For the ancient iealouſies and quarrells which haue beene betwixt theſe two Prouinces. And for that the Brabanſons in their Prouince exclude all their neighbours from all charges, honours and offices, and hold them for ſtrangers) ſo it is that for this conſideration, hee ſhould haue had reſpect not to diſcontent ſo many men and whole Pro- D uinces, to aduance one onely man to a charge of ſo great importance, and ſo much ſuſpected by them, who feared that by his meanes they would ſerch into their adminiſtration paſt. For although the ſayd Councell was for many cauſes and reaſons held moſt neceſſarie, yet ſeeing it was ſo fearefull to manie, they could doe no leſſe then to put in pleaſing Officers, or at the leaſt ſuch as ſhould not bee odious to all men.

But that which hath moſt offended the Eſtates is, that beſides the ordinarie and lawfull meanes which were graunted, they haue conſented that *Ringault* ſhould practiſe his owne inuentions. The which hath made his Excelencie vnpleaſing vnto the ſayd Eſtates, and to all the marchants generally throughout all Holland and Zee- E land, who were reduced to that Eſtate, as many talked of going out of the countrie, rather then to liue ſubiect to ſuch a tyranie, as was that which *Ringault* would bring in vpon all the marchants. For although that the breach of Edicts and proclamations doe much preiudice the State, yet the courſe they would haue held was ſo odious as in the iudgement of the wiſe it was ſufficient to make whole townes reuolt, as Amſterdam, Enchuyſen and the greateſt townes of traficke in the countrie. Beſides the terror which *Ringaults* promiſe ſtrooke into them, by the which hee ſhould binde himſelfe by that onelie meanes in fewe monthes to finde many millions of gold. The Chancellor *Leoninus* was wont to ſay that ſuch inuentions did neuer profit but to him and his like, when as the Duke of Alua or the Gouernors haue demaunded their F aduiſe by way of conſultation. Out of the which they were commonly well payd for their fees and attendance: And yet ſuch inuentions were held by them not to bee executed.

You may not then aduance to ſuch charges men that are ſuſpected and odious to all the world, wee drawe out money by indirect or vnuſuall meanes, for the example

1586. of *Ringault* and of all that enſued, may giue a good inſtruction, what collour ſoeuer they will ſet vppon it for the publicke good and the execution of the lawes. A

It hath beene formerly ſayd, that one of the Articles of the vnion made betwixt the Prouinces, is, that all ſhall defend and maintaine them-ſelues togither, that they ſhalbee intreated a like both of the one and the other Religion, and ſhall ioyntlie furniſh meanes to make warre againſt their enemies. And although there bee no exerciſe but of one Religion, yet no man ſhal bee moleſted nor troubled for his conſcience: for that Religion is not the onelie cauſe of this warre, but their libertie and preuiledges, whereof they are ſo iealous, as for the preſeruation thereof, the Chanoins, Prieſts and other Clergie men, and all the Gentlemen that were Papiſts in theſe countries, haue made no difficultie to forſake the Pope and the exer- B ciſe of their owne Religion, and to giue place to the reformed, knowing well that it was the true and onelie meanes to deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Spaniard. And this Eſtate conſiſting thus of diuers humors and opinions, eſpecially for matter of Religion and conſcience, beeing accuſtomed to liue with libertie of conſcience without any moleſtation or diſturbance, hauing by the ſayd contract and vnion reſerued vnto themſelues this libertie, the which hath not hetherto beene any preiudice to the warres, nor hindred the courſe of the reformed Religion, or their deſeignes and reſolutions tending to the preſeruation of this Noble Eſtate, that all with one accord and a generall conſent haue demaunded ſuccors from the Queenes Maieſtie of England; and giuen the gouernment generall to his Ex- C celencie.

And finally that it is not ſpecefied in the treaties, nor in the Commiſſion giuen vnto his Excelencie that hee ſhall charge or Innouate any thing concerning Religion: It followes then that they haue beene much to blame, not onelie to offend manie priuate perſons, but alſo to with-drawe, the good willes of whole townes, as Leyden, Goude and many others of Hollande (whereas the moſt part are of that humour and condition) by the conuocation of a Synode, and the authoriſing of manie things for matter of Religion and diſcipline; the which moſt good men of the reformed Religion in all other Eſtates, countries and Prouinces could not yet like of. D

Doubtleſſe euery good and Religious Chriſtian ſhould wiſh and procure as much as hee may the aduancement of Religion. And it is fit, that wee ſhould firſt and aboue all things ſeeke the glorie of Almightie GOD and the euerlaſting kingdome of Heauen, yet by the ſame lawe of GOD wee muſt keepe and obſerue the contract and agreements which wee haue promiſed and ſworne, yea if they were with the Turkes and Infidells, and herein as in all other things wee muſt vſe wiſdome and moderation: not to innouate nor bring in any thing into an Eſtate, that may cauſe the ruine of Religion and of the Eſtate togither: firſt they muſt doe that which is moſt conuenient and neceſſarie in an Eſtate for the preſeruation thereof: not to giue too much credit to miniſters in matters that belong not to their charge and vocation: but E tie them to the bounds of their office and profeſſion, the contrarie whereof hath beene the cauſe of great diſcontentment amongſt the beſt and moſt zealous men, who haue at all times ſeene the inconueniences, which the medling and violent proceeding of miniſters in the affaires the Common-weale, haue brought vnto this Eſtate. Finallie all muſt bee done in due time and to purpoſe: for although this conuocation of a Synod bee good, and that it may produce good effects hereafter; Yet this circumſtance of time hath offended many; conſidering the neceſſitie of the warre, and the preparations that were then in hand for an armie to goe againſt the enemy. *Et cum ſit vbique virtutis modus, æque peccat quod excedit quam quod deficit.* And ſeeing there is a meane of vertue in all things, that offends which doth exceede, as well as that F which is defectiue.

And for as much as the people are ſo iealious of their liberties and preuiledges, and ſo nice of the breach of the leaſt point of them: that for this onelie cauſe the Papiſts themſelues (as I haue layd) haue left the exerciſe of their owne Religion

and

A and altogither haue ſhakt of the Spaniards yoake, and endured a cruell and violent warre for aboue twentie yeares, that one of the publike praiers which the miniſters doe vſually make, is that they may be maintained in their liberties and priuiledges, for the preſeruation whereof ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen haue loſt their liues, and ſo many families haue beene ruined: that in all the contracts, treaties and accords, and in a manner in all their diſcourſes, they talke of nothing, but of their liberties and preuiledges: and that vpon the breach or dyminution of any of them, it is lawfull for them to call an aſſemblie of the Eſtates, and to make their complaintes vnto their ſoueraignes and Gouernors, and neuer to ceaſe vntill they haue redreſſe and reparation. To conclude if they haue not endured it of their Soueraigne, how will they beare it B at a Gouernors hands? It is therefore more then reaſon to preſerue that deerely for them, which they hold more deere then their liues, and which is more deere vnto them then their Religion or the exerciſe thereof. Beeing moſt certaine that the greateſt complaint, which they haue made during the time of his Excelencies gouernment was for the breach of their liberties and cuſtomes: at the leaſt it hath been e the colour which they haue giuen to all their new proceedings and alterations which haue happened within theſe foure monthes. 1586

Alſo they of the countries complaine of the humor and diſpoſition of the Engliſh, who they ſay are proud: that the gentlemen doe not apply themſelues to their manner of lyuing, and that they are not familiar with the Noblitie of the countrie: without C doubt the ignorance of the tongue is the principall cauſe, as alſo the dronkeneſſe of the men of this countrie, the which the Engliſh doe naturally abhorre. Beſides they of the countrie ſhould ſeeke it and make much of the Engliſh, who come to ſuccor and deliuer them, and who ſo freely ſpend their goods and meanes, and expoſe their liues with as great courage and valure as any nation that euer came into theſe parts: yet it were a great wiſdome in the Engliſh, and they ſhould purchaſe vnto themſelues a commendation of great diſcretion and courteſie, if refuſing to bee drunke with them, they would not openly blame their dronkeneſſe: ſeeing that the cenſures of ſome priuate perſons, ſhall neuer cauſe a whole nation to change their naturall diſpoſition: and from ſuch indiſcreete reprehenſions, there muſt needes grow quarD rells and diſcontentments. And ſeeing that the Engliſh are their beene factors, it ſhalbee fit for them to converſe with them, and to vſe them with all courteſie and ciuilitie. The true meanes to winne the hearts and good wills of a Nation, is to make ſhew that they contemne not their manners, nor diſdaigne their Language, beeing the nature of all people, to bee iealous of that which is proper vnto themſelues.

And for that without good order and diſpoſition, the affaires are neuer duely managed, but rather breed trouble in the minde, and confuſion in the Eſtate, as wee finde dailie in this: beſides the diſcontentment which they haue which followe their owne propper affaires, or thoſe of their Maiſters, Princes and common-weales: His E Excelencie muſt of neceſſitie doe, as the deceaſed Prince of Orange did, and all other wiſe Princes and Gouernors, which is to diuide his time and his houres, as well to ſigne and giue audience, as for the diſpatch of other affaires as well ordinarie as extraordinarie, whereby this profit ſhall growe, that the multitude of affaires will decreaſe, which elſe would grow infinite: and to appoint a certaine place in his houſe for the Secretaries and their Clarkes, to the end they may bee ſpeedily found. There is no pettie Gouernor but hath his Chancerie to that end, with a Maiſter of requeſt to receiue, report and anſwere petitions: And that he ſend vnto the Councell of Eſtate thoſe that belong vnto them, beeing moſt neceſſarie that the affaires of his houſe be diſtinguiſht from them of the country, and thoſe of the Engliſh and of Stang- F ers, from them of the State, to auoide the complaints which haue beene made heretofore. And therevpon his Excelencie ſhalbe intreated that it would pleaſe him to ſend all the affaires of the countrie both particular and generall great and ſmall, to his Councell of Eſtate; to whom hee ſhould referre the greateſt part of them, to diſcharge himſelfe of ſo much care, and winne ſo much time. By this meanes hee

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1586 ſhall not diſcontent any for refuſing or neglecting, for they doe not redily blame that A
which a whole Councell hath reſolued in the preſence of the head. Beſides his priuate Secretaries are for the moſt part ſtrangers, and ignorant of the Eſtate and language of the countrie, euerie one of which ſhould haue his charge diſtinctly appointed, according to their skill in the tongues, or according to the affaires, or els according to their capacities.

That his Excelencie, ſhould not imploie ſo much time to write letters and to make deſpatches him-ſelf, for that it hinders the expedition of other affaires of greater importance, and greatly diſcontentes the Noblemen and others: which demaund ſpeedie audience, it beeing the Office of a Secretarie and not of a Gouernor. That hee relie not ſo much vpon one or two for the affaires of an Eſtate, giuing credit to the B
aduiſe of others in matters of importance, eſpecially, of the Councell of Eſtate, if they bee matters belonging to the countrie, to auoide the iealouſie and reproch of a Councell of the Cabinet. Not to keepe about him men that are odious, vicious and noted for notable crymes, turbulent ſpirits and paſſionate, and which intrude themſelues into all buſineſſe. To hold a ſetled Eſtate in his houſe: pay his ſeruants (eſpecially ſtrangers) their wages duelie, who haue no other meanes; To command his Steward and Officers to place honeſt men at his table or at theirs, and to vſe them courteouſly, wherein there hath beene verie bad order heretofore, with skorning and diſcontenting of many: that the grooms of his Chamber vſe not Gentlemen, and men of qualitie that come vnto his houſe, roughly and diſcourteouſly, and that C
his Excelencie giue ſpeedie audience to the deputies of townes and Prouinces, and to them that haue vrgent affaires: the contrarie whereof doth diſcontent and greeue manie. To imploie Engliſhmen with them of the countrie, to make them fit for affaires, and thereby to knowe the truth of all things the better. To hold better correſpondencie with the neighbour Princes and Protentates, then hath beene heretofore, and aboue all with the Princes of Germanie, for the neighbourhood and importance of this Eſtate; and with the Princes of the Religion in France and elſwhere: for they bee all enemies to our enemy, and naturally iealous of the King of Spaines greatneſſe. To haue better ſpies and intelligence then hee hath had, and to hold an order and rule therein, that they may bee kept ſecret, and that the ſpies D
may bee well and ſpeedilie rewarded. To reſpect and countenance the Princes, Noblemen and Gouernors of this countrie according to their rankes and degrees, and to fauour their followers, at the leaſt not to contemne them, as it ſeemes they haue done. Whereof they haue often complained. And for that his Excelency hath fewe ſufficient and induſtrious men, hee muſt draw that ſeruice from many which hee cannot do from one. For what one or two cannot do, many may. There remaines only to iudge and diſcerne whervnto euery one is capable.

When as the Earle of Leiceſter was firſt made Gouernor generall of the vnited Prouinces: the Earle of Hohenlo (or Holock) was requeſted by the Eſtates (in regard of the great credit he had with the ſouldiars, beeing moſt of them vnder his command) E
to mooue them to take a new oth of obedience vnto the Earle of Leiceſter (for that commonly vpon change of Gouernment, they ſtand vpon termes of account and reckoning) the which hee performed, vpon promiſe made vnto them, to defend and maintaine them in the ſame order and martiall diſcipline, as had beene obſerued in the time of the deceaſed Prince of Orange, of famous memorie, and not otherwiſe. But when as his Excelcency had giuen the Regiment which ſometimes belonged to Collonel *Haultaine* Gouernor of Walchren, vnto Sir *Philip Sidney* then Gouernor of Fleſſingue, moſt of the Collonels, as *Philip* Earle of Naſſau, the Earle of Solms, the Earle of Ouerſtein, with many other Collonels of horſe and foote, F
to the number of two and twentie, fearing that according to their ancient cuſtomes, the ſouldiars ſeruing vnder them, ſhould not bee preferred and aduanced according to their degrees and deſertes, as a Sergant to bee an Enſeigne-bearer (the place beeing voide) and ſo vp-ward, aduenturing their liues that by ſeruice they might attaine to thoſe places of degree and credit which they hoped for, they made

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A made a requeſt in their ſouldiars names to the Earle of Hohenlo, praying and intreating him to moue his excelency that (according to the promiſe made vnto them) they might bee preſerued in the ſame order, as they were in the time of the late Prince of Orange, and that one nation might not bee mingled with an other, and that he would bee a meanes to get them their pay, with full account and reckoning, ſo as there might not be daily murmurs and diſcontents in their troupes, complayning that one of the regiments of the Netherlands, and other places that were voyd, had bin already, giuen vnto ſtrangers, which they ſaid would be very preiudiciall vnto them, as though they were not to be truſted as well as they had beene in former times. 1586

The complaints of the States ſoldiars

This petition being deliuered to the Earle of Hohenlo, hee preſently offred it to the B Earle of Leiceſter who was much diſcontented therewith, perſwading himſelfe that it came rather from the Earle of Hohenlo him-ſelfe and the other Collonels, then from the common ſoldiars, which ielouſie of his bred a great alteration in the ſoldiars harts, eſpecially ſeeing dayly a change of garriſons, and drawing forth of ſoldiars, without the aduice and priuity of the gouernors of Prouinces, and other comanders; by whoſe meanes and with whoſe concent ſuch alterations were wont to be made: and that the Earle of Leiceſter placed his fauorits in all the beſt, honorableſt and moſt profitable gariſons in the Netherlands: moreouer that (ſence the Loſſe of Graue) it ſeemed the Netherland ſoldiars were diſpiſed and baſely accounpted of as if there were noe truſt in their ſeruice, as it was then giuen out, and appered by a letter written to the C Earle of Leiceſter to that pourpoſe: and the Earle of Leiceſter himſelfe ſaid vnto the Earle of Hohenlo, that hee feared that all the Forts wherein the Netherland ſoldiars laie would in ſhort time bee yeelded vp to the enemy. After that certaine words paſt betwixt they Earle of Hohenlo and Sir *Edward Norris* (Brother to the Generall Sir *Iohn Norris*) as they were at dinner, where-vpon Sir *Edward Norris* ſent a letter of chalendge offring to fight with him body to body (lying then ſicke of a hurt which he had receiued before Zutphen Sconce) which the Earle tooke diſdaynfullie as comming from his inferior, pretending that no priuat Captaine might (vpon paine of life) ſend any ſuch challendge vnleſſe it were with the Generalls leaue, and for that the Earle of Leiceſter did ſeeme to allow thereof, hee was much diſcontented: D The Eſtates them-ſelues did alſo much dislike it. Of this and many other diſcontents, the Earle of Hohenlo made an apologie, and cauſed it to bee printed at Leyden.

A quarell betwixt the earle of Hohenlo and Sir Edward Norris.

In the beginning of Ianuarie 1587. the Eſtates men found meanes ſecretly to vndermine the wall of Buriche a towne lying vpon the Rhine right againſt Wezell and being held by the Spaniards: where they had layd certaine barrills of pouder to blow it vp, and ſo to ſurprize the towne and the Garriſon within it, but a miller hauing deſcouered it, gaue notice thereof and ſo this enterprize ſucceded not according to their deſſeigne. All this winter the Duke of Parma made great prouiſion both for men and mony, hauing aſſembled the Eſtats of Arthois, Henaut and other E Prouinces of whome hee demanded ſome ayde of money, and obteyned his deſiers receiuing alſo new ſupplies of ſoldiers both from Spaine and Italy, with the which he marched in Ianuary to the Caſtell of Wouwe, a ſtrong hold belonging to the Marquis of Berghen, lying a mile frow Berghen vp Zoome in Brabant. There was in it a companie of French ſoldiars, whoſe captaines name was *Marchant*, who had beene before in garriſon in Graue: who whether it were in reuenge of a priuate quarrell which he had with captaine Firenine (who had iuſtefied him-ſelfe at the Hage before, the Eſtates, of that wherewith Captaine *Marchant* had charged him) or whether it were through ambition or couetouſneſſe, hauing corrupted his ſoldiars with a promiſe to make them ſharers of the booty, hee ſould the ſaid Caſtle of Wouwe F to the Duke of Parma for twenty thouſand crownes: And from thence theſe trecherous marchants retired ſome into France (being loth to heare the name of traytor, as they called them in Antwerp and Bruſſelles vntill that the Duke of Parma had forbidden by proclamation, not to call them any more ſo) and ſome went to ſerue the Spaniard. 1587.

A vaine enterpriſe vpon Burich.

Wouwe caſtle ſold to the Spaniards by a French Captaine.

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1587 About the ſame time Sir *Martin Schenck* ſeazed vpon a little Towne called Roeroort, A
Roeroort ſurprized by Schenck. in the Elector *Truchſes* name: being ſo called, for that it ſtands at the mouth of the riuer of Roer (which comes out of the countrey of Marke and Weſtphalia) where it enters into the Rhine: which his men held vntill Aprill following, that the Spaniards forced them to abandon it.

Frederick King of Denmarke, a Prince deſirous of peace, ſent *Caius Ranſon*, one of his
The King of Denmarke ſeekes to make a peace betwixt the King of Spain and the ſtates. priuie councell, and a man of great knowledge and authoritie, to Bruſſels, to make an ouerture of ſome meanes of a peace betwixt the King of Spaine and his Netherland Prouinces, remaining in the vnion generall of the pacification of Gant, and the treaty of Vtrecht. To whom anſwer was made, that neither for the King of Denmarke, nor for any Prince in the world, the King of Spaine would neuer ſuffer any change of religion B in the countries of his obedience, wherevpon *Ranſon* returned with letters vnto his King, making onely mention of a peace betwixt Spaine and England. Being on his way home-wards, hee was incountred in the wood of Soigne, three leagues from Bruſſels, by ſome of the States ſoldiers of the garriſon of Berghen vp Zoom, who finding him
Caius Ranſon being vnknowne is taken priſoner in the enemies countrey, tooke him priſoner, and (being at the firſt vnknowne vnto them) rifled his baggage: but vpon diſcouery of his perſon and qualitie, they carried him to the Hage to the Eſtates, who made it knowne ſufficiently how much they were diſcontented for that which their men had vnaduiſedly done vnto him: excuſing it as much as they could, and cauſing all that had been taken from him to be reſtored againe, as well his papers, as his gold, ſiluer, iewels, and other things, or elſe the value of that C which could not be recouered. Whereby the Eſtates thought to haue giuen him ſuch contentment as he ſhould haue no cauſe to complaine vnto his King. As in truth the fact was excuſable, hauing beene found in the enemies conntrey, by them that did incounter him, vnknowne what he was, and who at the firſt put himſelfe in defence, refuſing to make his qualitie knowne, the which might mooue the ſoldiers the more. And although hee had declared himſelfe, yet it had beene no new thing to qualifie himſelfe for other then he was, to eſcape the enemies hands. Beſides hee was demanded by the eſtates, after reſtitution of all his goods. If hee deſired to haue any corporall puniſhment inflicted vpon them that had taken him: he anſwered no, and that they were good
Ranſon complaines vnto his King. companions. Yet being returned into Denmarke, hee made great complaints vnto the D King, and did ſo incenſe him againſt the Eſtates, eſpecially againſt Holland, Zeeland and Freezeland, as he arreſted aboue ſixe hundred of their ſhips in the Sound, vpon colour of the iniurie that had beene done vnto his Ambaſſador *Ranſon*: the which hee ſet at thirty thouſand Florins ranſome, with the conſent of the Eſtates themſelues (who had ſent their deputies vnto his Maieſtie to excuſe the fact) being loth to conteſt with him for ſo ſmall a matter, forbidding their ſhips to vſe any force to free themſelues from this arreſt, as they might well haue done if they had would, and had beene licenſed by their maiſters and ſuperiors. Of theſe thirty thouſand Florins, *Ranſon* had aboue a thouſand for his ſhare, which paied all his intereſts.

The Earle of Leiceſter before his departure into England, had made ſir *William Stan-* E
Stanley ſeekes to betray Deuenter to the Spaniard. *ley* Collonell of a regiment of Iriſhmen, gouernor of the towne of Deuenter: and *Rouland Yorke* of the great Fort before Zutphen. *Stanley* had in his garriſon 1200. foote and about two hundred horſe, Engliſh and Iriſh, the which was much diſpleaſing vnto the eſtates, for that he had ſerued the King of Spaine: he had long deſired to yeeld the towne vnto the King of Spaine, and to that end had held correſpondencie with Collonell *Taxis*, gouernor of Zutphen. Neither could hee not ſo modeſtly containe himſelfe, but it was deſcouered that he had ſome bad intent. Yet the eſtates of *Oueryſſel* knew not how to helpe it, nor to preuent the danger which they feared, hauing no meanes to get him out of the towne. For the Earle of Leiceſter at his departure had charged him not to depart out of that place without his expreſſe commandement, be- F
ſides by reaſon of the Earle of Leiceſters Act of reſtraint which he made at his departure, the eſtates could not force him to obedience. The eſtates finding no other meanes, had intreated Generall *Norris* (in whom they truſted more then in any other, for the good ſeruices which he had done to them, and to the Prince of Orange) to goe with his regiment

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A regiment, about Deuenter as if he would winter there, and so to find some meanes (with the helpe of the Bourgers) to get into the towne. *Stanley* being suspitions of his approch, or it may be hauing some aduertisment thereof, made hast to agree with *Taxis* to deliuer the towne to the King of Spaine, for a certaine summe of mony and other promises of great rewards (which were afterwards ill performed) for the effecting whereof he went early in the morning before day, to the Bourguemaister of the towne, desiring him to open the port of Neurenbercke, meaning (said he) to go forth with his men, to doe some exployt vpon the enemy, whome hee had descouered. Being gone forth, he returned presently before day, bringing with him Collonel *Taxis* with three Companies of foote, and three of horse, marching directly to the market place where they put B them-selues in battayle, after that *Taxis* had placed gardes in all parts of the towne: the which was don so stilly and with so smale brute as the towne-men heard not any thing; or if they did, they thought it had beene their garrison, so as at the breake of day they found they were Spaniards: Some among the Protestants were so terrefied, as fearing a massaker, they cast themselues from the toppe of the walles to saue themselues: *Taxis* hauing placed all his gards, began to bee more assured, for before hee was not without great distrust, hauing with so few men trusted vnto *Stanleys* word and thrust him-selfe into a towne where there was a good garrison, and a number of braue Bourgers well armed, where hee might haue beene taken like a mouse in a trappe. Being thus assured, hee presently caused it to bee proclaymed at the sound of the trompet, that all C men might remaine freely within the towne, without any wrong done them either in bodie or goods, lyuing in the Romish Religion, and vnder the King of Spaines obedience. 1587.

Stanley yeelds Deuenter to the Spaniard.

Herevpon *Stanley* made his excuse both to the magistrats and the soldiars, and sought to iustifie this trecherous fact, saying, that he neither was, nor could be accoumpted a traitor, in respect that hee had done no wrong, vnlesse they would hold it treason to deliuer the towne to the King of Spaine to whome of right it did belong, being long before moued therevnto (as he said) in conscience; alledging many other such like reasons: saying more-ouer that if any of his soldiars would serue there, they should be well payed by a most bountifull king, and the rest might freely depart, where-vpon D many, but most of them Irish-men staid with him, euery one hauing a monethes pay giuen him, and presently the Bourgers were disarmed and likewise suffred to depart with *Taxis* pasport, among the which there were two Preachers. The Bourgers houses were not spoyled that they might draw other townes to doe the like, onely a few were ransackt, among the which the preachers houses were not spared. *Stanleys* regiment was dispersit into sondry garrisons, and hee himselfe was left still gouernor of Deuenter.

Stanley seekes to excuse himselfe.

At the same time *Rouland Yorke*, (being made gouernor of the great Sconse before Zutphen, by the earle of Leicester, wholy against the liking of the Estates, with eight hundred foote and a hundred horse) did in like sort sel it to the Spaniard: This *Yorke* had E long before serued vnder the States, although not with the best credit. In Gant hee had beene Lieutenant Collonell to *Iohn van Imbise*, with whome he had conspired to betray Gaunt and Dermond to the Prince of Parma, for the which *Imbise* was beheaded, and hee sent prisoner to Brusselles, where at the last by the taking of the towne he was set at liberty, and after that imployed by the Duke of Parma vppon the water in the riuer Scheld, at the bridge before Antwerp: at length by the meanes of friends he was reconciled, and returned into England with credit, and from thence came with the Earle of Leicester into Holland, and there was so recommended by Sir *Philip Sydney*, as the Earle of Leicester his vncle put him in great credit, and gaue him this gouernment of the Sconse, who the same day that Deuenter was F battered told his soldiars, that it would bee but lost labour for them to stay there, wishing them rather to take pay of the King of Spaine, where-vpon his soldiars tore their collours in peeces, and two Duch companies, with some others went away euery man where he pleased, but *Yorke* went to Zutphen, where he receiued a reward from the King,

Rouland Yorkes life and treason.

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1587. King, and for a time kept company with Sir *William Stanley*, but without any credit, and there not long after dyed very miſerablie, and ſo *Taxis* like-wiſe got the ſconce. Thus the credulity and light beleefe of the Earle of Leiceſter, was the cauſe of the loſſe of this goodly and ſtrong towne of Deuenter, which is one of the Hans townes, and of that important fort of Zutphen, the which the ſommer before had coſt ſo much to winne and fortefie. It was not without cauſe if they began to murmure againſt the Earle of Leiceſter hauing at his very departure placed theſe two gallants in ſuch important gouernments. It was no maruell then, if the Noblemen, Collonels and gentlemen of the vnited Prouinces, were diſcontented, aud complained vnto the Earle of Leiceſter, to ſee them-ſelues reiected, to aduance ſuch traitors, to the gouernment of ſuch important places, as *Stanley*, *Yorke*, and *Patton* were, of whome wee will ſpeake here-after.

Certaine ſpeeches vſed in the councell of State.

After the loſſe of this towne of Deuenter and of the fort of Zutphen, the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces were much perplexed, fearing that all the Engliſh garriſons which lay in any other townes and forts, would doe the like, and deale with them, as the French in the time of the Duke of Aniou and Brabant had determined to doe, all in one day. On the Sonday morning, being the firſt of February, the councell of eſtate being aſſembled to prouide for their affaires, and to preuent the alterations which the loſſe of Deuenter and the forts before Zutphen might cauſe: thether came the generall eſtates and the aduocate *Barnevelt* for their part, who declared in their names, „ that conſidering the neceſſitie and in what termes the State then ſtood, they held it „ more then neceſſary that the Gouerners of Prouinces ſhould go into their Gouern- „ ments, there to command by vertue of their commiſſions: And that to haſten the „ departure of the Earle of Mæurs, they had reſolued concerning the Ritmaiſters, as „ ſhould be ſeene by the contents of the contract made with them, and the means which „ they had ſet downe for their paie. Secondly that maters concerning the Admiralty, „ might be redreſt and ordred, for the Gouernment of ſea cauſes, as the ſeruice of the „ country ſhould require, the affaiers of eſtate being in very great diſorder, for want of „ good gouernment; where-vpon words grew of either ſide tending to accuſations and „ excuſes; *Barnevelt* ſaying, Is this the way to ſerue the country? where-vnto the Lord of „ Brederode anſwered, that if they were not contented with the ſeruices and toyle „ which the Lords of the councell tooke, but they muſt daily receyue bad words and re- „ proches as if they were ſubiects and ſlaues, they might ſeeke for others that would „ ſubiect them-ſelues to their ſlanders and continuall exclamations.

„ Hee was alſo demanded wherein it was ſo ill gouerned and ordered, and what „ were the cauſes there-of? *Barnevelt* like a man full of paſſion and choller, anſwe- „ red, that it was the councell of the Cabinet, where-as many things were done, „ which none but they of the councell knew, as of late appered by the Act of reſtraint, „ which was made there by ſome priuate perſones, without the knowledge of the coun- „ cell, whereby the authority of the councell of eſtate in the abſence of his excellency „ was quite cut of; And ſo the councell remayned here and the authority in England, the „ which the eſtates did not hold fit nor conuenient. Moreouer that in this Gouernment „ it ſeemed they did not remember how the deceaſed Prince of Orange (of famous me- „ mory) had gouerned, who neuer in a frontier place made a garriſon all of one nation, „ neither was it conteyned in the treaty made with her maieſty that Engliſhmen ſhould „ command in all the frontier townes. The which was of bad conſequence and not tol- „ lerable, hauing beene ſo ill intreated and deceiued by the Engliſh Nation; where-vnto „ the councellor Loozen anſwered, that they ought not to blame and condemne a „ whole nation for the offences and miſdeeds of ſome priuate perſons, ſeeing that other „ difficulties and greater misfortunes had happened vnto the Prince of Orange, eſpeci- „ ally in the time of the French, who comitted other kinds of diſorders, his Excelence „ (deceaſed) hauing beene much deceiued. To the which *Barnevelt* replyed crying out „ that they had beene neuer ſo deceiued by the french as by the Engliſh, their gouern- „ ment being incompatible. The which Loozen ſaid could not be inferred, hauing re- „ ceiued ſo great fauors and benefits from her Maieſty, and that he knew not wherein the

ſayd

A said pretended deceit might consist. At which words the Secretary *Gilpin* also said that it " 1587
did not become *Barnevelt* to exclaime so against the nation, and that he did wrong both "
her Maiestie and his Excelency, in vsing such words, the which he at the first began to "
denie and then began to speake of the fact againe, as if that had beene the cause which "
moued him, seeking to excuse his vndecent words. But *Gilpin* replyed, that it was not "
the act hee made question of, but at his vndiscreet words, calling (if need were) the "
Seignior of Loozen and all the Noblemen there present to bee witnesses. Maister "
Wilkes hearing these speeches which past betwixt *Gilpin* and *Barnevelt*, being in French, "
began to say that he was sorry to heare, that all the fauors and benifits receiued from "
her Maiesty were in a manner forgotten, considering the smale respect which it seemed "
B they bare vnto her Maiesty and consequently vnto his Excelency as her Leiutenant "
that for a fault committed by one or two wicked persons they would blame all the "
Nation, the which was no fit course, and would breed but spleene and great incon- "
ueniences where-of hee wisht them to bee carefull and not giue her Maiesty any "
cause of discontentment, the which would redound to their owne harme, and by this "
course they should giue her occasion, if they continued, to take it in ill part, and to "
tell them plainely of their errors. And so that conferenee ended. "

During this generall murmuring against the English there grew dayly factions and partialities, some inclining to the Estates, and to the generality of the vnited Prouin-
C ces; and others to the Earle of Leicester and the English, either party hauing many at their deuotion, so as it seemed to tend to a diuision and a dismembring of the Pro-uinces, or rather to a whole confusion of the generall Estate; where-vpon there was a letter written by a gentleman of Germany to a friend of his, to iustifie the English Nation, who had beene much taxed for this treechery of *Stanley* and *Yorke*. The tenor whereof followes.

A letter written by *VVarmond* of Stochelen a Gentleman of Germany to a friend of his, touching the betraying of Deuenter and the fort before Zutphen.

D

SIR comming from Franckfort, I arriued in these parts at the same time "
when as the towne of Deuenter and the fort before Zutphen were "
betrayed and yeelded vp vnto the enimy. I assure you I found a strange "
alteration generally by reason of this losse: and there was nothing "
more feared then a reuolt, like vnto that which was made against the "
French, after the enterprize of Antwerp, yet such as are ill affected "
haue hetherto conteyned them-selues, and beene content to reuenge "
E them-selues with their tongs, blaming generally all the English Nation, and taxing "
his Excelency with a thousand reproches, yea they haue beene so impudent, as they "
haue not spared the Queene of England: as if her Maiesty, his Excelency, and all those "
that are come into the Netherlands, had had no other desseigne from the beginning, "
but to ruine the country and to bring it vnder the power and oppression of the King "
of Spaine. And it seemes these euill spirits haue layd hold of this occasion to vo- "
mit out their poyson against them who had neuer before giuen them any subiect of "
reproch. Without doubt Sir I beleeue that such as are wise, auditious and well af- "
fected to the preseruation of Religion and of their liberties, are not the authors "
of this scandalous brute: but there bee the papists and such as are spaniolized, and the "
F spies and pentioners of the King of Spaine: who by this meanes would distaste the "
people from seeking any more assistance from her Maiestie: and reduce them to that "
poynt wheere-vnto they were once brought at his Excelencies comming into these "
Countries, which is to make an accord with the King of Spaine. But that which "
hath seemed most strange vnto mee, is that all men in generall are so amazed, "

as

1587 „as if this Estate were ruined, and that the losse of these places (wherof the one hath A
„not beene ours foure monthes, and the other was well assured) should draw after it the
„ruine of all the rest, and as if neuer heretofore any place of importance had beene lost,
„and finally as if there were no hope left to recouer this losse vpon the enemie. To
„conclude, in an instant all that were affected to the English partie, were so terrefied and
„grewe so cold, as they would willingly haue giuen eare to any practises or new inuen-
„tions, to preserue themselues without England, or at the least without Englishmen, but
„not without their Angells, the which they knew well they could not want: but aboue
„all to free themselues of his Excelencie, as of him who had beene the cause of the losse
„of these two places, and might in time procure the ruine of all the rest. Yea some
„haue beene so audatious as to say in open Councell of State, that the Netherlands had B
„neuer beene so much deceiued by the French, as they were at this present by the Eng-
„lish, writing letters vnto her Maiestie and to his Excelencie full of reproch and discon-
„tentment, seeking to bring his Excelencie into disgrace with her Maiestie. Doubtlesse
„Sir, wee must confesse that the losse of these two places is not small, for that the coun-
„trie of the Veluwe is in danger to bee spoyled by the enemie: but who can denie that
„it hath not beene in the like Estate of late years, euen vnto September last, that the fort
„before Zutphen was taken by the English forces, and the towne of Deuenter assured?
„Who will say that the Veluwe is much indomaged, hauing neither beene tilled nor in-
„habited for these many yeares? Who will denie, but the sayd countrie beeing as it is,
„may profit vs as much as our enemie, and more, for the number of townes and places C
„which wee hold there abouts? But is there not a greater preiudice in the losse of the
„whole Estate which is prepared by the discontentment which they giue vnto her Ma-
„iesty by this sodaine change, from the deuotion they were wont to beare her, and the
„hope they had in her bounty and assistance? when as shee shall vnderstand that they
„impute the treason and wickednesse of two to the whole Nation, and that they wrong-
„fully taxe the good for the bad: and for that her Maiesty was serued by *Stanley*, and his
„Excelency by *Yorke*, they will impute the subiects fault to their Prince, and the ser-
„uants to their Maister. By what lawe, reason or custome will they proue that this blame
„is well grounded? and with what art will they keepe her Maiesties loue to them, in tax-
„ing in such a sort both her and all the Nation? D

„As for *Stanley* it is well knowne that in former times hee had done good seruice in
„Ireland, and euen since that hee came into this countrie, he hath giuen good proofes of
„his valour and loyaltie. And although that *Yorke* had heretofore committed a grosse
„error, yet hee hath since carried himselfe corragiously at the enterprise of *Axel*, and
„in these last exploites before Doesbourg and Zutphen, hauing so often hazarded his
„life in the view of all the world, as hee had giuen the Generall good cause to trust
„him. Neither is it the first time that a Commander hath trusted after a fault confes-
„sed, nor any new thing to see treasons, treacheries and reuoltes in these countries, but
„it is a new thing, strange, and beyonde all reason, to impute vnto Commanders and
„Princes the faults of their souldiars and seruants: and for the wickednesse of some to B
„blame and taxe a whole Nation; as they haue done heere. They must then by the like
„absurditie of consequence, condemne the French Nation, for that a Prouensall did
„lately sell the castle of Vowe: and the Scottish Nation, for that one captaine *Simpel*
„deliuered the towne of Liere. And to come to this Nation of the Netherlands, how
„many places, townes and whole Prouinces haue beene lost, by the treacherie, treason
„and reuolt of Noblemen, Gentlemen, Captaines and others, who haue made mar-
„chandise of them, as of the Earle of Rennenberg who deliuered Groningue; the sig-
„nior of Stakenbroek, Breda: the Lord of Berwoets who thought to haue betraied Berg-
„hen vp Zoom: the Lord of Bours who deliuered the castle of Antwerp, and afterwards
„Macklyn. *Iohn d'Imbise* who would haue betraied Gant and Denremonde; the Bay- F
„life of Courtray called *Pottelberg*, who deliuered Courtray by treason: *Roeck*, *Corpets*,
„*Cauwegem* and their consorts, who deliuered the towne of Brusselles: Collonel *Tucher*
„who betraied Diest. Captaine *Vlyet* who deliuered Westerloo: Captaine *Coenen* who
„deliuered Hoochstraten: the Earle of Lalain, Vicont of Gant, the Lords of Montigny,
Gognies,

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A *Gogniues*, *la Motte* and many others, who were the cause of the defeate of Gem- 1587.
blours. The Lord of Auchy (brother to the Earle of Bossu) who deliuered *Alost*:
the Seigniors of Hemmert, Cobocke and Duban who deliuered the towne of
Graue: the Burgers of Venloo; the Abbots of Saint *Gertrude*, *Manolles* and others,
who betrayed the Estates: Some of the Councell of the Estates of Brabant who
deliuered *Herentals*. The Prince of Chymay who was the cause of the reuolt almost
of all Flanders: and *Stryeland* Baylife of Waes, who deliuered Ruppelmonde and all
the Land of Waes, whereby the enemy came to besiege Antwerp &c.

Wherefore it is against all right and the rule of Christian charity to thinke or saie
that the whole nation is to bee blamed in the which there are some traitors, is it likely
B that shee who so willingly did yeeld to that which other Princes could not or refused
to doe; who hath imploied so great summes of money for the succor of this countrie
who hath beene contented to hazard the liues of so many Noblemen, Gentlemen and
others of all qualities of her realme, and especially of the Earle of Leicester, whose
presence is so necessary in England? Shee who was content to incur the hatred of so
mightie a Prince as the King of Spaine, and to imbarke herselfe in so deadly a warre
with him, for that at the instance of these men shee had vndertaken their defence: who
not to breake her promise made, nor to make any accord with the King of Spaine, but
with the priuity and approbation of them of the Netherlands, would neuer giue eare
to the instances made vnto her by diuers Princes of Christendome to that end? To
C conclude, shee who had imbraced this poore people with such affection, and long ex-
pected the comming of the deputies of this countrie, to treat with them of the
meanes to succor, defend and deliuer this poore people, from the oppression which
did daylie threaten them? Is there any apparance then that shee euer had any other
deseigne or intent then the good and preseruation of this Estate? Yet here they make
complaintes and taxe her Maiestie, as if shee had brought more harme then good
vnto the countrie. Yet they send to treat with her as if shee had first sought the pro-
tection of this countrie, or to take the soueraignty; the which (it is well knowne)
shee hath often refused: and as if her Maiestie and the Realme of England, had the
greatest interest in the preseruation of this Estate; or that England could not de-
D fend it selfe without this countrie. As for her Maiestie I hope shee will make the
contrarie of this manifest, and that shee will not forget the wrong and indignitie which
is done to her and to the whole nation, nor the ingratitude which they haue shewed
in sundrie sorts, as also to his Excelencie who hath so willingly exposed his life to a
thousand daungers: who had forsaken all his greatnesse, pleasures and commodities
in England, to vndergoe so many cares, toyles and discommodities, which doe ac-
company a generall in so waighty and difficult a charge: who hath lost his deerest Ne-
phew and his next heire: and who hath giuen such good proofes of his sincere loue vn-
to the people.

And as for the money which they haue graunted for the charges of the warre,
E they of his Councell and some of the countrie hauing had the managing thereof, I
doubt not Sir but it shall be the more easie for him to giue a good account, and of
all the rest of his actions during the time of his aboade heere. Whom they taxe, to
make him odious to all the people: countrouling, crossing and ouerthrowing his
decrees, letters and commandements, as if all had not past by the aduice of the
Councell of Estate: Finally they shew great ingratitude to him and to the whole
nation, who haue so well deserued of this countrie; seeing there is no benifit so
great as to expose ones life for an other, especially when hee comes of his owne free-
will, without hope of reward or recompence, as wee know so many Noblemen
and Gentlemen haue done, yea of the best houses of England, which haue accom-
F panied his Excelencie. Ingratitude is a vice, hatefull to GOD and Men, the which
GOD doth some-times seuerely punish, for that it violates the bonds of humaine
societie.

It is sayd in an ancient Latin Prouerbe: *Ingratum qui dixit, omnia dixit*. As if all
wickednesse were comprehended vnder this name and vice of ingratitude. How

1587 much her Maieſtie his Excelencie, and the whole nation haue bound this people vn- A
„ to them, euery one ſees, and all Chriſtian Princes know it, and admire it: and poſteri-
„ tie will iudge better of it. Wee cannot expreſſe the miſeries and want which ſo many
„ poore Engliſh ſouldiars haue ſuffred: which haue come into theſe partes. It wilbe
„ prooued by ſome Commiſſaries of muſters, honeſt men and of credit that the ſoul-
„ diars of the fort before Zutphen, were in December laſt during the great froſt, ſixe
„ daies togither without any other beuerage then yce water to drinke: and yet the fort
„ was not beſieged nor in daunger to be loſt: but onelie through their default who had
„ charge to ſupplie this place and others: beſides the other diſcomodities of hunger
„ and cold which the ſayd ſoldiars haue ſuffred there, and do yet ſuffer els-where: which
„ breed either death or diſeaſes. Beſides is there any one ſo ingrate or malicious, that B
„ will ſay the Engliſh are not good ſouldiars, for that they cannot endure all theſe diſ-
„ commodities? as if in all ages, and of late yeares in many exploites in theſe partes,
„ they had not giuen good proofes of their valour, courage and aptneſſe to armes, e-
„ uen amazing many of this countrie when they haue ſeene them goe to aſſaultes and
„ combates with ſuch a corrage and reſolution, as if they had had no feare nor ap-
„ prehenſion of death. But admit they had not aduentured their liues and perſons, as
„ they haue done, yet their great expences, and the diſcommodities which they haue
„ ſuffred here, beſides the abſence from their Wiues, Children, Kinſmen and Friends,
„ and loſſe which many of them haue ſuſtained thereby, and all without any hope of
„ recompence or reward, deſires that they ſhould bee ſpared in their honours and repu- C
„ tations, yea although they had deſcouered ſome errors and imperfections: the which
„ haue hetherto beene ſo ſmall as few men haue cauſe to reproch the Engliſh for the
„ rauiſhing of their wiues and children, or any outrage done vnto their perſones, or
„ the taking away of their goods, or that they haue beene quarelors riotors or
„ drunkards.

„ Wherefore I hope that no good man in theſe partes will giue eare to theſe wick-
„ ed ſpirites which diſperſe theſe ſcandalous brutes; ſome to reduce the people to the
„ neceſſitie of an accord with the King of Spaine, and others for that they would not
„ looſe the credit, commandement and authoritie which they haue in theſe Prouin-
„ ces, nor ſee any other Nation heere that doth exceed them in valour and proweſſe: D
„ and finally for the feare which they haue that his Excelencies comming will obſcure
„ their ſtarres, and diſperſe the cloudes and darkeneſſe, vnder the which ſo manie
„ confuſions, factions and ſecret practiſes, are couered and hatcht, tending to the
„ ouerthrowe of all order, authoritie and lawfull gouernment. And I hope alſo that
„ the wiſe and beſt aduiſed will conſider, that there is at this daie but one onelie
„ meanes to preſerue this Noble Eſtate, the which is England, and that it is to great
„ an abſurditie, to ſeeke their fauour, whome wee ſpeake ill of and detract: and a
„ great diſcretion to commit the gard of that to an other, which they cannot keepe
„ them-ſelues: eſpecially to a Princeſſe who is free from all ſuſpition to haue euer
„ affected it: to a Princeſſe which hath ſo manie waies ſhewed how much ſhee loues E
„ the good and libertie of theſe Prouinces: to a Princeſſe whoſe crowne hath beene
„ alwaies allied by many contracts to this countrie and to the houſe of Bourgongne: to
„ a Princeſſe who is at this daie the onelie mother and nurce of all the churches of Chriſ-
„ tendome, and protection of all the afflicted; to a Princeſſe who for that ſhee hath fauo-
„ red the defence of this countrie againſt the oppreſſion of Spaine, hath incurred and
„ doth daily, a thouſand hazards of her life and States, by the practiſes of the enemies of
„ Religion and of this Eſtate.

„ To conclude, the reſolution of this people to defend their liberty is much to be com-
„ mended and admired who haue ſo vertuouſly for many yeares ſuſtained the indig-
„ nation of a King of Spaine, and reſiſted the oppreſſion which ſhould fall vpon their F
„ heads, if they bee ſubdued by the Spaniſh Nation, hauing to that end not onely expo-
„ ſed their liues, but contributed yearely aboue a moitie or two third partes of their
„ goods and reuenues. But if this money hath not beene well imploied, his Excelencie
„ is not to bee blamed, but ſuch as haue had the managing thereof. Herevpon Sir I

haue

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A haue heard ſome diſcourſe, that they which haue the managing of the money and of 1587
all authoritie in this Eſtate, are for the moſt part Marchants, Orators of townes, me-
chanike men, ignorant, louing gaine naturally, without reſpect of honour: and who
conuert the peoples money to their owne priuate: and for that they are men of that
condition, borne to obey rather then to commande, who hauing once taſted the ſweet-
neſſe of authoritie (for that they haue not had for ſome yeares any ſoueraigne Prince)
they haue by little and little perſwaded themſelues that they were ſoueraignes, and
vnder this name of the Eſtates, they haue in a manner made themſelues maiſters of
the Eſtate; inſulting ouer the people, and controuling him, to whome they had by oth
referred the abſolute and generall gouernment. I thinke this happens, for that ſuch
B men are continued to many yeares in their charges, & being once entred and anchored
there, they will command like Princes, and doe all things at their pleaſures: I knowe
well the aſſemblie of the Eſtates, hath beene in all Eſtates an inuention to bridle
Kings and Princes, but they were neuer called but vpon great and extraordinarie ne-
ceſſitie; neither were the ſame perſons, alwaies imploied and ſent: but (as it were re-
quiſite in this Eſtate) they deputed ſome from time to time, who repreſenting the peo-
ple reſpectiuely in the three Eſtates, came to ſuch aſſemblies; and their commiſſion,
powre and authoritie ended with the aſſemblie, as it is obſerued in other places. If
this cuſtome (which is good and commendable,) cannot bee reduced to the firſt inſti-
tution, yet in my opinion they ſhould change ſuch men euery yeare, or euerie ſixe
C monethes: leaſt they ſhould ſettle an opinion that they are maiſters and ſoueraignes:
ſeeing that the Soueraignty belongs really vnto the people, to whome they are but
ſeruants and deputies. I ſay in this Eſtate, where there is no Prince acknowledged
nor lawfully advowed. If then there bee leſſe daunger to bee commanded, (and if it
ſo fall out to bee tyrannized) by one then by manie, and that the like abuſe of autho-
ritie, and continuation of Magiſtrates and Offices of importance hath cauſed the ru-
ine of the Common-weale of Rome, as hiſtories makes mention; I ſee no other rea-
medie for this miſchiefe, but that the people bee hereafter warie how they giue ſo
great powre and authoritie, and ſuffer it continue ſo long in the hands of men of Me-
chanike and baſe condition: who growne proude with the commaunde and authoritie
D which they haue, abuſe it dailie, as well againſt the people, who haue giuen them this
charge, as againſt the Gouernors, to whome the people haue referred the gouernment
and abſolute powre, both ouer themſelues and ouer the whole Eſtate. And it were
neceſſarie to let the people vnderſtand, (who of themſelues are good, mild and tract-
able) that this abuſe will in the end bee the ruine of this Eſtate: and yet they bee not
all the Eſtates (or to ſpeake more properly, deputies of the Eſtates) of whome they
complaine, but as they ſaie fiue or ſixe onelie, who hauing gotten credit with the
reſt, diſpoſe of all things at their pleaſures, and for their priuat paſſions doe bad and
dangerous offices to this Eſtate, and to them that haue interreſt therein: ſome through
enuy, iealouſie and partialitie, others through couetouſneſſe, and altogither through
E ambition and deſire to rule alone and alwaies. For this poore people haue heretofore
long labored in vaine, and for ſo manie yeares ſuffred themſelues to bee fleſht, and in
a manner the marrow of their boanes ſuckt out; if at the appetite and by the bad go-
uernment of fiue or ſixe men of no ſort, they would now without any vrgent neceſſity,
runne headlong into the daunger of a ſhame-full peace with them who attend nothing
elſe but the reduction of Holland and Zeeland, to bee reuenged of the reuolt and re-
bellion which they pretend. From the which our good God by his holie grace, pre-
ſerue this poore people, ſo many good men which are there, ſo many goodly churches
which God would plant there, and that hee will giue better counſell and more hole-
ſome aduiſe to them that haue the mannaging of the affaires and the conduct of the
F people &c. From Arnhem the 15. February 1587.

Your humble and affectionat ſeruant and friend.

WARMOND *of Stochelen.*

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1587. The towne of Graue beſieged by the Prince of Parma.

IN the beginning of Winter the Prince of Parma had cauſed the Earle of Mansfield, A to beſiege the towne of Graue lying vpon the Meuſe, with foure ſconces, and had made a bridge ouer the riuer, and ſhut it vp both aboue and beneath the towne, thereby to keepe it from victuals and other neceſſaries.

In thoſe ſconces he placed 1500. men, and appointed 5000. Spaniards to lie about the towne; and with the reſt of his army he laie halfe a mile from thence, yet notwithſtanding the gouernor, Monſier *van Hemert* ſallied daily forth, and did much hurt to the enemy. The towne of Graue hauing in this ſort bin 3. months beſieged, the Earle of Leiceſter went out of the Hage, to Harlem & from thence to Amſterdam, & ſo to Vtrecht, ſending his horſemen beeing 1400. to Niekerke in the Veluwe, to aide the towne of Graue, giuing charge to the Earle of Hohenlo, and to Sir *Iohn Norris*, generall of the B Engliſh footmen, with 2000. foot, and the horſemen (though they were not to be vſed) to victual the town of Graue. They preſently marching forward, went to Molen ſconce a mile and a halfe from the towne, and from thence beganne to inſconce themſelues as nere to the towne as they could, cloſe by the Meuſe, betweene the towne of Graue and Batenborch, not far from the Spaniſh ſconces & their bridge, and vpon the 15. of Aprill at night, began to worke with 300. ſoldiars and certaine pioners, and ere morning had raiſed a trench 3. foote high, which the Spaniards perceiuing, iſſued forth to the number of 3000. to hinder their worke, and by force draue them from it, hauing made reſiſtance twice or thrice at the leaſt, but in the end they were conſtrained to retire, & going back, met with 8. or 900. men, that came to aide them, whervpon they made a ſtand, and C valiantly charged the Spaniards, and forced them to retire beyond the trenches which they had begun, cloſe to their owne forts, and in that skirmiſh ſlew 4. or 500. of them, & hurt a great number, and amongſt the reſt 7. captaines, and two great perſonages were ſlaine, taking from them a peece of ordinance which they had brought with them, of the Earle of Hohenloes and Sir *Iohn Norris* ſide being halfe Engliſh, halfe Netherlanders) there was 130. or 140. ſlaine, Sir *Iohn Norris* himſelfe being hurt in the breſt with a pike, and Sir *Iohn Borrowes* had one of his fingers cut off. After that the Earle of Hohenlo, by means of his great peece, wan the caſtle of Batenborch, and an other ſconce, and the houſe of Empel and cut the ditch and let the water run into the land, for that the Meuſe by reaſon of the land waters, was very high, ſo as he entered into the towne with ſcuits D and Boats, and went and victualed it himſelfe, twice, one after the other, furniſhing the towne withall neceſſary prouiſion, and more garriſon vnder the gouernment of Mounſire *van Hemert*.

The Prince of Parma, beeing certefied that it might bee wonne by aſſault, vpon the twelfth of May, went in perſon before it, and placing a battery of 24. peeces beganne to play vpon the towne, both from ouer the water, and at both the ends, where hee ſpent two thouſand ſhot, and with a falce alarme made a ſhew to giue an aſſault to ſee what they within would doe, who were there-with ſome-what amazed, and beganne to faint, whether it were by the aduiſe and Councell of ſome affected to the Spaniards, or by the townes mens meanes, who feared by an aſſault to looſe the liues both of them- E ſelues and of their wiues and children, and alſo by the aduiſe of many well experienced ſoldiars, the aſſault could not be but much hurtfull and very dangerous for them. The gouernor Mouſier *van Hemert* ſeeing the Prince of Parma prepare to giue a ge-

The towne of Graue yeelded vp the 7. of Iuly.

netall aſſault, the daie after to the battery with certaine captaines, made ſignes to parle, and ſent a trumpet about ſome honeſt capitulation, which many captaines diſliked, (hauing but the day before written vnto the Earle of Leiceſter, that they doubted not, but to keepe and defend the towne well inough from the enemy,) and by that means the towne of Graue was deliuered ouer to the Prince of Parma vpon the ſeauenth of Iuly, vpon condition that the garriſon ſhould iſſue out armed and ſuch of the townes men as deſired it, had liberty to depart the towne with their wiues and F children, and ſuch goods as they had, and for that purpoſe had ſhips lent them to bring them to Bommel, thoſe that ſtaied within the towne, likewiſe had reaſonable conditions granted them.

The Earle of Leiceſter vnderſtanding the Prince of Parmaes intent touching the town

of

A of Graue, leauing his enterprise, against Zutphen and Doesburch, resolued (although as then not fully prepared) to set vpon the Prince of Parmaes campe, and with a small armie of three thousand foote and one thousand horse, hee set forward, and went to Arneham and from thence ouer the Reine into the Betuwe, where hee caused diuers forts, to bee assailed and taken, as the sconces of Bergshooft, and Lutefort, the castle of Bemel and others. Appointing Sir *Martin Schenck* to take the Island called Sgrauenweert, lying by the Tolhuis, where the Reine deuideth it selfe in two parts, the one part still holding the name of the Reine, and runeth along by Arneham, the other part called the Wale, passing before Nimeghen, whete hee willed him to make a great sconce, thereby to free the Betuwe; which done, when as he thought to haue passed ouer the B Wale, and so to haue set vpon the Prince of Parmaes campe, newes was brought him, that the towne of Graue was yeelded vp to the enemy, whereat hee was some-what amazed, and thereupon being aduertised, that the Prince of Parma might peraduenture march towards Bommel, he went to Bommelweert, sending his soldiars into all the places roundabout. 1587.

The fort of Sgrauenweert built by Schinck called Schenks sconce.

When as Mounsire *Van Hemert* came to Bommel, the Earle caused him with other captaines, to bee committed to prison, and so sent to Vtrecht where their processe beeing made, they were condemned to die, which most part of the Commanders seemed to dislike, in regard that they were no traitors, nor yet had any intelligence with the enemie, but for that the towne of Graue was giuen ouer, through want of vnderstand- C ing and Marshall policie, contrary to the will and intent of the gouernor Generall: but it was held a good example, and to the great furtherance of marshall discipline, which at that time was much decaied, and so the execution was referred to the discretion of the Earle of Leicester, who vpon the eight and twentie of Iune caused him openly to bee beheaded, with two captaines, *Du Banck*, and *Korf*, which execution was by many men thought to be very rigorus, in regard that Mounsire *Hemert* was a very wise and a braue young Nobleman, and one of the chiefe houses in the Netherlands, who besought the Earle to grant him his life, and that hee might serue the Queene of England, either by sea or by land, at his owne charges, and by his valor and fidelitie make recompence for his fait committed, but this rigour was the more borne with all D through hope that thereby better marshall discipline would bee obserued, which neuertheless tooke small effect: by which meanes the hearts of most of the Nobilitie of the Netherlands, were quite alienated from the Earle of Leicester, especially when they sawe, that an English captaine called *Welles*, whome the Earle of Hohenlo had taken, (beeing a traitor, and one of the actors to sell and betray the towne of Alost vnto the enemy) was not executed, but retained into seruice and put in credit, as also that the fugitiue and traitor *Rowland Yorke*, was likewise in much estimation, and put in credit with many great seruices.

The Lord of Hemert beheaded in Vtrecht.

The Nobility of the Netherlands fall in dislike of the Earle.

The Prince of Parma hauing gotten the towne of Graue, he was soone maister of Mergen and Batenborch and then he presently beseiged Venloo, a towne both by nature E and arte verie strong, with double ditches, lying vpon the Meuse in Gelderland, and vente before it with his whole armie, lodging most of his men on the other side of the Meuse in Gelderland, and the rest in Brabant. Within Venloo *Shenck* had his wife, and her sister, and all his house-hold, with seauen hundred men of his owne regiment, for which cause Sir *Martin Shenck*, and an English knight called Sir *Roger Williams*, with a hundreth horse, fought all the meanes they could to get into the towne, but found all the passages so well garded, as they could not enter, neuertheless the gaue a great alarum by night in the Prince of Parmaes campe, and past so farre through his garde, as they came to the Princes owne Tent, and slewe verie many of his men, but finding the waies round about all stopt vp, and perceiuing (the day beginning to breake) F that all the campe began to goe to armes, they turned backe againe to Wachtendonck, with the losse of about some fortie horse and men that were taken and slaine.

Venloo beseiged by the Prince of Parma and won the 28. of Iune.

The twentieth day of Iune, the Prince of Parma caused the Earle of Mansfield, to assaile the strong village and house of Aysen, which was presently taken, and vpon the

1587. ſixe and twentie daie of Iune hee cauſed a ſconce to bee placed vpon three points or great ſcutes, and with three hundred Spaniardes aſſailed one Iſland (lying in the Meuſe before Venloo) which by them of the towne was made ſtronge, and a ſconce made therein to defend the ſame, which hee preſently tooke; whereupon the townesmen (notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the towne, hauing once reſiſted the whole powre of the Emperor *Charles* the fift) beganne to be ſome what amazed, and to ſpeake of yeelding vp of the towne, but the ſouldiars refuſed ſo to doe, for which cauſe they ſet vpon the ſouldiars that were vpon the walles and in the Courts of gard, and compelled them to deliuer the towne ouer vnto the Prince of Parma, which they did vpon the eight and twenty daie of Iune, with reaſonable conditions, the ſouldiars to depart with their ſwordes by their ſides, with *Schencks* wife and his houſe-hold: from thence the Prince of Parma went to Nuys, as hereafter wee ſhall ſhew.

Venloo yeelded to the Prince of Parma.

By reaſon of the great dearth of corne and other victualls in the countries lying vnder the Prince of Parmaes commaunde, they were inforced to bring corne from many places farre diſtant from thence, and that with very ſtrong gardes and good conuoies, yet many of their conuoyes were often ſet vpon and ouerthrowne, and this yeare in the moneth of May, foure hundred Wagons beeing laden out of the countries of Iulliers, Cleues, and Liege, with corne and other neceſſarie prouiſions, beeing conuoied with a ſtrong gard of one thouſand ſouldiars horſe and foote were aſſayled and ſet vpon as the paſt before Antwerp, by the Noble Lord Willoughby Gouernor of Bergen vp Zoome, with three hundred horſe, and good troupes of footemen moſt of them Engliſhmen, killing the moſt part of their enemies ſpoyling all the Wagons and bearing away all they could well carry, and hauing gotten foure hundred horſe and a hundred and eighty priſoners, they burnt, and ſcatred moſt part of the corne, which they could not take with them, for that the garriſon of Antwerp beganne to march out againſt them. About that time alſo the Earle of Hohenlo, and Sir *William Pelham*, Marſhall of the army for the States, made a great roade into Brabant, and ſpoyled Langſtraet, and had certaine ſecret intelligences vpon ſome of the forts there aboutes, but they tooke no effect.

A conuoy of 3000. ſtrong going to Colen, cut off by their owne ſoldiars and many of them ſlaine.

The waies (by reaſon of the daylie ſpoyles and robbing of the ſouldiars) beeing verie daungerous to paſſe without any conuoie, and eſpecially in the Dioceſe of Cologne (which on all ſides was ſore plaged) for that cauſe a great number of Gentlemen, Marchants, Countrie people, and others to the number of ſome three thouſand ſtrong, beeing aſſembled at Berghen in the countrie of Iuilliers, to goe to a Fare as then to bee holden at Cologne, with many Wagons and great ſtore of marchandiſe, were ſet vpon by the ſouldiars of the garriſons of Bobert, and Ghenadeneal, moſt part of them were Spaniards ſeruing vnder the Biſhoppe of Colen, which conuoie beeing (as I ſay) three thouſand ſtrong, had deuided themſelues into three partes, and had with them about the number of a hundred and fiftie ſouldiars out of Iuilliers to conuoy them, who marching in good order with their Cartes and Waggons by Ioncker ſdoorp, not aboue halfe a mile from Colen, were by the garriſons aforeſayd, aſſailed and ſet vpon, charging them that were in the fore-front, and killing all that made any reſiſtance, vpon which alarme the ſecond troupe comming on to ayde the firſt, were all likewiſe ſlaine and ſpoiled, three hundred of them at leaſt, lying dead and ſcattered here and there in the waie, men women and children, gentlemen and diuers others were moſt cruellie murthered, not reſpecting nor regarding any man whatſoeuer, and all they had was taken from them. They that eſcaped fled to Colen, many hundreds of them beeing ſore hurt and wounded, this warre beeing a thing taken in hand by the towne of Colen, more of ſelfe-will then for any reaſon they had, onelie becauſe they would not ſuffer their Biſhoppe and chiefe Commander *Truxis*, to marry a wife, and yet could indure (not without great ſpeech and clamor) that their new elected Biſhoppe, ſhould keepe and entertaine many other mens wiues, and concubines; this murther and ſpoile made vpon the people traueling in this ſort was much complained of, but no redreſſe, nor puniſhment enſued.

The

A The like disorders and insolencies were committed in many other places of the countrie, for that the Earle of Niewenard, Sir *Martin Schenck*, and captaine *Cloet*, made many roades into diuers places, and almost vpon all the townes of Westphalia, and the Dioceſe of Colen, burning and spoiling all the countrie round aboute, whereby at one time there might haue beene seene, standing vpon the walles of Collen at the least fiftie villages and places on fire altogither, besides the robbing, spoyling, and murthers by the high-waies, which was committed by their owne souldiars, that ranne through the countrie spoyling and wasting all the townes and villages. 1587.

In this great perplexitie, there was a generall assemblie of the Estates held on the B sixt daie of February, at the Hage, to redresse their affaires, least they should growe desperate. Wherefore by vertue of the authoritie which they had reserued to themselues, they commanded Prince *Maurice* of Nassau, sonne to the deceased Prince of Orange their Gouernor (whome from the death of his father they had taken care to bring vp) to take vpon him (in the absence of the Earle of Leicester, at that time Gouernor generall) the managing of the Gouernment with the councell of Estate, commanding all Collonels, Captaines and Officers, (especially those that were in pay vnder the Generallity of the sayd Prouinces and not of the Queene of Englands,) to take an oth of fidelitie and obedience vnto the sayd Prince *Maurice*, as vnto their captaine generall: sending their deputies to that end into all partes, to C receiue the oth. Not that they ment thereby any way to blemish or dyminish the Earle of Leicesters authoritie: but onelie to settle the sayd Prince *Maurice* in the particular gouernments of Holland, Zeeland and Vtrecht, as his father had beene: for that by reason of these occurrents some things had beene altered in the sayd Gouernmentes, against the constitutions and ancient customes of the sayd countries, which by his meanes they would haue restored: whereby they might hold the other Estates and townes in good tearmes with them, and the English souldiars in their fidelitie and obedience, for that some had murmured (by reason of the treasons of *Stanley* and *Yorke*) that they must make a distinction betwixt the good and bad English, whome they must not mesure all a like, to the end that the faithfull and vertu- D ous (from whome long before as from Collonel *Norrys* and others they had drawne great seruices) might not confusedly bee comprehended in the number of wicked men and traitors. Prince Maurice gouernes in the Earle of Leicesters absence.

The Estates seeing this dangerous alteration of their affaires, had on the fourth of February written letters of complaint vnto the Queene of England and to the Earle of Leicester, with an ample relation of the causes of their complaintes, and a representation of the poore estate, into the which the vnited Prouinces were reduced, and the great and apparent inconueniences, if they were not speedily preuented: which letters by reason of their tediousnesse I thought good to omit, beeing verie ill taken by the Earle of Leicester, who thought him-selfe wronged in his honour and E reputation, making them to seeme distastfull vnto the Queene; who beeing better informed by the Councell of State which remained there with the Earle of Leicester, hauing in the Generall Estates name made their excuse for their sharpe manner of writing, beseeching her gratious Maiestie to impute it to the perplexitie of the time, and the griefe by them conceiued for the soden losse of Deuenter and of the sconce before Zutphen, in the end at the instant request of the Councell of State, shee sent the Barron of Buckhorst, a Nobleman of her Maiesties priuie Councell, and of great authoritie, into the vnited Prouinces with Doctor *Clarke* a ciuill Lawier, to the end that with the aduise of Collonel *Norris* and Maister *Wilkes* they might pacefie all controuersies, and reforme all errors to the best contentment of F the parties. The Barron of Buckhorst sent into the Netherlands.

The Lord of Buckhorst beeing arriued in Holland, about the end of March, in the assemblie of the generall Estates, hee required in the name of the Queene his Mistris a more ample declaration of certaine pointes mentioned in their letter of the fourth of February.

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1587. The eſtates entred vnwillingly into it, and would haue wiſht that all thoſe complaints had beene forgotten, without any further reuiuing of that wound. Notwithſtanding ſeeing that hee vrged it ſo vehemently, they anſwered by an act of the 17. of Iune, firſt they had complayned that the Earle of Leiceſter, would keepe no order in his gouernment, nor take any aduice from the Eſtates, or the councell of States, as all precedent gouernors of royall bloud, yea the Emperors ſiſter, had done in the Nethelands. That hauing in his abſence committed the gouernment vnto the councell, by an act of the twenty three of Nouember 1586, the ſame day by an other act hee had taken their authorty from them, retayning vnto him-ſelfe all abſolute power. That hee renewed and changed the ſeale and counterſeale of the vnited Prouinces, hauing ſet his owne armes in the mideſt of the great ſeale, the counter-ſeale being onely of his armes which neuer any Gouernors had done. That vnder collour of piety and relligion, hee beleeued flatterers and liars, who had taxed the Eſtates vnto him, to bee enemies to the relligion, for they had refuſed the miniſters the contents of a petition, tending to new ordinances, and diſcipline after their owne fantaſies, as if they would deale in the affayers of the common weale and the gouernment thereof, the which the Prince of Orange the Nobility and the townes did neuer like of, to auoyd confuſion: the ſaid Earle hauing ſuffred himſelfe to bee ſo perſwaded by thoſe flatterers, as to giue leaue vnto the miniſters to make a generall aſſembly of a Synode without the Priuity of the Eſtates, to whom the knowledge of ſuch things belonged. That they had falſely perſwaded him that the councell of Eſtate was an enemy to his authority and greatneſſe, and that by their ambition and for their priuat profit they ſought to ſupplant him, as appered by a certaine diſcours preſented vnto him of the inuention of *Ringault* and *Stephen Perret*: whome he did ſo countenance, as hee beleeued what ſoeuer they ſaid; giuing no credit to any of the councell of State: They had poſſeſt him, with ſuch a iealouſie and diſtruſt of them ſo as without the aduice of the ſaid councell he cauſed Roſe-nobles to be coyned in Amſterdam, where as they had neuer beene before any mint or ſworne officers, againſt the priuiledges of Dordrecht to whome this right doth onely appertaine, as to the firſt and moſt ancient towne of Holland. The Noble was allowed two florins aboue the value according to the courſe of other coynes. All which was done not onely without the aduice of the councell of States, but alſo without taking councell of the preſidents and officers of the chamber of accoumpts, nor of the generalls of the mynt. That he had by the perſwaſions of the ſaid flatterers made a proclamation of the fourth of Aprill, 1586. by the which the nauigation and trafficke into France and Spaine was prohibited, tending to the ruine of the Country, and retreat of the Marchants and marriners, wherein conſiſted their proſperity.

Roſe nobles coyned at Amſterdam.

That the Earle had neglected to cauſe two thouſand Germaine horſe, three thouſand foote and a thouſand Pioners to aduance, the which being ioyned with the Queens army and the States, he might haue made him-ſelfe maiſter of the field, and driuen away the enemy, not-with-ſtanding that the mony was redy, and ſo many aduertiſments which came: ſo as inſteed of making an offenciue warre, as they might haue done, they were forced to ſtand vpon the defenciue. That ſence the Earle had entred into the gouernment there had neuer beene any generall muſter of the Engliſh horſe and foote which the Queene had ſent to their ſuccors, not-with-ſtanding that the Eſtates had often required it, and he as often promiſed, yea it was found by the accoumpts of her Maieſties treaſorers, that the entertayniment of thoſe horſe men had beene payed by the twelth of Nouember 1585. with her Maieſties money, but vpon the countries charge, although the ſaid horſemen were not mounted, nor ready to paſſe muſters in three moneths after, no not halfe that number which ought to haue beene, according to the contract. Beſides that by the great numbers of Engliſh: Scottiſh, and Iriſh, which the ſaid Earle had brought into the country, without the priuity of the Eſtates and directly contrary to the contract, the Prouinces haue beene brought to a confuſion, for that they had not ballanced this charge with the meanes and Eſtate of the country which hath beene the cauſe that the ſoldiars borne in the country, for theſe ten moneths haue receued but foure paies, ſome three: and ſome but two: and the horſe-men of

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A the country but two paies, the which hath not beene but with the preiudice and great 1587
danger of the eſtate.

That the Earle by the aduice of his flatterers, had erected a treſor chamber againſt the aduice and conſent of the generall Eſtates, and of the councell of State, making *Iaques Ringault* treſorer generall thereof, one that was a Spaniard in heart, and worthely ſuſpected. That hee had alſo put men into the admiralties at his owne deuotion, who had no knowledge of Nauigation, ſtrangers, not of Holand nor Zeeland, nothing acquainted with ſea cauſes and much leſſe with warre by ſea and prouiſion for fleets: which had beene the cauſe that the ports of Dunkerk, Graueling and Nieuport had done much more harme vnto the Eſtates, that yeare then in all the prece-
B dent. And withall that hee had giuen commiſſion vnto *Ringault*, to vſe a kind of inquiſition againſt the marchants, ſerching not onely their ſtoore houſes and packs, but alſo their ſtudies, bookes, regiſters and papers, without information of any iudges, before whome they might haue defended and Iuſtified themſelues, the which they hold here to be Barbarous and Sauage, impugning the liberties and freedomes of the country.

More-ouer the ſaid Sicophants did incenſe the people much againſt their Magiſtrats, as in Vtrecht where they haue chaſed away the cheefe of the country, the like they did vnto Maiſter *Paul Buys*, a councellor of Eſtate, caſting him into priſon, without doing him right, not knowing his aduerſe party. The ſaid Earle had alſo ſuffred him-
C ſelfe to be ſo perſwaded by theſe Sicophants, as to call in doubt the diſpoſition of the generall Eſtate of theſe Prouinces, eſpecially of Holland and Zeeland, of the which there was neuer queſtion in eight hundred yeare, no not againſt their enemies: whereof they haue beene ſo bold and raſh as to diſcourſe and write, councelling him among other things to gouerne the country without the Eſtates, and that the gouernment would neuer bee of any force ſo long as the Eſtates did deale with the managing of affaiers, their authority being but a meere vſurpation and tirany ouer the people, which belonged onely vnto the ſoueraignty and not vnto the Eſtates, who were but ſeruants to the generality. So as they haue proceeded ſo farre in ſome places and townes of the country, as they cauſed him to take vpon him the ſouerainty, vnder col-
D lour to referre it vnto her Maieſty of England. Theſe men ſeeing alſo in what credit the houſe of Naſſau was in this country, for the great ſeruices which they had receiued from the deceaſed Prince of Orange, his bretheren and allies, they ſought to vndermine the foundation. And as they had no meanes to ſupplant and diſapoint Prince Maurice of his gouernments of Holland and Zeeland, the which were giuen him after his fathers death, and rateſied by the contract made with her maieſty, to diſmember the ſaid gouernment of Holland, they made a priuat commiſſion to *Dericke Sonoy* of the gouernment of Northolland (otherwiſe called Weſt-Freezland) of Gorcum to captaine Claeragen: of Vianen to the Seignior of Locren, of Muyden to captaine *Iohn Bacx*, to gouerne them abſolutely vnder the Earles authoritie without the aduice of the
E Councell of Eſtates.

As alſo there were other priuat Gouernors which were put into the townes of Gelder, Vtrecht, and Oueryſſel, all which gouernors would neuer in the leaſt point yeeld vnto Prince Maurice gouernor of Holland, not vnto the Earle of Mæurs gouernor of Gelder, Vtrecht and Oueryſſel: ſo as he hath brought in diuers gouernors with equall power in one Prouince, the which could not bee without confuſion: Yet there was no redreſſe, not-with-ſtanding many admonitions that were giuen vnto the Earle. They complayned alſo that that the towne of Deuenter and the great fort before Zutphen (which were two of the keyes of the country) had beene comitted to *Stanley* and *Yorke*, contray to the liking of the Eſtates, who held them to bee no beter
F then traytors: And although the Earle had ingaged his perſon and honor for their fidelities, yet they found by experience and to their loſſe that errors committed in matters of State, are not to bee repayred by gage, pledg nor caution. And as it ſeemed that theſe flatterers and bad councellors, ſought nothing more then the ruine of the country.

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1587. Stephen Perret a priſoner.

The Nobility and townes (to diſcouer the ground of all) had ſeazed vpon the perſon and papers of *Stephen Perret*, whereby it was knowne that the ſaid *Ieames Ringault* was the cheefe motiue and conductor of all the troubles, a mortall enemie to the Eſtates and the country, ſecretly reconciled to the Spaniard, and making profeſſion to ouerthrow all good deſſigns and aduiſe, and to breake of all good correſpondency betwixt the Eſtates and the Earle: as it appeared ſufficiently by the baniſhment of the beſt Bourgers of Vtrecht, whome he called, *vetus fermentum*. A

All which hauing bin imparted vnto the Earle by the deputies of the priuat Eſtates of Holland, and finding it true, he decreed that *Ringault* ſhould be put in priſon, promiſing to do good Iuſtice, and commanding the Prouinciall councell of Holland and weſt Freezland to make his proceſſe, yet hee wrought ſo by the meanes of his adherents and partiſans as he was inlarged, and for that hee ſhould not be anſwerable to the iuriſdiction of Holland, he was led to Vtrecht; there to be hed of the mutins, and to deuide Vtrecht withall that dioceſſe from Holland, vſing perſwaſions without ground to the Earle and to ſome Engliſh Noblemen, that the Eſtates and the councell of Eſtate were enemies to religion and to the Earles authority, for which cauſe the ſayed *Ringault* was diſcouered by the papers that were ſeazed on, being a very hipocriticall Spaniard, and a diſſembling counterfet, ſeeking but to enrich him-ſelfe with the countries mony, then to play banquerout and ſo retire to the enemies party: As hee did ſince, where they ſcorne him, ſuffring him to dye in priſon at Bruſſelles like a beggerly raſcall, being deteyned for his old and new debts: Finally to the end their councells and practiſes ſhould not be hindred by the Earles abſence and retreat into England, they cauſed him to ſigne this laſt act, whereof mention hath beene made, by the which the authority of the Eſtates and councell was reſtrayned in the maine points concerning the preſeruation of the country, the which he reſerued to his own will and diſpoſition, eſpecially the change and renuing of Engliſh garriſons, holding the cheefe townes and forts of the country. The which was done ſo ſecretly, as neither the generall Eſtates, the councell of eſtate, or any priuat perſon did euer heare ſpeake of it vntill that *Stanley* refuſ'd to obey the counſell of Eſtate, producing the ſaid act for his defence. They declared alſo that after the yeelding vp of Deuenter and the forts of Zutphen, if the fidelity of generall *Norris* and ſome Engliſhmen that were of the councell of State, had not beene, it was to be feared that the garriſons of Berghen vp Zoom, and Oſtend (after the example of *Stanley* and *Yorke*) had done the like, conſidering the familiarity they had with the enemy: to whome the Engliſh ſoldiars fled by troupes, leauing their Sentynells and Corps de gard. B C D

Where-vpon amideſt ſo many doubts and diſtruſts, ſo many practiſes and factions among the commons: ſo many complaints of ſoldiars for their bad pay conſidering, alſo the danger that might grow by the want of a Commander, the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces thought it expedient (hauing no other meanes to bee aſſured from ſo mighty an enemy) ſeeing that the reſpect of her Maieſty of England and the Earles authority fayled them then, to take ſome courſe them-ſelues: reſtoring the gouernors of Prouinces to their firſt authority, and ſetting a good order for their ſoldiars, for the preſeruation and fortification of their frontiers, and to ſend their ſhippes of warre to ſea againſt the enemy, the better to incorrage the ſubiects. They remembred alſo the paſports giuen in England by the Secretary Bourgraue, vndet the Earles name as gouernor of the vnited Prouinces, the which they ſaid could not be good in law: for that a gouernor hath no command out of his prouinces: and beſides it was againſt the good of the country. They alſo gaue a reaſon for the enlargement of *Paul Buys*, concluding in the end that the letter of the fourth of February, had beene written aduiſedly and with mature deliberation by the eſtates, who haue beene alwaies accuſtomed to proceed roundly and plainely and without any diſſimulation, to impart vnto their Lords, Princes, and gouernors, any thing that might greeue or charge the people. The which they haue alwaies found the moſt ſafeſt courſe, and leaſt offenciue to their Princes, that vſed reaſon and iuſtice, ſeeing that for the loue of the commons they deſcouered the naked truth vnto them, to diſſwad them from that which E F

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A ſlanderous and falſe practiſes might induce them to beleeue, and ſo abuſe them, to the preiudice of their honors and reputation. As alſo there ſhall bee nothing found in the ſayd letter but the pure truth, proceeding from the ſincere affection which they beare vnto their deere country, to her Maieſtie, and to the honor and authority of the ſayd Earle. And fearing happily that her Maieſtie by ſome ſiniſter impreſſion of the ſayd letters had with-drawne the affection which ſhe did beare vnto their affaires, whereon depends the health of their eſtate, and that at other times the like had happened vpon their petitions: they found nothing more expedient then to ſend her a coppy, relying vpon her Maieſties ſingular bountie and wiſdome (whereof they had heretofore taſted) when ſhee ſhould be more particularly informed of the whole eſtate of the countrey, 1587.

B whereby ſhe may be the better inclined to graunt them ſome extraordinary ſuccors, to repaire that which was ſhaken, according to the tenor of the ſaid letters.

This anſwer and ample declaration was made by the generall Eſtates the ſeuenteene of Iune: with the which the Ambaſſadors and ſome other of the Engliſh nation, after many diſputes and replies, had cauſe of contentment. But the Earle of Leiceſter was not well pleaſed there-with, as he ſhewed afterwards by his iuſtification, the which hee cauſed to bee printed at his returne from England, comming to ſuccor Scluſe: being much diſcontented with the Lord of *Buckhurſt*, Doctor *Clarke*, Maiſter *Wilkes*, and eſpecially with generall *Norris*, whom hee cauſed to bee called home, to be ſent into Ireland to his gouernment: the Eſtates were very deſirous to keepe him ſtill (hauing done

C them good ſeruice after the loſſe of Deuenter and Zutphen, and well maintained her Maieſties and the Engliſh mens honor and reputation) and to make him marſhall of their armie which they intended to bring to field, for the releeſe of Scluſe, vnder the command of Prince *Maurice*, and the Earle of Hohenlo, but of force he muſt goe as he did, with great commendation, and teſtimony to her Maieſtie, both from the generall Eſtates, the Eſtates of Holland, the Earle of Hohenloo, and others, of his good and faithfull ſeruice. General Norris called home into England.

The Queene her ſelfe was not well pleaſed with the declaration made by the Eſtates as ſhee let them vnderſtand by her letters of the thirtith of Iune, to them. The which were ſent by Sir *Henry Killegrey* and Maiſter *Robert Beale*, whereunto the Eſtates

D anſwered with all mildneſſe and modeſtie, excuſing themſelues, and informing her Maieſtie better. During all theſe factions and partialities, the Duke of Parma continued the courſe of his proſperitie: meaning to beſiege Scluſe, a Towne and Caſtle ſtanding vpon the Sea-coaſt, the which is the very Port of the mighty, goodly, and rich towne of Bruges in Flanders, three leagues from thence. For as nothing paſt in Holland and Zeeland betwixt the Eſtates and the Earle of Leiceſter touching their diuiſion, but hee was dayly aduertiſed thereof by ſome that were at his deuotion in the ſayd countries, (yea as it was ſayd) by ſome that had great dealing with the affaires of Eſtate: hee thought it now time to prouide them ſome worke towards the Sea-coaſt: for the effecting whereof hee had cauſed great leauies of men to bee made in Italy, vn-

E der the leading of the Marquis of Guaſt, *Camillo Capiſucca*, *Carlo Spinella*, *Alexandro de Monte*, and others, making ſhew as if hee would goe to the Veluwe. Some of his men had lyen about Bruges euer ſince May, and now and then increaſed their numbers, ſeeming as if they had lyen there, onely to ſtoppe the incurſions of them of Oſtend and Scluſe. His ſoldiers being come all together, on the ſeauenth of Iune, hee marcht out of Bruſſels with nine companies of horſe, and the next day came to Bruges, all his armie following him to beſiege Scluſe. The Queene diſcontented with the Eſtates letters. The Duke of Parma prepares to beſiege Scluſe.

In the meane time *Arnold* of Groeneuelle, a Gentleman of an ancient houſe in Holland, Collonell of a regiment of foote, and gouernor of the ſayd Towne and Caſtle of Scluſe, feeling this ſtorme approach, and doubting it would fall vpon him, or vp-

F on Oſtend, ſeeking to prouide for it and preuent it with all the diligence he could: on the fifteene of Iune he did write vnto ſir *William Ruſſell*, ſonne to the Earle of Bedford (who had ſucceeded ſir *Philip Sidney* in the gouernment of Fluſhing for the Queene of England) as to his neereſt neighbour for ſome helpe: ſending him word that after diligent ſearch what prouiſion was in the ſayd towne, hee found not ſufficient to hold out long: The Seignior Groeneveld gouernor of Scluſe.

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1587. where-vpon Sir *William Ruſſell* diſpacht his Secretary wtih *Nicholas* of Meetkerke his Lieutenant preſently to Prince *Maurice*, and to the Eſtate of Zeeland, requiring them to ſuccor Sluce with men, victualls and munition of warre. But hauing no comfort from them but promiſes, the Zeelanders not holding the danger ſo great, as the Seignior of Groenevelt made it by his letters: Sir *William Ruſſel* commanded his Secretary and his Lieutenant Meetkerke, to gather together, with the helpe of the Magiſtrate, all the graine they could within the towne, and to ſend it preſently to Scluſe. So as the ſame day a ſhippe being laden with corne, parted from Fluſſing and entred into Sluce without danger, whereof the Gouernor *Groenevelt* was very glad. And by the meanes of Sir *William Ruſſell*, there came from Berghen vp Zoom and from Oſtend three companies of foote to Fluſſing, to the which the Gouernor added a forth drawne out of his owne garriſon, theſe fower companies were neere eight hundred men. The Queene of England hearing that the Duke of Parma's deſſeigne was vpon the ſea coaſts of Flanders: either againſt Oſtende (which ſhee had taken into her protection) or Scluſe: ſhee ſent Sir *Roger Williams* and ſome Engliſh Gentlemen to Oſtend: but being there arriued, and hearing that the Spaniards campe was planted before about Sluce, they went to Fluſhing to ioyne with the ſaid fower companies, and the twelth of Iune they entred with certaine ſhippes laden with corne, armes, poulder, boullets and other munition into the hauen of Scluſe, but not without great danger of the enemies cannon, who the day before had taken one of the forts without the towne, called Beckeaſ: and held the mouth of the hauen, where he had planted great ſtore of Artillery. Theſe ſuccors being happely entred, the gouernor *Groenevelt* did write againe vnto the Eſtates of Zeeland requiring great ſuccors of Victualls and eſperiall of munition of warre: but the ſhipps going forth to carry this meſſage, were taken in the mouth of the Hauen, ſo as after that time, none could go in, nor get out. The Duke of Parma had one part of his army lodged in the Ile of Caſſandt right againſt the Hauen of the towne, at a place called *Ter-Hofſted* and another part at Saint *Anne Termayden*, right with the which he forced a fort which the Eſtates had built vpon the ſea ſhore at Blankenberg, by the which he freed his campe, and the vittualls that came vnto them from the courſes of them of Oſtend.

Sir William Ruſſel Lord gouernor of Fluſſing ſends corne to Sluce and men.

Supplies of men and munition ſent to Scluſe.

The beeſeeged behauing them-ſelues very valiantly, made many gallant and furious ſallies vpon the Spaniards, in the which they ſlue very many of their enemies, but not-without ſome loſſe of their owne men. Among the Netherlands which woone moſt honor were *Nicholas Meetkerke* Lieuienant Collonell, ſonne to the preſident of Flanders: *Charles Heraugiere* at this time gouernor of the towne and Caſtell of Breda, *Nicholas* of Maude, ſonne to the Seigniour of Mauſart and others: among the Engliſh there was Sir *Francis Vere* now gouernor of the towne and land of Bryele: Sir *Roger Williams*; Collonell Huntley, Captaine *Thomas Baskeruille* and others. The forth of Iuly, Patton Collonell of a Scottiſh regiment, and comanding in the towne of Geldres in the abſence of Collonell *Schenke*, following the ſteppes of *Stanley* and *Yorke*, ſold the towne vnto the Lord of Haultpenne, for the King of Spaine, for thirty ſix thouſand florins, with an expreſſe condition that hee would reſerue vnto him-ſelfe the ſpoyle and ranſoms of certaine of the cheefe and richeſt Bourgers. His enterprize was executed in this manner. The Earle of Leiceſter being offended much with him, had thretned to caſſier him, and to put *Stuart* in his place: hee to preuent this and to bee reuenged of the diſgrace, hauing treated and concluded with *Haultepenne*, hee gaue them of the towne to vnderſtand, that Collonell *Schenk* had ſent him order to keepe his men ready in armes that comming the night following with his horſemen they might go together to an enterpize the which was eaſie to bee beleeued, for that *Schenk* was often accuſtomed to make vſe of the garriſon of that towne in that manner.

Patton a Scottiſh-man yeelds Gelders to the Spaniards.

His men being thus in armes, *Patton* inſteed of *Schenk* drew in *Haultepenne*: The Bourgers deſcouering this to ſoone, put them-ſelues in defence, but it was in vaine, many flying into the caſtle which they were forced to yeeld, paying their ranſome.

By

A By this treason *Collonell Schenck* lost his horses, armes, and all his moueables and treasor, which *Patton* seazed on: And as the Prouerbe saies. *From the Diuell it comes, and to the Diuell it goes.* For al this wealth which *Schenck* had, came by spoiles. This *Patton* by the meanes of his great wealth gotten this waies, married the poore widdow of *Ponthus* of Noyelle, Lord of Bours, who helpt to pull the Castell of Antwerp out of the Spaniards hands as wee haue said before. This Ladye was of the house of *Bieure* whome the Lord of Champaigny thought to haue married, but his gout, and *Pattons* money hindred it, the very same night that hee should haue beene made sure to her. 1587.

Prince *Maurice* of Nassau hauing (as wee haue said) the gouernment of the Vni-
B ted Prouinces, committed vnto him, in the absence of the Earle of Leicester, bee-
ing very desirous to draw the Duke of Parma from the siege of Scluce, hee caused the Earle of Hohenlo his Lieutenant, to make a roade into Brabant with a smal armie, which his men did spoyle; and burnt twenty two villages, and two small Townes, making a show as if they would besiege Boisleduc: which hee then thought easie to bee done by reason of the high waters, and the dearth of corne, where-with the Townes were as then but badly furnished. But the Duke of Parma hauing more men then hee needed before Scluce, he sent *Haultepenne* (*Barlaymonts* sonne) with two and fortie companies of foote, and twenty fiue troopes of horse, who incamped at Bixtell, not very farre from Boisleduc. In the meane time the Estates
C protracting the succors for Scluce, they began to feele the want of the Earle of Leicester, and to desire him, many saying that his authoritie and presence was very necessary.

Prince Maurice makes a roade into Brabant to diuert the siege of Scluce,

The which the Earle vnderstanding, supposing that this should recouer his honour which had beene interessed by their former Imputations and reproches: Hauing obtained leaue from her Maiestie, hee parted from England, and returned into Zealand the sixth of Iuly, with many soldiars which hee brought with him, where hee was attended with great deuotion; where hee made preparation to succor Scluce, and to raise the Duke of Parma from the siege. Prince *Maurice* hearing of his comming went vnto him, accompanied by Generall *Norris* (who was
D then to go into England) Collonell *Schenck* and other Collonells, with their troops, as well of Netherlanders, English, as Scottish: Leauing the Earle of Hohenloo, with three thousand men horse and foote, in the Iurisdiction of Boisleduc, to keepe the Frontiers of Holland, attending greater forces from Gelderland, Freezeland, Vtrecht, and other places, which came not. Yet notwithstanding the Earle of Hohenloo left not to besiege the Fort of Engelen, the which hee tooke by force and razed. The Lord of *Haultepenne* being come to raize the siege, was incountred by *Hohenlos* horse-men and defeated: Hee was by mischance hurt with the bough of a tree which fell vppon his necke, beeing broken downe with a peece of great Ordinaunce from the shippes, whereof hee dyed the fourteenth of Iuly in the towne
E of Boisleduc.

The Earle of Leicester returnes into Zealand.

Haultepenne defeated and slaine.

The Earle of Leicester beeing returned into Zealand for the releeuing of Scluce, the Generall Estates came vnto him, vnto whome Doctor *Leoninus* made a speech in his Excellencies behalfe: Giuing them to vnderstand that hee was very glad of their arriuall, hoping that by his presence hee should bee assisted in the executions of some millitary exploits that were in hand, and required expedition, the which (especially the relieue of Scluce) his excellencie did so much affect, as neglecting his owne priuate affaires hee had made hast to returne into these parts for the preser-
uation of the generall: VVhere-vnto his Excellencie hath brought so great an affec-
tion, that although hee findes his honor interessed by reason of some scandalls which
F haue beene raized during his absence, and certaine letters which were sent into England; yet hee desires not by reason of those mistakings, the said exploites of warre, and other affaires concerning the publike good, should be delayed; intreating them to enter into conference, concerning the Estate of the men of war, their pay, armes, munition and necessary victualls, to the end that Scluce might be releeued in

"D. Leoninus speech to the generall Estates in his Excellencies name.

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1587. time: And with all to conſider of the eſtabliſhing of a Councell of Eſtate, and of all A
„ other points and articles tending to the greater aſſurance of the countrie, and with-
„ all to depute ſome, who with two of her Maieſties Councellors, and two of the
„ Councell of Eſtate, ſhould meete and conferre friendly togither, and find out ſome
„ good expedient and meanes to ſatisfie her Maieſtie and his Excellencie: that the
„ ſaid miſtakings might bee forgotten quite, and all iealouſie and diſtruſt taken away,
„ and a good correſpondencie ſetled in the affaires: His Excellencie deſiring nothing
„ more then to apply him-ſelfe to all good and reaſonable meanes to continue his good
„ affection, and to proceed with all ſinceritie for the deliuerance of the Prouinces,
„ ſo long time beſieged: And to moue you there-vnto, hee cannot but repreſent vn-
„ to you, the calamities, miſeries and ruines, which haue growne through iealouſies, B
„ diuiſions and factions, as the hiſtories of all ages doe ſhew: By the which Greece
„ hath beene ſubuerted: the monarchie of the Romaines fell into an inteſtine warre,
„ and came to decay: Many Princes and Townes in Germany were ſubdued by the
„ Emperor *Charles*: And France wonderfully afflicted: And although we haue many
„ difficulties, yet the King of Spaine and his adherents, ground their chiefe hope
„ to enter into the ſayd Countries, by the meanes of iealouſies and home-bred diſſen-
„ tions, the which we hope by the help of God to preuent by moderation and ſome bet-
„ ter order in our affaires.

The Eſtates furniſh money to releeue Scluſe.

The generall Eſtates, hauing vnderſtood by conference with his Excellencie, that there muſt bee a hundred thouſand florins preſently furniſhed, to bee imploy- C ed about the raizing of the ſiege of Scluſe, they conſented therevnto, (ſeeming to ſecond his Excellencies good intent, and to aduance it all they could) appointing that it ſhould bee collected in the Prouinces of Holland, Zealand, Vtrecht and Friſeland, and abated out of the extraordinary contributions which the ſaid Prouinces ſhould grant that yeare, which money ſhould be deliuered into the hands of *Phillip Doublet*, their receiuer generall, and imployed onely for the releeſe of Scluſe.

The Duke of Parma continuing ſtill his ſiege before Scluſe, battered it with 30. cannons and eight culuerins, with ſuch fury and violence, as on Saint *Iames* day, the Spaniards Patron (on which day they doe willingly attempt any memorable thing) after they had wonne the point of a dike that was cut, from nine of the clocke at night vntill D fiue in the after-noone the next day, they ſpent 4000. canon ſhot, which were reckoned: wherewith the rampar was ſo pierſt and ſhaken, as there was a breach of 250. ſpaces: at the which the beſieged maintained it couragiouſly, & repulſt ſeauen reſolute aſſaults of the Spaniards. There was alſo a furious fight in the Mynes for fiue houres together, ſo as at the foote of the rampar, there were found aboue 700. men ſlaine, and not many leſſe were carried away hurt: Among other the Marqueſſe of Renty: *la Motte* of Graueling loſt an arme, and Mounſier *Strepigni* was all bruzed. The beſieged eſcaped not free, hauing aboue 150. men ſlaine, beſides thoſe that were wounded.

A furious batterie.

By meanes of this aſſault the Duke of Parma lodged his men farre into the rampar, which they could not hinder, for that they had no flanks: ſo as they were continually E at handie blowes one againſt another. The beſieged being forced to lie night and day, and eat and drinke for eighteene daies vpon the rampars; ſo long as they might indure it for the battery: beſides that by their countermines, they were to fight continually hand to hand with the enemie, who preſented him-ſelfe in the Myne: the which were more eaſie and acceſſible, by reaſon of the multitude of great and ſpacious Caues, the which were made in former times when the towne was of greater trafficke, and that the Staple of wines from France & Spaine, was held there for the country of Flanders.

They fight hand to hand in the Mines.

All which fights both aboue & vnder ground did much decreaſe the number of the beſieged who from 1600. were in the end reduced to 700. The ſiege hauing continued ſeauen weeks, the Earle of Leiceſter reſolued to raize it, being accompanied by Prince F *Maurice* Admirall generall of the Vnited Prouinces, & *Iuſtin Naſſau* his baſe brother, Admirall of Zealand: making great prouiſion of ſhips with al their furniture. The 26. of Iuly he landed at Oſtend with fiue and twenty companies of foote and ſixe of horſe: Whether came the Earle of Cumberland Admirall for England; with many Noble-

men

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A men and Gentlemen. His disseigne was to assaile the hauen which was held by the Spaniards, and to send in some shippes well appointed with men and ordinance, and great store of fire-workes; the which if they might passe, would lye safely vnder the Castle; where hee was perswaded that the water was very deepe, as in truth it was. 1587.

But many Sea-captaines, Pylots and Marriners, especially of Zealand, which knew the Coast better then any other, opposed them-selues: Saying, that this depth was filled vp with sand as they thought (but the Gouernor had caused a great breach to bee made in the dike behinde the Castell, so as the water might come in and go out in aboundance, and receiue a great number of shippes) so as it B should bee labour lost to attempt this disseigne which was impossible; and expose the shippes and the Soldiers that should bee in them to so great and iminent a danger. Where-vppon there was great contestation among them, euery one striuing to maintaine his owne opinion: So as there grew iealousies and distrust among the commanders. The Earle of Leicester seeing that hee should preuaile nothing by Sea, and that the Zealanders were vnwilling; hee resolued to trie his fortune by land, although (said hee) the Estates had not furnished him with so many men as hee desired, or as were fit for such an enterprize. Going out of Ostend with fiue thousand men which hee had brought with him, hee marcht towards the Fort of Blankenberghe, the which serued the Spaniards for a Bulwarke against Ostend: C hee besieged it with two field-peeces, and the besieged defended them-selues very couragiously.

The Earle of Leicester resolues to relieue Scluce by Sea.

The Earle of Leicester hearing that the Duke of Parma marcht with all his armie to succor it, finding him-selfe not strong ynough to attend him, and fearing that hee should preuaile as little by land, as hee had done by Sea: Leauing Blankenberghe hee returned (not without some affront done him in his retreat vppon his reer-ward) to Ostend; what shew soeuer the Duke of Parma made to set vpon the Earle of Leicester in his campe before Blankenberghe, yet was it not without great doubt, beeing ignorant of the English forces: Beeing also well acquainted with the resolution of the beseeged within Sluce, by letters written vnto the Estates, the D which were intercepted, sending them word that if they had not succors by a certaine time prefixt, they would aduise to compound with the Duke; but yet not with other conditions then they had set downe among them-selues for the preseruation of their honor. Which was, that if the Duke would not yeeld vnto the said conditions, they would resolue as well as they could (hauing burnt the Towne and Castell) to make their way by force, through their enemies to saue them-selues if they could through the drown'd lands, or else to fight it out euen vnto the death, rather then to receiue any other conditions then those which they had propounded vnto them-selues.

The Earle of Leicester retiers to Ostend, without any effect.

A gallant resolution of the besieged within Scluce.

You may see then that all the feare was not of the one side alone; for if Leicester E had taken the Fort of blankenberghe, *Parma* was resolued to raise his Campe from before Scluce and retyre to Bruges: Which made him to yeeld so good a composition to the besieged; who seeing their rampars in many places beaten downe to the ground: So many sufficient breaches; so many assaults defended by them; so great a losse of their men; all their ordinance almost crackt and broken; want of powlder, hauing not in all seauen hundred waight remaining, the which would hardly haue made good the offer of an assault, and the soldiars that were not hurt very weake, and their Burgers few in number: after that they had indured about 17000 canon shotte. The Seigniot of Groeneuelt Gouernor of the Towne, being prest by the Captaines and officers in generall, hauing eight daies before consulted thereon, and F resolued not to attend any further extremitie, nor to bee forced: In the end they fell to a composition, the which was granted as they desired; going all forth on the fifth of August with their coullors flying, their ful armes, their matches light, bullets in their mouthes and carrying away all their bagage and bootie, departing all in generall, nay euen their Ministers, except some Burgers which would remaine. They were

Scluce yeelded by composition.

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1587. conuoied to Breſque, where they were receiued by the ſhippes of Zeeland and tranſ- A
ported to Fluſſingue. Thus was Scluce (after that it had beene valiantly defended for
the ſpace of two monethes) in the end giuen ouer for want of ſuccors: for the which it
ſeemes they that defended it were but hardly cenſured by the Eſtates, in giuing it vp ſo
ſoone. Wherevpon Sir *Roger Williams* in his booke called a diſcourſe of warre, makes
a breefe relation of the ſeruice they did within the towne, and to iuſtifie their pro-
ceedings, the which I haue thought to inſert here for the Readers better ſatisfaction of
the particularities.

Sir Roger Williams words in his diſcours.

I proteſt (ſayth hee) by the faith of a ſouldiar, that what I write is true; As neere as I
can remember wee kept the towne of Scluce ſome three ſcore daies: diuers thinke it
no time, for that *Harlem*, *Maſtricht* and others were kept longer: little doe they thinke B
how thoſe two places were furniſhed with all things neceſſary, when as the leſſer of
them both had in it ſixe thouſand hands to fight and worke. Let vs bee rightly cen-
ſured, I will prooue that Bouvines was the moſt furious ſiege, ſince the Duke of Aluas
arriuall, vnto this houre, the which beganne and ended in leſſe then twenty daies, and
yet there were more captaines and ſouldiars ſpoiled by the ſword and bullet, then at
Harlem, which continued ten monethes: experimented captaines will confeſſe that
they fury of all breaches are tried in fewe houres. Wee were not in Scluce one thou-
ſand fixe hundred men to fight, worke and all: we had to keepe (accounting the two
forts) aboue two miles and a halfe. It is well knowne that before wee entred, the towne
had loſt one fort. If wee ſhewed any valour in our entrie, let Sir *Henry Palmer* and his C
ſea-men, with them of Zeeland iudge: the daunger was ſuch, as of the veſſelles which
carried vs in, fiue were taken the next comming out.

The third tide Sir *Charles Blunt* (afterwards Lord *Montioy* and Earle of Deuon-
ſhire) offred fiftie pounds (beſides the commandement his maiſters and marriners re-
ceiued at his imbarking) to carrie vs in ſome neceſſary prouiſion from Sir *William Ruſ-
ſell*, then Lord Gouernor of Fluſſing, who indeed was the cauſe of our entrie, reſoluti-
on and quick diſpatch, ſending vnto vs a good quantitie of victualls and munition; and
to ſay the truth without his importunitie and diligence, wee had not entred: and then
the world knowes the towne had beene loſt without blowes, as a number were in
thoſe countries, farre better then Scluce. D

The better ſort doe knowe, had I and my companions made marchandiſe of our
liues as trades-men doe of their warres wee had not entred into Scluce, for our di-
rections were but for Oſtende: wee were battred with thirtie Cannons and eight
Culuerins on Saint Iacobs Eue, from three of the clocke in the morning, vntill fiue
in the afternoone, whereas they diſcharged aboue foure thouſand Cannon-ſhot. By
the Dukes owne confeſſion hee neuer ſawe ſo furious a batterie in one daie. Wee
were made faultable aboue two hundred and fiftie paces betwixt fiue of the clocke and
ſeauen: wee were aboue fiue times at the puſh of the pike for our breach, where wee
ſpoiled the enemies in great numbers: who deſcouering our trenches within ouer-
thwart the breach, quieted their furies: afterwardes wee kept the towne eighteene E
daies, the enemie beeing lodged in our port, rampar and breach aboue three hundred
paces; in the which time hee paſſed ſixe paces through the port, to beate our trenches
within: wee kept our fort vntill wee were made faultable more then our troupes could
gard, vnleſſe wee would quit the towne: beeing mined, wee countermined them, in the
which wee fought nine daies with ſword, target and piſtoll: at our breach, port and
rampar wee fought daylie with pikes, ſhort weapons and ſtones, beſides our ſhot, for
thoſe eighteene daies. As for our ſallies, let the enemie teſtifie. The duke of Parma
being entred, he asked mee which was *Baskerville*, who ſtanding before him, I ſhewed
him, whom he imbraced, and turning towards his nobility, he ſayd: *there ſerues no Prince
in Europe a brauer man*: true it is that at one ſally captaine *Thomas Baskeruill* had the point F
with an hundred Corſelets of the beſt ſort, who charged and made to run 8. Spaniſh
Enſeigns of the Tertia Vecho, and hurt their Maiſter *del Campo*: indeed he was ſe-
conded by a number of others; but himſelfe was principally knowne by certaine pri-
ſoners, and his great plume of fethers: Sir *Francis Vere* was alſo noted by his fedde
mandillion,

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A mandillion, who ſtood alwaies in the head of the armed men, at the aſſaults of the towne and fort, being twiſe hurt, I and other of his friends, requeſted him to retire: to whom hee anſwered, that he had rather bee killed ten times at a breach then once in an houſe. Captaine *Hart* moſt valiantly ſwame in and out to acquaint the Eſtates, with our wants and dangers: the world doth know what pickes and iarres there was betwixt them at that time, ſuch as none can deny there was a full reſolution taken to enter in by water. The world doth know our army by land retired at mid-night from Blankenborough to Oſtend. Let enuy and mallice ſpeake what they liſt, truth may bee blamed, but it ſhall neuer bee ſhamed. We were loſt men but for our owne wits and reſolution: our poulder was all ſpent ſo farre, as wee had not to maintaine halfe a daies fight, 1587.

B the enemie had gotten ſo farre into our rampar, as their ſhot flanked into our trenches: for eighteene nights togither, wee lay continually Officers and all at our breach, and there eate our meate: wee had not foure field peeces of twenty left vnbroken with their Ordinance: wee endured in the towne and fort ſeauenteene thouſand foure hundred and od Cannot ſhot. And whereas malicious tongues ſpeake of our aſſault, I proteſt wee endured one aſſault in the fort, both at the breaches and mine, from nine of the clocke in the morning vntill two in the afternoone, whereas the braue Marquis of Renty was hurt, the great captaine Mounſire *La Motte* loſt his arme, and Mounſire *De Stripigny* Collonel of the Bourguignons was ſlaine, with diuers captaines and officers: beſides by their owne report they had ſlaine at that aſſault about ſeauen hundred men,

C and as many hurt: wee had hurt and ſlaine at that aſſault aboue a hundred and fiftie: whereas Collonel *Huntley*, Sir *Edmond Vdall*, Sir *Iohn Scot*, Captaine *Ferdinando Gorge*, Maiſter *Sentliger*, Captaine *Nicholas Baskeruille*, with diuers other Gentlemen and Officers behaued themſelues moſt valiantly, both at that aſſault and at all other ſeruices. During the ſayd ſiege, Captaine *Francis Allen* ſwamme in with Captaine *Hart* after the breach was made, and during his time none ſhewed greater valor. Truelie all the Dutch and Wallons with their companies, ſhowed themſelues conſtant, reſolute and valiant, eſpecially thoſe braue and valiant captaines *Metkerke* and *Herangier*: We were but foure Engliſh bands, neere two hundred men ſtrong a peece by reaſon that wee diuided amongſt them ſome two hundred and fiftie Muſketiers,

D who by the meanes of the Gouernor of Fleſſingue came with vs from his garriſon, from Berghen and from Oſtend. There were many Lieutenants, Enſeignes and Sargents aduenturers beſides thoſe ſouldiars: the better halfe of our men were ſlaine, for 1600. Engliſh, Wallons and Flemiſh, wee carried not our ſeauen hundred.

In reſpect of our loſſes our captaines asked pay for the whole numbers: wherefore the Eſtates and others would not confeſſe our loſſes to be ſo great from the firſt houre of our entrie vntill our going out, none came to vs but ſuch as ſwamme in. The duke of Parma himſelfe asked mee in the preſence of manie, what our loſſes were? I anſwered him the truth as nere as I could. Hee himſelfe with diuers others aſſured vs that hee had loſt before Sluce fiue and fortie Captaines, beſides other Commanders; and more

E ſouldiars then he had loſt at Nuys, Bercke, Graue and Venloo.

Some obiected alſo, if they had beene in ſuch daunger at Sluce, why did the duke of Parma yeelde them ſo large a compoſition? I know no reaſon but this, ſixe daies before wee gaue ouer the towne, all the captaines and officers met in Councell, hauing ſeene our dangers and ſome finding the heat of our ſuccors, wee aſſigned the Articles of our compoſition, and ſwore all to haue them graunted vnto vs or to die, and to burie the towne and caſtle, and then to eſcape as wee could through the drowned lands. The coppie of thoſe Articles with other letters wee ſent vnto the Earle our Generall and to the Eſtates, the which fell into the enemies hands, by reaſon the meſſenger was ſlaine in ſwimming by their boates and paliſſadoe on the riuer. This is

F well knowne vnto all our companions, for the Marquis of Renty out of his trench told it openly before all our gards at the breach, that one *Owen* a Welch Gentleman had much adoe to put my fowle hand into Italian for the Duke. We alſo made a ſallie where we loſt two Officers, who ſhewed them our reſolution, the which we maintained beeing face to face with the Duke in our parle, and returned once from him into the

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or his councell perſwaded him to ſend for vs againe, and to ſigne them all. But I proteſt vpon the faith of a Chriſtian, and I thinke all my companions will doe the like, that for my part I know not how we might haue kept the towne twelue howers longer with the loſſe of our liues, had we bin al deſperat, if it had pleaſed the enemy to attept vs: but it is moſt true, rather then to haue accepted of any baſe conditions, moſt of vs would haue ended our lyues in that place. I proteſt I write not this to condemne any one in particular nor in generall that ſhould haue ſuccored vs, nor to robbe the leaſt defendant of his right: for I confeſſe my ſelfe the ſimpleſt captaine of halfe a dozen that were within the towne, three or foure of them (were they knowne and rightly iudged) are ſufficient to conduct double that garriſon in any army in the world, & to commande a greater B
troupe hauing authority. Theſe are Sir *Roger Williams* owne words to iuſtefie the yeelding vp of Sluſe.

After this loſſe of Sluce, the Earle of Leiceſter determined to ſtoppe vp the mouth of the hauen, but the officers of the admiralty and others were of opinion that it could not be done, yet the Engliſh-men thought otherwiſe: wher-vpon ſuſpecting the Zeelanders, he ſent into Holland for certaine old ſhippes, the which were granted, yet it was not done: but on the other ſide ſence that time the hauen is much bettered, by reaſon that the ſea hath ſcoured the ſand away. The loſſe of this towne made them to
The Earle excuſeth himſelf murmure much againſt the Earle, (eſpecially the common people) who hearing of the accord, retired him-ſelfe into Zeeland; imputing the loſſe of this towne to the want of O
men, money and other meanes, greatly taxing the admiralty of Zeeland and the officers; namely one *Martin Drooghe*, whome he cauſed to be put in priſon, where he continued ſix moneths vntill that the Earle being retired the ſecond time into England (hauing iuſtified himſelfe of that where-with he was accuſed) he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his credit.

Thoſe that were affected vnto the Earles party, excuſed him and layed all the blame vpon the Eſtates, accuſing them, that they ſought to take his authority from him and to command them-ſelues leauing him but the vaine title of a Gouernor. The Earle paſſing by the Iland of Zeeland arriued the ſeauenteene of Auguſt at Berghen vp Zoom, (a towne held alſo by the Engliſh, where as the Lord Willoughby was gouernor) from D
thence the Earle ſent ſome troupes into Brabant, to make an enterprize vpon the caſtle
The generall eſtates held at Dordrecht where the Earle excuſeth him-ſelfe. of Hochſtraten, the which ſucceded not. From Berghen he went to Dordrecht whereas the generall Eſtates of the Prouinces aſſembled. The Earle being in the open aſſembly of the generall eſtates, made a long ſpeech: by the which he firſt excuſed him-ſelfe and greeued much for the treaſons of *Stanley*, *Yorke* and *Patton*, by whom he complayned that he had beene baſely deceyued: the which he ſaid might haue happened to any captaine, generall of an army or gouernor of a country and ſtate, were hee more pollitike and of greater experience then he was. That they were not the firſt traytors which had deceyued their maiſters in the ſaid vnited Prouinces. As for the releeuing of Sluce, he would maintaine that it was not his fault, hauing therein imployed his beſt endeuors. E

That the three thouſand or 1500. men which had beene promiſed him for ſupplies, and the hundred thouſand florins had failed, of the which (calling the treſorer generall to witnes) he had receiued but thirty thouſand in ready mony. That the ſaid Eſtates knew well themſelues, how ill he had bin ſerued by the ſea captaines and officers which had beene giuen him: who made him beleeue (to diuert him from theſe ſuccors) that if they had paſt on, being before the towne the enemy would from the other ſide of the Sluce of Bruges ſinke all their ſhippes with his Artillery, not-with-ſtanding they were ſufficiently informed thre was an other depth vnder the caſtell, where as they might lye without any danger as hee ſaid it appered by the report of captains and ſoldiars that were come from them of the towne. So as he could not put in execution the deſire
he had to ſuccor it, and therefore the blame was not to bee layd vpon him but vpon them that had fayled of their duties, and not furniſhed that which was needfull, according vnto that which had beene decreed betwixt him and the Eſtates.

Wherevpon, after they had layd before him the letters written by him in Iune be-

fore

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A fore out of England to secretarie *Iunius*, tending to fortefie and incorrage such as hee knew affected to his partie in the townes and countries of Holland and Zeeland. Descouering thereby that at his returne hee pretended to gouerne and command in the same manner as the Emperor *Charles* and King *Philip* his sonne had done, and if hee should be restrained of that authoritie, that he would abandon the Netherlands quite, and retire himselfe into England. Whereupon the Nobilitie and townes of Holland, Zeeland and Friseland presented a declaration vnto the Earle in writing dated the twentith day of August, which they intended to haue giuen him before, but for some good considerations they had forborne to offer it till then. Declaring thereby (as duetie bound them) how much they held themselues bound vnto her Maiestie, for her great B eare of Religion, and the good of those countries, and that it had pleased her to imploy his Excelencies person: seeing that it had not stood with her good liking to take the soueraignty vpon her, to whom they would haue yeelded as great respect and subiection, as euer they did vnto the Emperor *Charles* the fift or to any other Prince whatsoeuer: but for that they did finde by experience, that there are diuers seditious and busie headed fellowes, which labour to sowe dissention, and to breed discontents, betwixt the Estates of these countries and his Excelencie, seeking to blemish and disgrace the authoritie of the Estates, and to make his Excelencie absolute Gouernor in all respects. They let his Excelencie vnderstand (to the end that all iealousies, and distrusts might bee layed aside and forgotten) that they did and do yet vnderstand, that for want of a naturall C Prince, the soueraigntie of those countries returned vnto the Nobilitie, Gentlemen and Townes, and that after the King of Spaine (who heretofore had beene their naturall and soueraigne Lord) had left those countries; all acts of soueraigntie were lawfully exercised by the Estates; and in that manner they had contracted with diuers Princes, and namely with her Maiestie, and thereupon by a generall consent, had giuen vnto his Excelencie the authoritie of Gouernor and Captaine Generall ouer those countries. And furthermore to stoppe the mouthes of ill affected, and contentious persons, they shewed that the Estates were not presented by any priuat persons, but by the Nobilitie, Gentlemen and Townes: so as they are much deceiued which thinke that the Estates consist of certaine priuat persons, and that the faults wherewith such men charD ges them, cannot iustly bee imputed to them; and the rather, for that the Estates haue alwaies conceiued and vnderstood, that if any one should intrude himselfe into their assemblies, or medled with their proceedings, although it concerned himselfe, hee ought to bee punnished for exainples sake: beseeching his Excelencie that if hee could name any such men, they would assist him to haue them punnished, according to their deserts. And wheras question was made by those busie headed fellowes, whether his Excelencie had the like authoritie giuen him, as the Emperor *Charles* the fift had: or the like in euery respect that the Gouernors of the Netherlands (which are by them appointed) euer had: They besought his Excelency to vnderstand, that although the Estates, Gouernors, Officers and Ministers of Iustice, in the time of the Emperor *Charles* E the fift, and of other Princes his predecessors, were not by oth bound vnto the Gouernor Generall of the Netherlands: yet the Estates held themselues bound vnto his Excelencie beeing in the Netherlands, to bee obedient vnto him, according vnto the lawfull vsitome and manner, with ioynt and conferred authoritie, not meaning thereby in any respect to impeach or derogate from their due authority, but that it still belongeth vnto, and resteth in the generall Estates, and the Estates of the particular Prouinces, as the Emperor *Charles* the fift did in times past, when as he made the Dutches Lady Marguerity, Queene *Mary*, the Dutches of Sauoie, & others, Gouernors generall, yet he commited not the soueraignty vnto them, but reserued it vnto himselfe: and so it was now with those countries, euer excepting that which hath beene since altered, by F the contract made with her Maiesty.

And they likewise vnderstood, that all matters in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fift were at the disposition of the General: so should they now be at his Excelencies disposition and of the councel of Estate, according vnto the act of transferring the gouernment vnto his Excelency, vnderstanding that in making any dispatches the instructions

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The States declaration to the Earle of the Leicester.

For want of a natural Prince the gouernment returnes to the Noble gentry and townes.

1587. which were giuen, or any thing elſe that was accuſtomed to bee decreed and publiſhed in the Emperor *Charles* his name, ſhall now bee made, decreed and publiſhed in the name and vnder the ſeale, counter-ſeale and ſignet of the generall eſtates, in ſuch cauſes as concerne the whole Eſtate of the vnited Prouinces in generall: but if they touch any particular Prouince, they ſhall bee done in the name and vnder the ſeale of the ſame Prouince. Alſo that all Gouernors of Prouinces, generall or particular, Collonels, Captaines and other officers and men of warre, ſhall be bound by othe to be obedient to the vnited Prouinces in generall: to his Excellencie as gouernor generall thereof, and to the Prouinces and Townes of the ſame, wherein they ſhall bee particularly imployed; and that all of them in generall ſhall be obedient vnto your Excellencie as gouernor generall, and the Collonels, Captaines, Officers and ſoldiers to the Gouernors of thoſe Prouinces wherein they ſhall be imploied, and to their Lieutenants, Captaines and Commanders, that are now or ſhall hereafter haue charge ouer them. A B

The forme of the othe made by the men of warre.

Touching the abſolute power which is giuen vnto his Excellencie in matters of warre: the Eſtates vnderſtand that the ſame ſhall extend and haue power ouer all ſoldiers and men of warre both by ſea and land, as well her Maieſties ſuccors, as thoſe that are otherwiſe in pay, and entertained by theſe countries, to command them when time ſerueth to march againſt the enemie, or to goe vpon any other enterprize or ſeruice, and to execute iuſtice and martiall lawe, prouided alwayes that his excellencie ſhall not leuie any more ſouldiers, then may be well entertained and payde out of her Maieſties ſuccours, and the contributions which are raiſed in the countrey, according to the reſolution of the Eſtates. They deſired further that their warres by ſea, might be ordered by the Admirall of the ſea, and the placing of garriſons, by the gouernors of particular Prouinces. And to the end there might here-after bee a better vnion, correſpondencie and truſt entertained betwixt the Eſtates and his Excellencie, they deſired redreſſe of that which (by turbulent and buſie headed fellowes, who in the yeare paſt, in placing of any Gouernors or ſuperintendents of townes and quarters, and in the conferring of any principall Offices as well ciuill as criminall) had beene done contrary to the act of the transferring the Gouernment. And withall to cauſe thoſe things to bee put in execution, which the generall and particular Eſtates (according to the contract made with her Maieſtie, and the act aforeſayd) in the declaration formerly made vnto his Excellencie did requeſt: crauing likewiſe that to that end hee would be pleaſed to put from him, and not to giue any credit (in matters concerning the countrie,) to all ſuch as ſhall ſeeke to ſet diuiſion betwixt the Eſtates and his Excelency, and conſequently ſuch as ſeeke to bring the country into confuſion, and his Excellencies honor and credit into danger and diſgrace. C D

The Earle of Leiceſters anſwer to the declaration of the firſt of September.

To this declaration made by the Eſtates, the Earle of Leiceſter made anſwer to the firſt ſix articles, vpon the margent thereof, ſaying that hee neither ſought nor affected any greater authority, then what the generall Eſtates had giuen him by the foreſaid act, wherewith he was well content, not ſeeking in any ſort to diminiſh the authority which belonged vnto the Eſtates, neither yet deſired he to make any queſtion thereof, but onely ſought and wiſhed that his authoritie might in all things be duly vpholden and maintained according to the contract, and the honor of the place, whereof the Eſtates had put him in poſſeſſion, without any derogation or reſtraint: and that no alteration might bee allowed nor vſed in his titles, neither yet in his accuſtomed ſeales, by the conſent of the Eſtates; but as it had beene obſerued by his laſt fore-paſſed Predeceſſors in the generall gouernment. E

As touching the oth, his Excellency held it not conuenient that the ſouldiers ſhould take an oth to the particular Prouinces or Townes, neither yet to their gouernors or lieutenants, but it was not onely a new inuention, but to be feared, that ſo many othes would breed both confuſion and contempt among the ſoldiers; and that it ought to be looked vnto, according to the nineteene Article of the contract made with her Maieſty: vnderſtanding that the ſoldiers entring into garriſon in any of the Townes, ſhould ſweare (notwithſtanding the oth by them made vnto his Excellency and the country) that they ſhall keepe and defend thoſe townes for the Eſtates, & the generall gouernor; F

and

A and that they should not doe nor practise any thing secretly that might be preiudiciall vnto the said townes, with this clause, that his excelency shall haue power to displace, change or call forth such garrisons at his pleasure, when occasion is offered. To the other articles hee agreed in generall termes if they were to bee done, alwaies respecting time and occasion, not thinking it fit, that for want of such things, the countries seruice should bee neglected; touching the last point hee desired a more ample declaration, where vpon the Estates of Holland made a more plaine declaration, the which they deliuered vpon the twenty foure of October, as you shall hereafter see. Whilest that matters passed in this manner betwixt the Estates and the Earle of Leicester, there grew daily more hart burning and Iealousie betwixt B them, so as the Earle of Leicester kept not among the Estates, but was still resident at Flussing Dordrecht, or Vtrecht, all things passing betwixt them by messengers, who by minuiating did many bad offices, and were the greatest cause of all the troubles. The estates seeke to reconcile the Earles of Leicester and Hohenlo.

Besides this alteration, there was at that time a great hart burning betwixt the Earles of Leicester and Hohenlo which the Estates sought to reconcile: where vpon they sent on the eigh-teene of August, the Lords of Capell and Noortwick, the councellors Cooper and *Camminga*, *William Bardesius*, and *Iacob Walck* of the councell of estate, vnto the earle of Hohenlo (being a man much esteemed and beloued of the soldiars to whome the Estates were greatly beholding for many good and valiant seruices) who was then at Campfeere in the Iland of Walcheren, intreating him to come to C Midelbourg to the Earle of Leicester, to end all controuersies betwixt them, and to acknowledge him for gouernor in the behalfe of the Queene of England, the which he ought not refuse to doe, for that Prince *Maurice*, whose Lieutenant he was, had acknowledged him for the gouernor, and had promised him faith and obedience. To whom Hohenlo answered that he was a free Earle of Germany, & no way subiect vnto the Netherlands, nor ride vnto them by oth, and that he had before refused the Archduke Mathias, and the Duke of Aniou and Brabant, and therefore he was not yet resolued to subiect himselfe vnto his Excelence hauing some reasons not to trust him, not onely in regard of the difference betwixt them two, but also for the quarrell betwixt D him and Sir *Edward Norris* to whome hee imputed the onely cause, or at the least that he did mainetaine him therein, and made him a knight. More-ouer hee said that hee sought to alter the garrisons vnder his command without his priuity, and that hee had not kept his word with him in certaine things whichhe had promised him to do whereupon being intreated by the deputies (for the good & welfare of the contry) to be somewhat tractable, for that the one or the other must yeeld, and to assist them with his aduise and councell. Hee said that the vnited Prouinces ought not in any sort to withdraw them-selues from the Queenes Maiesty of England, nor from the Earle of Leicester requesting them to giue him an honorable passport, that hee might retire himselfe to his friendes into Germany: or else into Denmarke: And that it would please them E one day to remember the seruices which hee had done to the vnited prouinces during all their warres: as well vnto the Prince of Orange, Prince Maurice his sonne, as vnder the said Earle of Leicester: being redy to deliuer vp all the townes, castles, forts, men of warre, artillery: and other things where hee had any command into the hands of Prince Mauriee and the Estates, to bee gouerned according to their auncient tights and priuiledes, as they were in the time of the Prince of Orange of famous memory. The which hee said hee desired, for that hee saw that by some sinister practises the country was ill gouerned.

And that some which did openly bandy them-selues against the soueraignty of the Estates, and did thereby pourchase great credit among the people, should bee first F punished and then banished from court, which done and the Estates restored to their former authority, hee would willingly apply him-selfe to any thing, and acknowledge the said Gouernor but especially the Queenes Maiesty with all honor and obedience, so as they should haue no cause to complaine of him, intreating them with all not to giue any cause of offence or discontentment vnto her Maiestie.

The Earle of Hohenlos answer to the estates.

1587.

The

1587. The Earle of Hohenloo being intreated to ſay ſomuch himſelfe vnto his Excellency, A
and to doe as Prince *Maurice* had done, he ſayd that for that time he could do no more,
deſiring them not to trouble him any further, vntill the authority of the Eſtates were
reſtored, and the lawfull priuiledges of the Prouinces maintained as before: and touch-
ing Prince *Maurice*, hee ſayd he was a vaſſall and ſubiect, but hee was a free Germaine
Earle, and that they could not compell him, vnleſſe hee would freely of himſelfe con-
ſent therevnto: and yet hee would continue a friend and well-willer vnto the vnited
Prouinces, wherein hee had already ſerued foureteene yeares together, and had ſpent
a hundred and fifty thouſand Dollers aboue his entertainment in their ſeruice, intrea-
ting them to report fauourably of him: and ſo after many other words and honorable
proteſtations, the Deputies tooke their leaues. This conference was the twenty of B
Auguſt, but no good end could be made, by reaſon of the bad offices which were done
by ſome ill Inſtruments, by a miſtaking which happened, the which bred a great
alteration in the country. Vpon the twelfe of September the Earle of Leiceſter
aduertiſed the councell of Eſtate by his letters ſent from Vtrecht, that whereas he had
brought many ſouldiers with him out of England for the releefe of Scluce, which vntill
that time he had maintained without any charge or burthen to the country, and being
reſolued to ſend them preſently backe againe into England, hee had beene requeſted
by them to ſtay them, for that they dayly expected the Duke of Parmaes comming to
beſiege Berghen vp Zoome; and hauing kept the ſayd ſoldiers ſome weekes aboard
the ſhips, without any refreſhing, hee was forced to lodge them in Maſelant, Sluyſe, C
Delfſhauen, and other places there-abouts, in ſuch order, and with ſuch pay as he had
Great confuſion by miſtaking betwixt the Earle of Leiceſter and Hohenlo. appointed for them, holding it a ſhame they ſhould make ſo ſmall eſteeme of theſe
Engliſh ſoldiers, which (aboue her Maieſties ordinary ſuccors) were ſent vnto them.
In the meane time he was aduertiſed that the Earle of Hohenlo about the nine & twenty
and thirty of September, had aſſembled a great number of ſoldiers about William-
ſtat, intending to diſlodge his ſayd ſoldiers from Delfs-hauen, as one of the chiefe men
in Delft had aduertiſed him, whereof hee was not informed by any light reports, but
by men of ſuch credit, as hee could not chooſe but beleeue it: wherevpon hee deſired
them to take ſome ſpeedy order therein, ſaying, that hee would no longer endure any
ſuch indignities, that euery man ſhould in that ſort haue ſoldiers by himſelfe, and that D
the Earle of Hohenlo did all as it pleaſed him, and therefore he deſired to know if they
had giuen him any ſuch authority: If not, then hee wiſht them to command all Collo-
nels, Captaines, Officers and Soldiers, to deſiſt from their enterpriſe preſently, and from
all other factions, and to obſerue the oth which they had ſworne vnto him, vpon paine
of puniſhment if they failed therein, and that if they delayed to execute his comman-
dement, he ſhould be forced according to the authority and place which hee then had;
to take order for the ſame, finding that his great patience ſerued to no other end, but
to encourage and fortifie the bad, and to aduance their leagues and factions, thereby to
bring thoſe Prouinces into miſery and confuſion.

After that he ſent an other aduertiſement vnto the Councell of Eſtate, how that the E
Earle of Hohenlo continued ſtill in his former pretence, and that he had ſent for ſoldiers
out of Naerden and Viana, and for certaine horſemen, & had ſent ſome towards Lillo,
and to other places, & all by his owne authority. Theſe complaints bred a great alterati-
on among the Councel of Eſtate and the generall Eſtates, the which did threaten ſome
great inconuenience. But ten or twelue daies after vpon good information, it was found
to bee a meere practiſe of ſome pick-thankes and ſeditious perſons, for that Prince
Maurice being demanded what it meant, and they remembring themſelues, they found
that the Earle of Hohenlo had gathered theſe ſoldiers together at William-ſtat to doe
ſome great exployt vpon the enemy about Lillo neere Antwerp, whereof Prince *Mau-*
rice aduertiſed the Earle of Leiceſter, wherevnto vpon the ſixteene of September, hee F
made anſwer, and allowed of the ſayd enterpriſe, thanking him for his diligence there-
in, wiſhing them all good ſucceſſe. But the Earle of Hohenlo being aduertiſed by ſome
of his friends out of Holland, that the Earle of Leiceſter tooke the pretence of that ex-
ploit in euill part, he gaue it ouer, and ſent his ſoldiers back againe into their garriſons,

before

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A before hee could haue any intelligence of the Earle of Leiceſters conſent where-by it appeered that all miſtakings and other diſlikes proceeded onely from falce reports, ſiniſter conceits and ielouſies, the which began before the Earle of Leiceſters going out of the vnited Prouinces and increaſed much in his abſence by certaine accidents, the which ſence his returne were more agrauated and inflamed, bv reaſon of the complaints on both ſides, and for that the Earle of Leiceſter had had little conference with the eſtate, nor conuerſt much with them ſence his laſt comming ouer, whereby the affaires of the country were much intereſſed, and little or nothing was effected for want of good correſpondency. Of all theſe controuerſies the Earle of Hohenlo cauſed an apology to bee printed, whereas all his reaſons are ſet downe at large againſt B the Earle of Leiceſter, anſwering that which hee had propounded in his declaration of the ſeauenth of September: wherevnto for breuities ſake I will referre the reader. The Earle of Leiceſter being much moued with the declaration deliuered him at Dordrecht, and with ſome other occations which paſt; he made an anſwer in manner of a replycation to the eſtates, being then at Dordrecht, bearing date the ſeauenth of September. Shewing, that whereas the Queene of England, and all other Princes had refuſed them, pittying their eſtate, being zealous to relligion, and affecting the ancient law and league betwixt England and the houſe of Bourgongne, had beene moued to ayde and aſſiſt them, whoſe Maieſty at their inſtant ſute had ſent him ouer into thoſe parts, vpon whome they had impoſed the gouernment thereof, the which he (preferring C the loue he bare vnto thoſe countries, before his age which required reſt) had taken vpon him and did his beſt endeauor for the good of the common cauſe, but being called into England vpon vrgent cauſes, there happened during his abſence the betraying of Deuenter & Zutphen the which he excuſed and much greeued at. He ſhewed moreouer that his honor and authority in thoſe parts had beene brought in queſtion, and much reſtrained, and withall that they had written letters vnto the Queene of the forth of February (though not with full conſent of all the Prouinces) not onely to diſhonor him thereby in thoſe countries, but alſo to bring him into diſgrace with her Maieſty being ful of falſe & ſlãderous reports: yet hauing reconcyled al with her Maieſty, he was now returned ouer againe. He then excuſed the loſſe of Scluis through the want of men D and mony, which had bin promiſed, laying the blame vpon the officers of the admiralty and the Captaines of ſhips: He made mention of the quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Hohenlo, and of the eſtate of the wars, and how they ſhould proceed therein. As hee expected ſome reſolution from them of all theſe things, new matters were brought vnto him by their deputies touching the Soueraignty, tending to the limitation and diminiſhing of his authority, contrary to the act, and the letters ſent from Middlebourg vnto her Maieſty; by which their ſhew of ſmal eſteeme, and croſſe proceding, there was great loſſe to be expected in Gelderland, the which he proteſted ought not to be imputed vnto him, being redy to doe his beſt endeauor to impeach it, ſo as he might haue the men and money that were promiſed at Middlebourg. But vnderſtanding that the want E of money, and deferring of the ſoldiars, was by ſome imputed to the need and pouerty of the Prouinces, as vnable to beare ſo great a burthen: by others to the treaty of peace which her Maieſty had begon with the duke of Parma, hee therefore (for the better ordring of their affayers, & to further their reſolutions) aduiſed them to make a generall aſſembly at the Hage, and there to conſider of their owne power and meanes, and whether it were ſufficient to maintaine the warres, that hee might be certefied by a true information what their meanes were, and that in ſo doing her Maieſty would continue her ayde, if not, there were no reaſon that her Maieſty (if they were not able to mainetaine their warres) ſhould be forced to beare the whole burthen: for they might well thinke her maieſty was to conſume a great treaſor, for the defence of her Kingdomes of Eng- F land and Ireland, and that ſhe had warres with the King of Spaine, onely for their ſakes: wherfore if their meanes with her Maieſties ſuccors were not ſufficient, there was ſome hope of a peace to be made with the duke of Parma, which her maieſty ment not to yeeld vnto: And wheras it was giuen forth that at the inſtance of the king of Denmarke ſhe had proceeded there-in, it was a faulſe ſugieſtion, the contrary where-of might appeare

1587.

The Earle of Leiceſters declaration to the eſtates.

The Earle complaines of their letter to the Queene the forth of February.

If the eſtates meanes were not ſufficient ther was hope of a peace.

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1587. appeere by her Maieſties ſending of Sir *Francis Drake* into Spaine; and his owne returne into the Netherlands, ſo as they were able to proceede therein; and yet her Maieſtie was not reſtrained by the contract, from any treatie of peace, although ſhee bee content not to ſeeke any for theſe countries, without their priuity and conſent. But if they could not raiſe ſufficient means to maintaine their warres, he demanded what they would haue him to do therein with her Maieſty, or what they deſired more. A

If they thought good to continue the gouernment in him (according to the act) with the ordring of their contributions, to bee at his and the councell of Eſtates diſpoſition: and that they could make it apparant vnto him, that with her Maieſties ordinary aide, they were able to continue the warres, he was content they ſhould vſe him therein, ſo as they maintained him in the ſame authority, which vntill that time hee had inioyed. B But if their means were not ſufficient to defend the country, or that they did not affect him to bee their Gouernor any longer, hee ſhould be forced for the preſeruation of her Maieſties honor and his owne to proteſt againſt them.

The Earle deſireth more contribution.

And if they vnderſtood by their act of the ordinarie contribution of two hundred thouſand Gilders the moneth, to giue him leaue and limmit therevnto, he would not take the charge vpon him, not holding it ſufficient to pay the garriſons, according to the Eſtate ſet downe by him, much leſſe to maintaine an army in the field; wherefore if the could make no better means, nor raiſe any greater contribution, he knew no reaſon for his ſtay there, nor how he ſhould do them any good; wherevpon hee deſired their reſolution, to aduertiſe her Maieſty, that ſhe might prouide for her owne affaires. C

Laſtly he ſayd he had in charge to tell them, that her Maieſty was mooued to aide and aſſiſt them, not onely by reaſon of the ancient leagues betwixt England and the Princes of thoſe countries, but alſo and eſpecially for the contracts made for the entercourſe of traficke of both countries, as it appeereth by the Charters and Inſtruments made by diuers townes and Prouinces of the ſame, as of Dordrecht, Delft, Leyden, Amſterdam, Bryel, Middlebourg, Campheer, Zeerickzee and others, which Inſtruments, were yet extant to bee ſeene, and for that cauſe her Maieſty was pleaſed to aide and aſſiſt them at their requeſts, to the end that ſeeing her Maieſties royall intent towards them, they for their parts ſhould endeuor to do that which were requiſite, not onely in regard of good dealing, but alſo in reſpect of the contracts, entercourſes, inſtruments and former conditions made with thoſe countries, and for the laſt contract touching their aide. This declaration was ſent by the Earle of Leiceſter, to certaine townes, with letters, wherein he complained that they had charged her Maieſty and him, to haue delt with the enemie for a peace, to the preiudice and ruine of the country, and that hee came to deliuer the townes into the Spaniards hands, whereof hee excuſed himſelfe, deſiring them to ſend him an anſwer in writing to his declaration. Whervnto the Nobility, Gentlemen and Townes of Holland and Weſtfriſland being aſſembled in Harlem, made anſwer on the ſixteeneth of October as followeth.

The Queene deſireth to entertaine the ancient contracts.

D

The Eſtates anſwere to the Earle of Leiceſters letters.

They ſhewed how that in the yeare 1572. they had lawfully begunne warre againſt the King of Spaine, for the preſeruation of thoſe countries, the maintenance of Religion, and the defence of their ancient preuiledges, vnder the command of the Prince of Orange, but fearing they ſhould not bee able to continue it, they ſought aide from the Queene of England, and to that end they ſent their Ambaſſadors ouer, in the yeare 1573. and againe in the yeare of our Lord 1576. after that they ſought for ſuccors from the Duke of Aniou, and after his death from the French King (but all in vaine) deſiring him to imbrace the ſoueraigntie of theſe countries. In the end being put in good hope of her Maieſties aide and aſſiſtance, by her Ambaſſador Maiſter *Dauiſon* and others, they offred the ſoueraignty vnto her, by their Ambaſſadors, from whom they obtained a gratious aide, as appeereth by the contract, for the which they moſt humbly thanked her Maieſtie, and were the more highly bound vnto her, in that it had pleaſed her to ſend his Excelency ouer to gouerne the ſayd forces, and to direct their warres, both by action and good counſell, for which alſo they gaue him great thankes, in that he would accept the Eſtate and Commiſſion of Gouernor and Captaine generall of the vnited Prouinces: and that for their parts they had not ſought to with-drawe their hands E F

from

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A from the full performance of the contract, nor of the act of delation of the Gouernors authoritie, nor yet with-drawne the contributions, nor once failed in any point of their duties; hoping alſo that they had not neglected to giue his Excelencie all honour, reſpect and thanks due vnto him. True it is, that withall dutifull reſpect, they had preſented a certaine complaint vnto his Excelencie before his going ouer into England, wherein there was nothing contained, but onely the ſeruice of her Maieſty and of his Excelencie, togither with the preſeruation of the country, beeing content with his going into England, ſo it were but for two or three monethes, ſo as in his abſence the generall gouernment (according to their reſolution) might be committed to the Councell of Eſtate, and the particular gouernors of the Prouinces, leauing them lawfull authori- 1587.

B tie for the ſame. But for that within ceraine weekes after his departure, it was found, that by a certaine act, not onely the authority of the Councell of Eſtate, but alſo that of the Gouernors of Prouinces, touching the generall gouernment, was reſtrained, and that among other things, the betraying of Deuenter and Zutphen (the which was ſufficient diſcouered) followed, but by reaſon of that act it could not be preuented. The Eſtates to auoide the like practiſes, yet not to blemiſh his authority, but for the reſtoring of the authority due to the gouernors of the ſaid Prouinces, were forced to take ſome order therein. That which was written by them vnto his Excelencie after the betraying of Deuenter and Zutphen, procceded of mere griefe and neceſſitie, and yet was done ſo ſecretly, in regard of his honor, as it was not knowne to the common people, before

C that the coppie thereof was ſent out of England to Vtrecht, (and a motion made vnto the Eſtates that had written the letter to diſavow the ſame) with certaine other letters of the tenth of March, diſperſed among the common people; and that the letter ſent vnto her Maieſty, was to no other end, but to haue her Maieſties Ambaſſador that was to be ſent ouer the better inſtructed: but hearing that it was hardly cenſured, they ſaid that they ment not thereby to charge his Excelency but ſuch as had wronged and abuſed them, deſiring him withall to impute the ſharpneſſe of their letter, to their office, & the oth they had taken, the free liberty of the Eſtates of thoſe countries, but eſpecially to the treaſon then cõmitted, rather then to any euil intent in them. They thanked his Excelencies for ſhewing his noble courage and diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the prece-

D dent misfortune, in that he was reſolued, not only to be an earneſt interceſſor for thoſe countries, but alſo to come ouer againe, and that he had done his beſt endeauor for the releeuing of Scluce. As touching the promiſe of ſoldiars made to him by the Earle of Hohenlo, they knew not what to ſay, thinking that the Earle would ſatisfie him therein. They commended his proclamations made againſt ſeditious and popular factions, beſeeching him that it might be dulie executed. They ſaid they would do their beſt endeauors to end the controuerſie betwixt him & the Earle of Hohenloo, which they thought proceeded from the matter in queſtion, touching the authority of the Prouinciall Gouernors, beeing in hope to bring it to a good end. They ſhewed how ready they had bin to furniſh money for the leauying and paying of certaine troupes of horſe and foot

E in Germany, for the ſeruice of the country, that they might haue an army in field for two monthes. Alſo their paying of ſoldiars, and the furniſhing of the townes with victuals and munition. That they had delt with their Admirall Prince *Maurice*, touching their war by ſea, hoping and deſiring that it might go forward. That the Nobility and States of Holland had preſented a certaine declaration vnto his Excelencie being in Dordrecht, deſiring ſome conference, and that there might be a good correſpondencie betwixt his Excelencie as Gouernor and Captaime general, the generall and particular Eſtates, and the gouernors of particular Prouinces; that the charges of the war ſhould not exceed, as nere as might be the means of their contributions: that order might bee taken for the repayring of that which had beene done the yeare before contrary to

F the contract, and for the puniſhing of ſuch as ſought to ſowe diſſention betwixt his Excelency and the Eſtates. That it was no wonder if the Eſtates complained when any extraordinary burthen was layd vpon them, for if it be wel weighed, how the country of Holland (which now for theſe 15. yeares hath maintained warres againſt ſo mighty an enemy: & hath borne ſo great burthens, theſe two laſt yeares, only towards the ordinary

The Eſtates complaine of the act of reſtraint.

They excuſe the bitternesſe of their letter of the 4 of February.

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1587. charges of the warres within the country, beſides the warres at ſea,& diuers particular A
The Hollanders contribution in two yeares. charges,as fortifications of fronter townes & forts,lodging for ſoldiars , & many other known and vnknowne charges haue brought in,and paied at the leaſt thirty nine hundreth thouſand gilders; they may eaſily ſuppoſe that ſo great a ſumme of money could not bee leuied without great difficulty: ſo as there was no cauſe of complaint againſt them of Holland, hauing brought in much more then was ſpoken of in England, notwithſtanding their great loſſes by ſea, and otherwiſe by their ſhipping and trade of marchandiſe:which made them to wonder that ſuch a motion ſhould be made,to looke into their Eſtate,& to conſider if their contribution with her Maieſties aide, were ſufficient to maintaine the wars, as they ought to be. The Prince of Orange with the helpe of God,and without any great aide from her Maieſty (the townes and forts being then B
vnfortefied) did withſtand the enemy with leſſe then halfe the charges they were now at,and yet entertained great forces both by ſea and land , without any queſtions of further aſſurance or better meanes: and therefore there was no reaſon now to doe it,vnleſſe that men diſtruſted more now then at other times,in the grace and mercie of God. In reſpect whereof, ſeeing they found that her Maieſty would not take the ſoueraignty of the country vpon her, nor yeeld to any greater ſuccors, there remained no other hope,but with the helpe of God,and their contributions to ſettle ſome good courſe for their warres, and to entertaine ſo many horſe and foote, as they might well pay,obſeruing good order,vnity and diſcipline, and laſtly to expect from God a good and proſperous end. They ſayd they knew not of any proclamations made by them, whereby her C
Maieſties ſubiects ſhould be moleſted in France,but they had more then once complained againſt the proclamation made in Vtrecht dated the 4.of Aprill 1586.forbidding al traficke, without once hearing the allegations of the Eſtates touching the inconuenicency and diſcommodity thereof; the which would haue bin a great hindrance vnto all
The Eſtates hoped that the Queene would make no peace without them. thoſe Prouinces,and haue bred a diſlike betweene them and their neighbors. Touching the dealing for a peace, they had ſo great confidence in her Maieſty and in his Excelencie,that according to the contract, they would do nothing therein without the conſent of the generall Eſtates. They had herd what the King of Denmarke had propounded in anno. 1586. and what was done therein: as alſo of her Maieſties anſwere touching the imploiment of *Andreas de Loo*. They had bin likewiſe aduertiſed by word of mouth from D
the Lord of Buckhurſt,and what his Excelencie had certefied them by *Walck* and *Menin* councellors of Eſtate,the which was ſecretly imparted vnto the Eſtates of the country, to haue their aduiſe therein,where her Maieſty was not ſpoken of,but with al honor and due reſpect,giuing no cauſe wherby any ſuſpition might grow, that they ſhould report her Maieſty had ſought a peace without their conſents;and therfore they which had inuented ſuch falſe ſurmiſes,deſerued to be puniſhed. That the Eſtates of Holland,determined to obſerue the cõtract made with her Maieſty,to put to their helping hãds for the maintenance of his Excelencies honor & authority, & were likewiſe content to contribute the monthly ſum of 200. thouſand gilders,to bee at the diſpoſition of his Excelencie and of the Councel of State,with condition that the other Prouinces ſhould do the E
like,and that out of their contribution the garriſons & the charges for the wars,which was to be diſburſed in Holland & for the which they had giuen their words,ſhould firſt be paied. They ſpake of ſome other particularities,as that the State of the warres made with the Lord of Buckhurſt, was not ſo chargeable , but that if her Maieſties aide of 5000.foote and 1000.horſe were complete,and the contribution of 200.thouſand gilders a month well paied, it would ſerue for the maintenance of their wars and ſome ouerplus remayning towards the leauying of a good number of horſe & foot,for certaine monthes in the yeare,and when need were to bring them to field,being well managed. Touching the preparation of ſhips of war , the Eſtates did alwaies vnderſtand that the
prizes taken at ſea,would not only be found ſufficient for the defraying of that charge, F
but being well vſed,there would be a ſurpluſage to be imploied in the offenciue warres. Hauing made this anſwer to euery point of the Earle of Leiceſters propoſitions, they beſought him that it might bee fauorably interpreted , and that repoſing their truſt in God,his Excelency would cõtinue his noble reſolution in the defence of thoſe coũtries;

and

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A and ſo by the helpe of GOD, with her Maieſties promiſed ſuccors, being complete and orderly muſtred, and the contributions of one hundred thouſand guilders monthly beſides that which ſhalbe gotten by force and otherwiſe out of Brabant, Gelderland, Flanders, Oueryſſel, and other places belonging to the enemy, the charges of the war ſhould be ſufficiently maintained, with good order and martiall diſcipline: and by conuerting of the conuoie and licenſe monies to the moſt benifit of the country. The which would not onely bee a meanes to vphold and fortefie the Prouinces, but alſo a great aduancement of her Maieſties and his Excelencies honors & reputations, and no ſmall preiudice to their common enemy, without ſeeking of any doubtful and ſuſpitious peace, or to diſpaire of their countries cauſe. Laſtly the Eſtates humbly thanked her Maieſty, for letB ting the countries and townes vnderſtand her gratious pleaſure, concerning the continuance of the ancient contracts and treaties which haue paſſed, and haue beene alwaies maintained betweene the Kings of England and the Princes of thoſe countries; as alſo with certaine particular townes in thoſe Prouinces, and that for their parts they would take ſuch order as her Maieſty, his Excelency and the Engliſh Nation, ſhould find their zeale and deſire to maintaine al loue and good Neighbourhood, deſiring his Excelency that he would fauorably recommend their anſwer vnto her Maieſty. Beſides this anſwere the generall Eſtates gaue him an other anſwere, for the better cleering of ſome points propounded vnto him at Dordrecht the 16. of October. Shewing that the Eſtates deſired to continue his Exelency in the ſame authority, which by the contract made C with her Maieſty and the act of the generall Eſtates was giuen him: deſiring him that (for the ceaſing of al controuerſies) it would pleaſe his Exelency to keepe the oth which he had made vnto the Eſtates at his firſt entry into the ſame: and that by certaine acts, and namely by ſome letters written by him to his ſecretary *Iunius*, bearing date the 16. of Iuly, the authority of the Eſtates was brought in queſtion, they thought it conuenient to make a more plaine declaration thereof, conteyning the force of their authority, the which they ſayd they were bound by oth to iuſtifie and maintaine, for if they were not lawfully authorized in the ſouereignty by the Prouinces, then had they no powre nor authority, to put the King of Spaine from his Inheritance, nor to make warre againſt him, nor yet to deale in any ſort by contract or otherwiſe, with the French King and D the Queene of England, neither yet to confer the gouernment to his Excelency which they neuertheleſſe had done vpon a good ground and foundation, and by the Eſtates in all things held and obſerued. And therefore they deſired redreſſe of that which had bin done on his Excelencies behalfe, more then to his authority belongs: his authority being all one with the Gouernors of thoſe Prouinces vnder the Emperor *Charles* the fift who although they were great perſonages and Princes of his owne bloud, yet hee alwaies reſerued vnto himſelfe, to make peace or truce, to beginne a new warre, to make leagues and alliances with forraine Princes and countries: the making of proclamations and decrees concerning the Eſtate of the land. The altring and changing of the minte and ſtandard, the reſtraint of traficke, and dealing with neutrall and forraine countries, E proclamations whereby neighbour Kings, Potentates and common-weales ſhould bee offended. The bringing in of new rights and cuſtomes. The augmenting of contributions and charges for the warres, aboue that which was formerly granted by the conſent of the country, and many other ſuch like. But thoſe things which belonged to the diſpoſition of the Gouernors generall, the Eſtates ment ſhould be at his appointment, to diſpoſe and order the ſame by the aduiſe of the Councell of Eſtate, choſen both out of them of the countrie, and of her Maieſties ſubiects: and that ſuch things ſhould paſſe vnder his Exelencies name, as had vſually paſt vnder the gouernors name in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the 5. And that in the Eſtates name, which did vſually paſſe vnder the name of the Emperor *Charles* the fift which would in no ſort bee contrary to the F contract made with her Maieſty, neither yet againſt the act of declaration of the commiſſion, of the gouernment and authority, of the Eſtates vnto his Excelency,

The ſecond point of controuerſie, was the oth of fidelity to bee made by the ſoldiars, and the authority of the particular Gouernor of Prouinces; and for that they found ſome miſtaking of the oth to bee made, they deſired that according to the contract the ſoldiars

1587.

Another declaration made by the Eſtates to the Earle of Leiceſter 16. October.

That the Eſtates haue lauful authority ouer the Prouinces.

The Eſtates deſire an oth of the ſoldiars according to the contract.

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1587. ſoldiars ſhould ſweare fidelity and obedience to the Prouinces in generall, and to his A
Excelencie as Gouernor generall of the ſame, as alſo to thoſe Prouinces, townes and
members thereof, where they ſhalbe imployed or placed in garriſon: And that they
ſhall obey his Excelencie as Gouernor generall; and that the chiefe Collonels, Cap-
taines, Officers and Soldiars, ſhall in like manner ſweare to bee obedient to the particu-
lar Gouernors of Prouinces, and to their Lieutenants, wherſoeuer they ſhalbe imploy-
ed, and this for the maintenance of the rights of Prouinciall Gouernors, ſaying that the
change of garriſons, and diſtribution of ſoldiars, ought to bee done by them, for if they
had had that authority, and the forme of oth afore recited had beene obſerued, they had
not loſt the towne of Deuenter, nor the fort by Zutphen, but (beeing diſcouered long
The Eſtates deſire to haue the authority of particular Gouernors maintained. before) it had beene preuented by the Gouernor: and for that cauſe the Eſtates were B
mooued the more to maintaine the rights of the Prouinciall Gouernors, as well to ſee
the oth of obedience performed and kept, as for the alteration of garriſons, and yet no
new matter, neither yet any dyminiſhing of his authority, hauing a powre ouer the ſaid
Prouinciall Gouernors, as being ſworne vnto him, wherby he might execute all things
with good order, for that the Eſtate of thoſe Prouinces and townes were beſt knowne
vnto them. But contrariewiſe not long ſince, a priuat perſon had charge to place cer-
taine Engliſh companies in Vtrecht, and to arme them, and then to take others forth,
without the priuity or the conſent of the particular gouernor, which they could not
yeeld vnto, for that both their oth and the contract were againſt it, as being a breach of
the chiefe rights and cuſtomes of the country, for the which they had beene in continu- C
all warres for ſo many yeares. Moreouer they neither ought nor could abridge the
houſe of Naſſau, nor Prince *Maurice* (in regard of the honorable ſeruices done by the
Prince of Orange of famous memory, who neither ſpared life nor lyuing for the de-
fence of their preuiledges) of the authority which of right belongeth vnto him; and by
oth and promiſe was giuen him, before his Excelencie came into thoſe countries.

They were likewiſe compelled to ſee that the ſoldiars pay, and all martiall cauſes
were ſo gouerned, as the charge might be borne out of the contribution of the Prouin-
ces: and out of the particular contribution of euery Prouince, the charge of the ſame
Prouince, for the which they ſtood boũd, ſhould be paied, for otherwiſe great confuſion
might grow. They ſayd that they were ſummoned by the ſecond member of the Eſtates D
of Vtrecht (according to their oth and promiſe made) to a ſtricter vnion, for that ſome
men not only Engliſh, but natural borne countrie men, ignorant of the Eſtate of theſe
Prouinces, or rather ſeeking their owne priuat profit, attributed the whole gouern-
ment of the country abſolutly vnto him, wherein they abſued his Excelencie. And ſo
they concluded this declaration, with a hope of Gods bleſſing, and of good ſucceſſe in
their wars. Beſides the former declaration, the ſame day being the 6. of October they
deliuered vnto the Councel of Eſtate (being vnder his Excelency) a certaine writing, in
the name of the nobility, gentry and townes of Holland and Weſtfriſland, conteyning
the order which from time to time had alwaies beene obſerued in thoſe countries, for
the maintenance of their preuiledges, freedomes, lawes, and commendable cuſtomes: E
the which (for that is worth the noting) I haue thought good to inſert as it was written.
A declaration of the Eſtates of Holland and Friſeland touching their preuileges. The Nobility, Gentry and townes of Holland and Weſtfriſland, repreſenting the E-
ſtates of the ſaid Prouinces, haue (vpon mature deliberatiõ) according to their othes &
duties, thought it fit and neceſſary by this their declaration to ſet downe the true and
lawful Eſtate of the countries of Holland and Weſtfriſland, hoping that euery man that
ſhal read the ſame, wil cenſure it as fauorably, as the trobleſome Eſtate thereof requir-
eth. It is euidently knowne that the Prouinces of Holland, Weſtfriſland & Zeeland, for
the ſpace of 800. years hetherto haue bin gouerned by Earles and Counteſſes, to whom
by the nobility, gentry and townes, repreſenting the Eſtates of theſe countries, the in-
heritance & ſoueraignty therof was lawfully giuen, who behaued themſelues with ſuch F
moderation and diſcretion in their gouernments, as they neuer vndertooke any war, or
to make a peace, to raiſe any contributions or taxes, or to doe any thing concerning
the Eſtate of the countrie (although they were alwaies well prouided and furniſhed of
wiſe Councell conſiſting of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the country) without
the

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A the aduise and consent of the gentlemen and townes, wherevnto they were by writing orderly summoned and called; and besides their owne assemblies they haue alwaies and in all causes giuen the sayd gentlemen and townes, a fauorable audience, credit and good resolution, vpon all things whatsoeuer they had to propound vnto them, concerning the Estate of the countries. The which being as lawfull a kinde of gouernment as euer any was, or hath beene knowne, did produce fruites which tended especially to the honor and reputation of the sayd Earles, togither with the wellfare of the countrie and the Inhabitants thereof. As first of all, that the Earles of Holland, Zeeland and Friseland, within the compasse of so small a Gouernment, haue bene in great honor, respect and estimation, with all the Princes and Potentates of Christendome, as
B appeereth by the great and mighty alliances they had by marriages, with most of the greatest Ptinces in Europe, and that in the yeare 1247. *William* the second of that name, Earle of Holland &c. was chosen King of Romaines: that they haue alwaies beene victorious, and valiantly defended the frontiers of their countries, against their enemies how mightie soeuer they were whereby they were of no small esteeme withall their neighbors: and wee may truely speake it, that the countries of Holland and Zeeland, for the space of eight hundred yeares, were neuer conquered by force, nor brought vnder by forreine, nor yet by ciuill enemies. The onelie reason that may bee giuen of this, is, that they alwaies held and maintained a good and perfect forme of vnitie, loue and correspondencie, betweene the Prince and the Estates of the country; for that the
C Princes (who of themselues had no powre) without the Nobility and townes, could not doe any thing, hauing commonly no more meanes then the reuenues of their domaines, for the defraying of their houshold, and paying of the ordinarie officers. It is also well knowne what authority the country had, to bring their Princes (beeing misled by bad counsell to the hurt of the country) to reason and conformity, not onely by petitions and declarations, but also by seuerely punishing of all such as had in any sort abused or disorderly gouerned their Princes affaires and authoritie, whereof many examples are yet extant to be seene.

It is also manifest that the charge and office of the Estates was to bee carefull to prouide tutors, gouernors and gardians for their Princes in their nonage, as the like
D was done for Earle *William* the fift of that name, beeing distracted of his wits. Lastly it is out of all doubt that the administration of the soueraignetie of these Prouinces was at all times executed by the Estates: and when as by disorder, minority, frensie, or any other accident, the countries were destitute of good gouernment by their Princes, they haue often-times chosen a gouernor to guide and direct them, commonly called a Protector, the which was also obserued in the time of the gouernment of the house of Bourgondy, as after the death of Duke *Charles* and the Dutchesse *Mary* his daughter, at which time *Maximilian* seeking by force to innouate and alter many things contrarie to the authoritie of the Estates, hee brought the whole state of the countrie into great extremitie and danger: and the Emperor *Charles* the fift himselfe during his minority,
E was by the authority of the States prouided of Tutors, and the country of fit and conuenient gouernors; who alwaies respected (although in many things the liberty of the country during the gouernment of the house of Bourgondy was much diminished) the Estates of the countrie, alwaies foreseeing that his owne Estate could not bee setled by any other meanes, seeking to bring his sonne the King of Spaine to the like opinion and consideration, telling him plainely, that his Estate would be in danger whensoeuer he began to discountenance the Estates of the country, as he now findeth, both to his, and to the countries hindrance and decay, for no man can impute the beginning of these warres to any other cause (whatsoeuer the world may say) but that he sought by armes, to compell these Prouinces to that which the States being assembled (in regard of their
F preuiledges) held inconuenient, especially in matters which concerned the Estate of the country. All which (although wee hold it questionlesse) wee haue thought good to set downe, for that many are herein much mistaken, perswading themselues that the assembly of the Estates, representeth no other thing then as they in their imaginations will conceiue therof, and as the qualities of the persons appearing in the sayd assemblies,

1587.

During the minority of the Emperor Charles the Estates had the soueraignty.

The contempt of the Estates cause of the troubles.

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1587. in outward ſhew doe merit and deſerue, and of the cauſes and ſerious matters there- A
in by them handled and cenſured: As if thoſe perſons deputed by the Nobles and
Townes of the ſaid Prouinces, did hold and accoumpt them-ſelues to bee the Eſtates,
and thereby to haue the Soueraignty of the Country in their hands, and that they
may after their owne fantaſies, diſpoſe of all cauſes and matters belonging to the
gouernment of the State, vſurping vnto them-ſelues the whole diſpoſition there-
of at their pleaſures: but thoſe that haue a nearer in-ſight into theſe and other grea-
ter matters, which haue beene brought to paſſe by the Prince, with the ayd and aſſiſ-
ſtance of the Eſtates (and eſpecially thoſe thinges which haue beene done within
theſe fifteene yeares in theſe countries of Holland and Zealand) will eaſilie finde
From whence the authority of the Eſtates is deriued. that the authority of the Eſtates conſiſteth not in the preſence & power of thirty or B
forty perſons, more or leſſe, being aſſembled in one of their meetings: And euen the
Agents of the King of Spaine, who with theſe and ſuch like arguments, haue allwaies
ſought to vnder-mine our priuiledges, & to bring the authority of the Eſtates into con-
tempt, hauing at no time found how much they haue bene deceiued in their opinions.
Now then for the better diſcouering from whence the authority of the Eſtates groweth
and hath her beginning, you muſt conſider that the Princes which from time to time
haue lawfully gouerned & raigned, haue not onely begun their gouernment by the con-
ſent & loue of the cõmons, but haue ruled with ſuch moderation, as the whole members
& body of the common weale (whereof they were choſen to be the head) were by them
maintained, vnited and inſeperable; the which could not be done (Princes being often C
miſliked by wicked and ambitious perſons) if that the commons had had no meanes to
draw them to reaſon & conformity, & at al times to oppoſe them-ſelues againſt al lewd
& wicked perſons; and for the maintenance of their liberties and priueledges, in the
behalfe of all the members, not onely to admoniſh and aduiſe their Princes, but when-
ſoeuer any of them did gouerne tyranouſly (by meanes and ayd of the country) to
oppoſe and reſiſt them, and for theſe reſpects the ſubiects of theſe Prouinces are diui-
ded into two Eſtates, that is the Nobles and the Townes. The Nobility & Gentlemen
are accoumpted for one member, in regard of their dignities and births (the which
without vanting is as ancient as any other) & for the honors which they inioy in theſe
countries, whereby moſt of them haue all ſorts of Iuriſdiction, as well cryminall as D
ciuill, where-vpon all occaſions concurre & agree togither concerning the eſtate of the
country & are preſent in all aſſemblies, and there giue their opinions with the Depu-
ties of the townes. The townes for moſt part haue one kind of gouernment, that is an
aſſembly of Councellors or rulers (called Wetſchaps) or the wiſe-men choſen out of
How the towne of Holland & Zealand are gouerned. the beſt Burgers of the ſame; & thoſe in ſome townes are 40. in ſome 36 24. or 20 per-
ſons, which manner of making ſuch aſſemblies is as ancient as the townes them-ſelues
be: Such as are once choſen, continue ſo while the liue, or as long as they inhabit there,
and when any one dyeth or giueth ouer his place, the ſaid aſſembly with the conſent of
the Burgers choſe an other to make vp their number. This aſſemblie hath all power &
authority to conſult, reſolue & diſpoſe of all matters concerning that countrie, & their E
owne townes, and whatſoeuer the ſaid Burgers do reſolue & decree, is by all the Inha-
bitants obſerued and done, againſt the which not any of them once oppoſeth him-ſelfe,
or refuſeth to obey. By theſe aſſemblies the ordinary Magiſtrates are euery yeare cho-
The Councell choſe the Burguemaiſters & Schepen. ſen, that is 4. 3. or 2. Burguemaiſters & 7. or 8. Schepen to ſerue for one yeare: in ſome
townes thoſe elections are abſolute, in ſome by nominatiõ of a double number, of which
the ordinary number is made full by the State-holder or the Princes Lieutenant. The
Burguemaiſters officers to gouerne in al pollitick cauſes, as wel concerning the treaſor
& reuenues of the towne, as the wel-fare & preſeruation of the ſame, being committed
to their charge and gouernement. The Colledge of Schepen attend only vpon the or-
dinary adminiſtration of Iuſtice as well cryminal as ciuill, and haue authority to exe- F
cute the lawes in all cauſes what-ſoeuer. By theſe Aſſemblies of Magiſtrates, the ab-
ſolute gouernment of the townes of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland is adminiſtred, the
Princes of the country not once medling with the gouernment, but in the placing of
one officer, who in their names ſeeth Iuſtice duly executed. This is a briefe
diſcripti-

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A description of the true forme of gouernment of the townes of Holland and Zeeland. 1587.
From whence you must vnderstand that those assemblies of Magistrates and Schepen, being ioyned together with the nobilitie and gentlemen, doe vndoubtedly represent the whole state and full body of all the country, townes and commonalty, and it cannot be thought that a better forme of gouerment can be diuised; whereby (with better intelligence of all the proceedings of the country) matters may be resolued, nor their resolutions with more vnity, consent and authority better executed: so as it is no wonder if these Prouinces haue continued so inseperable, and as durable as any State whatsoeuer. Now to bring these particular councels of nobilitie and townes into one assembly, it cannot be done but by deputies appointed by them to supply their places; The forme of gouernment.
B to which end, when as any matter of importance (concerning the estate of the country) is to be consulted of, & that it is requisit to call them together: euery towne sets down what they meane to propound in the said assembly; and so send such deputies as they best trust, with such charge and commission as they thinke best, for the good of the common-weale. The nobility and gentlemen appeare in a competent number, & euery towne sendeth one Boutguemaister and a counsellor, or more, as occasion and the importance of the cause requireth. And more-ouer those deputies during the warres (by reason of the multitude of businesse) haue commission to consult vpon all causes, concerning the preseruation of the countrie, and therein to giue their aduise and resolution, especially to maintaine the rights, liberties and priuiledges of the same: and to op-
C pose themselues against all such as shall seeke to infringe them. And these deputies thus assembled together, represent the Estates of the country, not that they themselues in their owne persons, or by their owne authorities are the Estates, but onely by the force and power of their commissions from the townes and places from whence they are deputed, without presuming that any priuate man through his owne ambition and pride may prefer himselfe to be of that commission: being not the nature of these countrymen to be ambitious, but rather hate it, and are enemies to all ambitious persons, & therefore there is no cause why any such thing should be doubted in so free an election: and much lesse that any man during the troubles which it pleaseth God to send vpon these countries, should affect any dealing or command in the country, whereas there is What the Estates be.
D nothing to be expected but trouble and dislike of the enemies of our cause, who spare not to abuse the best qualified persons in the country with false reports, & often-times cause sinister opinions to bee held of those that haue done very good seruice to the country; for which cause they are forced to accompt the accepting of the sayd commissions *Inter munera necessaria*. And all those that haue had any intelligence of the affaires of this country, can witnesse, what dissention many times growes, and with what difficulty the deputies are brought to accept of those commissions, who returning home againe from these assemblies, make report vnto the Magistrates of the townes and places from whence they were sent, of all matters that had past.

Wherefore you must vnderstand that those which affirme the soueraignty of the
E country to consist in the Estates, their meaning is not of any priuate persons, or deputies of townes in particular, but of their superiors, as of the nobles, gentlemen, townes and commons, whom by the power of their commission they represent. And so diuerse Princes and Potentates, and euen the Queenes Maiesty her selfe, treating with the generall Estates, and his Excellency receiuing the commission of gouernor general from them, haue esteemed them; we cannot be perswaded that any man will vpon any good ground maintaine, that the nobles, magistrates, and councels of townes, haue not the same power and authority touching the gouernment of the country now, which others before them haue had, or then had, when as they made the contract with her Maiesty, & made his Excellency gouernor of the country: else question might be made, not onely Whence the soueraignty of the Estates proceedeth.
F of the force of the contract made with her Maiesty & his Excellencies commission, but of all that had been done for these 15. yeares, the which was a practise of the enemy. By these reasons and arguments we thinke to haue sufficiently proued, how necessary a thing it is to preserue the authority of the Estates, as being the foundation wheron the common preseruation of the country consisteth, the which without the ruine & decay

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1587. of the commons, cannot be ouerthrowne: and that the Eſtates haue as great authoritie now in all reſpects as euer any had (touching the Soueraignte of the countrie) vnder any Prince in former times. And thus it was reſolued and determined in the Hage, the ſixteenth of Iuly, and decreed that it ſhould be regiſtred, and a coppie thereof made, In Harlem the ſixteenth of October 1587. And vnderneath was written; By order of the Eſtates of Holland. Signed: *C: de Rechter.* A

My Author hath with your patience, made this digreſſion to ſhew what the Eſtates bee, and what their authority is, for that it is a very materiall point to be vnderſtood, and a great queſtion in this hiſtory.

The Duke of Parmas new diſſeigne.

After that the Prince of Parma had taken Scluſe, hee turned all his diſſeignes to fortifie him-ſelfe vppon the Sea, with an incredible charge, cauſing new chanells to bee digged in Flanders, to paſſe a kinde of flatte bottomed boats through the countrie, and to bring them to the Sea ports, eſpecially to Dunkerke and Nieuport, to ioyne with that great Sea-armie which the King of Spaine had begun to prepare three yeares before, and ſo with their ioynt forces to ſette vppon England; and afterwards vpon the Vnited Prouinces. As if theſe two armies of Spaine and the Netherlands had beene ſufficient to ſubdue all the world; whereof you ſhall heare more here-after. For which conſideration the Duke of Parma ſuffered the Hollanders & Zealanders a while in reſt: hauing his minde wholy bent to this great and high diſſeigne. The which was very happy for them, by reaſon of the alterations, factions and diuiſions that were among them, the which increaſed dayly with great bitterneſſe; publiſhing Inuectiues and Apologies one againſt the other. So as if the Spaniard had charged them during theſe diuiſions, which were ſo great as they were ready to fall from words to blowes, without doubt they had made a great breach. At this time generally throughout all Holland and Zeeland they were in great feare and perplexitie, not onely by reaſon of the contention betwixt them and their gouernor the Earle of Leiceſter, but alſo in regard of the diſſention growne among them-ſelues within the ſaid Prouinces; where-vpon it was to bee feared that the Queene of England would with-draw her forces, and then euery one would follow his owne humor; the good with a good zeale and affection, although many times with great miſtaking: & the wicked with bad and euil intents, yet making an outward ſhew of good meaning: Which moued the Spirituallitie to call a Synode, where they reſolued by foure Miniſters of the word deputed in their names, to recommend vnto the Eſtates the well-fare and preſeruation of the Chriſtian religion, and the vnitie and good correſpondencie with England, and with the Earle of Leiceſter: the which was performed by letters. Where-vnto the States made anſwer, that they had it in higheſt & greateſt recommendation, wiſhing them to be vigilant & carefull among them-ſelues, not to ſuffer any to enter into their Churches, nor into the Miniſterie, that vnder pretence of religion ſought to reſiſt the Magiſtrates, and to bring them into hatred, diſlike and iealouſie with the common people, as it hapned in Flanders to the Prince of Orange of famous memory, to the totall ruine of the Churches there; and that now by the meanes of ſtrange and vnaccuſtomed gouernment they might do the like, which they knew had beene both ſought and practiſed. That they were reſolued to obſerue the contract made with her Maieſtie, as they were bound, and to maintaine his Excellencie in the authority which belonged vnto him. Laſtly they deſired them to direct all their actions to the building vp of *CHRIST* his Church; and to let the Churches of Flanders bee a glaſſe for them to looke in, and to pray vnto *GOD* for their hedde and other Magiſtrates; with many other admonitions. B C D E

The Miniſters perſwade the Eſtates to reconciliation with the Earle of Leiceſter.

The Eſtates anſwer.

The Magiſtrates of Vtrecht write vnto the Eſtates.

Vppon the ſame ſubiect the Scout, Burguemaiſters, Schepen and Councell of Vtrecht; writte very earneſtly vnto the Eſtates of Holland, the one and twentith of September, charging them in a manner, as if they ment to ſhake of the Queene of England and the Earle of Leiceſter, and to diſlike of the contribution: Where-vnto they of Holland made anſwer the ſixteenth of October, ſaying, that their letter ſeemed to bee written in paſſion by certaine ſtrangers newly crept into the gouernment, who ſought to couer their contentious factions, by bringing the Eſtates of Holland into iealouſie: F

Their anſwer.

aſſuring

A assuring them of Vtrecht that they would carry themselues in such sort as their neighbours should haue no cause to dislike of them, obseruing the contract, and yeelding vnto the Earle of Leicester such authority as was promised him, and which the Prouinces might indure, for the which they were bound to be more carefull then they of Vtrecht, as hauing pawned their townes to the English-men for securitie thereof, for the which they of Vtrecht had giuen but their billes in writing: And that they needed not exclaime against them touching the contribution of Holland, when as it was apparent that for many yeares (besides their ordinary contributions) for the necessary garrisons of Townes and Forts in Holland, and the charges of the warres by sea, there had bin eight or nine thousand foote, & ten or twelue hundred horse entertained
B by them towards the assistance and aide of their neighbors the vnited Prouinces, aduising them to be carefull not to fall into controuersie with their gouernors, as they of Gant, Bruges and Boisleduc had done. The factions were so great at this time in Holland, as some of the greatest townes did vtterly reiect the Earle of Leicesters gouern- The Earle of Leicester seekes to seize vpon Leyden.
ment, refusing to acknowledge him, or to receiue him or his men any more. And he on the other side sought to draw some vnto his party, as well by the perswasions of his seruants and his creatures of the same country, as by surprises: as among others they sought to seize vpon Leyden, whereas diuers of the inhabitants, most part strangers fled out of Flanders and Brabant, with Captaine *Cosmo Pesarengis*, a Piedmontois, and Captaine *Nicholas de Mawlde*, sonne to the Lord of Mansaert (who had a company
C within the towne) sought to make themselues maisters thereof, to impriſon all the magistrates that were well affected to the Estates, & so to bring in the Earle of Leicester, with such authority as they thought good. But before they began their enterprise, it was discouered vnto the Magistrates, by a Bourger called *Andrew Schot*, where-vpon they apprehended one *Iacob Volmar* a Fleming, & Captaine *Cosmo Pesarengis*, and committed them to prison. *Maulde* escaped, but he was afterwards taken neere *Woerden* by the Lord of Poelgeest, and brought back to Leyden, where being examined, he confessed the enterprise without any torture: when-vpon the Magistrates of Leyden to maintaine Prince *Maurice* his authority, being gouernor of Holland, and of the Estates of the contry, on the 26. of October, they condemned the said *Volmar*, *Pesarengis* and
D *Maulde* to loose their heads; holding it according to their lawes to be an Act of treason, not onely in such a towne as Leyden, but if it had beene attempted in any of the lesser townes, & according to the custome there, the same day they cut off their heads. The two first heads were set vpon pikes at the Ports, but *Mawlds* head (in regard of his honorable house and family) was buried. He was much lamented (euen of the iudges them-selues) by reason of his youth, his good disposition, and the seruices which hee had done to the Prince of Orange, and for that of late hee had carried himselfe so valiantly within Scluce during the siege. The Earle disavowed this enterprise, and purged him-selfe before the Queene, who was not pleased that hee should so farre exceede his Commission, as to attempt vpon any Townes, seated in the heart of Holland, as
E Leyden is. At Vtrecht there was a booke made & put in Print, tending to the excusing The Estates do wisely conceale the cause of the execution at Leyden.
of such that were executed, the booke was dedicated to the Earle of Leicester, but at Leyden it was expresly forbidden to be bought or solde within their towne and iurisdiction, vpon a great penaltie, as being a seditious and scandalous libell, yet many disliked of this execution, for that the Estates during these diuisions did not make known the reasons that moued them there-vnto, the which not-with-standing for great and waighty considerations they did wisely conceale, in regard of the Earle of Leicester, which reasons were not then to be laid open, yet the Estates were the worse spoken of: but all men of iudgement, especially such as had seene the processe, and the offenders owne confessions, esteemed this execution to be iust and necessary, whereon the estate
F and well-fare of the country depended.

The 11. of September a Captaine of the Estates horse, being with his company in the country of Westphalia neere vnto Lengen, about the towne of Meppel, he sent 12. of his men on foot, to craue leaue of the Magistrate of the towne, that they might enter to buy victuals and other necessaries: being at the Port and letting them know the Meppel surprized by the Estates.

cause

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1587. cauſe of their comming, and that they deſired not any thing but for their money: the A
gard not fearing any ſurprize, were preſently charged by theſe twelue men and the
port ſeazed on, wherevpon the Captaine ariued with his troupe of horſe and made him-
ſelfe maiſter of the towne. Being vnable to keepe it with ſo few men, they of Holland
Oueriſſel and Vtrecht ſent them ſome ſupplies, with the which they held it for a time,
but lying to farre of for the eſtates, and heard to be victualed, when ſoeuer it ſhould
ſtand in need, *Verdugo* hauing a fort at Haſſel, halfe a league from it, which might hinder
the paſſage. They thought it beſt to abandon it, hauing profited nothing in that quar-
ter, which is neuter, but only made poore families.

Whileſt theſe factions were in Holland, there grew a great quarrell betwext Collo-
nel *Diricke Sonoy* geuernor of North Holland, and the towne of Enchuyſen, for that he B
had receiued confirmation of his gouernment (the which had bin formerly giuen him
by the Prince of Orange, & confirmed by Prince Maurice his ſonne) in an other ſort and
quality from the Earle of Leiceſter the fourteene of October: and for that the ſaid
Sonoy ſought to ſecure and ſettle him-ſelfe in his gouernment, cauſing captaine *Du-
uenuord* with his company to leaue the towne, and to bring other companies thether,
to which end hee had perſwaded his Excelency to come to ſee the townes of North-
Holland, meaning vnder collour of his preſence and authority to aſſure him-ſelfe of
the gouernment: the which being diſliked by the Bourguers, for that long before they
and other townes with the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Holland by force of their
Vnion, were bound by oth to defend and mayntaine the priuiledes of Holland and C
Weſt-Freezland; hauing ſollemnly accepted of Prince Maurice for their gouernor of
The towne of Enchuyſen deſier the earle of Leiceſter to forbeare to enter into their towne being iealous of Sonoy. Holland Zealand & Weſt-Freezland they could not (in reſpect of their othes) conſent
that the gouernment of Weſt-Freezland, ſhould be in that ſort ſeperated from Holland
& Zeeland, and conſequently (againſt alorder) taken from the houſe of Naſſau: where-
vpon after diuers aſſemblies & conferences, they found no better means to preuent all
inconueniences, & to maintaine the peace in North-Holland, then with due reſpect
and reuerence, to intreat his Excellency to deferre his comming into their towne, till a
more conuenient time, when as they might receiue him with more ſecurity, greater
ioy, and full conſent of all the Bourgers, humbly beſeeching him not to miſlike
thereof, ſo as for that time there was not any thing done, but after they grew to fur- D
ther queſtion as you ſhall heare. The ſecond day of Nouember Cont *William Lewis*
of Naſſau, ſonne to Cont *Iohn* gouernor of Freezland for the eſtates, married the
Lady *Anne* of Naſſau daughter to the Prince of Orange, and ſiſter to Prince Maurice who liued but three yeares in marriage and died of child. About this time there
was much ſpeech in England touching the affaiers of the Netherlands, as alſo about
the Earle of Leiceſters authority and gouernment and of the propoſition of peace,
Speeches in England touching the Netherlands. many holding with the Eſtates and others againſt them: ſome thinking that with two
hundred thouſand gilders a moneth, well gouerned, together with her Maieſties ayde of
fiue thouſand foote and a thouſand horſe complet and well paid by the Queene, beſides
that which might be gotten by booties in the frontire townes, and by conuoyes and E
licences that might be ſpar'd, ouer and aboue the charges diſburſed for the maintenance
of the ſhipps of warre, a defenſiue warr might be well maintayned, and withall an army
for certaine moneths euery yeare brought into the field, ſo as the managing of the mo-
ny, and contributions, might not be committed to priuate perſons, but to the noble
councell of eſtate. All this was preſented by ſome vnto her Maieſty in manner of a
declaration, and that there ought no peace be ſpoken of as being altogether vncertaine,
and that the propoſitions of peace might be a meanes to ſeperate and breed diuiſion in
in the vnited Prouinces, as euery one by the firſt reconciliation would pretend their
owne furtherance: that the collonels, captaines, and ſoldiars, would euery one ſeeke to
be the firſt ſhould make his compoſition: and that the king of Spaine would gladly F
make peace with the vnited Prouinces, that ſo he might with more eaſe ouer-runne and
conquer England: and that the kindome of England (although it had many enemies,
by reaſon of the goodly ſcituation) gneeded not to feare him much, hauing Holland Ze-
land and Freezland for friends; but the great number of ſhippes and ſaylers, and the
welth

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A welth of the ſaid Prouinces, being ioyned with Spaine, were dangerous for England, as it appered the laſt yeare by the bringing in of ſo many ſhips laden with corne, of what power they are at ſea and how they ſtop the riuers of Elbe and Ems with other hauens; ſhewing allſo what great meanes they had to impeach the trade of marchandize, and the free venting of the Engliſh clothes and other commodities. And if they were able to doe ſo much now being in a manner forſaken of all the world, what will they doe when they ſhall bee ioyned to the power, countenance and authority of the King of Spaine? which would ſtrike a great feare into Denmarke and other countryies, and therfore they concluded that her Maieſty ſhould do well not to forſake the vnited Prouinces, neither yet to diſcomfort them, leaſt they ſhould be conſtrayned to make a priB uat peace. The Queene of England finding that theſe diuiſions & partialities betwixt the Eſtates and the Earle of Leiceſter, increaſed daily more and more, ſence his departure out of England into Holland, ſhe reſolued to call him home into England, and to make him giue ouer his gouernment. In the meane time the councell of the eſtates laboured to make a reconciliation betwixt them, whereof they were in great hope, and to that end had written to the Earle of Leiceſter. But the Queenes Maieſty, (all matters ſet a part) ſent for the Earle to come into England, who (before hee had receiued the ſaid letter from the councell of eſtate) did write vnto the generall eſtates on the 26 of Nouember, ſaying. 1587.

The Earle of Leiceſter called home into England.

C THat he was much greeued, that her Maieſty was ſo diſpleaſed, with their bad cariage towards him, without occaſion, hauing giuen no aduertiſement thereof, wherevpon her Maieſty had commanded him, by one of her ſeruants, to returne againe into England touching certaine eſpeciall affayers, ſaying that it greeued him much hee had not the meanes while he remayned there, to aduenture his perſon, in ſome ſeruice for the country as hee deſired, and had alwaies earneſtly pretended, proteſting before God that hee ſhould depart from thence with a good and a cleare conſcience, as hauing done no more then his quality and place required, leauing the reſt to be anſwered by them that openly ſeeke the ouerthrowe of Gods Church, and of ſo many poore people, to ſatiſfie their owne priuat willes and appetites, but he ment not thereby to charge well minded men, D who hee hoped would conforme them-ſelues to her Maieſties good will and pleaſure: whome it had pleaſed to giue ſo fauorable ayde and aſſiſtance to theſe Prouinces, as by the charge which her Maieſty had giuen to her Ambaſſador (a Gentleman of good eſteeme & well affected to the good of the country) more plainely will appeere. He could be content to bee a meanes to further their cauſe to her Maieſty ſo as they made any accoumpt to hold and eſteeme her as a friend according to the contract made with her, with that which therevnto belonged, as reaſon requireth, vntil that by her Maieſty and a common conſent, it ſhall be otherwiſe determined: whervnto he deſired their anſwer with the firſt. And as he found by the contract made with her Maieſty, that the Gouernor generall appoynted by her ſhould together with the councell of eſtate haue the E ordring and managing of the cheſeſt cauſes concerning the eſtate and the wars, therefore he thought it conuenient in his abſence, that the authority ſhould remaine in the hands of the councell of eſtate, according to the contract, where the ſaid ambaſſador ſhould be reſident in her Maieſties name: and that all diſpatches ſhall bee ſigned by the cheefe of them there reſident, the which ſhould continue vntill it were other wiſe prouided by her Maieſty, wherof he would aduertiſe them with al conuenient ſpeed, and for the command of the Engliſh forces vnder the Queenes pay, her Maieſty had appointed the Lord Willoughby, to whome he had giuen in charge to hold good correſpondency with them, with the councell of the ſtate, and other commanders, & ſo he referred them to that which Maiſter *Harbert* had in her Maieſties behalfe to ſhew them. Subſcribed, F *Your good friend* ROBERT LEICESTER.

"The Earle of Leiceſters letter at his departure out of the Netherlands.

THis letter came vnto the Eſtates hands the ſecond of December, where-vpon the next day after the generall Eſtates wrot vnto the Earle of Leiceſter how that they vnderſtood of his going into England, beſeeching him to recommend the eſtate of the country

The eſtates write to the Earle of Leiceſter.

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87. country vnto her Maieſty, ſaying they had written vnto the eſtates of the particular A
Prouinces, to meet together, who for want of ſufficient authority were not yet al come, at which their meeting, they would reſolue vpon certaine deputies to be ſent into England, to deale with her Maieſty about the affaires of the country. So within few dayes after the Earle of Leiceſter departed out of the Netherlands, leauing the Lord Willoughby generall of the Engliſh forces, and Doctor *Harbert* her Maieſties Ambaſſador, to ſollicit the generall Eſtates toyeeld vnto a peace.

The Earle of Leiceſter beeing returned into England, the Queene commanded him to reſigne his gouernment of the Netherlands into the hands of the generall Eſtates, from wome hee had receiued it, the which hee did the ſeauenteenth of December by an Act vnder his hand as followeth. B

The Earle of Leiceſter reſignes his gouernment of the Vnited Prouinces.

ROBERT Earle of Leiceſter Baron of Denbighe &c. Lieutenant for the Queenes Maieſtie of England, Gouernor and Captaine generall of the Vnited Prouinces: To all to whome theſe preſents ſhall come greeting. As it was her Maieſties pleaſure to giue vs the charge to bee her Lieutenant generall of all the forces, ſent by her for the ayde and aſſiſtance of the vnited Prouinces, according to a contract made with the Eſtates concerning the ſame: where-vppon the ſaid generall Eſtates had alſo impoſed vppon vs, the gouernment of the ſaid Prouinces, both for matters pollitſcke, and of Iuſtice, according to the commiſſion, and Act of declaration of the ſame gouernment, Dated the firſt of February, 1586. And for that the preſent Eſtate of this Kingdome requyring it, wee were commanded to returne home into England, for her Maieſties C
ſeruice: And for that by reaſon of our abſence wee cannot execute the authoritie as we ſhould, and as it is neceſſary to bee done, for the good and proſperitie of the country. Therefore wee giue you to vnder-ſtand, that our deſire is for the cauſe aforeſaid to bee diſcharged and vnburthened of our ſaid gouernment, and place of Captaine generall, of the ſaid vnited Prouinces, as alſo of the commiſſion and charge giuen vs to that end, and that by this Act ſigned and ſealed with our hand, wee haue reſigned, left, & hereby doe reſigne and leaue the ſame: In ſuch ſort that wee will from henceforth wholy leaue of and refuſe to haue any dealing in the ſame commiſſion giuen vnto vs, by the aforeſad Eſtates, in what manner ſoeuer it were, leauing it vnto them to proceed therein by aduice from her Maieſtie, as they ſhall find it neceſſary and conuenient for D
the good & well-fare of thoſe countries. Giuen at London vnder our hand and ſeale: the 17. of December. 1587. Subcribed Leiceſter.

This Act was preſented to the Eſtates by Sir *Henry Killegrey* vpon the firſt of Aprill 1588. being Agent there for her Maieſtie: With excuſe that it came no ſooner to his hands: Which Reſignation the Eſtates cauſed to bee generally proclaimed throughout all the Prouinces, to the end that euery man might know hee was diſcharged of his oth to the Earle of Leiceſter, remayning onely bound to the vnited Prouinces, States and Townes &c. So as after that no man would acknowledge any gouernment of that of the Eſtates and the ſoldiars no other Captaine generall then Prince *Maurice*, and the Earle of Hohenloo his Lieutenant. E

Schencks enterprize.

The twentith of December Collonell *Schenck* being at Rhynberghe, hauing gathered out of the neighbour garriſons ſome foure hundred foote & three hundred horſe; hee marcht neere vnto the towne of Zulpich in the Dioceſſe of Collogne vppon the frontiers of *Iuilliers*, where hee lay quiet for three daies, doing wrong to no man, vntill that his troopes were fortified No man could iudge what his diſſeigne was: many thinking it was but to ſpoile the Territories of Collogne, againſt the which hee had a great ſpleene. But on the two and twentith day, being riſen with his troopes, he made a ſhew to march towards the quarter of Eyſſell, the brute whereof came preſently to Bonne, being foure leagues from Collogne. But turning head, hee paſt at noone day through a wood at the Village of Rhybourg, and ſo marching on, hee aduanced to the F
mid-way betwixt Bonne and Brulle: Where hee made a ſtand in a little groue, vntill that night approched. Then taking the lower way by Buhell and Bourchem, from whence they of the Caſtell ſhotte at his men, paſſing cloſe by their ditch, the which they might heare eaſily at Bonne: and to the end they of the towne ſhould haue no aduertiſment,

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A aduertiſment, he ſent certaine horſemen, before who ſtaid all thoſe they met. Approching neere the towne about eight of the clocke at night, he reſted a while, to feed his men and horſes in the villages of Tranſdorp and Endich. Then comming neere vnto the towne with his ladders (although hee vſed them not) hauing paſt by Popeldorf, (wheras the Archbiſhops of Cologne haue a pallace) he placed his footemen along the riuer of Rhine, & were not diſcouered nether by the keeper of Popeldorf, nor by the gard of the towne, for that the ſeaſon was darke and rainy. And to take away the noiſe of his men which were vnder the towne, there was one of his ſoldiars gotten into a hogs coate beating the ſwine continually to make them cry. And in this ſort the collonell ſtayd vntill three of the clocke after midnight, during the which he cauſed a great Pet- B ard to be made faſt to a poſterne gate towards the key of the riuer of Rhine, cloſe by the towle houſe, the which was ſeldome opened, where he lay ſtill obſeruing the rounds of the towne, as they paſt by the light of a Lanterne, and ſeeing no more to paſſe, growing neere fower of the clocke imagining that night workes to be paſt, and that the officers were gone to their reſt, he commanded them to ſet fier to the Petard, the which gaue ſo great a blow, as not onely the Port, but a part of the wall was ouerthrowne, by the which the ſoldiars entred in a throng vnto the ſecond port, the which was not ſo ſtrong as the firſt, which they beat downe ſodenly with hatchets and pikeaxes. Being entred into the towne ſome of his men ran vnto the rampars and the Boulwarks, and others vnto the Market place, the which they ſeazed on without any reſiſtance, there be- C ing neither captaine nor commander to put the ſoldiars and Bourgers in order for their defence, or that did any thing, except one Canonier, who made a ſhot, with the which he ſlue *Hans Wichman*, and ſoone after the ſaid canonier was ouerthrowne with a ſmall ſhotte. This being done they beat downe Stockem port, by the which the Ritmaiſter *Gerard van Balen* entred with his cornet, the other horſemen being alredy entred by the poſterne. The collonel who was entred at the firſt with the foot-men went then to horſebacke, and ranne throughout all the quarters of the towne, placing his ſentinels and corps de gard, forbidding vpon paine of death to ſpoyle, vntill they were well aſſured. The Bourgers hearing this great noyſe and terror of the petard, the trompets ſounding and the drommes beating an alarum with the ſoldiers cryes, kepe D them-ſelues cloſe in their houſes, for whereſoeuer the ſoldiars diſcouered any light; they ſhot through the doores and windoes, *Schencke* placed his horſe-men in the Biſhops Pallace to preſerue the chancery. So after that hee had ſet all things in good order, being maiſter of the towne he abandoned it to his ſoldiars, who ſpoyled it and put the Bourgers to ranſome, intreating them no other-wiſe then it it had beene an enemies towne taken by aſſault: *Charles Bille* gouernor of the towne hearing the noyſe which the petard made, & the alarum, eſcaped halfe dreſt and fled towards Confluence. He had beene aduertiſed two daies before that *Schenks* men were lodged about Zulpich, wherupon he ſent a good part of the garriſon to keepe the neighbour villages from ſpoyling, yet he was ſufficiently warned that there were mad lads would come E to viſit him: wherevnto he anſwered: that hee muſt take the care of it: for the which *Schenck* did afterwards flowt him.

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Schenke ſurpaſeth Bonne

Bonne ſpoiled and ranſomed

This towne of Bonne being well aſſured for *Trachſes*, *Schenck* reſolued to keepe it, cauſing it to be rampared and fortefied in all places, and then did furniſh it with all things neceſſary for a towne of warre; withall he cauſed a fort to be preſently built right oppoſit on the other ſide of the riuer of Rine. The Duke of Cleues and Iuliers aduiſed *Erneſt* of Bauaria, Biſhoppe of Cologne and Leige, to make a friendly accord with *Schenck*, or at the leaſt (to gette more time to make preparation to beſeege it) that he ſhould make a truce with him. As touching an accord which was propounded by the Duke of Cleaues commiſſioners, *Schenck* would willingly haue F giuen eare vnto it, except ſome poynts concerning the contribution: But it ſeemed vnto Biſhop *Erneſt* that this accord, would bee ſome blemiſh to his reputation, authority and greatneſſe: and that thereby hee ſhould incenſe the King of Spaine: ſo as nothing was done, deſiring rather to call the Duke of Parma to his ſuccors, to

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1588 his great charge, and his ſubiects ruine: who afterwards ſent the Prince of Chymay A to beſeege it as we ſhall here.

Ville voorde ſurprized by the eſtates.

The ſecond of December, ſome of the Eſtates men ſurprized Ville-woord, two Leagues from Bruſſells, the which they ſpoyled but being ſcituated in the champian country and not able to keepe it, they abandoned it; in their retreat, ſome lewd perſons ſet fire of it, ſo as many houſes were burnt. The Queene of England being importuned by the king of Spaine to make a peace (who vnder this pretext ſought to lul her a ſleepe vntill that his ſea army were all redy) was reſolued to giue eare therevnto and to enter into ſome conference with his Deputies, the place of their aſſembly being appointed at Bourbrouc in Flanders: and to that end ſhe ſent in October paſt vnto the generall eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, Doctor *Herbert* one of her Maiſters of requeſt B and *Ioachim Ortels* agent in England for the ſaid eſtates, to vnderſtand their diſpoſition and reſolution toward a peace: giuing them charge to proteſt openly that either they muſt ſend their Deputies with hers to treat of a peace or elſe ſhe would call backe her troups into England.

Deputies from the Queene vnto the ſtates

The Eſtates hauing aſſembled all the Nobility, gentlemen and townes, not-withſtanding all forraigne and home-bred troubles, the mutinies of their ſoldiars: ciuill factions: and the threats of the great Spaniſh Armado, which they were well informed was comming with ſo great a power, waighing all circomſtances with a conſtant and firme reſolution, they abſolutly reiected all treaties of peace with the enemy. And although they had giuen the Queenes Ambaſſadors a very reſolute anſwer, yet this yeare 1588. C they ſent *Sebaſtian Loze* and *Leonard Cazembroot* two councellors of eſtate, vnto her Maieſty to diſſwade her from all treaty of peace, for the which theſe were partly their reaſons. That in reſpect of her Maieſties honor they were to conforme themſelues to any thing that ſhould be pleaſing vnto her: yet they thought it fit to aduertiſe and fore-warne her, that ſhe could not expect any firme and aſſured peace from the king of Spaine being the head of the holy league, which all former acts & contracts doe plainely teſtefie, for there is no diſpoſition in the King of Spaine to yeeld to the free excerciſe of the reformed relligion: wherfore they beſought her Maieſty to ſurceaſe al treaties of peace for a while, ſaying that time would ſoone teach them more experience: deſiring to know what conditions the Duke of Parma propounded, and what her Maieſty D pourpoſed to demaund on their behalfes, and how ſhee ment to proceed touching the ancient alliances betwixt her Kingdome and the Netherlands. Moreouer, it was to be conſidered, that the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, were not to be held ſo poore nor deſperate in regard of their power and willingnes, to raiſe neceſſary contributions for the common defence of the country, ſeeing that in the ſaid Prouinces during the eſpace of two yeares, (whileſt the Earle of Lieceſter was gouernor) they had leuied foure ſcore hundred thouſand gilders, which amounts to eight hundred thouſand pounds ſtarling, onely for the extraordinary charges of caſuall warre by ſea and by land, and that the Prouinces being well and orderly gouerned, were able not only to contribute the like ſummes; but to rayſe more, ſo as they had no reaſon to deſpaire of the ſucceſſe B of their affaires.

Deputies ſent from the eſtates into England.

The contributions of the Prouinces in two yeares.

In regard of the ſcituation and ſtrength of the Prouinces which are vnited: that there is no country in the world ſtronger then it, hauing yet aboue ſixty townes and forts able to reſiſt the enemies forces, where by they were not afraide of the enemies approch, neither yet doubted to make head againſt him, wherefore their countries cauſe was not to be held deſperate. As for the diuiſions and factions that were within the ſaid Prouinces, they would preſently ceaſe, the treaty of peace being broken of, and that her Maieſties reſolution might be openly deliuered; that for the maintayning and preſeruing of thoſe countries in vnity and concord, ſhe would appoint ſome Nobleman of quality (according to the contract which they had made with her) to go- F uerne the ſame; and obſeruing all good order, to yeeld vnto euery one his due, according to his office and authority, which hetherto had not beene done, and was the fountayne of all miſtaking.

The

A The treatie of peace would bring with it a deſpaire both in the maintaining of religi- 1588.
on and pollicie, and an abandoning of the country by the beſt Inhabitants: and among ſuch as are not yet well grounded and ſetled in religion, a kinde of ſuſpition and falling from the Church of God. And they of the Romiſh religion ſhould bee thereby the more imboſdned and dayly fortified.

Many of the reformed religion and good common-weales men, would preſently make difficultie to contribute their money, as thinking ready money their beſt marchandiſe to take with them, when they ſhall bee forced to forſake the country. And they of the Romiſh religion would refuſe and hinder the contribution, there-by to preſſe them to a peace. The chiefe Collonels, Captaines, and Soldiers both by ſea and
B land would bee the worſe paide, and would feare that a peace being concluded, they would be little eſteemed: and for that cauſe they would practiſe priuate mutinies and treaſons, to purchaſe the enemies fauour, and to get what money they could, to the apparent loſſe of many frontier townes and fortes. The prouinces and townes that are moſt diuided and in contention one with the other, and haue alwaies beene ſo, would now by procurement of the enemie (in caſe it happened) ſeeke their priuate reconciliations, not-with-ſtanding all promiſes what-ſo-euer made by them to the contrary. Through the apparent diſorder of men of warre, the ceaſing of contribution, with many other inconueniences which might happen, the common people would bee drawne into diſobedience, and the affaires of the countrie brought in queſtion: the
C which (although ſhe would ceaſe all ſpeech of peace) her Maieſtie ſhould not be able to preuent, neither by her owne nor by the Eſtates authority, ſo as the enemy ſhould haue meanes to preſcribe what conditions he pleaſed. A peace being once concluded, yea with the faireſt and beſt conditions, the one halfe of thoſe that are beſt reſolued in religion, would go out of the country: and the reſt would ſome ſecretly & ſome openly forſake the religion, and ſo ſtay within the country. The King of Spaine being once receiued and acknowledged for Lord, within three moneths he will haue moſt of the officers and magiſtrates of the townes and prouinces, at his deuotion, to doe what-ſo-euer he ſhould command them. The chiefe of the Eſtates of Holland ſhall be the Earle of Egmont, the Earle of Aremberg, as Baron of Naeldwike, the Earle of Ligny, as Ba-
D ron of Waſſenare, and many ſuch Lords of the enemies faction. Theſe and ſuch like wil draw the other noble-men and gentle-men vnto them: and the Magiſtrates of townes will depend vpon them, as it hath beene alwayes ſeene time out of minde.

In the firſt three moneths there will be a hundred occaſions offred to reuenge themſelues for matters paſt, as well vpon the inhabitants of theſe countries, as vpon her Maieſtie and her ſubiects, to the apparent ruine of religion, not only in theſe countries, but alſo in England and in other nations. And the warres continuing, the affaires in France concerning religion may be the better ſecured. The King of Spaine may dye, and after his death a better peace may happily be obtained. In maintaining this iuſt and vpright cauſe, we ought aboue all things to relie vpon the grace and aſſiſtance of God, maintai-
E ning his honor, glory and holy word, and the rather for that we haue ſo often felt his gratious helping hand, during theſe troubleſome warres. Beſides theſe reaſons there was at the ſame time a booke let forth in Print, intituled; *A neceſſary conſideration vpon the treatie of peace*, with this ſentence, as a moſt aſſured meanes to deale with the enemie, to haue him in Ielouſie, *Vna ſalus victis, nullam ſperare ſalutem*. In which booke the Author (beſides many ancient Hiſtories) produceth the examples of our time, of the Proteſtants in Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie and the Lanſgraue of Heſſe: and of the Proteſtants in France, all which were circumuented by their too much truſt and confidence, & on the contrary ſide, they which oppoſed themſelues valiantly in armes
F truſting in the power of God, and the equity of their cauſe, as thoſe of Magdebourg and of Rochell, not onely held and maintained their religion, but alſo were the cauſes of the reſtoring of religion both in Germanie and France.

He ſhewed likewiſe that kings and Princes do not eaſily forget nor forgiue ſuch as haue borne armes againſt them, and theſe Prouinces haue not only borne armes againſt their King, but haue reiected and wholy forſaken him, altered religion, and haue dealt

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1588. with other Princes against him, with many other reasons which hee set downe to dis- A
swade them from all treaties, the which for breuities sake I ommit, councelling the Netherlanders in his conclusion, to be true and vnited among themselues, and not to trust any man, but to pray constantly vnto God, and so to hope for a good issue.

A certaine coyne made by the Estates.

About the same time the Estate minted a certaine coyne for a perpetuall memorie, vpon the which there was a Lion grauen tied to a piller, (whereon stood the image of the Duke of Alua) with a coller termed the inquisition, the which a Mouse gnawed in peeces, with this inscription *Rosis Leonem loris mus liberat*, that is, the Mouse sets the Lion at liberty: On the other side stood the Pope and the King of Spaine, with signes of peace, flattering him to stand still vntill he were tied againe, but the Lion refuseth it, with this *Motto. Liber, vinciri Leo pernegat*, which is, the Lion wilbe no more bound, B
the armes of the Netherlands being most Lions of diuers collours.

Commissioners sent out of England to treat with the Duke of Parma.

These declarations afore sayd notwithstanding, the Queene of England prest the Estates very earnestly by Sir *Henry Killegry*, to haue their resolute answere, who desired them on the second of March, to send their deputies to Ostend to meet with her Maiesties Ambassadors, who were already gone thether, to treat with the Duke of Parma, he shewed them likewise that her Maiesty tooke their long delaies in euil part, for that she could not with her honour protract it any longer, nor excuse her selfe any more vnto the Duke of Parma, as if shee had mocked him. Shee gaue her Ambassadors expresse commandement, to treat of a good peace, for the sending away of forraine souldiars; the permission of Religion, and the continuance of the preuiledges and liber- C
ties of the countrie; And this was her resolution: and although the Estates sent not their deputies thether, yet would shee discharge her conscience and honour therein, both before GOD and the world. The Lord Willoughbie also gaue them to vnderstand on the fifteenth of March, that if the Estates would liue in vnitie among themselues, and leaue to molest them of Medenblick and others well affected to her Maiestie (who did but make shewe of their thankeful mindes) if the King of Spaine would not yeeld to a good and an assured peace, as well for those countries and the inhabitants thereof, as for her selfe, then would shee continue her aide and fauor towards them, as she had done from the beginning.

The reasons that mooued the Queene of England to treat.

Thus was the Queene of England resolued to treat of a peace, mooued thereunto by D
certaine perswasiue reasons, and it may be doubting of the countries abilitie, together with the dislike shee had of the diuision that was betwixt the Estates and their soldiars, who peraduenture made their case more desperate then it was: finding also that the charge would grow very great to continue her aide, hauing beene in hope at the first, by a good defensiue warre, to make a speedie end of their troubles. On the other side, the peace which shee should make would bee profitable for the trade of marchandise and shipping in her countries. But the chiefest reason that mooued her thereunto, was the earnest motion made vnto her by the Duke of Parma, with whome she had proceeded so farre, as she could not with her honour refuse to giue him audi- E
ence. The Duke for his part (like a good practitioner in the art of dissimulation) sought to lull the Queene a sleepe, and to make her secure and careless to prouide her forces to resist the King of Spaines great armie: or els through the feare thereof, to force her and her subiects to drawe the Netherlands to a peace against their wills, hauing foure principall sea townes in his hands, with the assistance of the Hauens vpon the coast of England, which hee ment to vse for the receete and harbour of that great fleet, for the conquest of the vnited Prouinces: but to treate of a particular peace with England alone, it was no part of the Duke of Parmaes meaning; as holding the conquest of England easie, light and assured, the which was contrarie to the Ambassadors deseigne, who sought rather to make a priuate peace for England. F

The English sought to sound the Duke of Parmas meaning & so by a parle of peace, to alter their deseigne for the sending of this great Armado, or at least to stay the proceeding therin for that time, for that the hearing therof could not be preiudicial vnto them, thinking *Champigny* ment sincerely in that he spake, touching a particular peace being

A beeing affected there-vnto, as it seemed afterwards, by the quarrell which grew betweene him the Duke of Parma, and *Richardot* concerning the same. 1588.

But before wee relate what past in this treatie, and of the Spanish armie, wee will first discourse of what hapned in the meane time in the Netherlands. Vppon the 26. of February a Spanish garrison lying in Deuenter and the townes there-abouts (it beeing a violent hard frost) thought with plankes layed vpon the Ice, and with ladders to surprize the Towne of Hattem in Gelderland; comming thether in the night, and hauing planted their ladders against the walles, some of them gotte vp, crying victory, the rest followed after, with such a presse, as the Ice in the ditches brake, and many of them were drowned. Hattem attempted by the Spaniards with great losse.

B *Verdugo* Gouernor of Freezland for the King of Spaine, about the same time, caused seauen shippes of warre and a Pinnase to bee made ready at Delfziell neere vnto Groning, to keepe the Riuer of Ems in subiection, and to take all shippes that should passe to Embden; but especially to haue an assured Port for the Spanish fleete if need were, but they stayed not long there, after that the Spanish armie was past. Verdugo armes ships of war at Delfzicl.

Although the Earle of Leicester had resigned his gouernment to the Vnited Prouinces, yet there remained many of his fauorites in the country, who hoped to be aduanced by his meanes, and therefore they did what they could to haue him returne thether againe, and in the meane time to keepe his resignation from the Estates knowledge, whereby, and by other practises they sette great diuision in the townes, stirring
C vp the people to mutinies, and most part of the soldiars that lay in garrisons: As at Geertruydenberg, Medenblicke, Naerden, Worcum, Heusden, Brakell & other places; but Heusden was first pacified, by three moneths pay giuen vnto the soldiars, and Brakell being besieged by the Earle of Hohenloo, was forced to yeeld.

In Medenblicke there lay Collonell *Dericke Sonoy*, who had beene long gouernor of North-Holland, and had carryed him-selfe faithfully and valiantly in all seruices for those countries. Hee hauing had a new commission for his gouernment from the Earle of Leicester, the which was held to bee an iniury done vnto Prince *Maurice* of Nassau, gouernor of South and North Holland (to whome it belonged to giue him that commission, as to his Lieutenant) being after the losse of Deuenter and Zutphen, re-
D quired to take a new oth to Prince *Maurice*, as his Gouernor, hee refused to doe it in regard of his new commission, vnlesse hee might bee first discharged of his oth made vnto the Earle of Leicester, which matter was for that time pacified. After that Prince *Maurice* sent Captaine *Aert van Duvenuoords* company to Medenblicke; but they misstrusting some-thing would not receiue them: Where-vpon Prince *Maurice* and the Earle of Hohenloo, (hauing no other company but their household seruants) went thether, but they were likewise shutte out of the gates, this notwithstanding was also pacified, for that *Sonoy* said hee was sorry for it, and that hee had no cause of any misstrust, but much controuersie growing there-vppon till Ianuary 1588. *Sonoy* stil made vse of his commission, which he had receiued from the Earle of Leicester, ouer North-
E Holland: saying, that as he had it in times past from the late Prince of Orange, so he would hold it stil, & that although Prince *Maurice* was called Gouernor, yet had he as much authority in those places, as *Maurice* him-selfe, as it might appeare by his commission. The Estates of Holland holding this to bee a great blemish to their authorities, commanded him to keepe but a 150. soldiars within Medenblicke, and to send the rest to be imployed for the seruice of the country, where they should appoint; but he hauing only 5. or 600. men, made answer, that he could not spare thē, being to vse them for the defence of him-selfe and his gouernment: where-vpon the Estates (persisting in their resolution) produced two letters from the Earle of Leicester, whereby he was commanded to yeeld vp his authority to the Estates, in regard that by the contract hee
F could not dispose of that gouernment, where-vpon the soldiars began to mutine, saying, that they would not leaue the towne before they had their ful accoumpt & reckoning for 72. moneths, which were due vnto them: and disarming the Burgers, they carryed all their armes into *Sonoys* house, & compelled them to giue them their pay weekly. This caused mutines in other townes, being of the same regiment to whome they A mutiny at Medenblicke.

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1588 writ, lying in Gelderland, Friſeland & Oueryſſelle. *Sonoy* being incorraged, by the Engliſh and their faction, told the ſouldiars, that they had taken their othes to the Queene of England, wherevpon the Eſtates ſent vnto them the Lord of Famars, the Lord of Sweuenſel, *Peter Kies* Bourguemaſter of Harlem, and Maiſter *Adrian Anthonis* Bourguemaſter of Alckmar, who offred them their account and reckoning, and better pay then they had formerly had, but they would not heare any man that was ſent vnto them, but fetcht their pay from the villages round about, whom they vſed like enemies: ſo as in the end the matter grew to partakings, for that the generall Eſtates would not allow any ſuch authority to bee giuen to priuat gouernors, as by their reſolution made 1577. plainely appeered, when as they made the Prince of Orange their gouernor, which Collonel *Sonoy* would not heare of, pretending his Commiſſion to bee made otherwiſe. The ſoldiars refuſed all obedience, ſtanding vpon their oth made to the Queene of England, or to the Earle of Leiceſter in her name (wherein notwithſtanding the generall Eſtates were named) ſaying that they would haue their full pay of all that remained due vnto them, whereof notwithſtanding they had receiued very nere two third parts. At the laſt, the Eſtates of Holland reſolued to force them to ſome conformity, giuing the charge thereof vnto Prince *Maurice*, who therevpon brought ſome troupes before the towne, with ſome armed Burgers of the townes there aboutes, and ſome ſhippes of warre, vnder the command of the Marſhall *Villiers*, who had not beene long before that time deliuered out of priſon. He kept them ſtraightly in, which made the ſoldiars beginne to bethinke themſelues. In the meane-time vpon the ſecond of March Sir *Henry Killegray* put vp a certaine declaration vnto the generall Eſtates, in fauor of them of Medenblicke, and vpon the fifteenth of March the Lord Willoughby confirmed the ſame, complayning of their rigorous proceeding againſt the ſayd ſoldiars, and others well affected to her Maieſtie, the which was nothing elſe, but a ſigne of thankefullneſſe for many fauors receiued at her hands: and therefore he ſaid her Maieſty could not refuſe to countenance them, and had commanded him to let them vnderſtand, that ſhee was reſolued, (if they would not ceaſe their quarrell with them of Medenblick) to withdrawe all her forces and aide into England, and let them defend themſelues, as well as they could, without troubling himſelfe any more with their affaires. Theſe ſpeeches beeing deliuered with ſome vehemency, made the Eſtates to bethinke themſelues. But when as the generall Eſtates and Prince *Maurice* had written letters dated the firſt of March, ſhewing the ground of that diuiſion; The Queene vpon the 27. of March wrot her letters to the Lord Willoughby, commanding him to reconcile Prince *Maurice* and *Sonoy*, for that ſhe could not expect any good, by the accepting of ſuch offers from diuers townes, who ſought to yeeld themſelues into her hands, whereby rumors might be ſpred abroad, that ſhee fought cunningly and vnder-hand to get townes into her powre, and ſo to deliuer them ouer vnto the enemie, and thereby to ſeeke to make her owne peace, or elſe to force the Eſtates to ſuch an agreement, as ſhee pleaſed; and therefore ſhee willed the Lord Willoughby to perſwade all ſuch townes to bee obedient vnto the generall Eſtates, and that he ſhould not meddle with any of them, neither yet countenance them. Wherevpon the garriſon of Medenblike beganne to faint, ſeeing the Earle of Leiceſters gouernment to bee reſigned into the Eſtates hands, for the which cauſe they had begunne their mutiny, yet the ſiege continued vnto Aprill in the yeare of Lord 1588. and ſo by the meanes of the Engliſh all was pacefied, the ſouldiars of the garriſon going out of the towne with paſports, and Prince *Maurice* his ſouldiars entring into their places. Collonel *Sonoy* went to Alckmar to make his excuſe. To whom afterwardes they of Medenblike and others did great harme, ſpoyling his houſe and goods: and afterwards in the yeare 1590. he went into England to make his complaint vnto the Queene, as you ſhall here after heare.

A B C D E

Medenblicke beſieged by the Eſtates.

The Queene refuſeth to ſpeake any more for them of Medenblicke.

In Weſtfriſeland there aroſe great troubles, for that diuers ſought to perſwade the Queene to take the ſoueraignty vpon her, or elſe to haue an abſolute protection vnder the Earle of Leiceſter, with ful authority: but the general Eſtates knowing the Queenes Maieſties minde, and ſeeing the ſiniſter practiſes of the Earle of Leiceſter they ſought to bring them to obedience by compulſion, and for that cauſe they tooke the Preſident

F

Doctor

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A Doctor *Ielger Ayſma*, a worthy and a zealous (but yet a very violent) man, and committed him with others to priſon, thereby to daunt the reſt of that faction, the which in the yeare 1589. was ſome-what pacified. 1588.

About this time in Marche, the garriſon of *Geertruydenberg* began to mutine, vnder pretence of ſeruice for the Queene of England, and would neither accept of the Eſtates, Prince *Maurice*, nor of any other gouernor, neither would they treate with any man but with the Lord Willoughby, generall of the Engliſh forces, tearing their Cornets, Enſignes and Banderolles in peeces, carrying themſelues in all ſorts like traitors, and ſworne enemies of the country, taking and ranſacking the boates and ſhips which paſt along betwixt Holland and Zeeland, but at the laſt by the mediation of the B Lord Willoughby they had two hundred ſixteene thouſand Gilders payed them in ready money, vpon certaine conditions, the which were not well obſerued by them, as here-after you ſhall heare, and ſo the mutinie for that time ceaſed. A mutinie in Geertruyden berg.

Collonell *Schenck*, Marſhall to the Prince Elector *Truchſes*, hauing ſurprized Bonne (as you haue heard) *Ernest* Archbiſhop and Prince of Cologne and Liege, hauing reiected all treaties of accord which the Duke of Cleues did labour, he ſent to the Duke of Parma for ſuccors to beſiege it, who (hauing charge to attend the great armie that was comming out of Spaine, againſt England) ſent the Prince of Chymay (the onely ſonne of the Duke of Arſchot,) with diuerſe troupes both of horſe and foote. And for that moſt of the Commanders lay then in Flanders, with the Duke of Parma, be- C ing ready to paſſe ouer into England, (as they thought) *Verdugo* Gouernor of Frizeland, with *Taxis* his Lieutenant were appointed to ayde them. *Don Manriques de Lara* was alſo ſent thether, to giue them inſtructions, as being well acquainted with the ſcituation of the country, but hee ſtayed not long there, but returned into Flanders, to doe ſome exployte againſt the Engliſh. *Schencke* ſeeing this ſtorme approache, and that the Princes of Germany had refuſed to meddle in theſe Princes quarrell, the one hauing ſued for ſuccours of the Proteſtants, the other of the Romiſh Catholicks and of the Spaniards; hee went as Marſhall to *Truchſes*, to an Imperiall dyet held in Germany. Where hee declared that by commandement of Prince *Truchſes*, he had ſeized vpon the Towne of Bonne, hauing wreſted it out of the Spaniards hands, for D that it is an Imperiall towne the which the King of Spaine did ſeeke to incorporate to himſelfe, as if it had beene his owne inheritance. That hee could hardly defend it againſt ſo mighty an enemie: offring to deliuer it vp to the Empire, who might eaſily defend and maintaine it, ſeeing that hee had taken it with ſo little labour, admoniſhing the Princes and Eſtates of the Empire, that it was high time to preuent the Spaniard, leaſt hee crept farther into their limits, for whatſoeuer he got was hardly got from him againe, and that which they might now preuent with ſmall charge, ſhould not bee neglected, ſeeing it would not bee recouered but with great difficultie. Wherefore the Germaines ſhould now make ſhew of their wiſdomes and diſcretions, before that the Spaniard by his dilligence (as hee had loſt it by negligence) E ſhould recouer it: who not ſatisfied with that, (ſeeing himſelfe planted there) would not faile to extend himſelfe into their territories. Shewing moreouer that if the Prince of Orange had with ſmall meanes made warre, and with-ſtood the attempts of ſo mighty a King: with greater reaſon they ſhould ſtriue to reſiſt him, and to preuent his haughtie deſſeignes: Preuenting not onely the recouerie of the Netherlands, which hee had loſt by his owne fault, but alſo to conquer Germanie, and all the kingdomes of Chriſtendome, to make him-ſelfe a ſole and abſolute Monarke. The Marſhall *Schenck* ſought by theſe ſpeeches, and other reaſons which hee propounded, to ſtirre vp the drouzie ſpirits of the Germaines. Where-vnto anſwere was made him; That experience had made them ſufficiently wiſe, in the aſſiſtance F which they had giuen vnto France and the Netherlands: and that the preſent matters were ſo farre aduanced, by the forces and ſuccours which the Biſhop of Cologne had procured from the Spaniards: whome hee had cauſed to enter into the limits of the Empire, as there would bee little good gotten, although they ſhould free the towne of Bonne. Bonne beſieged by the Prince of Chymay. Schinck goes to an imperial dyet. An anſwer made to Schenck at the Imperiall dyet.

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1588. That they had ſufficiently knowne, what aduancement the aſſiſtance of the French King A
brought vnto the affaiers of the Duke of Aniou his brother: and of the Queene mother
„ to *Don Anthony* King of Portugall againſt the King of Spaine, at the conqueſt of the I-
„ land of Aſores: and that the Queene of England had ſuccored the ſaid *Don Anthony*
„ with men and ſhippes, all without any profit, wherefore it ſeemed expedient to the
„ Princes of Germany, not to oppoſe themſelues againſt ſo mighty a King who is alſo
„ one of the Empire, being more fit to entertaine his loue and friendſhip. Being very
„ well knowne that ſome Princes of Germany had beene forward inough to ſuccor the
„ Prince of Orange againſt the ſaid King; whome they would no more incenſe, nor bandy
„ them-ſelues againſt him, ſeeing that he pretended not to wrong them, but onely to ſuc-
„ cor a Prince and Archbiſhoppe elector, And the rather for that the French King ſought B
„ his frendſhip and the Queene of England had ſent her Ambaſſadors to Bourbourgh in
„ Flanders to treat a peace with him, and therefore it was not fit for the Germaines for
„ *Truchſes* pleaſure, to oppoſe them-ſelues againſt him, knowing how their army had
„ ſped which they had ſent vnto the King of Nauarre.

Whileſt that *Schenck* was at this diet in Germany, the Prince of Chymay was at the ſeege of Bonne where in the beginning *Iohn Baptiſta Taxis*, an old ſoldiar was ſhot, whereof he died, and was honorably interred at Cologne: they within the towne de-
Bonne yeelded vp againe. fended themſelues valiantly, there commanders being *Otto* Baron of Potlits, *Chriſtopher Wolfe* and others; at the laſt hauing beene halfe a yeare beſeeged, and finding that there was no meanes to bee releeued, and that more forces came againſt them vnder C
the command of the Earle of Manſfeldt, being ſent out of Flanders as ſoone as euer the Spaniſh fleet was paſt, vpon the twenty nine of September they yeelded vp the towne, the garriſon departing with their armes, bagge and bagage. The beginning of this yeare (after the Earle of Leiceſters retreat) was full of troubles, as well in Zeeland, as in Holland and Vtrecht: for as the ſaid Earle (vpon his laſt returne) into England had beene at Campuere, whereas he had fortefied the captaines of his party againſt the Eſtates, as he had don in like manner at Arnemeuyen, ſo as both theſe townes
Sir William Ruſſel entertaines them of Campuere in the Queenes obedience. oppoſed them-ſelues againſt the Prince and the councell of eſtate, refuſing to acknowledge any other ſuperiors then the Queene of England and the Earle of Leiceſter as her Lieutenant, wherein Sir *William Ruſſell* Lord gouernor of Fluſſhing and of Rame- D
kins for the Queene, after the Earles departure entertayned them daily, as well by his owne words, as by letters, hauing commiſſion from her Maieſty to keepe the Captaines and ſoldiars of thoſe two townes of Campuere and Arnemuyden at her deuotion, and the Bourgers them-ſelues deſiring to be vnder her Maieſties command as Fluſhing was, to the end that they might enioy the ſame priueledges in England that the Fluſhingers did. But ſuch as vnder-ſtood not the reaſons of this negotiation did impute it to ſome diſlike which Sir *William Ruſſel* (now Lord *Ruſſell*) had conceiued againſt the eſtates, for that preſently after the death of Sir *Philip Sydney* (before he was choſen gouernor) they had giuen away the Regiment of Zeeland to the Earle of Solms the which (ſaid they) he expected, for that Sir *Philip* his predeceſſeor, had beene collonel thereof: where- E
vpon they coniectured that hee grew in ielouſie of the eſtates, ſeeking to make himſelfe maiſter of the Iland of Walchren, the which was but a coniecture and is diſauowed by him-ſelfe, proteſting that hee affected the Eſtates, and the good of the generall cauſe and that hee honored Prince *Maurice*, and the houſe of Naſſau as much as any man.

And whereas at that time there was ſome doubt that the Duke of Parma would come into the Iland of Walchren with a great number of ſmal boats and Pinaces, which he cauſed to bee built in Flanders; the Eſtates thought it fit to ſend a cornet of horſemen into the Iland. Wherevpon the ſaid Sir *William Ruſſel* required the Eſtates of Zeeland, and after that the councell of eſtate being at the Hage that his compaine of F
horſe which hee had in garriſon at Berghen vp Zoom, might be ſent thether, promiſing to keepe it in good diſciplyne: But in the meane time, and whileſt that hee expected an anſwer, the marſhall of Villiers company was ſent thether. The which did ſo diſcontent Sir *William Ruſſel*, as hee ſent to Scotland and ouer all the Iland,

wiſhing

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A putting it to their owne choyce whether they would haue his companie or that of the Marshall of Villiers, who was newly come out of prison from the enemie, & might be corrupted, so as they freely make choyce of his company, where-vppon hee writte letters vnto the councell of Estate, by the which hee complained much of the wrong was done him, in preferring an other company before his: which gaue him iust occasion of distrust, and to beleeue confidently that they practised some-thing against him: For which consideration hee would not suffer that any garrison should enter into Walchren so neere the places of his gouernment: saying that they had no reason to wonder, if in so turbulent a time hee stood vppon his gard, seeing that both his gouernment, his honour and his life depended thereon. 1588. Sr. Willia Rassel writes to the Councell of Estate.

B To the which letters the councell of Estate made answer that they were sorry that the sending of the Marshall of Villiers company had giuen him any cause of distrust: seeing that according to the Estate of the country and the concurrence of time, nothing could happen more preiudiciall vnto them, then mutuall iealosies, for the which they thought they had giuen him no subiect: For as for the said troope of horse, it had beene sent by Prince *Maurice* and not by them, hauing proceeded therein according to the order of his pattent, and the authority which hee hath, as Gouernor of Holland and Zealand, onely for the conducting of the Peasants and them of the champian country, to the gard of the Sea-coast, fearing least the enemie should attempt something: For the which seruice threescore horses were sufficient, which small number could not attempt any thing against the places of his Gouernment. Moreouer they held those horsemen to bee of no seruice there, doing more harme then good: wherefore they were resolued (at prince *Maurice* returne) to speake vnto him to call them backe: Intreating him therefore not to importune them any further to haue his company there. They said also that the protestation hee made by his letters, not to indure any soldiers in Walchren, nor about Flushing and Ramekens, had much troubled them. The Councell of Estates answer.

Hauing also forbidden at Sooetelandt, not to receiue any of the Estates soldiers: Wherein they would aduertise him, that he opposed himselfe directly to the Contract which they had made with his mistresse the Queene of England, extending his authority and command ouer the Champian country of Walchren, the which belongs onely to the Gouernor generall, or to the particular of the Countrie: Wherefore they intreated him in any case to forbeare to attempt any thing to the preiudice of the said contract, for the inconueniences that might happen vnto him: Intreating him also to lay aside all iealousies, and bad impressions which hee might haue conceiued of them, the which they neuer had of him, but haue sought to entertaine all good amity and correspondencie with him, for the seruice of the Queene his mistresse and the vnited Prouinces: assuring him they would neuer indure any thing that should tend to the dis-seruice of her Maiestie, and impayring of his charge and authority. This answer was dated the second of February.

E This troope of *Villiers* horse beeing arriued in Walchren, the Estates of Zealand had appointed that thirtie of them should bee lodged in Middelbourg, eighteene at Campuere and twelue at Arnemuyden. The Magistrates of Campuere and Arnemuyden refused to receiue them, protesting not to receiue any soldiers, but such as should be sent by order from the Earle of Leicester, their Gouernor generall. But not content here-with, they made a contract with the Captaines of the garrisons, the which they confirmed by oth, signed and sent into England to the Earle of Leicester who was very well pleased with this message. The Estates of Zealand seeing the vnwillingnes of these two townes, sent the 18. horse which should haue lien at Campuere, to a village called Haek & the 12. of Arnemuyden to Middelbourg, vntill they were imploied elsewhere. Here-vpon as well the General as the particular Estates of the vnited Prouinces, seeing these factions, & the boldnes of the English & their Partisans to increase daily: and that all garrisons carried themselues as if they were no more subiect to the Estates; nor to the preseruation of the countrey: hauing considered all things, & meaning to settle a good order (although they were very much troubled with the E. of Medenblick) they sent They of Campuere & Arnemuyden refuse to obey the Estates.

in

1588. in March Prince *Maurice* into Zeeland, onlie with his houſhold traine. Being but newly arriued and in conference with the Eſtates of Zeeland; Behold there preſently arriues the Lord *Charles Howard*, high Admirall of England, with nine or ten ſhippes of warre, bringing with him two hundred and twenty thouſand florines to pay the Engliſh troupes. This ſodaine arriuall of ſo many ſhippes of warre in ſuch a iealous ſeaſon, made them preſently to murmur, that hee might make himſelfe maiſter of the Iſland of Walchren, and carry Prince *Maurice* into England. Wherevpon the Prince retired ſodenly from Middelbourg, and went to the ſhips of warre which the Eſtates doe commonly entertaine in the riuer of Antwerp, lying before the fort of Lillo, whether hee might ſafely retire himſelfe when he pleaſed. A

Prince Maurice retiers himſelfe not without cauſe.

The Lord Admiral (hearing that the Prince was departed) ſent Sir *Edward Hobby* and *Peter van Heyle* with charge from her Maieſty, to treat with him, to remooue all iealouſies, and if it were poſſible to raiſe the ſiege of Medenblike. Whereof the Prince excuſed himſelfe honeſtly, referring that buſineſſe to the generall Eſtates, and to them of Holland. They of Campuere and Arnemuyden were exceeding glad of the Lord Admiralls comming, hoping that he would make him-ſelfe maiſter of Walchren and raiſe the ſiege of Medenblike. But being come to no other end but to conuoy the money ſafely, hauing a faire gale, he returned fiue daies after. Then came Prince *Maurice* preſently backe to Middelbourg; From whence hee did write vnto Sir *William Ruſſel* by *Iames Valcke* a Councellor of Eſtate, to conſider of the means how to remooue all theſe diſtruſts, to the ſeruice of God and of the Queenes Maieſtie, the proſperitie of the vnited Prouinces, and the confuſion of their enemies, who ſought their aduantage in ſuch diſorder. B C

That he had not done any thing but by expreſſe warrant.

The ſignior of Valcke, (who was a man of iudgement) being entred into conference with Sir *William Ruſſel*, he ſought to purge himſelfe of all that had beene done, ſaying: that for his part hee was ready to doe all good offices. Wherevpon Valcke went to Campvere (whereas *Mandemaker* the treaſorer generall of Zeeland, with ſome others, were deteined priſoners) promiſing them all good and fauor, if they would acknowledge and obey Prince *Maurice* as their chiefe and Gouernor, but the Captaines would not giue eare to any thing vntill they were firſt aſſured of their pay, and to continue ſtill in their garriſon, with ſome other conditions. Sir *William Ruſſel* excuſed himſelfe alſo, that he might not meddle with the money vnleſſe he had other order out of England. And in this Eſtate the affaires ſtood, vntill that the common feare of apparent danger of the Spaniſh fleet, made them to take an other reſolution. D

The Queenes letters to the Eſtates.

In the meane-time the Queene by the inſtigation of ſome that were about her Maieſty, who were enemies to the Eſtates, did write vnto the generall Eſtates, charging them that they intreated them of Vtrecht ill, and had cruelly proceeded againſt them of Leyden, growing alſo verie bitter againſt them of Medenblike, whome they held beſieged, wondring why they ſhould be ſo rigorous againſt all thoſe that ſhewed any loue and affection to her Maieſty, which proceeded onelie from a true feaſing of the benifits which they had receiued from her, with many other like reaſons, ſet downe in the ſayd letter. Wherevnto the Eſtates anſwered. That they had neuer vſed any other then ciuill and honeſt admonitions to them of Vtrecht, for that they had chaſed away their beſt Burgers, and committed the gouernment of the towne to ſtrangers, who had nothing to looſe in the whole countrie. As for the matter of Leyden, that they had proceeded iudicially, as vpon a notorious crime. And for Medenblike, the mallice of them of the garriſon was the cauſe thereof, and therefore they deſerued to bee puniſhed. E

The Eſtates anſwer to the Queene.

Prince Maurice writs to the Queene.

Prince *Maurice* did alſo write vnto the Queene, complayning much that the townes of his inheritance (out of the which both hee, his Brethren and Siſters and all thoſe of the houſe of Naſſau, had their maintenance) as Campuere and Geertruydenberg, (the which alone was worth fortie thouſand gilders a yeare rent) were fallen into mutiny, vnder collour of her Maieſties ſeruice, and in great danger to bee abſolutly loſt. Complayning alſo that Sir *William Ruſſel* had charged him, to haue ment to attempt againſt the towne of Fluſſing, and to wreſt it out of his hands, wherewith he held himſelfe to be much wronged, deſiring that it might bee honorably repaired, and that ſpeedily, F

conſidering

A considering the exigence of the cause. 1588.

The Queene considering the danger which consisted in these discontents, seeing the Spanish armie at Sea approaching, and ready to fall vppon the one or the other: the which they could not resist, nor preserue the Estate of the country, but by good vnion and mutuall correspondencie: (diuision beeing like to cause the ruine of both) shee sent a very kinde answer by her letters to Prince *Maurice*, giuing him all contentment, disauowing all mutinies, as well of the English, as of other soldiers that sought to shrowd them-selues vnder the cloake of her seruice: and to that end she did also write expresly vnto the Lord Willoughby, to Sir *Henry Killegrey*, to Sir *William Russell*, and others, as also to the generall Estates. By reason whereof the

B garrisons of Campuere and Arnmuyden were pacified, with a certaine summe of money (hauing kept the Tresorer *Mandemaker* a long time prisoner, & committed many Insolencies) and after-wards cast: and the resignation of the Earle of Leicesters gouernment being published: all factions and partialities began to cease, and the generall Estates to recouer their first authority. partialities beginto ceale.

The Captaines of these mutinies in Campuere and Arnemuyden, beeing cashierd and discharged from their garrisons by the Estates, thought them-selues to be very hardly dealt withall, after their long seruice, for the which hauing long solicited the Estates who little regarded them; In the end in the yeare 1590. they sent a pe-

C tition vnto the Queene of England, shewing the many yeares they had spent in the Estates seruice, and how faithfull they had continued; till that vpon the seauenth of September, 1587. when as the Earle of Leicester went from thence into England, they were commanded (without an expresse commission from her maiestie or himselfe) not to depart out of their garrisons with their soldiers, according to their oth of fidelity taken in that case to her Maiestie, the Earle of Leicester, and the generall Estates, with a promise that if the Estates should refuse to pay them, that shewing their due obedience to him, hee would in the Queenes behalfe, giue them their intertainment: Where-vppon for the better defending of their towne, by the aduice of Sir *William Russell* they had increased their companies twenty fiue and thirty men a peece, for the which they receiued money of Sir *William Russell* to bestow vpon their soldiars, all for her Maiesties seruice, who by her letters of the twenty foure of February, 1588. charged them to credit and to follow the aduice of the said Sir *William Russell*, who had also both by word of mouth and by letters (which they shewed) desired them to continue constant in their resolution, as they had done, and were yet ready to liue and dye in her Maiesties seruice. After which it pleased her Maiestie by the Lord Willoughby and Sir *Henry Killegrey* to discharge them of their oth, with command to bee obedient vnto the Estates of the vnited Prouinces: So as they entred into treaty with Prince *Maurice* and the Estates, which contract was not held with the Captaines, her said supplyants, but to the contrary they were discharged from their garrisons, and their companies, entertainments, and after-reckonings

E taken from them, and all for the faithfull seruice they had done vnto her Maiestie: and so were fallen into disgrace with Prince *Maurice* and the Estates, forgetting all their former seruices, whereby they had as then lost all their credits, honors, and reputations, in regard whereof they desired her Maiesties fauor and aid, and to bee accepted into her seruice. This petition was signed by Captaine *Ioos vanden Ende*, *Cornellis Palant* and *Peter de Costere*: the like was made by the other Captaines as *Ambrosio le Duck*, *Adrian Ost* & others, all desiring to serue vnder the English Collonels, but they obtained small recompence from the Queene, who thought it not to stand with her honor, to intertaine such Captaines against the liking of the Estates, for that her owne English soldiers were (by vertue of the contract) bound by oth vnto the Estates, yet she

F gaue her Agent commission, to intreat the Estates for them and to deale in their behalfes. But they will haue their authorities knowne and better obserued, by punishing of such offenders, for example to others. A petition by the Captaines discharged, to the Queene for recompence.

The Estates of the vnited Prouinces beginning now againe to florish in their authorities & thereby to resume their superior command, as in former times: the Earle of

Leicester

1588 Opinions on both ſides touching the gouernment of the Nether lands.

Leiceiſter hauing reſigned his place of Gouernor: And for that there was ſcarce any in England fit for ſuch a gouernment, in whome did concurre the knowledge to gouerne in ciuill cauſes & to make war againſt ſo mighty an enemie: wherefore many in England were of aduice, to ſuffer the Netherlands to gouerne, and to follow the wars them-ſelues; and the Queene onely to ayd them with money, or elſe to pay her owne ſoldiers, whereby they might maintaine their owne Prouinces in vnitie: But others (eſpecially ſuch as had intertainment in the Netherlands, vnder the Earle of Leiceſter) ſought to perſwade the Queene, that the vnited Prouinces by meanes of the confuſed gouernment among them, decayed dayly more and more, and went to ruine, ſo as all her money would be loſt, and ſhe her ſelfe left in great hatred with the King of Spaine, vnleſſe ſhe would take the ſoueraignty, or abſolute protection vpon her, by her Lieutenant with ful authority; but it was hard to finde a Gouernor among them with al qualities fit for ſuch a charge (eſpecially for that ſoone after in Septem. the Earle of Leiceſter dyed, of whome there was great hope, that he ſhould haue bene ſent againe for Gouernor, with limited authority) ſome others likewiſe at the ſame time were named, as the Lord Willoughby (hauing then had ſome experience of thoſe countries) the Lord Gray of Wilton, and Sir *Iohn Norrice*, but they were not held capable for ſo great an office of State: Yet the Earle of Leiceſters fauorites perſwaded them-ſelues that all things would bee well gouerned by ſome Engliſh Gouernor, and the Councell of Eſtate, hauing two Engliſh Councellors in it, & certaine Engliſhmen alſo in the treſory, all vnder the Queenes authority, according to the contract made in the yeare 1588. And ſo they were of opinion that the countries might be well gouerned, and incorporated vnder her, in ſome ſort acknowledging the generall Eſtates, and the Prouinciall Gouernors, eſpecially for the leuying of the contributions.

But the generall Eſtates duly weighing all things (although at that inſtant they were ingaged in great difficulties) held that kinde of gouernment to be very vncertaine, knowing the Engliſh to be vnacquainted with the affaires of that State: The Queene being a woman, and then of good yeares, that her maieſtie was not ambitious, but onely ſought to gouerne well and wiſely, and to ſecure her ſelfe and her owne Eſtate: And if that they ſhould rely onely vpon the aſſiſtance of her Maieſtie & her followers who had nothing to looſe within their countries, they feared that vppon ſome ſodaine diſaſter, they might be ſcorned & abandoned, as they were continually threatned, when as any thing fell out otherwiſe then was expected, or elſe they ſhould be perſwaded to hearken to a peace, contrary to their mindes, or haue dayly cauſes of diſtruſts giuen, the Engliſhmen ſeeking all the preferment, & the Eſtates being loath to be, *ſerui ſeruorum*, where-vpon they reſolued to continue in their authorities, and to maintaine the ſame as well as they might.

But newes came dayly of the comming of the Spaniſh fleete, which made both parties to incline to a good vnion in theſe dangerous times: they were incited there-vnto by certaine counters that were made: On the one ſide whereof there was grauen two Oxen plowing, parted with the armes of England & of the Netherlands, with this inſcription; *Trahite æquo iugo*: That is, draw euenly: On the other ſide were two earthen pots driuen vppon the waues of the Sea, with this inſcription: *Frangimur ſi collidimur*: If we ſtrike one againſt another we breake.

Thus the diſorders and diuiſions began ſome-what to decreaſe, the Lord Willoughby (being a good & well minded Noble-man) had at that time appeaſed the controuerſie in Naerden, and labored to do the like in Vtrecht, which the Eſtates ſeemed deſirous to requite, preparing their ſhippes of warre for the common ſeruice of her Maieſtie and the country, againſt the comming of the Spaniſh fleete; and more-ouer (the which was more then the Queene her ſelfe deſired) they agreed to take vp a thouſand ſaylers in the Netherlands for her Maieſties ſeruice.

We haue before made mention, how that the Queene of England, had very earneſtly preſt the vnited Prouinces not onely by the Earle of Leiceſter, but alſo by her Ambaſſadors, to ioyne with her in the treatie of a peace, and what reaſons had moued her (notwithſtanding their reſolute deniall) to proceed therein, and to attempt it whilſt

A whileſt that the comming of this great armie of Spaine was bruted ouer all Europe. 1588.
To which end ſhee ſent her Commiſſioners on the foure and twenty of February 1588. to Oſtend, which was then kept by an Engliſh garriſon, vnder the gouernment of ſir *Iohn Conway*. The Commiſſioners names were, *Henry* Earle of Darby, the Baron of Cobham, Lord warden of the cinq Ports, both Knights of the garter, Sir *Iames a Croft* Knight Comptroller of the Queenes houſe, and all three of her Maieſties priuie councell, Doctor *Dale*, and Maiſter *Iohn Rogers*, both Maiſters of Requeſts. For the Duke of Parma, and in the Kings name, were ſent *Maximilian* Earle of Aremberg, Knight of the treaſury, and gouernor of Antwerpe; *Monſieur Richardot*, Preſident of Arthois, councellor for the State, and of the priuie councell: *Iohn Mace* Doctor of
B the lawe, Councellor and Aduocate fiſcall in the councell of Brabant, and *Flaminius Greiner*, Secretary of the councell of Eſtate: theſe came to Bruges in March after, where by meſſengers ſent from one to another there was a long diſputation about the precedence, and where they ſhould meete, and whether hoſtages ſhould bee giuen of eyther ſide, for their ſecurities: after which they mette in certaine Tents ſet vp vnder Oſtend, where the Spaniards gaue the Engliſh the precedence. After three moneths queſtion, the Engliſh yeelded to goe to Bourbrough in Flanders, without any hoſtages, where vpon the ſixt of Iuly they began to enter into treaty.

The commiſſioners ſent to treat with the duke of Parma.

The commiſſioners for the King of Spaine.

Among many propoſitions and diſputations, on both ſides touching the Spaniſh Commiſſion, and other things, the Queene of Englands demands were: To haue a
C preſent truce or ſurceaſing of armes, being thought neceſſary for both ſides, thereby to ſtay and diuert the comming of the Spaniſh fleete, which the Spaniſh Comiſſioners ſeemed to incline vnto, ſeeking to perſwade them that it was not intended for England. More-ouer they demanded the renuing of old contracts and intercourſes, the ſending away of forraine gouernors and ſoldiers out of the Netherlands, for the Queenes owne ſafety: and the reſtitution of ſuch ſummes of money as the Queene had lent vnto the Eſtates of thoſe Prouinces, the which the King had promiſed in his perpetuall Edict made at Bruſſells. For the Netherlanders they demanded; that they might enioy their ancient liberties and priuiledges; bee gouerned by their naturall borne country-men, and not by Strangers; that there might be a tolleration of religi-
D on for two yeares at the leaſt, and in the meane time the religion to be ordred and eſtabliſhed by the Eſtates: and that the articles of the pacification of Gant, and of other treaties might be obſerued And as concerning the townes that were in her Maieſties hands, they ſaid that (the foreſaid articles being concluded) her Maieſtie would yeeld vnto any reaſonable conditions, that all the world might know ſhe had not taken thoſe townes into her poſſeſſion for her owne vſe and commodity, nor for increaſe of her dominions, but onely for her neceſſary defence and aſſurance, &c.

The Queenes demands.

The King of Spaines Commiſſioners made anſwer to theſe propoſitions that they were content to reuew the contracts, but it would aske a long time, and therefore they deſired to proceed to the concluding of a peace: Touching the ſending away of
E ſtrange ſoldiers, the King could not reſolue thereon, vntill that the Hollanders and their aſſociates did ſubmit them, and ſo long as the Frenchmen were in armes. Concerning the money lent, they ſaid the King was not informed thereof, and that hee muſt firſt ſee the accoumpt. Touching the priuiledges of the Netherlands, the Queene had not to doe there-with, and that there was no reaſon to preſcribe the King a lawe, how he ſhould gouerne his ſubiects. Concerning religion, and the exerciſe thereof, the King would not heare of it, but was content to grant a tolleration, ſuch as he had allowed vnto the townes that had ſubmitted them-ſelues vnder his obedience. As for the pacification of Gant, they would not heare it named, for that the Prince of Orange and the Eſtates (by whom it was made) were the firſt that brake it, as they ſayd.

The Spaniards anſwers.

F Wherevnto the Engliſh commiſſioners replied, that the contracts might be renued by *proviſo*, and afterwards reformed or made better, by Commiſſioners appointed by both parties: for the ſending away of forraine ſouldiers, it was the onely cauſe that had mooued her Maieſtie to enter into the treatie, fore-ſeeing the dangers incident there-vnto, if ſtrangers ſhould continue ſtill in the Netherlands, the which

The Queenes replication.

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1588. remayning in that eſtate, the Queene for her owne ſafety and aſſurance could not leaue armes: nor the Netherland Prouinces be aſſured of any peace, as long as the forraine ſoldiars were within the country. A

Touching the money which the Queene had lent, and that ſhe then demanded from the Eſtates, the King him-ſelfe was bownd for it, by his Edict made at Bruſſelles, as well for that which was lent vnto them before the ſaid edict, as for that which was ſence or that ſhould be lent: yet the Queene ſought not that mony from the King, but onely that the Eſtates might haue liberty from him, to collect mony for the paiment thereof: concerning the priuiledges of the contry, her Maieſty ſaid ſhe had a ſpeciall intereſt therein: firſt in regard of Neighborhood: Secondly for that ſhe was eſpecially nominated in ſeuerall pacifications, and thirdly for that it was not poſſible for her ſubiects and Merchants to enioy their preuiledges in the Netherlands, vnleſſe the Prouinces them-ſelues were allowed the ſame: ſo as her Maieſty ſhould haue iuſt cauſe to complaine, if thoſe preueledges were denied them, which had beene agreed vnto by the pacification of Gant, the perpetuall Edict made at the reconciliation of Arthois and Henault, and generally conſented vnto at the treaty of peace made in Collogne by the Duke of Terranoua, at the interceſſion of the Emperor and the Duke of Cleaues: and if the Netherland Prouinces might not be gouerned by ſuch as were borne in the country, there was no hope to bring them to any good and firme peace. B

And for the point of religion, if the King would not heare of any tollera- C tion of the exerciſe thereof, then they of the ſaid Prouinces ſhould be foreed to for ſake the religion wherein they were borne and bred from their youths, or bee conſtrained to liue in perpetuall exile out of their countries, by which meanes all thoſe that would not leaue their religion, would for ſake the country wherby it ſhould become deſolate: Neither could the King with any reaſon refuſe his ſubiects that which in times paſt was by his father the Emperor *Charles* permitted vnto the Germanes; and by other Princes, and namely by him-ſelfe in his perpetuall Edict, and that by the aduiſe of the beſt and the moſt learned Doctors in diuinity aud councellors of eſtate, the breaking whereof had beene the cauſe of all the tumults and troubles in the Netherlands, as alſo in France and other places, and was likely to bring many more inconuenien- D ces to the King in his old age, and like-wiſe to his ſonne who was yet but very young.

To all the points of this replication, the King of Spains commiſſioners, made none but dilatorie anſwers to no effect. In the meane time the Queene of England was aduertiſed of an Engliſh booke printed at Antwetp, written by Doctor Allen, who not long before had beene made Cardinall at Rome, being an admonition to the Nobility of England and Ireland to execute the Popes ſentence againſt her Maieſty, which executions the King of Spaine had taken in hand (as *Allen* ſaid) and the Duke of Parma was appointed by the King cheefe Commander in that action. The Queene was alſo aduertiſed of a Bull ſent forth by Pope *Sixtus*, conteyning many falſe and E ſcandalous points againſt her Maieſty, wherein was alſo contayned that he had concluded with the Catholike King to imploy all his power and meanes to expell the Queene out of her Kingdome, ſtraightly commanding all her Maieſties ſubiects, in a moſt fearefull and thundring manner, to ayd and aſſiſt the great, noble and invincible army prepared to that end, vnder the command of the Duke of Parma. The Queene being made aquainted with theſe things during this treaty of peace, ſhee commanded Doctor *Dale* one of the commiſſioners, to go and ſpeake with the Duke of Parma in perſon, and to charge him in good ſort with the things contayned in theſe aduertiſements, and to know his direct anſwere, whether he were not appointed to bee generall ouer the army that was then preparing in Spaine, and of the enter- F priſe thereby pretended, and to tell him, that if it were true (as ſhee could heardly beleeue it) ſhee ment no longer to contynue the treaty but to call home her Commiſſioners.

Cardinall Allens booke againſther Maieſty.

The Queene ſends to the Duke of Parma about the inuading of England and his anſwer.

The Duke of Parma made anſwer to Doctor *Dale*, that he knew of no ſuch booke, neither

A neither had he any knowledge of the fore-said Bull sent forth by the Pope: neither had hee attempted any thing of him-selfe but honorably, in regard of the dislike that was betwixt her and the King his maister; and that as a good and faithfull seruant, hee was to execute his maisters commandement, with many such Court-like speeches: But her Maiestie was not satisfied with that answer, for that hee did not say directly, whether hee had vnder-taken to inuade England or not with that armie; wherefore shee resolued not to call home her commissioners, yet commanding them to treat with the Spanish commissioners by word of mouth, and try if by that meanes (better then by writing) they might finde more reason and better furtherance: But to the contrary and beyond their expectations, they found that the longer they continued B in this treatie, the lesse hope there was of any good conclusion. The Kings Comissioners telling them, that they were grieued they had spent so much time about the matter, and that the King of Spaine had kept fifty thousand men in pay almost a whole yeare, to lye still and doe nothing, to his great charge, by the meanes of that treatie, and so they blamed one an other. At the last the Kings Commissioners said plainly touching the religion, that the King of Spaine were better to giue his one and onely Sonne vnto them of Holland, then to allow them the exercise of their religion: And that the Queene had no more to doe to trouble her selfe with the religion of his countries, then hee had to meddle with the religion in her Dominions: As for the pacification of Gant, they would not heare of that, for that it had beene C broken by the makers thereof; saying that the Prince of Orange had receiued a iust reward for the same. The forraine soldiers might not bee sent away, so long as there was any warre with Holland and feare of France. To conclude, they refused all the English demands. But Sir *Iames a Croft* (riding priuately to Bruges) shewed secretly vnto the President *Richardot* and to Mounsier *Champigni*, certaine articles concerning a peace, but much to the preiudice of the vnited Prouinces, which *Champigni* seemed to like well of, beeing very desirous by that meanes to haue the vse of the English Hauens, for the harboring of their Spanish fleete, for the which after-wards there grew great dislike betwixt him and the duke of Parma.

1588.

The last answer of the Spanish comissioners.

Before the departure of the English Commissioners, the Earle of Darbie (to dis- D couer the Spaniards intents) asked them if they intended to haue the cautionary Townes deliuered ouer vnto them without any conclusion: But the Spanish fleete approaching then in August, brake off all further conference, either side hearing the shotte at Sea, and so all dissembling was laid aside, and the Duke of Parma was found contrary in his word, hauing protested to some of the English Commissioners vppon his Princely word and faith (as the English reported) that the armie came not for England, if they could agree vppon the fore-said articles of peace propounded. But the Queene obseruing the constant resolution of the vnited Prouinces, and seeing the fleete of Spaine already before her dore, she called home her Commissioners, whereupon they desired a conuoy to conduct them safely from thence, being in some feare, for E that they had no hostages: but after fifteene daies stay, they got a passport with certaine wagons and a conuoy to guard them to the Frontiers, whether the Kings commissioners did very honorably conduct them, for the which they gaue them great thanks, & much commended the Duke of Parmaes honorable disposition, hauing kept his word so iustly with them.

The treatie of peace broke off.

Now I come to that great Spanish fleete, whereof although there haue beene some petty discourses written and published in our owne language, yet for that it concerned the vnited Prouinces as well as England, I haue thought good to make a briefe relation in this history, for posterities sake, both of the preparations and the successe.

The King of Spaine hauing long fore-cast and sought by what meanes hee might F bring the Realme of England into subiection, and so to re-establish the Catholike religion there, hoping by that meanes to re-possesse his inheritance in the Netherlands: for that beeing once Lord ouer England, hee might easily debarre them of all traficke by Sea, the which (not without great and probable reasons) was held easie to bee done, by such as were best acquainted with the situation of England and the

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1588 Netherlands, together with the trafficke and commerce of the ſayd contries. Wher- A
vpon the King of Spaine hauing preuailed little with one and twenty yeares warre
in the Netherlands, hee concluded with his priuie councell, once againe to inuade the
Netherlands by ſea, the which hee had often attempted, but not with ſufficient forces,
The King of Spaine prepares to inuade England and the Netherlands. where-vnto hee ſhould now bee conſtrained to vſe a greater power, in regarde that
England was then his enemy, the ſcituation of which great Iland is ſuch, as it may
hinder all trafficke and negotiation in thoſe parts what-ſo-euer.

Wherevpon hee was fully reſolued firſt to inuade England, which *Eſcouedo* Secre-
tarie to *Don Iohn* of Auſtria; and many ſubtill Spaniſh and Netherland ſpirits, with
ſome Engliſh rebells, held more eaſie to bee conquered then Holland and Zeeland,
perſwading the King that it would bee much more profitable to inuade both Eng- B
land and the vnited Prouinces by ſea at one inſtant, then to entertaine continually a
mightie armie, to prohibit the trafficke of England and the Netherlands into both
the Indies. For the effecting whereof in the beginning of this yeare 1588. hee had
gathered together ſo great a fleete of ſhippes at Lisbon, as in many hundred yeares
before the like had not beene ſeene North-wards in the Ocean ſeas. In the which
there came ſo many great Commanders, Noblemen, and voluntarie Gentlemen, as
there was not any houſe of honor and credit in Spaine, but had a ſonne, brother or
nephew in this action, who all thought with this inuincible armie (as they termed
it) to winne eternall honor, and to make them-ſelues rich in England and the Ne-
therlands. The deſcription of this armie, and of euery particular, was ſet forth in C
Print by the Spaniards, whereof I will make a breefe rehearſall.

Portugall did furniſh to this great fleete, vnder the conduct of the Duke of *Medina*
The deſcriptiõ of all the ſhips-faylers and ſoldiers. *Sidonia* Generall of the whole Armie, ten great gallions, two ſmall ſhips, thirteene
hundred Saylers, three thouſand three hundred ſoldiers, three hundred fiftie peeces of
great ordinance, and all other things neceſſary. *Biſcaie* vnder the command of the Ad-
mirall *Iohn Martinez de Richalde*, brought ten gallions, foure pinaſſes, ſeauen hundred
Saylers, two thouſand ſoldiers, and two hundred and fiftie peeces of ordinance. *Guy-
puſco* vnder the conduct of *Michael de Oquendo* furniſhed ten gallions, foure-teene pi-
naſſes, ſeauen hundred ſailers, two thouſand ſaylers, & foure ſcore peeces of ordinance.
Andolozia vnder the command of *Pedro de Valdez*, ten gallions, one pinaſſe, eight hũdred D
ſailers, two thouſand foure hundred ſoldiers, & two hundred ſixty peeces of ordinance.
Italy, vnder the leading of *Martin de Bretendona*, ten gallions, eight hundred ſaylers,
two thouſand ſoldiers, and three hundred and ten peeces of ordinance.

Caſtilia vnder the conduct of *Diego Floris de Valdez*, foureteene gallions, two pinaſ-
ſes, a thouſand ſeauen hundred ſaylers, two thouſand three hundred ſoldiers, and three
hundred and foure ſcore peeces of ordinance. And vnder the command of *Iohn Lopez
de Medina*, there were three and twenty hulkes, ſeauen hundred ſaylers, two thouſand
three hundred ſoldiers, and foure hundred and ten peeces of ordinance. Vnder the lea-
ding of *Hugo de Moncado*, there were ſent frõ Naples foure galliaſſes with 1200. ſlaues
to rowe in them 480. ſaylers, 870. ſoldiers, and 200. peeces of ordinance. Out of Por- E
tugall vnder the conduct of *Diego de Medrana*, were ſent foure galleys, with 880. ſlaues,
424. ſaylers, 440. ſoldiers, with ordinance accordingly.

There were two and twenty pinaſſes, and other ſmall ſhips; vnder the gouernment
of *Don Antonio Buccado de Mendoza*, with 574. ſaylers, 479. ſoldiers, and 193. peeces of
ordinance. Beſides all theſe, there were twenty Carauels laden with owers, ready for
the great ſhips if need required, ſo as they were one and other a hundred and fifty
ſayles, well prouided, in the which they had aboue 8000. ſaylers, and 20000. ſoldiers,
beſides the commanders, officers, and voluntary gentlemen, and 2650. peeces of ordi-
nance. Their ſhippes being ſo great as they might haue carryed three ſcore thouſand
tunnes in burthen. F

The gallions being aboue 60. in number, were exceeding great, faire, and ſtrong, and
built high aboue the water like Caſtles, eaſie to bee fought withall, but not ſo eaſie to
borde as the Engliſh and the Netherland ſhips, their vpper decks were Musket proofe,
and beneath they were foure or fiue foote thick, ſo as no bullet could paſſe them.

Their

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A Their Maſtes were bound thick about with Ocham or peeces or fazeled ropes, and armed againſt all ſhot. The Galliaſſes were goodly great veſſels, furniſhed with chambers, chappels, towers, pulpits, and ſuch like: they rowed like galleys with exceeding great owers, each hauing 300. ſlaues, and were able to doe much harme with their great ordinance. 1588.

In this great fleete were one thouſand ſixe hundred great braſſe peeces, and aboue one thouſand Iron peeces, to the which were two hundred and twenty thouſand bullets, foure thouſand ſixe hundred Kintals of powlder, one thouſand Kintalls of Lead, one thouſand two hundred Kintals of Match, ſeuen thouſand Muskets and Caliuers, ten thouſand partiſans and halberds, with murthering peeces, double ca- B nons, and field peeces, with great ſtore of furniture for carriages; mules, horſes, and whatſoeuer was neceſſary for an Armie either by ſea or land. There was bread and bisket prouided for ſixe moneths, euery one hauing allowance of halfe a hundred a moneth. Wine for ſixe moneths, Bacon ſixe thouſand and fiue hundred Kintals, cheeſe three thouſand quintals, beſides fleſh, rice, beanes, peaſe, oyle and viniger, and twelue thouſand pipes of freſh water: they had great ſtore of torches, lanthornes, lampes, canuas, hides, and leade to ſtop holes made with great ordinance, and other things needfull for their vſe. This armie coſt the King thirty thouſand ducats euery day, as *Don Diego Piementell* confeſſed, reporting the ſame to bee two and thirty thouſand ſtrong.

The deſcription of the ordinance and munition.

A Kintall is a hundred waight.

Deſcription of the victuals and other neceſſaries.

C In this armie were fiue regiments of old Spaniſh ſoldiers, of the Tertios of Naples, Sicilie and the Terceraes commanded by fiue Maiſters *del Campo*. The firſt was *Don Diego de Piementel*, brother to the Marquis of Taueras, and couſin to the Earles of Beneuent and Calui, he was a Knight of the order of Saint *Iohn*, and was allyed to many of the beſt houſes of Spaine. The ſecond Colloniel, was, *Don Franciſco de Toledo* brother to the Earle of Orgas. The third *Don Alonſo de Luſon*. The fourth *Don Nicholas de Iſla*, or *Patritio Anſelmo*. The fift and laſt *Auguſtin Mexia*, (brother to the Marquis *de la Garda*) who was afterwards made gouernor of the caſtle of Antwerp, each Collonell hauing in his regiment two and thirty companies, beſides the Italian and Portugall bands. No women nor whores were ſuffred to enter into any ſhip, vpon paine D of great puniſhment, but ſuch women as were with them, hired ſhips and followed the armie, and were moſt caſt vpon the coaſt of France.

The Commanders of the armie.

The Generall of this mighty armie was *Lodouicus Perez*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Baron of Saint Lucas, a Knight of the order of the Golden Fleeſe, (the Marquis of *Santta Cruce*, who was named for that charge, being dead not long before) *Iohn Martinez de Ricalde*, a wiſe Gentleman, was Admirall. *Don Franciſco Bouadille* Marſhall: And for chiefe councellors in the warre, *Diego Pimentel*, *Flores de Valdez*, *Pedro de Valdez*, *Michael Oquendo*, *Don Alonſo de Lieua*, *Don Diego Maldonado*, *Don Georgio Manriquez*, and many others. *Don Martin Alarſon* was Vicar generall of the holy Inquiſition, and with him aboue a hundred Monkes, Ieſuites, and E other religious men. There were many Noblemen, and aboue one hundred and twentie Gentlemen of good eſteeme, aduenturers, that went at their owne charges, to winne honor, among the which were the Prince of Aſcoly, the Marquis of Pennafyel, the Marquis of Barlango, with many other Marquiſes and Earles of good account.

Chiefe officers and gentlemen.

Whileſt this armie was in this ſort preparing, the Duke of Parma receiued commandement from the King to make ready his forces in the Netherlands, to ioyne with this armie, where vpon hee ſent for ſhip-writes and worke-men out of Italy, to build ſhippes, ſetting many thouſands on worke, to digge and deepen riuers, eſpecially the riuer of Iperlee, to bring certaine ſhippes from Antwerpe to Gant, F and ſo to Bruges, where hee gathered together aboue three hundred ſmall Boates, loding them with victuals and munition, the which hee thought to bring to Scluce, and ſo into the Sea, or through the new deepned water of Iperlee, into the other hauens of Flanders. Hee had alſo prepared three ſcore and ten flatte bottomed boates, which laye in the water of Watene, euery one able to carry thirty horſes,

The Duke of Parmas preparation to ioyne with this armie.

1588. with bridges made to ſhippe and vnſhip them. There were alſo two hundred flatte A
bottomed boates more ready in the hauen of Newport, but not ſo big as the others.
In Dunkerke they had made ready two and thirty ſhips of warre, and hauing want of
ſaylers, hee ſent to Hambrough, Emden, Breme and other places, to hire them: hee
expected fiue ſhips from Hambrough well appointed with many ſaylers, and had hy-
red fiue ſhips that then lay at Dunkerke. Theſe ſhippes hee went to lade with great
ſtore of piles of wood, made ſharpe at the ends with Yron pikes, and at Graueling
hee had twenty thouſand emptie caske, which might ſoone bee made faſt one vnto
the other with cordes, like a bridge; with all other furniture to make bridges, to ſtoppe
hauens, and to pyle vp waters: and to that end hee had prouided within Nieuport a
mighty great heape of fagots, and all other prouiſion for ſconſes. Hee had ſhipt ma- B
ny ſaddles and bridles, and other furniture for horſes, and horſes alſo for carriages,
with ordinance, and all other neceſſary prouiſion for the warre.

His forces. Neere vnto Nieuport, hee had lying vnder the command of *Camillo* maiſter of
the campe, thirty companies of Italians, two of Wallons, and eight of Bourguig-
nons, euery company being a hundred men. At *Dyxmewe* hee muſtred foure ſcore
companies of Netherlanders, three ſcore of Spaniards, three ſcore of high Dutches,
and ſeauen of rebellious and trayterous Engliſhmen, vnder the leading of Sir *William
Stanley* and others, which were ready to take ſhippe. In the ſuburbes of Cortricke
there were foure thouſand lodged, and at Watene nine hundred horſe with the Cor-
net of the Marquis of Guaſt who was generall of the horſe. To this great enterprize C
Great noble men came into Flanders. and imaginary conqueſt, diuerſe Princes and Noblemen came, from diuerſe countries.
Out of Spaine came the Duke of Paſtrana, who was ſayd to be the ſonne of *Ruy Gomez
de Silua*, Prince of Mileto, but hee was held to bee the Kings Baſtard ſonne: the
Marquis of Bourgou, one of the Archduke *Ferdinands* ſonnes, by *Philippina Welſe-
rime*, *Don Veſpaſian Gonſagua*, of the houſe of Mantua, a great ſoldier, who had beene
Viceroy in Spaine: *Don Iohn de Medices*, baſtard of *Florence*, *Don Amedeus* baſtard of
Sauoy, with many ſuch like, beſides others of meaner qualitie.

The Popes helpe towards the conqueſt of England & the Netherlands. *Sixtus Quintus* Pope of Rome, forgot not likewiſe to ſend forth his Cruſado (as
hee vſeth againſt the Turkes) publiſhed by his Bulles for the furthering of this great
enterpriſe, with great perſwaſions, the which were Printed in all places. The Eng- D
liſhmen and the Netherlanders ſcoft at theſe Bulls, ſaying, that the diuill was be-
come a theefe by the high way, and cared not for ſuch paſports. It was ſayd hee
had giuen the realme of England to the King of Spaine, with the title of the de-
fender of the Chriſtian faith, commanding him to ouer-runne the ſame, vpon condi-
tion that hee ſhould hold it as feudatorie of the Sea of Rome, and to that end the
Pope ſhould contribute a Million of golde, the one halfe to bee payed preſently,
and the other when England, or any notable hauen therein ſhould be wonne. The
Queene hearing of this great preparation in Spaine, ſhee ſent forth her ſhippes of
warre, with other Marchants ſhippes, the greateſt to lye at Plymouth in the Weſt
parts vnder the command of the Lord *Charles Haward*, Lord high Admirall of Eng- E
land, and of many other Noble men of qualitie; and the ſmall ſhippes (being ſome
Preparation made by the Netherlands. forty or fiftie ſayle) kept the narrow Seas, betwixt Douer and Calais, vnder the
conduct of the Lord *Henry Seymor*, ſonne to the Duke of Sommerſet. The vnited
Prouinces firſt of all (in regarde of the ſhallowes and flattes of their coaſt) made
prouiſion of twenty ſmall ſhippes, to keepe all the hauens of Flanders, from Lillo in
the riuer of Scheld, vnto Graueling by Calais, putting great garriſons into their ſea
Townes: and when as this great armie of Spaniards ſhould bee ready to come, they
ſent forth Captaine *Loucke* of Roſendale, with fiue and twenty or thirty ſhippes, to
ioyne with the Lord *Henry Seymor*, but when as the ſhippes were forced by a
ſtorme to leaue the Flemiſh coaſt, and to ſayle backe into Zeeland: it beeing paſt, F
they put to ſea againe, and with them *Iuſtinus* of Naſſau the Admirall, and *Iohn
Moyer*, vice-admirall of Zeeland, being in all about fiue and thirty ſhips, from a hundred
and ſixtie to fiue hundred tun burthen a peece, very well appointed with great ſtore
of good ſaylers, and 1200. old ſoldiers, all Musketiers, choſen out of the regements;

and

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A and well acquanted with the sea, being fully resolued to fight, and to keepe the Duke of Parma from bringing his fleet out of any hauen in Flanders, whereon consisted the greatest part of their safety. 1588.

Vpon the nine and twenty day of May 1588. this great and mightie armie of Spaine, put to sea, and sailed from Lisbon to the Groine in Gallicia where they tooke in more men and munition, it being the neerest hauen to England. Being at sea they were scattered by a tempest, the Duke of Medina entring againe into the Groine with foure score shippes, the rest following as well as they could, except eight of them which had spent their Maisters. Of the foure Galleies which came out of Portugall, one by great fortune was saued in that hauen, the other three were driuen into Bayon B vpon the coast of France, whereas one *Dauy Gwin* an English slaue with diuers French and Turkish slaues, first ouercame the one, and then wonne the rest, whereas *Don Diego de Mendiana* was slaine, the slaues sauing themselues in France with these Galleies they thought to haue driuen the Zeeland shippes from the coast of Flanders, and so to haue drawne the Duke of Parmaes shippes out of the hauens.

The army of Spaine puts to sea.

Dispersed by a tempest.

The Spanish armie beeing refresht, and their shippes rigged againe, receiuing daylie commandement from the King to put to sea, on the one and twenty of Iulie, they went out of the Groine, and sailed till they came to the entrie of the English chanell, from whence they sent certaine small Pynnasses, to the Duke of Parma, to certefie C him of their comming and to will him to make himselfe readie to ioyne with them. The Spanish fleet being discouered by an English pinnasse and the Lord Admirall beeing aduertised thereof, when hee little expected them, supposing that the fore sayd storme would haue kept them longer in harbour: on the nine and twenty of Iuly, early in the morning, hee made all the hast hee could to get his shippes out of the hauen of Plimouth, imbarking his men not without great trouble and difficultie: the same night hee himselfe with sixe shippes onelie put forth to sea, and the rest following as fast as they could.

They put to sea againe.

On the thirtie day of Iulie at noone, they had a sight of the Spanish fleete, the winde beeing then south-west, holding their course (as it seemed) directly for Plimouth, D but perceiuing the English shippes without the hauen, they sailed along the coast, wherein many of good iudgement thought they committed a great error; but they had expresse commission to saile directly towardes Flanders, and both togither to assaile England about Margat, but it is reported that the chiefe amongst them, and such as had greatest experience in sea causes, as *Iohn Martinez de Ricalde*, *Diego Flores de Valdez* and others, shewed great reasons, and sayd that it could not otherwise bee, but that great difficulties would arise in their proceedings, hauing such limmited instructions, alledging many things that were to bee obserued in such actions, as whether, winde and tide to get out of the hauens of Flanders, and to enter vpon the coast of England, as also darke and light moone-shine nights, roades and E depthes, all beeing subiect to the windes and other seuerall daungers: but their Commission was, they should followe their instructions, and anchor about Calais, where the Duke of Parma should come to him with his flat bottomed boates, and so passe on vnder the protection and gouernment of the great shippes, or els whilest they were in fight, should saile along and land his men in the Downes, but as the prisoners confessed, they chiefe desseigne was to haue entred into the mouth of the riuer of Thames.

The Commission of the Spanish army was to ioyne with the duke of Parma.

Difficulties for the effecting of the Spanish commission.

And as the Spanish fleete past along by Plimouth, the English army made presently towardes them and got the winde of them. On the one and thirtie daie the English bare vp close with the Spanish fleete within musket shot, the Admirall shooF ting verie hotly against the Vice-admirall of Spaine, which when the Spaniardes suspecting, and perceiued that the English played so on them with their great Ordinance, they kept verie close togither in order of battaile, and in the forme of a halfe moone, carrying but little saile, for that they would not loose any of their companie, and holding their course in that manner, one of their great Galliasses

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1588. was wonderfully battred by the Engliſh ſhippes and they ſailed ſo cloſe and nere togi- A
ther, as the chiefe Gallion of Sicilia (wherein *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Don Baſco de Silua* and *Don Alonſo de Sayas* with other Gentlemen were, brake her maſt againſt an other ſhippe, whereby it was not able to follow the fleet, neither would the army ſtay to helpe her, but left her behinde, which the Admirall of England deſcrying (being loth to looſe the ſight of the Spaniſh fleet) paſt by her in the night, with as many ſhippes as could follow her, for that Sir *Francis Drake* (who was appointed that night to beare the Lanthorne) had fiue great Hulkes in chaſe, the which were ſeperated from the Spaniſh fleet, and found them to bee marchants ſhippes of the Eaſt countries: ſo as the Engliſh Admirall did all night follow the Spaniſh Lanthorne, and in the morning found himſelfe to bee in the midſt of his enemies, wherevpon hee made all the haſt hee B
Don Pedro de Valdez ſhip taken. could to free himſelfe of ſo great a daunger. On the firſt of Auguſt Sir *Francis Drake* met with *Don Pedro de Valdez* ſhip, hauing foure hundred and fifty men in her, whom he ſommoned to yeeld; after ſome parle, *Don Pedro* (vnderſtanding that it was *Drake*, whoſe fame was ſo great) yeelded himſelfe, and was well intreated. In this ſhippe there was ſome part of the King of Spaines treaſor, about fifty fiue thouſand ducats, which was all made prize.

The ſame Vice-admirall *Oquendos* ſhippe was ſet on fire, in the which there was great ſtore of poulder and munition, it was burnt downe to the water, and verie fewe of the men ſaued, this ſhippe was alſo taken and carried into England with many poore men, miſerably burnt, yet the poulder beeing vnder the hatches, was miraculouſly pre- C
ſerued. This night the Engliſh Admirall had followed the Spaniſh fleet ſo cloſe, as in the morning hee was alone among his enemies, ſo as it was foure of the clocke in the afternoone before that all his fleet could reach him. It is ſayd that at that inſtant *Don Hugo de Moncado* Generall of the Galleaſſes, did preſſe the Duke of Medina to giue him leaue to charge the Admirall, which by no meanes he would grant, in regard of his limmited commiſſion.

Vpon Tweſday the ſecond of Auguſt, the Spaniſh fleet was thwart of Portland, and
A fight before Portland. then the winde came Northward, which was againſt the Engliſh, but they recouered it ſoone againe, for they were ſmall ſhippes and of better ſaile; that day there was a verie great fight betweene them, but the Spaniards ſeeing the Engliſh ſhippes maintaine it D
ſo valiantly all the daie long, they gathered themſelues againe togither, and ſailed on their intended courſe, which was to ioyne with the Duke of Parma about Dunkerke. In this fight a great Venetian ſhippe with an other ſmal ſhippe of the enemies were ſonke. The Engliſh armie increaſed daylie, beeing about one hundred ſaile, but moſt of them too ſmall ſhips to board the Spaniards, except two or three and twenty of the Queenes great ſhips, which onely made the greateſt fight. Thether alſo came many Noblemen, as the Earles of Oxford, Northomberland, Comberland and others, with many knights and Gentlemen of the beſt houſes of England, to winne honor.

The third of Auguſt the ſea beeing very calme, the fight continued onely betweene E
the Galliaſſes and the Engliſh ſhips, who for that they went with owers had ſome aduantage to continue fight, but the Engliſhmen ſhot chaine ſhot, which did cut both their ſailes, tackling and owers in peeces, but they grew to be verie ſcant of poulder, ſo as they were forced to ſend to ſhoare for more. On the fourth of Auguſt, the Spaniſh army being before the Ile of wight, the Engliſh Admirall did valiantly aſſaile the Spaniſh Admirall, beeing accompanied by ſome of his beſt ſhippes, as the Lion wherein was the Lord *Thomas Howard*, (now Earle of Suffolke) the Elizabeth *Ionas*, commanded by Sir *Robert Southwell*; the Beare by the Lord *Sheffeld*: the victorie by Sir *John Haukins*, and the Gallion Leiceſter, wherein was Captaine *George Fenner*, the Spaniſh Admirall was then accompanied with the beſt of his ſhippes and in the mideſt of them, where there was a dreadfull noiſe of Cannon-ſhot, within three or foure hundred foote F
diſtance: at the laſt the Spaniards ſailed on before the winde. On the ſixt of Auguſt being Saterday, the Spaniards caſt anchor before Callais, being reſolued as it ſeemed to ſtay there, and ſo to ioyne with the Duke of Parmaes forces, and the next day the Engliſh fleet alſo caſt anchor, and lay cloſe by them, within ſhot one of an other, and thether

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A thether came the Lord *Henry Seymor*, with his fleet of ſhippes, the which had lien at the lands end, in the mouth of the riuer of Thames. 1588.

The Duke of Medina aduertiſed the Duke of Parma of his beeing there, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to land, to refreſh themſelues, and among the reſt the Prince of Aſcoly (who was held to bee the King of Spaines Baſtard ſonne) a gallant yong Gentleman, who by good fortune was forced to ſtay on ſhoare, for that hee could not get aboard, whoſe ſhippe withall the men was afterwards drowned in Ireland. The Duke of Parma hauing heard of the comming of the Spaniſh army vpon the coaſt of England, made all the haſt hee could, to imploy his perſon in this exploite, and to that end had giuen the gouernment of the country vnto the old Earle of Mansfield, going B himſelfe in pilgrimage to our Ladie of Hall in Henault: and from thence to Brugges, where he arriued on the ſeauenth of Auguſt, ryding the next day to Dunkerke where his ſhippes attended him, where he heard the ſhooting of both the armies, and at the euening as he entred into Dixmuyden, he was aduertiſed of the ſucceſſe thereof.

The duke of Parma prepares himſelf.

Vpon Tweſday being the ninth of Auguſt, he returned againe to Dunkerke, euen as the army paſt by, not one of his ſhips daring venter to put forth, by reaſon of the fiue and thirty ſhippes of Holland and Zeeland, commanded by *Iuſtin* of Naſſau their Admirall, which lay there to keepe the paſſage, that none ſhould come out of the hauen, neither any of the ſmaler ſhippes of the Spaniſh armie aide and aſſiſt them, for they had no cauſe to feare the great ſhippes, by reaſon of the ſhalloneſſe of the water: But the C Duke of Parmaes men were neither ſhipt nor yet ready, onely the runnagate ſouldiars of Sir *William Stanleys* regiment beeing ſeauen hundred ſtrong, were alreadie ſhipt: thinking at the firſt entrance into England to be the leaders, the reſt of the ſoldiars ſeemed vnwilling to ſet forward, finding their ſmall number of ſailers to bee verie backward, and their prouiſion of bread, beere and victualls not all ready and wholy vnſhipt: the ſailers did feare the ſhips of Holland & Zeeland, which they found did both braue and threten them, which made them hourely ſo run away, fearing they ſhould haue bin forced by the ſoldiars to put forth, and to aduenture that which could not be done; then they wanted the Spaniſh Galleies which were loſt vpon the way, with the which they might haue driuen the ſhips of Holland and Zeeland from the coaſt. The Spaniſh fleet D lying thus at anchor before Callais, ſtaying to heare from the Duke of Parma, for the effecting of that which they had in commiſſion from the King: it was reſolued amongſt them (as it was afterwards deſcouered) that vpon the twelfth of Auguſt beeing a darke night, to put that in execution which they had intended on either ſide: wherevpon the Admirall of England and his councell reſolued, (by the expreſſe commandement of the Queene her ſelfe, as it was ſayd) either to force the Spaniſh fleet from their anchors, or to burne them: wherevpon they ſodenly appointed ſome of their waſt ſhips, out of the which hauing taken all that was good, and filled them with great ſtore of wild-fire, and other ſtuffe, that would eaſily burne, charging the Ordinance full of Poulder, Iron and Stones, vpon Sunday 7. of Auguſt two houres after mid-night (the men hauing left E them, and they beginning to burne) they ſent them before the winde and tide right among the Spaniſh fleete, which fire being in the night time, ſtrooke ſuch a terror, confuſion and alarme among them, (fearing that theſe ſhips might bee laden with poulder and ſtones, ſuch as the Ingenier *Frederik Innebell*, had vſed three yeares before againſt the duke of Parmaes bridge vpon the riuer of Scheld) as they cried out the fire of Antwerp, the fire of Antwerp, ſo as euery man did preſently cut his cables, and ſetting ſaile put to ſea confuſedly. In which fearefull cry, the great Galliaſſe fell foule vpon the cable of an other ſhip, and could make no way, and by that means her rudder ſlipping out was loſt, ſo as for want of a helme to gouerne it, it was driuen by the force of the ſea vpon Callais ſands, the which was followed by their Pinaces, & in the end boarded by the F Engliſh long boates. *Don Hugo de Moncado* Generall of the foure Galliaſſes, making ſome reſiſtance, but after ſome fight he was ſhot in the head and ſlaine, with many other Spaniards, ſome leapt into the ſea to ſaue themſelues, whereof diuers were drowned. *Don Antonio Manriquez* the countroller Generall with a few others eſcaped, and were the firſt that carried the certaine newes of their ſucceſſe into Spaine.

His troupes are not ready ſhipt.

A notable ſtratagem vſed by the Engliſh to driue the Spaniſh fleet from their anchors.

The

1588 The great Galleaſſe hauing in it three hundred ſlaues and foure hundred ſouldiars, A being thus taken, they were three howers vnlading the munition and other things that were found in her, and there they alſo found fifty thouſand ducats of the King of Spaines treaſor, the ſlaues being all looſe and at liberty, the Engliſh would haue burnt the ſhip, but Mounſieur *Gourdan* gouernor of Callis would not ſuffer them, finding it to be hurtfull both for the towne and hauen, wherefore he ſhotte from the towne and draue the Engliſh from thence.

A fight before Graueling the 10 of Auguſt.

The ſame morning, as the Spaniſh fleet (after their great feare and diſorder) had againe put it ſelfe into Battayle: the Engliſh army began to charge them valiantly before Graueling, but they choſe rather to paſſe a long with a forewind before Dunkerke, then to open them-ſelues, or to alter their ranks, ſtanding wholy vpon their defence. B The Engliſh had not aboue 22, or 23. ſhips fit to board the Spaniards (who were ninety great ſhips at the leaſt) but the Engliſh had the aduantage, being better of ſaile, and could eaſelier wind and turneabout them going cloſe vp to them and diſcharging their broad ſides, and ſo continued the fight with their great and ſmale ſhotte all the day long, vntill their poulder and bullets began to fayle them: ſo as they thought it not conuenient to board the Spaniards in regard of the greatneſſe of their ſhippes, and for that they kept themſelues ſo cloſe together, being content to haue driuen them from Callis and Dunkerke, and from ioyning with the Duke of Parma, but eſpecially for that they had forced them to ſayle before the wind, and to paſſe a long beyond their coaſt. That day the Spiniards receiued great hurt, both in their ſhippes and loſſe of men, by C reaſon that many of their ſhippes were ſhotte betwixt wind and water. In all theſe fights the Engliſh loſt not one ſhippe, nor any man of quality, nor aboue a hundred men in all. There were ſo many of the Spaniſh ſhipes ſhotte vnder the water, as in the night and the next day, two or three of them ſounke, among the which there was a great ſhippe of Biſcaye, whereof ſome of the men were ſaued, who ſhewed that the commanders of that ſhippe had ſtabbed one another, for that one of them perſwaded the reſt to yeeld, ſo as the other thruſt him into the body with his poinard, whoſe brother reuenged his death in ſtabbing him, and there-with the ſhippe ſounke preſently.

The Spaniards loſſe in the laſt fight.

The ſame night two great gallions of Portugall of foutteene or ſixteene hundred tonnes a peece, were forſaken by the fleet, the one called Saint *Phillip*, the other Saint D *Mathew*, being ſhotte ſo vnder water, as they could hardly keepe them-ſelues vpright. In the Saint *Phillip* was *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, brother to the Earle of Orgas, and one of the 5. collonels with other gentlemen; whoſe maſt being ſhotte downe; they ſought to ſaue them-ſelues in Flanders, but finding it impoſſible, the cheefe men eſcaped in boats, and the ſhippe was taken by the Fluſingers. In the Saint *Mathew* was *Don Diego de Piementel*, an other of the Collonels, being brother to the Marquis of Taueras with many other gentlemen and Captaines: hauing a great leake before Graueling, the Duke of Medina ſent a boat for him and ſome of the cheefe to ſaue themſelues, but he to preſerue his honor refuſed it, then he willed him to ſtay by him, the which he could not doe, by reaſon that the water came in the night time ſo faſt into the ſhippe as they E were forced to keepe fifty men continually at the pumpe, to keepe the ſhippe aboue water: but at the laſt ſeeing him-ſelfe forſaken by the Admirall, he ſought to runne her on ground vpon the coaſt of Flanders and to ſaue his life, deſiring ayde of the fiſhermen, but being deſcried by foure or fiue ſhippes of warre which lay vpon the coaſt, they made towards him: bidding him yeeld, which he refuſing, they all ſhotte at him, and ſlue aboue fourty of his men, ſo as hee was forced to yeeld him-ſelfe into the hands of *Peter vander Does*, who brought the ſhippe into Zeeland, with the other, the which (when as moſt of the goods were taken out of them) through negligence ſunke vnder the water. An other ſmall ſhip being forced to run a ſhoare about Blankenbergh in Flanders, Sir *Iohn Conway* manned out 2. or 3. fiſher boats (for that the Spaniards were F already gone out, and had taken forth two peeces of ordinance and brought them on ſhore) to take and ranſacke the ſhippe, who draue the Spaniards from her, and brought the ſpoyle into Oſtend. On Monday the eight of Auguſt the Spaniſh armie being in this ſort aſſayled, they thought it beſt (hauing done as much as they had in charge) to

Two Gallions brought into Zeeland.

retire

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A retire themselues, so kept togither with small sailes vntill they were past Dunkerke, being followed by the English; the next day hauing gotten some-what before, they set on more saile, seeming to haue more desire to flie then to fight, whereupon the Lord Admirall of England, sent the Lord *Henry Seymer* with the small shippes backe againe, to ioyne with the Netherlanders, who lay before Dunkerke to keepe in the Duke of Parmaes forces, and hee with the greatest shippes followed the Spaniardes, but the winde rysing, and the Spaniards bending their course towards Norwaye, making shew as if they sought meanes onelie to get away, and to commit themselues to a dangerous Northerne nauigation, the English fleete, (wanting both poulder and shot) returned backe into England, leauing some small pinasses to follow them, and to bring
B aduise what course they tooke. 1588.

The Spanish fleete being in the North seas tooke a fisher boate of Zeeland, with twelue men in her who were carried into the Admiralls shippe, and sailed with them into Spaine: at their returne home, they reported that whilest the English fleet followed them, they saw a white flag preparing to bee set vp in the poope, in token of yeelding, or at the least to parle, fearing to passe through the Northerne seas: but beeing disswaded by certaine Clergy men, and seeing the English desist from following them, they changed their resolution. Those fisher men also reported that in the Dukes shippe there was a place made Cannon proofe, wherein the duke himselfe with twelue persons more remained all the time of the fight, and that of 1200. men that were in the shippe,
C there were 300. slaine and hurt. Thus the Spanish fleete hauing lost ten or twelue of their best ships, with foure or fiue thousand men, hauing many sicke and wounded aboard their ships, wanting many necessaries for their ships, despayring of any aide from the Duke of Parma (who expected their returne, and continued still his preparation) they resolued (if the winde would serue them) to saile home into Spaine behinde Scotland and Ireland: hearing that they should finde small releese in Scotland, and that Norway, could not supplie their wants, they tooke all the English or Scottish fishermen they could, to serue for pilots, and doubting they should want fresh water, they cast their horses ouerboard, and so they past betwixt the Orcades and faire Island, landing in
D no place, but sailed so farre Northwards as they were vnder three score and two degrees and two hundred and forty miles from any land: Being there the Duke of Medina commanded all the shippes to take the best course they could for *Biscay*, and he himselfe with twenty or fiue and twenty shippes, which were best prouided of fresh water, kept his course very high into the sea, which brought him directly into Spaine, but the rest being aboue forty, vnder the leading of the Vice-admirall, held their course neerer vnto Ireland, making towards Cape-Clere hoping to refresh themselues there, but the winde being contrary, a great storme arose out of the South-west, about the second of September, and cast most of them vpon the coast of Ireland, where many of them perished, and amongst others the Gallion of Michaell d' Oquendo; one of the foure great
E Galliasses, two great Venetian ships, called *la Ratta* and *Balanzara*, with many others, to the number of 36. or 38. shippes and most of the men. Some hauing a Westerly winde got againe into the English seas, some were taken by them of Rochell, and a great Galliasse was driuen by tempest to Newhauen in France, two ships were cast away vpon the coast of Norway, so as of a 134. saile that went out of Lisbone, there returned but 53. ships great and small into Spaine. And hauing 30000. soldiars and marriners in that army, the losse of men was very great according to the rate of the ships; and after their returne many died of sickenesse, wounds and other misfortunes which they had gotten in this voiage. The Duke of Medina *Sidonia* (a wise and prouident Prince,) who had ta-
F ken this charge vpon him much against his will, excused himselfe by his pilotes, and vpon the want of aide from the Duke of Parma, who was not readie, so as hee had leaue to returne home to his house to rest himselfe, yet manie spake verie hardly of him for this action. Diuers Noblemen and Gentlemen died: as *Iohn Martinez de Ricalde*, who died soone after his returne, and *Diego Floris de Valdez*, *Michael d' Oquendo*, *Don Alonso de Lieua*, *Don Diego de Maldonado*, *Francisco de Bouadilla*, and *Don Georgio Manriquez*, all of the Councell of warre for the armie. Many were drowned,

The Spanish army in despaire.

Many of the Spanish fleet cast away vpon the coast of Ireland.

The Duke of Medina excuseth himselfe.

Many Spanish Noblemen and Gentlemen died soone after their returne.

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1588. drowned, as *Thomas Perenot* of Granuelle, Earle of Canterroy, Cardinall Granuelles brother ſonne, *Don Diego de Piementel* Collonel of two and twenty companies of Spaniards, with others were taken priſoners in Zeeland. A

In Ireland many Gentlemen of good account were drowned, and diuers of them were ſlaine, by the Iriſh and by Sir *Richard Bingham*, at that time Gouernor of Conocke. There were brought out of Ireland into England, *Don Alonſo de Lucon*, Collonel of two and thirty companies of the Neapolitain bands, *Don Rodrigo de Laſſo* and two Gentlemen of the houſe of *Cordua*, whom the Queene ſet at libertie, to haue Mounſire *Teligny* releaſed, being then a priſoner in the caſtle of Dornicke by Antwerp. To conclude, there was no great houſe of any account in Spaine, but that loſt a brother, ſonne or Nephew in this action. B

In the Netherlands, the blame of this vnfortunat ſucceſſe, was layd vpon the Duke of Parma, as Generall, vpon Mounſire *la Motte*, (who had the greateſt charge to prouide for the Armie) and Comiſſary *Drinckweart*, countroller of the prouiſion: who excuſed themſelues, ſaying that the Spaniſh fleete came to ſoone, and that it was impoſſible to ſhippe all things neceſſary for ſuch an army in foureteene daies, the ſhippes beeing ſcarce readie; and that the Earle of Barlaimont who had twelue ſhippes appointed him for his men, found them ſo vnready and leaking, as many of them were halfe full of water, the fault whereof was put off from the one to the other, ſo as the Duke of Parma cauſed ſome to be hanged which had not diſcharged their duties, and being badly ſpoken of by many, hee blamed the Spaniards delaies, ſaying that they perceiuing many C Engliſh and Netherland ſhippes lying before the hauens of Flanders, they held it impoſſible for them to get forth, when as their mightie armie durſt not offer to charge them. His commiſſion from the King was (if it were poſſible to bring both their fleetes togither) to hazard a battaile. But to venture the Kings armie ſo ſlightly, being vnprepared, and not ſo well furniſhed with ſhippes and ſailers as it ſhould haue beene, and thereby to hazard the loſſe of ſo many braue Noblemen and Gentlemen, as were therein, would bee no honor nor credit for him: yet being perſwaded by ſome that the Spaniſh fleete would returne backe againe, he continued his preparations for all things neceſſarie for the army by land.

The Duke of Parma and la Motte being blamed excuſe themſelues.

Thus did the great GOD of battailes fight miraculouſly for the preſeruation of D England and the vnited Prouinces, who with his powrefull arme ſcattered (like a heape of duſt before the winde) that mighty and (as they termed it) inuincible Spaniſh fleete, to the ſhame and confuſion of the furtherers thereof. The duke of Parma hearing for certaine that the Spaniſh fleete was paſt quite away, without the which hee could not do any thing: beeing loath to remaine idle, hee brought his armie out of Flanders (the which was quite waſted) into Brabant, and beeing verie melancholie and diſcontented for this diſgracefull ſucceſſe, hee reſolued (contrary to the aduiſe of his Councell at warre, and eſpecially of Collonel *Mondragon*) to goe and beſiege the towne of Berghen vp Zoom, whether he ſent the Marquis of Burgau ſonne to *Ferdinand* Archduke of Auſtria, with his Regiment of Lanſknetchs, newly come out of the country of Tyrol. *Peter* E *Erneſt* the old Earle of Mansfieldt, the Duke of Paſtrana and the Prince of Aſcoly.

The duke of Parmaes deſeigne to beſiege Berghen.

The ſeauenteenth of September he came thether in perſon: where being arriued, he commanded the Marquis of Renty (before Lord of Montigny) to attempt the Iſland of Ter-Tolen with his Regiment, at a place called Voſmeer which diuideth Tolen from Brabant, and ſo to beſiege it as well by ſea as by land. The Marquis (beeing accompanied by *Octauio* Earle of Mansfield) thinking to enter it with eight hundred men, through the fauour of two thouſand musketiers which lay vpon the dike of Berghen, they were repulſt by *George Euerard* Earle of Solms, Collonel of the Regiment of Zeeland, ſo as hauing giuen two furious charges and preuailed nothing, they retired with the loſſe of foure hundred men, all ſhot in the head, the which onelie appeered aboue the F water: the Marquis of Renty and *Octauio* Earle of Mansfieldt ſticking ſo faſt in the mud, as they could hardly be drawne out. The Zeelanders had but one man ſlaine and two hurt, hauing a good parapet vpon the dike for their defence.

About that time they of Arthois and Henault made a truce (the which continued ſome

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A (some yeares) with the Lord of Balaigny gouernor of Cambray, to bee freed from the incursions and spoiles which were committed of eyther side: wherevnto Balaigny did willingly yeeld, that by the meanes of this truce, he might restore the making of fine Cambray cloath, and so maintaine his reputation with the people, and confirme his gouernment and authoritie. The Archbishop of Cambray, sonne to the Lord of Barlaimont, had some times practises vpon the said towne, by meanes of his intelligence with the Chanons and Bourgers. But Balaignies pollicie, and especially his wiues, did still discouer them, so as such as dealt in it prooued but bad marchants. 1588.

We haue made mention before, of some diuision growne betwixt the townes men of Vtrecht, and the spiritualtie, who would bee esteemed the chiefe members in the B sayd Towne, which the Bourgers would not yeeld vnto, fearing they were too much affected to the Pope and the Spaniard, against whom the Pollititians sought to assure themselues in making of a standing councell, whereas before it was changed yeerely, not acquainting the Estates of the Prouince there-with. Afterwards (the Earle of Leicester being Gouernor generall; hauing ended this former controuersie) it happened that certaine men some-what addicted to the Romish religion, and others, being chiefe rulers in the sayd Towne, good common-weales men, and such as had furthered the vnion of Vtrecht with Holland, and beene carefull of the well-fare of their countrie, were charged with certaine practises against the vnitie of the Church: for the which (through the Earle of Leicesters countenance and authoritie) they C were not onely sent out of the Towne, but banished out of the Netherlands, (as you haue heard) and commanded to remaine in new-tall places, choosing new officers at their owne pleasure, which bred great dissention in the Towne, the which continued two yeares. A declaration of the troubles in Vtrecht.

The Estates of the vnited Prouinces fearing that the enemie was a great meanes to maintaine this diuision in Vtrecht, hoping thereby to breed some greater faction and disorder among them, finding that diuerse of the chiefe actors, were strangers in the towne and territories of Vtrecht, in the which they had no lands to loose, whereby they had the lesse care for the wel-fare of the same, and that the best townes men, and such as were most carefull for the State, were banished from thence: they sought D by all good meanes and intreaties, to haue the banished men restored to their houses, goods, and offices, which had beene taken from them, which being by no meanes granted, vpon mature deliberation and aduise, they practised all the secret meanes they could (being there-vnto sollicited by the sayd banished persons) to place soldiers in the Forts of the sayd territories, and especially in Vtrecht, to secure the same, fearing that if the enemie should besiege the Towne, wanting the best Bourgers, and the rest in diuision, and with a small garrison, that it might bee soone taken, being most certaine that the intruded officers (fearing to bee displaced) would not bee perswaded (vpon any extremitie) to receiue any ayde from them of Holland: and for that they of Vtrecht were growne iealous of these practises, they were the more carefull to E defend themselues against them of Holland, then against their common enemy. For this cause the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, commanded *Adolph* Earle of Mœurs, &c. Gouernor of Gelderland, Vtrecht and Oueryssell, to keepe within Vtrecht, and to put in practise their secret desseignes, seeking all oportunitie to effect the same. To which end on the seauenth of October this yeare 1588. when as the ancient custome of the Towne was to bee obserued, and their Magistrates changed, they of the Towne had sent their deputies into England to bee recommended from thence for the continuance of their places, but (the Earle of Leicester being dead, and they finding but small assistance there, it seemes for that the Queene had beene otherwise informed by the Earle of Mœurs, who had likewise sent into England F about the same businesse,) they were deceiued of their expectation: so as the fift of October, the Towne being full of trouble and dissention, the Captaines of the towne desired the Senate and the Captaines of the garrison, to haue libertie to make inquiry in all places of the causes of these rumors, and to certifie the Bourguemaisters thereof, which beeing granted them, insteed of pacifying all disorders, they

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1588. ſecretly practiſed how to effect their pretended enterpriſe, and to fortifie themſelues, A
the which they began to put in practiſe the ſame euening, thinking that night to
ſeaze vpon ſome of the contrary faction, and to put them in priſon, without the priv
uitie of the Bourguemaiſter or the Earle of Mœurs: where-with the Earle being
made acquainted (being very circumſpect) hee ſecretly began to fortifie himſelfe
with diuerſe Captaines, Commanders, and friends, which hee had within the towne,
keeping a ſtrong garde about his houſe, as if hee feared ſome attempt againſt his per-
ſon, calling the townes-men to ayde him: the other Captaines of the towne (who had
taken armes, and placed themſelues in garde about the towne) at ten of the clock in
the morning ſent for their Bourguemaiſter *Prouinck* (otherwiſe called *Deuenter*) vnto
the Towne-houſe, who being come thether, hee firſt tooke order that the chiefe lea- B
ders of the contrary watch, ſhould not bee moleſted, but bee brought into the
Towne-houſe, and there kept vnder the protection of Iuſtice, aſſembling the Senate,
to know the cauſe of this alarum, and to pacifie it: But in the meane time the Earle of
Mœurs authoritie was of ſuch force among the Townes-men (by reaſon of the ge-
The Earle of Meurs reconciles Vtrecht with Holland. nerall diſcontent betwixt the ſoldiers and them) as they perceiuing the Earle to bee
armed, the one halfe ſtood ſtill, and the other halfe followed him, ſo as hee preuai-
led ouer them of the towne: and as Captaine *Iulian Claerhagen* (who lay with his
company in the ſayd towne, (hearing of this tumult) was going vnto the Towne-
houſe, hee was ſodenly thruſt into the body, yet hee dyed not of the wound, his com-
pany and the company of *Mounſieur Villiers* ſtood ſtill, and ſo did the Engliſh horſe- C
men, who tooke part with neither ſide: by this meanes the tumult was preſently ap-
peaſed, which being done, the Bourguemaiſter *Prouincke* was brought from the
Towne-houſe, and committed priſoner to the Earles lodging; and after that the
Scout *Trillo* and one of the Captaines of the watch: the next day the Earle tooke order
for the gouernment of the towne, according to their ancient priuiledges, and not
long after the baniſhed men returned home againe: Firſt taking an othe not to ſeeke
any reuenge in regarde of their baniſhment, but to liue louingly and quietly toge-
ther. Many witneſſes were produced againſt the ſayd Bourguemaiſter, who was ex-
amined vpon diuers interrogatories, and after fortie two weekes impriſonment ſet at
liberty, and the reſt likewiſe, ſo as the towne and territories of Vtrecht were once D
againe reconciled to Holland, conforming themſelues in all things with the reſt of
the vnited Prouinces, wherein the Earle of Mœurs did very good ſeruice, and be-
haued himſelfe well.

The action at the ſconſe of Berghen. Now I muſt returne to the ſiege of Berghen: the Duke of Parma ſeeing the re-
pulſe which the Marquis of Renty had receiued at the Iland of Ter-Tolen, and that
hee could not impeache the ſuccours which might bee ſent vnto the beſieged by
ſea out of Holland and Zeeland, and finding that the ſiege would bee long and tedi-
ous, hee entertained a practiſe for the deliuering vp of the great North Sconſe, which
ſtands at the head of the hauen: the diſcourſe whereof I haue thought good to ſet
downe plainely as I had it from the chiefe actor himſelfe, both in regarde of him- E
ſelfe, who is very neere vnto mee, and of the Hiſtorie to the which it doth belong,
but moſt of all to ſatisfie ſuch as eyther ignorantly or malicioufly haue detracted
from this ſeruice, ſugieſting a meere falſehood and vntruth, the which he offers to
maintaine by all the courſes fitte for a Gentleman and a ſoldier: and this was the
manner of it.

The Duke of Parma hauing marched from Dunkerke through Brabant with his
armie, being betwixt twentie and thirty thouſand ſtrong, hee ſent certaine officers
before to view the commodiouſneſſe of the ground before Berghen, (which hee
meant to beſiege) as well for the planting of his ordinance, as for the quartering
of his men. One of theſe officers who was a commiſſarie of the ordinance called F
Pedro de Luco, and an other named *Thomas Swegoe*, (who profeſſed himſelfe to bee
an Italian) were taken priſoners by certaine ſoldiars of the garriſon of Berghen, who
were at that time ſent out as Scoutes, which priſoners being thus ſurprized, were com-
mitted to the ſafe keeping of maiſter *Read-head*, who was then appointed by the Lord
Willough-

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A Willoughby to be deputie Prouoſt of the towne of Berghen. Theſe priſoners had not continued many dayes in his cuſtodie, before that *William Grimeſton* (hauing had ſome conference with *Swegoe*,) found cauſe to ſuſpect him to be an Engliſhman borne, and there-vpon deuiſed with *Read-head* how to diſcouer him; who hauing good oportunitie to diſcourſe with them, for that they were in his cuſtodie; hee told *Swegoe* that hee was much diſcontented, with his entertainment and vſage on that ſide, wiſhing that he were with the Kings forces, vnder the command of Sir *William Stanley*, vnder whom hee had ſerued in Ireland. Where-vpon *Swegoe* wiſht *Read-head* to bee merry and of good comfort, ſaying that hee was an Engliſh man, and borne in Seething lane in London, that his Mother was one of the Queenes women, and that hee had a ſiſter B which attended on the Lady Lomley; proteſting that it was a happy time for *Read-head* that euer hee was taken priſoner, and if hee would be aduiſed by him, hee would be the meanes both to aduance him to great wealth, and to make him liue in great reputation: where-vpon *Read-head* did willingly yeeld to performe any thing that hee would direct him in. 1588.

Then did *Swegoe* acquaint the foreſaid comiſſarie of the ordinance with all this conference which had paſt betwixt him and *Read-head*: where-vpon the comiſſary told him, that if he could deliuer any port of the towne, or any of the ſconſes, or any peece of ground of aduantage, he would aſſure him he ſhould bee ſo bountifully entertained by the King, as hee ſhould neuer want whileſt hee liued; to whom *Read-head* made C anſwer, that hee had no command neither within the towne nor ſconſes, but hee had a friend who hee knew was as greatly diſcontented as him-ſelfe, whome hee would acquaint there-with, not doubting but to effect their deſire. The ſame day *Read-head* did conferre with *William Grimeſton*, (who had then the command of Captaine *Thomas Baskeruile* his company lying in the North Sconſe) and told him that hee had diſcouered the foreſayd *Swegoe* to bee an Engliſh man, and that if he would ſecretly ioyne with him, hee doubted not but they ſhould giue the enemie a great ouerthrow, doe good ſeruice to the country, and purchaſe great credit and aduancement to themſelues: where-vnto *Grimeſton* did very willingly aſſent, who preſently went and aduertiſed the Lord Willoughby their generall, of all that had paſt; who ſeemed D to be very glad thereof, willing the ſayd *Grimeſton* to proceed in this practiſe, and to promiſe to deliuer vp the North ſconſe vnto the Duke of Parma, and for a diſcharge of *Grimeſtons* dealing in this action, the Lord Willoughby gaue him a warrant vnder his owne hand.

Then did *Read-head* bring *Grimeſton* to the Comiſſarie of the ordinance, and to *Swegoe*, who told them in what manner *Read-head* had broken with him, and that hee was willing to doe the King ſeruice, but hee would haue ſome aſſurance how he ſhould bee entertained, for that hee was not able to liue in his owne country, and had many friends of worth; all which he muſt forgoe, and therefore he would be aſſured of ſome certaintie: where-vpon the Comiſſarie of the Ordinance and *Swegoe*, did aſſure *Grime-* E *ſton* of the Duke of Parmas honorable dealing with him, if he did performe that ſeruice, and deliuer vp the North ſconſe: wherewith he ſeeming to reſt ſatisfied, the comiſſarie of the ordinance and *Swegoe* did write three letters, one to the Duke of Parma, an other to ſir *William Stanley*, and the third to *Owen*, of all their practiſe and proceedings, which letters they could not deuiſe to ſend without diſcouery, where-vpon *Read-head* told them, that rather then the ſeruice ſhould be any way hindered or protacted, hee himſelfe would aduenture to carry the letters, whereof hauing giuen copies to the Lord Willoughby, hee paſt with them accordingly in the night time through *Grimeſtons* ſconſe, to the enemies campe, where at his comming the Sentinell gaue an alarum, and ſome fiue or ſixe ſhotte were diſcharged at the ſayd *Read-head*, but in F the end hee was receiued by a Sargeant, and ſome two ſhotte, carrying him preſently to the Marquis of Renty, who (after many queſtions) ſent him with a Captaine and ſome twenty ſoldiers vnto the Duke, vnto whom he deliuered his letters, which when hee had read, hee ſent for his councell, and for Sir *William Stanley*, who examined the ſayd *Read-head* of diuerſe matters, as well of the ſtrength of the garriſon within

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1588 the towne, as how they were furniſhed with munition and victualls, with ſundry other A
queſtions concerning himſelfe and the ſeruice he had in hand? how he came out of the towne without deſcouery? and how hee could returne againe? with many others, all which were anſwered to their contents.

Then the Duke of Parma deſired to know when hee ſhould haue the ſconce deliuered vnto him, wherevnto *Readhead* made anſwere, that hee could not tell, for that it was in Maiſter *Grimeſton* to performe, who had the commande thereof: And if it pleaſed his highneſſe to ſend ſome one with him whome hee might truſt, he would bring him to conferre with Maiſter *Grimeſton*, by whome hee ſhould vnderſtand his full and certaine reſolution, wherewith the Prince was well pleaſed, and ſayd that hee would ſend one with him to talke with Maiſter *Grimeſton*, proteſting to deale hono- B
rably with them and to performe whatſoeuer his men had promiſed, with an increaſe: wherevnto *Readhead* made anſwere, that for his owne particular hee did verelie beleeue it, becauſe hee heard him ſpeake it, but to ſatisfie Maiſter *Grimeſton* and to incourage him the better to effect the ſeruice, hee deſired him to haue it vnder his hand, wherevnto hee did willingly conſent: And at that inſtant *Readhead* brought away certaine Articles ſigned by the Duke, the which hee deliuered to *Grimeſton*, and with him the Duke of Parma ſent one *Alford* a Yorkeſhire man and a guide to ſpeake with *Grimeſton*, and the chiefeſt reaſon was to know when hee ſhould haue the ſconce deliuered: Wherevpon *Grimeſton* willed *Alford* to tell the Duke, that hee could not appoint any certaine time, for that hee was ſuſpected for his Religion, and had C
many eies to ouer-looke him. But when hee had made all matters cleere and readie to bee performed, hee would come ouer to the Duke, beſeeching him in the meane-time to haue patience, and not to thinke the time long, for that it ſhould bee effectually performed.

On the ſixt of October beeing Sunday, *Grimeſton* and *Readhead* went to the Dukes Campe, about eleauen of the clocke at night, where they were quietly receiued without any great alarum in the campe. Beeing entred, *Grimeſton* was preſently mounted and ſent away, and *Readhead* ſtayed the Dukes comming (who was vewing of certaine ordinance which hee had cauſed to bee planted, to hinder a paſſage by water) whereof the Duke beeing aduertiſed, hee came preſently away, commanding a horſe D
for *Readhead*, with whome hee diſcourſed all the way to his Tent, beeing three miles: *Grimeſton* attended him at the entrie of his Tent, whome hee tooke verie kindely by the hand, bidding him welcome: And after many queſtions made by the Duke to *Grimeſton*, concerning the Eſtate of the towne beſieged, wherein the ſayd *Grimeſton* delt directly and plainely, knowing it to bee his ſafeſt courſe, the Duke hauing ſo good intelligence out of the towne, in the end the Duke deſired to know when hee could be fit to performe the ſeruice which hee had vndertaken? who preſently anſwered that hee ſhould haue it deliuered vnto him on the Wedenſday-night following, which was *Grimeſtons* garde night; wherevpon hee tooke his hand, and commaunded Sir *William Stanley*, *Hugh Owen* and diuers other captaines to bee merrie E
with *Grimeſton* and *Readhead*, who conducted them to an other Tent where there was a banket prepared, beeing in the mideſt of it, there were two gold chaines ſent from the Duke, one to *Grimeſton*, the other to *Readhead*. The banket beeing done, they were re-conuaied to the Duke, who after ſome more queſtions with *Grimeſton* concerning the intented buſineſſe, hee gaue them leaue to depart, commanding they ſhould bee mounted vpon two of his owne horſes, and Sir *William Stanley* with *Owen Salisbury* to garde them to the water ſide, which they did accordingly, and ſo taking leaue one of the other, *Grimeſton* returned to the Lord Willoughby acquainting him with all their proceedings, who ſayd that it could not be performed as *Grimeſton* had concluded it with the Duke, for that hee was altogither vnprouided, hauing neither Ordinance planted nor a Portcullis made, nor ſuch Commaunders with him to bee partakers of the ſeruice, as were in the country. And therefore if one of them did not returne to the Duke the next night after, to put it off for three daies more, it was all nothing which they had done. F

Where-

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A Where-vpon *Grimeſton* moued the Lord Willoughby to call *Read-head*, and to incou- 1588.
rage him to goe againe the next night, to winne a longer time; which he did, and com-
ming into the campe, he found the Duke ready with his troupes of horſe to ſecond his
foote, thinking to haue entred the ſconſe preſently: But as ſoone as he heard *Read-head*
ſay the ſconce could not bee deliuered that night, hee fell preſently into a great rage,
laying his hand on his rapier, and ſwearing that hee did thinke it was but a ſtratageme
to cut his throate, whereof if he were aſſured, he would kill *Read-head* with his owne
hands: but *Read-head* gaue him ſo great reaſons for this delay, as hee reſted ſatisfied,
promiſing that *Grimeſton* ſhould deliuer it vnto him, or looſe his life; where-vpon the
Duke tooke his hand, commanding him a cup of Sack, and ſo diſmiſt him for that time.

B Sir *William Stanley* came back with *Read-head* to the water ſide, who vpon the way in-
treated the ſayd *Read-head*, if it were a ſtratagem, to tell him, and hee would neuer re-
ueale it: but hee made him anſwer that there was nothing but truth; Then hee gaue
Read-head a watch-word, that when they ſhould enter the ſconſe, they might ſend in
ſome hundred or two hundred men before, that himſelfe and the reſt might enter with
ſafety; all which *Read-head* promiſed ſhould be done. Hauing taken leaue of ſir *Willi-
am Stanley*, he returned to the Lord Willoughby, and acquainted him with what had
paſt; and what ſir *William Stanley* had reſolued to doe by his watch-word, all which his
Lordſhip willed him to keepe ſecret, and to acquaint no man there-with; and in the
meane time he made all things ready to receiue them.

C Vpon the night prefixed, betwixt eleuen and twelue a clock, being as darke as pitch,
Grimeſton according to appointment, went forth to conduct them into the ſconſe,
who comming to the Dukes quarter, where his troopes were ready, they demanded
for *Read-head*, and ſayd that they thought it was a plot to cut their throats; but *Grime-
ſton* anſwered that *Read-head* had ſlaine one of the Gouernors men in the market place,
and that except the expedition of that ſeruice did ſaue his life, hee would bee hanged
for the fact: yet for all that they would not truſt him, but ſir *William Stanley* cauſed his
hands to bee bound with a match, and appointed a Sargent to lead him with his dag-
ger drawne to ſtabbe him, if hee diſcouered any treaſon, and ſo they came vnto the
ſconſe, where there entred not aboue fortie, whereof ſome twelue were ſlaine, and the
D reſt taken priſoners. The alarum being giuen, *Grimeſton* did ſtrike vp the Sargeants
heeles which held him in bonds, and ſo got to his company, who was likewiſe in dan-
ger to haue beene ſlaine by his fellow ſoldiers, if G O D had not preſerued him; the
Dukes forces that were with-out the ſconce, when the alarum was giuen, being foure
thouſand men attempted to force it, and to breake downe the Palleſſado, being then a
lowe-water, but they were repulſt, and the water flowing, were forced to retire. There
were in this action ſlaine, drowned, and taken priſoner, betwixt foure hundred and fiue
hundred of the enemies, all being men of eſpeciall note.

This is a briefe and true relation of all that action performed by *Grimeſton* and *Read-
head*, which ſome malicious papiſts, or ill affected to the State, haue giuen out to haue
E beene vnder-taken by the receiuing of the Sacrament, wherein they proteſt and will
maintaine it, that they haue ſpoken falſely, vntruly and diſhoneſtly, vnleſſe they take a
banket and a couple of gold chaines to bee a Sacrament. The Queene in recompence
of this ſeruice, did giue vnto *Grimeſton* a hundred pound in money, and an annuitie of
fiftie pounds a yeare during his life, cauſing him to be ſworne an Eſquire for her body;
to *Read-head* ſhe gaue a hundred pounds and forty pounds a yeare during his life, com-
manding him to bee ſworne an ordinary Sewer of her chamber; which place hee ſtill
enioyeth vnder his royall Maieſtie.

The Duke of Parma hauing receiued this diſgrace, and ſeeing his bad ſucceſſe a-
gainſt the Iſle of Ter-Tole, with-out the which he could not fully beſiege Berghen, the
F which might be releeued at euery tide by the ſhips of Holland and Zeeland, through
the fauour of the great ſconſe, hee raiſed his campe, and put his men into garriſons.
His retreate was the ninth of Nouember, hauing beſieged Berghen ſixe weekes to his
great loſſe and ſhame. After the Duke of Parmas retreate from Berghen, Prince *Mau-
rice* went to his towne of Campuere, where hee tooke poſſeſſion of the Marquiſate of

The Duke of Parma raiſeth his ſiege from Berghen.

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1589. Vere, being his inheritance, with the accuſtomed ceremonies, in the which he cauſed peeces of ſiluer to be caſt abroad, on the which were grauen the armes of Naſſau and la Vere, tyed together with a double knot, with this circumſcription; *Nodus indiſſolubilis*: on the other ſide was an arme armed holding a ſword, and the deuiſe; *Ie maintiendray Naſſau.* There was an other kinde of coyne with two hands ioyned as if they plighted their faith, out of the which came *Mercuries Caduceus*, the writing about it was; *Auxilia humilia firma conſenſus facit*, that is; Vnitie and conſent make ſmall forces firme and ſtrong. He had receiued the like honor at Fluſhing, but by reaſon of ſome iealouſie betwixt the Engliſh and the Eſtates, it was deferred vntill Auguſt the yeare following. A

Prince Maurice inſtalled Marquis of la Vere.

Whileſt the Duke of Parma was at the ſiege of Berghen, *Charles* Earle of Mansfield lay before Wachtendonck, a ſmall Towne in the vpper quarter of Gelderland, the which hauing refuſed to yeeld vpon ſummons, he began to batter it, but preuailing little by reaſon of the great difficultie there was to come vnto the aſſault: hee reſolued to ruine all that was within the towne, which was very little, to which end he cauſed two great and high caualiers or platformes to be made, whereby he might diſcouer all that was done in the towne, whereon he planted his Artillerie, which ſcoured ouer all, ſo as the beſieged were forced to abandon both ſtreetes and houſes, and to keepe in their caues and ſellers; ſo as in the end deſpairing of all ſuccors, they were forced to compound the twenty of December, the ſoldiers departing with their rapiers and daggers onely. About the ſame time and before (the Netherlands being in theſe troubles and garboyles) many bordring vpon thoſe countries, which were to receiue money from the ſame, for the which they had the Eſtates billes formerly made, whereby they bound their ſubiects to the paiment thereof, vnderſtanding that for want of payment it ſhould be lawfull for the ſaid creditors to arreſt their ſubiects and their goods which dwelt out of the Netherlands, as it hath beene often vſed in Germanie and the Eaſt-countries; ſo as for the like debts, and for the arrerages of rents for diuers townes, many Netherland Marchants of Antwerpe and other places, were arreſted, and their goods ſtayed, and actions entred againſt many Netherland Marchants inhabiting in London, vpon ſuch billes of debt, the which bred great troubles. B C D

Wachtendonk beſieged and taken.

The ſubiects of the Netherlands arreſted out of the country for the States debts.

The vnited Prouinces at that time were much troubled about the like cauſe with the King of Scotland, who this yeare, about the two and twenty of Auguſt, ſent his Herald vnto the vnited Prouinces, to will them within fortie dayes after his meſſage done, to take order for the ſatisfaction of their martiall debt for ſeruice done vnto them, by certaine of his ſubiects, as to Collonell *Stuart*, and to other Captaines and ſoldiers which had ſerued vnder him in the Netherlands, which amounted to aboue fiue hundred thouſand gilders, elſe hee ſhould be conſtrained to giue the ſayd Collonell and his aſſociates leaue to execute his letters of Mart, granted vnto them alreadie by the aduiſe of his councell, and ſo paye themſelues: to preuent this danger, and all other controuerſie which might grow betwixt the King of Scotland and the ſayd Prouinces: the Eſtates ſent Maiſter *Leonard de Voocht* one of their councell of Eſtate vnto the King, with Commiſſion to informe his Maieſtie, that the vnited Prouinces, and eſpecially they of Holland and Zeeland (who were moſt threatned, and in greateſt danger of the ſayd letters of Marte) were not to pay any thing vnto the ſayd Collonell *Stuart* and his aſſociates, of his pretended debt, which (they ſayd) grew, when as they ſerued the Eſtates of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois and Henault, vnder the gouernment of *Mathias* Archduke of Auſtria, and after him vnder the duke of Aniou, by whoſe Commiſſion the ſayd Collonell *Stuart* with his regiment, ſerued in the ſayd Prouinces, whereas they of Holland and Zeeland had not any thing to do touching the paiment of ſoldiers which ſerued in thoſe Prouinces, but euer ſince the pacification of Gant had diuided them-ſelues from them, as touching thoſe payments, and by contract made betweene them, had agreed to aide them with 25. companies of foote, and a hundred horſe, wherewith they contented themſelues. And that it was againſt the common cuſtome of all Kings, Princes, Potentats & commonweales, to E F

Iames King of Scotland ſends to the vnited Prouinces for pay due to Collonel Stuart.

The Eſtates ſend Monſieur de Voocht to the King of Scotland.

ſeeke

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A seeke to get old debts for seruice done long since in warres by letter of repriſall, ſo long as the warres continued, and that it is an vſuall thing amongſt them to appoint ſuch debts to bee paied at ſuch daies and times as their State may beſt ſpare them without deniall, or conſtraint of their neighbors: and that in ſuch ſort the Emperor *Charles* and the Kings of France, England, and Denmarke, yea and the King of Spaine himſelfe, were indebted many milions, vnto ſuch as had ſerued them in fore-paſſed warres, the which was not yet paide. 1589.

The Eſtates gaue commiſſion vnto their Ambaſſador to returne by England, to informe the Queene of his proceeding in this buſineſſe, and to intreat her Maieſty that ſhee would be pleaſed to compound this controuerſie betwixt the King of Scotland
B and them: wherevpon on the tenth of Nouember ſhee wrot very effectually vnto the King in fauour of the vnited Prouinces: and not long after the Eſtates ſent the ſayd Maiſter *Voocht* and *Iohn vander Wercke* an other Councellor of Eſtate into Scotland by ſea, who ſatisfied the King ſo well in all points, as the aforeſayd letters of repriſall ganted by the King vnto Collonel *Stuart*, were called in. The Eſtates finding themſelues ſome-what eaſed of the feare they had of the Spaniſh fleete, and of the mutiny of their ſouldiers, hauing thereby re-eſtabliſhed their authorities, they reſolued to ſettle a better courſe for the gouernment, finding the great vnwillingneſſe that was generally among the ſoldiars, as then ſeruing in the Netherlands, by reaſon of their bad pay, during the Earle of Leiceſters Gouernment, wherevpon they determined to eſtabliſh a new
C order in martiall polliey. Firſt, they compared their charges of the warre, with the meanes of the ſayd Prouince, and for that cauſe diſcharged diuers companies both of horſe and foote, which had beene entertained by the Earle of Leiceſter, more then the ſayd Prouinces could well pay: And finding that by reaſon of their long and continuall warre, there were many which pretended to be behinde hand with their pay, for former ſeruice, they cauſed all the Collonels, Captaines and Officers to promiſe by oth not to importune the vnited Prouinces, for any ſuch old debt during the warres, vpon condition that euery mans account and reckoning ſhould bee caſt vp, and whatſoeuer ſhould be thereby found due vnto them, they tooke order ſhould be paied at ſuch daies and times as the ſayd Prouinces could well ſpare it, and ſo cut off all yearely penſions
D formerly granted for them their wiues and children.

The Queene writes vnto the King of Scotland in fauor of the vnited Prouinces.

The pollicy of the vnited Prouinces touching martiall affaires.

Thirdly the Eſtates tooke order that the monthly paiments which from thence forth the ſoldiers ſhould receiue, ſhould be accounted at 48. daies to the month, cauſing the Collonels, Captaines & common ſoldiers to ſweare that they ſhould reſt ſatisfied with ſuch pay, but the entertainment of ſuperior officers, was appointed to be paied at 32. daies to the month. And to the end that good order might be obſerued concerning the payment of the ſoldiars which ſerue in the ſayd Prouinces, the Eſtates appointed the ſayd ſoldiers to be kept in garriſons in the ſayd Prouinces, according to the order made concerning the contributions wherewith euery Prouince was charged, according to their abilities, whereof enſued many notable effects, eſpecially that the contributions
E of the reſpectiue Prouinces, were not diuided, but truely imployed for the furniſhing of their ſeuerall taxations, made for the payment of the ſoldiers which were in each ſeuerall Prouince. Secondly that the ſoldiers might know in what Prouince they were to demande their pay, and if any default were made, they might preſently know how to ſeeke remedy for the ſame from the Councell of Eſtate.

48. daies to the month for the paiement of their ſoldiers.

Their care to pay the ſoldiars where they ſerue.

And finding that the charges of warre grew ſo great, as the ordinarie contributions were not ſufficient to defray the ſame, the ſayd Prouinces were content to bee rated extraordinarilie, ouer and aboue the old contribution, which euery of the ſayd Prouinces vſed to pay, whereof the Councell of Eſtate had the diſpoſition, and imployed it for the extraordinary charge. And it was agreed that at the end of the yeare
F the ſayd Prouinces ſhould aſſemble and account together, to ſee if euerie of them had payd there new and old contributions orderly as they ought, and what remained vnpaied.

The meanes wherby the ſayd Prouinces raiſe their particular monthly contributions, are not alike in euery Prouince, for they of Holland and Zeeland (beeing the richeſt

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1588 and mightieſt Prouinces) do raiſe their contribution by exciſes and impoſte rated vpon A
wines, beere, cattell, gold, ſiluer, ſilke, wollen-cloathes, horned beaſts, ſope, ſalt, vinager,
aqua-uitæ and many other things, the which are euery ſixe monthes by certaine com-
miſſioners appointed by the Eſtates of the ſayd Prouinces let out to farme: and beſides
this by the poundage rated vpon all lands, according to the yeerely value thereof, and
if the reuenues and taxations within the particular Prouinces, will not extend to the
ſumme ordained to bee paied by them, in ordinary and extraordinary contributions,
then that which is found ſhort, is either made vp by the townes in Holland, or els it is
layed vpon the reſt of the generall diuiſion, that is equally and by a generall conſent,
whereof the townes are ſatisfied againe, either by ſelling or letting out of certaine rents
belonging to the whole country of Holland, or in money, out of the poundage which is B
collected generally out of the whole Prouince aforeſayd.

Some Prouinces haue other meanes to raiſe their contributions, as the ſcituation
and condition of the Prouinces may afford, of the beſt meanes they can deuiſe for the
preſeruation of the ſayd Prouinces townes and villages, which preſcribed contribution
is not to be diminiſhed, but muſt bee paied out of ſuch meanes as they ſhall finde leaſt
preiudiciall to their ſubiects. With theſe and ſuch like meanes, the vnited Prouinces
of Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht and Friſeland, haue not onely valiantly defended them-
ſelues againſt the powre of ſo mightie a King, but alſo (as it ſhall appeere) with the aide
of Gelderland and Oueryſſel, haue oftentimes made offenſiue warres againſt the ſayd
King, and haue taken whole Prouinces, with many ſtrong townes and fortes from him, C
wherein the ſayd Prouinces haue neuer imploied any greater powre in the field (beſides
the garriſons of Bourgers in their townes and fronter places) then 12. or 13000. foote
and 3000. horſe well furniſhed and prouided of all kinde of munition for the warre, as
the neceſſity of the place beſieged required; hauing alwaies maintained their ſoldiers
both in field and in garriſons in good diſcipline, puniſhing open offences, reforming a-
buſes and ſatisfying the intereſſed.

The vnited Prouinces haue done great exploits with ſmall numbers of men.

The warre by ſea is maintained by the Eſtates in as good order as that by land; ap-
pointing in their ſea Prouinces an office of the Admiralty, which conſiſts of diuers per-
ſons of good iudgement in pollitick affaires, or els in traficke by ſea, and are diuided in-
to fiue ſeuerall places, where they haue their ordinary reſidence; as at Amſterdam, Rot- D
terdam, and Horne or Enchuyſen for Holland; at Midlebourg for Zeeland, and at Har-
linghen or Doccum for Friſeland, of the which Prince *Maurice* (as Admirall Generall
of the ſea) is the head. In whoſe name all commiſſions and orders for the warre ap-
pointed by the ſayd Officers of the Admiralty, are ſent forth: the Officers vnder him
are ſworne and receiue their commiſſion from the generall Eſtates. The Admirall
hath three or foure Vice-admiralls, which keepe in Holland and Zeeland, in places that
are moſt conuenient vpon the ſea-coaſt, as in Holland *Iohn van Deuenvoord* Lord of
Warmont, and vnder him *Peter vander Doos* and *Iohn Gerbrantſon*. In Zeeland *Iuſtin*
Naſſau and vnder him *Ioos de Moor*.

Prince Maurice is Admirall and chiefe of all the reſt.

The Officers of the Admiraltie direct all the warres by ſea, by aduiſe from the gene- E
rall Eſtates, and to that end they receiue ſuch money as is payed for conuoies and Li-
cenſes rated vpon goods going out and comming in, according to the order ſet downe
by the generall Eſtates, which taxes are raiſed higher euery yeare by the ſayd Eſtates, if
neceſſity require it and be thought conuenient for the good of the Netherlands. The
money ryſing of the ſayd conuoies &c. is collected by ſworne Officers, appointed by
the ſayd courts of Admiralty, and is imployed to the paiement of the ſouldiars which
ſerue by ſea, and are at the charge of the generality; as alſo for the building and repay-
ring of ſhippes of warre, and for the rigging and furniſhing them with all things neceſ-
ſarie, the which is a very great charge in reſpect of the great number of ſhippes of war
which they are forced to entertaine continually. F

Conuoy money imployed for the wars by ſea.

The warre by ſea is ordered by the Admiraltie in this ſort; firſt they appoint diuers
ſhippes of warre to watch the hauen townes, which are vnder the enemies commande,
as before Dunkerke, Nieuport, Oſtend &c. Secondly there are certaine ſhips of warre
ſent out to keepe the ſeas. Thirdly they vſe yearely to ſend out ſome ſhippes of warre

to

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A to defend the fisher-men, which take herings and cod vpon the coasts of England, Scotland and there-abouts, fourthly as the Marchants shippes saile out of the said Prouinces to traficke with France, England, Scotland, Denmarke: and other places, they are safely conuoyed by certaine shippes of warre, to defend them from their enemies and from pirats at sea. Lastly they haue a great number of small shippes appointed for the warres, which they vse within the land, to keepe their riuers and fresh waters from Inuasion of the enemies, as also for the beseeging of townes and forts, which lie vpon the said riuers. The said admiralty hath authority to punish offences and reforme disorders committed at sea, to determine of prisoners ransomes taken: to value the prises of all goods brought in by sea Captaines. And to the end the saylers should doe B their duties and fight willingly, euery one is allowed his part of the prises which they haue taken, according to his place, and they are often times rewarded by the admiralty for their good seruices, besides their monethly wages. This yeare the States garrisons made diuers incursions into the enemies country: they of Heusden and Geertruydenberg in Brabant went forth with eight hundred men, horse and foote (the horsemen taking vp the foote-men behind them) and went to Tilborch by Boisleduke whereas some of the Duke of Parmas troupes lay, whome they charged and defeated, whereof diuers being slaine the rest fled into the church, but they durst not stay to force them fearing that vpon the alarume, the garrisons there about would issue forth and charge them, and so they returned backe with good prize. The like did they of Berghen vp C Zoom, being lesse then a hundred soldiers (whereof fiue or six were horse-men of captaine *Baxe* his companie) and led by a Sargent, they went to doe an exployt vpon Borchloon, whereof they fayled, yet they past valiantly through a company of soldiars and came to Thienen, where there lay fiue or sixe companies of Spaniards, into the which they got by reason that the towne is great, and draue out the Spaniards, putting three companies of them to the sword, and then spoyled the towne: the enemie attended them at their comming forth being about foure hundred strong; but they making head valiantly, not onely forced through them, but came safe to their garrison withall their booty which is a thing almost incredible.

Courses made by the States garrisons into the enemies Countries.

The Zeelanders being about seauenty strong, past ouer the water into Flanders, D and there cut of a conuoie going to Cortrick, where besides the foote there were aboue two hundred horsemen, and thirty Marchants which did ride; the Zeelanders first charged the horse-men with their shot, and tooke some of them, and then defeated the rest, carrying away as much booty as they could, and so returned into Zeeland. Sir *Martin Schenck* in like sort was not Idle but made road as farre as Momedi, and in December he had secret intelligence with some of Nymeghen, meaning to vndermine the wall, whereas the ditch was not very deepe, and so to blow it vp, but by reason of some store of raine which fell about that time and stood in the diches, he could not effect his desseigne. There were many subtill enterprises attempted about this time of either side both in Brabant, Gelderland and Freezland, some- E times with profit, some-times with losse, for that there were many good soldiars of either side, who sought daily to winne honor and credit. Sir *Martin Schenck* to recouer some of his losses in the beginning of Nouember made a fonse at Herwerden vpon the Rine without the consent of the Estates, which was some impayring of their publicke authority, but by the perswasion of Prince Maurice and the Lord *Willoughby* hee had a great charge giuen vnto him that hee should throw it downe againe.

The English garrison in the Brill began to mutine for their pay, being some-what long ere it came: that garrison lying in such sort, as the soldiars had good meanes to helpe themselues by incursions vpon the enemie, but for that their pay (accor- F ding to the contract) was to be brought out of England, the Estates of Holland disburst the mony for the Queene, and so stayed the mutiny. The enemies garrisons being also in great want and misery began to mutine for want of pay, for that the Kings Indian treasor was not able to countermaile the great cost and charges of his warres, part of those wants were supplied by the King of Spaines name and authority,

Mutinie vnder the enemy for pay.

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authority, and yet not ſo well, but diuers of their ſouldiers put themſelues vnder the Eſtates, where they might haue ſurer pay, and better meanes to helpe themſelues by incurſions.

1589. The ſecond mutiny at Gheertruydenberg.

In the beginning of this yeare the garriſon of Geertruydenbergh beganne to mutine againe, it is a towne belonging to Prince *Maurice*, lying right againſt Dort, vpon the Mecwe or Vlack, which is a water made by the Rhine and the Maſe: this garriſon ſuſpecting that ſome-thing might bee attempted againſt them, they preſently diſarmed the Bourgers, and ſtaied all the ſhippes and boates that paſt by, taking contributions, burning villages and committing all inſolencies as enemies to the Eſtates. Vpon the ſixe and twentie of Nouember paſt, the ſouldiars beeing perſwaded to vnion, they made anſwere by writing the which (they ſayd) was ſigned by Sir *Iohn Wingfield* Gouernor of the towne, the Engliſhmen and other captaines, that they would all die before they would deliuer the Bourgers their armes againe, and beeing ſent for to ſerue in any place they made them this anſwere that they were all reſolued to ſerue vnder the enemie rather then vnder Prince *Maurice* or the Eſtates; who conſidering of this their reſolution, and finding that they entertained all fugitiue ſouldiers, and ſought to incite other garriſons to the like rebellion, hauing receiued intelligence that from the ſecond day of February this yeare, they had beene in treatie with the Duke of Parma: Prince *Maurice* (with the aduiſe of the Eſtates) reſolued (ſeeing that the Lord Willoughby, Sir *Iohn Norris* nor Maiſter *Bodley* could not preuaile with them, and that the Lord Willoughby was as then to goe for England) to beſiege the towne both by water and by land, conſidering the daunger thereof, and of the townes lying about it: and ſo comming before it the fiue and twenty day of March, hee ſent a kinde letter to them of the towne by a drum, giuing them to vnderſtand that the Gouernor Sir *Iohn Wingfield* and other captaines had threatned to deliuer the towne into the enemies hands, and what a diſhonor and danger they ſhould thereby purchaſe vnto themſelues, offring them all contentment, wherevnto they made anſwere, that they would rather ſeeke aide from the enemie, then yeeld to Prince *Maurice* or the States, threatning to hang vp his meſſenger.

Prince Maurice beſiegeth Geertruydenbergh the 25. of March 1589.

The towne of Dort did likewiſe write vnto them but they tare their letters. And when as the Lord Willoughby wrot his letters on the eighteenth of March, to Sir *Iohn Wingfiled* his brother in law, deſiring him to finde meanes to come away rather then his preſence ſhould giue any cauſe of offence: Sir *Iohn Wingfield* refuſed it, ſaying that he had ſworne to liue and die with the ſouldiers, as long as they would hold that towne for her Maieſtie and the good of the Netherlands, who proteſted to deliuer it rather to the enemie then to Prince *Maurice* or the Eſtates, with other words to the like effect. In the meane time Prince *Maurice* did what he could to win the towne, and beganne to batter it furiouſly, they within defended themſelues, yet there was a reaſonable breach made, and being readie to giue an aſſault, they within cunningly offred a compoſition by a miniſter and a deputie, whom they had ſent forth to treate with the Prince and the States, to whome the Articles were deliuered, with the which they returned, ſo as there was great hope of an agreement. But the ſouldiers hauing repayred this breach in the night, and the waters being growne ſo high by a tempeſt as they could not vſe their Ordinance, perceiuing both by ſignes of fire out of the towne, and by letters ſent to Breda, what ſecret dealing they had with the enemie, as alſo by letters from the Duke of Parma from Bruſſelles, bearing date the 24. day of March, and from Breda of the 29. of March from Odoardo *Lanſavechio*, which they within the towne had receiued, hearing alſo that the Duke of Parma was within few miles of the towne; Prince *Maurice* reſolued to with-drawe the ſiege, that they might haue no iuſt occaſion to pretend they had beene forced to yeeld the towne vnto the enemie, hoping by that meanes to mooue the beſt minded ſoldiers to conſider thereof, and to bee better aduiſed; and to that end on the ſecond of Aprill he offred them againe all fauour and contentment, ſhewing them that they were deceiued by the vaine ſpeeches giuen out concerning the Queenes authority, ſending them diuers acts and diſcharges made to that end by her Maieſty, & letting them vnderſtand what a diſhonor theſe diſordred dealings

A dealings might be to her. And vpon the fourth of Aprill he wrot vnto them by maister *Leuinus* the minister, saying, that hee sought not the life neither of officer nor soldier, but assured them that as many as would continue in pay should bee still entertained, and such as would not, might depart whether they pleased withall they had: so as they would assure the towne vnto him. To whom they made answere the same day, that their full resolution was to stay there in garrison, and to doe the like seruice they had done before, and that they would make choise of their owne Gouernor. 1589. Offers made by Prince Maurice to the garrison of Gheertruydenberg.

On the fift of Aprill Prince *Maurice* did againe offer them all security, and to performe whatsoeuer they would else demande by contract, desiring them to send their deputies vnto him, but all was in vaine, for that vpon the ninth of Aprill they receiued
B the Duke of Parmaes deputies into the towne, with whom they compounded to yeeld the towne for fifteene monthes pay, and not any of them would yeeld vnto Prince *Maurice* but onelie two soldiers, such powre hath greedinesse of money whereas prodigalitie beareth sway, and the feare of GOD is reiected, and yet they cloakt their treacherie, with a pretence of the Queene of Englands seruice. The townesmen were kindly delt withall, they had a generall pardon, and licence to depart when they would, or els to stay for the space of two yeares, without any molestation for Religion, and all their preuiledges confirmed, so as they tended not to the preiudice of the Kings authoritie. The souldiers were pardoned whatsoeuer they had committed, promising to procure them the like in Germanie, Luyke-land and Collen, and for
C that the Duke professed to loue and honour good souldiers, (such as they were) hee was content to accept and receiue them all into the Kings seruice, with restitution of all their goods confiscate; and such as desired not to serue should haue the like freedome, and might staie sixe monethes within the towne, and cause themselues to bee payd by lawfull meanes out of the assignation of contribution giuen them before by them of Brabant, Holland and Zeeland. And in recompence of the good seruice which they had done vnto the King therein, hee gaue them ten monthes pay, which the States ought them, and for a rewarde fiue monthes pay more, all in readie money, that they might goe out with credit. All such as had fled from the Kings seruice, and were then there with them, were pardoned for their sakes, all prisoners
D should bee ransomed, and vpon payment thereof made let goe, except they were spirituall persons, who should pay no ransome: and that Sir *Iohn Wingfield* and *Charles Honings* should depart when they would with all their housholds, goods and mouables, and that they should haue pasports giuen them to that end. This was concluded at Breda vpon the tenth of April 1589. Gheertruydenberg sold to the Duke of Parma by the garrison.

The garrison being in this sort payd, rewarded and gone out, the same daie *Charles* Earle of Mansfieldt entred the towne. The Estates of the vnited Prouinces proclay-
E ming both the Gouernor, Captaines, Officers and all the Souldiars, Traytors and Rebells, condemning them to be hanged where-soeuer they should bee found, with promise of fiue poundes in rewarde for euerie priuate souldier, and ten poundes for euerie Officer, to them that could bring any of them to the Estates, and their goods confiscate, all their names beeing set downe in the proclamation, beeing to the number of sixe hundred and fiftie persons. These souldiars lying in the Duke of Parmaes armie, were for a long time despised and skorned by the name of Marchants, manie of them were afterwardes taken in the vnited Prouinces, and presently hanged for example to others. Sir *Iohn Wingfield* with Captaine *Honnings* re-
F tired themselues into England: Hee is much taxed in this action by the Estate, but it seemes hee had but the bare title of a Gouernor, and no commanding powre ouer the garrison, who compelled him to doe what they pleased, the which seemes to bee true, for that they set a gard ouer him during all the time of the seege, as I haue heard himselfe affirme, neither was it in his powre to yeeld the towne vnto Prince *Maurice*. The garrison of Gheertruydenberg condemned for traytors.

During the seeke of this towne there were slaine of the States side these captaines, *Wolffart van Brederod, vander Aa, Landas* captaine of Prince *Maurice* his foote gard, and *Cornellis Adrianz. Schaeps*; and aboue fiftie more, there were hurt *Peter vander Does*

Vice-

1589 viceadmirall of Holland and captaine *Sydenborch*, the marſhall of Villiers was alſo A
ſhotte, where of he died not long after, a good ſoldiar and one that had beene alwaies
faithfull vnto the vnited Prouinces.

This loſſe of Gheertruydenberg did much preiudice the vnited Prouinces, wherefore
they preſently ſtopt vp the riuer with ſhippes of warre both to hinder their fiſhing and
paſſage out of the towne by water. The thirteene of Aprill Cont *Charles* of Manſfeldt
went with a ſmall army from Gheertruydenberg into the quarter of Boiſleduke by the
Many caſtles yeelded to the Spaniard. Duke of Parmas commandement, where he tooke the Caſtell of Lobben the which he
was forced to leaue three daies after. On the ſeauenteene of May hee alſo tooke the
Caſtell of Dætoren neere vnto Heuſden: on the twenty one day paſſing out of Boiſle-
duc, his men tooke three ſhips of war of Holland, lying at anchor in the riuer of Meuſe B
aboue Buchouen, and the next day he went before the caſtle of Hemert, which he tooke:
The caſtle of Blenbeeke (which collonel *Sthenck* had held ſo long as his owne patri-
money, being ſcituated in the vpper quarter of Gelderland) was alſo yeelded vnto him
the twenty fiue of Iune after that it had beene a while beſeeged: and the ſixteenth of
Iuly the caſtels of Puydroyen and Brakel, the which was afterwards abandoned, and
burnt with the whole village. But going to campe before Heuſden the ſame moneth
hee was forced to riſe with ſhame and loſſe. The ſame moneth three companies of
The Cornets of the eſtates horſe defeated the Eſtates horſe were ſurpriſed neere vnto Boiſleduc by the new gariſon of Gheertruy-
denbergh, and defeated, the one was of Prince Maurice his garde whereof *Ryſoyer* was
Captaine, the ſecond the Seignior of Kynſchys and the third the deceaſed Marſhall C
of Villers, whereas *Ryſoyer* and *Kynſchy* with diuers horſe-men were taken, the reſt were
put to rout. Whileſt that the Earle of Manſfeldt with the duke of Paſtrana and the
prince of Aſcholy with many ſhippes and boats, beſeeged the houſe or caſtle of Hele in
the Ile of Bomel: Prince Maurice, the Earle of Hohenlo and the Earle of Solms, drew
the garriſons about Heuſden together in the moneth of Auguſt, and by force victualed
the towne in the face of the enemy, who laie not far from it. The Caſtle of Hele had
The Caſtle of Hele taken by the Duke of Parma. bin ſore battered with nine hundred ſhot at the leaſt, whervpon *Sidenborch* the gouer-
nor yeelded the twenty foure of Auguſt, by meanes of a diſſention fallen among the ſol-
diers, who were moſt ſlaine, whereof afterwards he excuſed him ſelfe. From thence
the Dukes army marched to Louefteyn, lying at the end of the Ile of Bomel, and they D
made a ſconſe meaning to take Louefteyn, but the waters being very much riſen by rea-
ſon of great ſtore of rayne which had fallen, they were forced to leaue it.

In September the Duke of Parma ſuppoſed by the incloſing in of Heuſden, and the
taking of Hemert, Hele and other ſconſes there abouts, that the country was ſufficient-
ly garded on the one ſide Hemert to paſſe ouer the Meuſe into Tielſche-Weert, and ſo
to go to Buren or Vtrecht, but the Spaniards (who had the fore-ward vnder Collonell
Lieua) hauing ſome quarrell with the Italiens, and being ſet on by the Duke of Paſtra-
na & the Prince of Aſcoly, (who were no great friends to the duke of Parma) would not
A mutyne among the Spaniards. paſſe ouer the riuer, but cryed out *viue el Re, fuora il mal gouerno*, and when the Earle of
Manſfeldt would haue forced them to paſſe, they ſhot at him, and draue him away E
& ſo went to their garriſon in the Graue: And for that Prince Maurice had gathered to-
gether great forces ſtopping their paſſage, and beſeeged the caſtle of Hele round about
with ſconſes, being the winter time, the Dukes army was forced to leaue the field, for-
tifieng the Caſtles of Hemert, Hele and the Sconſes at the mouth of the Deymſe by
Boſcher. This yeare the Duke of Parma was very ſickly, which ſome thought to pro-
ceed for that on the 10. of Nouember before cõming from Berghen vp Zoom & riding
to Mechline, he fell into the water: where vnto other miſſortunes were added, as the
Melancholike humor which did poſſeſſe him for the vnfortunate ſucceſſe of the Spa-
niſh army, and his diſhonorable retreat from Berghen, for the which (by the meanes
of the Dukes of Paſtrana and the Prince of Aſcoly) he was reprocht and flouted at: It F
might alſo be furthered by an other occaſion, for that hauing taken vp certaine hundred
thouſand of Ducats by exchange, to bee paid in Spaine, by the practiſes of ſuch
as loued him not, they were not diſcharged, ſo as hee was forced to giue the Italien
Marchants in Antwerp contentment out of his owne cofers. Moreouer at the ſame
time

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A time his vncle, the great Cardinall *Farneſe* dyed in Rome the three and twentith of March, a man on whome hee much depended. All theſe croſſes made him ſickly and very melancholy: So as in Maie hee went to the Spawe in Sweborn, and lodged at Mentfort or thereabouts, drinking dayly of thoſe waters for the recouery of his health. 1589. The Duke of Parma goes to the Spaw.

Before his departure hee called togither the Eſtates of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, and Henault, to ayd the League of France both with money and men, and to take it out of the rents wherewith the reuenues were charged. They were content to yeeld to his deſire in many things, although they were much impoueriſhed by reaſon of the great taxations which were impoſed vpon them, the which were rayſed B with harder conditions then vppon them in the vnited Prouinces, who had free and open trafficke in all places, where as they that liued vnder the Kings commaund, did flye dayly out of the Country by reaſon of their ſmall trafficke, dearth of all thinges, & bad protection. ſo as the Duke of Parma grew daily to bee more diſpiſed and hated, not onely of the Country people, but alſo of the Spaniards, who imputed the bad ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh ficete onely to him, for that hee was not ready nor prouided of Saylers, neither had forecaſt the dangers that might inſue, ſo as his enemies the Duke of Paſtrana and the Prince of Aſcoly, knew well how to blemiſh his credit in Spaine, as we haue ſaid before. An aſſemblie of the Eſtates vnder the Duke of Parma.

About the ſame time hee had ſent certaine Mules laden with rich Tapiſtries and C cloth of Arras with other coſtly thinges, out of the Netherlands to bee tranſported into Italie: paſſing through Lorraine or the Franch Conty they were ſette vppon and taken away, the which afterwards was openly reported, and did manifeſtly appeare, that it was done by aduiſe from Spaine, whether it were by the Kings owne command, or his Councels, or by the practiſes of ſuch as loued him not, I know not, but it was a great hindrance vnto him, and bred a great diſlike in him againſt Spaine. The Duke of Parmas goods taken in Lorraine.

Moreouer there fell a controuerſie with great reproches, betwixt the Lord of Champigny and the Preſident *Richardot* (the Duke of Parmas fauorite) and afterwards with the Duke himſelfe, concerning the treaty of peace at Bourbrough, betwixt the Deputies of the Queene of England and thoſe of the King of Spaine, of which num- D ber *Champigni* and *Richardot* were, but both of diuers opinions: *Champigni* ſought to deale roundly and ſincerely in the ſaid treaty of peace, the which being obtained, hee perſwaded him-ſelfe it ſhould much aduance the Kings affaires, hauing libertie to enter into the Ports and Hauens of England for the ſafegard of the great Armado, which was the way to conquer Holland and Zealand, and to ſubdue the Eſtates. But *Richardot* had contrary inſtructions from the Duke of Parma to breake of the treaty, holding the conqueſt of England eaſie, according to the aduiſe and proiect which *Don Iohn* had left in writing at his death: for the which Mounſier *Champigni* was much offended in regard that hee had paſt his word to the Queene of England that there was no other intent but to deale ſincerely and vprightly, ſo hee was thereby diſgraced and proued E a lyar: whereupon after the bad ſucceſſe of the ſaid armie, *Champigni* complained thereof in many places, and writte diuers letters vnto the King, ſhewing that the onely cauſe thereof proceeded from the negligence and indiſcretion of the Duke of Parma: whereupon hee grew into ſuch hatred of Champigni, as hauing written vnto the King that all would go to ruine in the Netherlands, if ſpeedy remedie were not had, & eſpecially then when as he was ready to go to ayd the League in France, & therfore he thought it not fit to leaue ſuch backe-biters & comptrollers behinde him in the Countrie, ſo as he obtained leaue to ſend *Champigni* out of the Netherlands, the which he put in practiſe with no ſmall rigour, commaunding him to diſlodge out of the Netherlands, and to retyre into Burgongne within a very ſhort time: *Champigni* aſking him the reaſons why, F the duke anſwered, to teach your tongue to keepe ſilence, & your pen to write better: ſo as no intreaty, nor interceſſion of his friendes could preuaile, nor the indiſpoſition of his body, beeing ſcarſe able to trauaile, deſiring that hee might rather continue in ſome Cloyſter of Capuchins or Ieſuits, but all was in vaine, and ſo hee was forced to liue a baniſhed man in Bourgongne ſo long as the Duke of Parma liued. Diſlike betweene the Duke of Parma & Champigni. Champigni forced to leaue the Netherlands.

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1590. Richardot ſent by the duke of Parma into Spaine. The Duke ſeeing him-ſelfe maligned and ſlandered by them that were and ought to be neere his perſon, to iuſtefie all his actions (as they of Arthois and Henault were more affected vnto him then vnto any other Spaniard, that might aſpier vnto the gouerment) he ſent the ſaid *Richardot* preſidēt of Arthois into Spaine vnto the king, to anſwer in his name to al obections and ſlanders, wherwith they had filled the Kings eares, and to bring back a continuation of the dukes cōmiſſion in his gouernment of the Netherlands in deſpite of his enemies. Whileſt that *Richardot* was in Spaine the duke went the eight of May toward the Spawe (as we haue ſaid) for his indiſpoſition, his ſeruants and other Italiens complayning openly at the Spawe, that the Spaniards had dreſt their maiſter in that manner, hauing his belly and legges ſowlne. A

The Duke of Parma being much diſtaſted both of Spaine and Spaniards, he wanted no remembrancers to put him in minde of the Kings diſpleaſure, being charged to haue beene the cauſe of the bad ſucceſſe of the Kings Army, and that great Princes doe not eaſely forgiue nor forget conceyued diſpleaſures: and that it were better for him to looke to himſelfe, and (following *Machauells* councell) rather make him-ſelfe Lord of the country, where vnto hee had good reaſon to aſpire, in regard of the Spaniards hatred towards him, and the wrong which was done to his ſonne *Raynutius*, touching the crowne of Portugal, whervnto he had better title (as they ſaid) then the king himſelf. And that if he would attempt any thing in the Netherlands, whether it were with the title of Soueraigne, or as Protector or Lieutennant thereof, he ſhould want no friends within the contry, nor wel-willers without it, as France, England and the vnited Prouinces themſelues, with whome ſecret treaties might be made, whereby the Netherlands on the other ſide, might obtaine a good and free entercourſe of trafficke, for the good of the whole country, for as then hee had to many ouerſeers, both before behind and round about him: it being well fore-ſeene long before by the councell of Spaine, hauing therein taken example by the procedings of *Don Iohn* of Auſtria. Others thought hee would defer the execution of his deſſeigns, till after the death of the King of Spaine, being very old, and that the houſe of Farneſe was wont to be ſubtill and couetous inough yet alwaies warie and very circomſpect: But the King granting his deſire, and at the laſt ſending for the Duke of Paſtrana into Spaine he was well ſatisfied: And for that the King was fully reſolued to ayde the Leaguers in France at *Richardots* returne out of Spaine, hee recommended that buſines vnto him, as the fitteſt man for that action, and he for his part reſolued to vndergo the charge, being a fit meanes to purchaſe more honor, and for that cauſe hee made all the haſt he could ſending both men and money to the frontire townes and gathering an army together in Arthois, wherein *La mot* had the cheefeſt charge, who not long before in April thought to haue ſurprized Oſtend, by the ſecret intelligence with ſome of the ſoldiars, but hee fayled of his purpoſe, where-vpon the gariſon of Berghen vp Zoome with that of Oſtend and others, ſpoyled Gramont, or Geecſbergh. B C D

Bad Councell giuen to the Duke of Parma.

Preparation to aide the league in France.

On the twenty of September the duke of Parma went from Spawe to Aken or Aix la Chapelle three leagues of, hauing three companies of horſe with him: there he was honorably entertained and preſented with diuers guifts. In that towne hee did viſit the cheefe relicks, which are *Ioſephs* breeches, the virgine *Maries* ſmocke, the ſheete wherein *Iohn Baptiſt* was buried, *Charlemagnes* chaire, and ſome other petty ones, and from thence he went to Bins to bee neerer vnto the frontiers of France. This ſommer Berke was beſeeged by the Duke of Parmas forces, Collonel *Schencke* came in the end of Iuly with many ſhippes to releeue it with victualls, mounting vp the riuer within a league of the towne, from whence hee carried ſuch ſtore of victualls and munition as they had neede of by land, and entred ſafely there-with into the towne. E

Schenck releeues Berche.

Cont *William Lewis* of Naſſau Gouernor of Freezland for the Eſtates, was daily at warres with *Verdugo* Gouernor of Groning for the King of Spaine, to whoſe aide the Duke of Parma ſent ſeauen Companies of foote and three of horſe, the which marched through the Country of Weſtphalia and the Conty Vander-Lippe, and ſo F

to

A to enter into East Friseland and then into the countrie of Groning. Colonel *Schenck* being aduerised of the course they held, hauing gathered together all the men he could out of the garrisons of Gelderland, he went & attended these troupes vpon the heath or plaines (which they call Lipper-heyde) where hee defeated them, and put them to rout, taking from them all the money which they had brought to pay the garrison of Groning and other neere places, which the King held in those parts of Friseland. *Schenck* victualled Berck and defeated these troupes in lesse then eight daies, about the beginning of August. 1589

Schenck defeats some of the D. of Parmas troupes.

The third day after his victory beeing fortefied with all the forces hee could get (carrying a splene to them of Nymeghen) he went from his sconce called the B Bril or Vossenhole, lying by Tolhuys, and sailed along the riuer of Wahal, that hee might come to Nymeghen by night, hauing sent his horsemen by land: It was a very still night and the tyde very high, so as they could not aduance much with their ships being vnfit to rowe, and they came on so slowly as day began to breake. The Punts or smaler vessells for that they went with owers, came on first and gaue an alarum to the towne, so as the Bourgers and some souldiars went to armes: wherevpon *Schenck* not staying for the rest, resolued to giue an attempt before it was day, and landed by the Maie-gate, then presently taking two Rammes which he had brought, he went to Saint Anthonies gate, the which (although it were very strong) hee brake open, and so got through certaine iron grates and windoes into a house, which they tooke, from whence C they thought to ceaze vpon the market place, beeing not farre from thence; in the meane time the rest of the shippes came on, and shot into the towne, and they of the towne at them. The townsmen beeing in armes beganne to assaile the house a farre of, but to small pourpose, vntill they had brought two field peeces before it, wherewith they shot into it, and with that the souldiars and then the Bourgers got in and draue *Schencks* soldiars out againe, the rest being not yet come: In the meane time the horsemen with some footemen were busie to gette open the Hessenche gate, but they beganne to late, for before they had beaten of the lockes and bolts, it was day light, so as they within the towne casting stones and other things vpon them, forced them to leaue it.

Schencks vnfortunate enterpise vpon Nymeghen.

D This succeeding so vnfortunatly on euerie side for that they came too late, and were descouered by the day-light, euerie man, yea & the women of the town being in armes, al the ships with the men being not come forward, *Schenck* with his men were forced to retire back againe vnto their ships, which retreat was with such confusion, diforder and feare, as euery man sought to saue himselfe as speedely as hee could; wherevpon there leapt so many into foure or fiue great boates that were neerest, as three of them sonke with the waight thereof, so as such as could not swim were drowned, whereof Sir *Martin Schenck* himselfe was one: who was opprest with the waight of his Armor and could not helpe himselfe: The shippes that were laden did driue downe halfe a mile beyond the towne, by a village called Ostenholt, where they cast Anchor, E missing their Commander: One of their great Puntes or boates full of men, did driue before the streame to Saint Huberts Tower: from whence they could not get, but were slaine in great numbers with stones throwne downe out of the sayd Tower; some leapt into the water to saue themselues; and in the meane time foure more of their shippes full of men stood and beheld that Punt, but by reason it was a calme they could by no meanes passe by, but at the last two of them escaped awaie, and the other two fell into the enemies hands, but the souldiars got away: within the towne there were not aboue eight or nine found dead and wounded, but without there were a hundred at the least. This vnfortunate mischance happened vpon the leauenth daie of August, *Cornellis Zeghers* and *Iacob Ween* beeing Bourguemasters F of Nymeghen.

Schenck drowned.

The townsmen of Nymeghen beeing somewhat eased of their feare by this victorie, tooke certaine scutes and boates, and went to see if they could with their nettes and hookes get any men or bootie out of the water; where amongst the rest they found a man with a faire armor and well appareled, which beeing brought to

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1589. land, they knewe it to bee Sir *Martin Schenck*, by the markes hee had about him, A
as a wounde in his head which hee had gotten before Steenwicke, an other on his
ſide, which hee had at Arnham, and the third on the for-head: and after that they had
Schencks bodie quintered by them of Nymeghen hanged two priſoners which they had taken, the Bourgers in reuenge, powred out
their rage vpon his dead carcaſe, the which they quartered and hung vp ignominiouſly at the foure corners of the towne, and his head was ſet ouer Saint Anthonies
gate, but not long after they were taken downe againe by commandement from the
Marquis of Varembon, Gouernor of Gelderland for the King of Spaine, for
that many poore Towneſ-men of Nymeghen were ſlaine and murthered for it
in manie places; and ſo the head and quarters were layed in a coffin and kept in
a Tower, till that the towne was taken three yeares after by Prince *Maurice*, B
His body honorably buried. and then it was buried verie honorably and with great ſollemnitie, after the manner and order of a ſouldiar, and laied in the great Church before the high Altar in
the Dukes of Gelders tombe, Prince *Maurice* and all his traine accompanying
the body.

Thus did Sir *Martin Schenck* of Nydeck (one that had tried his fortunes on both
ſides to his great honour and reputation) end his life, beeing one of the moſt reſolute, valiant and polliticke captaines in his time, which his worthie enterpriſes and
The life and comendation of Schenck. exploites doe well witneſſe, as his many victories, his releeuing of the caſtle of Blyenbeeke, where hee beſeeged the beſeegers, and forced them to leaue the ſeege. His
ſtratagems were likewiſe notable, as the winning of Nymeghen and Breda from the C
Duke of Parma, but beeing badly rewarded for his ſeruice, hee left him and went to
ayde the Elector Truceſes and his adherents.

In his youth hee was firſt page to captaine *Enchuiſen*, and after that to the Earle
of Iſelſteyn whome hee with other captaines beſeeged in a ſconſe before Goore,
and there hee tooke his maiſter priſoner. Hee did winne Werle in Weſtphalia, and
behaued himſelfe pollitickely and valiantly in the taking of Bonna, with many other memorable enterpriſes, which deſerue an honorable remembrance: hee was
made knight by the Earle of Leceſter: when hee died hee was but young; hee was
verie ſtronge and hardie, and alwaies brought vp in the warres; a great enterpriſer,
and actiue beyonde all meaſure, and ſoden in his actions, for when as the enemie D
thought him to bee dronke and faſt a ſleepe, hee would bee manie times either vpon their walles, or before their gates: hee was liberall and well beloued of his ſouldiars: His verie enimies would confeſſe and ſay of him that hee knewe how to take
townes and fortes, but hee could not hold them when hee had them, but that was no
diſgrace, nor any blemiſh to his reputation beeing but a priuate Gentleman, and
no King nor Prince, for hee left the keeping of them to his captaines. Being high minded, ſome-what willfull and rough of behauiour, he was many times held in diſgrace
with the Eſtates, but at the laſt hee applied himſelfe to the time, and for that the Marſhall *Killiers* died not long before, it was thought in time hee ſhould haue beene aduanced and preferred to that ſame place. E

A mutiny in the Fort of Grauenweerd. After the death of Colonel *Schenck*, the Fort which hee had built (called then
the ſpectacle, or the Foxes hole and nowe Grauenward, although moſt commonly
they call it Schenkes-ſconſe) which during his life-time had beene kept in verie
good order and diſcipline, mutined for their paie, the which they ſayd reſolutlie the
would haue, or els they would finde them that ſhould pay them. And it was giuen
out that they had alreadie begune to treate with the Duke of Cleues to yeeld it vnto
him. But the Earle of Meurs comming thether the fifteenth day of Auguſt, pacified al,
promiſing them vpon the word of an Earle, they ſhould bee paied and ſatisfied, making it his owne debt.

Wars in Friſeland. In the beginning of Sommer *William* Earle of Naſſau Gouernor of Friſeland for F
the Eſtates made a certaine enterpriſe vpon Delfziel, for the effecting whereof,
hee attempted the Fort of Rheyde, which is almoſt an Iſland, lying in the riuer of
Ems, right againſt the towne of Emden, which he battred and tooke by force, the which

hee

A he fortefied and made a very ſtrong ſconſt Iland: and then he tooke ſome other ſmall forts thereabouts: the duke of Parma to hinder theſe petty victories ſent both men and mony to *Verdugo* gouernor of Groning, but Collonel *Schenke* defeated them vpon the plaines of Lippe, as we haue ſaid. The twenty of October *William* Earle of Naſſau tooke an other ſconſe called Saltcamp, lying in the mouth of the Reedeep, and entring it by force in the ſight of Verdugo, (who could not preuent it) he ſlue eighty men therein, and tooke many priſoners, this ſconce lieth in a mariſh, ſtopping the paſſage vpon Reedeepe vnto Groning. 1589.

The twenty eight of Auguſt, the Earle of Meurs with the garriſons of Lochem and other neere places, entred into Weſtphalia: And for that the great
B Borrough of Graue two leagues from Munſter the cheefe Towne of Weſtphalia, did commonly entertaine the Spaniards which came from about Groning and did fauour them more then the eſtates men: being that day a great free fare eſpecially for horſes and much frequented, they entred into it, ſackt the faier and all the inhabitants and marchants that were come thether, carrying away a great ſpoyle. The generall eſtates to make their nauigation to France and England free, manned forth a good number of ſhippes of warre to conuoy their marchants, and to defend them againſt thoſe of Dunkerk and other ports which the Spaniard held vpon the coaſt of Flanders, which ſhippes were ſet in gard before the ſaid hauens, beſides many others that were vpon the riuers of Ems, Rhine, Meuſe, Wahal, Leck, and other places, where as the enemy
C might haue any paſſage to make his courſes into the vnited Prouinces, ſo as all the ſhips of warre which were intertayned at that time by the eſtates (beſides their pinaſſes which is like a ſmall galley) and the hoyes of munition came to a 114. ſaile, and oftentimes more, as the neceſſity of the time and occaſion required. It happened at that time that one of the eſtates ſhippes (whereof *Iacob Antoniſſen*, vice Admirall of Harlem was captaine, but not then aboard for that hee was ſicke) lying with other ſhippes in gard before Dunkerke, while the reſt of his company had the enemy in chaſe he being alone, certaine fiſher-boates well manned and other ſhippes of Dunkerk cun-
D ningly ſet vpon him, grapled with him and borded him, where after they had fought a long time and valiantly defended them-ſelues, finding them-ſelues in the end too weake they ſet fire on their pouder, and blue both themſelues vp, and a great number of them of Dunkerke that had borded them, few onely eſcaping by ſwimming, and burnt the ſhippes that were faſtned to it.

Graue in Weſtphalia ſpoyled

A reſolute act of one of the eſtates captaines at ſea.

The Dunkerkers being now very ſtrong at ſea by reaſon of the great prizes which they tooke daily from them of Holland and Zeeland, where with they did ſo inrich their ſoldiars, as they tempted many ſaylers and ſoldiars of the vnited Prouinces, to runne thether and to ſerue them, and ſo they kept in the north ſeas, and tooke diuers Engliſh men, Netherlanders and fiſhermen, and put them to ranſome, for aſſurance whereof they tooke out the maiſters, pylots and marchants and what ſoeuer was good within the ſhippes and then let them goe. The Engliſhmen for their parts made no
E meanes to preuent theſe ſpoyles, but the vnited Prouinces firſt ſomoning all their ſaylers and ſoldiars which ſerued vnder them of Dunkerke (hauing committed no heynous crimes) to come from them, promiſing them a pardon, they appointed a great number of ſhippes to keepe the ſeas, ſo as they tooke diuers ſhippes of Dunkerke, and hung vp the men preſently, of whome the gallowes hung full in ſome townes of Holland and Zeeland, for an example vnto others, as vnworthy to bee ranſomed: whereby their number being ſome-what decreaſed, they durſt not put forth ſo boldly as they had a fore time beene accuſtomed, vntill that they ioyned them-ſelues with the leaguers of New-hauen and of the riuer of Soome keeping in their hauens.

F The towne of Bercke lying vpon the Rhine, and belonging to the iuriſdiction of Cologne, being pend vp (though not very neere) by diuers ſconſes made and ſtrongly garded by the Duke of Parmas forces, the Eſtates were ſtill forced to victuall the ſame by ſtrong hand, either by the Earle of Meurs, Mounſire *Villiers*, or Collonel *Schencke*.

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1584. This yeare in Ianuary they made a bridge ouer the Rhine, and thereby vſed to victual A
the towne, the enemie looking on them, but beeing to weake in horſe, he was forced to
endure it, and in Iuly after they made a ſconſe aboue Rees, the better to releeue it,
which the Marquis of Varambon would willingly haue hindred, but hee could
not. The two and twenty day of September the Earles of Hohenlo, Meurs and Ouer-
ſtein paſt with goodly troupes of horſe and foote for the Eſtates into the Betuwe, to
diſlodge thoſe Spaniards, that were entred into the Iſland of Bomel. But beeing aduer-
The Spaniards chaſed out of the Iſland of Bomel. tiſed thereof they were to wiſe to attend them, and repaſſing the Meuſe, after they
had burnt the caſtle of Puydroyen and ſome other places, they returned into the Mai-
rie of Boiſeleduc in Brabant.

At that time Mounſire *Balaigny* Gouernor of Cambray was wauering, keeping both B
the Kings of France, Spaine and the league in breath, and drawing comoditie from
them all. When as the league ſought ſuccors from the King of Spaine, offring him
the townes of Guiſe, La Fere and Peronne in pawne, the Spaniard demanded ouer
and aboue to haue Cambray: wherevnto Balaigny oppoſed, meaning as hee ſayd
to keepe it for the Crowne of France, whoſoeuer were King, but rather for him-
ſelfe. The Duke of Parma building vpon certaine intelligences which hee had with
ſome of the Clergie and Bourgers of the Towne, ſent the Marquis of Renty,
Charles Earle of Mansfeldt, and *la Motte Pardieu* thether, who came with their
troupes neere vnto Cambray the fifteeneth day of September, attending the effect
which they expected of their intelligences; which was that making a generall pro- C
ceſſion on the nineteenth day, the Chanoins and Bourgers of that faction ſhould
keepe a port open by the which they ſhould giue entrie to the Duke of Parmas
men. But *Balaignyes* wife (who was verie cunning) hauing vented this mine, bee-
ing aduertiſed by ſome one of the enterpriſe, (whome ſhee had wonne) they were
diſapointed, for the which the Deane of the Cathedrall Church with ſome Chanoins
and Burgers were committed to priſon, who at Balaignyes returne (being then abſent)
were executed.

The Earle of Meurs to victuall the towne of Bercke, ſent the Earle of Ouerſtein,
the Barron of Poetlys and Sir *Francis Vere* thether with a thouſand horſe and two
thouſand foote, knowing well that the Marquis of Varambon was there attending D
with eight hundred foote, and fiue hundred horſe to hinder the ſayd victualing.
Theſe three Commanders beeing vpon their marche with ſome Artillerie, they ſet
vpon a fort which was called the Roynettes of Cologne, the which they tooke and
manned with a good garriſon: from thence paſſing the water neere vnto the caſtle
of Loo, hauing now paſt Teckenhof, the Marquis thinking to charge them in the
reere, he found that (contrary to his expectation) he was valiantly with-ſtood by Sir
The Marquis of Varambon defeated by the Eſtates. *Francis Vere* with foure Companies of Engliſh, and by *Chriſtopher Wolfs* Cornet of
Reyetrs being on the wing of the reereward: ſo as this charge turned into a Battaile,
whereas *Varambon* loſt aboue 600. men vpon the place, with ten Enſeignes and three
Cornets, beſides the priſoners, and aboue 200. horſe, whereof the Engliſh had ſixe E
ſcore for their part, and amongſt them there was one which the Marquis did vſe to
ride on, who had now ſaued himſelfe by flight. Among all the priſoners there was
not any one of reckoning, but a pettie Italien Count, Couſin to the Cardynall *Ca-
raffa*, who was wounded, and one Lieutenant. There were not aboue foureteene
Knights, Captaines and Officers ſlaine, whereof one was the Marquis of Cico, Nephew
to *Spinelli*, Maiſter of the Campe; *Iohn Antonio Caraffa* and *Alonzo Palagano* both cap-
taines, and ſeauen Antients, moſt Neapolitaines. Whileſt they were in fight Count
Charles of Mansfeldt came poſting thether with threeſcore and ten companies of horſe
and foote, but the Earle of Ouerſteyn, the Barron of Poetlys & Sir *Francis Vere* hauing
won this victorie made haſt to recouer Berck with their conuoy and victualls. The F
Earle of Mansfeldt thought to haue met with them in their returne, but they took an o-
ther courſe, paſſing the Rhine nere vnto the fort of Rees. This incounter was the 15. of
October. The ſame month the Earle of Mansfeldt hauing made prouiſion at Nymeghen
of al things needfull to beſeige a town, hauing marched away with his horſemen from
Boiſleduc

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A Boiſleduc towards Graue, paſſing by a little wood, hee was ſaluted with a Volley of ſmall ſhotte, which wounded ſome horſes, wherefore hauing cauſed the wood to be compaſt round about and ſearcht, they found 35 ſoldiers there, whereof 30. were ſlaine vpon the place, and the other were hanged. 1589. A deere bra-uado of 35. ſoldiers.

Whileſt that the Earle of Manſſedlt made preparation to go and beſiege Berke, the Earle of Meurs to ſuccor it (as hee had done twice or thrice before) gathered togither all the men hee could, beeing at Arnhem, the chiefe towne of Gelderland, in the Dukes Pallace, where meaning to make a tryall of ſome fire workes, the powlder was vnfortunately ſette on fire, where-with a part of the Chamber was blowne away, and hee burnt, and drawne from vnder the ruines of the houſe, whereof he died B within few daies after, full of paine, whereby the ſuccoring of Berke was broken of and yet it held out three monthes longer. The vnfortunate death of the Earle of Meurs.

The Earle of Manſſeldt had reſolued to beſiege Berke after an other manner, hauing prepared all things neceſſary, hee came out of Bommels-Weert, where hee had battered the ſconſe of Vorne tenne daies togither in vaine, and in Nouember hee tooke the Sconſe of Reez aforeſaid, the which by reaſon of the dry wether and the lowneſſe of the water, they did yeeld by compoſition, whereby the beſieged could not bee now well releeued, who hauing great want of victuals, and finding that their ſuccors failed them; the Eſtates conſidering alſo that this towne being ſo farre from them would bee ouer chargeable to victuall ſo often, they did conſent that the beſieged ſhould C make the beſt compoſition they could with the Spaniard: ſo as in the end of Ianuary 1590. the towne of Berke was yeelded to *Charles* Earle of Manſſeldt for the King of Spaine, the Captaines, Officers, and all the ſoldiers going forth with their ful armes, and baggage, the Drumme ſounding, Coullors flying, matches light, and bullets in their mouthes, and to carry them away they ſhould haue fifty ſhippes and Scutes with conuenient Conuoy, and a Captaine called *Dauid Soper* a priſoner ſhould be diſcharged without ranſome. The Burgers likewiſe had good conditions, and ſo Berke (other-wiſe called Rhynebercke) was giuen ouer: It is thought that there were certaine ſecret promiſes made, which cauſed the garriſon to yeeld more willingly, as that the Counteſſe of Meurs (then a widdow) ſhould quietly inioy her landes by circum- D ſcription, as beeing a member of the Empire and Neutrall. Thus the Duke of Parma tooke in the townes and places in the Territories of Cologne to the vſe (as hee ſaid) of *Erneſtus* Biſhoppe of Cologne, but hee kept the chiefe places with good garriſons, as Rhynebercke, Bonna, Nuys, Keyſersweert, and after the taking of Bercke, hee had ſome diſſeignes vppon the Townes of Cleues, Goch, Reez, and Emric, belonging to the Duke of Cleues, but all was in vaine, his enterpriſe beeing diſcouered. Berke yeelded to the Earle of Manſſeldt.

There was not much more done this yeare neither by the Duke of Parma nor yet by the vnited Prouinces, the Duke (beeing buſie to ſend men and money into France) ſtayed at Bins in Henault, where the Duke of Maine and other comman- E ders of the League came to ſpeake with him: on the other ſide the vnited Prouinces ſent vnto the French King tenne thouſand poundes ſtarling, with victualls and munition of warre, by the Lord of Brederode (iſſued from the Earles of Holland and Zealand) *Iuſtine* of Naſſau Admirall of Zealand, and the Seignior of Pree Agent there for the Eſtates. And the Queene of England ſent him firſt twenty thouſand pounds ſtarling, by Sir *Edward Stafford* then her Maieſties Ambaſſador with ſome poulder, munition for war, and ſhips to ſerue him: & within 15. daies after being beſieged in Deepe by the League, the Queene ſent the Lord *Willoughby* ouer with 4000. men to his ſuccor. The generall Eſtates had long before reduced all the enemies Frontier Countries to certaine ceaſments and contributions of money, payable F monethly, as well vppon the landes as vppon the Countrie houſes, Villages and vnwalled townes, which had no Forts to ſupplie the payment of their frontering Garriſons. By which contributions the Peaſants and Inhabitants of the ſayde frontering places were freed from the courſes, ſpoyles and ranſoming of their Soldiers: The which without all doubt was a very great eaſe for the poore people and laborers

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1589. laborers and other good people, who might freely doe their worke and follow their trafficke and marchandiſe with all ſafety, going and comming freely into the townes and Fortes of either party. A

This was againſt all right in the warres of fore-paſſed ages, who would not yeeld any thing vnto their enemies (as the Duke of Alua cauſed a poore peaſant to be hanged, for that he had bene forced to carry a bottle of hay to the Prince of Oranges Camp before Maeſtricht) and it was alſo dangerous. But the profit which did riſe thereby, did counteruayle the paine to prouide for the dangers which they feared. The which the Spaniard might in like manner doe for his part, who might reape farre greater comodities thereby then the Eſtates. But no man ſmarted ſo much as the Lord of the ſoyle and proprietary, who by reaſon of theſe contributions, did not receiue halfe the reuenues they were accuſtomed to doe. B

Mondragon forbids contributions.

Mondragon Gouernor and Caſtellan of Antwerp, notwithſtanding the profit which the King of Spaine reapt thereby, did forbid the Inhabitants of the Champian country to pay any more contributions to the Eſtates: The which they did not bring in as they had bene accuſtomed: Which made the Eſtates ſeeke to force them (that occupied ſuch houſes and land) therevnto by the way of armes. Where-vpon Captaine *Marcellus Bax* brother to *Paul* Gouernor of Berghen vp Zoome, with his company of horſe and part of his brothers, went often to field to make theſe executions, ſo as one day among the reſt the Village of Vlrich was burnt, for an example and terror to the reſt, they hauing done ſome diſpleaſure vnto the garriſon of Berghen, and this was the laſt of Nouember. C

A Conuoie defeated by the Eſtates men.

In December *Marcellus Bax* with other Captaines went forth of Berghen with 160. horſe and 70. foote to attend for a Conuoy of victuals which was to go from Antwerp to Steenberghen, conducted by three companies of high Dutches: being in ambuſh they charged them vpon a heath, where they defeated them quite, tooke *Collonel Maldits* priſoner, with the three Captaines and many others, as well ſoldiers, Marchants, victuallers, as peaſants, with all their wagons, victuals, munition and baggage, among other bootie his men found new caſſocks for *Don Fernando* of Gonzagues company of horſe, with great ſtore of good and rich marchandiſe, but they paied dearely for it, for many of their horſes were ſlaine or wounded by the Germaines ſhotte, who in the beginning had intrencht themſelues with their wagons, and could not haue beene forced, had not the 70. ſhot followed at the firſt charge. *Bax* loſt three of his beſt horſes, two in the fight, and the third being ſhotte in diuers places brought him home to Berghen. The three companies of Germaines were 400. pikes & 200 muſketiers and ſmal ſhot: they ſent two Enſeignes to Prince *Maurice*, and the peeces of the third with all the booty they kept for them-ſelues. D

Cont *William* of Naſſau hauing taken from the Spaniards in the country of Groning, the Forts of Immentes, Soltcamp and others, he did fortifie them to keepe al that quarter of Friſeland vnder the Eſtates contribution, with the helpe of the Forts of Otterdome and Rheid lying aboue Groning: There fell out alſo a great iealouſie and diſcontentment betwixt the inhabitants of Groning and their Gouernor *Verdugo*, they of the towne complaining that he ſought to bring in a garriſon, ſeeing that ſince the retreat of *Gaſpar* of Robles Lord of Billy, as alſo during the time they held for the Eſtates, they had alwaies defended them-ſelues well without any garriſon. Where-vpon *Verdugo* ſeeing that the Earle of Naſſau did ſtill proſper, and that he had ſmall aſſurance of them of the towne: He writte vnto the Duke of Parma, intreating him to ſend him ſupplies of men: who preſently diſpacht away Cont *Herman Vanden Berghe*, with twenty two companies, as wel Spaniards as others, to receiue the which at the paſſage of the Rhyne, *Verdugo* went with certaine troups; but hearing that the Eſtates were entred into the country of Groning, he turned head. Theſe companies ſent by the Duke of Parma, hauing paſt the Rhyne, marched towards Oldenzeel, & by the Tuente in the quarter of Ems, to enter that way into the country of Groning: Cont *William* of Naſſau was alſo fortified by the comming of the Earle of Ouerſteyne with fiue hundred horſe and ſome foote: ſo as the Spaniards and the States men went to campe vpon the Frontier, one neere vnto an other, but without any blowes: Wherefore they of Groning ſeeing that it was E

They of Groning diſcontented with their Gouernor.

F

againſt

A againſt them that either party aymed: and aboue all that *Verdugo* had ſent for thoſe forces againſt them, they ſtood more vpon their gards then euer, and were more fearefull to be ſurpriſed, knowing well that all townes were ruined, whereas the Spaniards keepe a garriſon, and in effect the champian country endured no leſſe at that time of them who were their friends then of the Eſtates men whome they held for enimies: neither were they of Weſtphalia (which is a neuter country) free. The towne of Aix la Chapell called by ſome Aken, an old imperiall and rich towne, lieth betweene Cologne and Maſtricht, and by meanes of the troubles in the Netherlands was of late yeares become very populous and of great trafficke, by reaſon that it is a free neutrall Towne, many of the reformed religion fled thether with their whole families, ſo as B they grew to ſo great a number, as it ſeemed the magiſtrates by common conſent would haue allowed them free exerciſe of religion within their towne, if they had not feared the authority of the Emperor and the power of their neighbours: yet had they liberty enough to exerciſe it priuatly within ſome great howſes, whereat the Catholikes did much murmure eſpecially their neighbors the Dukes of Parma and Cleues, who for that cauſe (vnder pretence of other quarrells) obtained diuers comiſſioners from the Emperor, to authoriſe the neighbors about them, as the Dukes of Parma and Cleues and the country of Leege to compell the towne of Aix to obey his commandements. But for a long time they excuſed them-ſelues with modeſt and reaſonable anſwers; till now about this time the King of Spaine and the Duke of Parma thinking C it in vaine to bring any more regiments into the Netherlands, vntill they were aſſured of the neighbour countries townes, as of Emden, Weſel, Aix and others, houlding it not fit to ſuffer the Netherlanders (whome they termed rebels) to ſettle themſelues there, wherefore they thought good to begin firſt with them of Aix, thinking them-ſelues in a manner aſſured of the countries of Iulliers and Cleues, by reaſon of the ould Dukes infirmity, whome they had long gouerned by a Spaniſh affected counſell, and as for the young Duke, who was but ſimple, and married to a daughter of the houſe of Baden an erneſt Catholike Princeſſe, they feared him not. In the territories adiacent there-vnto as Cologne, Leege and Munſter, they had placed *Erneſtus* of Bauaria to bee Biſhoppe, being there creature, whereby the King of Spaine did D hope that in the end hee ſhould haue the dominion of thoſe places, when as the inhabitants by incurſions and the ſpoyles of warre ſhould bee brought to extremity, as they of Vtrecht had beene in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred twenty ſeauen, vnder *Hendricke* Biſhop of Beyerne: they were in hope alſo by ſome meanes to get the towne of Cologne and Emden, omitting no practiſe nor ſtratageme: for the effecting of this their deſſeigne, they had often delt with them of Aix by the Emperor and the Duke of Cleaues, and now at laſt the Duke of Parma by authority from the King, as Duke of Brabant and Limbourch, and vpon pretext of being Protector of the towne of Aix, he ſought by Proclamation to cut of all the preuiledges which that towne of Aix claymed in the Netherlands, and declared openly that he did not accoumpt it a E neutrall towne, whether the fugitiue Netherlanders ſhould fly for refuge, and inioy their lands and poſſeſſions in the Netherlands, as was graunted vnto ſuch as did dwell in neutrall places, wherefore he commanded them to depart and leaue the ſaid towne of Aix, and either to returne into his dominions, and there to liue like good Catholikes, or elſe to goe and inhabite in other places and that within the ſpace of foureteene daies after the publication of the ſaid Proclamation, within the townes of Antwerp and Maſtricht, vpon paine of forfeyture of the ſaid graces and preuiledges, and all their goods moueable and immouable: commanding all his Officers to ſee it preſently publiſhed, proclaimed and put in execution. This proclamation was made at Bins the tenth of December in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hun- F dred eighty nine.

1589

The diſcription of Aix la Chapell.

The King of Spaines attempts againſt Aix and other townes.

The King of Spaines proclamation againſt them of Aix.

And in the beginning of the yeare it was ſignified vnto them of Aix; The Maior and Sheriffes (which were fled) ſeeking by this meanes to ouerthrow the authority of the great Councell of the towne, had beene firſt ſutors for it to the Emperor and the Duke of Iuliers as one of the Protectors of the aforeſayd towne: whoſe

councell

1589. Councell (and among the reſt one *Shynckern Amptman* of the towne and Caſtell of *Iuiliers*) did ſolicit it with the Biſhop of Liege, who procured it from the Duke of Parma in the King of Spaines name, to whome the Emperor both in this & many other things, referred much. The reaſon was that after the retreat of ſtrangers, (whoſe goods and reuenues did lye moſt in landes in the Low-countries) through the ayd of their Partiſans they might returne, and diſpoſſeſſing the Magiſtrates of the reformed religion, ſettle them-ſelues in their places, but for this time they were diſapointed of their expectation: yet afterwards in the yeare 1598. they addreſt them-ſelues vnto Cardinall *Albert* of Auſtria, who vndertooke it. A

This proclamation did ſpoile many of the chiefe of the ſtraungers, for that they began to ceaze vpon their lands & goods in the Netherlands, which dwelt in Aix, wherefore ſome retyred to Cologne, others into the country of Iuilliers: Such as went to Leege were preſently chaſed away, ſome continued there ſtill, and ſome redeemed them-ſelues for money, purchaſing ſafeguard from the Duke of Parma at a deere rate, for a yeare, or halfe a yeare, more or leſſe, being forced ſtill to renue them ſtill at the ſame price, the which was held mechanike and diſhonorable in ſuch a Prince. The of Aix made petition vnto the Princes Electors at an Imperiall Diet held at Spires, and to the Emperor, to haue their priuiledge confirmed. B

1590. By reaſon of the warres in France in *Anno* 1589. the Eſtate of the Netherlands was then much altered, for that the Prouinces of Arthois, Henault, Luxembourg, Namur, and others, bordering vpon France, were then to defend them-ſelues, from the inuaſions of the French, in regard the King of Spaine (as head of the holy League) tooke vpon him to aid and aſſiſt the rebels of France, giuing the Duke of Parma charge to haue a care thereof, for the which in the beginning of this yeare 1590. hee aſſembled an armie vpon the Frontiers of Arthois, which he ſent into France vnder the commaund of the Earle of Egmont: by which meanes the vnited Prouinces had ſome time and reſpight to breath, after their long miſeries and inteſtine warres, which they had indured againſt ſo mighty an enemie. And for that the gouernment of many is moſt tedious and dilatory, but wiſe and prouident in reſolution, ſo in the two yeares laſt paſt, they had ſpent their time to aduance their affaiers, firſt appeaſing all factions betwixt the Eſtates and the Engliſh, and the mutinies of their garriſons, great wiſdome, policie, money and diſcipline beeing thereto requiſite and neceſſary, the Queene of England being well pleaſed they ſhould gouerne among them-ſelues, as wee haue formerly declared. C D

The Vnited Prouinces haue ſome reſpight by reaſon of the warres of France.

Concerning religion (whereof the gouernment of the country much conſiſteth) they had alwaies an eſpeciall care to follow the neceſſary reſolutions of the generall Eſtates, in the time of the late Prince of Orange, making a religious peace, and hauing a diſlike that men ſhould imagine their conſciences ſhould be forced otherwiſe then by good inſtruction, good liuing and by prayer. And finding them of the reformed religion (the moſt zealous to defend the liberties & wel-fare of the Netherlands, in regard they had bene many times perſecuted for religion by the Spaniards) to bee wel vnited togither, they therefore grounded their foundation vpon the greateſt number: and for that the Eſtate and gouernment conſiſted of ſo many heads and opinions, they ſought to reduce this diuerſitie of mindes and opinions into one vnitie and conſent, for the good & wel-fare of the country, whereof they had an eſpeciall care, in regard of their continuall wars, in which vnity their only ſupport & maintenance conſiſted, as by their common ſeale (wherein ſtandeth a bundle of Arrowes bound togither) appeareth: and for that conſideration they neuer forced any mans conſcience, but only ſeditious Sectaries, as certaine Anabaptiſts and Munſterians, and ſuch as were il conceited of the Magiſtrates, for that they puniſhed Malefactors with the ſword of Iuſtice; to them they allowed no open aſſemblies, other ſects (whereof God amend it, there haue bene to many for a long time) they thought good to ſuffer them for the preſent time, & to reclaime them if they could, by preaching and ſermons, made in the reformed Churches, with commandement to liue in brotherly loue, and to win them with loue and charitie: the reformed vſing to that end in their Churches a certaine Chriſtian diſcipline, to auoyd ſcandall and ill ſpeeches. E F

The pollicie of the vnited Eſtates concerning religion.

Thoſe

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A Thoſe of the confeſſion of Ausbourg (which ſeeke to diuide themſelues from the reformed religion) were allowed to haue preaching and exerciſes (with carefull ouerſigh) in certaine townes. The Catholikes alſo had no publike exerciſe of their religion allowed them, the which was done in pollicie, becauſe of the warres, attending a time vntill it ſhould bee otherwiſe prouided for, and reſolued by the countrie or generall Eſtates, after an aſſured peace. The Catholikes made no great queſtion about their baptizings and burialls, and touching marriages, it was decreed by a publike proclamation, that all ſuch as were not of the reformed religion, (after lawfull and open publication) comming before the Magiſtrates in the towne-houſes, were orderly giuen in marriage one vnto an other. 1590

B And to ſhew that their onelie care was for vnity, religion and libertie, this yeare they cauſed certaine counters to bee made, hauing on the one ſide two hands griped faſt together, and holding ſixe arrowes bound together with this inſcription, *Deo iuuante*. On the other ſide was a ſtrong piller, ſtanding vpon a great ſquare booke called religion, and vpon the piller was a hat, which ſignified libertie. This pillar was faſt bound by ſixe ſtrong armes noting the ſixe Prouinces of Gelders, Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland, Oueryſſel and Vtrecht, with this inſcription vnder the foundation called religion, *Hac nitimur*: and ouer the hat of libertie, *Hanc tuemur*, as if they would ſay, By the force of truth and vnity, grounded vpon religion, with the helpe of God, we enioye and maintaine our libertie.

C For the generall gouernment of the Prouinces, they had a counſell of Eſtate, conſiſting of gentlemen, and lawiers, where the Queene of England was to haue two councellers, but at that time there was but one, which was Maiſter *Thomas Bodley* (now a Knight) and Maiſter *Gilpin* Secretarie of the ſayd counſell; this councell had the ordring of all cauſes in euery Prouince, the generall Eſtates being not alwaies aſſembled, who commanded ouer this councell of Eſtate: and beſides this euerie particular Prouince had their priuate councell. The vnited Prouinces ruled by a councell of Eſtate.

After the death of the Prince of Orange they did chuſe Prince *Maurice*, Earle of Naſſau, Gouernor of Holland and Zeeland, Admirall of the ſea, and Lieutenant generall of their forces, and *Philip* Earle of Hohenlo, an old ſouldiar and of great experi- Prince Maurice made Lieutenant generall.

D ence his Lieutenant. Vtrecht, Oueryſſel and Gelderland, did likewiſe at that time chuſe Prince *Maurice* for their gouernor. *William Lodowike* Earle of Naſſau, eldeſt ſonne to *Iohn* Earle of Naſſau was gouernor in Friſeland, a ſouldiar of good experience and polliticke. Prince *Maurice* was from his youth trained vp by his father in the warres, and in affaires of Eſtate, and was his ſecond ſonne (his eldeſt brother *Philip William*, who is now Prince of Orange and Earle of Buren, beeing yet kept priſoner in Spaine) and for that cauſe beeing verie fit to ſupplie the place hee was choſen chiefe Generall and Commander ouer all their forces both by ſea and land. In matters concerning the land, hee was to bee ruled by the aduiſe of the councell of Eſtate, and touching the ſea by the admiralitie: and certaine Comities were

E appointed vnder him, when any thing was to bee done concerning the countrie, and the limmits of their liberties, by whoſe aduice all cauſes touching the ſtate were directed in the armie, and the particular affaires concerning Gouernment and Pollicie by the Councell of warre, choſen out of euerie Regiment and Nation ſeruing therein. And for that Holland was the greateſt ſtrongeſt and mightieſt of all the vnited Prouinces, therefore many cauſes which were handled in the councell of Eſtate, were done by the aduiſe and councell of *Iohn van Ouden Barneuelt*, Lord of Crimpel, Aduocate of Holland, in regarde of his great wiſdome and experience.

The Netherlanders haue as great meanes to bring in money for the maynte- The meanes how the Eſtates leauy money for their warres.

F nance of their warres, as euer was heard or ſeene in any Countrie, the which is done willingly, with a generall conſent, and with little hurt and preiudice to the Inhabitants, and by that meanes the countrie growe rich, mighty and ſtrong, for they ſuffred any thing to bee carried vnto the enemie paying lycenſe for the ſame, eſpecially ſuch things whereof they had aboundance and ſuperfluitie, and that

1590. that there ſubiects by making, working and carrying it thether may get any thing, aryſing or abating the rate of the licenſe, as they found the enemy to haue neede of their commodities, moderating it in ſuch ſort as the enemy could not buy it better cheape in any place then of them. They ſuffred the enemy to bring any thing vnto them that they had neede of, eſpecially ſuch things as they could not well haue but from thence, paying but ſmall cuſtome or lycenſe mony, and contrarywiſe making them to pay great cuſtome for things which they brought, whereof they had no neede, hauing ſtill a great regard vnto their trade of marchandiſe and eſpecially vnto their ſea-faring and fiſhing. A

The Eſtates good husbandrie for the imployment of their mony.

Beſides this they could ſo well husband their mony and imploy it to the beſt profit, as all Potentates, common weales, and commanders in the warres might take example by them, capitulating with their Collonels, Captaines and ſoldiars as ſtrictly as they could, yet alwaies paying them wel, which made the captaines to complaine oftentimes for that a captaine ſeruing vnder the enemy or in other places, might reape more benifit by a Company of men, then a Collonell vnder the Eſtates by ten companies but it was vncertaine. And for that the vnited Prouinces did pay their men duely and truely, there was very good diſcipline held among their ſoldiars, ſo as whereſoeuer they paſt throughout the country, they were well vſed, and welcome in all places, for that they found their neceſſaries alwaies redy for them, the which was truely paied, whenſoeuer they diſlodged to any other place, and throughout all the Prouinces they did ſeuerely puniſh theeues and ſuch as offred any violence. B C

What number of men the vnited Prouinces entertayned.

They did not vſually entertaine any great forces, but they had old, valiant and well diſciplined ſoldiars with the which they did many great exploits. At that time they had about twenty thouſand foote and two thouſand horſe, beſides the Bourgers, whom in time of neceſſity, they imployed and paied as ſoldiars. They entertained about a hunderd ſhippes of warre at ſea and within their riuers, being all well appointed; and whenſoeuer they came from any ſeruice, their men were preſently to be paid. Beſides this ordinary charge of ſhippes, ſaylers and ſoldiars, they tooke order by a generall conſent for a certaine prouiſion of money to be made, for the entertayning of an army in the field, for certaine monethes in the yeare, with ordinance, pioners and a ſupply of ſoldiars, to make an offenſiue warre, to inlarge their fronters, and alſo to aide the French King, with money, munition and men both by ſea and land. D

What the Queene of England paied euery monthe to releeue the Eſtates.

The Queene of England alſo paied to her ſouldiars in the garriſons of the Brill, of Fluſhing, and to thoſe that aided the Eſtates within the country twelue thouſand fiue hundred twenty ſix pounds ſtarling euery moneth, accounting 56. daies to the moneth according to the contract, beſides extraordinary charges for tranſportation of ſouldiars, and the apparell both for horſe and foote, which was yearely to bee prouided.

The vnited Prouinces rich by their wars.

By this prouident care and wiſe gouernment of the Eſtates and their aſſiſtants, the vnited Prouinces were exceeding rich and mightie, yea in the mideſt of their greateſt warres, which commonly makes any countrie poore and miſerable, and yet they robbed no man at ſea, but were rather robbed, and at land they vſed but the ordinary courſe of warre: and this is euident by their fare, great and coſtly buildings in their townes, their ſtrong and great fortifications, their aboundance of Ordinance, and great numbers of rich and welthie inhabitants, who for that their wanted houſes for them to dwell in, many were forced to dwell in ſhippes, whereof they haue many in that country, very ſweete, faire and neceſſary for that vſe: and ſome townes haue bene conſtrained to inlarge their walles for the building of more houſes, with ſuch hauens, walles, bulwarkes, gates and ſumptuous workes, as it were admirable to bee written; the which may well bee ſeene by many townes from Weſt-friſeland along to Walchren in Zeeland. E

The Spaniards mutine and ſurprize Cortrey.

In the beginning of this yeare, a regiment of Spaniards complayning for their pay beganne to mutine, ſeeking what townes of Flanders they might ſurprize for their pay, ſo as in the end they found a good oportunitie to ceaſe vpon Cortrey, whileſt that all the people were buſie to ſee two freebooters of the Eſtates ſide burnt aliue, they entred into the towne with a furious and fearefull alarum, in the which there were F

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A some Bourgers slaine, making themselues maisters of the towne and lyning at discre- 1590
tion. They sent to other Spanish garrisons to doe the like, and to ioyne with them in their mutiny. They thought to haue done the like at Bruges and other places, but they were preuented, the Bourgers standing vpon their gards, hauing such an example of their neighbors before their eyes. They continued long there in this mutinous humour, behauing themselues verie insolently to the townesmen, and the inhabitants round about, which the Prince of Ascoly himselfe could by no meanes appeaze, but they retayned him forcebly for a while as a pledge, but this disorder proceeding from the couetousnesse of the Officers at the comming of the Earle of Fuentes out of Spaine, was partly punished, who caused the Lord of Sanfoy and other Of-
B ficers to bee committed to prison, and some to be executed, taking a better order for their pay out of the treasory of Brusselles.

All these mutynies were thought to bee by the prouocation of the Duke of Pastrana and the Prince of Ascoly who hated the Duke of Parma, and sought by that meanes to doe him an affront, but hee surmounted all, hauing receiued a continuation of his commission, and commandement from the King of Spaine, to goe and succor the league in France. Beeing at Bins in Henault, the Duke of Maine chiefe of the league, carrying himselfe as Lieutenant of the Estate and crowne of France comming to conferre with him, with some other Noble men of the league as wee haue sayd. The Spaniards that were mutined in Courtray durst not refuse to make this voiage with him
C into France, being the Kings pleasure, for the effecting whereof, they made hast to ransome the poore Bourgers, threatning to burne their towne, so as they forced them to pay the vttermost of all their arrerages, in what money, and at what rate they pleased.

The duke of Maine comes to the duke of Parma.

The fourth day of March Breda was surprized for Prince *Maurice*, beeing his inheritance, after this manner. The signior of *Herauguiere* a gentleman of Cambray, captaine of a companie of foote vnder the vnited Prouinces, beeing in garrison with his companie and some other souldiars in the Island of Voorn neere vnto Bommel, vnder the command and authoritie of Count *Phillip* of Nassau gouernor of the townes of Gorrichom, Vaudrichom or Vorcum and Loueston; and Collonel of a Regiment
D of foote. This Earle after the retreate of Prince *Maurice* out of those quarters, did impart vnto the sayd *Herauguiere* (whome hee knewe to bee a hardie and valiant captaine) a certaine designe which the Prince would willingly haue made vpon the towne of Breda, and the meanes that were offred for the execution thereof, which was by a certaine man which went with a little barke laden with woode, the which hee did often carrie to the castle of Breda, or by an other boate of the like bignesse which did vse to carrie turfe vnto the castle: which two men had beene long time greatly affected to doe some seruice to the generall cause of the vnited Prouinces, as they had often giuen good testimonies: wherevnto captaine *Herauguiere* made answere: that first of all hee did most humbly thanke the Prince and the Earle for the honour which they had done him therein. That hee for a long time had dedicated his life and
E fortune to the Princes seruices, as all his actions might well witnesse during the warres: desyring nothing more then by some great and notable exploit, to shewe the sincere affection of his heart in that behalfe, and how little hee valued his life, in regard of the loue hee bare vnto the Prince. And therefore if it so pleased him, there should not bee any one that would more willingly imploye himselfe in so gallant and honorable an enterprize. And hauing discoursed together of the importance of this action, and of the meanes to put it in execution, and dulie considered of all daungets, hee resolued (according to the Earles commandement) to goe to Prince *Maurice* at the Hage in Holland, beeing newly returned from the army, to determine fully
F of this businesse.

Herauguiere beeing come thether, and hauing conferred with the Prince of the manner of the execution, and of the number of choise and resolute souldiars that should bee needfull to be imployed in the action; they found at that time no better expedient, then to attempt it by a boate laden with wood. But as this enterprize was protracted

Breda surprized for Prince Maurice.

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90 by reaſon of the great and long froſts in winter; in the end of February the Prince ſent A
for *Herauguiere*, letting him vnderſtand in the preſence of captaine *Edmont* (now Collonel of the Scots) that a fit time was offred to put it in execution, and that hee held the beſt meanes to bee by a boate of turfes, the maiſter whereof was called *Adrien van Berghen*. *Herauguiere* who wiſhed nothing more then to be at worke, deſired the boatman might bee ſent for. To whome (hauing beene well examined vpon all circumſtances) inſtructions were giuen what hee had to doe; and commandement giuen him not to treat with any other from that time but with *Herauguiere*: who then went towards the Fort of Noortdam where his company was in garriſon, and the man with his boate to a village called Leur two leagues from Breda, where hee was to take in his turfes. Who hauing laden and being ready according to the order, hee aduertiſed B
Herauguiere for the putting it in execution on the Tweſday following, as it had beene reſolued by the Prince, ſending him word by captaine *Lambert Charles* (who for this ſeruice was afterwards made Sargeant Maior of Breda) that it was neceſſary to anticipate the day, and to begin on the Monday, for that the Receiuor of the caſtle did preſſe him to deliuer his turfes: The ſayd *Lambert* made ſuch ſpeede, as hauing ſpoken with the Prince at the Hage, hee returned preſently with anſwere to *Herauguiere*, that the Prince would bee ready at the place appointed, with a number fit for the exploite.

In the meane time *Herauguiere* according to the charge he had from the Prince, ſent to diuers garriſons for many Officers, with the moſt choiſe and reſolute ſouldiars. Out C
of the Collonels companie of Count *Philip* of Naſſau ſixteene, led by captaine *Iohn Logier*: from the garriſon of Heuſden (whereof Mounſire *de Famas* was Gouernor,) ſixteene led by captaine *Iohn Fernel*: from the garriſon of Clundert of the Signor of Lieres men beeing gouernor of the Iſland, twelue, commanded by captaine *Matthis Helt* his Lieutenant, and of *Herauguieres* owne companie *Gerard des Pres* a Squier with foure and twenty ſoldiers. On Sunday the fiue and twentith of February, about tenne of the clocke at night, after that hee had acquainted the chiefe Officers with his diſſeigne, knowing that the boate attended them, the which lay at Swerttenbarchſweer, they marched that way as couertly as they could for the ſpace of ſome ſixe houres, yet they could neither finde boate nor men, the which did much D
trouble them, fearing that they ſhould bee diſcouered, and therefore they reſolued, ſecretlie to returne: Beeing vpon the way at a village called Terheyden, as they croſt the riuer, the boate man, excuſing himſelfe for this fault, which had happened (as hee ſaid) by his companion, who fell a ſleepe, himſelfe doubting that all was daſht, and that hee muſt burne his boate, as if the matter had beene too much deſcouered, and that hee could neither goe forward nor backward, but with great and apparent danger: Wherevpon beeing demanded if there were meanes to returne the next day, hauing conſidered a little thereon, hee anſwered yes. And to fall no more into the like errour it was decreed that the marriner himſelfe ſhould goe and fetch them at the caſtle of Seuenbergh, and ſo they parted one from an other. E

Night beeing come, the marriner fayled not to come vnto them, aſſuring them that it was time to march. Before they departed *Herauguiere* ſent word vnto the Prince (who was come with good troupes vnto Clundert) of all that had paſt. Then they went on with ſuch ſpeed, as with in two houres they entred all into the boate, and were not deſcouered; where they endured great diſcommodities for that the winde was contrarie, ſo as they continued there from Mondaie at night vntill Thurſday in the morning, with great colde, hunger and other extreamities.

But ſeeing the impoſſibilities to paſſe on by reaſon of ſo many difficulties, they reſolued to aduertiſe the Prince, for that they would not doe any thing without his leaue, vnto whom they ſent one of the marriners with letters, wherevnto the F
Prince made anſwere, intreating them to haue patience, one day longer, and charging them not to depart from thence before they aduertiſed him. They ſeeing no change in the wether, & wanting victualls, they reſolued to go forth to refreſh themſelues a little: & ſo they returned to the fort of Noort-dã on the thurſday morning before day, where they

A they ſtaid vntill eleuen of the clocke at night and then their boateſ-man returned ſay- 1590
ing, that he thought the wether was changed and grone more comodious yet he would not aſſuer any thing, only he did think the Ice could not anoy them, which the company vnderſtanding, they departed with a good reſolution, and entred into the boat at a place called the warren, being but a quarter of a league from Breda; ſo as on friday by nine of the clocke in the morning they were with their boate before the Herourie, which is neere vnto the caſtell, And betwixt tenne and three in the after-none they were brought within the outwardeſt barre of the Sluce the which was preſently ſhut behind them: where ſtaying, a corporall of the gard of the caſtell came in a little skife to ſerch the boate, entring into the marriners caban, hee opened a litle doore which lookt
B vnto the pompe, where there was but a board betwixt it and the ſoldiars. Hauing ſercht it well, and not able to iudge that there was any thing in it but turfes (for at that time very happely, and without doubt by the prouidedence of God noe man did cough or make any noiſe, as they had done before and after, not withſtanding any prohibition) he ſhut the Caban doore, and ſo retired, During their aboad in the boat, *Herauguiere* was forced to heare and endure from ſome priuat ſoldiars many complaynts and reproches, telling him, that he had brought them to the Butchery and to an aſſured death. But he anſwered them couragiouſly, that they were in noe ſort better, nor equall to him-ſelfe: and that being their commander vnder ſo generous a Prince, it would be a perpetuall infamy to abandon ſo honorable an enterpriſe, baſely and for want of cour-
C rage. That they which ſpake thus ſhould remember, that oftentimes to watch the marchant and the poore paſſengers like theeues, they made no difficulty to endure all diſcomodities of winde and raine: whereas now for ſo glorious an enterpriſe, they would ſhew them-ſelues vnwilling, whereof they ſhould be much aſhamed. As for him-ſelfe that he had rather die then fayle of his duty: and in the end thretning them that if they did otherwiſe, hee would bee their aduerſe party to demand Iuſtice of their couardiſe and trechery, ſo as vanquiſhed by his admonitions, they all reſolued to hazard their lyues, not any one daring to ſpeake a word.

Whileſt they expected the returne of the tide to enter into the Caſtell by the great Sluce, the boat was faſt vpon a banke of ſand, vnknowne to the boate-men, the
D which did trouble them very much, fearing that by the water which entered into her they being vp to the mid legges, the boat would ſinke and they all ſhould bee drowned, wherewith the boatſman him-ſelfe was very much perplexed, expecting noe better, vntill the returne of the tide they mending their boat, they grew more aſſured. On Saterday about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone, the Sluſe was open, by the which the boat was brought into the Caſtell, being drawne in by ſome of the ſoldiars of the garriſon, therein like to the indeſcreet and miſerable Troians, who made a way into their towne for that great wodden horſe which was their ouerthrow.

There boate being thus drawne into the mideſt of the Caſtell, the Sargeant Maior
E commanded the boatman to furniſh turfe for euery Corps de garde, ſo as there were ſuch a nomber taken away, as the light began to ſhine vpon the ſoldiars, through the cranies of the Planks, which ſupported the turfes, vnder the which they were hidden in the bottome of the boat the which bred a new feare, doubting they would proceed to diſcharge the boat. But through the pollicy and induſtrie of the marryner, who gaue a peece of ſiluer vnto the laborers to goe drinke (as he was accuſtomed to doe) the worke ceaſed in good time, ſaying, that they had wrought too much for a Saterday at night, and that they muſt diſcharge the reſt on Munday following. Then the Sargeant Maior gaue order that but one of the marryners ſhould remaine in the boate, and the other ſhould goe and lie in the towne. Thus *Herauguiere*
F and his ſoldiars contynued betwixt hope and feare vntill eleuen of the clocke at night, cauſing them to pumpe often, that they that coughed might not be heard: and to the end that when they ſhould goe forth, the gard ſhould not heare the noyſe: yet they ſent a ſoldiar to demand what it was that made ſuch a noyſe: the marryner anſwered him, it was the pumpe, which hee was inforced to vſe often for that his

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1590 boate was olde, wherewith they were ſatisfied, and in this ſort hee continued pumping A
vntil twelue of the clocke. *Herauguiere* ſeeing then that it was time to worke, hauing admoniſhed euery ſouldiar of his duetie, and to ſhew themſelues men of courage and reſolution, hee willed the Marryner to make all the noyſe he could at the pumpe, to take away the noyſe of their going forth. Thoſe that were firſt appointed to land went forth as couertly as they could, to whome they gaue their armes as they went forth. Beeing all landed without deſcouerie (an admirable thing beeing ſo neere the Court of garde where there was a ſentinell) *Herauguiere* diuided his troupe in two, hee appointed two captaines *Lambert* and *Fernel* to leade one of the troupes towardes the Court of garde on the ſide of the towne hauen, on the South-eaſt: and he with the reſt marcht along the munitiõ houſe, vnder a falſe port towards an other Court of gard B
at the port towards the towne. *Herauguiere* marching in the head of his troupe, met vpon the way an Italien ſouldiar, who beeing demanded who goes there, hee anſwering in his owne Langage, *Amigo*, was ſeized on, and commanded vpon his life to hold his peace; beeing demanded of the number of the ſouldiars that were in the ſayd Court of garde, and in the whole caſtle, hee ſayd they were three hundred and fiftie men, comprehending thoſe that came out of the towne in the euening, to fortefie the gard, which hearing, it made him keepe him a while, and when the worke ſhould beginne, to kill him. *Herauguiere* ſeeing that the ſouldiars did demande curiouſly of the number of men, which the priſoner ſayd were within the caſtle; he anſwered them that hee was well informed, they were but fifty, (to hide the enemies force) and that it was no time C
then to debate thereof.

Then marching inſtantly towards the Court of garde the ſentinell cryed out, *who goes there?* *Herauguiere* made no other anſwere, but thruſt him through the body with his pike: then was the alarum giuen of all ſides, and the fight grewe furious: for they of the Court of gard and the round, ſeeing themſelues ſurprized, defended themſelues valiantly, ſo as they endured the firſt charge a long time, keeping themſelues ſtrong in the ſayd Court of garde, out of one of the which there went an Ancient, who incountred *Herauguiere* brauely, and hurt him in the arme with his ſworde but hee ouerthrew him, and there hee was ſlaine. But ſeeing they could not drawe them out of the Court of garde, he commanded his men to ſhoot through the doores and windoes; D
which made them to cry out for mercie, intreating they might haue faire warres; But *Herauguiere* ſeeing that neither the time nor the occaſion would ſuffer him to vſe mildeneſſe, but that hee muſt withall ſpeede make himſelfe maiſter of the place, they were all in a manner preſently ſlaine. Before that all this was ended captaine *Paulo*, *Antonio Lancaucchia*, the Gouernours Sonne, and commanding in his abſence, beeing retired into the dongeon, made a braue ſallie with about ſome thirtie men, and charged the other troupe (whereas *Lambart* and *Fernel* were,) furiouſly, who withſtood him as reſolutely: ſo as *Lanca-vechia* with ſuch as eſcaped of his troupe, were forced to retire vnto the Dongeon, himſelfe beeing hurt, and ſo was *Fernel* with a ſhot. E

In the meane time the alarum grew hot in the towne: ſome aduancing to ſet fire on the caſtle gate, notwithſtanding the ſhooting of *Herauguieres* men, who were there, and had defeated that Court of garde, whereof beeing well aſſured, hee runne ſpeedely with ſome of his men to charge an other Court of garde, neere vnto the great platforme, where there were fifteene or ſixteene ſouldiars, who were ſoone defeated. About two houres after, Prince *Maurice* hauing heard the charge, the Earle of Hohenlo his Lieutenant arriued, with the foreward, and for that (by reaſon of the yce) they could not open the caſtle gate towards the fields, they entred by a paliſſadoe of the riuer nere vnto the Sluſe whereas the boate came in. The Earle being arriued, *Lanca-vechia* (who before had begun to parle) compounded with him, that he and his troupe ſhould F
depart with their liues onely.

Soone after followed the Prince bringing the reſt of his troupes, being accompanied
Prince Maurice comes to Breda. by the Earle *Philip* of Naſſau and Solms his couſſins, the Lord of Famas generall of the Ordynance, the Admiral *Iuſtin* Naſſau, the Admirall *Verdoes*, Sir *Francis Vere* and others:

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A others: who being busie to giue order for the entring the towne at two portes which answered vnto the castle, a drumme desired leaue for some Bourgers to approch and to parle with the Prince, the which was granted, so as in lesse then an houre the appointment was made, by the which the Bourgers (to auoide the sacke of the towne, and the spoile of their goods) should giue two monethes pay vnto all the troupes that were come thether with the Prince: in consideration whereof the Burgers laied down their armes: and instantly the Prince sent *Vander Noot*, captaine of his gards, with his company, to seaze vpon the towne-house, and some others into diuers other places, to assure himselfe of the towne. 1590

We must note that in the beginning of the alarum giuen in the castle, the Marquis
B of Guasts company of horse and fiue other companies of Italian soote, being dismayed and fainting, notwithstanding that many Burgers fearing the spoile (as in deed it was to be feared) prouoked them to make defence, but they fell into such disorder, as breaking open one of the towne gates; they fled away shamefully. The Duke of Parma, hearing of this, and not able to endure this losse and disgrace, yea the Spaniards and other of the King of Spaines seruants laying all the blame vpon the Italiens, and reioycing thereat, hee committed the chiefe Commanders to prison, and cut off some of their heads in Brusselles, as of *Cæsar Guerra*, *Iulio Gratiano* of Tarlantino Lieutenant to the Marquis of Guast, and the Corporalls who fercht the boate.

The Italien garison flyes out of Breda

The Duke of Parma cut of the captains heads that fled

This towne and castle of Breda was miraculously wonne, without any great bloud-
C shed, and yet they had diuers skyrmishes, onely one of them that first entred fell into the water in the darke and was drowned, and not any hurt but *Heraugiere* and *Fernel*, and a gentleman of Count *Philips* company, called *Nicholas Genietz*, who beeing made Ancient, died soone after of that wound, and of the garrison of the castle there were about forty slaine.

For this victory all the vnited Prouinces did generally giue God thankes and made fires of ioye, and in memory thereof, they caused certaine peeces of gold, siluer and copper to be minted, whereon was grauen. *Breda a seruitute hispanica vindicata, ductu Principis Mauritii a Nassau. 4. Martii* 1590. that is, Breda vpon the fourth of March in the yeare 1590. by the meanes of Prince *Maurice* of Nassau, was freed from the Spanish
D slauery: On the other side stoode the castle dicth with a turfe boate, and the soldiars comming forth, with this inscription; *Parati vincere aut mori, & Inuicti animi premium* that is redy to win or die, and the reward of an inuincible courage. Prince *Maurice* with the consent of the Estates, gaue the gouernment of the towne, Castel and territory of Breda to *Heraugiere*, captaine *Lambert Charles* was made Sargeant maior, and the other captaines and priuat soldiars ech had one of the said peeces of gold with a summe of mony giuen him, and promise of preferment when time and occasion serued, ech one in his degree. The scippers were also rewarded, with pensions during their liues, and other preferments. The towne was presently prouided for out of Holland (according to the order before taken by Mounsire *Barneueldt*) of all things necessary for
E a yeare and a halfe, and that was done within lesse then ten daies, placing therein foure hundred horse and one thousand and two hundred foote, the Bourgers likewise reduced them-selues into fiue companies and kept watch among the soldiars vnder their leaders. The Estates gaue vnto *Heraugiere* a cup of siluer and guilt made like a boat, with the which he did this exployt, with other rich presents.

Heraugiere made gouerner of Breda,

The tenth of March *Charles* Earle of Mansfeldt went out of Antwerp with good troupes of horse and foote to lie about Breda to stoppe their incursions, and to keepe the peasants from spoyling, who presently put garrisons into Osterhout, Ternigh and other conuenient places, and tooke Seuenberghen where they vsed great
E cruelty: At Heyden a village betweene Seuenberghen and Breda hee built a great Sconse with a bridge ouer a water called Mercke, whereby to stoppe the passage by water to Breda, thinking thereby to keepe it from victualls and other necessaries. In May he beseeged Nordam Sconse, lying vpon the water by Seuenberghen, where at that time Captaine *Mathyas Hela* was gouernor, he was in the turfe boate at the taking of Breda: vpon the thirteene and fourteenth of May he battred it with seauen peeces of

Cont Charles of Mansfeldt takes Seuenberghen.

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1590. Ordinance, hauing ſpent at the leaſt twelue hundred ſhotte, hee gaue a very A
fierce aſſault, and brought a great ſhippe before the Fort, placing many muſketiers in the toppe of the Caſtell, to driue them within the Fort from their defences, making diuers bridges to gette to the walles to giue an aſſault, and in that manner hee attempted it twiſe, but his men were valiantly repulſt, with the loſſe of two Italien Captaines, *Horatio Fontana* of Modena, and *Iohn Franciſco Pagano* a Neapolitaine, with diuers others, and ſome Netherlanders of very good accompt, hee loſt at this aſſault at the leaſt ſixe or ſeauen hundred men, the loſſe was the greater by reaſon that fire fell into the ſhippe, and burnt both it and al the men within it, whereupon he was forced to leaue the Sconſe, and to retyre with many wounded men, ſo as Captaine *Mathias Helt* wone great honor, and the Eſtates ſoone recouered Seven- B
berghe and the Caſtell.

In the meane time the vnited Prouinces had gathered togither a ſmall armie, vnder the commaund of Prince *Maurice* and the Earle of Hohenlo, who marched into the Betuwe, and incamped ouer againſt Nymeghen, where-vppon the point of the Riuer of Wahall they began to build a great Sconſe, to keepe the towne from prouiſion on that ſide: The Earle of Manſfeldt (finding him-ſelfe to weake to fight with them) came to Nymeghen, & finding that the Prince intended to make a Sconſe there, hee planted certaine Ordinance within Nymeghen, which draue them from their worke and battered it downe: Then hee went and lodged in the land of Cuyck, along the Riuer of Meuſe, and Prince *Maurice* ſtayed all that Summer thereabouts C
to make vp his Sconſe, both in the view and in diſpight of the Ordinance of Nymeghen, who by the Earles commandement ſhotte continually againſt it; and yet in the end of Iuly it was finiſhed and made reaſonable ſtrong, the which they called Knodſenbourgh, in diſpight of the Knodſendragers of Nymeghen, for ſo were the townſemen of Nymeghen called when they grew contentious, and brought the Knodſen into the ſtreets: It was victualled and furniſhed of all thinges for ſixe monethes, wherein there were foure or fiue hundred men placed, vnder *Gerrard* of Yough, after that he laie in the Betuwe and made the Riuer of Wahall his defence, meaning in time by continuall ſhooting to tyer them of Nymeghen, and to that end from Bomell to the Tole-houſe or Shencks Sconſe hee placed ſoldiers, and by D
the ayde of ſome ſhippes of warre kept the Riuer of Wahal to ſtoppe the enemies paſſage, for that the Earle of Manſfeldt lying in Cuick, and dayly growing ſtronger made a ſhew as if hee would paſſe the Riuer of Wahal, they of Nymeghen importuning him therevnto, who otherwiſe by reaſon of the Sconſe were very much weakened.

Knodſenborgh ſconſe built by the ſtates.

The Eſtates cauſed a new Chanell to bee cutte croſſe the Betuwe, to drawe the water of the Rhyne into the VVahal beneath Nymeghen, and defended it on either ſide with good bankes, that they might aſcend and deſcend the Riuer of Rhyne by the VVahal, without any danger of Nymeghen. By this chanell and the bankes the lower Betuwe vnto Dordrecht is greatly defended from Inundations: they ſpent moſt E
part of this Summer in building of the Fort of Knodſenberg, and in making of this Chanell.

The Eſtates made alſo an other ſtrong Fort in the Iland of Voren by Herwerden, aboue Bomel, the which was done by the Earle of Solms, whereby they of Gelderland (as much as was before vnited with the other Prouinces) receiued Prince *Maurice* for their Gouernor, the reſt by the King of Spaines command was gouerned by the Marquis of Varrenbon a Bourguignon.

In Friſeland certaine inhabitants of the town of Groning, made a motion vnto the Queene of England to receiue them into their protection, which ſhe refuſed to doe and yet ſhee cauſed her Secretary to commaund Sir *Francis Veer* (who lay then about F
Doesborgh with his Engliſh regiment) to take ſome order for them with *William* Earle of Naſſau and the councell of Eſtate, and although they had aſſembled about three thouſand foote, yet they of Groning would receiue no garriſon into their towne, but

Groning craues protection from the Queene of England.

without

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A without it they offred to deliuer certaine places if they thought well thereof, vpon condition that they would not by any meanes treate with the Estates, but with the Queene of England, wherevpon they brake off: And for that *Verdugo* their Gouernor had more men sent vnto him from the Duke of Parma, hee complayned by his letters of the fifteeneth day of March, which were intercepted, that his souldiars mutined for money, and that in steed of money they had sent him more men, whereas hee sollicited the Duke of Parma chiefely for money, so that as then hee had three score and fiue companies of foote, and fiue Cornets of Reistres, but at the last hauing found meanes to pacefie his souldiars hee tooke the sconse of Immentil, part of the garrison beeing gone forth about an enterprize; from thence hee went to Nieuwelt B which made *William* Earle of Nassau to go to field, hauing some troupes sent vnto him from the campe before Nymeghen, vnder the leading of the Earle of Ouerstein, and incamped at Colum, *Verdugo* lying right ouer against him about a mile on the other side of Vpslach, where they lay long to get some aduantage one against the other, but little done, there were diuers enterprizes taken in hand, and some conuoies cut off. 1590

The fort of Immentil in Frizeland taken by Verdugo.

This Sommer there was an assembly of the deputies of the Electors of the Rhine and other Princes of the Empire at Cologne, whereas it was declared by the deputies of Cleues, Westphalia, and Saxony, what great losses, spoiles, and ruines they were forced to endure, by reason of the warres in the Netherlands: making complaint espe- C cially against the souldiars which serued vnder *Verdugo* and *Emanuell de Vega*, which continually ouer-ranne and held the territories of Munster and the Earldom of Benthem in contribution: and in like sort against *Charles* Earle of Mansfeldt, who committed the like outrages in the Duchies of Cleues and Iuiliers and the Earledome of Lippe: And in the territories of Cologne by *Iohn Manriques de Lara*, taking in of Abbayes, and Noblemens houses, and building of diuers sconses to keepe the countrie in awe and subiection.

An assembly of the Princes of the Rhine at Cologne.

They shewed moreouer that the like insolencies were committed by the souldiars of the vnited Prouinces, and therefore they desired their aduise, and helpe both of men and money, to preuent these spoyles and incursions, either by perswasions D or by force: but the fruites of this assembly were small (for that many of the deputies were affected to the Spaniard) but they onelie referred all to an other meeting at Francfort, whether they should come with more ample commissions and instructions, and withall haue recourse vnto the Emperour and the Princes of the Empire: they also concluded, that in the meane time they should send Ambassadors in their names, both to the Duke of Parma and the vnited Prouinces, intreating them to yeelde vp all those Fortes and places which they held vpon the Rhine, belonging vnto the Empire, whereby their incursions might bee stopt, and the riuer of Rhine (which belongeth vnto the Empire) freede. Moreouer it seemed, (or at the least they gaue it forth) that at their next assembly it should be concluded, that whosoeuer refused to yeeld vnto their request, should bee forced therevnto at the charges of the Empire. The Ambassadors which they sent were *Gaspar van Eltii* State-holder of Langstein *Adam Gants* Barron of Potlitz, councellors to the Electors of Mentz and the Count *Palatin*. *Otto van Welmernechuysen*, State-holder generall of the nether Circle of the Rhine: *Wynant van Perordt* chiefe chamberlaine of the Duchie of Iuilliers, *Iohn Bauman* and *Bernard van Puts*, deputies for the said borders.

Ambassadors sent from the Princes into the Netherlands.

These Ambassadors went to Brussells, but they preuailed verie little there, after which they desired a pasport from the vnited Prouinces and so came to the Hage, wherevpon the three and twentie daie of August, they had audience, and de- F liuered their charge in writing, giuing them to vnderstand, that the Electors and Princes of the Empire on both sides the Rhine, Westphalia and lower Germanie, after their due commendations, were forced to complaine of the great spoyles which were committed, and the great contributions which were exacted of their subiects.

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1590 and that without reſpect of the Lords and Princes of thoſe countries, they held many A
» Forts vpon the lymits of the Empire, and intertained a great number of ſhippes of warr,
» in the Riuers of Rhyne, Ems and others, to the great oppreſſion both of Saylers and
» Marchants, whome they forced to pay licence money, the which was very hurtfull and
» preiudiciall to theſe countries, againſt all good neighbourhood, and contrary to the
» promiſe which they had made vnto the Empire: whereby they ſaid, that ſuch as gouer-
» ned in the Netherlands for the King of Spaine, excuſed them-ſelues, ſaying that by rea-
» ſon of their forcible actions, they were conſtrained to doe as they had done, wherefore
» they were ſent vnto them to informe them of their bad neighbourhood and to requeſt
» them both to forbeare from any further attempts, and to repaire the loſſes which
» they had ſuſteyned, and to ruine their Forts, or elſe to deliuer them vp vnto the Lords B
» of thoſe Territories, to call home their ſhippes of warre, and to exact no more lycence
» money of their Marchants, but to ſuffer them to haue free trafficke: to keepe their ſoldi-
» ars in better diſcipline, and to refraine their incurſions into the country, and likewiſe
» not to follow nor purſue the enemie marching vppon the Territories of the Empire;
» which if they refuſed to doe, they gaue them to vnderſtand, that the Princes Electors
» and others would no longer forbeare, but were fully reſolued with the aſſiſtance of the
» reſt of the Electors Princes of the Empire, not onely to giue eare to the complaints of
» their oppreſſed ſubiects, but alſo to receiue thē into their protections, according to the C
» cuſtomes of the Empire and al good lawes: whereof they deſired a ſhort, ſpeedy and per-
» tinent anſwer, that they might make report thereof accordingly, annexing there-vnto
» diuers particuler complaints, for actions done by priuate perſons, as the taking of
» Fortes, &c.

» Wherevntō the generall Eſtates of the Vnited Prouinces made an anſwer in writing
» on the 23. of September, as followeth.

» The generall Eſtates hauing duly conſidered of the neceſſitie of the preſent time,
The Eſtates anſwer to the Elecors Ambaſſadors. » firſt giue thankes vnto the Princes Electors, and other the Eſtates of the aforeſaid
» Territories of Germany, for their good and friendly admonition; deſiring to inter-
» taine peace and good neighbourhood with them: And praying them to perſwade
» them-ſelues, that for their parts they had not ſpared, neither would, their beſt
» dilligence and indeauors, to ſette both the Electors and the reſt of the Eſtates of the D
» Empire, as alſo al other Kings, Princes, Potentates and common weales knowe, that
» notwithſtanding all their continuall warres (whereof the Vnited Prouinces to their
» great hindrance and almoſt ruine had borne the greateſt burthen) the naturall loue and
» affection of the Inhabitants thereof, was yet in full force & vigor: So as next after their
» natiue countrie, they had nothing more recommended, nor pretious vnto them, then
» loue and vnitie with al the world, and eſpecially with their friends and neighbour coun-
» tries; and aboue all that they might attaine to that long deſired peace and vnitie of the
» countrie. Wherefore they were diſcontented to heare them-ſelues charged to haue
» broken that League that was wont to be betwixt them and the borders of the ſame Em- E
» pire, eſpecially of them from whome they expected al aide & aſſiſtance, with a relenting
» cōpaſſion of the miſeries falne vpon the Netherlands, in the which there had bin ſo ma-
» ny fires kindled, as it was impoſſible to quenche them, but the ſmoke would flie into the
» neighbour countries, beeing a needles thing to ſeeke to extinguiſh thoſe flames of fire,
» for that in the very heart and midſt of theſe countries (which are inſeperably bound
» one vnto an other) there is nothing ſought but continuall kindling and increaſing of
» the ſaid flames, vnleſſe they held it an eaſie matter to cure the outward members of
» the Countrie, when as the heart it ſelfe is inwardly ſicke and conſumed.

» But whereas they were charged (although they might freely and with good conſci-
» ences proteſt, that they had alwaies diſlikt, and bene much diſcontented, for the wrongs
» and iniuries done vnto their neighbours) to haue ſuffered their ſoldiers to commit all F
» violence and inſolences againſt their neighbours, their commiſſions, decrees and pro-
» clamations publiſhed in that behalfe, can ſufficiently witneſſe, and the puniſhments in-
» flicted vppon the offenders and breakers of the ſame haue manifeſtly declared the con-
» trary, and that the fault was not in the ſaid Eſtates: beſides it might bee well preſumed
»

that

A that neither they nor the Councel of Estate, could so restraine the insolencie of soldiers, nor obserue such good discipline therein as necessitie required: and yet that 1590.
the greatest part thereof had happened through the sinister practises of the enemie,
and that good order could not alwaies bee maintayned among vnruly soldiers, the
which is not to be held straunge, for the Estates them-selues were much troubled in
that case, as suffering the greatest wrong. Neuertheless they had rather in the
meane time indure a little disorder for a time, vppon hope of speedy amendment,
then to expect a greater mischiefe, and altogither at one instant (to the vtter ru-
ine and distruction of the Netherlands in generall togither with their neighbours)
fall vnder the insolent and proud commaund of such, as vnder the pretext of spi-
B rituall gouernment haue made such bloudy proclamations, which forbid the rea-
ding of holy Scriptures, and doe execute the lawes by their Inquisitors in steede
of Iudges, making so turbulent a Councell as the like was neuer heard of in the
Netherlands before: And seeking nothing else but (contrary to their promises and
sollemne othes) to violate and tread vnder foote the liberties, rights, and priuiledges
of the Netherlands, to spoyle, ruine and roote out all the Nobilitie, and chiefe men
of the country, and to oppresse the poore commons with intollerable impostes and ex-
actions, thereby to get an absolute gouernement ouer the Netherlands, and to aspire
the more easilie to their pretended generall Monarchy.

And it appears their disseignes and intents haue alwaies tended to that end, by the ta-
C king into their hands of all the richest Abbeys and spirituall liuings of the country: for
that they must chiefly roote out all the Prelates, being the first members of the Estate,
in most of the Prouinces, & raise vp and plant in their places a new kind of people, maist-
sters of Heretikes, bearing the name of Bishops, creatures of this new pretended Monar-
chy: to the end that these new Bishops ioined togither might continue and sitte fast in
their new power & authoritie, to serue as spies in these countries for the Spaniards, and
to take true notice of them that would oppose them-selues against this new Monarchy,
& also by that meanes to ruine the second member of the Estate of that country which
is the Nobility and gentry, whereof they haue brought part miserably vnto their ends,
and disarmed the rest, pretending it a sufficient cause, that they had presented humble
D petitions vnto their King, beseeching him to forbeare to shed any more innocent blood,
the which was imputed to them for high Treason: for which cause alone, they resolued
to make war against the Netherlands, and to ouer-run it as it were a new conquerd
Countrie: And lastly they sought to bring the Estates and the Commons vnder
so great tribute, exactions and impositions as neuer were heard of, whereby they
might haue a yearely contribution & reuenue, to vphold and maintaine their absolute
power and Dominion.

Touching their intent to attaine vnto their pretended Monarchy; Germany it selfe
might produce many examples which diuers yet liuing could witnesse: as it was very
apparant by their vniust taking of many townes and Prouinces in the Netherlands, be-
E longing vnto the holy Empire, and by the shedding of the innocent bloud of the chie-
fest Noblemen, Gentlemen and other rich Burgers of the country, by many thousands:
The absolute gouernement they held in Naples, Millan and other places in Italie. The
detention of the Crowne of Portugall from *Don Antonio* his neere kinsman. The vniust
intent and purpose (and the execution thereof put in practise) to conquer the Realmes
of England & Ireland, the spoiling and forcible detention of many townes belonging to
the Empire, and lastly the daily enterprises & inuasions made vpon France with whole
armies. Al which doth sufficiently shew what they aspire vnto vnder this Spanish go-
uernment, when as the Noble Kingdome of France doth with a wofull voyce, cry, sigh,
and bewaile hir iminent decay and ruine. It is most certaine that al they which at
F this time aspire vnto the Crowne of France, doe it not in regard they doubt of the
Kings lawful right vnto the Crowne, but their disseinge is, that they imagin it would
be a great hindrance to the absolute Monarchy which the Spaniards pretend, if the said
kingdome of France should cõtinue in the ancient line, & to that end authority was gi-
uen to beare armes against their naturall king, to aid the spaniards, not for that they

would

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1590. would liue freely and vnbound and inioy that quietly which God and nature had giuen A
» them: but to force your King to renownce the religion, wherein hee had bene borne and
» bred, & to leaue the crown: wherein you may obſerue a ſtrange alteration, for that not
» long ſince it was acoumpted capitall treaſon, for the ſubiects to craue of their Dukes,
» Earles, and Lords, with all *ſubmiſſion* and humilitie, and with the purchaſe of great
» ſummes of money, to haue liberty of conſcience allowed them: whereas now the ſub-
» iects of France, not onely inioy the freedome thereof, but are alſo ſette on to lay violent
» handes on their Kinges Crowne, vnleſſe he will change his religion. Theſe be the pri-
» uiledges which they vſurpe, to doe al that (which they blame & diſcommend in others)
» without any reſtraint of law; yea commanding ouer the law it ſelfe: that is ouer the con-
» ſciences, liues & goods of poore men, after their owne wilkes; and ſo by outward ſhews B
» and deuiſes (though apparantly falſe) abuſe the ſimple people, and miſlead their Inno-
» cencie, forcing a beleefe in them, that it is lawfull to beare armes againſt their true and
» natural King, without any iuſt cauſe or exception againſt him, but onely that they might
» be abſolute maſters of the ſaid Kingdome. Wherefore the ſubiects of the Netherlands
» are not to be condemned, (if they fore-ſeeing the diſſeignes of this pretended Monar-
» chy: ſetting before their eyes many ſtrange examples of forraine Nations, and the cruell
» executions of the chiefe Noblemen, Gentlemen, and many thouſands more in the Ne-
» therlands) doe oppoſe them-ſelues againſt it, and do that which wiues, children and
» ſubiects, may lawfully do againſt their husbands, parents, and Lords, in the like caſe: is
» it not then againſt reaſon they ſhould be held for diſturbers of the publicke peace, or C
» ſuch as would attempt any thing contrary to their promiſe and othes, or againſt the
» conſtitutions of the holy Empire, the Eſtates beeing aſſured that they haue hitherto
» ſufficiently acquitted them-ſelues, according to their power, wherein they perſiſt: de-
» ſiring (for that they did of old time belong vnto the holy Empire & were ſo accoũpted)
» that they might by meanes of the holy Empire (as a member of that body) obtain ſome
» ayd and aſſiſtance, againſt the oppreſſion of their enemies; which they haue often deſi-
» red and ſued for, both by humble petitions and by their Ambaſſadors, and now againe
» deſired the ſame, to the end that according vnto the conſtitutions of the holy Empire,
» all ſtrange ſoldiers might bee ſent out of all the Confines of the Empire, and that both
» the vpper and the nether parts of the Netherlands might haue free entercourſe of traf- D
» ficke one with an other, as in former times they were wont to haue.

» But if this their requeſt might not be allowed of, nor granted (whereof they had no
» doubt) they then deſired the ſaid Electors, and the reſt of the Princes and Noblemen
» of the Empire, not to miſconſter their actions in thoſe troubleſome and chargeable
» warres, whereby they ſhould with more courage and allacratie, beare this great bur-
» then (which in their neceſſary defence increaſed daily) and proceed therein as they had
» begun, that the ſaid Netherlands by their meanes and habilitie (which doubtleſſe are
» not ſmal) might not in the end be made *Sedes Belli* to the ruine and ouerthrow of their
» neighbours, and bee an inſtrument to raiſe and vphold their abſolute pretended Monar-
» chie. That the Eſtates beeing forced by meere extremitie to beare armes, and that E
» whatſoeuer inſued, was to bee accoumted as *In terminis defenſionis*, to defend and pre-
» ſerue that which belonged vnto them, and to recouer that which by force, practiſes,
» or any other vniuſt meanes, had bene wreſted from them: hauing no deſire to force or
» with-hold any of their neighbor townes, Caſtels or Forts: & therefore they ſee no rea-
» ſõ why they ſhould be intreated or commanded to forſake any places which they held.
» Touching *Sgrauen-Veerts* Sconſe, whereof queſtion is made, the Eſtates are fully infor-
» med that it lyeth in the Iuriſdiction of Gelders and not of Cleues, as it is pretended: it
» was built at the great charge of the vnited Prouinces, by the late Collonel Sir *Martin*
» *Schenck*, after whoſe death it was preſerued from the practiſes of the enemies, and
» hath beene maintained euer ſince by the Eſtates, not to wrong or preiudice, but to F
» ſtoppe the enemies Irruptions into their Prouinces; beeing allowed by the Imperiall
» Lawes in caſes of neceſſitie to build Forts vppon their neighbours Territories: But
» to auoyd all queſtions that might grow touching the ſaid Sconſe, the Eſtates did
» aſſure the ſaid Electors, that they deſired not to proceed therein but by all iuſt and
lawfull

A lawfull meanes, whereof they ſhould haue no cauſe to complaine, meaning to haue " 1590.
made a more ample proofe touching the ſaid Sconſe, if the Eſtates of Gelderland had "
ſent their deputies thether, whome they daily expected, who do conſtantly mayntaine "
it to bee in the Duchy of Geldres, as at their comming they will plainely ſhew. On "
the other ſide the Spaniards had built & made forts, in the territories of the Empire, and "
in the Duchy of Cleues, where ther haue no title nor intereſt: and haue taken and de- "
teyne many good townes, not forced thereunto by neceſſity for their owne defence, but "
to oppreſſe their neighbors and to inlarge their abſolute pretended dominion, as hath "
appeered by their letters which of late haue beene intercepted: wherefore the Princes "
and Eſtates of the Empire ought to haue an eſpeciall care, leaſt the Biſhopriks there a "
B abouts belonging vnto the Empire, fall (ſome by force and ſome by practiſes, corrup- "
tion and other ſecret deuiſes) into the hands of the creatures of Spaine: whoe here- "
after watching their oportunities, will deliuer their gouernments into their hands vp- "
on whome they haue depended the, like whereof hath beene ſeene in our time. What "
their intent is to yeeld vp the townes and places which they hould, may well appeere "
by their late attempt to ſurprze the townes of Gogh & Rees, the which the Eſtates ſup- "
poſed, was not vnknowne to them, and that the new Sconſes built in the Biſhoprieke of "
Cologne, was for their good, and by their directions. Moreouer there is no reaſon "
to thinke that the Eſtates were the firſt which attempted to ſurpriſe their neghbours "
Townes and forts, and it ſhall appere that to this day not any of the ſaid townes haue "
C beene taken by them or their commandements: And if for a time (vpon vrgent neceſ- "
tie yet without their commiſſion) any ſuch thing hath happened: they haue bin reſtored "
by the eſtates to the right owners againe: hauing had no deſire to deale in thoſe actions "
which had hapned in the Biſhopprike of Cologne, being very apparent by whoſe com- "
mandement thoſe things had beene done. It is true the ſoldiars vnder the Eſtates ſeruice "
did aide and aſſiſt the Elector Truceſes, but it was done, when as his enemies not onely "
called in the Spaniards to ayd them, but after that they had taken and held diuerſe "
townes and places, whereon great conſideration ought to be had. It hath happened not "
long ſence that their ſoldiars haue taken the ſtronge fort of Luttekenhouen, for that the "
enemy had great aduantages therby, being very commodious for him to effect his war- "
D like attempts againſt Freezland: and in like manner they had taken the fort of Buricke, "
which the enemy had built there, and manned it with a good garriſon, thereby to ſpoile "
the country, they haue alſo taken the towne and caſtle of Buricke it ſelfe which was "
held by the enemy. And ſeeing they had done theſe things as well to take away the "
enemies aduantages as to keepe the country from ſpoyle, they ought to conſider that "
thoſe places were not taken from their neighbors, but from the common enemy of "
thoſe countries, and yet to make knowne their ſincere intentions, they deſired to "
liue in amity and friendſhippe which the Electors and Princes of Germany, and by "
no meanes to ſurprize and hold their neighbors townes and places, they were preſent- "
ly content to yeeld them vp into their hands to whome they did belong, that the enemy "
E might pretend no collour to detayne thoſe places which he had taken and held. And if "
happely the Eſtates ſoldiars in their neceſſary exployts, or in the pourſuite of the ene- "
mies, haue in any ſort ſpoyled or hurt their neighbor country, it was done againſt "
their wills, which they would neuer haue left vnpuniſhed, but that they reſpected the "
neceſſity of the time: being their vſuall manner and cuſtome to maintaine their ſoldiars "
at the charges of their owne Prouinces, and not at their neighbors coſt: whereas it "
hath bin and is daily ſeene, that whole regiments of the enemies ſoldiars, both of horſe "
and foote, haue beene maintained and lodged many moneths in the neighbour coun- "
tries, not ſo much to anoy vs, as to ruine the country, whereby they might the ſooner "
attaine to their pretended abſolute dominion; for proofe whereof the enemy giueth "
F very ſmal or no pay to thoſe regiments & companies which he maintaineth at the coſt "
of the neighbor countries: whereas the eſtates (to obſerue good diſcipline, & to preuent "
al diſorders in their ſoldiars, and alſo to free their neighbors from al exaction) do conti- "
nually giue ſuch reaſonable pay (according to their habilities) as it might be doubted in "
ſo great and long a warre, whether the greateſt Potentate in Europe euer gaue better. "

It

1590. „ It is true that the Eſtates to their great charge, entertaine ſhips of warre which lie at A
„ ancher not only in the ſea, but alſo in the riuers and common paſſages, the which is not
„ done to hinder or preiudice any man, but for the neceſſary ſafegard of mariners and
„ marchants, againſt the force of the cõmon enemy, who alſo maintaineth much ſhiping,
„ only to roue at ſea, & to ſpoile paſſengers. The eſtates haue greater cauſe to vſe this kinde
„ of defence then any other, beeing a matter of great importance, & neceſſary for their
„ Prouinces. And in the meane time the ſubiects of the Empire and the country people
„ reape no ſmal commodity, by the ſaid ſhips of war, being paid, & kept in good diſcipline
„ as they are. And ſeeing that the ſeas and riuers be *Iuris publici* all men being allowed to
„ lie at anchor therein without offence; there is no cauſe why this action of the Eſtates
„ ſhould be ill taken, for that they only ſeeke to ſtop and hinder the enterpriſe, and incur- B
„ ſions of their enemies. And whereas the Eſtates towards part of their charges, which
„ they are forced to vndergo, to free the ſea and riuers from Pirats, are compelled to raiſe
„ certaine conuoy and lycenſe mony, vpon all goods and marchandiſe going out of the
„ country, it is done to their great greefe as being more preiudiciall to their Prouinces
„ and the inhabitants therof then to any others: wherevnto they would neuer haue giuen
„ conſent, if neceſſity had not inforced them, for that the proſperity of their Prouinces,
„ depended on the trade of marchandiſe, the which si much hindred by ſuch impoſitions,
„ and is as burthenſome vnto the Prouinces them-ſelues, as to their neighbors, which
„ conuoies and licenſes are not vſed in any other places, but in their owne hauens and paſ-
„ ages with all conuenient order. C

„ In the meane time it ſeemes ſtrange vnto the Eſtates, that any ſhould diſlike of their
„ proceding therein, ſeeing that many Princes, and common weales, liuing in peace and
„ free from all enemies, doe (without any vrgent neceſſitie) impoſe the like exactions,
„ yet the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, may reſt well aſſured, that theſe bur-
„ thens wilbe withdrawne, the affaiers of the country being once reduced to their defined
„ end, and their neceſſities ceaſing, and if in the meane time any diſorders ſhall be com-
„ mitted by the ſoldiers, either by water or by land, they ſhall be ſeuerely puniſhed. And
„ to ſhew how much they diſlike all diſorders and ſpoyles, the good orders which they
„ had made in the fort of Sgrauenweerd ſence the death of Collonell *Schencke*, do ſuf-
„ ficiently witnes, where they haue diſcharged all Tolles and ſuch like impoſitions which D
„ were exacted contrary to their wills. Moreouer if any ſoldiars being in the Eſtates ſer-
„ uice, either by water or by land, ſhall be conuicted to haue ſlaine, beaten, or robbed any
„ man, burnt their houſes, or any way wronged their neighbors; the Eſtates will by all
„ meanes ſeeke to puniſh ſuch offences as they deſerue, or will be content that due pu-
„ niſhment ſhall bee done vpon them by the ſaid Electors. &c. and other their neighbors,
„ ſo as it may be done without partiality, recommending therein the mutuall correſpon-
„ dency which ought to bee betwixt friends and neighbors. Thus much the Generall e-
„ ſtates of the vnited Prouinces (being requeſted by the Electors and other Princes and
„ Eſtates of Germany) thought good to giue for anſwer: once againe deſiring the high
„ and mighty Princes Electors and others, that they would vouchſafe to bee fauorable E
„ and aſſiſtant vnto the ſaid vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands, who as now ſtand as
„ rampars and Bulwarks for them, againſt the generall neceſſity of imminent danger.

„ They alſo intreated the Ambaſſadors, to make a fauorable report of their anſwer,
„ vnto the high and mighty Princes Electors and others: hoping that almighty GOD
„ (whoſe powerfull arme, had hetherto wonderfully preſerued theſe countries) with the
„ aide and aſſiſtance of their friends, allyes and neighbors, will ſend them a ſpedy, happy
„ and long expected iſſue, in the affaires of their common welfare. Laſtly whereas the
„ Noble conteſſe of Nieuwenar. &c. widow to the Noble Earle Adolph Earle of Nieu-
„ wenar, Muærs. &c. complaineth that againſt the conſtitutions, Lawes and Ordynances
„ of the empire ſhe hath (contrary to all lawe and reaſon) bene depriued and is yet of cer- F
„ taine Lands and goods belonging vnto her, and lying in the confines of the Empire,
„ and vnder the protection of the ſame: The ſaid Eſtates deſired the heigh and mighty
„ Princes Electors of the Empire, &c. that through their authority order may bee
„ taken for the reſtitution of the ſaid lands & goods, and that the ſaid counteſſe in her ſor-

rofull

A rofull widoes Eſtate may be no longer thus wrongfully oppreſt. Giuen in the Hage the thirteene day of September in the yeare 1590. 1590.

Vnto this anſwer made by the Eſtates vpon the twenty fiue of September the Ambaſſadors deliuered a replication, wherein they promiſed to make a fauorable report of their anſwer, but touching the fort of Sgrauenwert, they ſayd, that they muſt (according to their commiſſion) make anſwer: that it ſeemed very ſtrange to them, to heare them pretend that it ſtood vpon the territories of the Duchie of Geldres, whereas they were certainely informed, that the ſayd Sconſe, for the ſpace of a hundred yeares, beyond all memory of man had beene a certaine iſſue or current of water, which ranne from the towne of Cleues into the Rhine, (as the land of Alwinch) lying in the duchie
B of Cleues, and that the Dukes of Cleaue had from time to time receiued rent for the ſame, as being their owne inheritance, and ſuch as had hired it of them did enioye it peaceably without any moleſtation of them of Gelderland, or any others, for that before that time it was ſeperated from the firme land by a ſmall water-mill, the which hath beene ſince eaten away by the riuer of Rhine: that at this time the ſayd water or riuer is called Voſſegat, they of Gelderland neuer laying any title or claime therevnto, as it alſo appeereth by a ſpeciall contract made at Bruſſelles, betweene the Emperor *Charles* the fift and the Duke of Cleaues, in the yeare of our Lord 1545. the 2. of Ianuary, which treaty was called the confirmation of lands of inheritance, hauing in it an Article which maketh mention of the limmits, wherein there is no mention made of
C Sgrauenweert, being then in the poſſeſſion of the ſayd Duke, as alſo in the treatie made before Maeſtricht in the yeare 1549. in October, where mention is made of the ſayd Sgrauenweert, without any queſtion betweene the ſayd Princes touching the poſſeſſion thereof. And ſince that, Sir *Martin Schenck* in the yeare 1586. had begun to make vp the ſconſe, there had alwaies complaint beene made touching the ſame, ſo the Eſtates could not denie the reſtitution thereof. And moreouer they ſayd that they muſt of force let the generall Eſtates vnderſtand, that they had no iuriſdiction neither vpon the Confines nor yet in the riuers of the Empire, although they pretended that they were *Iuris publici* common, and therefore they had no right to keepe their ſhippes of warre there, to the preiudice of marchantes and ſailers, to preuent the which,
D no doubt but the Empire would take ſome good order, therewith deſyring their reſolution vpon thoſe particularities, as alſo concerning the other complaintes.

The French King beeing this yeare at the ſeege of Paris, and hauing reduced it to great extreamitie, the Duke of Parma was preſt by the Duke of Maine and them of the leaguе, to goe and releeue it: And beeing in Iuly at Bruſſelles, hee ſent for the Eſtates of the countrie, letting them vnderſtand that hee was of force to goe into France, to the releeſe of Paris, appointing in his abſence old *Peter Erneſt* Earle of Mansfeldt, Gouernor and Captaine generall of the Netherlands by *prouiſo*. It
E is ſayd that a motion was then made vnto the Eſtate, to accept and acknowledge the Prince of Spaine, the King of Spaines onelie Sonne (though then abſent) to bee their ſucceeding Lord, the which was done onelie to trie the peoples diſpoſition.

The Eſtates on the other ſide layed before him, how vnfit and vnneceſſarie they held it to make an offenſiue warre in France, and how preiudiciall it might bee in time to the fronter Prouinces of the Netherlands, but whatſoeuer they could pretend for obiect, it was held more conuenient to maintaine the warres in France, then to attend it in the Netherlands, holding it moſt certaine that the warlike French King would ſeeke to reduce thoſe Prouinces vnder his command, with the aide and aſſiſtance of the vnited Prouinces of Holland and Zeland.

F The Duke of Parma hauing taken his leaue in Brabant, hee went from thence into Henault and ſo into France, taking with him about eightteene Cornets of horſe, moſt Italiens, beſides thoſe that were ſent before him, and ſome of the bandes of Ordinance. Of foote men, hee had his owne Regiment, the Regiments of Noyer, Carnes and the Lord of Frenes: ten companies of *Camillo* Capres, ten

The replication of the Germaine Ambaſſadors to the Eſtates anſwer.

1590. The Duke of Parmas forces that went to releeue Paris.

Companies of *Ballisons*; and about three thousand Duch-men of Barlaymonts and Arrenbergs regiments with three and twenty companies of the mutinous Spaniards which were in Courtray, which three and twenty companies reckoned them-selues to bee eighteene hundred men, and caused them-selues to bee paid for three and twenty monethes after that rate, and yet they were not aboue twelue hundred strong: but to cry quittance with them, the money was raised foure in the hundred higher then it was before. These troopes altogither were about tenne thousand foote, all old soldiers, with a good number of horsemen, besides the remainder of the Earle of Egmonts forces, and other that came vnto him vppon the Frontiers. Hee left behind him in the Netherlands vnder the Earle of Mansfeldt (who had the charge of Martiall affaires) about eight or tenne Cornets of horse, and the rest of the bandes of Ordinance, and about sixe Regiments of foote, with many companies of seuerall Regiments: with the Duke there went the Prince of *Ascoly* the Prince of Chasteavetrane and *Don Octauio*, both sonnes to the Duke of Terranoua, the Prince of Chymay, the Marquesse of Renty, the Earles of Arremberg and Barlaymont, and *Don Sancio de Lieua* with diuers others: *John Baptista Taxis* was superintendent of the Armie, *La-Motte* generall of the Ordinance, *Don Alonzo Idiaquez* and *Don Antonio de Sunega* Collonels of the Spaniards, *Pedo Galeran* and *Biazio Capezuca* Collonels of the Italiens: With this Armie well furnished with Artillerie, Munition, great store of Wagons and all other necessaries, the Duke of Parma, in great pompe marcht through Henault into France, in the moneth of August, his Halberdiers, Archers, and his Cornet of Reisters, were all apparrelled in crimson veluet, the Reisters being all imbrodered with white Flower de Luces, and marching in that manner neere vnto Cambray, they had an eye vnto the towne, but Mounsier *Balagni* was too vigilant for him. At Meaux hee ioyned with the Duke of Maine, and there tooke charge of the whole army. What hapned during his abode in France, I leaue to the French Inuentory, whose it is related at large.

Who went with the duke into France.

The Duke of Parma hauing releeued and entred into Paris, winter beeing come, and therefore not fit to besiege any townes, in regard his armie was full of sicke men, hauing great want of prouision, for that nothing could come vnto him out of Henault, neither could the old soldiers which were appointed to come with some necessaries vnder the leading of *Verdugo*, passe: Hee in the end of Nouember, resolued to leaue France, finding some dislike growne betwixt his soldiers and the French, and that the townes of France would not receiue any garrisons of his, besides the vnited Prouinces had gotten such victories in his absence, as his presence was very necessary, so as in December hee came to Brusselles. It is thought that the third part of his men dyed of hunger, pouertie, sickenesse, and by the sword, and that all the Hospitals in in Arthois and Henault were filled with those that returned home, whereof many died.

At the same time died *Emanuell* of Lalaine Lord of Montigni, and Marquesse of Renty by his wife, who was daughter to the last Marquesse, of the house of Croy, a wise Noble man and of great experience, and one of the chiefe of the Nobilitie seruing vnder the King of Spaine: a man of great authoritie and command: at the first hee was held in great iealousie, although he held with the generalitie, for that he affected the Spaniards much.

Whilest that the Duke of Parma was in France, *Peter Ernest* Earle of Mansfeldt beeing his Lieutenant, wanting the King of Spaines chiefe forces hee had no meanes whereby to doe any thing that was of importance. But in the meane time Prince *Maurice* slept not, but came vnto the field with an Armie, to performe a promise which was made by him and the Estates vnto the Princes of the Empire, for the restitution of the Forts and places held on either part in the Territories of the Empire: VVhere-vpon hee went along the Riuers of Rhyne and Meuse, where hee recommended all the Castles and Forts which the Spaniards held, as the Castle of Hemert the 27. of September, that of Heel the 3. of October, the Towne and Castle of Buricke right against Weezel, the Fort of Graue, beneath the Rhyne in the Duchy

A Duchie of Cleues, and at Kenhouen in the dioceſe of Cologne, cauſing al the forts to be raized which the Spaniards had built along the Rhine vpon the lands of the Empire, which done paſſing his army into Brabant, hee tooke the Fort Terheyden at the mouth of the riuer of Breda, which the Earle of Mansfeldt had built not many monethes before: then hee tooke the Fort of Rooſendael, and after that beſeeged the Towne of Stenbergh, the which yeelded by compoſition: Then he ſent a part of the garriſon of Breda and of Berghen vp Zoom to ſcoure the country, who running ouer the countrey of Campeigny, tooke the towne of Tillemont in Brabant by ſcaladoe, but being a great thing and heard to keepe, after they had ſpoyled it they left it, and euery one being laden with bootie returned to his garriſon. 1590.

B The Bourgers of Venlo in Gelderland, finding themſelues tyranouſly oppreſt by the ſouldiars of their garriſon, and could not bee eaſed by any intreaties, nor their complaintes heard: in the end ſeeing the ſignior *Bentinck* their Gouernor abſent; they conſulted togither how they might free themſelues of their garriſon which conſiſted of Italiens and Germaines, but theſe were ſomewhat more modeſt then the Italiens: The Bougers hauing acquainted them with their intent which was to driue out the Italiens; the which done they ſhould haue the more profit, and therefore intreated them to aſſiſt them in this execution, or at the leaſt (if by reaſon of their oth they might not doe it) that they would ſtand ſtill as Neuters, and not put themſelues in armes againſt the Bourgers. The which hauing promiſed, they of the towne beeing C all in armes, commanded the Italiens to depart, if not, they knewe well how to force them, and ſo beeing retired, the Bourgers would not diſarme themſelues, nor leaue their gardes vntill they were all forth. But the people were not ſatisfied to be ſo ridde of the Italiens, but they would doe as much to the Germaines, whome they chaſed away with all the reproches and indignitie that might bee. *Bentincke* (who was then buſie about the rayſing of a newe Regiment of foote) would gladly haue beene reuenged of this indignitie: But the Bourgers to bee ridde of him alſo, cauſed his wife and all his familie to depart: and ſo hee loſt his gouernment and the King of Spaines fauour, and with all his Regiment was ſoone after quite diſperſt, whereof a part beeing ſodenly ſurprized betwixt the townes of Aix and Maſtricht, was defeated by the D Eſtates men. They of Venloo chaſe away their garriſon.

Behold how *Bentincke* of a pettie companion grewe great, and fell againe into the ſame Eſtate. They of Venloo, did write their excuſes, vnto the Earle of Mansfeldt, and to the councell of Eſtate at Bruſſelles, promiſing to continue conſtant in the Catholike religion and in the Kings obedience, and not depart from the one nor the other, neither had they chaſed away their garriſon to ſeeke any innouation, nor to attempt any thing againſt the Kings ſeruice, but to free and deliuer themſelues, their wiues and children, from the barbarous cruelties and execrable villanies of thoſe Italien ſouldiars and others, the which they could no longer endure: And they intreated it might not bee miſconſtred not taken in euill part, ſeeing that the E King ſhould not be thereby preiudiced, and that they would keepe the towne vnder the Kings obedience and ſeruice without a garriſon.

The Spaniard had at that time built a Fort ioyning to the town of Houy in the countrie of Leege to keepe the riuer of Meuſe ſubiect from all which came from aboue, in the which was captaine *Grobbendonc* but with a hundred men. The Eſtates angrie that the Spaniards ſhould play the maiſters in that manner, and hinder the nauigation of the riuer of Meuſe, they ſent ſome eight hundred men, who beeing camped before this Fort, they preſt the captaine to yeelde vpon the firſt ſommons, if not, if they tooke it by force, they would not leaue a man aliue: The beſeeged knowing themſelues to weake for ſo great a number, and that the place was not to bee held F long againſt any great force, hauing ſmall hope of ſuccors, they offred to yeeld, vpon condition to depart with their full armes, bagge and baggage. The Fort of Houy yeelded to the Eſtates.

But the States-men knowing that the place was filled with the goods of the neighbour villages, brought thether for refuge, they would make no other compoſition but to depart with white wands, as they were forced to doe: beeing gone forth the

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1590. Fort was raized to the ground, the Estates men returning into Holland laden with A
spoile, and the others with emptie hands into Brabant.

They of Zeeland had at that time an enterprize vpon Dunkerke, which they thought to surprize by scaladoe in the night. The desseigne had not beene ill plotted by
An enterprize vpon Dunkerke in vaine. Collonel *Nicholas Meetkerke*, with three thousand foote and one hundred horse which were imbarked: but the winde beeing contrarie, and driuing them backe vpon the coast of Flanders, it made the Flemings growe into suspition, and so they were discouered. Yet hauing landed, the sayd *Meetkerke* shewing vnto the Earle of Solms and to Sir *Francis Vere* the place where hee ment to assaile it, beeing vpon the edge of the ditche, they were all three hurt with shot. Sixe daies before the garrison of Ostende surprized the towne of Oudenbourg neere vnto Bruges in Flanders, B
where there were about the number of foure hundred souldiars, the which they spoyled and burnt.

The nine and twenty day of October the Spaniards sought to surprize the towne of
An enterprize of the Spaniards vpon Lochem but in vaine. Lochem with three cartes laden with haie, euery one hauing two or three souldiars by it attired like Pesants with forkes. The first beeing past ouer the drawe bridge, the porters some and an other boy (as it is their custome and right) beganne to pull as much haie as they could whilest the cartes were betwixt the two bridges; And the cart making no haste, one of them tooke a souldiar that was hidden vnder the haie by the foote, and presently cryied out *treason*, *treason*, whereupon the souldiars leaping out of the cartes slue them that were in the Court of garde: But the Townesmen C
putting themselues in armes, *Francis Ballochi* Sargeant Maior, made head against them, and boate them backe beyond the bridge, the which was presently drawne vp; and so this enterprize fayled for want of horsemen. The Sargeant Maior of Zutphen was the vndertaker, who was slaine within the towne and buried there.

In the end of December the Earle of Ouerstein entred with a good troupe of horse
The countrie ruined by both parties. into the countrie of Westphalia (for that they did still maintaine the Spanish faction) and spoyled many villages about Munster and the Diocese of Paterborne; The like did the Spaniards in the countrie of Liege, without any mercy: Where the Bishoppes councell complained at Brusselles, first to the Earle of Mansfeldt, and D
then to the Duke of Parma at his returne from France: But they had small succor or comfort, nay it was told them, that if their Prince and Bishoppe were not a good Spaniard, that his countrie must endure more: And that they had no cause to compaine for what was past, seeing that they and the King of Spaine maintayned one quarrell for the defence of the Catholike and Romish religion.

The Duke of Parma had certaine intelligences in the towne of Breda, which hee hoped to surprize by their meanes who were corrupted, but they were discouered, and such as were of the practise were layd hold on, and afterward executed. The Spaniardes sought to doe the like vpon certaine townes in the countrie of Oueryssell and in diuers other places. E

Whilest that the Spaniardes continued in their mutinies about Herentall and
Courses of the Estates freebooters. other places, the Estates free-booters (which are aduenturing souldiars without pay) Hollanders and Zeelanders, made a roade into the countries of Brabant and Flanders, spoyling all they incountred; and often-times the shippes which went from Antwerp to Dendermonde and Brusselles: yea they were so bold and hardie, as to demaunde a tribute of ordinarie passing boates, which went and came dailie betwixt Antwerp and Brusselles.

Sir *Edward Norris* Gouernor of Ostend in Flanders; Brother to Sir *John Norris*
Sir Edward Norrys takes Blanckenberg Generall of the English, went with a good part of his English garrison on the fifteene day of February in the yeare of our Lord 1591. to set vpon the Fort and F
village of Blanckenbergh in the night, lying by the sea side betwixt Scluse and Ostende, the which hee tooke, the souldiars of the garrison retyring themselues into a verie strong Fort the which was vpon the downes, and were afterward the

A the next day ſummoned them to yeeld by a drumme: whereunto they would made no anſwer, but ſhotte at the meſſenger and ſlue him, the which did ſo incenſe Sir *Edward Norris* and and all the Engliſh, as they tooke it by force and ſlew aboue a hundred, few of them beeing ſpared or ſaued. This Fort was raiſed and the Scluces of the Sea broken and burnt, then Blanckenbergh was abandoned, carrying away the Artillerie they found in it. The ſame day ſome ſoldiers hauing failed of an enterpriſe vppon the Caſtell of Crimpen within the Dioceſſe of Cologne, they fell vppon certaine horſes and paſſengers, whome they tooke priſoners, but beeing incountred by the garriſons of Nuys and Meurs, they were defeated and loſt all their booty. The ſame moneth of February the Seignior of Teligni ſonne to Mounſier *la Noue* B hauing beene taken (as wee haue ſaid) vppon the Riuer of Antwerp, going to Lillo, in the yeare 1584. was releaſed out of the Caſtell of Tournay, in exchange of two Spaniſh Knights which had bene priſoners in the Caſtle of Ramekins in Zealand, ſince the defeate of the Spaniſh army, in the yeare. 1588. 1591.

At that time the Earle of Ouerſteyn and Sir *Francis Veer*, tooke in the name of Prince Elector *Truxes*, the Caſtle of Colenborch neere to Ordange, at their returne from an enterpriſe which failed vpon the towne of Stcalen in Gelderland. The Peaſants thereabouts came preſently and inuironed this Caſtle, ſummoning it to yeeld, but they within made anſwer that they were ſoldiars, and not accuſtomed to yeeld vp any place to clownes, and ſo they were conſtrained to retyre But the Caſtle being afterwards beſie- C ged by certaine ſoldiers, it was yeelded to the Seignior of Milendoncke, whereas one *Hans van Gulich* (who had bene the conductor of the enterpriſe) was hanged at the Port. Collenborch taken by the Eſtates.

The tenth of Aprill they of the garriſon of Breda ſurpriſed the Caſtle of Tournhout, by the meanes of a Brewers man, who did vſually carry beere thether by Cart: VVho (beeing come with his Cart and beere within the Port) ouerthrew the Centinell into the ditch, and ſlew an other, at which brute thoſe which lay in ambuſh iuſt by an old burnt houſe came running, who recouered the Port, and made them-ſelues maiſters of the place.

Prince *Maurice* and the generall Eſtates began this Spring to gather their forces to- D gither, and to prouide all things neceſſary for to go to field, and to beſiege townes and places of ſtrength, re-enforcing their companies both of horſe and foote. Then making ſhew as if they would attempt ſomething vppon the townes of Boiſleduc or Geertreuydenbergh, they cauſed forty Canons to be imbarked, and ſome dikes to be ſcazed on towards Boiſleduc, and ready to bee pierſt, to make a paſſage for the ſhippes into the country, and all the troupes were brought to Breda: ſo as they could not conceiue any other but that it was for one of the two aboue named townes, who began to fortifie them-ſelues, to make gabions, and to ſette all things in order. The Duke of Parma fortified the garriſon of Gheertruydenbergh, and furniſhed it with all neceſſary munition. Great preparation made by the Eſtates.

In the meane time Prince *Maurice* departed with a hundred ſhippes great and ſmall, E fayning to enter into the Riuer of Meuze: but turning ſuddainely hee mounted vp the Riuer of Rhyne towards Arnhem, and from thence ſlipt into the Riuer of Yſſell, where in a very ſhorte time with a good Northerly winde, hee came neere vnto Zutphen.

The two and twentith of Maie, fifteene or ſixteene ſoldiers vnder the commaund of Sir *Francis Veer*, going out of the garriſon of Doeſbourg in the Country of Zutphen attyred like country people, ſome men, ſome women, came by the breake of day before the Port of the great Fort, which is vppon the Riuers ſide right againſt the towne of Zutphen, bringing egges, butter, cheeſe, herbes, and other commodities which they had in their baskets, ſtaying there and leaning vpon their ſtaues, as Peaſants doe when F they reſt them-ſelues, attending the opening of the Port: which being opened, a part of the garriſon came forth, and paſt the water to the towne: The counterfeit Peaſants entring in at the Port, they of the gard demaunded ſome egges, others butter, whereupon one of them drawing forth a piſtol from vnder his coate, diſcharged it at one of the Guard, and ſo did all the reſt: at which noiſe their companions came running, who A politicke ſurprize of the great Fort before Zutphen

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1591 lay in ambuſh vnder the conduct of Sir *Francis Veer*, who made them-ſelues maiſ- A
ters of that Court of Guard and conſequently of the whole Fort: In this exployt there dyed not aboue one man on either ſide, but all were taken priſoners.

Zutphen beſieged by the Eſtates.

Prince *Maurice* hearing of the good ſucceſſe of this gentle enterpriſe, went thether withall ſpeed with his Armie, and inueſted the towne of Zutphen cauſing his Artillerie (which was at Doesbourg) to aduance, and hauing made a bridge vppon boates, to paſſe fiue horſes in Front: At his firſt approach (which was the eight and twentith of Maie) the Earle of Ouerſteyn (hauing very inconſideratly aduanced neere vnto the towne ditch) was ſhotte and ſlaine vppon the place: they had ſome difficultie to draw away the dead body, which the beſieged thought to haue for his ſpoyles. The ſame night they made their approaches, and the Canon was planted B
with ſuch ſpeed, as it was not credible, that in ſo ſhort a time they could bee drawne out of the ſhippes, mounted vppon their carriages, and brought to the place of batterie, the which was done by the Marriners which the Prince had brought with him, who were very expert and actiue in ſuch buiſines. About noone the Canon began to play, but ſoone after the beſieged began to parle of a compoſition, demaunding ſome daies of ceſſation of armes, within the which if they were not releeued, they would yeeld, to haue their liues, armes and baggage ſaued. They had ſome houres granted them that they might reſolue, in which time if they did not yeeld, there was no more grace for them. And whereas the garriſon was ſmall, and the towne ſo great as they could not manne the Rampars if they came to an Aſſault, finding alſo that C
they would ſoone make a ſufficient breach to aſſaile them, and that they wanted victuals, and eſpecially ſalt, poulder, and other munition of warre: It made them ſo fearefull, as they durſt not attend the hazard of an Aſſault: knowing well that their ſuccors were yet farre off, and nothing ready, and that they could not hold out ſo

Zutphen yeelded to Prince Maurice.

long, but they ſhould bee forced: VVherefore they yeelded the ſame night, their capitulation was that they ſhould depart with their rapiers and daggers, and as much goods as they could carry vppon their neckes: VVhereas the Prince entred, and the ſame night hee ſent all his horſe-men to inueſt the towne of Deuenter which is but two leagues from thence, cauſing his Artillerie to march the next daie, with the reſt of the Campe. Thus was the Towne of Zutphen wonne, with that migh- D
ty Fort: In Holland they had newes of the taking thereof, before they heard of the ſiege.

Deuenter beſieged by the Eſtates.

The Prince beeing before Deuenter, hauing quartred his Armie of either ſide the Riuer, and made two bridges aboue and beneath the towne, to go from one Campe vnto an other. The Canon beeing planted where hee meant to batter it, On the nineth day of Iune beeing VVhitſonday, by the breake of the day hee began to play on either ſide of the Port with eight and twenty double Canons, and hauing diſcharged ſome Vollies againſt the Rampar, hee ſent to ſummon the towne by a trumpet. *Cont. Herman vanden Berghen* made anſwer, that hee recommended him to his couſin: But as for the towne hee would keepe it for the King his Maiſter, as long E
as hee breathed. Hauing receiued this anſwer, there was no more any queſtion of ſtay, but the Canon played continually from morning vntill night, with ſuch fury, as it was thought they could not poſſibly haue indured ſo many charges, without danger of breaking: For in a very ſhort time they ſpent foure thouſand ſhotte, during this violent batterie there were certaine ſhippes brought into the Hauen, vppon the which they made a bridge, and in the meane time men were ſent for from euery quarter to giue an aſſault: The firſt charge was giuen to the Engliſh at their inſtant intreaty, ſhewing them-ſelues ſo earneſt as they contended who ſhould haue the point. The ſecond charge fell to the Scottes: And the third to the Earle of Solms and to *Floris* of Brederode Lord of Clæting, all very reſolute and in good F
order. But as the Bridge made ouer the Hauen (as it often times falles out, the moſt haſte the worſe ſpeede) proued too ſhort, and could not reach to the end of the Kaye, the aſſault could not be giuen as it was appointed. Yet ſome of the Engliſh which had the point, being at the end of the bridge, caſt them-ſelues downe and leaping vp to the

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A the kaye, ranne to the breach, where as an Ancient mounted with his colours beeing followed by some others, who were repulst by the beseeged: the Ancient was hurt, but fewe were slaine: but by reason of the shortnesse of the bridge the rest could not followe, and they retired. The beseeged being resolued to endure an assault, were at the breach with seauen companies, whereas the canon had such an aduantage on them twice as they could see nothing but heads, armes and legges flie: And there was Count *Herman* hurt with a slate of the wall, which flue almost as many as the cannon, and strooke off captaine *Mullers* head, iust by Count *Herman*. The next day in the morning beeing ready to renewe the batterie, they had word from the towne that they demanded a parle, wherevnto Prince *Maurice* yeelded, giuing them leaue to depart with
B their armes and baggage. 1591. The brauery of the English.

During the seege of Deuenter there came a gallant Albanois out of the towne, to the Princes campe, chalenging any man to breake a lance with him, like an other *Goliath*; Prince *Maurice* commanded his men to forbeare this challenge: but *Charles Vander* Cathule signior of Rihouen a Ganthois, impatient of his bragges, intreated leaue of the generall to breake a Lance, the which they did without any aduantage, and then they drew their swords: but the Albanois had a pistoll which *Rihouen* did not see, who running at the Albanois, hee cut off his hand that held the pistoll, which fell to the ground, and his hand hung still by a peece of the flesh, and so he was taken prisoner, confessing himselfe to bee vanquished, and putting his chaine of gold about Mour-
C sire *Rihouens* necke: Prince *Maurice* sent him backe to the gouernor with a letter, and gaue him his liberty, as being sufficiently punished for his pride. A combate before Deuenter.

The Prince poursuing his victorie aduanced towards Steenwick, and passing on hee entred into the countrie of Groning, where hee beseeged the great Fort of Delfziel, the which yeelded easily the first of Iuly. Then he went before Oslach, whereas the garrison thinking to carry themselues more valiantly then the first, attended a battery of foure cannons: But seeing a breach almost made, without attending any assault, on the seauenth day of the month they yeelded, to depart without armes or baggage. The like happened to the Fort of Immentil the leauenth of the same moneth, and to that of Dam, which were all Forts about the towne of Groning.

D The Duke of Parma beeing importuned to succor Deuenter, (not thinking they should carrie it in so short a time) went to field, and camped at the Abbay of Marienboom in the country of Cleues, betwixt the townes of Zanten and Calcar, beeing resolued to make a bridge to passe the Rhine two leagues beneath Wezel, and to charge Prince *Maurice* his campe: But beeing come thether, and hearing of the taking of Deuenter, and that the Prince was marcht farre into the country, and had taken Delfzyel &c. hee returned with his armie into Brabant, not without some murmuring of the captaines: Where hee was intreated by them of Nymeghen to free them from the Fort of Knotsenbourgh, which the Estates held right against the towne, vpon the Betuwe, and did much anoy them with their cannon, so as they could not rest quiet
E in their houses, and withall the nauigation was quite taken from them. Hee to cease these murmurings and discontentes came to Nymegen (whilest the Prince was before Groning with an intention to beseege it) and with as many barkes and boates as hee could recouer, hee entred into the Betuwe, and the third daie of Iulie planted his seege before this Fort: whereas the Earle of Mansfeldt with his Regiment was camped on the West side, *Barlaymont* on the East, *Bossu*, *Beaurains* and other Collonels were dispersed here and there in the countrie, the horse-men were lodged in a village called Lent, on the North side. The Dukes armie was great, where there wanted no Artillerie, the which was commanded by *La Motte*; making their approches the Spaniards lost many men. Knotsenborg beseeged by the Duke.

F The two and twentie daie of Iulie the batterie beganne with sixe peeces, and then with three more, so as there were two hundred and thirtie shot made that day, and it ceased about seauen of the clocke at night, hauing made a small breach, a Spanish Ancient mounted, being followed by some Irishmen, who skyrmished with the beseeged, vntill they were forced to retire.

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1591 Prince *Maurice* hearing that the Spaniard was come into the Betuwe, leauing Groning A
he went thether, going downe at Arnhen in Gelderland, he paſt the Rhine there, vpon a
bridge which he cauſed to be made with all ſpeed, meaning to doe the Spaniard an af-
front. Hauing laid an ambuſh of horſe and foot not farre from the Rhine vnder the con-
conduct of the Earle of Solms and of Sir *Francis Veer* Collonell of the Engliſh: he ſent
two Cornets to view the Dukes campe, who being deſcouered were charged by ſix
companies of horſe, among the which the Duke was one, who at the firſt made ſome
The Dukes horſemen defeated. ſhew of reſiſtance, but turning their backs ſodenly they fled, the Spaniards following
them vntil they had paſt the Ambuſh: then they that fled turning head againe they were
compaſſed in of al ſides, & charged ſo furiouſly, as in a ſhort time they were al defeated,
or put to rout: many were ſlaine or priſoners, among the which were *Don Alphonſo d'* B
Avalos baſtard brother to the Marquis of Guaſt, *Don Pedro Franciſco Nicilli* leading the
Duke of Parmas company with his Cornet: Cont *Ieronimo Manfredi* Lieutenant to *Don*
Ieronimo Caraffas company with his Cornet, captaine *Padilla* was ſore hurt, whereof hee
died in Arnhem; the Seignior of Lievin brother to the Lord of Famas of the compa-
ny of *Biaſio Capeſuca* and *Anthony d' Agina*, a Spaniard, with many Italien Gentlemen
ſlaine vpon the place and aboue two hundred and fifty horſe taken. The Duke of Par-
ma being in a high place within Nymeghen, did with his owne eyes ſee this defeat
of his men.

The Dukes army being amazed leaues the ſeege. The newes wherof being come vnto the campe the whole army was ſo amazed (know-
ing the Prince *Maurice* was come thether in perſon, & hearing that the ſhips of Holland C
were comming downe to ſhut them in) as without any ſtay they truſt vp their baggage
and left the ſeege of Knotſenbourg: abandoning two peeces of ordinance which they
could not carry away, and ſome great boats which were ſonke. The Duke parted the
26. of Iuly with his ſonne *Rene* or *Raynutius Farneze* (being newly come out of Italy,)
excuſing him-ſelfe as well as he could, and making faire promiſes to them of Nyme-
gen, who at his departure gaue him ſome ſkoffing tawnts: and hauing left his army vn-
der the command of *Verdugo* in a village called Cranenbourg, he went to the Spaw, aban-
doning Nymegen, as deſpayring to ſuccor it: whereof the States made their profit
ſoone after.

They of Colloigne (deſiring to entertayne a neutrality and to liue in amity and good D
They of Colo-gne ſend De-puties to the Eſtates. neighbourhood with the general eſtates of the vnited Prouinces,) ſent their deputies to
the Hage in Holland in Auguſt, where-vpon an anſwer was made them in writing the
19. of September. That the eſtates deſired nothing more then to entertaine amity and
good correſpondency with them of Cologne, as well in generall as in particular, ſo as
they medled not in any ſort with their warres, nor with that which depended thereon
and ſo doing there ſhould be no hinderance nor wrong don to any perſons, goods nor
marchandiſe of the inhabitants of the ſaid towne and contry of Cologne: whereof
commandement ſhould bee giuen to all the garriſons of the vnited Prouinces. The
Eſtates alſo intreating them of Collogne to bee fauorable to the Lady Walburge Con-
teſſe of Meurs and Nyeuwenart in her affayers, conſidering the wrong which their Biſ- E
hoppe and Prince *Earneſt* of Bauaria did her, in the detention of her rents and reuenues
lying within his dioceſe.

The Eſtates anſwer to the complaints of them of Liege. The ſaid eſtates did in like manner make anſwer by writing on the 30. of October to the
complaints & greeuances of ſome deputies of the neigbour Prouinces, and the ſtates of
the country of Liege, touching ſome exceſſe and diſorders committed by the Eſtates
men of warre, and for ſome priſoners: whereby among others the taxed the Biſhoppe
and Prince of Liege (who is alſo Biſhoppe of Cologne) to be a partiſan and fauorer of
the Spaniards their enemies: whome hee ſupported in his countrie by the ſeazure,
confiſcation and deſcouery of their goods that ſerued them and held their party, a-
gainſt all right and duty of neutrality. That the country of Liege was iuſtly waſted F
by the Spaniards and other ſoldiars of the league, whereof they maintayned whole
regiments. That they made the Villages contribute to entertayne them. That in
the ſaide country of Liege they did not onely proceed againſt them of the relligion,
after

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A after the manner of the inquisition of Spaine, but also against their men of warre, by extraordinary cruelties, without any forme of Iustice: And contrariwise the Spaniards and other enemies did not onely remaine vnpunished for the disorders which they committed, but were also supported, assisted and succoured. By reason whereof although they were well inclined to intertaine all good amitie and neighbourhood with the Country and Inhabitants of Liege, yet for these former reasons, and in consideration of the treaties they haue with other great Princes and Potentates concerning their warres. 1591.

The said Estates could not yet resolue any thing touching that buisinesse, but they would bee more amplie informed, and better instructed. And then if they found
B that the Liegeois sought their friendshippe with a good meaning and intent, and desired to liue like good neighbours with the vnited Prouinces, for their parts they would lette them of Liege know that they would not faile (so much as in them lay) the like duty. Since the which, matters past in such sort, as the *Liegeois* promised to remaine more neutrals then they had done in former times; and that they would suffer the Estates men to passe through their Country with their Armes and bootie, to a certaine number both of horse & foote, so as they were led by their Captaines and Commaunders. And so began the trafficke betwixt Liege and Holland, by the way of Breda.

Prince *Maurice* after that hee had (in a manner) chased away the Duke of Parma
C from Nymeghen, and refresht his Armie some few daies, after their great marches, one while into Friseland, an other while into Gelderland, making a shew to mount vp the Riuer of Rhyne with his shippes, hee turned suddainely downe, and went in- Hulst besieged and taken by Prince Maurice.
Flanders, to the land of Waes, where with all speed hee planted his siege before the towne of Hulst, the which finding it selfe not sufficiently fortified, neither with men, nor with any other things necessary to indure a long siege, the batterie and the assaults which the Prince might giue them in a shorte time, they agreed to yeeld the twentith of September: vppon condition to haue two yeares free exercise of the Romish religion within the said towne, and that they should haue but fiue companies of foote and two of horse in garrison: Whereof *George Euerard* Earle of Solms,
D was made Gouernor, for that hee was Collonell of the Regiment of Zealand. *Mondragon* Gouernor of the Cittadell of Antwerp, hearing of the losse of this towne, hee gathered speedily togither foure thousand foote and a thousand horse, with whome there ioined a thousand Spaniards of those which had continued at Courtray: VVith the which troopes he thought sure to recouer it: But at his approach heo found some dikes broken, and the towne so well foritified with men and munition, as hee was of an other opinion, and retyred without attempting any thing at all.

The nine and twentith of September dyed *Iohn* Earle of East Friseland, younger brother to *Edzard* Earle of Emden. He was a Nobleman full of pietie, who onely
E sought the peace and quiet of the countrie, and of the towne of Emden, which some (yea of the Contesse wife to *Edzard* and sister to the King of Sueden) sought to trouble, by innouations, contrary to their priuiledges, whereof wee will speake more hereafter.

In the same moneth there came Ambassadours to Cologne in the Emperours name (but at the instance of the King of Spaine) *Salerin* Earle of Ysenbrugh, Noble *Symon* Earle of Lippe, the Bishop of Wirtzbourgs brother, the Baron of Pernsteyn and Rhede, with certaine Doctors of the Law; these were sent to trye if there were any Ambassadors sent from the Emperor about a peace.
course to bee taken for a peace betwixt the King of Spaine and the vnited Prouinces. They were first to go to Brusselles to the Duke of Parma, as they did to the Kings
F great charge. And from thence they were to go with passport to the generall Estates at the Hage: demanding which passport the Estates desired them to spare the cost & labor, & not to come vnto them to that end: seeing they found no assurance in any treaty they could make with the king: as his letters intercepted written to *Don Guilaume* of S. *Clements* his Ambassadors which the Emperor did sufficiently shew, that it should bee

But

1591. but a fayned and counterfeyt peace: beſides they could not treate of any peace without the aduiſe and conſent of their confederates. Yet notwithſtanding this anſwer the Ambaſſadours ſent the Baron of Rhede vnto the Hage in the end of the yeare, who remained there about three monthes, and returned as wiſe as he came: The Eſtates giuing him their anſwer by writing, containing the cauſes why they could not treat with the King of Spaine, and the reaſons of their diſtruſt, with which anſwer hee departed.

They of Bruges ſeeing the town of Hulſt taken, & finding them-ſelues inuironed with many enemies, as Oſtend, Axell and Terneuſe, they were ſutors to the Duke of Parma that they might bee vnder the Eſtates contribution, and (ſeeing their towne could not ſubſiſt without comerce) to trafficke into Zealand with a paſport, paying the ordinary cuſtomes, as they of Antwerp did by Lillo, and they of Gant by the Sas, the which the Duke refuſed, but afterwards they obteyned it of the Arch-duke *Erneſt* of Auſtria.

They of Bruges perplexed.

Sir *Edward Norris* Gouernor of Oſtend, would willingly haue brought the country of Flanders, neere vnto his garriſon vnder contribution, thereby to fortifie him-ſelfe, & to defend his towne the better from the violence of the ſea, and to ſupplie all neceſſary reparations, the which he pretended to do of his owne priuate authoritie. But the generall Eſtates finding it to be of great conſequence would not allow thereof. Whereupon (the ſaid garriſon being intertained and paid by the Queene of England) he went and made his complaints of this prohibition to her Maieſtie, who at the firſt ſeemed to iuſtifie his doing.

Sir Edward Norris ſeeks to bring Flanders vnder contribution.

But when as the Eſtates had duly informed her of the importance of this action, and how preiudiciall it would bee, appertayning onely to the Soueraigne Gouernor, and that it would be a very bad example, whereby the other Gouernors & Superintendants (for at that time the title of Gouernors ſeemed odious to the Eſtates, giuing vnto them that had the like charge but the name and quallity of Superintendents) would in euery towne play the petty Kings, as experience had taught ſufficiently in France. *Norris* yet ſeeking to proceed in the leuie of theſe contributions, he ſo incenſed the Queene as ſhe commanded him to keepe his houſe, and would not ſuffer him to returne to his gouernment, vntil that the Eſtates themſelues were interceſſors for him: the which they did for the reſpect they bare vnto generall *Norris* his Brother, who had done them ſo many good and faithfull ſeruices.

After that Prince *Maurice* had ordered all things well in the towne of Hulſt, hauing cauſed his armie to imbarke, and commanded all the horſemen he could recouer vnder the Eſtates ſeruice, to march ſpeedily into Gelderland: he mounted vp the Riuer of Wahal, and the fourteenth of October landed all before Nymeghen, beſieging it both by water and land; then he made a bridge ouer the Riuer, to go from one quarter vnto an other, through the fauor of the Fort of Knodſenbourg, which the Eſtates had built on the other ſide of the Riuer right againſt the towne. And although at the Princes firſt comming, they of the towne ſhewed them-ſelues very couragious, playing continually with their Canon to hinder the approaches: yet ſoone after, ſeeing the great trenches; the preparation for Mynes; the battery of forty two Canons, planted in fiue ſeuerall places: moſt part of the Burgers, yea they that were moſt partiall and beſt affected to the Spaniard, were more willing to yeeld then to hold out. The which did alſo make three companies that were in garriſon to faynt, although at the firſt they ſeemed very reſolute. Where-vpon the Burgers and ſoldiers agreed to ſend their Deputies vnto the Prince, who went vnto him the twentith of the moneth, that is one Bourguemaiſter, two Lieutenants and an Ancient, in pledge for whom, the Prince ſent three men of very good accoumpt. And as they could not agree that day for the difficulties which did ariſe on either ſide: they of the towne demaunding chiefly to retaine the Romiſh religion, or at the leaſt the free excerciſe of both: and vpon the number of the Eſtates ſoldiers which they ſhould receiue in garriſon, the next day they agreed: which being concluded, the Prince ſent in two companies (either being two hundred ſtrong) before the garriſon came forth, ſo as the ſoldiers of both parties (beeing enemies) continued quietly vntill the next day within one precinct of walles, without iniuring one an other, either in word

Nymighen beſieged by Prince Maurice.

word or deed: so as the 22. of the moneth the Seignior of Gheleyne, captaine *Snator* and *Iohn van Veerden* went forth with their three companies, marching towards Graue and carrying with them their full armes, collours flying, and all their baggage. In this manner Nymegen was reduced vnder the command of the Prince and the Estates, who appointed Cont *Phillip* of Nassau, cousin germaine to the Prince, to bee gouernor thereof. This was the conclusion and end of their victories and happy successe that yeare, 1591. In the which (a remarkable thing) they wone the townes of Zutphen, Deuenter, Hulst, Nymegen, all townes of great importance, with so many forts (whereof we haue made mention) as well in the country of Groning as other places: defeated the Spaniards in field, and forced the Duke of Parma to rayse his seege from before the fort of Knotsenbourg, and all with such celerity, as it is scarse credible they could haue intrencht them-selues and planted their cannon in so small a time as they were before either of the said townes; so great and spatious are the townes of Zutphen, Deuenter and Nymegen, standing vpon great and broad riuers, as the Yssel and the Wahal, both armes of the riuer of Rhine.

1591. Nymegen yeelded.

We haue shewed before how that Collonel *Martin Schenck*, hauing fayled of his enterprize vpon the towne of Nymegen, was there drowned, and through the fury of the Bourgers his dead body cut in foure quarters, the which hung long vpon the rampars, and his head on a Lances point in the toppe of a tower: but the Marquis of Varenbon Gouernor of Gelderland comming to the towne, whilst it held for the Spaniard (knowing him to haue beene a braue caualier) caused them to take downe that spectacle, and that the body thus cut in peeces should be put in a coffin the which was done and layd in a tower: where hauing beene found at the yeelding of the towne, Prince *Maurice* caused him to bee honorably interred, with a goodly military pompe, where hee assisted in person, being followed by all the Commanders, Collonells, captaines, magestrats of the towne (being renewed) a great number of soldiars, and the common people, vnto the great temple, where hee was buried in the monument of the Dukes of Geldres.

Schencke honorably buried by Prince Maurice.

There was a Prouost Marshall in Brabant called *Danckart*, who before had serued the Estates in the same office, but hauing beene taken in the castle of Eckeren neere vnto Antwerp, by the Spaniards, to free him-selfe hee promised to doe the King great seruice: And hauing obtayned a new commission, he pursued the Estates Frebooters with all violence, yea some braue soldiars both of horse and foote, when hee could catch them going to the warres, or to the picory or seeking any aduantage vpon the enemy: whome without any respect of their pasports, or putting them to ransome like soldiars (seeing there was no quarter broken) hee caused to bee hanged, some hee burnt, and roasted with a slow fire, wherevpon he grew so odious and detested of all the Estates soldiars, as they sware if they could once get him, to shew him the like measure without any mercy. And it fell out that they tooke him the leauenth of December, in an Ambush which they had laid without the towne of Liere in Brabant, with thirty horse, which they tooke and put the men to the sword: as for him they did cut of his nose, and both his eares, and hauing dragged him a long time at a horses tayle, in the end they roasted him aliue with a slow fire of straw. The like happened in Flanders to an other Prouost whome they call *Rooderoede*, that is to say *Red Red*, who was slaine in fighting: his Lieutenant being taken was burnt in a hollow tree with a fire of straw.

The end of Prouost Danckert.

The French King hauing resolued in the end of this yeare to beseege Rouan, the leegue sent presently to sue for ayd of the Duke of Parma, who being retired confusedly from Nymegen, and returned to Brussels to attend the comming of the Emperors Ambassadors. He who would not fayle them, according to the expresse charge which hee had often receiued from the King of Spaine his maister, which was to lay all other affayers aside for the aduancement of his dessigne vpon France, he caused his army to march by the country of Henault, whereof meaning to take a view neere vnto valenciennes, newes came vnto him of the arriuall of the Ambassadors to treat of a peace, wherefore the Duke of Parma commanded his army to march by small iornies towards

The Duke of Parma goes into France to releeue Rouen

1591. towards Picardy, hee went poſt againe to Bruſſeles, to giue them audience, where A
hauing conferred with them, and appointed *Peter Erneſt* Earle of Manſfeldt his Lieu-
tennant in the gouernment of the Netherlands, vnder the obedience of the King of
Spaine during his abſence, hee returned ſpeedely to his army. They reaſon why he mar-
cht thus ſlouly, was to make him-ſelfe the more neceſſary to the league, and vnder the
ſhew of armes to manage another deſſeigne, which was to procure the Eſtates of the
league, to giue the crowne of France to the *Infanta* of Spaine whome they ſhould pro-
miſe to one of the heads of that party. What he did in this his ſecond voiage into France,
you may read at large in the French Inuentary. The French King hauing reſolued to be-
ſeege Rouen, the Queene of England (at the inſtant requeſt of his Ambaſſador) ſent him
ouer to his aide 4000. foote and 200. horſe, vnder the command of the earle of Eſſex with B
ſome ordinance. And the general ſtates of the vnited Prouinces did alſo ſend him ouer
Phillip Earle of Naſſau, who brought about 3000. foote, and among them the company
of Prince Maurice his gards being 200. pikes and musketiers, vnder *van Noot* their cap-
taine, with eight cannons and ſome culerins, with all neceſſary munition. In the end
of this yeare prince *Maurice* had an enterprize vpon the towne of Gheertruydenberge,
going from the Hage with 1600. men, thinking to giue it a ſecret ſcaladoe: the ladders
were ſet vp, but being deſcouered they of the garriſon defended them-ſelues ſo vali-
antly as he was forced to retire, without doing any thing, with the loſſe of two of his
Captaines. All the winter this yeare 1591. there were of either ſide, betwixt the Spa-
niards and the Eſtates, many enterprizes and ſurprizes, amongeſt the which the Eſ- C
tates garriſon within Nymegen ſurprized the towne of Alpen belonging to the coun-
teſſe of Meurs.

Orders for Frebuters

The Prouinces that were vnder the Kings ſubiection lay more open to the ſpoyle
then the vnited Prouinces, which were well defended with great riuers and forts: the
number of ſuch as ranne vp and downe the contry to ſpoyle all paſſengers increaſed
daily, moſt of them putting them-ſelues vnder the Eſtates, and were called freebuters,
being of no companies, not vnder any command. To preuent theſe inſolencies and
ſpoyles, they of Brabant ſent forth their Read Roeden or prouoſt, commanding the
country people vpon the ſound of a bell, to aide and aſſiſt their Officers or elſe of them-
ſelues to ſet vpon thoſe Freebuters. And for the redreſſe of theſe diſorders, the Eſtates D
of Brabant on the firſt of Nouember this yeare agreed to giue thirty fiue thouſand gil-
ders a month, for the ſpace of halfe a yeare, to be raiſed vpon ſuch wares and marchan-
diſe as were ſold in Brabant at a certaine rate; as for a hogſhed of French wyne and an
Aune of Remiſh wine eight gilders, and ſo vpon corne, fleſh, fiſh, ſope, gold, ſiluer, ſilks
and other things: the like orders were made in Flanders, and elſe where. And in the
Duke of Parmas ſecond voyage into France, the Earle of Manſfeldt gouernor in his
abſence, gaue order for the rayſing of three hundred ſoldiars in Brabant for 3. monthes
to free the country of Frebuters, eſpecially the riuers, which were much anoyed, and
the mart ſhips and paſſage boats often ſpoyled by them, and this they ſhould doe in ſtead E
of the contribution which they were inforced to pay them: the which was to be leuied
vpon the country villages, woods, medoes, paſtures, fiſhponds. &c. Whereupon many of
theſe Frebuters were taken and cruelly executed in diuers places, which the vnited Pro-
uinces did little regard, for that they harbored them-ſelues among their troupes, and
did no ſeruice vnto the country; and therefore they made an order that none ſhould
goe forth vpon any exploit, vnleſſe they were twenty fiue or thirty ſtrong, and to be
lead by a Captaine, Lieutenant, Sargent or ſome Officer, and that they ſhould ſuffer no
freebuters to liue among them whereby the Country was ſoone rid of theſe Freebu-
ters to the credit of honeſt ſoldiars.

The mutinous ſoldiars in Brabant, being come into the land of Vaſe, were ſatiſfied
by the Duke of Parma, ſo as the forts againſt Hulſt were the more eaſely built, after F
which they made Sconces againſt Oſtende, at Blanckenbergh, Oudenbergh, and other
places where they committed many inſolencies, for being commanded to march with the
Duke of Parma in his ſecond voyage into France, they behaued themſelues ſo inſolently
at Oudenbourg by Sluyes, as the Inhabitants were conſtrayned to fly away with the
beſt

A beſt of their goods, and the ſoldiars taking what elſe they found good, brought it into the market place before the towne houſe, meaning to ſell it there at an outcry to them that would giue moſt, but finding no buyers, they brake all in peeces and burnt it. They alſo tooke away all the ornaments of the Churches, beating and ill intreating Prieſts, who intreated them in the Bourgers behalfe, and ſo thoſe countries were ſpoyled, not onely by Frebuters but alſo by their owne ſoldiars. At Sea there were certaine Spaniſh and Biſcaine Freebuters which had gotten Netherlanders to bee their Pilots, who taught them the way to ſaile behind England & Scotland into the North ſeas, wher they tooke certaine fiſhermen, which ſhippes they manned, and tooke other ſhippes with them, but the ſhippes of warre of Holland which garded the fiſhermen purſued them B and tooke them, and bringing them to Rotterdam, hung 30. of them. 1592.

Spaniſh Freebuters at ſea.

In the begnining of Ianuary, in the yeare 1592 *William* Duke of Cleaues *Iuilliers* and *Monts*, Earle of Marck, Lord of Raueſtine &c. died being 76. yeares old in his towne of Duſſeldorp: hee had beene a quiet and peaceable Prince in his time, after that hee was reconciled to the Emperor from the prime of his youth both he and his wife (who was daughter to the Emperor *Ferdinand*) were troubled of their ſences, and in their ſpeech. They haue ſpoken diuerſly of the cauſes of theſe accidents. At his death were preſent the Duke of Deuxponts his ſonne in Law, and the Duches of Pruſſe his daughther, pretending in his life-time the adminiſtration of all thoſe Dukedomes and Signeures, as well for the weakenes of his ſences, as of Duke *Iohn* his onely ſonne: But nothing C followed, by reaſon of the oppoſitions made by the Emperor, the Popes legat and the Ducheſſe, wife to Duke *Iohn*, being of the houſe of Baden, and of a contrarie relligion to the Duke of Deuxponts and the ducheſſe of Pruſſe, who all met the yeare before at Duſſeldorp, to treat. Thoſe of Groning being oppreſt of all ſides by the Eſtates forces, which cont *William* of Naſſau held in many forts there abouts, fearing to be beſeeged in the ſpring, they ſent their deputies with letters to *Peter Earneſt* Earle of manſfeldt, lieutenant of the gouernment of the Netherlands in the Duke of the Parmas abſence, letting him vnderſtand into what miſerable Eſtate they were reduced, hauing alwaies continued conſtant in their faith and duties to the King, and that their condition grew daily worſe. Theſe letters being full of greefe and commiſeration, fell into the eſtates D hands. By reaſon whereof *Verdugo* Gouernor of the ſaid Towne went thether in perſon. The Earle of Manſfeldt hearing therof & vnderſtanding the complaints of them of Gronning, writ lettes of comfort vnto them, greeuing with them for their miſerable eſtate, and the rather for that hee himſelfe had not meanes to aſſiſt, and free them from the oppreſſion and violence of their enemies, but that hee had written vnto the King and ſent their letters, beſeeching him to haue pitty on them and to giue order for a leauy of men, not onely to defend them but alſo to recouer all thoſe forts which they had loſt, and to chaſe the enemy out of the country: of which letters he expected a ſpeedy anſwer. And in the meane time for that it ſhould not ſeeme they would abandon them, he ſent them nine thouſand florins (hauing demanded thirty thouſand) to releeue E their poore commons. And that hee had treated in Antwerp with ſome marchants of Hambourg to aſſiſt them with ſome quantity of poulder, and that he labored to haue the ſoldiars which were on the other ſide of the riuer of Rhine, wherin he did perſiſt, whileſt that *Verdugo* ſhould remaine in Brabant to ſollicit what ſhould be here after moſt fit and neceſſary to be done: finally he intreated them to continue conſtant, and to haue a care of them-ſelves, and of that which did concerne them, and not to ſuffer the honor which they had pourchaſed by their fidelity, to be now blemiſhed and quencht: but that it may bee ſaid of them that the Groningers haue loyally perſiſted vnto the end in the obedience and ſeruice of their Prince and King.

The death of the Duke of Cleues.

The Groningeois ſend deputies to cont Manſfeldt.

Cont Manſfeldt writs to them of Groning.

Afterwards they of Groning ſent vnto the Emperor, to let him vnderſtand, how that F ſence the yeare 1536. they had freely and willingly giuen them-ſelues to the houſe of Auſtria, vpon condition that they ſhould be mayntayned and defended by them againſt all their enemies: the which in reaſon they ought to doe, and not to abandon them to thoſe dangers, where-with they ſee them-ſelues daily enuironed: And to aſſure and free them from feare, they muſt not (as they had vſually done) ſend ſmall ſuplyes,

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1593 of two or three thouſand men with a little munition but they muſt imploy a mighty royall army: and that the preſence of the Earle of Manſfeld, then gouernor was very neceſſary. The Emperor ſent their griefes and complaints from Prage to the King of Spaine accompanied with his owne letters: the King receiued them the twenty of Aprill in his *Eſcuriall*, by the which hee intreated him to ſuccor and aſſure this good imperiall towne which was ſo faithfull vnto him. The King did thanke the Emperor for the care he had of the ſaid towne, promiſing to take ſome order: where-vpon hee commanded the Earle of Manſfeld by his letters, that all other affayers ſet aſide, hee ſhould go into Freezland, and free the towne of Groning from all feare. But as it was a tedious and dangerous peece of worke, and could not bee done without the winning of all Freeſeland, the greateſt part whereof being vnder the obedience of the Eſtates, and the gouernment of *William Lewis* Earle of Naſſau: and withal the ſtates and Prince *Maurice* prouided him worke in Brabant, being alſo forced to entertaine ſome troupes vpon the fronters of France, he could doe no more at that time then ſend *Verdugo* with a ſupply of ſome 6000. men, horſe and foote, part, vnder the conduct of the earles *Herman* and *Frederic vanden Bergh* bretheren, who did nothing worth memory, but recouered ſome-times a little fort, ſome-times a trench, and ſome-times a Barricado in this country of Freeſeland: finally it was not to beſeege or to take any Townes by force, but by ſurprize, if they could.

A ſmal ſupply o' ſmall proffit ſent by the Spaniard into Freezland.

At the ſame-time in the beginning of this yeare, the Germaine regiments of the Earles of Arembergh and Barlaimont did winter in the Dutchy of Luxembourg, where they endured much miſerie, after they had eaten all they could get from the poore peaſant, and for want of pay, many ran away ſo as their companies were not halfe full: whereof the ſaid Earles wrot into Spaine vnto the King, complayning that they little regarded them nor their company, and that without money they could noe longer ſtay them. To conclude by reaſon of the Duke of Parmas abſence in the warres in France, and to releeue Rouen, there was nothing but complaints, as well of ſoldiars for their pay, as of the townes and champian country for the oppreſſions they endured.

Prince *Maurice* by the intelligence which he had with the Baron of *Peſch*, made an enterprize vpon the towne of Maſtricht in March, for the effecting whereof he gathered together in Cempeine ſome foure thouſand men horſe and foote, and with certaine boats which hee had vpon the riuer of Meuze, had entred on the ſide of Wyck (the which is a part of the ſaid towne, ſcituated vpon the other banke) whileſt that a ſcaladoe ſhould be giuen in an other place: But the ladders being found to ſhort vpon the noiſe they made, they tooke the Alarum in the towne, which terrefied them in the boats ſo as they did not their duties. And ſo this enterprize failed, and the Prince returned without doing any thing, being much diſcontented that his men vpon the riuer had carried them-ſelues ſo fayntly: and the Baron being diſcouered to haue beene of the enterprize, hee retired with the Prince into Holland, where afterwards he had the command of a company of horſe. In returning from this voyage by Cempenie they tooke the Caſtle of Berycerke as they paſt: the Spaniard to recouer it, poſted preſently thether, and beſeeged it but the Eſtates ſent ſome troupes, who chaſed them from thence, and freed the Caſtle from ſeege.

A frutleſſe enterprize vpon Maeſtricht.

Berleyck taken by the Eſtates.

They of the garriſon of Nymeghen, paſſing by the countries of Geldres and of Iuilliers, entred into the quarter of Eyffel, and ſet vppon the Abby of Steynfeldt, neere vnto the towne of Sleyden, in the which there were ſome peaſants, who at the firſt made a little reſiſtance: but they were forced, and the ſaid Abby ſpoyled. This happened for certaine indignities which the Monkes had formerly done vnto them.

There was at that time ſome ſpeech betwixt the particular Eſtates of the country of Oueryſſel and Cont *Herman vander Bergh*, to raze certaine forts of either ſide. Thoſe of the Spaniſh party did ruine Goor and Twyrkloo, and the Eſtates Dorthet and Verworden: whileſt they were vpon theſe tearmes, Captaine Gerard of Beuerſfort with a very few men ſeazed vppon the Caſtle of Saeſſeldt, the which was ill

A ill garded by captaine *Leucama*. The Earle hearing of this surprize, would proceede no farther in that which had beene concluded for the razing of these Forts, vnlesse the castle might bee yeelded, the which was done, and the other Forts were ruined according to the conuention. 1592.

The seauen and twenty of Aprill about two hundred of the Estates soldiars of the garrison of Westerloo in Campeine (the which a little before they had surprized) went to make a roade into Brabant, betwixt Louvain and Brusselles, where they were incountred by the Spaniards and quite defeated, so as few escaped but they were afterwards spoiled by the Peasants neere vnto Dyestheim. The Estates men defeated.

There was at that time two factions in religion within the towne of Vtrecht, the one were called by some the consistori-
B ans, the other the Iacobits, these were so called by reason of a minister in Saint Iames church, who gaue more libertie vnto his troupe: And the other was so termed by reason of the consistorie, which doth excercise discipline and ecclesiasticall censure. The consistorians foure or fiue yeares before, when as the Earle of Leicester had the gouernment (by whom they were fauored) had chased some of the chiefe of the Iacobits out of the towne, who were well allied, and most esteemed amongst the common people. On a certaine daie, when as the consistorians doubted nothing, some of the Bourgers put themselues into armes early in the morning, and went vnto them who had most credit in the consistorie, whom they tooke prisoners, leading them presently towards the port, and so thrust them out of the towne, calling backe those which had bin before
C chased away, amongst the which was the signior of Brakele Burguemaister, a gentleman of a good house. Two factions in religion at Vtrecht.

At that time Prince *Maurice* made a voiage to Midelbourg in Zeeland, whereas the particular Estates of the Prouince were assembled, he required that hee might bee furnished (for their parts) of that which was necessarie to raise the bodie of an armie the next Sommer, for the beseeging of some townes. The which beeing resolued, and hauing determined some other affaires in that quarter of Zeeland, he returned into Holland, where hauing gathered togither all his troupes, leauing but halfe garrisons, the which hee filled with the Bourgers of the neighbour townes, in those places that were vpon the fronters, hauing commanded his cousin Count *William* to doe the like in
D Friseland and Oueryssel, he resolued to go and set vpon the towne of Steenwyck, the which hee had let alone the yeare before, and yet after the taking of Zutphen and Deuenter, hee would willingly haue beseeged it, if the Duke of Parma comming with his armie into the Betuwe had not called him from thence (as wee haue sayd) to fight with him, and to make him leaue the seege of Knotsenbourg, the which hee did. But seeing then that by the Duke of Parmas absence, (who was with his army in France for the releese of Rouen) there was no likelehood to succor it, nor to make him rayse his seege.

Before the seege of Steenwick, the Spaniards had an enterprize vpon Erichuy-
E sen, which they thought to haue surprized, by the meanes of a Sayler who dwelt in that towne, who not long before had come out of Spaine, where hee had spoken with the King himselfe about this exploit, and had receiued money both for himselfe, and to corrupt some Captaines and Commanders: But this Sayler made it knowne vnto Prince *Maurice*, from whom hee had such directions as hee perswaded the Spaniards, that the enterprize might bee easeliest effected by the hauen, for the which they should send some thousand men from Steenwyc (which lay not farre from thence) in an euening, in certaine shippes, the which might come thether without any suspition by meanes of the sayd Bourger, for that some of the captaines and chiefe Bourgers were alreadie ingaged in the enterprise, who did assure them of their credits that all was well prepared for the effecting of their designe; and the better to confirme them of
F Steenwyc in this conceit, hee that layed the plot, offred to deliuer himselfe for hostage to them of Steenwyc, and to endure all torments if they were not truelie and faithfully daelt with all, but they growing into some iealousie, the enterprize surceased, wherevpon Prince *Maurice* sent his armie presently to beseege Steenwyc. An enterprize vpon Enchuysen.

Hee came before the towne the eight and twenty day of May the which hee did

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1592. inueſt on that ſide which goes from Ommen to Gyethorn, and of the ſide of the foreſt: A Captaine *Anthony Coquille* a Wallon commanded within the towne with ſixteene companies of foote, among the which there were many of thoſe traitors which had ſould Gheertruydenberg to the Duke of Parma, and of thoſe which at the taking of Deuenter had ſworne not to ſerue the king of Spaine againſt the Eſtates for one yeare: whome *Coquielle* called vnto him, and they all ſware to defend and keepe the towne vnto the laſt droppe of their blouds.

The towne being beſeeged on all ſides, and the campe ſufficiently intrencht; on the eight of Iune he planted twenty foure cannons, the which did batter continually with ſuch fury, as the earth did ſhake aboue a League of, and there were reckoned that day aboue ſeauen thouſand ſhot: the Seignior of Famas generall of the artillery ſparing B neither bullets nor poulder, ſo as towards night he was forced to ceaſe the battery, for that the cannon being very much heat, ſhot ouer the towne into Cont *William* of Naſſaus quarter, and ſlue ſome ſoldiars. The battery ceaſing, the beſeeged made a skoffe at it, ſweeping their rampar, as if it had done them no more harme then the ſweeping of a beeſome, with many opprobrious words, from the which it is hard to reſtraine indiſcreet and ill conditioned ſolldiars. The thirteene of the moneth the battery began againe more furious then before, from foure of the clocke in the morning vntill ſixe at night; and although the breach were not ſufficient, yet the Prince cauſed fiue ſquadrons to approch as if he went to giue an aſſault; but they paſt no farther at that time. The beſeeged did often make very furious ſallies vpon the Eſtates campe, C ſome-times vppon one quarter, and ſome-times vpon another, where ſtill they got ſome thing, and retired like gallant fellowes with ſome priſoners, whereof they did hang ſome without the rampar. Among others they made a camiſado on the ſeauenteene of the moneth with about 500. men and winning the trenches they fell vpon the company of Captaine *Olthouen*, which they defeated, and there the captaine and his lieutenant were ſlaine: Captaine *Cornpit* of the Eſtates regiment of Freezland inuented a certaine engine of wood in forme of a tower with three ſtages, the which was let vp and downe by viſes, ſo heigh as they might deſcouer any thing that was done in the towne. In either of thoſe ſtages there were certaine musketiers, which ſcoured the ſtreets, ſo as they durſt not ſhew them-ſelues, and much leſſe vpon the ram- D pars, where-vpon the beſeeged peerſt through their houſes, ſo as they had no need to go into the ſtreets, and they vncouered all the houſes that were thacht with ſtraw leaſt they ſhould ſhoote fiery bullets into them. And as this engine did much hinder their comming to the rampar, they planted certen peeces of ordinance to beate it downe, with the which they ſometimes carried away ſome of the peeces, and ſlue ſome of the men, ſo as in the end neither for faire promiſes nor for threats they could get any ſoldiars to enter into it, but this inſtrument remained vnprofitable and not vſed, being called by them in their language *Lymſtanghe*, that is to ſay a lyme-twig to ketch birds withall, meaning that it ſerued for no other vſe at all but to looſe men E without any profit.

The twelth of Iune *Frederic* Prince *Elector Palatin* of Rhine, duke of high and Low Bauaria married the Lady *Louyſe* of Naſſau, eldeſt daughter to the deceaſed Prince of Orange, by his third wife, the Lady *Charlotte* of Bourbon, daughter to the Duke of Montpenſier, a Prince of the royall bloud of France. This young Princeſſe was conducted from the Hage in Holland by the young Earle *Iohn* of Naſſau his Coſin germaine, and by the Lady of Naſſau counteſſe of Schwartſenbourg her Aunt, and the Seignior of Saint *Aldegond*, repreſenting Prince *Maurice* her Brother: Shee was conducted to Cont *Iohn* of Naſſau her Vncle, to the Caſtle of Dillenbourg, in the country of Naſſau, whether the ſaid Prince *Palatin* came and married with her; Shee was honorably and richly indowed by the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouin- F ces, acknowledging the great ſeruices they had receiued from the Prince of Orange her father.

The Prince Elector Palatin marries Louyſe of Naſſau.

About the end of Iune *Verdugo* knowing that the beſieged within Steenwick had want of poulder,

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A poulder, he ſent two hunderd and fifty ſoldiers euery one with a bag of ten or twelue pounds waight, to make a tryall if they could get into the towne, and for their greater aſſurance he ſent a man before to aduertiſe what hower they ſhould come, that the beſeeged might at the ſame inſtant make a ſally vpon that quarter, whereby they might enter with more eaſe. But this man being taken by them of Prince *Maurice* his Campe, and well examined, he deſcouered the ſuccors that were to come, the which fayled not at the hower which the gouernor had ſet downe, who being watcht for vpon the paſſages of thoſe two hunderd and fifty men two hundred of them were ſlaine the reſt eſcaped as well as they could. The beſeeged vnderſtanding and finding their men to decreaſe more and more, hauing loſt cont *Lodovic vanden Bergh*, the captaines *Blundel* of *Heſſet*, the Lieutennants of *Steenbach* and *Camega* with many others, ſeeing alſo that B there was no hope to be deliuerd, and that as well their victualls as munition began to faile them, they thought to yeeld vp the towne by compoſition. But Prince *Maurice* demanding all thoſe marchants of Gheertruydenbergh at his diſcretion, there was nothing concluded at that time: alledging that from the beginning of the ſeege, they had all ſwor ne to liue and die equally together: by reaſon whereof the condition of the one ought not to be worſethen the other, deſiring rather to die fighting then being priſoners after the towne was yeelded to be hanged, as their ſentence did import: whereupon the Prince cauſed his battery to be doubled with ſixty peeces of Ordinance, which did thunder into the towne: beſides three mines which played the fourth of Iuly, and C made ſuch a murther of ſoldiars which were on the toppe and at the foote of the rampar, as the could ſee nothing but men flying in the ayer, and it made ſuch a breach as they might goe on horſback to the aſſault: Prince *Maurice* deſiringe to vewe the operation of thoſe mines, approchinge ſomewhat neere, he was ſhot into the cheeke from the towne but without daunger, whereof he was ſoone cured. The beſeeged being amazed at this thundring, deſpayring of all meanes to hold out long, fearing to be taken by aſſault, hauinge ſuch great and large breaches, they conſented all with one accord to parle and to make a compoſition; the which Prince *Maurice* yealded vnto, and the next day being the fifth of Iuly it was concluded: the beſeeged departing without armes, and ſwering not to carry armes againſt the Eſtates beyond the Rhine in halfe a yeare. In this D ſort was Steenwic yeelded to Prince *Maurice* by compoſition, vnder the obedience of the generall Eſtates after it had endured 29000. Cannon ſhot, the Prince hauing loſt about one thouſand and fiue hundred men and many hurt, among others Sir *Francis Vere* Generall of the Engliſhe and Sir *Horatio* his brother, *William van Dorp* Collonel of the Regiment of Weſt Friſeland, whereof he died and many others. The towne being yeelded, Captaine *Bereſteyn* was put into it with foure companies, the Eſtates armie remaining thereabouts, vntill the rampars were repaired, the ditches made cleane and rayſed and the trenches made euen. The Marchants of *Gheertruydenberg* (not comprehended in the accord) as many as could bee taken of them were hanged; Captaine *Coquielle*, who had commanded in the towne during the ſiege, and all his men, with thoſe that were hurt and ſicke, with all their baggage, were conuoyed vnto the Conty of E Benthem in the frontiers of Weſtphalia.

1592.

Prince Maurice ſhotte.

Steenwyc yeelded by compoſition and other townes beſieged by the Eſtates.

About the middeſt of Iuly *Collonell Mondragon* Gouernor of the Cittadell of Antwerp, was ſent with three thouſand men and fiue peeces of Ordinance, into the countrie of Cempeine to beſiege the Caſtle of Weſterlloo, the which yeelded the eighteenth of the moneth by compoſition. Paſſing on he went before Tournhout, which yeelded alſo the twentith: and that of Berghey the one and twenty, by which three places the Eſtates did alwaies afflict Brabant and the country about. Prince *Maurice* purſuing his victory of Steenwick, marcht with his armie before the towne and ſtrong Caſtle of Couoerden, in the country of Tuente; and drawing forth of his campe ſome twelue F hundred men and fiue peeces of Artillerie, he went towards the towne of Otmarſen in the ſaid country; whereas at that time *Alphonſo Mendo* a Spaniard commanded: who ſeeing that hee could doe little or no ſeruice in the towne with his horſe during the ſiege, he retyred in good time with 60. horſe, promiſing them of the towne that hee would deale ſo with the Gouernor *Verdugo*, as hee ſhould bring them ſuccors. The

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1592. Prince being camped before the towne, he commanded the Seignior of Famas as gene- A
rall of the Artillery, to plant his battery, the which being done, the ſame night the Seig-
nor of Famas being neere vnto the cannon, he was ſhot into the head, from the towne,
by the ſound of his voyce with the which he was ſtrooke dead and neuer ſpake word.
Famas Gene- rall of the ordinance for the Eſtates ſlaine. The Prince did much lament him, hauing beene one of his cheefe councellors for the
warres, and fitter then any other man to gouerne the ordinance. The beſeeged hearing
of his death would attend no more greater extremity, but ſome cannon ſhot; knowing
well that if they continued obſtinate the Prince would reuenge on them the death of
that gentleman, whome he had ſo much loued, and therefore they yeelded: They being
gone forth, and a garriſon put into it for the free Eſtates, the Prince came with his
ſmale army to his campe before Couoerden.

B
The Droſſart of Couoerden hearing of the comming of the Princes campe burnt the
towne, and beat downe all the gardins and hedges about it, for that he would leaue noe
couert for the ennemy, yet the Prince intrencht himſelfe by little euen to the brinke of
the caſtell dich, the which is ſtrong by ſcituation, by nature and by art, and held impreg-
nable. There was a raueling neere vnto the port which defended the bridg, the which
was preſently battred downe: yet the beſeeged made furious ſallies; and one among
the reſt at noone daies, in the which they cut in peeces a whole companie both Cap-
taine, Liuetenant and Ancient, of the which there were onely eleuen ſoldiars ſaued. To
hinder theſe ſallies, it was thought good to plant certaine ordinance to breake the
bridge, the which was done. This ſummer was in the beginning very dry, ſo as they C
might with more eaſe beſeege this place round about, yea in the boggs and mariſh
places. And as the caſtell ditches were deepe and large, after they had drawne forth
as much of the water as they could, they were by little and little filled, rowling earth
of ten or twelue foote broad only, and as the ditch filled vp, they couered it in the night
with plankes ſet vpon proppes or prillers; being like a gallery vnderneath, the which
they continued by little and little, vntill it came to the foote of the rampar. The plankes
aboue were alwaies couerd with earth and flaggs, that the beſeeged could not ſet fire of
it, nor the ordinance could not hurt it. Then by this gallery they came to the ſappe of
the rampar which nothing could hinder. And as the ſaid rampar was armed with D
great bodies of trees, and armes of trees laid croſſe, and ſtraight with earth, and ſome
bauines betwixt them, this earth being taken away they reſolued to ſet it on fire.

Whileſt theſe things paſſe in this ſort, the Duke of Parma knowing of what impor-
tance this place of Couoerden is as being the kay of all the country of Freezland,
Drenthen and Groning, hee ſent about foure thouſand foote and fixe hundred horſe
vnder the leading of *Verdugo* Gouernor of the country of Groning, to paſſe through
the Eſtats campe, or to force Prince *Maurice* to retire. Being come thether and finding
the Prince well intrencht he went and campt at Enlichom, to cut of the victualls, which
came vnto the Eſtates campe from towards Zwol. But after he had ſtayed their ſome
dayes, *Verdugo* ſeeing that there came aboundance from other places, he reſolued to try E
Verdugo comming to releeue Couoerden is repulſt. his fortune, and to ſet vpon the trenches: The which was very ſucceſſefull in the begin-
ning; for the Spaniards had paſt one, and began to cry out victory. But they were at the
ſame inſtant entertayned in ſuch ſort by the Earle of Hohenlo, who came running the-
ther with all ſpeed, that as many as were entred, remayned vpon the place: And then
began the cannon of the Campe to play through the thickeſt of their ſquadrons, ſo as
they were forced to make a retreat alwaies ſkyrmiſhing yet marching away like ſoldi-
ars, as if they had reſolued to come a ſecond time. The beſeeged ſeeing their ſuccors
retired being without all hope, finding their rampars to be ſo ſapt, as there remayned
nothing but to ſet fire on them, their defences and parapets quite beaten downe, ſo as
there was not any man that durſt ſhew him-ſelfe if hee were not weary of his life, they F
were content to yeeld the place by compoſition. *Verdugo* being thus retyred with his
Couerden yeelded by compoſition. troupes, and *Couoerden* fallen vnder the obedience of the Eſtates; Prince *Maurice* who
during the ſeege would not goe out of his campe to fight with the Spaniards (fearing to
looſe ſo good an occaſion as was offred to make him-ſelfe Maiſter of that place) after
that hee had put a garriſon into it, and given order for the reparation of the rampars

and

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A and ruines thereof, and for the making plaine of his trenches, hee parted withall his armie and pursued the Spaniards, marching towardes the Rhyne, thinking to passe it at Bercke. But the Prince following them at the heeles, as they had no meanes to make their passage there, *Verdugo* finding his men so much discouraged as they slipt away in small numbers, passing along the towne of VVezel (the Prince pursuing him still, meaning to doe him an affront) hee went and campt vnder the fauor of a little towne in VVestphalia called Bucholt: whereas the Prince would willingly haue charged him, if the Spaniard had not so well obserued his retreate: whereas there was but one narrow passage to come vnto him, and a great bogge or mooriſh plaine betwixt both. For which consideration the Prince not able to approach neere vnto him, being B loath to pursue him any further, (for that *Autumne* was well aduanced, and the moist wether and the bad time of winter approached) hee left him there; and went backe with his armie, sending euery man to his garrison vntill the Spring following. 1592.

After the Duke of Parmas retreat out of France from the releese of Rouen, the leagguers held an assembly of Estates at Paris, and the partizans of Spaine were in hope that the Duke of Parma would returne the third time with a mighty army, to performe some great worke, and assure the Crowne of France to the King of Spaine, or to the Infanta his daughter, but death cut of his life and all his enterprizes, for marching towards Picardy with an army of seauen or eight thousand men horse and foote, his forewarde being neere vnto the tree of Guise, hee staid in Arras to call an assembly of C the Netherlands, that were vnder the King of Spaines obedience. He had beene alwaies sickly and ill since his last retreat; Being in the towne his sicknes increased in the beginng of September, and he died the second day, in the Abbots lodging of Saint *Vast*. His body was conducted through Lorraine into Italy with eight scorehorse all in mourning. They say that he ordayned in his testament to be buried in a Capuchins weed. He was much lamented by them of Arthois and by many others, who are of a mylder disposition then the Spaniards or the Iesuits, by whome he was not much moued. He was held the honestest man and (although an Italien) a lesse dissembler then any of the former gouernors which the King of Spaine had sent into the Netherlands: Iealous of his honor, and holding his word aboue all things. He died being about for- D ty eight yeares old. Being dead and opened, they found his vitall parts much perished: so as he could not haue liued long. He lies interred in his towne of Parma. At his funeral in the towne of Brussells, there had like to haue fallen out a great tumult, for that the Earle of Mandsfeldt marching after the herse, as his Lieutenant, and then the officers of his household, the Spanish gentlemen would haue marcht before the Italiens, who kept them backe by force: as in truth it was not then the Spaniards rancke. The like funeralls were made vnto him in many townes of Italy, and the tenth of Aprill 1593. in Rome, as the great champion and defender of the Romish Church, of the which hee was standard-bearer by inheritance: and there was a statue of marble set vp for him in the Capitoll, after the manner of the ancient Romains.

Prince of Parma dies.

His commendations.

WITH.

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1592.

VVith this inſcription.

QVOD.ALEXANDER.FARNESIVS.PARMÆ.PLACENTIÆ.
DVX.TERTIVS.MAGNO.IN.IMPERIO.PRO.RE-
PVB.CHRISTIANA.GESSERIT.MORTEM-
QVE.OBIERIT.ROMANIQVE.NOMI-
NIS.GLORAM.AVXERIT.

S. P. Q. R.

HONORIS.ERGO.MAIORVM.MVLTIS.SECVLIS.INTER-
FVSIS.REVOCANDVM.CENSVIT.STATVITQVE.
CIVI.OPTIMO.EIVS.VIRTVTIS.SVÆQVE.
IN.ILLVM.VOLVNTATIS.
TESTIMONIVM.

EX. S. C. P.

CLEMENTIS.8. P. M. ANNO. 11.
GABRIELE.CETARINO.I.V.C.
IACOBO.ROBERO.
PAPIRIO.ALBERO.

CELSO.CELSO.CAPO.REG.PRIORE.

Beſides the Dukes Image there ſtood a faire table wherein was written as followeth.

ALEXANDER.FARNESIVS.OCTAVII.F.PARMÆ.ET.PLA-
CENTIÆ.DVX.3.PROVINCIAM.NACTVS.BELGI-
CAM.PHILIPPI.HISPANIARVM.REGIS.
IMPERIA.DETRECTANTEM.

MAstrichum vrbem munitiſſimum expugnauit: Birronium Gallum diuerſarum partium Ducem, collatis ſignis prælio vicit, Duncherchum, Gandauum, Brugas, Hypras, Denremundam, Bruxellas, Excluſam, aliaq; plurima Belgiæ Oppida, aut vi cepit, aut ad deditionem compulit, Antwerpiam humanis viribus inexpugnabilem, ingenti ad ſcaldin fluuium operum magnitudine circum munitam, in deditionem accepit: Nuſium acceptum, Colonienſi archiepiſcopo reddidit. Belgas omnes qui continentē incolunt, in Philippi *regis poteſtatem, & ad Romanæ eccleſiæ obedientiam reduxit. Haſce ob res, aliaſq; fortiter geſtas* S.P.Q.R. *ſummus imperator elogio, prope maiorum triumphus, quorum gloriam aut vicit, aut certe æquauit, ornatus eſt.*

ALexander Farneſius ſonne tō *Octauius* the 3. Duke of Parma and Plaiſentia, being Gouernor of the Netherlands which diſobeied the King of Spaine, wanne the ſtrong towne of Maſtricht, defeated the Marſhall of Biron generall of the French army, he tooke Dunkerke, Gand, Bruges, Ypre, Denremonde, Bruſſelles, Sluys, and many other townes in the Netherlands. Antwerp inuincible to be wonne by mans force lying vpon the riuer of Sheld, hee forced to yeeld. He tooke Nuys and reſtored it to the Archbiſhop of Cologne, All the Belgick Prouinces vpon the maine land hee ſubdued to the King, & brought vnder the obedience of the Romiſh Church, for which and other his worthy deeds, he hath beene honored with the title of Emperor by the citty of Rome, deſeruing a tryumph, ſuch as were made to the ancient Romains, whoſe glory if he did not ſurpaſſe, yet did he equall it. This ſtandeth in Rome, for his honor and perpetuall memory.

The

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A 1592.

The Argument of the fourteenth Booke.



B Cont Phillip *of Nassau runs ouer the country of Luxembourg, with some of the Estates troupes: Prince* Maurice *beseegeth Gheertrudenberg, and takes it in vew of a royal army led by Peter Erneſt Earle of Mansfeldt, who beseegeth Crevecœur in vaine: warre made in Freezeland by* Cont William *of Nassau for the Estates. The Earle of Solms makes warre in Flanders. Otmarson in Ouerysſel and many other forts in Freezeland recouered by the Spaniard: The Archduke* Erneſt *comes to be Gouernor of the Netherlands for the King of Spaine* Michell Reuichors *a Preest vndertakes to kill Prince* Maurice, *for the which he is executed: whereof the Archduke* Erneſt *being taxed, he seekes to excuse him-selfe by his letters to the Estates, where-vnto they make answer: The sayed Archduke makes warre against the King of France, Prince* Maurice *deliuers Cowarden, beseegeth Groning and takes it:* Peter de Four *pretends to kill Prince* Maurice, *for the which he is executed:* Cont Phillip *of Nassau ioynes with the Duke of Bouillions troupes. The marriages of the Earle of Hohenlo and the Duke of Bouillon: Huyville and the Castle surprized by the Estates in the country of Liege, and soone recouered by the Spaniard. The death of the Archduke* Erneſt: *Collonel* Mondragon *a Spaniard comes neere vnto the Estates campe, he is pursued by Prince* Maurice. *The Earles* Phillip *of Nassau and* Erneſt *of Solms are hurt, taken prisoners and die;* Cont Frederic *of*

C *Nassau remayning prisoner. The Earle of Fuentes makes sharpe war against the French King: The Spaniards offer a peace in the Netherlands: Liege in Brabant surprized for the states, but recouered the same day. Cardinall* Albert *made gouerner for the King of Spaine, he wines Callis from the French King, who recouers La-fere from the Spaniard. The Cardinal beseegeth Hulſt in Flanders, the which in the end yeeldeth. The king of Spaine dispenseth with him-selfe for the paiment of his debts. The Englisſh and Estates shippes takes Cadiz in Spaine. The Mareſhall of* Biron *makes warre in Arthois, he takes the Marquis of Varenbon gouernor of the country. A league betwixt the French King, the Queene of England and the Estates against the Spaniard: Prince* Maurice *defeats the Earle of Varax by Tournhout who is slaine there. Amiens surprised by the Spaniard, beseeged and taken by the King, the which Cardinall* Albert *offers to succor in vaine: Prince* Maurice *beseegeth and takes the Townes of Alpen, Meurs, Rhinberg, Grol, Brefort, Enscheyde, Oldenzeel, Otmarsons, Goor and Lingen, all in three months. The King of Denmarkes Ambaſſador to the Estates, and to what*

D *end. The King of Spaine makes a peace with the French King: The Admirall of Arragon sent Ambaſſador to the Emperor, and to what end:* Peter Paune *vnder takes to kill Prince* Maurice, *and is executed. The Estates subiects sayle to the East Indies. A tumult at Emden: the King of Spaine giues his eldeſt daughter to Cardinall* Albert.



E After the Death of *Alexander Farneze* Duke of Parma *Peter Erneſt* Earle of Mansfeldt his Lieutenant during his abſence in France, was by prouiſion appointed to the gouernment by the King of Spaine of all that which remained vnder his obedience in the Netherlands, attending the comming of *Erneſt* Archduke of Auſtria, the Emperor Rodolphus Brother, being choſen for Gouernor, lieutenant and Captaine generall. To which Earle of Mansfeldt (as the Spaniards haue neuer fully truſted the Noblemen of the Netherlands) there were ioyned in all affayers, the Earle of Fuentes a Spaniard, Brother in law to the Duke of Alua, and one *Stephano Tharra*, Superintendent of the Kings treaſure, a Spaniard alſo: without the aduice of which two hee could not doe any thing, neither yet treat nor diſpoſe of a denier.

About the end of this yeare 1592. as Cont *Charles* of Mansfeldt, was ſent vnto the fronters of Picardy, to prouide worke for the roialiſts, to the aduancement of the league,

F and to beſeege Noyon, the which he did and tooke it, the King being otherwaies imployed: the vnited Eſtates on the other ſide ſent *Phillip* Earle of Naſſau with ſome 4000. horſe & foote into Luxemburg, to make ſome enterprize as well vpon the towne of Saint Vyt (belonging to Prince *Maurice* by inheritance) as elſe where; and alſo to force them to their contributions. Cont Phillip of Naſſau goes into Luxembourg.

The

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1593. The Earle of Mansfeldt, father to Count *Charles*, to make head againſt him, ſent the A
Earle of Barlaymont thether, with the garriſon of Liere, Macklin and others places,
both Spaniards and Italiens. But Count *Philip* ſeeing his men laden with bootie, which
they had gotten as well in Luxembourg as in Cempeine, hee retired quietly, without
any loſſe. The gouernment of the Kings countrie, beeing (as wee haue ſayd) put into
the hands of the Earle of Mansfeldt the father (an old and pollitike captaine) with the
aſſiſtance of the ſayd Earle of Fuentes, *Stephano* d'Ybarra and other Spaniards, and of
the Spaniſh faction: they were of opinion to breake quarrer, and (as they were wont to
ſay) to make foule warres, not ſuffring any ſouldiars of what qualitie ſoeuer, captaines
or other Officers, to bee ranſomed, nor exchanged for other priſoners, thinking there-
The Spaniards breake quarter with the Eſtates men. by to make their men more reſolute to fight, and to vanquiſh, or die: for if they eſcaped B
and were not ſlaine in the fight, being pryſoners there were no ranſome, exchange nor
mercie for them: And by this meanes they ſhould alſo coole the heate of the Eſtates
ſouldiars, from the doing of ſuch violent executions by the right of warre, for the leauy
and payment of their contributions: for they made a generall defence vpon all the
fronters ioyning to the confederate Prouinces, with other accuſtomed places, dated
the fift day of Ianuary in the yeare 1593. not to pay any ſuch eaſments and taxes to the
Eſtates collectors and Receiuors. But Mansfeldt and his aſſociates were much abuſed
by this manner of proceding: for their ſouldiars (who commonly ſeeke more for pro-
fit then honour) had rather draw a ranſome from their priſoners, then deliuer them in-
to the hangmans hands; or by this willfull breaking of quarter, to ſuffer themſelues to C
bee hanged. Moreouer the gentlemen, the Clergie and ſuch as receiued rents, were
more willing to pay a light contribution to the Eſtates, to ſaue the reſt, then to receiue
nothing at all; and moreouer to haue their caſtles, houſes and farmes burnt, at the firſt
roade they ſhould make. The vnited Eſtates made a publication to the contrary, of the
27. day of Februarie, by the which they declared that the Spaniard ſought nothing elſe
The Eſtates proclamation to di'anul that of the Spaniards touching breaking of quarter. by the breaking of quarter, and forbiding to pay the contributions, but vtterly to ruine
all the Netherlands and the inhabitants thereof: And therefore they ſignified vnto
them of the Champian country that were of the aduerſe partie, that if they did not ad-
uiſe otherwiſe for there ſafeties after the 10. of Aprill next enſuing, that there would
be no quarter for any perſon, place, Bourrough or village (as now many did reſide there D
and were free, with any ſafegard of the ſayd Eſtates) lying vnder the command of their
enemies. This countermande of the Eſtates was the cauſe that all the world ranne to
Bruſſelles to complaine of the firſt proclamation, ſo as nothing was put in execution,
but all things remained as they were. And to ſpeake truth the Spaniſh partie had loſt
much more thereby, then thoſe of the Eſtates: for one ſouldiar which the Spa-
niards could haue ſlaine or hanged, the Eſtates would haue had three. The ſayd
Spaniards aſſociate in the gouernment made no difficultie to forbid the contributi-
ons, and to expoſe the poore people and others in prey, ſeeing they neuer came to any
combates, nor had any houſes or foote of land, that might bee ruined, not caring what E
men ſuffred

Prince *Maurice* doubting not but the Earle of Mansfeldt Lieutenant for the King of
Spaine, was fully reſolued to hinder him this yeare 1593. from ſome good deſigne, mea-
ning to preuent him, before hee ſhould haue meanes to aduance: he made haſt together
Gheertruydenberg beſeeged by Prince Maurice. his army together in the beginning of the ſpring, and the 28. of March hee came with all
his forces both by ſea and land, before the towne of Saint Gheertruydenberg, to be-
ſeege it, and by a long or a ſhort ſeege to carry it. And whereas there was a Fort within
muſket ſhot of the towne, called Steelhof (which is as much to ſay as a gardin of
theeues) the which hindred him from making of his approches on that ſide, and kept the
paſſage for victualls towards Oſterhout, hee muſt firſt of all winne this Fort, the which
they of the towne did euery night releeue with new gards; for the preuenting whereof F
the Prince thought it good to cut off the way and to ſeperate it from the towne: which
being done, he ſoone maſtred the Fort, the which yeelded the ſeauenth day of Aprill,
going forth with their baggage onely. This Fort beeing yeelded the Prince appro-
ched neere vnto the towne, and by foote and foote wonne the counter-ſcarpe, of the
ditch,

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A Ditch, where as the ſoldiars (as if they had burroes in the grownd) lodged themſelues couered from the towne canon on the Weſt ſide, appointing Cont *Hohenlo* his Lieutenant to quarter with the regements of *Cloetinghen* and *Locren* on the Eaſt ſide beyond the water in the village of Ramſdonch, about halfe an howers paſſing from the towne, where being intrencht, a brigde was made to paſſe the water from one quarter to an other, for releefe if need were. The Prince with the Regiment of Cont *Henry Frederic* the younger brother of the Earle of Solms, the Seignor of Græneuelt, and of *Balfor* a Scotiſhman, camped on the Weſt ſide. And for the intrenching of his campe, he had the hearts of his ſoldiars both in generall and in particular, ſo at his deuotion, as with an incredible celerity, and for a ſmall reward, preforming the duties of pioners B (a rare thing) they finiſhed all the trenches of the campe, the which a good foote-man could hardly go about in fower howers. The trenches were diuided by rauelins, flanking and anſwering one another, as if it had beene a ſtrong towne, euery rauelin being furniſhed with two peeces of ordinance at the leaſt, according to the neceſſity of the place, before which trenches there was a dich about thirty foote broade: And although there were many mariſh places and full of boggs, the which were not eaſie to paſſe, yet in ſteed of a counterſcarp to the ſaid ditches, there were great pyles driuen in, which remayned foure foote high aboue the ground, to the top of euery one of the which, there was a long pike of iron faſtened before, that any man ſtriking theron ſodenly in the night, he ſhould not be able to pull it out of his breſt (being one chained vnto an C other) without making of a great noyſe ſo as a man might hold himſelfe better aſſured in that campe, then in the ſtrongeſt towne he could choſe, for ſpeaking without flatery, & that which I obſerued, the diſcipline which the Prince vſed, and the redineſſe and obedience of the ſoldiers was ſo great, as the peaſants in the neighbour villages came and lodged in the campe for refuge, not only with their wiues & children, but alſo with their horſes, kine, ſheepe, and other cattell, yea euen with their hens to ſaue them from the Spaniſh army, which they knew to be vpon the way ſelling vnto the ſoldiars (as in an open towne market) their butter, egges, milke, cheeſe, and other commodities, yea the proprietaries or farmers who had errable land within the circuit of the Campe, had liberty to till it, the which will ſeeme incredible to ſuch as haue beene inlicentious and D ill gouerned armies: if an infinite number of the inhabitants of neighbour townes, yea which were vnder the Spaniard as Antwerp, Mons, Tournay, Lille and other townes comming with the Eſtates of Hollands paſport, for their affayers, which came to ſee it and to play in the campe, had not beene true eye witneſſes with me. The Earle of Manſfeldt hearing that Cont *Charles* his ſonne, had diſcharged his duty well on Picardie for the ſeruice of the league, hauing taken Noyon, he ſent for him to come with all his troupes, and to ioyne with his army neere vnto Gheertruydenberge. As *Charles* was vpon his returne at *Auſſy le chaſteau* (belonging to the Earle of Egmont, halfe in France, and halfe in Arthois, diuided by the riuer of Authie) meaning to doe iuſtice vpon a Spaniſh Captaine who had rauiſhed a young maid of Heſdin: preſently all the E Spaniards tooke armes againſt him and againſt all his Wallon ſoldiars, whome they put to flight and ſpoyled all their goods, making a head among them whome they call *Electo*: and being thus mutined, they ſeazed vpon the towne of Saint *Paul*, the which they fortefied, and from whence they held in ſubiection and did ranſome all the quarter of Arthois, which they call the heigh country betwixt Heſdin, Bapaulmes, Arras, Bethune, Aire, and Saint Omer, whome they did force to bring vnto them euery weeke both mony and victualls, which mutiny continued a whole yeare before it could bee appeazed. After whoſe example, the Italiens and wallons (which were in the country of Hennault) did mutine ſoone after, and did fortefie them-ſelues at Pont vpon Saubre: from whence they did force the Country there abouts to pay them nine hun-F dred florins a day, the which they of *Mons* were to furniſh euery weeke.

The garriſon of the towne of Berke vpon the Rhine did no leſſe, and as the country thereabouts belongs to the dioceſe of Collogne, or to the Duchy of Iuilliers, hauing no meanes to ranſome it, beſides the ordinary cuſtomes, they charged all ſhippes and

1593.

The forme of the trenches in the campe before Gheertruydenberg.

Iohn Petit.

The Spaniards mutine as gainſt Cont Charles.

The Italiens and Wallons mutine in Henault.

marchandiſe

1593. marchandiſe which muſt of neceſſitie paſſe that way with great impoſitions, deuiding the money euery day betwixt them. A

Prince *Maurice* and the Eſtates Campe, beeing thus intrenched, defended and diſciplined before Gheertruydenbergh, towards the land, the towne was in like manner ſhutte vp by Sea, with about a hundred ſhippes great and ſmall, to keepe all things from entring. Beſides there were a great number of ſhippes full of victuals and munition, by the Princes quarters: ſo as there was aboundance of all thinges, and good cheape. The like there was on Cont Hohenloos quarter, ſo as nothing wanted on any ſide. As for the horſe-men the Prince knowing they would be to more vſe in the towne of Berghen vp Zoome, Breda & Heuſden to cutte of the enemies victuals, who began to make head at Tournhout, he retired a ſmall number which were camped at large, betwixt the Princes quarter and that of Hohenloos, in a place hard to come vnto by the Spaniards, by reaſon of the waters, but alwaies ready by meanes of bridges, to ſuccor either of the quarters. B

Gheertruydenberg ſhut vp by water.

The Earle of Manſfeldt being reſolued to try all meanes to raiſe this ſiege; approached with his armie (being about twelue thouſand men) to Oſterhout, about halfe a league from the Eſtates Campe: where hee kept him-ſelfe intrencht two daies. But as vppon that ſide (which was towards the Princes quarter) there was no acceſſe, as well for the marriſhes, as for the mighty trenches, and fortifications of the Campe: Changing his place hee went and camped on the Eaſt ſide, in the Villages of VVaesbeke and Capelle, neere vnto Cont Hohenloos quarter: to whome Sir *Francis Veer* was ſent with ſix hundred Engliſh and about a thouſand Friſons. *Manſfeldt* being camped there, without any ſhew that hee would force the Eſtates Campe, ſtill attended ſome good aportunitie: for hee foudd there was ſmall meanes to go to it by force: and that the Princes Campe (although at the moſt there were not aboue ſeauen thouſand men in it) was as ſufficient in the weakeſt part, as a good ſtrong place, and could not be attempted without batterie, and the hazard of men, and with ſmall hope of any honour to bee gotten: like an old, wiſe, and aduiſed Captaine (who would not raſhly aduenture any thing) hee continued about three weekes in that place, ſeeing with his owne eyes all that was done before the towne, and not able to help it, nor preuent it, but with his good wiſhes. At that time, beſides the batterie which did teare downe the Rampar of the towne; the Prince cauſed galleries to be made in three ſeuerall places, to come to the ſappe, as hee had done the yeare before at Covoerden; one of the which was ſo farre aduanced, as it came within 14. or 15. foot of the Rampar, to the which the ditch was almoſt filled with the ruine of the breach, which was falne. C D

Cont Manſfeldt dares not force the Princes Campe.

The foure and twentith of Iune being Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* day, on the which the Earle of Manſfelds ſoldiers had bragged that they would come (it is an ancient ſuperſtition in the Romiſh Church) and make Saint *Iohns* fire in the towne, a ſoldier of the Eſtates Camp, of the company of Captaine *Haene* a Tourneiſien, aduentured to paſſe the towne-ditch of Gheertruydenberg about one of the clocke in the afternoone, mounting vp eaſily by the ruine of the breach, which was made at the rauelyn of the Port of Breda: being alofte, hee ſhewed the countenance of the ſoldiers beſieged, that were in gard, whereof ſome dined, ſome ſlept, and others lay at eaſe. This ſoldier made a ſigne to his companions to follow him, ſhewing that it was time: where-vppon the Captaine with the reſt of the company, and Captaine *Boeuine*, caſting them-ſelues into the ditch, got vp to this rauelyn, and wonne it, they ſlew ſome, and chaſed away the reſt that were in gard, whome they purſued euen into the towne: where there was one taken, who was brought vnto the Prince. E

Vpon this Alarme the Seignior of Giſſant (Gouernor of the towne) being in armes to come vnto the Rampar (as the canon from the Campe ceaſed not) was ſlaine with a ſtone ſhotte out of a morter, and many about him hurt, and among others the Sargeant Maior: The beſieged ſeeing this rauelyn wonne; their Gouernor dead (who was the third Gouernor, which had bene ſlaine during the ſiege) and in the Scottes quarter the ditch in a manner filled vp, ſo as they feared it would be finiſhed the night following, and ſo might be charged in two or three places at one inſtant, they ſent their Deputies F

The Seignior of Giſſant Gouernor of the towne ſlaine.

and

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A and among others the saide Sargent Maior, wounded as he was in the head, to the Prince to treat of an accord: where-vpon hostages were sent for them of the towne, whilest that they remayned all night in the campe to treat of the yeelding vp of the towne: so as the composition was made vpon certaine conditions, the which were confirmed the next day, whereof the Prince did remit some; for whereas at the first by the treaty it was said, that the soldiars should depart without armes, he suffered them to carry them and their collours rolled vp on their shoulders, vntill they should come vnto the last bridg of the campe, and then deliuer them into his hands, the which they did: And departed with their armes and bagage the fift of that moneth, marching towards Antwerp. There happned nothing remarkable in this retreat which I obserued. There were yet
B remayning two or three of those soldiars, which had sold that towne vnto the Duke of Parma, one of them being hidden in a cart vnder bagage and grasse that ouerthrew by mischance in the faire way a musket shot from the towne, in the mideste of the Estates soldiers as they stood in armes, among whome hee had marcht, so this poore miserable wretch was hanged with the two others.

1593. Gheertruydenberg yeelded by composition.

Al the garrison being gone forth, most of them being heigh Bourguignons and Germains, comming to the last bridg, whereas the Prince (accompanied with the Earles of Hohenlo, Solms, and others) did see them passe. Euery ancient, deliuered his collours into the Princes hands being sixteene, the which he sent to the Hage. The same day the towne was yeelded, the earle of Mansfeldt sent some troupes of foote to descouer Cont
C Hohenlos quarter, against whom was sent the Earles company of horse, led by captaine *Cloet*, with Sir *Francis Veer*, and his Cornet and some others, who defeated these footemen, and brought two captaines Wallones prisoners, who being brought into the campe, were much amazed to see the towne yeelded, for Mansfeldt knewe nothing of it vntill that day in the euening hee espied bonefiers within the towne, and in the Estates campe, with shooting of the ordinance and their smale shot. Thus this towne (which the Spaniards held impregnable) was taken in the sight of the King of Spaines army, commanded by a braue old Captaine, who (to say the truth) was twise as strong as the Estats. But we must also confesse that the Prince (by reason of his forts and intrenchments) had a great aduantage: had the Spaniards beene twice as strong the approch vn-
D to the Estates campe, was so hard and dangerous, which grew by Prince *Maurice* his dilligence, and the slackenesse of Cont Mansfelt. Mansfeldt to be reuenged of this affront, hearing of the yeelding vp of the towne, hee marcht presently away with his army into the quarter of Boisleduc and camped before Creueceur (lying vpon the riuer of Meuze at the mouth of the channell, which is called *Dise*) Going towards the towne, that by the meanes of this fort he might command the riuer, so as nothing should goe downe to the townes, of Heusden, Gorrichom and Dordrect, nor mount vpwards. Prince *Maurice* hearing that hee had turned head that way, hee presently sent *Floris* of Brederode Lord of Cloetinge, a brother to the Lord of Brederode, with his regiment by the same riuer to the fort of Creuecæur, causing his shippes of warre, with
E boats and artillery to follow, the which sailed so happely with a westerly winde, as (without any let) they came and cast anchor iust before the Fort. The Prince being assured that Mansfeldt began to plant his canon and had resolued to batter it went himselfe in person, with the body of his armie, with the which he past into the Iland of Bommel, going to campe in a village called Heel, right against the said fort, the which he supplied with artillery, which the besieged did so imploy, as *Mansfeldt* (hauing his quarter drowned with the waters which did rise) was forced to retire his armie, and to campe halfe a League of. In the meane time the said chanell was stopt, that nothing could go in nor out. In the end after that *Mansfeldt* had stayed there some time, made a great
F spoile, especially of the Hoppe grounds (whereof that country is very full) his men leauing not a pole vnburnt, so as the hoppes were spoyled; hee left this place of Creuæcuer in peace, to his great greefe.

Sixteene ensignes deliuered to the Prince.

Cont Mansfeld forced to leaue the fort of Creuecæur.

Behold what little honor this old soldiar got before these two places of Gheertruydenberg and Creuecæur. This fort had beene first built by the Spaniards, who gaue it that name, for that it held the riuer of Meuze in subiection, to the great greefe of the

Why Creuecæur was so called.

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1593. Hollanders, and eſpecially of them of Dordrecht, by reaſon of the marchandiſe which came by this riuer vnto them out of the country of Liege and higher. But the Eſtates hauing taken it from them, left it the ſame name, for that it was a heart-breaking to them of Boiſlduc, who could receiue nothing by water, but through the fauor of this Fort: whereas they muſt pay vnto the Eſtates their towles and cuſtomes, and whereas their ſhippes are ſerched as they paſſe, and muſt yeeld an account if they bee well freed at their comming out of the country. A

Warre in Friſland.

Whileſt that they made warre in this ſort in Brabant: *William Lewis* Earle of Naſſau, gouernor for the Eſtates in the country of Friſeland, going the 4. day of April from Oolthorne, came the 13. to campe at Bellingwolderziel, the which hee fortified, to cut off the paſſage to Borentanghe. Collonel *Verdugo* gouernor of Groning for the King of Spaine, preſented himſelfe, as if he would hinder him from making of this Fort with 2500. horſe and foote. But finding it almoſt in defence and well furniſhed, hee durſt not attempt it, but retired from thence: ſo as the Earle had good leiſure and meanes to finiſh it: And ſuch men as he needed not in his army, he ſent to his couſin Prince *Maurice*. *Verdugo* fortefied himſelfe with 3000. foote and eight cornets of horſe, thinking to do the Earle an affront, who then lay quiet within the Fort of Newoort two leagues from Groning, expecting the return of his troupes, which he had ſent vnto the Prince, the which were ſent backe vnto him after the taking of Gheertruydenberg: So as hee was re-nforced with twenty companies of foote and twelue cornets of horſe, with the which he went to field and beſeeged Gramberge, with ſixe peeces of artillery, the which he won, with ſome other ſmall forts there-abouts. Then hauing victualed Covoerden and Otmarſam, hee went before the ſtrong caſtle of Vedde, the which yeelded as ſoone as the battery was planted, with the other fort, by the which they croſt the riuer. Winſchooten was abandoned, and by that meanes the Earle made himſelfe maiſter of all the paſſage of Boerentanghe, the which he went about to fortifie with all ſpeed, before the ſuccours came, which the Earle of Mansfeldt ſhould ſend vnto *Verdugo*, beeing two thouſand foote, eight hundred horſe, eight peeces of ordynance, and two hundred wagons, beſides three hundred horſe more led by *Verdugoes* Lieutenant, the which paſt at Linghen the fift of September, expecting greater troupes from about Namur. This fort of Boerentanghe was then wholie finiſhed, which cut off the paſſages to the towne of Groning: the walles were a pike high, with fiue Bulwarkes well flanked: the ditches were 80. foote broade, very deepe and full of water, hauing fiue companies of foote in it. The place was well munitioned for two monethes, neyther could they cut off the victualls which came vnto it from Weſtphalia ſide: Cont *William* appointed captaine *Frederic* of *Iongh* to command in the place. B

Gramberghe yeelded to Cont William. C

D

MAVRICE

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MAVRICE OF NASSAV BORNE 1593.

Prince of Orange; Marquis of La Vere and of *Flushing*; *Earle of Nassau, Meurs, Catsenellebogen, Dyets, Vianden, &c.* Baron of Breda &c. gouernor of Gelder, of Holland, Zeeland, *Vtrecht and Oueryssell. Great Captaine and Admirall* generall of the vnited Prouinces of the *Low-countries.*



MAVRITIVS D.G.NATVS AVR. PRINC: NASSOV MARC VERÆ ET VLIS ET BELG PROVIN GVB.

The Spaniard fil'd with rage and deepe disdaine,
To haue his faith-breach quit, and bee expeld
For his Iniurious and Imperious raigne
In Holland, Zeeland, and the rest he held;

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1593. *Bard from reuenge, vnable to refraine*
His wrath againſt that good vnited State
Practiſ'd a murther, at a coſtly rate;
And cut my Fathers vitall thred in twaine,
Halfe cut before: An act vnparalelld
For foulenesſe: but thankes Heauen (behold what gaine
He got by this) my fathers awfull fate
Vertue and valor euer curbing Spaine
Survive in me: the Spaniards ſcourge and awe
Am I that euer will vphold NASSAV.

SVRCVLVS FACTVS ARBOR.

The Branch is made a Tree.

I Muſt aduertiſe you, that this picture of Prince Maurice *ſhould haue beene placed in the yeare of our Lord 1589. preſently after the Earle of Leceiſter had left the Gouernment of the vnited Prouinces, but not as Gouernor of thoſe Prouinces, but onely as Generall of the Eſtates armie in thoſe Prouinces, as hee hath continued vnto this day, the which beeing through negligence omitted in his due place, I am inforced to inſert it here (though ſomewhat improperly) rather then to leaue it out altogither, hee hauing done ſuch worthie and memorable ſeruices to the vnited Eſtates.*

WHileſt that the Spaniards and their adherents impoyled all their wits to continue the miſeries of France, hoping by the meanes of a parliament held by the league, ſo to trouble the Eſtate and to breed ſuch a confuſion, as in the meane time they ſhould haue good meanes to aduance their deſignes vpon the Netherlands, England and vpon France it ſelfe. *Henry* the fourth was ſolicited by ſome councellors nere vnto his perſon, and from diuers other parts, to leaue the open profeſſion of the reformed religion, and to adhere vnto the ceremonies of the Romiſh church. Their reaſons were, that to chaſe away the Spaniard, and to get Paris and other townes of the league for himſelfe, hee muſt of neceſſity take from them of that party the maske of the Romiſh catholike religion, wherewith they did ſhadow their rebellion. That whileſt the King made open profeſſion of the reformed religion, thoſe of the contrary faction (being far more in number) would follow the duke of Mayene and houſe of Guiſe, who through the fauor of the Pope and the King of Spaine, would finde meanes to entertaine the fire within his realme, the which (ſaid they) was worth a paltry maſſe, neither would it be loſt for a few ceremonies. Although that theſe aduiſes were incountred by notable aduertiſments from other councellors, yet it ſeemed the King was ſomewhat inclined therevnto, and that the deputies of the Princes and Noblemen of his Councel, conferring with them of the league (to preuent the election of a new King,) put them in hope of it: and to attaine therevnto with the more eaſe, they procured certaine learned Prelats to aſſemble, in whoſe preſence this buſineſſe ſhould bee debated at large. Wherevpon the King directed his letters to many, bearing date the 18. day of May, appointing them the 15. of Iuly to come before him, aſſuring them that in ſo doing they ſhould finde him readie and tractable to do that which was befitting a moſt Chriſtian King, who had nothing more deere vnto him then the zeale of Gods ſeruice, and the maintayning of the true church. This action did not greatly pleaſe the heads of the league. Whileſt the Deputies aſſembled to conferre of religion, and that the Eſtates of Paris proceeded in their affaires, whereas the heads of the league had their generall deſignes in regard of the election of a new King, yet all tending to one end, which was to entertaine the warre in France: the court of parliament at Paris meaning to diſapoint all theſe practiſes, and to chaſe the Spaniard out of France, pronounced a decree on the 28. of Iune, as followeth.

The French King councelled to become Catholike.

Vpon a declaration made by the Kings attorney general, and the matter being debated in

A in Court, all the chambers being assembled, hauing neuer had any other intention but to maintaine the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish relligion in the Estate and crowne of France, vnder the protection of a most Christian, Catholike and French King. Wee haue decreed and do decree, that warning shalbe giuen by the president *le Maistre*, being assisted by a good number of the court) vnto Mounsire *de Mayne* Lieutenant generall of the Estate and crowne of France, in presence of the Princes and Officers of the crowne, being now in this cittie, that no treatie bee made to transfer the crowne to any forraine Prince or Princesse. That the fondamentall lawes of this realme shalbe kept, & the decrees made by the court for the declaration of a catholike & French king shall be executed. And that hee imploy the authority which is committed vnto him, to the B end that vnder the pretext of religion, the crowne bee not transferd to any, against the lawes of the realme: and to procure as speedely as may be the peoples quiet, being reduc'd to extreame necessity: and moreouer we do at this present declare all acts which shalbe hereafter made for the establishing of any forraine Prince or Princesse, to bee voide and of no force, as made to the preiudice of the Salique law, and other fondamentall lawes of this Realme.

1593. A decree made by the court of parliament against the league and Spaniards.

The Duke was much discontented with this decree; seeing all his designes crost, wherevpon he grew into some high tearmes with the President, who answered him and other leaguers, very resolutly. In the end after many meetings, letters and answers betwixt the deputies of the Kings part and them of the league, according vnto the C ference which had beene appointed, in despight of the duke of Mayene and the heads of the league, the perswasions of such as desired the King should make profession of the Romish religion, preuailed, so as the king who since his retreat from the court of France (aboue 15. yeares before had made open profession of the Protestants reformed religion, (against the aduise of his ministers and others) went to the masse in great solemnity to Saint Denis church the 25. of Iuly, and from that time he went vsually to the exercise of the Romish religion, whereof he did aduertise his Parliaments by his letters the same day, which did much amaze them of the religion, yet did they not forsake their profession. The duke of Mayen and his chiefe assistants seeing a part of their designes crost, by that which had happened, and that on the other side the Spaniards sought to entertaine D the fire of diuisions by the election of a new King, whome they would marry with the Infanta, who (as duke *Charles* of Bougongne with his daughter *Mary* entertained all the Neighbour Princes) serued for a Leure for the King of Spaine, to draw vnto him all the petty Kings of the league.

The King changeth his religion.

To the end they might giue some collour to their affaires, and frustrat al the practises of Spaine, they began in Iuly to negotiat a general truce, so as after some iorneys to & fro it was concluded, in 22. articles at Vilette betwixt Paris & S. Denis, and proclaimed the first of August both in Paris and S. Denis. Notwithstanding this generall truce, the heads of the league and Estates at Paris did not forbeare to pursue their designes. And as they had before opposed themselues at Rome, by the means and fauor of the King of E Spaines Ambassador, against the negotiations of the Cardinall of Gondi and the Marquis of Pisaui, deputies vnto the Pope, in the behalfe of the catholike Princes & Noblemen of France, before the said 25. of Iuly. In like manner they resolued, to worke so as the King (of whom they spake very odiously) should not be receiued, but they did contradict him as much or more then before, by the rayling and seditious sermons of some, sorbonists; by declarations made to the contentment of their adherents; by secret attempts; and by sinister practises at Rome, to crosse and hinder the duke of Neuers voiage, who went thether in the Kings name to make his submission and acknowledg his obedience vnto the Pope, wherein the ambassador of Spaine and the chiefe of the Iesuits procured him great crosses and lets: as appeeres by a booke which was set forth of F the sayd dukes ambassage, and of the crosses he receiued in the Kings name.

The league crosseth the King at Rome.

As for the Sorbonists and other seditious preachers of the league as well in publike as in priuate, both before and after the truce, their discourses were nothing else, but that the masse which was songe before the King, deserued the name of a ballet or stageplay: that it was impossible the King should be conuerted; that the Pope could not make

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1593. him a catholike againe, with other ſuch inciuill and ſtrange propoſitions. In regard of A
the declarations made by the chiefe of the league, to recomend themſelues vnto their partiſans, to make a ſecret attempt vpon the Kings councellors that were leaſt affected to the catholike religion, and to ingage the realme in greater troubles and calamities then euer. They cauſed to bee publiſhed vnder the authority of the duke of Mayene as Lieutenant generall of the Eſtate and crowne of France, the entertayning of the councell of Trent, the which in the time of the precedent Kings could neuer bee allowed nor receiued by the courts of parliament, nor the French church. It was publiſhed the eight of Auguſt, with a new forme of oth, the which they did for the vpholding and maintayning of their league againſt the King, whome they ſought to haue treacherouſly mur-
The league practiſeth to haue the King murthered. thered, by one *Peter Barriere* called *la Barre*, borne at Orleans, who being deſcouered, B
araigned and found guilty, was broken vpon the wheele in the ſayd month of Auguſt. During this generall truce, their were ſundry diſcourſes and many propoſitions made for the ſetling of the affaires of the realme. The King who deſired nothing more then the reunion of his ſubiects, and the abolition of that pernitious party of the league, labored to reconcile and to winne vnto him the duke of Mayene, with offers of charges and very honorable aduancements. The duke hauing in his opinion many ſtrings to his bow, ſtood vpon doubtfull termes, ſometimes he promiſed, and then he refuſed againe, protracting the buſineſſe with many delaies, and vnder hand procuring that the deciſion which was made by the Sorboniſts in the yeare 1590. in the month of May ſhould take place, which was, *That* Henry *of Bourbon was declared incapable, and fallen from all* C
right and pretenſion to the crowne of France, although hee did reconcile himſelfe and adhere to the Romiſh relligion. The Agents of Spaine both in France and at Rome, did further and aduance all theſe rebellious practiſes, croſſing the Duke of Neuers all they could in his negotiation. On the other ſide, the people and many great perſonages continued in their old ſong of the incompatibility of the exerciſe of two religiõs within the realme, and many were of opinion that the King ſhould not bee admitted nor receiued, vnleſſe he would firſt promiſe to baniſh all them of the reformed religion, or at the leaſt cauſe the publike exerciſe of the religion to ceaſe.

There was yet an other ſort of people, well affected to the league, and yet ſeemed to be friends to the publike quiet and tranquility of the land, who ſecretly and vnder hand D
gaue out ſpeeches of the Kings weakeneſſe and diſability: ſaying that he wanted means to force obedience, and that hee had to mighty, yea inuincible enemies, who would ſoone tread him downe and ruine him. That France would but languiſh vnder his raigne, and in the end after many calamities and miſeries, ſhee ſhould remaine a prey to a more powerfull maiſter: this by their eſtimation was the King of Spaine, whoſe
The league commends the King of Spaine. greatneſſe they did ſo magnifie and extoll, his double piſtolets (ſayd the true hearted Frenchmen) hauing dazeled their eyes, and blinded their vnderſtandings, they alſo ſought to terrifie ſuch Frenchmen as were faint-hearted and not well aſſured, with his name. Finally they had for the moſt part beene ſo ſeduc'd, by the practiſes of the heads of the league, as they admired nothing but the greatneſſe and Maieſty of the King of E
Spaine, in compariſon of whom that of France was little eſteemed.

Whileſt this truce continued, the King reſolued to call an aſſembly at Mante of ſome of the greateſt perſonages of his realme, to conſult & conſider of diuers affaires: among
Complaints made by them of the religion. others the deputies of the reformed religion came thether in Nouember, whome the King commanded to come before him on the 12. of the ſayd month, hauing giuen them audience and heard their complaints, vpon many breaches of his Edicts, and ſtrange wrongs and iniuſtices done vnto them throughout all the Prouinces. Hee ſayd vnto them in the preſence of many Noblemen, and of the Chancellor.

The Kings ſpeech to them of the religion. My maiſters, I haue ſent for you hether for three reaſons: the firſt, to let you vnder-
„ ſtand from mine own mouth, that my conuerſion hath cauſed no change of my affection F
„ towards you. The ſecond is, for that my rebellious ſubiects had made ſome ſhew to giue
„ eare vnto a peace, the which I would not enter into before you were called, to the end
„ that nothing ſhould be done to your preiudice, as you haue bin aſſured by the promiſe
„ made by the Princes of the crown, who did ſweare in my preſence, that there ſhould not

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A he any thing treated in the conference of peace against them of the reformed religion. " 1593.
The third is, hauing beene aduertised of the ordinary complaints, touching the miseries "
of the Churches in many Prouinces of my realme, I would willingly heare them and "
take order for them. More-ouer you may beleeue that I affect nothing more then to see "
a good vnion betwixt you my good subiects, both Catholikes and of the Relligion: and "
I assure my-selfe that no man will hinder it. It may be their are some malicitious spirits "
which will seeke to crosse it, but I hope to punish them. I assure you that the Catholikes "
which are about me wil maintaine this vnion, and I wil be a caution and pledge that you "
will not seperate nor diuide your selues from them. I haue this contentment in my "
soule, that during all the time that I haue liued, I haue made proofe of my faith and in- "
B tegrity to all the world. Nor any one of my subiects hath trusted in me, but I haue re- "
lied more in him. I beleeue your informations, and command you to depute foure of "
your number, to treat with such of my councell as I shall appoint, to whome I will giue "
this charge, and to resolue of what shal be held fit and conuenient. In the meane time "
if any among you haue any affaires with mee, they may haue accesse with all libertie.

Afterwards the Kings affaires remayning long in suspence and the heads of the league continuing in their peruers courses to trouble the estate of France, they of the relligion remayned in their accustomed condition, vntill that the league was disperst and vanished. I haue made a long digression concerning this act of the French Kings conuersion to the Romish Relligion, the which I haue presumed to insert here for the
C rarenes of the example, although it doth not properly belong to this subiect, but now I will returne vnto the Netherlands.

The 24, of Iuly *George Euerard* Earle of Solms, past into Flanders by commandement from the Estates and from Prince *Maurice* his cosin, with 800. horse and 2500. foote he entred into the land of Waes, where hee sent his horsemen to inuest the fort of Saint *Ians Steyn* and the footemen to the village of Steeken, where there was a fort held by the Spaniards, the which they abandoned before any seege, flying to the fort of Waert vpon the riuer of Escault, right against Antwerp, whereof there were some thirty horses taken, hauing at their retreat burnt the village. The Earles horsemen met with eighty Spanish horse neere vnto Saint *Nicholas Bourg*, all which were slaine
D or taken prisoners. This done the Earle went with his artillery before Saint *Iaques* fort, the which was yeelded vnto him, and that of Saint *Ians Steyn*. The which hauing soone performed, he spoyled the whole contry of Waes, for that they refused to pay their contributions. Such executions were done by the way of armes, when as the Inhabitants of the country liuing vnder the Estates sauegard, refused to pay the said contributions, or were forbidden by the ennemy to doe it, wherefore it is a great indiscretion and wickednesse in gouernors, which forbid vpon paine of burning the peasants houses, to pay any contributions, being wel knowne vnto them that refuzing so to do, they shall be forced by their aduersaries, some-times, to their totall ruine: seeing that neither party can reape any profit by fier and burning, were it not better to suffer these poore labo-
E rers to keepe their houses hole in their pouerty, and that (seeing it cannot bee preuented) either party reape some profit, and not through wilfulnesse (vnder coullor that they which make these defences, haue no thing to loose) for a small benefit which the enemy should reape, thereby to loose all, and make the country desart? so as neither the one nor the other party can make any vse of it, in the passage and lodging of soldiars when they would.

The Earle of Solms makes warre for the Estates in Flanders.

The Earle of Solms hearing that *Mondragon* was parted out of Antwerp, to come and meete with him with 2000. foote and six cornetts of horse, which should be followed by ten Cornets more, after that he had razed all the forts which he had taken, leduced the country of Waes vnder the estates contribution and done what he would
F before the enemie was on horsebacke, he made an easie retreat (without any incounter). to the place from whence he came, carrying with him 4000. head of cattell of all sorts. On the other side Cont *Herman* and *Verdugo* played their parts in Freezland: and beseeged the towne of Otmarsum in the country of Tuent, which the Prince the yeare before had taken in lesse then two daies: the which being no towne of Importance

The Earle of Solms returns without any incounter.

Otmarsum woone by the Spaniard.

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1593. Many Forts in Friſeland wone by the Spaniard.

after it had bene battered from morning till noone, it yeelded by compoſition, which was that the ſoldiers ſhould depart without armes or baggage, promiſing not to ſerue in Friſeland againſt the King of Spaine for ſixe moneths: the Captaines, Lieutenants, Ancients, and Officers, remained priſoners vntill they had paied their ranſomes. From thence they went before the ſtrong Caſtle of Wedde, which they tooke by aſſault: Then they tooke the Fortes of Auwerzyel, Schyloteren, Gryſemyncken and Granſberghe where they ſlue all. This done they approached to Couoerden, a very ſtrong place (as you haue heard, when as Prince *Maurice* tooke it) and well furniſhed with victuals and munition; ſo as finding no meanes to force it, as the Prince had done the yeare before, they blockt it vp, and made Fortes vpon all the approaches, to force it to yeeld in the end through want. A B

Verdugo attempts the Earle of Naſſaus trenches in vaine.

Cont *William* of Naſſau knowing that Cont *Herman* his couſine, and *Verdugo*, were ſtrong in field, being at the ſiege of the mighty Fort of Borentange, he kept him-ſelfe cloſe in a ſure place, expecting ſuccors from Prince *Maurice* his couſine, the which Sir *Francis Veer* Generall of the Engliſh brought vnto him. *Verdugo* meaning to charge him (ſeeing he could do no good vpon the Fort of Borentange) he raiſed his ſiege ſecretly, thinking to fall vpon the Earle of Naſſaus trenches on the ſuddaine when hee was not lookt for, the which fell out in the moneth of October, but a ſoldier going out of a little Fort hard by it, hauing diſcouered the Spaniard in good time, gaue the alarum very happily, which preſently put all the Earles campe into armes: ſo as hee ſent forth ſome few (being loth to hazard more) to skirmiſh with them, and to keepe them in breath. *Verdugo* ſtill thought to draw him to the field, but the Earle knowing it was not fit, would not doe it: this skirmiſh continued ſeauen whole houres: *Verdugo* ſeeing there was nothing to bee gotten but blowes, retyred, with great loſſe towards Groning; *Bilfour* Collonel of the Scots vnder the Eſtates ſeruice was ſhot in the foot there; a Captaine and ſome others ſlaine beſides thoſe that were hurt. C

Verdugo hauing thus blockt vp Couoerden retired towards Oldenzeeel, and from that time his armie began to waſte, ſo as in the Forts which he had built about Couoerden, his ſoldiers died of hungar, cold and pouertie, whereof a great number ranne away, yea whole companies, with their coullors in their pockets: Cont *William* ſeeing him-ſelfe freed of this armie, he put his troupes alſo into garriſon, as at Viſch-Vliet, Soltcamp, and other places towards Borentange. The King being aduertiſed of the Duke of Parmas death, he promiſed them of the Netherlands that were vnder his obedience, to ſend them in his place for Gouernor, *Erneſt* Arch-duke of Auſtria, his Nephew, brother in law and couſine, being at that time Lieutenant to the Emperour his brother, in his Kingdome of Hongary, Croatia, Stiria, Carinthia and other Prouinces. Where-vpon the Eſtates of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, Henault &c. for that they would not be long without a Gouernor, ſent the Earle of Sorres with other Noblemen into Germany, vnto the ſaid Arch-duke, comming firſt to Prague in Bohemia, where they found *Don William* of Saint *Clement* the King of Spaines Ambaſſador at the Emperors Court: whome they beſought to deale with his Imperiall Maieſtie for the calling home of his brother out of Hongary: ſhewing how neceſſary his comming was into the Netherlands; & the rather for that (ſaid they) the Kings affaires in Friſeland did proſper and were much aduanced, by the good indeauors of Cont *Herman Vanden Bergh* and *Verdugo*: where-vpon the Arch-duke being ſent for, hee came to Court, tooke his leaue of the Emperor his brother, and paſſing by Nuremberg and Wirtsberg, going downe the Rhyne, he came to Collogne, whereas *Erneſt* of Bauaria his couſin the Arch-biſhop Elector, hauing feaſted him, he accompanied him into Luxembourg, where he arriued the 17. of Ianuary. 1594. and from thence to Bruſſelles. D E

EARNEST

ERNESTVS ARCHDVKE OF AVSTRIA, 1594.
Lieutenant Gouernor and Captaine Generall for the King of Spaine in the Netherlands.



ERNESTVS D G ARCHIDVX AVSTRIÆ DVX BVRGVND
COMES TIROLIS BELGI PROVIN GVBERN

My ſtep-brother and Couſine, Spaynes great King
Seeing the ſicke Low-countries brought ſo low,
So neere a full and fatall ouerthrow,
And by the wracke of wars all ruining

Fore'd

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1594. *Forc'd from his blouds dominion; hauing past*
His promise, to allot their gouernment
To some of his owne stocke; For me he sent
Into Croatia, where my state was plac'd
Neere the Hungarian frontiers: I assent
(Perforce) and found a country all defac'd,
Yet rul'd: And ere I di'd was forc'd to beare
A guilty slaunder, but God knowes me cleare.

THe last of Ianuary 1594. *Ernest* Arch-duke of Austria being accompanied by the Arch-bishop and Prince Elector of Cologne, the Marquis of Baden, the Duke of Arschot, Prince of Chymay, the Earles of Mansfeldt, *Sores*, *Fuentes* and many other Noblemen, as well Germaines, Italiens and Spaniards, made his entry into Brusselles, the which was so rich and stately, as if the naturall Prince of the country had bene come, with an exceeding great charge, in all sorts of splendor, by liuely representations, tryumphant Arches, Pyramids, tables, pictures, with other excessiue sumptuousnes; the which continued three daies, most part of the towne neglecting their worke. At the end whereof he called the Estates of those Prouinces which hee was to command, to Court, to acquaint them with his commission, and the authority he had from the King for the gouernment of those countries, as his Lieutenant, Gouernor and Captaine generall ouer them; whereof the letters were publickly read. The Earle of Mansfeldt (to whome by the death of the Duke of Parma, the said gouernment had beene committed by prouision) rising from his place deliuered his charge into his hand: which done, both hee and all the Noblemen and States there present, did sweare all fidelitie and obedience vnto him in the Kings name.

A braue enterprize of the Groningers vpon Delfziel.

The second of February they of the garrison of Groning through the fauour of the Ice, made a braue enterprize vpon the great Fort of Delfziel, they came along a causey where there was no ditch at the rampar, but what was on that side shut vp onely with a palliſado, the which they had pulled downe, before that they of the Fort could discouer it, or put them-selues in armes: so as part of the vndertakers had already gotten to the toppe of the rampar: But they were presently so furiously repulst, as the combat continued aboue two houres. And by very good fortune there was one of the Estates shippes of warre, with sixteene peeces of Ordinance, which shotte in flanke through them of Groning, & made a great spoile of them, so as they were forced to retire with great losse. For at their retreat they carried away fiue and thirty sleddes laden with dead bodies and wounded men. Doubtlesse without that ship of warre those of the Fort had bene in great danger to haue bene forced, but they escaped with the losse of one Captaine and some fifteene or sixteene soldiers, besides those that were very sore hurt.

The Estates increase their armie with new troopes.

The Estates about that time to augment their armie, made a leuie of a regiment and some Germaine horse, vnder the commaund of the young Earle *Iohn* of Nassau. And in like manner the Queene of England did suffer them to raise a new regiment of English, vnder the command of Sir *Francis Veer* Generall of all the English in the States seruice. The same moneth of February the Prince had an enterprise vpon the towne of Boisleduc in Brabant, which was too much discouered. Yet hee was in those parts with good troopes, as if he had more disseignes in hand in that quarter, to keepe the Spaniards by that meanes from passing into Friseland to succor *Verdugo*, but hee suddainly fell vpon the towne of Maistricht, as we will presently shew.

The Arch-duke Ernest makes two armies.

In March whilest that the Nobilitie and all the Arch-dukes Court at Brusselles, dreampt of nothing but sportes, Iusts and Tourneys, newes came that Prince *Maurice* and the confederate Estates, prepared to go before Boisleduc. Where-vpon the Arch-duke hauing assembled his Councel, to resolue what was to bee done all that Sommer following: it was concluded to raise two armies, one to hinder the Princes entry into Brabant

A Brabant, and the other to make warre in France by Landercy, whereof the Earle of Manssfeldt had the charge. The 19. of the moneth the Estates of the vnited Prouinces publiſhed an Edict, prohibiting all Libelles, paſquils and ſcandalous writings, as well againſt Religion as againſt the State, inioyning al Printers not to print any thing, before it were viſited by them that had authority, and to keepe their originall coppies to conferre them with their impreſſions, and to ſee if ſence the viſitation there had beene any thing added that was worthy of cenſure, and withall to put to the names of the authors: And that by the tenth of April following they ſhould appeere and ſweare to obſerue the orders contayned in the ſaid Edict: with a prohibition to all perſons reſiding vnder the Iuriſdiction of the ſaid Eſtates, not to make any aſſemblies where Maſſe B ſhould be ſaid, or any exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion celebrated, vpon the penalities ſet downe in the edict; nor to carry any other then a ſecular habit, vpon paine of confiſcation thereof, to their benifit to whom the Magiſtrate ſhould appoint it Moreouer forbidden all ſchooles which ſhall not be allowed by the Magiſtrates, Bailiffs or Lords of the place holding heigh and baſe Iuſtice, or by their officers and Iudges: And the ſaid ſchoole-maiſters not to teach their Deciples any bookes contrary to the Chriſtian doctrine and the reformed relligion, vpon the penalties conteined in the ſaid Edict. In the ſame moneth on *Michael Renichon* an Apoſtat prieſt being come to Breda, was deſcouered firſt vpon ſuſpition, and commited to priſon. Being examined, he confeſt that hee was come thether to murther Prince *Maurice* or his young Brother, vpon C which confeſſion he was ſent by the Seignor of Heraughiere (Gouernor of Breda) vnto the generall Eſtates at the Hage in Holland, where being conuicted he was condemned to die. His whole confeſſion you may read in his ſentence, as followeth. Whereas *Michel Renichon* borne at Templours and Curat of Boiſſiere in the country of Namur, priſoner at this preſent hath confeſt, being deliuered from the torture and hath ſufficiently appeered, that being diſguized in the habit of a ſoldiar, he parted from Bruſſells the fourth of March, with letters from Cont *Floris* of Barlaimont, and from thence hee went to Lovuain, Dyeſt, Herentall and Tournhout, where through fauour of the ſaid letters he had a conuoy to bring him to Breda; where being arriued the twelth of the ſaid moneth, he deliuered vnto the Gouernor of the ſaid place, certaine letters of the D Earle of Barlaimonts, directed vnto Captaine *Langon*, who had ſometimes commanded in the Caſtle of Tournhout, conteining that the bearer was come thether by the expreſſe commandement of the Archduke *Erneſtus* of Auſtria: The ſaid priſoner declaring alſo, that he had beene charged to deſcouer vnto the gouernor, ſome enterprize vpon the towne of Breda, the which hee did collour with certaine vnlikely reaſons, wherein he did perſiſt, ſaying that he had beene ſome yeares ſecretary to the Abbot of Marolles, and that a little before hee had beene aduanced to be Secretery to the ſayd Earle of Barlaimont: the which he afterwards confeſt to be but an inuention of his, yet would he not declare the cauſes why he was come thether, till that on the firſt of Aprill being brought to the Hage he had attempted to hang himſelfe with his arming points E tied to a barre in the priſon, where he was found halfe dead, hauing the bloody markes of a halter about his necke, and his ſpeech much impayred. And that the ſaid priſoner the ſecond day of the moneth, and ſence at diuers times had confeſt, as well by mouth as by his owne hand writing: And on the twenty day being freed from the racke had declared and affirmed that by reaſon of certaine ſutes with the inhabitants of Boiſſiere for the reuenues of his benifice, and for that the country thereabouts was all ſpoyled and ruined by ſoldiers, he had beene conſtrayned to abandon his charge, and to haue ſerued it by a chaplaine, going himſelfe to keepe a ſchoole at Namur, and had neuer ſerued neither the Abbot of Marolles nor the Earle of Barlaimont: but that hee was a Prieſt and Curat of Boiſſiere: and that the enterprize vpon Breda was an inuention of F his owne. That being knowne vnto the Earle of Barlaimont, hauing ſupt with his gentlemen, he was afterwards carried into the Earles chamber, who demanded of him why hee liued in ſo meane eſtate, and ſpent his time in ſo baſe a condition, ſeeing that hee ſhould want no meanes nor good vſage if hee would haue a good and bould courage and aduance him-ſelfe: where-vppon the priſoner hauing preſented his ſeruice,

1594.

An Edict made by the Eſtates conceminge printing.

Michel Renichon comes to murther Prince Maurice.

The ſentence of Michel Renichon.

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1594. ſeruice, the Earle ſent for him againe in the end of February laſt by his Chaplaine, A
calling him from ſchoole. And at night hauing diſcourſed in the preſence of ſome
others, of a certaine enterpriſe vpon the towne of Breda, the Earle cauſed the priſoner
to come alone againe into his chamber, telling him that he would acquaint him with a
matter of great importance, if hee would imploy him-ſelfe in the Kings ſeruice, with
promiſe that hee ſhould be richly rewarded, wherevnto the priſoner conſented: after-
wards by the commandement of the Earle, he went with him to Bruſſelles, whereas
the Earle went often to Court to the Arch-duke: But going once among the reſt, hee
commanded the ſaid priſoner to follow him: where (following him ſtill) hauing
croſt through many chambers, the Earle entred into the Arch-dukes chamber, where-
as the priſoner had meanes to ſee him by a little of the doore which remained open, B
but the Arch-duke could not diſcerne him. And as he thought to enter into the cham-
berhe could not, for that the doore did ſhutte, yet not ſo cloſe, but that he might eaſily
heare the Arch-duke and the Earle diſcourſe, ſometimes in latin, ſome-times in
Spaniſh, vnderſtanding that at their departure they ſpake of a recompence: And as
the Earle went out, the Arch-duke being at the doore, ſaid: *Cumulate, et largo foenore*
ſatisfaciam: then the Earle comming into the withdrawing chamber, ſaid vnto the
priſoner that he had talked with the Arch-duke of their affaires, & that the Arch-duke
would appoint him two hundred *Philips* Dallors. At night after ſupper, the Earle being
alone with the priſoner in a chamber, ſaid vnto him, that he had charge from the Arch-
duke to root out or cauſe to be rooted out by a third perſon the Earle *Maurice* of Naſ- C
ſau, and that he had already ſome men appointed to put it in execution, & in caſe that if
the priſoner would alſo imploy himſelfe therein (the which he might wel doe) that both
he and his ſhould be richly recompenced, and that he ſhould be ſaued: ſaying moreouer
that he had 15000 crownes to deliuer (vpon the firſt newes) to them which had com-
mitted this murther. Where-vnto the ſaid priſoner anſwered, that it was out of his
profeſſion hauing neuer carried armes. Here-vpon the Earle perſiſting with many
reaſons and great promiſes, that it was the Kings pleaſure and the Arch-dukes, the
priſoner vndertooke it, promiſing to doe therein al hee could poſſibly: and demanding
how he might effect it, *Barlaimont* ſaid vnto him that Cont *Maurice* was a young No-
ble man, familiar and of eaſie acceſſe, and therefore he ſhould finde good oportunitie, if D
he made not too great haſt, but did mannage this buſineſſe with ſhooes of lead. That
being come to the Hage, or to any other place where the Earle ſhould bee moſt reſi-
dent, he ſhould find the reſt that weré ſent to the ſame end, being ſixe in number, and
that the priſoner ſhould be the ſeauenth, that if one failed the other might ſpeed. That
being here he might buy a paire of good piſtols, the which he ſhould keepe alwaies as
cleane as a clocke, either of them charged with two bullets, with the which hee ſhould
ſhoote Cont *Maurice* through the bodie, or that hee ſhould murther him by any other
meanes hee could deuiſe, as he might conferre thereof more particularly with the reſt
being arriued there: and howſoeuer he that did beſt effect it, ſhould be beſt recompen-
ced: that there were other men alſo which muſt be made away, as *Barnuiel* or *Barneuelt*, E
Longolius and *Aldegonde*. And in caſe the ſaid priſoner could murther any of them
he ſhould be highly recompenced. Commanding the priſoner from that time to con-
ceale his owne name, and to take an other, and that he ſhould attire him-ſelfe like a ſol-
dier. Then after diuers ſpeeches the Earle of Barlaimont ſent for an other man whome
the priſoner could not name, the which he ſaid was one of the ſixe, to whome hauing
diſcouered what the priſoner had vndertaken, the ſame man called him his *Camerado*
or chamber-fellow, ſaying that hee would ſoone follow him into Holland, with other
ſpeeches. Declaring moreouer that ſince the Duke of Parmas time the ſaid ſixe men
(being all murtherers) had bene entertained in the Court as Gentlemen, at the King of
Spaines charge, to imploy them in matters of conſequence, againſt his greateſt ene- F
mies, and that in the meane time the ſaid *Barlaimont* had receiued by his Secretary,
from the hands of *Stephano D'ybarra*, the ſumme of two hundred *Phillips* Dallors, the
which Secretary did tell them vnto the priſoner in diuers coynes, which hee did write
downe in a certaine booke that was found about him, mounting to the ſumme of 500.
florins

florins. That the said prisoner beeing readie to go from Brusselles to Antwerp, the other man conducted him vnto the boate, and said vnto him, that he thought they should bee sent to Leyden: The prisoner asking him where it was, and to what end? Hee answered that Leyden was a Towne and an Vniuersitie in Holland where the young Prince of Orange did liue at his booke, and that they should bee sent thether to catch him out of the way and to kil him. After that time the prisoner following *Barlaimonts* commandement attired him selfe in a soldiers habit, calling him-selfe *Michael* of Triuieres, and went from Antwerp to Tournhout with the Earle of Barlaimonts letters to Larigon: But fearing much that hee was gone, hee returned againe to Brusselles, from whence hee went with others belonging vnto the Earle towards Lovuain, Dyest, Herental and Tournhout. 1594.

Wherefore the Councells appointed by the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, for the examination and Iudgement of this present fact, finding it a matter of very bad consequence, the which cannot bee in any sort tollerate in a countrie of Iustice without danger, preiudice or ruine of the good and publike quiet, but ought to be rigorously punished, hauing taken councell and aduise therein, after graue and mature deliberation, doing right in the name and behalfe of the said generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces: Haue condemned and doe condemne the said prisoner to bee led to the place of exemplarie Iustice of this Court, there to be executed by the sword vntill he be dead, then his bodie to be cut in foure quarters, and hung vp at foure waies comming to the Hage, and his head set vpon a stake for al men to behold: declaring his goods to bee confiscate. This sentence was pronounced vnto the prisoner in open audience of the Court of Holland the 3. of Iune. 1594. and executed the same day.

The Arch-duke sends to purge him-selfe to the generall Estates.

In the beginning of Maie the Arch-duke *Erneſt*, to purge him-selfe of the accusations wherewith *Michaell Renichon* the Apostat priest had charged him in his confession, vnder coullor of writing concerning a peace to the general Estates, he sent *Otto Hartius* and *Ierome Coeman-Lawiers* vnto them, with letters as followeth.

"MY maisters; the loue and naturall inclination which we haue had from our birth, to the good and publike quiet of these Netherlands, & the great displeasure we haue alwaies had, for the troubles, dissentions and calamities thereof, haue beene the chiefe and greatest occasion to perswade and moue vs to vndertake the gouernement thereof. Trusting fully that the Almightie will giue vs the grace in the end to deliuer them from this burthensome destroying and ruinous war, the which hath continued so many yeares, to the great dissolution and spoile of the said countries, and the preiudice of all Christendome: for if we shall consider their prosperitie past, in the which they were maintained whilest they were vnited in good peace and concord vnder the lawfull and due obedience of the house of Burgongne and Austria: the good order which was then in all things, as well in matters of Iustice, pollicie and martiall discipline, by which they haue bin renowned and preferred before all other Kingdomes and common weales, togither with the great riches which they did inioy by meanes of the treaties, alliances, confederations, nauigations and trafficke which the had with Portugal, Spaine and the Indies: wee are assured that there is not any man of iudgement, but is very much grieued to see this lamentable alteration which hath hapned in these countries within 25. or 30. yeares, besides an infinite number of charges, taxations and waighty burthens, where-with the poore commons are surcharged, & are at this time forced to beare in diuers quarters: And who with all doth not desire that some good meanes may bee speedilie put in practise for the reducing of the said countries to their ancient Estate, publike quiet and concord, where-vnto all our thoughts are also bent: Being come into these parts with that inclination and intent, leauing the good companie of his Imperial Maiestie our most honored Lord, & our other Bretheren, Kinsfolks and friends, the place of our birth and breeding, the gouernment of so many goodly Kingdomes & Prouinces, whereof the charge was committed vnto vs, and many other goodly and great commodities, which are not needful to repeat, hoping that we should finde you tractable & readie to yeeld to our desire and intention. And although wee doubt not, but this is well known vnto you, as well by common fame, as by the report

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1594. „ of ſome men: and that it is not as pleaſing vnto you (the which we deſire withall our A
„ hearts) to ſee your ſelues and all your poſteritie in aſſured peace and tranquilitie: yet
„ we would not faile to make an offer thereof vnto you by theſe preſents, as well to root
„ out all old Iealouſies and diſtruſts, as to let you vnderſtand more particularly our good
„ and ſincere inclination, and what you may freely attend of vs. And as the matter doth
„ touch you neereſt: ſo it is your duties to lay before your eyes, and before all them
„ that are vnder you, the happineſſe, proſperitie and ſafety which both you and
„ the whole countrie may reape thereby, hauing beene ſo long afflicted and almoſt rui-
„ ned by theſe continuall warres. As for the happie ſucceſſe which you haue had theſe
„ yeares paſt, as the euents of war are variable and vncertaine, which may make ſome
„ forget their former loſſes and miſeries, and not to remember thoſe which are to come; B
„ and ſo perſwade them-ſelues that they are ſecure and ſafe, neglecting the good occa-
„ ſion that is offered. Wherefore it were moſt expedient to call to minde many things
„ paſt, and diuers examples, remembring that they could not obtaine that by intreatie
„ and praiers, which a little before might haue beene had with honour and reputation.
„ Wherefore wee intreat you louingly and friendly, that after you haue duly conſulted
„ and conſidered; you your ſelues will propound vnto vs ſuch honourable, reaſonable
„ and tollerable conditions, as thereby we may (the ſooner the better) know that you
„ ſeeke not the continuance and prolongation of this war, which brings with it (beſides
„ many other diſcommodities) nothing but oppreſſion of the people as it is well knowne
„ to all men. But rather that by theſe meanes we may attaine vnto a good, happy & firme C
„ peace. For our parts we wil lette you vnderſtand by the effects, that there is nothing
„ counterfeyt hidden in vs, as not ſeeking a diſſembled but a true and firme peace. So as
„ all our actions are iuſt and ſincere, to the aduancement of the publike good. And if in
„ like manner for your parts you carry the like zeale & good affection, you will ſhew in
„ what eſtimation you hold vs, & that you deſire to prouide for that which is moſt requi-
„ ſite & profitable: as the like ſhal be more amply declared vnto you by Maiſter *Otto Har-*
„ *tius* & *Ierome Coemans* Lawiers, the bearers hereof, to whome we refer our ſelues, with
„ offers of our loue to you. Praying God to ſend you a good & happy life. From Bruſſels
„ the *6.* of Maie. 1594. Theſe two Lawiers being come to the Hage in Holland and the
„ cauſe of their comming knowne, they had audience in the Aſſemblie of the generall D
„ Eſtates. the *16.* of the moneth, whereas Doctor *Hartius* ſpake after this manner.

Doctor Hartius ſpeech to the Eſtates.

„ My Lords whereas of late we haue had paſport frō the Councel of Eſtate, to come in-
„ to theſe parts to treat of ſome priuate buſines, for the which wee moſt humbly thanke
„ them, & al thoſe that haue therein imployed themſelues, with ſeruiceable offers of ac-
„ knowledgement in our quarters, to thoſe that ſhall haue any need of vs. This beeing
„ come to the knowledge of my Lord the Arch-duke *Erneſt*, it pleaſed him to charge vs
„ to ſalute your Lordſhips on his behalfe, with offer of his loue: and to let you vnderſtād
„ that the chiefe cauſe which moued him to come into theſe parts; was the ſingular loue
„ & natural inclination which he hath alwaies had to the good & quiet of theſe countries,
„ hoping that God would giue him the grace to ſee them by his meanes vnited again & F
„ reſtored to a good peace, and ſincere amitie, as they were before the beginning of theſe
„ inteſtine troubles: to which end, and the better to make his intention knowne, he com-
„ manded vs to bring the letters which we deliuered vnto your Lordſhips the 12. of this
„ moneth: thinking that you haue vnderſtood ſufficiently thereby, that he hath no other
„ care, but to reſtore theſe countries & the inhabitants thereof, to a ſincere, durable and
„ not counterfeit re-vnion: and although ſome yeares paſt they haue often tended to the
„ ſame end, and made ſome trials, but in vaine; yea hauing ſet down ſome forme of an ac-
„ cord, they haue by miſtaking of ſome (whome it is not needful to name, and I would to
„ God there were no memorie of thē) falne into the precedent wars, ſo as your Lordſhips
„ (hauing conceiued ſome Ielouſies and diſtruſt) ſeeme inclined to reiect all ſuch confe- F
„ rences and treaties, eſpecially for that of late yeares your affayres haue a little
„ ſucceeded according vnto your Lordſhips deſires. Yet his Highnes truſting that you
„ will not wholy relye vppon this momentarie proſperitie which is ſubiect to al-
„ teration (whereof the motiue cauſes may eaſily fayle) would wiſh (as all others

doe

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A doe that loue the publike good) that your Lordships would resolue, in laying before " 1594.
your eyes, first that all worldly things haue their times and seasons: And as there are "
times of Ielousies and distrust, so likewise there come times of confidence, when as they "
should trust one an other, and prouide as well for their owne safety, as for their poste- "
rities. Secondly that there was neuer in any part of the world any such dessertion or "
controuersie, but at length it was ended and reconciled, more by treaties and good "
accords, then by force of armes: for that warre produceth fruites so preiudiciall to "
the good of the people, as commonly one dislike or quarrell breeds an other. Third- "
ly that it was neuer profitable for any Princes Estate or common weale, to haue re- "
B fuzed or reiected honourable and assured treaties of peace. Whereof wee had rather "
passe ouer the examples which we haue in our memorie, with silence, then by the re- "
herfall thereof to publish the errors and omissions of any. "

And whereas your Lordships may at this present bee restrained by some distrust, "
(speaking vnder correction and with reuerence) it is against reason, for that the trea- "
tie which is now offered, is in an other time and season vpon diuers occasions and dis- "
positions, yea it is left to the discretion and arbitrament of your Lordships with "
other persons: that is with his Highnesse issued out of the house of *Austria*, whose "
sinceritie, iudgement and virtues, are proper and befitting a Prince well bred: where- "
by wee haue seene seauen or eight Princes of the house successiuely attaine vnto the "
Imperiall Diademe, not by right of inheritance, which doth admit as well bad Prin- "
C ces as good, but by the free and voluntary election of the Princes Electors, and the "
commissioners of the Estates of the Empire, grounded vpon the virtues and constancy "
of the Prince whome they choose: as it appeared of late in the person of the Emperour "
Maximilian the second, his Highnesse father, hauing bene so milde and temperate, as "
he is to bee held a rare and singular instrument to reconcile all controuersies in his "
time, concerning religion and the common weale, holding them in such equall bal- "
lance, and ending them in such sort, as his like hath beene seldome seene Whose "
examples and steppes his Heighnesse desiring to imitate, thought it good to send "
you his letters by vs: Which we doubt not but your Lordshippes haue receiued "
with as good an affection, as we are assured they are written with truth and sincer- "
D tie. Wherefore wee doe most hartely and humbly beseech you, that it would please "
your Lordships to consider duly of the contents thereof, and to giue such answer vn- "
to his Heighnesse, as both he and all men of honour, may haue speedy cause of content, "
in the expectation and hope which they haue of your Lordships wisdomes and discre- "
tions. Offering that if your Lordships representing this honourable Assemblie, or any "
priuate person shal bee offended, or doubt in any point or article, touching the vnder- "
standing of his highnesse letters, we are ready & hope in that which concernes our du- "
ties to giue them such reason, as they shal haue cause of contentment: this is the effect "
of that wee had charge to deliuer vnto your Lordship, by virtue of your letters of cre- "
dit, intreating you to take it in good part. And withall by your leaue and libertie wee "
E will adde: that his Highnesse vnderstanding, that by the declarations and confessions "
of a certaine prisoner, he is charged to haue attempted to haue the Prince of Nassaus "
Excellencie murthered, by the hands of the said prisoner or otherwise, according to "
the charge and order which hee had from the Earle of Barlaimont, hee saith that it is "
an impudent & insupportable slander, being a thing which neuer entred into his High- "
nesse thought, out of whose house there neuer proceeded so infamous and trecherous "
an act, neither by the grace of God neuer shall. And for the knowledge of the meere "
truth, we haue thought it good to require your Lordships in his Highnesse name, that "
it would please you to send the prisoner with a good and safe gard, & with Commissi- "
oners deputed, to Antwerp or to Brussells, vpon his Highnesse promise, to be returned "
F safe & sound into their powers, at the time and place limited. Or else to cause him to be "
transported to Breda, a town vnder your Lordships command and Iurisdiction, there "
to be examined & confronted with the Earle of Barlaimont (who being accompanied "
with certaine Commissioners in his Highnesse name shal appeare there in person) vpō "
certaine circumstances & particularities, such as shall bee thought fit and expedient,

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1594. „ graunting sufficient pasport respectiuely to that end. Or else that your Lordship wil ap- A
„ point some other forme of proceeding such as they shall find most expedient in that
„ case, to descouer the truth, which may serue to discharg his heighnes, and to proue his
„ innocency, to the honor of the iudges heere: the which in that case no man would in
„ any sort suspect that for certaine priuat considerations such words had bin deliuered by
„ the said prisoner, or otherwise to haue bruted it abroad, to the preiudice of an others
„ honor, or to hinder some desseigne intended by his heighnes.

This was Doctor *Hartius* oration, but he was required to deliuer it in writing, the which hee did, and being signed by him-selfe and *Coemans*, it was answered by the Estates as followeth.

„ The generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces in their assembly, hauing opened and B
„ red the letters of the mighty and most famous Prince *Ernestus* Archduke of Austria,
„ Duke of Bourgongne. &c. being closed vp and sealed with his heighnes seale of armes,
„ in Brussells the sixt of this present moneth of May, and receiued the twelth of the same
„ by the hands of *Otto Hartius* and *Ierome Coemans* lawiers, and vpon the insinuation made
„ by them the next day being the thirteeneth: and hauing heard them propound on the
„ fisteeneth what they had in charge (by vertue of a clause of credit inserted in the said
„ letters) the which they haue exhibited by writing. To make their good and sincere in-
„ tention knowne vnto his heighnes, they haue declared and doe by these presents de-
„ clare, that sence the time they haue beene forced by extreme necessity to take armes in
„ hand, for the preseruation of the liberty of the netherlands, together with their ancient C
„ preuiledges, as well of the members thereof, as of townes and inhabitants in parculiar,
„ to diuert the oppression of the Spaniards and their proud gouernment ouer the consci-
„ ences bodies & goods of the subiects of the saied countries, and of their wiues and chil-
„ dren; their intention and desseign had alwais beene to vse those armes (with the grace of
„ God) against the Spaniards and their adherents, with full trust and confidence, that the
„ almighty would blesse their good and iust intentions, as they had sufficiently tryed:
„ The which hath beene so much the better knowne, not only to concurre with the good
„ of the said countries: but also of all Kings, Princes and common-weales their good
„ neighbors: hauing by the mighty hand of that great GOD, not onely their desseignes
„ and meanes beene blest, but also the hearts of the said Kings and Princes their neighbors D
„ stirred vp and moued to maintaine their good and iust cause: whereof they attribute
„ the honor to his diuine bounty aboue, wholy relying vpon his immutable power, at-
„ tending from his hand a good and commendable issue of this heauie and hard warre, ha-
„ uing a firme hope to see these Netherlands speedely and generally vnited, and restored
„ to their ancient beauty and prosperity: where-vnto they aspire and doe their best
„ endeauors, hauing tryed (whereof the remembrance is yet fresh vnto them) the como-
„ dities and sweetenes of peace, tranquility and vnion: feeling on the other side the dis-
„ comodities, toyles, and troubles of warre. But as they did most humbly thanke his
„ heighnes, for the declaration he had made by his letters, of the good will and affection
„ which hee bare vnto all those that doe sincerely affect the peace, concord and prospe- E
„ rity of these countries: So had they in like manner great cause to complaine before God
„ and the world, of those that vnder false practises and collour of peace, do seeke to shed
„ the innocent bloud of Christians, and to aduance the suppression and totall ruine of
„ these Netherlands, wherein the councell of Spaine (finding themselues now offended in
„ the heighest degree) labour more then euer by all meanes possible; vsing to that end
„ most vnreasonable and vniust proceedings, to the ruine and desolation of these Prouin-
„ ces: Seeing it is well knowne to all men, how they haue behaued them-selues with all
„ extremity, and namely to the effusion of innocent bloud by the hands of their execu-
„ tioners, so many thousands of poore persons, men and women of all qualities: among
„ the which there were some of the cheefe noblemen of the countrie: with the breach of F
„ the prerogatiues, freedomes, liberties and Belgike rights of the members and townes,
„ as well in generall as in particular. Besides many murthers, burnings, violences, exacti-
„ ons, commissions, and so many other foule and execrable acts: notwithstanding after
„ so many petitions and supplications, yea by the sending of ambassage into Spaine, the

Marquis

A Marquis of Berghen and the Baron of Montigni, who were intreated contrary to the " 1594.
law of Nations, notwithstanding also the intercession of some great Potentates, to "
the end that the said countries, the members and townes, with all the good inhabitants "
thereof, might be maintained in their goodly liberties, priuiledges and ancient rights, "
and that the oppression of their consciences, persons and goodes, (which the Spa- "
nish nation and their adherents doe exercise) might bee rooted out, which hath "
beene the cause to bring them to those extremities. By reason whereof it shall please "
his Highnesse to vnderstand and take in good part, that the said Estates in this busines "
of so great waight, and so important for the good of those countries, and the mainte- "
nance of their subiects, proceed in that forme and manner which euery man sees at "
B this day. And that they can hardly beleeue, and much lesse bee assured, of that which "
they speake of the change of humors in the Councell of Spaine, for that such changes "
(with greater probabilities) haue bene heretofore partly beleeued, to the great preiu- "
dice of these countries: For in the beginning of this warre, the crueltie of the Spani- "
ards was so great, as they did roote out all they could bring vnder: And that before "
that (for a thing so worthie, as is the preseruation of a country against strangers) "
they had attempted any thing, either by effect or councell: When as not onely the "
Champian country, but euen many principall townes were euil intreated by murthers, "
spoiling, burning and other execrable acts: vntil that in these parts they had resolued "
to intreat all the Spaniards and their adherents which they could gette as rigorously: "
C to let them see by the effects, that they of this party had no lesse courage and resoluti- "
on to maintaine so iust a cause, then they to tyrannize ouer them, and to seeke to "
bring them into bondage: Being well assured that nothing should be attempted by "
them against these countries, but it would turne first to their disaduantage. This did "
somewhat moderate their bloudy councell, with a shew of alteration of their humors: "
but in such sort as finding it to be too hard and difficult to compasse their disseignes by "
force, they made shew that they would hearken to some reason: and there-vpon were "
appointed the first beginnings of a treatie, in the yeare 1574. So as the Estates of Hol- "
land & Zealand, vsing their ancient plainnesse and naturall virtue, were moued to sette "
downe their greeuances, as well by letters as by mouth, and to demaund redresse. But "
D the fruites of this beginning of a treatie, were on Brabant side the surprize of Ant- "
werp, by the Spaniards, which histories call the day of *Fuera Veillacos*: and of the side "
of Holland, Zealand, and their associates, the two hard sieges of the good towne "
of Leyden: the which by the grace of God, and fidelitie of their confederates and "
their owne valour, was preserued from the attempts of their enemies, yea with so "
extraordinary an amazement of the Spaniards; as (God making them presently "
to faint) they fled confuzedly out of Holland: soone after they tayled to surprize "
Vtrecht, as they had done the same yeare before of that famous Cittie of Antwerp. "
This first deceitfull treatie beeing past, a second was prepared the yeare following "
1575. in the towne of Breda, at the intercession of that mighty Emperour Maximi- "
E lian the second his highnesse father: wherein appeared plainely by their acts, how "
little the Spaniards were inclined to the good of the countrie: the which had no other "
fruites but greater preperations to warre then euer: whereof soone followed the ta- "
king of Buren, Leerdam, Oudewater, Schoonhouen, Bomene, and the siege of "
Zirixee. Afterwards the Spaniards and their adherents, by robbing, spoyling, bur- "
ning and other execrable cruelties, yea by surprising of townes which held their owne "
party, they gouerned them-selues with such excesse, as the Estates in those partes "
could no longer indure them, proclaiming them publike enemies to the country. "
Where-vpon followed the vnion and confederation made at Gant in Nouember "
1075. betwixt all the Prouinces of the Netherlands for the preseruation of their "
F rights, liberties, priuiledges and freedomes: It is well knowne to all men how "
disloyally and fraudulently this vnion was approued by the Spaniards, and what "
fraud and deceipt was vsed in it. The letters of *Escouedo*, the breach of *Don Iohns* "
oth, the manifest declaration of the Councell of Spaine, brought by the Baron "
of Selles, and deliuered at Macklyn, togither with the negotiation treated at Lovuain, "

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1594. „ in the preſence of the Ambaſſadours of many Princes and Potentates, might giue A
„ ſufficient teſtimonie in the yeares 1577. and 78. It is alſo well knowne how deceipt-
„ fully, ſhamefully, abſurdly and preiudiciall, the Aſſemblie held concerning a peace
„ in the Cittie of Cologne, ended. During the which not onely the Prouinces of Ar-
„ thois and Henault with ſome priuate townes, were ſeduced and drawne to a particu-
„ lar treatie, but they alſo vſed all kinde of violences againſt the good towne of Maeiſ-
„ tricht, hauing many ſecret and falſe practiſes, in the other Prouinces, townes and
„ members of the ſame, to breed ſome alteration, and bring them to their ruine. It is
„ alſo well knowne what trickes they haue vſed to circumvent them of Flanders; what
„ goodly preſentations they made vnto them, and yet how mournefull and lamentable
„ the iſſue was. Whereto did the treatie of peace tend in the yeare 1587. and 88. and B
„ what deceipt or rather violence was hidden vnder it, the great Armadoe of Spaine,
„ which arriued during this treatie (the which was held at Bourbourc) all defeated and
„ ſunke, by the powrefull hand of that great GOD, hath ſufficiently ſhewed: ſince in
„ the yeare 1591. the diſſeignes of a peace procured a new by the Emperor (beeing in-
„ treated therevnto by the King of Spaine) with all theſe Netherlands, haue bene diſco-
„ uered by the armies ſent from time to time out of the ſaid countries againſt the French
„ King, whereby we may more amplie obſerue, that the Spaniards and their adherents
„ in all their wars do make the aduancement of the Romiſh religion their pretext: But
„ (if they will confeſſe the truth) they labour for nothing but to ſettle and confirme their
„ pretended Monarchie, to domineere ouer all Chriſtendome, and to ſpoile all Kings, C
„ Princes and common weales of their rights and lawfull prerogatiues, as it appeared in
„ the behalfe of the Queene and Realme of England, by that proud and mighty armie,
„ in 88. of the which they did publikely ſing the triumph before the victorie, the which
„ they cauſed to be printed and publiſhed. And if we will looke into the warre and ne-
„ gotiation of France, from that yeare vnto this day; and eſpecially in that they ſought
„ to tranſferre the Crowne of France not onely from the lawfull King, and all the Prin-
„ ces of the bloud; but alſo from the French nation into that of Spaine, vnder the name
„ of their Infanta: The which the Duke of Feria and other Spaniſh Miniſters treated
„ there by commaundement from the Councell of Spaine, it requires no other proofe,
„ but the decree giuen in the Parlament of Paris, and their Iuſtifications which are falne D
„ from their League. Many letters intercepted and the effects doe witneſſe, that their
„ practiſes & vſage of the countries of Cologne, Strausbourg, the Duchies of Iuilliers,
„ Cleues and Mont, and likewiſe of the good towne of Aix, tended to no other end.
„ Finally how often hath it bene countermined by the chiefe Princes of Italie. In what
„ eſteeme do they hold the conqueſt of Holland and Zealand, ioyned with the other Pro-
„ uinces, to make *Sedem belli* of them, or rather an aſſured *Rendez-vous* for all Chriſten-
„ dome. So as they had rather quit ſome part of Chriſtendome to the Turke, then
„ abſtaine from making war againſt the Netherlands, or to withdraw any part of their
„ ſoldiers which are appointed againſt them. Finally how they doe handle the Em-
„ perour, the Princes Electors, the Potentates of Germany, yea all the Eſtates of E
„ Chriſtendome (onely for the aduancement of this generally Monarchie of Spaine)
„ appeares plainely by the letters ſigned with the King of Spaines owne hand, where-
„ of the Coppie tranſlated is here-vnto annexed, the Originall remayning in this Court,
„ which letters doe alſo make mention of the poynt propounded by his Highneſſe:
„ Which is, that the intention of the Councell of Spaine is, that his Highneſſe
„ ſhould treat ſincerely of the affaires of Chriſtendome, and namely to leaue the Ne-
„ therlands in peace, for that it appeares by them that the Earle of Fuentes, *Don Wil-*
„ *liam* of Saint *Clement* and *Sephano D'ybarra*, all three of them Spaniards, are ap-
„ poynted to bee his chiefe councellers in matters of the Netherlands, with charge
„ that the ſaid ſtrangers ſhould inſtruct his Highneſſe in which of the Noblemen F
„ of the Countrie hee might truſt, how hee ſhould gouerne the Prouinces, and
„ how he ſhould gouerne the Prouinces and how hee ſhould ſubdue thoſe which are
„ vnited and confederate. The Eſtates doubt not but his Highneſſe hath vnder-
„ ſtood, that of late through the Inſtigation of the Earle of Fuentes and of *Stephano*
D'ybarra

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A *d'Ybarra*, Doctor *Lopes* Phisition to the Queene of England, vpon promise which they made vnto him of fifty thousand crownes, had vndertaken to poyson her Maistie, who hauing accused *Emanuel*, *Louis Tynoca*, and *Stephano Ferreira Digama*, as adherents to this execrable murther, were all executed. As also the said *Fuentes* and *Ybarra* had plotted by the hands of *Emanuel Andrada* (who had vndertaken it) to poyson the French King, with a nosegay of flowers or roses without any poulder, and yet with so subtill a poyson, as the smelling thereof should cause his death without remedy. Speaking nothing of that which shall be found in the difinitiue processe of *Michel Renichon*, who calles him-selfe *Triuieres* a Priest of Namur, who two moneths sence disguized in a soldiars habit, had beene sent from Brussells into these vnited Prouinces, together with
B other murtherers corrupted to that end, to murther my Lord Prince *Maurice* of Nassau borne Prince of Orange, yea and his excellencies youngest brother being but ten yeares old, studying in the vniuersity of Leyden, not to take him away as they did the Prince of Orange and Earle of Buren that now is, his elder Brother, out of Lovuain by violence against the rights and preuiledges of the country, and against the lawes of Nations: but in effect to murther him after the same manner that the councell of Spaine caused there father of happy memory to be slaine: whereby his heighnes and all the world may vndoubtedly know, by what people and by what meanes the good inhabitants of the country are circomuented, and how little the Estates can be abused, when they shall iudge, that the present offers of a treaty of peace on the
C Spaniards behalfe, shall proceed out of the same affection and shoppe, that the precedent did, which are formerly mentioned. And rather, for that in respect of their maiesties of France and England allies to these countries; matters will appeer more heinous and pernitious then euer, so as the humors of the councell of Spaine cannot be in any sort changed to the good of these countries, as also there is no likelehood, they (finding them-selues wronged in the heighest degree) would be more bening, and yeeld more vnto them now then before the said offences, or els that they can intreat these contries (ouer whome they pretended a right) more mildly, then the Kings, and kingdomes of France, England and Scotland which are equall vnto them in dignity and authority. Wherevpon the said generall Estates, by reason of their duty and oth, are so much the
D more bound to keepe them-selues from the false and cautelous practises of the said councell. Especially for that the said murthers in these vnited Prouinces, and against the French King and the Queene of England, together with the open warre against the crowne of France, haue beene manifest, and continued sence his heighnes comming into the Netherlands: And although that all these pretexts did cease, which they with reason insist vpon, yet their alliances, leagues and communication of affaiers do require: And admit we may well beleeue that his heighnes is displeased at such murthers: yet we ought not to haue so great a regard there-vnto as to the desseignes and intentions of the King and his councell of Spaine, from whence his heighnes receiued his com-
E missiion and authority: and that in this quality they may at all times reuoke him, and appoint an other in his place: against which change, they cannot in any sort assure them-selues. And withall the said generall Estates cannot comprehend that within these Prouinces nor without (allied with one firme bond of confederation with the Queene of England the French King, and other Princes, Potentats and common weales, as well friends to these countries, as to all the comonalty of Christendome) they may bring any fruite by the ouerture of a treaty of peace which is offred, but they are resolued to rely vpon the hope which they haue in GOD and attend from his all-powerfull bounty and clemency (although they haue alwaies and do daily ob-
F serue that worldly things are subiect to change) a happy and commendable end of their iust cause, not onely in regard of the vnited Prouinces, but also for all the others of these Netherlands, to the aduancement of his glory and holy word, and the prosperity of all the Belgicke Prouinces. Thus done and resolued in the assembly of the generall Estates at the Hage, the 17. of May. 1594. 1594.

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1594. This answere was giuen to Doctor *Hartius* and *Coemans* with an Autenticall coppy A
of the Kings letters, whereof mention is made in this answere: the which hauing bin intercepted and brought vnto the Estates, two were found dated from S. Laurent (which is the Escuriall) of the 14. and an other of the 15. of October, and of the fourth and seauenth of December 1593. signed with the Kings owne hand, directed to *Don William* of Saint Clement his ambassador in Germanie. By the first of the 14. among other clauses, and whereof the Estates answere maketh mention, there was that which followeth.

An extract of the king of Spaines letters.

„ Touching the pacification of the Estates rebelled, seeing you are so fully informed of
„ that matter, you can tell how to manage it, in case there bee any means or likelehood to
„ conclude it. And you shall let all the world know that he seekes the publike good, and to B
„ requite me for the good esteeme I haue of him, that hee may effect this busines, as the
„ importance thereof did require. Finally you shall giue collour by all possible meanes to
„ this businesse, to the end it may bee effected, seeing it wilbe so great a good for Chris-
„ tendome. All this is breefly toucht vnto you, hereafter you shalbe aduertised of all oc-
„ currents: and you for your part shall aduertise vs: (both before and after your depar-
„ ture towards Flanders) particularly what your aduise is vpon euery point, and what you
„ thinke fit: Moreouer vpon the way you shalbe carefull to aduertise my cousin of such
„ of my Estates as shall come to him, and of those that shal write vnto him; to the end that
„ without any shew of distrust, he may be wary and vigilant, and not suffer himselfe to bee
„ carried away by vncertaine aduertisements, but that hee may know the humors and in- C
„ tentions of euery one. And after his arriual, he must haue this consideration, to discerne
„ the persons whom he must trust. To which end you shall take particular informations
„ from the Earle of Fuentes and Stephano *d' Ybarra*, who will also dicipher the Estate vn-
„ to you, and the humors of men which are in gouernment, vpon whose discipline, as also
„ vpon the distribution of their pay, it shalbe needfull there be a great change: for which
„ there are in those parts particular dispatches of ours &c.

And by that of the seauenth day of December he sayth, speaking of the Emperor, the Arch-duke *Ernestus*, the Turke and the Princes of Italy.

„ As also you shal represent vnto them, that for that which concerns the Turke, it shal-
„ be no preiudice, as heretofore you haue let them know more particularly, and you shall D
„ aduertise mee of all that shall passe. Without doubt hee hath reason to apprehend the
„ losses which hee hath made of *Vesperin* and *Palotte*: and to complaine that they take no
„ order to preuent a greater losse: It were expedient (if it might be) to accommodate mat-
„ ters by an ordinary course of truce, and of a greater present: and that you seeke to win
„ the good wills of the Bashaws by guifts, for it is the ordinary and only remedy for dif-
„ ficulty concerning them. I thinke you haue already condoled with the Emperor in my
„ name as touching his troublesome trauell: and that you know how to gouerne your self
„ therein, that I be no further ingaged, but he rest satisfied with my good will. You shall
„ doe well to pursue that which you haue already propounded: which is, that to attaine
„ vnto the pacification of Holland and Zeeland, the point is, there may be forces readie, E
„ that afterwards they may giue the better assistance against the Turke. Touching the
„ Diet which you say they treate of, order shalbe giuen for that which shalbe fit, and you
„ shalbe aduertised, as you shall doe the like, of that which you shall vnderstand concer-
„ ning that businesse: for they write from Rome, that if it may bee without calling of a
„ diet, they will giue the Emperor some contribution and meanes. It is necessary you
„ should aduertise me particularly of what passeth betwixt you and Cardinall *Mandrucio*
„ in matter of leagues. And in the meane time that wee shalbe besied to giue you an-
„ swere, that you seeke to practise with him, but yet in generall termes, letting him vn-
„ derstand that to make this designe easie, it shalbe requisite aboue all things, to make
„ the Princes of Italie resolute, in taking away all difficulties, seeing they haue so great F
„ an interest in it. And in regard of the title of a King, which the Duke of Florence affects,
„ you shall hinder it: whereof be carefull: but as for that which concernes the Duke of
„ Ferrara, you may assist him, so as the Inuestiture agreed with the person, whereof I
„ haue formerly written vnto you, this shalbe the best &c.

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A IF the generall Eſtates had beene ſcrupulous before, and diſtruſtfull to treat with the King of Spaine, theſe letters did make them much more ſuſpitious: wherefore *Hartuis* and *Coemans* returned as they came with this anſwere from the Eſtates. The Archduke was loth to imploy any greater perſonages, knowing they ſhould not preuaile any thing: but the reaſon why he ſent the ſaid deputies vnder collour to propound a treaty of peace, was to no other end, but to iuſtefie himſelfe, of the fact which *Michell Renichon* had vndertaken, wherewith hee had ſo charged him: the newes thereof beeing at that time come to Ratisbonne, to an Imperiall Dyet, where there had beene ſome ſpeech, for the chooſing of the Archduke King of Romaines. 1594.

The Archduke *Erneſt* for the firſt fruits of his gouernmēt, ſent *Charles* Earle of Mans-
B feldt with an army to make war againſt the French king, on the frontiers, in the country of Tyrace, where hee beſieged Capelle, the which beeing ſomoned would not yeeld; hoping the King would ſuccor them, as hee intended, hauing ſent the duke of Bouillon with 12000. foote and 2000. horſe to that end. But beeing vpon the way, the beſieged fearing their ſuccors would come to late, ſeeing their rampars beaten down with Mansfeldts continually battery, they yeelded the towne, and the duke returned with his army. *Coevorden* being as we haue ſaid ſtraightly blockt vp by *Verdugo* and Cont *Herman vanden Berghe*, Prince *Maurice* hauing ſome great deſigne, would firſt free this place, wherefore he went to field with the beſt part of the Eſtates forces, to ſet vpon the forts which the Spaniards had there abouts, or to giue them battaile if it were offred: But *Verdugo*
C and the Earle hearing of his approch, made a retreate, and abandoned all theſe forts, which they had built, and kept ſeauen or eight monethes, to their great charge and no profit, leauing *Coevoerden* at libertie, the which was preſently refreſht with men and victualls.

Capelle taken by Mansfelt.

Prince Maurice frees Coverden.

Paſſing on from thence which his troupes, and cauſing his army to aduance, he reſolued to beſiege Groning, the which he was about the laſt yeare: But before we enter into the ſiege, we wil ſpeake a little of the Eſtate of the towne. Groning is a ſtrong ancient towne, which ſome thinke to be that which *Pliny* cals *Phyleum*, faire, well fortefied and the beſt peopled of that part of Friſeland, on this ſide the riuer of Ems and Dollard, ſeated in a country which is very pleaſant and fertil, the which makes alſo one of the ſeauen-
D teen Prouinces of the Netherlands. This common-weale was heretofore annexed to the Dioceſe of Vtrecht for a hundred yeares, ſo as they did acknowledge the biſhop for their Lord and Prince both ſpirituall and temporall: vntill *Frederic* ſonne to a Marquis of Baden, then biſhop of Vtrecht, in whoſe time the factions of *Schyeringers* and *Vetcoopers* raigned in Friſeland (whereof we haue in the beginning of the hiſtory made ample mention:) in the time of the Emperor *Maximilian* the firſt of that name, who by reaſon of the miſeries which theſe two factions were cauſe of throughout all Friſeland, tooke occaſion to giue this ſigneury of Groning, with all Friſeland in fee to *Albert* duke of Saxony, to inioy them as Gouernor hereditarie vnder the Emperor, of whom they were held. But as the Friſons refuzed to receiue him, in the end hee perſwaded
E the Nobilitie to acknowledge him for their hereditary Lord: with whoſe ayde hee made ſharpe warres againſt the *Vet-coopers*, with whom the Groningers ioyned themſelues. But captaine *Foox* the dukes Lieutenant, did ſo tire them, as they were glad to reconcile themſelues vnto the Duke, vpon condition (amongſt others that they ſhould leaue the poſſeſſion which they had had in Ooſtergoe, Weeſtergoe, and the ſeauen Foreſts, and ſhould pay two and thirtie thouſand florins in gold. The other townes in Friſeland, (amongſt the which *Lewaerden* is the chiefe) ſubmitted themſelues vnder the Dukes protection. But ſoone after the *Lewardiens* hauing ſlaine their Lieutenant, did rebell by the inſtigation of them of Groning. The duke of Saxony returning with an army reduced them vnto reaſon. They of Groning
F fearing to bee forced (by the mediation of *Frederic* (biſhippe of Vtrecht) obtained a truce for ſixe monethes. The Duke beeing returned into his countrie of Miſnia, hauing left Duke *Henry* his ſonne for Gouernor in Friſeland, the Friſons fought the third time to free themſelues from his ſubiection, and beſieged Duke *Henry* in the towne of Franiker.

The Eſtates go to beſiege Groning.

A breefe deſcription of Gronning.

The

1594. The father hearing these newes and the danger wherein his sonne was, posted thether with an army, raised the seege and freed him: And then he sought to punish the rebells of Groning, as the motiues of this reuolt. The bishop of Vtrecht sued againe for them, & obtained them a new truce, during the which *Albert* died, and by his death Groning was freed from his siege. But not able to liue easily and at peace, they went to beseege Dam which *Edsard* Earle of East-Friseland held in Duke *Alberts* name: to draw them from thence, *Huge* Earle of Leysnich besieged Groning very straightly: then had they recourse againe to the Bishippe of Vtrecht, who procured them a peace for foure yeares. The which being expired, Cont *Edsard* (whom Duke *Henry* beeing then in Misnia had left for his Lieutenant) and captaine *Vito* of Draecksdorp, did blocke them vp with two great forts and beseeged them round about. The Bourgers hauing endured this hard siege all the winter, wanting all things necessary, and seeing the townes of Ouerysell faile them in the succors which they had promised, they resolued to treate with the Saxons. But they soone altered their opinions, for that captaine *Draecksdorpe* had caused the noses and eares of two Bourgers to bee cut off, and so sent them backe into the towne, for that they would not put themselues to ransome: The Groningers mooued with this crueltie, left the Saxons, and accorded with Cont *Edsard* yeelding him the towne, vpon condition that hee should neuer suffer it to returne vnder the gouernment of the Dukes of Saxony. The Earle accepting of these conditions, entred in May after in the yeare of Lord 1506. and receiued the oth of fidelity of the Bourgers, which done he built a cittadell there without any contradiction, and placed a good garrison therein. *George* duke Saxony did challenge it, but it was in vaine: by reason whereof Cont *Edsard* was cited to the Imperiall chamber, and there commanded to deliuer vp the towne to the Duke of Saxony, which hee did not, whereupon he was banished the Empire.

In the end Duke *George* came with nine thousand men horse and foote, beeing assisted by the Duke of Brunswicke, where hee not onelie besieged Groning, but spoiled all East-Friseland Cont *Edsards* inheritance, taking many castles and forts: so as the Earle was forced to leaue Groning to goe and succor his naturall subiects, and hauing soone after lost Dam, finding his forces to weake, to make head against so great Princes, hee quite abandoned them of Groning: who seeing themselues forsaken and the danger that hung ouer them, they fell to consult amongst themselues of making an accord with the Duke of Saxony: sending their deputies vnto him, with offer to yeeld vp the towne, reseruing their preuiledges and certaine other conditions: among others, that it should be lawfull for them to raise the cittadell, which Cont *Edsard* had built. The which Duke *George* refuzing, the deputies returned, after they had told him that neuer hee nor any of his should bee Lord thereof. Herevpon the Cittizens tooke a new aduise to choose an other Prince that might defend them against the Saxons. So with a generall consent they made choise of *Charles* Duke of Geldres, who greatly affected this Estate: sending *VVilliam van Oyen* Generall of his horse thether, who beeing entred into the towne, the cittadell was razed in his presence. This done the Bourgers tooke their oth in his hands to the crowne of France, and to the duke of Geldres. This did cause a great warre betwixt these two dukes, *George* of Saxony, and *Charles* of Geldres, betwixt the which the battailes were often variable: but in the end the Saxon discontented with this inconstant gouernment of Friseland, yeelded vp all his interest vnto *Charles* Prince of Spaine, afterwards Emperor, for two hundred thousand crownes, and so leauing Friseland hee returned into his countrie of Misnia. Herevpon grew a great and a long warre betwixt the Bourguignon and the Gueldrois: the duke hauing made the Earle of Emden his Lieutenant there.

In the end the Groningers refuzing to pay a certaine tribute, of ten thousand florines of gold, which they had promised him, hee forsooke them, and was abandoned by them, after that hee had beene acknowledged twentie yeares together for their Prince Protector. Herevpon the Groningers hauing assembled their Estates they sent to demaund succors of the Ladie *Marguerite*, the Emperors Aunt, Douager of

A of Sauoy, and Gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, promiſing him the ſame tribute which they had paied to the Duke of Geldres. She (who deſired nothing more then to inlarge the limmits of her Nephewes Eſtates) ſent *George Schenck* of Tautenburg, gouernor of Friſeland thether, who entred into Groning the eight of Iune, and receiued the peoples oth in the Emperors name, recouering all which the Geldrois had held in a ſhort time, but there was an accord made afterwards betwixt the Emperor and the duke, as you may read in the fift booke. From the yeare 1536. that towne hath remained vnder the obedience of the Emperor and the King of Spaine his ſonne, vnto the yeare 1576. that by the mutynie of the garriſon againſt their Collonel and gouernor *Gaſpar* of Robles Lord of Billy, it ſubmitted it ſelfe vnder the generalitie of the vnited Pro- 1594.
B uinces, and afterwards in the yeare of our Lord 1580. it was againe yeelded to the Spaniards by *George* of *Lalain* Earle of Rheneberg, vnder whome it hath ſuffered much vnto this yeare of our Lord and Sauiour 1594. that it was reduced, vnder the generall vnion of the confederate Prouinces of the Netherlands, as you ſhall here.

After that Prince *Maurice* had releeued *Coevoerden*, he came with all his army being a hundred and fiue and twenty companies of foote and ſix and twenty cornets of horſe, with artillery and all other things neceſſary conducted as well by land as by the riuers which are within the countrie, and camped the 21. of May before the towne of Groning, about the which (after that he had with great ſpeed intrenched his whole campe)
C he cauſed ſix great forts to bee made vpon all the approches, well furniſhed with men and good artillery. Of the which that of the Weſt part had ten companies of foote and twelue peeces of ordynance, and the reſt accordingly. The chiefe campe was on the Weſt ſide betwixt the Draſport and the tower of Drentelaer: betwixt the which were the raueling of Ooſterport, the Heereport, the Paſdam, with a caſe mate, (otherwiſe called Breemers buyck) and the plat forme at the end of the waters, all mounted with good artillery, the which might greatly annoy the campe; yet did Prince *Maurice* cauſe his ordinance to bee planted on that ſide: which was againſt the tower of Dehtelaer fiue peeces, againſt the Rauelin of Ooſterport ten, againſt Heereport twelue, againſt the Aſſes hoofe ſix, and two or three againſt the platforme.

D The Prince had his own quarter retrencht apart within the great trench, vpon the way of Helpen nere vnto Horen: and Cont *William Lewis* of Naſſau his couſin, Gouernor of Friſeland, in the mideſt of the campe, with the Friſons, Engliſh, Germains and Zeelanders. They of the towne had made all neceſſary prouiſion to defend themſelues, and to endure a long ſiege, ſo as they neither wanted victualls nor munition of warre: true it is they had no garriſon within the towne, but it was before their port on the ſide of Drentelaer, as you goe to Dam and Delfziel, and to the fort of Schuytendyep, which is one of the ſuburbes of the towne ſeruing for a ſmall hauen for that which comes from Emden through the country: which garriſon they might receiue into the towne whenſoeuer they pleaſed. And withall they had the fort of Auwerderzyel
E which did defend that ſide, in the which there were ſome 100. and thirty men: which Cont *William* before all others went to beſiege, he battered it, and the nine and twenty day of May tooke it by aſſault. The beſieged ſeeing themſelues forced, laied downe their armes, and intreated to haue their liues ſaued, but for the proud anſwere which they had made vnto the dromme which did ſommon them, they were all cut in peeces, with the Lieutenant of Lankama Gouernor of the towne, excepting ſome fewe which ſaued themſelues at the firſt by ſwymming, when they ſee their rampar forced.

Prince *Maurice* hauing wonne this fort made his approches neerer, and hauing ſommoned the towne to ſubmit vnder the vnion of the Eſtates: they anſwered that the
F Prince ſhould ſtay a yeare before hee made that demand, and then they might conſider of it, but not before. Vpon this anſwere, the cannon being planted as wee haue ſaied, it beganne to play furiouſly againſt the Tower of Drentlaer, the which ſtood not long before it was beaten down, and againſt the portes and Rauelyns aboue named, the which were ſtrangely torne: beſides that the fiery bullets, and other fire workes which

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1594. which were shot into the towne, did much amaze the besieged. The English and Scottish were lodged within the counterscarpe, along the towne ditches nere vnto the artillery, vpon whom the besieged did sometimes sally with losse of either side. One night beeing fallen vpon the English quarter, they slue a good number hauing surprised them sodenly: but of the besieged there was the sonne of a Bourguemaster slaine, and some other Bourgers. This they did often, vntill their passage out of their portes was cut off, so as they could sallie forth no more. And besides the battery, the Prince beganne then to myne. Heerport was most ruined, for on that side was the chiefe batterie. They of the towne failed not to shoote into the campe, amongst others (as it was reported) one of their bullets fell iust into the mouth of one of the Princes cannons beeing charged and readie for to shoote, the Gonner giuing fire, sent backe that bullet with the other which he had charged into the towne, the which was a strange accident. A B

A braue sally of the Groningers.

The foureteenth day of Iune, whilest that the Prince was busie before Groning, the Arch-duke spent his time in all sorts of triumphes and sports, at his proud and stately entrie into the towne of Antwerp. Where in the end it was propounded how they should succor Groning, the charge whereof was giuen to the Earle of Fuentes, but there wanted money, and hauing no meanes to leauy forces, the towne could not be releeued. In the meane time Prince *Maurice* hastened his mines, two were finished, that by Heerpoort was aduanced aboue twenty paces vnder the rauelin, which was wont to be the Cittadell, (which the Spaniards since the first troubles had built, and was after ruined by the Burgers). The besieged seeing no shew of succors, and Prince *Maurice* did still so presse them with his continual battery, which had ruined all their Bolwarkes and Rampars, they began to dispaire, and to whisper of an accord among themselues: especially some (who in their hearts loued their country) desiring rather to see the States men within the towne then the Spaniards: and thereupon they sent their deputies vnto the Prince, to treate of an accord. But they of the King of Spaines party, (among the which were the chiefe of the towne, the Prelats and other clergy men) stronger in number and authority: to auoide al murmoring, and containe the people in their obedience, caused (although it were not without some popular tumult) captaine *Lankama* Lieutenant to Collonel *Verdugo* to enter into the towne, with fiue companies which hee had in the suburbes of Schuytendyep. The deputies that were sent vnto the Prince, hearing the mutinie which happened in the towne, for that they had drawne in those companies, returned confused without any effect. Then the Bourgers holding the Spaniards partie, and the souldiars, promised to aide one an other, and to hold good vnto the end, vntill the King of Spaine should send them some succors. The Prince seeing himselfe abused by this pretended capitulation, continued his batterie and his mynes, and to doe what else hee could against the towne, within the souldiars did what they could with the inhabitantes of their partie, so as there were to the number of foure thousand great shot came out of the towne into the campe. C D E

Deputies sent to treat.

Lankama enters the towne with fiue companies.

On the fifteenth of Iuly the myne of the Rauelin of Oosterpoort beeing ready to bee blowne vp, the battery began againe very furiously against the sayd Rauelin, to batter all that downe which the besieged had rampared vp, (on the which were eight peeces of ordynance, the which were made vnseruisable) with some shew of a breach. The Prince commanded his men should bee put in order of battaile, by squadrons, as if hee would assaile the Rauelin: the besieged seeing them in this order, fortified the place with men, which presented themselues to defend the breach, in the meane time fire was giuen to the myne, the which was blowne vp so fitly, as a great number of them that were with in flue vp into the ayre, whereof many falling into the ditches, were drowned, and some were cast euen into the campe. The myne hauing wrought his opperation, the Prince caused an assault to bee giuen, the which was a little mayntained: but the amazement was so great, as the besieged leauing the place, saued themselues by the Oosterport, into the towne, being couered by this Rauelin. F

A mine which wrought great effect.

A Rauelin won by assault.

This being wonne the assailants intrenched themselues against the towne, after they had

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had found foure peeces of brasse Ordinance and two of yron, buried in the earth which the myne had raised. 1594.

The besieged hauing lost this Rauelyn and some hundred footemen in it, began to faint, hauing no more hope of succors. The next day they resolued by a generall consent, as well Bourgers as soldiers to send one of the Bourgmaisters called *Iohn den Boer*, with a drumme vnto the Prince to offer him the towne, vppon condition notwithstanding that hee should summon it once more the next day to yeeld. Beeing come vnto the Prince and beeing heard, after that hee had asked the opinions of his Councell at warre, he answered that he had summoned it sufficiently and that hee would summon it no more, holding it alreadie in his power. But if the Bourgers thought it good to send their Deputies to treat of the conditions of an accord, they might doe it. Or if they desired to try their forces in making a longer resistance and attend the extremities of a generall Assault, they should see (with too late a repentance) what should befall them. The besieged beeing perplexed with this suddaine and threatning answer, sent vnto the Campe the nineteenth of the moneth, *Iohn Balen* Captaine and Bourgmaister, *Frederic Musey* Bourgmaister also, *Albert Eli*, *Vlgert Vlgerson* Sheriffs, *Iohn Gryt* Officiall, *Iohn Assera* Commander of Wirsum, *Rudolph Certs*, *Iohn Malder*, *Poppo Euerard* Secretarie, *Henry Honincke* Interpreter, and *Iohn Lubects*, *Sanders* of Groot-velt Lieutenant to Cont *Frederic vanden berghe*, to treat with the Prince and his Councell of their Accord. Who sent for them in hostage to the Towne, the Seigniors of Souffeldt, Swartsenbourg and *Grise vander Noot* Captaine of his Gards and other. The conditions of the compositions were a while debated, in the end the besieged seeing there was no remedie, agreed to yeeld the towne, and to deliuer it into the Princes power, vpon the conditions which follow.

The Groninghers offer to yeeld.

Deputies frō Groning.

1 First, that all offences, iniuries and acts, done from the beginning of the troubles, and last alterations, as also whatsoeuer hath past during this present seege, as well generall as particular, both within and without are pardoned and forgiuen, as if they had neuer happened at all, whereof there shall neuer bee any mention, molestation, nor search made at all, vppon payne for all them that shall goe against it, to bee reputed and punished as mutines, and troublers of the publike quiet.

Articles of the treatie of Groning.

2 Second: Those of the Magistrates and the inhabitants of Groning, promise by these presents, to remitte them-selues into the generall vnion of the vnited Prouinces, and to adhere vnto the generall Estates of the sayd Prouinces, and to bee faithfull and loyall vnto them. According vnto the which the towne and countrie of Groning as one of the members of the sayd prouinces, shall assist the other confederates, faithfully, firmely, and inuiolablie without dissimulation: Entertayning good amitie and correspondence: and that at all times and vppon all occasions, they shall doe their best indeauours to repulse and chase out of the Netherlands, all Spaniards and their adherents, which haue and doe seeke (against equitie right and reason) to oppresse and ruine the Inhabitants thereof, to bring them to perpetuall bondage, and to make them slaues for euer.

3 Item they of Groning shal hold and inioy al their priuiledges, liberties, rights and freedomes.

4 Item the towne and the Ommelands comming to appeare and to giue their voice vnto the generalitie, with all that may depend thereon, they shall gouerne them-selues according vnto the which (after hearing of the cause) shal be set downe and decreed by the generall Estates.

5 That the most Noble *William Lewis* Earle of Nassau shall be receiued and held for Gouernor of the towne and country of Groning, according to the commission which hee hath receiued from the said generall Estates. And that the controuersie which is betwixt the Towne and the Ommelands, or that may grow, shall remayne suspended, vntill it bee ended by the said generall Estates or their Committies.

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1595. 6 That in the towne and countrie of Groning there shall bee no other exercise A
but of the reformed religion, such as is at this present vsed throughout all the Prouinces, and that no man shall bee disquieted nor molested for his conscience. And that all Monasteries and Clergie men shall remaine in the estate they are in at this present, vntill that the Estates haue sufficiently redrest the Estate of the towne and countrie of Groning: And then order shall bee giuen for the inioying of the goods and entertayning of Clergie men, prouided alwaies that the Commanderies of Wyrsum, Wytwert and Osterwyrum shal be held & intreated as other Commanderies lying in the vnited Prouinces.

7 That for assurance of the generalitie, and of the towne, and to preuent all inconueniences betwixt the Burgers and Inhabitants, they of Groning shall receiue 5. or 6. B
companies of the generalitie, and with the aduice of the Magistrate, and with the least oppression of the Inhabitants that may be, they shall haue money furnished them at such a rate as shall be hereafter agreed vppon, by the said Cont *William* and the towne and country togither.

8 Touching the razing of Forts it shall bee done as need shall require and with the knowledge of the said generall Estates.

9. That the towne and countrie of Groning shal for the leuying of meanes and contributions for the good of the common cause, be bound to conforme themselues hereafter with other Prouinces that are contributary.

10 All taxations and contributions which vnto this day haue beene contribu- C
ted and receiued, as also the reuenues whereof accountes hath beene made, the accountes shall bee held good, and that which hath not beene brought, they shall come and accoumpt for before the old Law, but yet they shall haue no authority to receiue the remainder.

11 That all such as are fled or banished out of Groning or the Ommelands, or their heires, shall be restored to all their goods that are not alienated, wherein modesty shal be vsed.

12 And in regard of moueable goods which haue beene alienated, bee it for debt or for morgage, as also those which haue beene confisked: the interessed may take their goods againe vnto them, redeeming them for their owne vses within foure yeares, D
restoring the money that was payed and the rent of the money: Out of the which they shall defalke the reuenues which the purchaser hath receiued. And if there grow any question, they shal bee referred to the decision of a competent and ordinary Iudge.

13 It shal be lawful for al Burgers and Inhabitants of the towne of Groning, Clergy or Secular, to remaine freely within the towne, or to retire into any other neutrall townes and places where they shall thinke good, and there reside, inioying their owne proper goods, but not go to the enemies party.

14 In this treatie shall bee comprehended al strangers of what qualitie or nation soeuer, remaining at this present in the said towne, and there to continue their E
residence, taking the oth of fidelitie, or else they may retyre againe to a neutrall place.

15 All letters of rent, morgages, pensions, debts and charges, of all Abbots, Prelates and ecclesiasticall persons, as well strangers as naturall, being during the troubles retired into the towne of Groning: appointment for their nourishment and intertainement, shall remaine at the decision of the Estates, or the Magistrate of the Prouince or towne, vnder which those Monasteries or Colledges are scituated, from whence they grow, to doe as they shall thinke fit according vnto right and equitie.

16 The Deputies of this Towne of Groning beeing at Brusselles in commission, with their seruants and goods shall be also held for reconciled and comprehended in F
this accord, prouided alwaies that they returne within three moneths.

17 The Burgers that were taken prisoners during the seege shal be set at liberty paying their ransomes.

18 The gouernement of the Towne shall belong vnto the Magistrate: Prouided notwithstanding

A notwithstanding that the said magestrate and the Iurates of the commons, shall for this time only be established by his Excelency and the said Cont *William*, with the aduice of the councell of Estates. And from that time forward the election of them of the Law shall be made according to the ancient custome. 1594.

19. They may not by conformity of vnion transport nor resigne the towne of Groning to any Kings, Princes, Lords, townes or common weales, without his good liking and common consent, nor yet build any cittadells.

20. Those of the Magistrate, Burgers and Inhabitants of Gronning, shall take the oth of fidelity required to the generality, as other townes haue done.

21. All prouisions, be it of mony or munition of warres, victualls, artillery or other
B things sent into Groning, or belonging vnto the King of Spaine, or that haue beene otherwise brought in during this warre, shall bee deliuered vnto the generality, or to their commissaries.

The accord for the men of warre, the which was made with captaine *Lankama* lieutenant to Collonel *Verdugo*, captaines, and officers as well for them-selues, as for their soldiars, hauing beene in garrison in the towne of Groning and at Schuyten-dyep was after this manner.

First that the said Lieutenant Collonel, all the capaines officers and soldiars (except such as had serued vnder the Estates) their wiues, followers and baggage may freely depart, with their ful armes without any molestation or stay to their persons or goods, Accord for the soldiars within Groning.
C onely they shall be bound to deliuer their Ensеigns into his Excellencies hands, which done they shall be safely conducted by the Drent towards the Gouernor *Verdugo*, whersoeuer he shall be found to haue planted his campe, and from thence beyond the riuer of Rhine, with promise for 3. moneths they shall not serue on this side that riuer.

His Excelency for the more easie transporting of their baggage, wiues, children, sicke and hurt men, the which may endure to be carried in wagons, shall cause them to be furnished with eighty wagons to serue them, and to be led by a comissary and a safe conuoy, such as it shall please his Excelency to appoint, the which shall conuoy them vnto Otmarsum, or at the fartherst to Oldenziel: And the said *Lankama* shall bee
D bound to leaue some of his Captaines in pawne for assurance of the said wagons vntill their returne.

All Captains, Officers, and soldiers, who by reason of their wounds and infirmities cannot indure the trauell, shall remaine still in the towne vntill they be reasonablie well cured; and they shal haue passeports giuen them to returne to their companies, be it by water or by land.

That Captaine *Wyngarden* hauing paid his charges shall depart without ransome, as in like manner all soldiers, victuallers and wagenors of the Campe being prisoners within the towne.

That all the goods of the Gouernor *Verdugo* beeing within the towne shall go freely forth, and shall bee carried vnto the place whereas they that haue the charge, shall
E thinke it conuenient or else they may remaine safely within the towne vntill the said gouernor shall dispose of them.

That all horses or baggage belonging to any officers of the King of Spaine being now absent, shall passe freely, and be conducted with the rest of the soldiars.

That all men at this time residing in the towne of Groning, of what nation or condition soeuer. Officers and others, as well Clergy men, and two Iesuits as other temporall men, may depart with their wiues, children, families, cattell and goods, and inioy the same conuoy and safety.

And if any of the said Inhabitants, be it man or woman, by reason of some let in their affaiers, cannot depart with the said men of warre, they shall haue six moneths graun-
F ted them from this present accord, during the which they may stay here and doe their busines; and then retire them-selues with their goods and families, be it by water or by land, whether they please.

The Lieutenant Collonel, Captaines, Officers and souldiars, this accord being signed shal presently without any delay, depart out of Groning and Schuyten-dyep.

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1594. Made in the Campe before Gronning the 22, of Iuly. 1594. behold how this ſtrong and mighty towne of Groning was forced and brought into ſubiection in two moneths ſpace. A

After that the rampars of the towne of Groning were repaired, all the trenches of the campe layd euen, and the law and Magiſtrate renewed, Prince *Maurice* carrying backe his army, entred victoriouſly into Amſterdam, where hee was receiued with great pompe by the Magiſtrat, with all ſhewes of honor, loue and ioy. The like was done in other townes where he paſt returning to the Hage, with goodly and rich preſents, the which did ſtirre vp his young and noble courage to greater attempts, tending vnto vertue.

Prince Mauice returnes victorious to the Hage.

This ſummer the Emperor called an aſſembly of the Princes of the Empire at Rheinſbourg, whether came the three Electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Treues, *William Frederick* Duke of Saxony adminiſtrator of the Duchy of Saxony. *Frederick Lodowick* Palſgraue of the Rhine. *Maximilian* duke of Bauaria. *Caſimire* and *Erneſtus* bretheren Dukes of Saxony of Coborch, whoſe father was priſoner in Gothia. *Frederick* duke of Wirttenberg: *George Lodowick* Lantgraue of Luchtenbourg, the young Duke of Holſt, *Chriſtian* Prince of Anholt with diuers others, and the Deputies of ſondry Princes, and imperiall townes: And for the King of Spaine and the houſe of Bourgongne there came *Charles Phillip* Barron of Croy, Marquis of Haurec and others. Beſids the three ſpirituall Princes Electors, there were the Biſhoppes of Salſbourg, Writenberg and others. B

An aſſembly of the Princes of the Empire in Germany.

In this aſſembly the Emperor moued the Princes of Germany for ayde againſt the Turke the which was graunted: whereas there grew ſome controuerſie among the Proteſtant Princes townes, for that the Palſgraue of the Rhine and ſome others did not ſo ſtrictly maintaine the confeſſion of Ausbourg, as others did, namely the adminiſtrator of Saxony, who during his adminiſtration would haue the opinion of *Mathias Flaccus Illiricus* and *Iacobus Andræas* againe mayntained throughout all the territories of Saxony, the which had beene ſome-what moderated by the deceaſed Princes, ſo as he cauſed all ſuch as any way oppoſed them-ſelues to be perſecuted and expelled out of all vniuerſities and other places, vnder the names of Calueniſts and Zwinglians, where-vpon in Lypſick and many other places the Calueniſts were ſpoyled and their goods violently taken from them, whervpon many fled, and were receiued into the Palſgraues country: For which at the ſaid aſſembly the Saxon Proteſtants would haue ſeperated them-ſelues from the Palſgraues Ambaſſadors in their general petition, which the greater part would not aſſent vnto, but rather deſired vnity & loue. And for that the young Palſgraue *Frederick* was much ſpoken againſt as differing from his father in points of relligion, there was a confeſſion of the faith made in his name, the which was publiſhed in theſe termes. C D

I am not ſhronke nor fallen from the relligion which my father held, the which was grounded vpon the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtels; who in his life time beleeued neither in *Martin* nor *Iames*, but onely in Chriſt, the like *Simbolum*, and the like grounds of faith I doe alſo conſtantly hold, defend and proteſt, and will doe to my power: My father did greatly diſlike of the Arrians, Neſtorians, Eutichians and Anabaptiſts, and of their mad opinions, which I alſo being his ſonne doe as much abhorre. My father in like manner diſliked of the abuſers of Sacraments, the which are of two ſorts, the one make Idolls of the Sacraments, and honor the ſacramentall ſignes as the things them-ſelues, and the other hold them but for bare ſignes, the which I alſo diſlike. And now I come neerer, my father diſliked of the Calueniſts and Zwinglians, the which I his ſonne would in like manner do, if they were like vnto the *Vbiquitari* and *Flacciani*, that is if the truth, the power or the preſence of Chriſt vpon the earth were denyed by them. But herein I am more fortunate then my father, for that I knowe that vnder the name of Calueniſts, the truth of the relligions Orthodoxie is by the contentious people of Germany much ſlandered and perſecuted; the which without doubt the good Prince Ector my father, would haue found if God had lent him longer life. This error the two mighty Saxon Electors *Auguſtus* the father and *Chriſtianus* the Sonne (being great, valiant & wiſe Princes) began to diſcouer. *D. Luthers* writings I do noleſſe eſteeme then E F

Frederick Palſgraue of the Rhine makes confeſſion of his faith.

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A then my father did, but yet I hold them vnwiſe which eſteeme whatſoeuer was written by him and others, to bee pure, as gold or ſiluer. At this aſſembly it was reſolued that ſome good courſe ſhould be diuiſed for the ſetling of a perfect peace in the Netherlands in regard of the great complaints which were made by the bordering countryes, being ſubiect to the ſpoyles and incurſions of either party. This peace was held very difficult to effect: Being held a matter impoſſible to draw the King of Spaine and the houſe of Auſtria to relinqiſh and diſclaime by any contract, the right and title which they had to thoſe rich & mighty Prouinces of the Netherlands: And on the other ſide they found no Poſſibility to reconcile the vnited Prouinces vnto the King of Spaine, as it appered plainely in their anſwer made vnto the Archduke *Erneſtus*: yet being in hope of ſome
B good meanes, they reſolued to ſend certaine Princes vnto either party, to reconcile them if it were poſſible, or elſe to make report in whome the fault was, that according to the cuſtome of the Empire they might force them there-vnto, where-vpon there was order taken for a certaine ſumme of mony to bee leuied, to defend the fronters of the Empire againſt both parties. 1594.

Although the Prince had yet time enough to doe ſome good exployt the reſt of this ſommer 1594. and meanes to recouer ſome place or two in that quarter of Freezeland: yet by reaſon that the French King demanded ſuccors, the Eſtates army was in good time put into gariſons. In the beginning of Nouember there was a certaine ſoldiar taken neere vnto Lillo; he was of Niuelle in Brabant, and his name was *Peter du Four* hauing
C ſerued ſome-times in the foote company of Prince *Maurice* his gard; who came expreſly to Lillo, to find ſome meanes to returne into the ſaid company, and being there to watch his oportunity to murther the Prince, the which you may reade in this ſentence pronounced againſt him and executed in the towne of Berghen vp Zoom, where-in are conteyned his confeſſion and other circumſtances of his araignment as followeth.

A new deſſeinge to murther Prince Maurice.

Whereas, *Peter du Four* borne at Niuelle, a priſoner at this preſent and freed from his bonds, hath voluntarily confeſt, that ſome yeares paſt being in ſeruice vnder the vnited Prouinces, as a ſoldiar in diuers companies going from one vnto an other, in the end hee left the garriſon of Breda to go into France, where hee ſerued vnder the ar-
D tillery, both in the towne of Capelle in Tyraſch, during the ſeege, and in the campe before *Laers* in *Launoy*, vntill the taking thereof, from whence being returned into the enemies country, hee continued with ſome kinſfolkes and friends of his: and among others with *Gheertrude Maribo* his Aunt, dwelling neere vnto Niuelle, whereas he was perſwaded to ſerue the enemy, for the effecting whereof, and to make him knowne vnto *La Motte* the ſaid *Gheertrude* (who was well knowne in his houſe) led her kinſman vnto Bruſſells, who being brought vnto *La Mott*, hee aſked him what reſolution hee had to ſerue the King of Spaine, whereof the priſoner finding him-ſelfe aſſured, hee opened vnto him an enterprize vpon this towne of Berghen, and had diuers conferences with *La Motte* concerning that matter: In October laſt hee was
E preſented to the Archduke *Erneſtus*, to whome *La Motte* hauing declared that it was the man who had reſolued to doe the King ſeruice, he was there-vpon receiued by the ſaid Arch-duke, who ſaid vnto him that he ſhould not want any mony in recompence of his ſeruice, where-vpon the Archdukes Secretary diſcourſing with the priſoner in the Archdukes chamber, where there were more of the councell, hee was queſtioned with concerning the particularities of this enterprize of Berghen, where-vpon his declarations and proiect being put in writing by the ſaid ſecretary in their preſence, the ſaid priſoner ſigned it with his hand and ſware vnto it, yet the Secretary and other councellors in the ſame place and preſence, laying aſide this enterprize of Berghen, made other queſtions vnto him, and perſwaded him to vndertake to kill Prince
F *Maurice* of Naſſau, making him great promiſes to doe it, teaching him certaine meanes how and in what manner he might effect it. Among others that the priſoner ſhould ſeeke to put him-ſelfe againe into the company of the Princes gard, where hee had formerly ſerued, where without doubt hee ſtould be eaſely receiued, ſeeing that

The ſentence pronounced againſt Peter du Four

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1594. „ fence his retreat from that place, hee had serued the French King, and had a sufficient A
„ pasport from the Seignior of Mammed commissary of his Maiesties artillery. And that
„ in this sort hauing accesse, hee should watch a fit oportunity to execute this dessеigne,
„ when as his Excellency should goe forth to ride or hunt, or comming from the sermon,
„ or else when the the prisoner should stand sentinell, and that his excelence should passe
„ before him at some extraordinary hower, or when he should finde his best oportuni-
„ ty to shoot him through: to which end the Secretary did aduise him to charge his
„ peece with two bullets. All which speeches were deliuered in the place and presence
„ aboue mentioned. That at the same instant one of the said councellors, went in the
„ same chamber to the Dukes bed side, and returned to the prisoner, carrying from the
„ one vnto the other what was spoken concerning that matter. The which being thus B
„ concluded, it was set downe by the said Secretary, who caused the prisoner to signe
„ and sweare it. Then he was brought by one of those councellors before the Archduke
„ who spake vnto him in these termes. *Facete quel que m'auete promesso, amassate quel*
„ *Tyranno*: which is, do what you haue promised me, kill that Tirant, where-vpon the
„ prisoner answered him, *Io lo faro*. I will doe it. The which hauing thus promised vnto
„ the Archduke, he was the more confirmed in this wicked dessigne, for that *d' Assonuille*
„ tould him that by vertue of a masse which should be said in his presence the next day,
„ he should be inuisible both during the execution, and after the deed done. To which
„ end he was the next day brought by the Secretary to a masse in the Chappell at Brus-
„ sells, then was there certaine mony deliuered vnto him, besides that which hee had C
„ formerly receiued.

„ At his departure hee was admonished by some of the said councell, that if hee
„ should by mischance bee taken prisoner, that hee should beware to reueale the
„ fact so simplie, as hee had done which lately had vndertaken to murther his Exce-
„ lency, who reuealed it indiscreetly by his owne fault, for if hee should be a prisoner, he
„ must of necessity die, and they would alwaies deny what he confest and giue him the
„ lie. With this wicked and murtherous resolution, he parted from Brusselles, and went
„ to Antwerp, hauing letters of commendation to the gouerner of the castle: from whom
„ he had a pasport who termed him a marchant, that hee might passe their forts more
„ couertly, as he hath done, comming neere vnto the fort of Lillo, where they went to D
„ discouer him, and there seazed on him, from whence he was brought vnto this towne,
„ where hauing beene iudicially examined at diuers seuerall times, first hee plainely
„ confest this dessеigne, and all that had past touching the enterprize of this towne.
„ Then being examined what seruice the enemy thought to draw from him, in the end
„ hee did acknowlege this cruell plot aboue mentioned. The which being receiued
„ from his owne mouth, after his first second and third confession touching this fact, and
„ the fifteene of this moneth being brought into the towne house, in the open assembly,
„ and hearing of the commissionars appointed for this cause by the generall Estaes:
„ and seriously exhorted not to accuse any one wrongfully, much lesse a Prince of so
„ heigh a place and calling as the Archduke, and those of his councell: yet hee persis- F
„ ted in his former confession, confirming the vndertaking it by his owne hand. All
„ which being duly considered of, and that such attempts, to the terror and example of
„ others ought to be punished with the extreme rigor of Iustice; The said commissi-
„ oners, together with the Magistrate and councell of this towne of Berghen vp Zoom,
„ haue said and declared, and doe declare iudicially by these presents that the said *Peter*
„ *du Four* a prisoner, hath forfeyted both body and goods; according to the which
„ they haue and doe condemne him to bee led to the publike place of Iustice of this
„ towne, and there bound to a gibet and strangled till hee be dead, then his head to bee
„ cut of, and his body to be quartred, which shall bee hanged at fower parts of the
„ towne, and his head to be carried to Lillo (the place where hee first arriued) there to F
„ bee set vpon a stake to the view of all the world: declaring his goods to bee forfited,
„ and to be applyed to the proffit of the generality. Thus done and pulikly pronounced
„ in the ordinary chamber of iustice in the towne house of Berghen vp Zoome the

seauenteene

A seauenteene of Nouember 1594. Signed by commandement of the said commissio- „ 1594.
ners, and the same day it was put in execution. „

IN Nouember Prince *Maurice* marched with his army and the councell of Estate of the vnited Prouinces towards the towne of Arnhem in Gelderland, as if he had some great exployt in hand in that quarter, in Freezland, or in the dioceſe of Cologne, as at Rhynbecke or some other place. But in the end he sent Cont *Phillip* of Nassau his cousin with two regiments of foote, fiue cornets of horse and some field peeces towards Luxembourg, to ioyne with the Duke of Bouillons army, whome the French
B King had made his Lieutenant in that ioynt warre with the Estates. But the sayd Earle vnderstanding that there were foure thousand Suisses come to serue the Spaniard, and that the Italiens which were mutined at Sichem might soone be pacefied, with all which (being together) Cont *Charles* of Mansfeldt might charge him, hee thought it good to take his way heigher by the Country of Treues, and to send backe Sir *Francis Veer* with all his horse, except two Cornets. And so the Earle martcht with his troupes by Sarrebruche coasting the towne of Metz, the Earle of Mansfeldt still following at the heeles, to doe him an affront, if hee might find an aduantage; But Nassau marcht alwaies in good order of battayle, still making head, so as Mansfeldt durst not charge him, and the ninth of Nouember the Earle of Nassau ioyned his troupes
C with the Duke of Bouillons army, Sir *Francis Veer* returned with his horsemen by the Duke of Deux Ponts country, knowing that Mansfeldt and Cont *Herman Vanden Bergh* attended him at a passage towards Maestricht, marching along the Rhine the which hee past the nineteenth of Nouember, and arriued safe in the country of Geldres, to the great content of the Prince and the Estates, who were in a manner vnfurnished of all their horse.

During the seege of Groning, the councell at Brusselles being much troubled to pay sixe hundred thousand gilders to the mutinous Spaniards in Saint *Pol*: the Italiens began also to mutine, first there were sixe companies of *Don Gaston Spinolas* regiment, being not aboue three hundred and fifty men, which lay at Arschot who had beene sixe
D or seauen yeares vnpaid, these being in mutine, they procured two other companies which lay at Sichem to ioyne with them, for that the place was of more strength; with whome there presently ioyned both horse and foote of other nations; as Albanois, French, Wallons, Duch, and some two hundred Irishmen of Saint *William Stanleis* regiment. These being all old soldiars, and some two thousand strong, they chose for their Electo or generall one *Stephano Capriano* a Millanois, for their gouernor *Ieronimo Spadino*; for Sargent Maior one *Sacramussa*, and for assistants *Biotti* and others; for pay-maister one *Fracassa*, and for Generall of their horsemen they made choise of *Giorgio Malagna*, and of *Baptista* for his corporall, who had serued twenty yeares in the warres, with diuers other officers, chasing a way their Captains: these troups sent for
E victualls and munition to Louaine and Diest, and made the whole country to contribute euen vnto the gates of Antwerp and Brusselles, where-vpon the Archduke sent *Iohn Iacomo Bellgioige* an Italien Earle vnto them, who after much intreaty, receiued from them in the end eleuen Articles the cheefe whereof were.

1. That they would be paid all their arrerages.
2. That they would haue a generall pardon.
3. That they might haue fifty pasports, for their officers to depart freely out of the country whether they pleased.
4. That they might haue a place of retreat for such as were sicke or hurt in the Kings
F seruice.
5. That the arrerages due vnto any that died in the Kings seruice, might be paied vnto their heires.
6. That they should not bee kept from any munition for the space of a whole day,

vpon

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1594. vpon paine of corporall puniſhment : with ſuch like demands which the Archduke *Erneſtus* and his Spaniſh councell did much miſlike, which made them to intreat the reſt of the Italiens very mildly, and to ſend *Camillo Caracciolo*, Prince of Anelino, to ſee if hee could bring them to any better conformation, but it was in vaine, wherevpon the Spaniſh councell reſolued to force them to obedience deſiring the ſaid Prince to accept of that charge, but he refuſed to fight againſt his owne contrymen : then they propounded it to Mounſieur *La Motte* who with diuers others thought it not conuenient to be done. In the end they reſolued to ſend *Don Louis de Velaſco* thether with certaine Spaniards, among the which there were ſome priuat ſoldiars which refuſed that ſeruice, for the which ſome were ſecretly put to death, and others baniſhed. This did incenſe the Italiens the more, ſeeing the Spaniards which were mutined at the ſame inſtant at Pont ſur Chambre, were paid, and commandement was giuen to all the country round about not to furniſh them with any victuall, nor to pay them any contribution : The Biſhop of Leege was alſo perſwaded not to giue them any releeſe, who for the defence of his country had leuied ſome 8 0 0. foote, againſt whom the mutiners ſent *Georgio Maragna* and *Giouanni Baptiſta Roſſi* with other captaines, who put the Liegios to flight, and ſlue ſome 70. of them, ſo as the Biſhop thought it fitteſt, for him to compound with them for 15000. gilders. When as *Don Louis* of Velaſco with his Spaniards (with whome were ioyned the Spaniards which had mutined in Saint *Poi* (who had receiued ſixe hunderd thouſand gilders) with ſome Wallons of the Earle of Solms regiment, and others, being in all foure thouſand men. had begun to inſconce themſelues neerevnto the Italiens, they then complained that this diſgrace was offered them vpon ſpight and hatred which the Earle of Fuentes and d' Ybarre bare them, who ſence the Duke of Parmas time had in all things preferred the Spaniards before the Italiens : And that whereas the Spaniards did mutine, they did pardon them and found preſent meanes to ſatiſfie them: ſo as theſe two nations were ſo incenſed one againſt another as on the thirteenth of December they fell to blowes, whereas there were about foure hundred Spaniards ſlaine, among the which was *Pedro Portacarero* coſin to the Earle of Fuentes, with forty ſeauen captaines and officers more and ſmall loſſe vnto themſelues : But in the end the Spaniards tooke certaine forts from the Italiens and forced them to abandon the towne of Sichem, not without loſſe of either part. Prince *Maurice* and the Eſtates were not in the meane time without ſome feare that if during the ſharpe winter they ſhould bee reconciled they might through meanes of the ice (the froſt being great) attempt ſome thing vpon Holland, or ſome other place, wherefore they wrought ſo as the Italiens offred their ſeruice to the French King, ſo long as the King of Spaine ſhould retaine all ther pay, and not ſatiſfie them al arrerages wherevpon they did write vnto the French King the laſt of Nouember, intreating him that he would be pleaſed to receiue into his ſeruice and vnder his protection them and all their companies being a thouſand and two hundred foote and ſeauen hundred horſe, all old ſoldiers. The King hauing ſeene their letters, and what they required he referred the buſines to Prince *Maurice* and the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, to whome hee recommended them. According to which anſwer the ſaid Italiens ſent two captaines on their behalfe *Iohn Baptiſta Soſſy* and *Homodormy*, to the Hage in Holland with letters of credit, and power to treat with the ſayed Eſtates, or their deputies in the towne of Breda, vpon ſafe conducts demanded by them. Their letters were written when they were yet in the towne of Sichem, wherevnto anſwer was made that if they were forced to leaue the towne they ſhould be aſſiſted. And being afterwards forced therevnto, the Eſtates and the gouernor of Breda promiſed to retire them vnder the ſaid towne, and into Langh-ſtrate, and that they might come freely into the ſaid towne to buy their prouiſions and neceſſaries. This mutine of the King of Spaines Italiens, fell out happely for the Eſtates, for the Spaniards ſpent a long time, ſeeking to force them : the which was furthered by the mutine of the Spaniards and Wallons at Pont vpon Sambre, who ſupported one another and in the meane time the Eſtates were not moleſted nor diſquieted neither by the one or the other.

A B C D F F

The mutinous Italiens and Spaniards fight.

The mutined Italiens offer their ſeruice to the French King.

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A In the end of winter they were offered by *Erneſtus* to haue their pay, with many other preferments (the Arch-duke fearing leaſt they ſhould make ſome compoſition with Prince *Maurice*) ſo as in February 1595. with the priuitie and conſent of Prince *Maurice* (from whome openly they confeſt to haue beene releeued) they obtained the foreſaid Articles, and were to remaine at Thienen, the which they might fortifie, vntill they were fully ſatisfied, and in the meane time they ſhould receiue dayly from Bruſſelles thirty ſtiuers for a horſe-man, twelue ſtiuers for a foote-man, thirteene crownes for the Electo, tenne crownes for the Councell, and ſixe crownes for the Sargaint Maior euery day: So as altogither amounted to ſome 500. crownes a day: And for hoſtage they had *Franciſco de Padiglia*, whome they B kept ſafely. This was about the time that the Arch-duke *Erneſtus* dyed: And thus they continued ſeauenteene monethes, vntill that Cardinall *Albertus* came into the country. In the meane time they ſent fiue companies to the Earle of Fuentes beeing before Cambray: And whereas Liere was almoſt taken, they came as farre as Maclyn to releeue it: But in the meane time they abandoned *Mario Homodormy*, *Baptiſta Roſſi* and two others (who were their Comitties in Breda) moſt ſhamefully proclayming them enemies, for that *Fuentes* had ſo done; but they were pittied by ſome of them, who ſent them mayntenance: At the laſt in the yeare 1596. when as the Cardinall went to beſeege Hulſt, they were accounted with, and receiued three hundred & thirty thouſand crownes, and the contribution which C they had receiued amounted to three hundred ſixtie thouſand crownes, beſides the contribution they had receiued before they went to Thienen, and the place was fortified at the charge of the countrie. 1595.

A compoſition made with the mutiners.

As for them vpon Pont Sambre, being once pacified, they were ſent vnder the command of the Prince of Chymai to ſtop the courſes of them of Cambray vppon the country of Henault, and they were lodged about Haurec, whereas they remained ſo long as they ruined the whole country thereabouts of Henault and Arthois, more then any enemie could haue done. The Duke of Bouillon Lieutenant to the French King of his armie in the countrie of Luxembourgh, and Cont *Philipe* of Naſſau Commander of the Eſtates troupes, being ioyned togither in Luxembourg, hauing taken D the townes of Yuois, Momedi, Vireton-Srete and other places, after they had ſpoyled that quarter, the Earle meaning to returne into the vnited Prouinces, with foure Cornets of horſe, hee found him-ſelfe in the middeſt of all Cont *Manſſeldts* footemen, through the which hee paſt, with the loſſe of three ſcore men, and two of his Captaines: the which happened for that the Duke by reaſon of the high waters could not ſuccor him. But two daies after thoſe two Noblemen meeting with eleuen of *Manſſeldts* Cornets, defeated them, whereas many were ſlaine vpon the place, beſides the priſoners, among which was *Manſſeldts* Lieutenant. Afterwards the ſaid Duke and Earle had ſundry diſſeignes which ſucceeded not, as vppon the towne of Thionuille and other places, and as they needed the French Kings E Army elſe where: And the generall Eſtates had alſo very great need of their troopes; they diuided them-ſelues: The D ke returned into France, and the Earle marching with his men along the frontiers of Picardie, went and imbarked at Diepe, from whence hee returned into Zealand: Holding it very vnfitte for him to returne the ſame way hee came, by reaſon of Cont *Manſſeldts* troopes, who at that time went into Hongarie to ſerue the Emperour againſt the Turke, where hee diſcharged him-ſelfe faithfully and honourably beeing Lieutenant to the Arch-duke *Mathias* of Auſtria, generall of the Chriſtians army: during the which ſeruice the ſaid Earle died (after that he had obtained goodly victories againſt the Turke) in the towne of Graen the yeare following.

Cont Philip returns by Sea.

F The French King being at Amiens did write his letters on the ſeauenteenth of December to the Eſtates of Arthois and Henault, the which hee ſent by a Trumpet: by the which he did aduertiſe them that if they did not forbeare to ſuccor the rebellious Leaguers vppon the Frontiers of Picardie and elſewhere, hee was reſolued to make warre againſt them, giuing them time to conſider thereon vntill the end of

The French King writes to the townes of Arthois & Henault.

January

1595. The Arch-dukes propoſition in the Aſſemblie of the Eſtates at Bruſſelles.

Ianuary following. To which letters they made no anſwer: vppon the receipt of this letter, the Prouinces vnder the Kings obedience, aſſembled at Bruſſelles vpon the firſt of Ianuary. 1595. only the Clergie & the Nobilitie, but not the Townes. Where at their firſt ceſſion the Arch-duke made a declaration in Spaniſh, the effect was, that the King had written vnto him and charged him as his good Brother and Couſin, that hee ſhould indeauour by all poſſible meanes to vnite the countrie by peace, and to free it from the ſpoiles and miſeries it had ſo long indured, for which cauſe alone hee had left his eaſe and was come thether to effect his Maieſties good deſire; as appeared by the letters written with his Maieſties owne hand; the which ſo moued him, as hee could not but ſummon the Eſtates to appeare there before him, to impart theſe good newes vnto them, and that they had conſidered vppon a very good courſe to attayne there-vnto: Where-with they ſhould bee made acquainted the next day following by the Preſident *Richardot*. There were preſent in this Aſſemblie, *Stephano D'ybarra* and *Don Diego de Varra*, but the Earle of Fuentes came not, for that the Duke of Arſchot had proteſted hee would not giue him the place next to the Arch-duke, which honour the Emperour and his Maieſtie had giuen him, the which hee would not ſuffer a ſtranger to take from him: Where-vppon the Earle of Fuentes and *Charles* Earle of Manſfeldt (who tooke the Dukes part therein) meeting togither, they beheld each other, without any ſalutations on either part: But nothing was done at all the firſt daie, the which was ſpent in complements after the high Dutch manner: VVhereat many of the Aſſemblie, eſpecially the Biſhops and Clergie murmured.

The duke of Arſchots ſpeech in the Aſſemblie.

„ The next day the Duke of Arſchot laid open the generall neceſſities of the coun-
„ tries of Arthois and Henault, and the miſeries they indured by reaſon of the French
„ inuaſions, and how requiſit it was his Highneſſe ſhould prouide ſome ſpeedy remedie
„ for theſe miſchiefes, the which for many vrgent conſiderations ought not to bee de-
„ ferred: Saying that they had long ſince vnderſtood his Maieſties good will, the which
„ ſhould bee apparant to all the world, if they might once taſte the fruites thereof,
„ which it ſeemed the Archduke would indeauor to procure them, but when it was in
„ manner too late, the whole country beeing readie to reuolt, if they once ſwarued in
„ the leaſt poynt of ſeruice concerning their indifferent duties. They had long ſince
„ complained, and made their great wants and neceſſities knowne vnto the King, who
„ by the lawes of nature was bound to heare them, and to defend and protect his ſub-
„ iects: And that if their cries and complaints vnto his Maieſtie could not bee heard by
„ reaſon of the great diſtance betwixt him and them, nor the imminent dangers and
„ miſchiefes, which now threatned them much more then the forepaſſed, bee preuen-
„ ted, they ſhould bee forced to take ſome ſpeedy courſe therein themſelues, and that
„ hauing brought the ſame to paſſe, they would yeeld ſuch reaſons of their Action
„ vnto his Maieſtie (ſubmitting themſelues therein to the iudgement of all Chriſten-
„ dome, and calling them to witneſſe) as no man ſhould haue iuſt cauſe to charge
„ them, that they had done more then what nature and neceſſitie had taught them.
„ The which they had reſolued to ſhew in effect, if they did not hope for ſome ſpee-
„ dy helpe by this preſent Aſſemblie. Hauing deliuered theſe wordes very eloquent-
„ ly and plainely, all the Clergie cryed out *Amen*, ſaying that it was their whole
„ intent, and that it required a very ſpeedie execution. There was alſo many
„ Noblemen, as the Prince of Chymay the Dukes Sonne, the Earles of Arem-
„ bergh, *Boſſu*, *Solue*, *Barlaymont*, *Ligni* and others, who all conſented heere-
„ vnto togither.

„ Then the Duke of Arſchot made further complaint in the behalfe of the Prouin-
„ ces touching the great burthens which were laid vppon them by ſtrange ſoldiers: eſ-
„ pecially by the Spaniards, who were countenanced and incouraged by the Earle of
„ Fuentes and other ſtrangers, which ought to giue place to the naturall borne ſubiects
„ of the country, and follow the councel of the Nobility thereof, who were beſt acquain-
„ ted with the affaires of the ſame, or elſe they would with-draw themſelues both frō the
„ Kings and the countries ſeruice, and regard their owne particuler, with many other

reaſons

A reasons, all tending to a peace with the vnited Prouinces, the which the sayd might easily be effected, if the forraine soldiars might bee sent away into Turky, thereby freeing the vnited Prouince from all suspition, and so they might treat with them as with neighbors, and not as Rebells. 1595.

The Archduke *Ernestus* seeing the Estates to presse him thus vnto a peace, hee let them vnderstand how much hee had labored to reconcile the vnited Prouinces, who would by no meanes harken vnto it, and that he could not proceed any further therein, without some preiudice and blemish to his Maiesties authority and honor: And therefore hee desired their aduice in three points. First whether the necessity were so
B great, as the King must of force doe it. The second if it were fit and conuenient to offer more vnto the enemy then had beene already offred, as to referre the conditions of peace vnto their owne discretions. The third whether any other treatie of peace were to bee made, and how that might bee effected. Wherevnto the Estates made a full answere in writing: shewing, that peace was both reasonable, necessarie, honorable and easie to bee concluded: Wherevnto the Archduke (as it seemed) consented, promising to recommend it in such sort, as hee doubted not but the King of Spaine would bee easily perswaded therevnto: And that hee would also mooue the Pope and Emperor therein, who had alreadie demaunded the opinions of diuers learned men (who were well acquainted with the question of the Netherlands) and
C among the rest of the learned councellor *Wesenbeeke*, as then remayning in Wittenbergh) what they thought thereof, wherein all Christendome seemed to consent and agree, desyring them in the meane time to persist in their accustomed duties and ancient vnitie, vntill that hee receiued an answere from the King concerning the same: but notwithstanding all these good words and faire hopes, the Archduke *Ernestus* letters sent vnto the King of Spaine in September, beeing intercepted by the vnited Prouinces, contained nothing els, but that there was not any thing to bee done in the Netherlands, but by force and violence. To the like effect were the letters written by *Don Guillaume* of Saint Clement from the Emperors Court, the which were intercepted: that the rebels should bee brought to that extremitiy, as they must bee forD ced to seeke and sue for a peace &c. But their resolution pleased not the Archduke, neuertheless his seeming to consent, and his faire promises satisfied the assembly for that time, so as by reason of his death (which followed not long after) all alterations were preuented.

The French King seeing that they of Arthois and Henault did not vouchsafe to make any answere to these his letters, hee caused an Edict to bee proclaimed, made at Paris the seauenteene day of Ianuary, by the which (for the reasons therein contained) hee declared the King of Spaine and the Netherlands vnder his obedience his enemies, denouncing open warre against them. The which hee did also cause to bee proclaimed throughout all the fronter townes of his realme. 1595. The French King proclaimes war against the King of Spaine.

E According to which the like Edict was proclaimed in Brusselles on the King of Spaines behalfe, against the French King whome hee called Prince of Biarne, and all his subiects that held his partie, except the Leaguers, the which hee termed the good confederate French Catholikes, whome hee promised and protested to aide, fauor and succor, with all the meanes which almighty GOD had giuen him. And the like hee promiseth vnto all other of the French Nation, bee they townes, commonalties or priuate persons, that within two monethes after the sayd publication shall forsake him, and giue sufficient testimony, that they are no enemies to the Romish, Catholike and Apostolike religion, nor to his Maiesty. This Edict bearing date the seauenth day of March, was in like manner proclaimed throughout all the townes
F of the Netherlands vnder the Kings obedience. The King of Spaine proclaimes warre against the French.

The Archduke *Ernestus* on the 19. day of February had in his owne name made a proclamation and prescribed an order which he would haue obserued to defend himselfe against the courses and attempts of the Prince of Bearne, carrying himselfe (sayd hee) for King of France, who had begunne warre: with other pointes how they

1595. they ſhould gouerne themſelues towardes French leaguers, who had before made A
their reſidence in the ſayd Countries, or ſhould hereafter come and remaine there.
And herevpon the warres grew hot of either part: The French running daily euen to
the ports of Arras and Mons: And they of Arthois to Amiens, Peronne, and farther in-
to Piccardy.

On the ſeauenth day of that month of February, Cont *Philip* of Hohenloo, Barron of
Langenbergh did marrie (in the caſtle of Buren) with the Lady *Mary* of Naſſau, daugh-
The Earle of Hohenloo marries the Lady Mary of Naſſau. ter of the deceaſed Prince of Orange and of the Lady of Egmont, daughter to *Maximi-*
lian Earle of Buren the which hee had by the Lady of Launoy the onelie heire of the
houſe of Launoy. This marriage had beene in queſtion during the life of the Prince
her father, but for certaine reaſons it was deferred vnto that day: The general Eſtates B
ſent the chiefe of all their deputies to honor this marriage, as well with their perſons,
as with rich and ſtately preſents worthy the merites and the memorie of the deceaſed Prince of Orange, and the long and faithfull ſeruices of the ſayd Earle of Hohenloo, whereof the many ſcarres which hee carries on his bodie, of the woundes which hee hath receiued in the Eſtates ſeruice, in the life time of the ſayd Prince, and vnder Prince *Maurice* his ſonne, to whom he was and is yet Lieutenant, may giue ſufficient teſtimony.

The ſame Winter the Vicont of Turene, Duke of Bouillon (hauing gotten the title
The duke of Bouillons marriage. of duke by his precedent wife, who was ducheſſe of Bouillon and the onely heire of
the houſe of *la Marke*) married with the Lady *Elizabeth* of Naſſau, ſecond daughter C
to the ſayd Prince of Orange, which hee had by his third wife the Lady *Carlot* of
Bourbon, the ſolemnities of which marriage were celebrated in the caſtle of Sedan,
whereas at this day they keepe their Court.

The eight day of February the ſignior of *Herauguiere* Gouernor of Breda, hauing
with him twelue companies of foote and foureteene cornets of the States horſe, ſurprized the caſtle and then the towne of Huy in the dioceſe of Liege, the which is one
of the Biſhops pallaces, ſcituated vpon the riuer of Meuſe, with a goodly ſtone bridge
ouer the riuer, and within fiue leagues of the towne of Liege. Thirty men did this
exploite lying hidden in a houſe ioyning to the caſtle, and right againſt a windoe
which they got vnto with ladders made of ropes. Hauing thus wonne the caſtle, D
they ſeized vpon the towne, whereas the gards thought to make defence, but ſeeing
Herauguiere follow with ſo great troupes, they laid downe their armes and were
content to receiue a garriſon into the towne, the which *Herauguiere* did place there
and in the caſtle likewiſe, which hee beganne to furniſh with all things neceſſarie, reducing all the neighbour countrie that was ſubiect to the King of Spaine, about Namur and in Brabant to contribution, beeing reſolued to hold that place to haue a paſſage and a retreate on the other ſide of the riuer of Meuſe. In the meane time, part
of the horſemen beeing in garriſon in Huy, going forth to ſeeke their aduenture,
neere vnto Momedy they met with ſeauen cartes laden with Italien Marchandiſe,
A rich booty taken by the Eſtates men. as veluet and other ſortes of ſilkes, with gold and ſiluer lace, appointed for the E
towne of Antwerp, the which was all ſpoiled and the bootie diuided amongſt them.
And as they of the garriſons of Berghen vp Zoom, Breda, and other places vnder
the Eſtates commaund in Brabant, thought to retire home with their bootie, beeing come neere vnto Tillemont, hearing that captaine *Grobendonc* was vpon the paſſage and attended them with ſome certaine horſe and foote; they diuided themſelues into three troupes, whereof the one was incountred and defeated. Beſides the bootie, *Grobendonc* tooke about ſome threeſcore horſes, moſt of the men beeing ſlaine.

The one and twenty day of February after a long languiſhing ſickneſſe, the Arch-
The death of the Archduke of Auſtria. duke *Erneſtus* died, yonger brother to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, and ſonne to *Maximilian* F
the ſecond, being forty and two yeares old, hauing beene but thirteene monethes Gouernor of the Netherlands for the King of Spaine his vncle, brother in lawe and couſin. Some gaue it out that hee died of verie melancholie and greefe, to ſee matters goe ſo againſt the haire; Frſt for the marriage of the Infanta; Secondly for that hee

did

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A did see the affaires of the Emperour his Brother, and of all the house of Austria, succeeded not well against the Turke: then for that hee found his hope frustrate (beeing a man of a quiet spirit) of a peace and vnion which hee pretended to make in the Netherlands: for that hee sawe himselfe to bee contemned of the Spaniards, who taxed him to bee to heauie for the warres: for that hee had not in three monethes receiued any letters from the King of Spaine; and for that hee see himselfe so vilanously accused of two attempts to murther Prince *Maurice*; by one *Michell Renichon* and *Peter Du four*; whereof (notwithstanding his good disposition and all the excuses hee could make) hee could not purge himselfe from suspition. If it were so that hee were culpable, (as hee was accused by them that were executed B for this fact) such as haue well knowne him, say that it was much against his naturall disposition, and seeke to discharge him, saying that *Barlaimont* and *La Motte*, had supposed vnto them that were executed, some personage like vnto him, making them beleeue that hee was the Archduke; the which might easily bee done. Whatsoeuer it bee, hee had the reputation to bee a modest and a milde Prince. His death bred no alteration nor change, euery man attending the Kings answere touching the Articles of the peace, proiected by him and by the Estates of Arthois and Henault, as wee haue sayd. 1595.

This surprize of the towne and castle of Huy, did much trouble *Ernestus* of Bauaria, Bishoppe of Liege, Prince Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, who com- The Bishop of Liege complaines to the Estates for the taking of Huy.
C plained to the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, demaunding punishment of the vndertakers and breakers of the neutralitie and good neighbour-hood betwixt the sayd Estates and countrie of Liege, togither with reparation of domages done by their men.

The Estates answered them at the first, that they held not the place but for a certaine time, and not to doe any wrong to the Inhabitants and subiects of the countrie of Liege, but to serue them for a passage, the which might as well bee graunted vnto them as to their enemies in the townes of Bonne, Berke and diuers other places belonging to the sayd Prince Elector. And as the generall Estates were verie long (in his opinion) before they could resolue or agree, vpon the restitution Huy taken againe by assault by the Spaniard.
D and reparation by him required, hee fled for succour to Brusselles, to the Kings councell, who presently sent the Earles of Fuentes and *Barlaymont* with the Lord of La Motte, who besieged the towne, and tooke it by an assault the thirteenth day of March with great slaughter of them of the garrison, whereof some saued themselues in the castle the which the Bishoppe caused instantly to bee battred in the mynes, wherewith *Heranguiere* beeing terrefied, expecting no succors, hee yeelded vp the place, going himself forth with one horse, and the soldiars with their rapiers and daggers, and as much baggage as they could beare.

About that time Prince *Maurice* went in person to an enterprise vpon the towne Prince Maurice enterprize vpon Bruges.
of Bruges in Flanders, but by reason of the darkenesse of the night the way beeing very
E long from their landing, the troupes beeing straied out of the way, and the Princes guide hauing lost his course, they were forced with great labour and toyle to returne without any effect.

In the same moneth of March *George Euerard* Earle of Solms, Lieutenant to Prince *Maurice* in Zeeland and Colloniel of the Regiment of Zeelanders, Gouernor of Hulst in Flanders, married at the Hage in Holland, the Ladie *Sabina* of Egmont, Daughter to Cont *Amoral* of Egmont Prince of Gaure and of Steenhuysen, and of the Ladie *Sabina* of Bauaria Palatin of Rhine. The generall Estates did honour the solemnyzing of this marriage with their Deputies, and did gratefie them with rich and stately presentes, in requitall of the seruices which the Earle of Solms had
F done them, and did them dailie; as also for the alliance which hee hath with the house of Nassau.

The eight and twenty day of March the riuer of Meuse did swell and rise so high, as about nine of the clocke at night the bankes were carried away neere vnto Gorrichom; and that quarter of Papendrecht was wholie drowned. The towne

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1595. of Schoon-houen did suffer much by this inundation, the which had carried away A the walles, (the towne being full of water,) if they had not broken a dike a little higher to giue free passage to the violence of the streame, by which meanes Schoone-houen was freed, but not without great losse and hurt of that which the water had spoyled in Caues and otherwise.

They of Dordrect which is the first towne in Holland, after the example of Amsterdam and other townes of Holland and Zeeland, hauing long before designed to make their towne greater, towardes that land which they had recouered from the water, they beganne the foure and twentie day of Iulie to lay their plot, and to begin their first worke, the which beeing finished wil be a great beautie and commoditie to the sayd towne. B

Prince *Maurice* beeing camped with the Estates army before the towne of Groll in the countrie of Oueryssel, the Councell of Spaine at Brusselles, (to hinder this designe,) sent *Mondragon* with some troupes, with an intent to make him dislodge from thence, or to doe some affront to his campe. The Estates being aduertised of his comming, (to whom they had made the Spanish forces greater then they were) fearing that the Prince with his small army should bee ingaged, they were of opinion not to hazard his person and his whole campe, for such a paltrie place, but that hee should retire from thence vnder the towne of Zutphen. *Mondragon* seeing hee could get no aduantage of him, and thinking that hee had wonne honour ynough to drawe him from that place, and made his campe frutlesse for that yeare, (which was C declyning) hee made his retreat to go and passe the riuer of Rhine at Berck aboue Wesel: but the Prince beeing better informed of his forces, and in what estate his armie was, meaning to giue him a Camisado before his retreat, persued him with his troupes beyond the riuer of Lippe.

Prince Maurice pursues Mondragon in his retreat.

The second day of September Cont *Philip* of Nassau a valiant Nobleman and exceeding resolute, was sent by the Prince (his cousin) to viewe the Spaniardes campe: vpon the way hee incountred two of the enemies cornets of horse, the which hee defeated, although the Prince had commaunded him not to fight vntill that hee were come to him with the bodie of his army. Some of these horsemen that were defeated, escaped, and gaue the alarum to their whole campe: wherevpon *Mondragon* D flies to their rescue: the Earle (although hee had meanes to make an honest retreate, and so for to ioyne with the Prince who was not farre of) with the young Earle of Solms his cousin (a Nobleman of great hope) would not giue backe: but made it good against all the force of the Spaniard, after they had fought well and endured their enemies long, in the end they were both ouerthrowne, sore hurt, and taken prisoners: they were carried to Bercke, whereas within verie fewe daies after they died. *Mondragon* intreating them and vsing the best manner and order hee could, causing them to bee carefully dresst, and sending the Princes owne Surgians vnto them, and beeing dead hee sent their bodies honorablie to Wesel. Cont *Ernestus* of Nassau Brother to Cont *Philippe* (of whom the Estates and the Prince E his Cousin hoped for great matters in time to come) was also prisoner. This was a pettie battaile of young and hot blouds, who prooued but bad Marchants that got nothing.

Philip Earle of Nassau and Ernestus Earle of Solms hurt, taken prisoners and die.

The Princes army beeing some-what amazed at this route, it was not thought conuenient wilfully to pursue a victorious enemie, although it were a deere victorie for him, hauing lost three men for one. Thus *Mondragon* past his armie, the which hee safely conducted home into Brabant, and the Prince turning head againe, was aduised by the Estates to send two thousand men to serue vnder the French King.

A controuersie betwixt Edzard Earle of East-Friseland and Emden. In this yeare of our Lord 1595. there fell a great quarrell betwixt *Edzard* F the third Earle of East-Friseland (since it was reduced vnto an Earledome, and fell into his house) and the towne of Emden, which is verie famous, of great trafficke, and one of the Hans and Imperiall townes. This quarrell had his beginning and first motiue in the life time of Cont *Iohn* Brother to this Earle

Edzard

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A *Edſard*, a peaceable man, zealous to the reformed religion, and a great protector of the priuiledges of the towne of Emden and of the whole countrie: VVhereas on the other ſide *Edſard* prouoked by his wife (who was daughter to the King of Sueden) and would gladly haue commanded like a Queene in that towne (notwithſtanding their Imperiall priuiledges) ſought to change the Eſtate of religion, according vnto the confeſſion of Auſbourg, with the conſtitutions and cuſtomes of the ſaid towne, as well in matters of pollicy, as Church gouernement, euen vnto the diſtribution of the publike almes, and other deedes of charitie, the which the Earle would haue depend vppon his ſole authority. Againſt the which the Magiſtrates and Burgers oppoſed them-ſelues conſtantly, and their heart-burning grew ſo great on either B ſide, as they fell to armes. But as the Earle (who had his Caſtle within the ſaid towne demanteled) feared ſome bad euent of this warre, their controuerſie was referred (by a mutuall conſent) to the arbitrement of the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands: who ſent their Deputies to heare both parties in their fort of Delfziel, lying vppon the Dollart and the Riuer of Ems, two Leagues from Emden, to reconcile them and decide their quarrels as they did by arbitrarie ſentence, the which was very well accepted, both of the one and the other. But afterwards it was reiected by the Earle, ſo as they of the Towne were forced to haue ſome recourſe vnto the Emperour, and to the Imperiall Chamber, where they obteyned a definitiue ſentence, according to their deſires, as you ſhal here- C after here. 1595

The towne of Ham except the Caſtle, in the country of Vermandois, and that of La Fere, were then (hauing beene before deliuered vnto the Spaniards by the Leaguers) in the King of Spaines power. The French King had at that time his Armie lying before La Fere (the which was a campe ill gouerned and tedious, although the King were there him-ſelfe in perſon) the Earle of Saint Pol and the Lord of Humieres hearing that the Seignior of Gomeron Gouernour of the Caſtle of Ham, was at Bruſſelles, and had agreed to deliuer the ſaid Caſtle vnto the Spaniards for a certaine ſumme of money, and that he had ſent word vnto the Seignior of Deruillers his Brother in law and to his wife to yeeld it vp.

D The ſaid *Deruillers* refuzing to doe it, made a contrary accord with the Earle of Saint Pol and *Humieres* to giue them paſſage by the caſtle to winne the towne vppon condition (as the ſaid *Gomeron* had ingaged him-ſelfe for the deliuerie of the ſayd caſtle) that hee ſhould haue the chiefe priſoners of the Spaniards that were in the ſame towne deliuered him to redeeme his Brother in law. The Duke of Bouillon and the aboue-named two Noblemen beeing entred with good troopes into the caſtle the twentith day of Iune, they of the towne were preſently aduertiſed thereof, who intrencht them-ſelues againſt the caſtle, ſo as they muſt needes attempt it by force.

The towne & caſtle of Ham recouered for the French King

The French Kings men hauing beene twiſe repulſt, diſpayred in a manner to E become maiſters thereof, if the Duke of Bouillon and the Lord of Humieres had not aſſured and incouraged them to continue, ſo as after twelue houres fight and more, they entred the towne with the loſſe of the Lord of Humieres, who was ſlaine there, of Captaine *la Croix*, with ſome twenty Gentlemen and about ſixe ſcore ſoldiers, where there were ſlaine aboue ſeauen hundred Spaniards, Italiens, French Leaguers and Germaines, the reſt were taken priſoners, among the which were the Colonell of the Neapolitans, the Colonel of the Gefmaines, and *Marcello Caracio*, for whome the Seignior of Gomeron was redeemed. The King did much lament the death of the Lord of Humieres his Lieutenant in Picardie, a braue and valiant Knight, who had done him faithful ſeruice.

F The Earle of Fuentes a Spaniard, being then Gouernor by prouiſion of the Netherlands for the King of Spaine, (expecting the comming of the Cardinall *Albert* of Auſtria the Emperors Brother) had then ſent the Prince of Chymay, now Duke of Arſchot and of Croy, to beſeege the towne of Chaſtelet in the ſame countrie of Vermandois, whileſt that he himſelfe was with the bodie of his Armie before Cambray. *Mons de la*

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1595. *Grange* was within Chastelet with 600. soldiars, where he defended him-selfe valiantly A
but after that he had endured many assaults, hee was forced to yeeld it vp, hauing an
honorable composition: And by this meanes the Earle of Fuentes did presse Cambray
the more.

Chastelet being thus wonne, the Earle of Fuentes went to beseege the towne and
Dourlans beseeged by the Spaniard. Castle of Dourlans, a small towne, but well seated vpon the riuer of Anthy: *Valentine de par dieu*, Seignior of la *Motte*, gouernor of graueling, General of the Artillery for the
King of Spaine, (being neere vnto the Artillery to prepare the battery) was shot into
the head from the towne, whereof he dyed soone after, and was carried to be buried at
Saint *Omer*: making an end of so many warres, and so great seruices which he had done
vnto the King of Spaine, being now growne very old; not long before he had purcha- B
sed of a French Nobleman, the Lordship of Eckelbeke, (a goodly thing) in Flanders,
which the King of Spaine erected to an Earledome in recompence of his loyall seruices, and so he died in the bed of honor, and was buried with the title of an earle. He was
La Motte slaine before Dourlans a French man borne, a gentleman in the beginning of very smalle meanes, both his
father and he (being young) came to serue the Emperor, at the Campe before Teroanne, at the first hee was entertayned by the Lord of Bignicourt, a Knight the of order,
His disposition. where hee had his first aduancement in quality of a Squier to the said Nobleman: vntill he was captaine, then in the beginning of the troubles, besides his company, he
was Sargent Maior of the Earle of Reux his Regiment, during which time he committed great cruelties in Flanders, against them of the religion. Then he went to be Lieu- C
tenant to the Siegnor of Croissoniere gouernor of Graueling, after whose death (being
slaine before Harlem) he succeeded in the said gouernment and continued vntil his death
and had afterwards great charges (as well in the seruice of the generall Estates, during
their generall vnion (as of the King of Spaine, to whome he did neuer any bad seruice,
what shew soeuer he made) as of Collonel, generall of the Artillery, Marshall of the
campe cheefe and conductor of diuers honorable exployts and enterprises, the which
for the most part succeded happely, with other titles and degrees of honor, in the which
he gathered together great welth. He died without children although hee had one
daughter by his first wife, the which died being redie to marry. He had to his second
wife the daughter of the Lord of Croix, of the house of Noyelle of Arthois. He was D
one of the most pollitike (although hee were vnlearned) and subtill Captaines of
his time.

Mounsier de Villars gouernor of Rouen and Newe-hauen, being come with certaine
Villars and his troupes defeated neere vnto Dourlans. troupes of horse and foote to releeue the beseeged within Dourlans, was incountred
and charged by the Earle of Fuentes men, and put to rout, many of his men were
slaine, he himselfe being ouerthrowne from his horse, was taken prisoner, hauing
his leg broken, afterwards the Spaniards stabd him with their daggers in cold bloud
for that hee had forsaken the league and reconciled him-selfe to the King. Dourlans
being in this sort beseeged by the Spaniards and the Castell furiously battered, the
forts betwixt the towne and the Castell wonne, and by the blowing vp of a mine, a E
small breach made: the beseeged (who thought of nothing lesse then an assault)
holding the breach not assaltable, yet the Earle of Fuentes caused a furious assault to
bee giuen, with such a multitude, as the soldiars thrust one another forward with
Dourlans taken by assault by the Spaniards. their shoulders to make them enter the breach, such as it was, the which they hauing forced, at a confused cry of *victoria*, *victoria*, the beseeged grew amazed and
abandoned this breach, euery one beginning to fly and to saue himselfe as he could.
And so the towne was taken at this assault the last day of Iune, whereas the slaughter was very great, but their insolency against wiues and virgins exceeded all measure. It is a strange thing that a thousand fiue hundred men which were within it
among the which there were so many bragging Gentlemen and of the Nobility, F
could not repell such an assault, at so insufficient a breach, but it seemed that GOD
would purge France of these Lees of the league, who had but for faction sake reconciled them-selues vnto the King.

About

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A About that time the Earle of Fuentes (vnder coullor to puniſh a certaine mutinie made of purpoſe by the Germaines, who were in garriſon in the towne of Bruſſelles) thought to draw two thouſand Spaniards into the towne, the which the Burgers diſcouering preuented. So as for ſpight (beeing in like manner kept out of Macklyn and Vittevorde) they fell vppon the Champian country of Brabant, who by this meanes were more afflicted by their owne men, then by their enemies: beſides the dearth was generally very great: which made the poore commons to weepe and to lament their miſeries, yet knew they not to whome to flie for remedie to relieue their wants. 1595.

For which conſideration, the Eſtates both of the Clergie and the Secular, of thoſe
B Prouinces which remained vnder the King of Spaines obedience, but eſpecially the Nobilitie, were moued of them-ſelues to ſeeke ſome meanes of peace, and after diuers conferences togither, hauing receiued paſport from the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, to ſend their Deputies into Zealand to the ſaid Eſtates, and to Prince *Maurice*. They deputed the Seignior of Lyeſvell ſometimes Chancellor of Brabant, in the Duke of Anious time, with *Hartius* and *Maes* Lawiers, with a Secretarie of the Duke of Arſchot. The which on the fourteenth of Aprill came into Zealand, where they conferred with Prince *Maurice*, being accompanied by *Iames Valck* Treſorer general, and *Chriſtopher Roels* Pentioner of the Countie of Zealand, requiring that they might bee admitted to propound ſome way of an Accord betwixt the King of
C Spaine and his reconciled Eſtates, with the ſayd Prince and the confederate Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces.

The Eſtates vnder the King of Spain ſeeke peace of the vnited Prouinces.

Where-vppon the Prince made anſwer, that the generall Eſtates confederate, had no intent to treat but with the ſaid Eſtates of the reconciled Prouinces, and not with the King of Spaine, againſt whome (as their mortall enemie) they were allied with other neighbour Princes, who were alſo his enemies, and that they had long ſince abiured him: Wherefore they held him ſo irreconcilably offended, as they knew well hee could neuer forget the wrong, which hee holds hath beene therein done him. But that vppon the firſt opportunitie hee would be reuenged, building vpon the Canon of the Councel of Conſtance: *Cum hereticis non eſt ſeruanda fides.*

Prince Maurice his anſwer to the Deputies of the reconciled Eſtates.

D But if the Eſtates vnder the King, would faithfully and ſincerely, enter into any conference of peace: that the ſayd confederate Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces were content to conuert their wars into peace and friendſhip, therewith ſending their reſolution in writing, conteyning foure Articles, which they muſt reſolue vpon, before they would begin to enter into treaty with them, which were.

1 Firſt, that they ſhould cauſe all ſtrangers and ſoldiers to depart out of the countrie, and to reduce them-ſelues into an abſolute freedome, whereby they might treat of a peace without the King, and that the Deputies and Eſtates of the ſaid Prouinces which ſhould treat of a peace, ſhould be appointed by them without the King, with whome the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces would then treat, as deſiring no-
E thing more then to ſee thoſe long and bloudy wars conuerted into an aſſured and firme peace vpon good and tollerable conditions.

Articles propounded by the vnited Eſtates.

2 Secondly that nothing ſhould be altered nor changed in religion, but it ſhould be referred to the diſcretion of the Eſtates of each Prouince: and that no man elſe ſhould deale therein.

3 That the Prouinces which were willing to treat of a peace with the vnited Prouinces, among other conditions muſt be content to enter into treaty with the French King and the Queene of England, and to vndergoe all the charges of the whole body of the generall Eſtates, all the debts where-into the vnited Prouinces are falne, for the defence of their liberties againſt the Spaniards and other ſtrangers.

F 4 Laſtly that peace beeing made vppon thoſe and other conditions, the ſaid vnited Prouinces offered all their power, and meanes to helpe to maintaine the other Prouinces in their liberties and freedomes, and to oppoſe them-ſelues againſt all that ſhould ſeeke to moleſt, wrong or diſmember them.

In this caſe the ſayd Ambaſſadours had no other commiſſion, but to moue

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1595. a treaty of peace, betwixt the King and his Estates on the one part, and the vnited prouinces on the other, so as the question betweene them now was whether the king should be comprehended therein or not, where-vpon the Ambassadors returned againe speedely, and made report what had beene propounded, the which was sent into Spaine with the opinion of the said Ambassadors. A

The Articles of the confederate Estates were by some (which held the King of Spaines party) very ill taken, and by others (which desired a peace) in some sort tollerated saying, that they were not altogether voyd of reason, and that by a good conference they might be easely moderated. And therefore considering the quality of the time which prest them, and the pouerty and lamentations of the people, they should not let slippe so good occasions without treating: and if they did absolutly reiect the said conference of peace, it was to be feared that the vnited Prouinces would make stronger and firmer alliances with their neighbours, whereby they should be frustrate of all hope, euer to attaine vnto it. Seeing that the Estates of the said vnited Prouinces, by reason of their waters and riuers together with their infinite number of shippes, with the which they did sayle into all the partes of the world, had better meanes to maintaine them-selues then they had, who haue no hauens nor shippes to compare, beeing also enuironed by three mighty enemies, the French King, the Queene of England, and the said confederat Estates: who had no more to doe but to defend their fronters with small garrisons. Moreouer they said, that the King of Spaine needed not to doubt, that his Estates and Nobility, (which were so much bound and affected vnto him) would by the said conference conclude or yeeld to any thing, that should bee contrary to his honor, greatnes and authority. And if it should be so, that the King for the good of his people, and preseruation of his countries, should make no difficulty to yeeld a little. B C

Diuers opinions vpon the Articles propounded by the confederat Estates.

And the rather for that by the said Articles, the confederats did not demand that the reconciled Prouinces should change their Princes, Estate, Gouernment or religion. And that of all which should bee concluded by the said conference, the confederate Estates should more trust the reconcyled, then the King, by reason of their distrust and feare of his power, and desire of reuenge, the which they needed not to feare in them. Besides that by this treaty of peace, they should much weaken their enemies, there being some hope that the French King and the Queene of England would consequently become their friends, who demand nothing more then the retreat of the Spaniards, and of all strange soldiars, their naturall enemies: the which being retired, they shall no more haue any such great occasion of warre: for assurance of whose retreat, they might giue good hostages; where-vnto the Earle of Fuentes did willingly offer himselfe, retaining the kings authority. D

Where-vpon such as were Spaniards in heart, and who preferred the Kings affaiers before al other things would in like manner haue his honor, greatnesse, authority, reputation and generally his rights and prerogatiues preferred and be first obserued: and that they should rather force the confederats to reconcile them-selues vnto his maiesty, their naturall Prince: who notwithstanding so many wrongs and indignities which he had receiued from the said confederats, was yet ready to treat mildely and sincerely with them: for the which they should intreat, and sue vnto his Maiesty: wherefore it was more then necessary, that his Authority should be interposed, as a principall party, whome it did cheefely concerne. Otherwise that in excluding the king from the said conference and treaty, they giue him occasion to make warre against themselues, being not qualified nor authorized from his Maiestie. And that the confederate rebells, nor all their actions nor doings had not deserued so great honor, nor hee so small respect. E

Besides it did not belong to them to prescribe conditions to their Soueraigne (that by treating onely with the Estates) to exclude him vnder collour of their doubts and distrusts: and that their heresies and rebellions were the true causes and grounds for the which they would not acknowledg the King their naturall Prince, neither F

will

A will they euer acknowledge him with a good heart, whatsoeuer is done to them. 1595.
Wherefore if they would not comprehend the King in their treaty, that it could not passe without to great preiudice to his greatnesse, and to their dutie of obedience and fidelitie, by the which they are bound vnto him. The which ought not to bee tollerated, that his authoritie should depend vpon his vassalls and subiects, which were rebells and heretikes.

Thus spake they which from the beginning of the troubles in the yeare of our Lord 1566. would neuer heare the other partie and who inricht themselues by the ciuill warres, at the charge, and with the sweat and bloud of the poore commons: speaking in this sort directly against the opinion of all good and well affected countriemen: to
B whome these violent courses (for thirtie yeares past) could not bee pleasing. All these allegations of either side, betwixt the reconciled Estates, the good countriemen, and them that were Spanish, were not to aduance any great matter in the treatie of peace, (so much desired by the Commons, the Nobilitie and the Clergie as indeed it tooke no effect). But to entertaine the people, and to keepe them in obedience, they made them beleeue that great Princes should deale in it, hauing once receiued the Kings answere, vpon the sayd Articles. And on the other side the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces made a manifest declaration, that it was not their fault they entred not into conference of an accord: but the Spaniardes, and of their councell, who did sticke more vpon that which they sayd depended of the Kings authoritie,
C then of the preseruation of the common-weale, and the good of neighbour Princes, which they regard least: hauing no other sound in their mouthes, but that, *Our King is mightie &c.*

About this time there was a letter dispersed abroad and in many mens hands, some said it was written by that learned Scholler *Iustus Lipsius*, who beeing desired by certaine councellors to deliuer his opinion whether it were better to haue warre then peace, made answere bearing date the third of Ianuary in the yeare of our Lord 1595. Saying, that the King had three seuerall enemies: the French, the English and the vnited Prouinces, two of them were forraine, and the third a domesticall enemie, rather to bee tearmed a rebell then a right enemie; for the first two, if the house of Aus-
D tria stood not in feare of the inhumaine and barbarous Turkes, the King might easily bridle them, proceeding in his warre with good discipline, imploying his treasure well, and aduancing men of merrit to places of commaund, but in regard that the Turke threatned Christendome, it was to bee considered whether it were better to make a peace with these two forraine enemies, or with either of them, seeing that the Hollanders were in a manner out of heart, hauing both the French and
E English to their aide; what then were to bee expected from them, if wee made peace with one of these forraine enemies, as namelie with the Queene of England, who hath in her handes the two strong entries of Zeeland and Holland? beeing of an opinion that shee would not stand verie much against a peace, both in regard that shee was a woman, as also for that her treasure was well spent and exhausted, hauing but a small meanes, and for that the warres were maintayned against the common peoples mindes, who desired nothing but trafficke and freedome.

The like opinion of a learned man touching the peace.

The cause why shee entertained these warres, was more for feare then for any great hatred: the greatnesse and power of the King, and the valour and dexteritie of the Spaniards for these three-score yeares had beene fearefull to all neighbour Princes. Wherefore to bridle that great power, and to free her from feare, making no shew of any ambition she would dissolue this vnion, for deeds and not wordes exalt kingdomes.

F The like was also to bee hoped of the French King, who verie secretlie and seriously seekes for peace, in regard that his Kingdome is newe, his Estate yet vncertaine, and the chiefest of his Nobilitie factious; all which considerations perswade him to make a peace; as also his treasure beeing wholie wasted and spent, beeing supported by strangers, both secretly and openly. But whether the King of

1595. „ Spaine would desire to make a peace with him or noe, he knew not but to make a truce A
„ with him, or surceance of armes for a time, could not be preiudiciall (reseruing all titles
„ and lawfull pretences) for what security were there to be expected where the succes-
„ sor and succession is vncertaine? wherefore hauing the French King of the one side, who
„ will not enterprise much if hee be not vrged, wee might easely deale with the English.
„ Touching the vnited Prouinces, that warre would bee most preiudiciall, and without
„ hope of any great gaine; for they had good orders and discipline among them; they
„ had a certaine reason, the best townes, and good soldiars, who were much incorraged
„ by fresh and late victories, and their gouernment and vnion was hard to be broken, as
„ long as the warre, feare and suspition endured; wherefore we must haue a small peace,
„ or an abstinence from war for a time, The Hollanders being more couetous then ambi- B
„ tious, and alwaies in such a warre, any little peace or truce is a furtherance to Princes,
„ who can take fishes with golden nets. The Maiestie of Princes is of great force to draw
„ mens hearts, when there be any probable reasons to moue them, men should vndermine
„ their enemies, especially in their popular gouernment, sowing diuision among them
„ who now through feare are so firmely vnited and hauing a surceance from armes by
„ means of a truce, we might be able to effect many secret practises. And for an example
„ of the like nature, *Sextus Pompeius* in the warre he made against *Augustus Cæsar*, hold-
„ ding Sicilia and Sardinia, he brought all Italie into extreme want and misery, who by a
„ short peace procured his owne ruine: where it was concluded betwixt them that all
„ such as had fled away, might returne home againe, and that the soldiars should be dis- C
„ charged and sent away, whereby *Menas Pompeis* chiefe Captaine was secretly cor-
„ rupted with guifts, and then it appeered, that that shalloe witted captaine *Pompeie*, who
„ not long before was held another *Neptune*, commanding both sea and land, was forced
„ to fly in a small shippe, and to yeeld his necke vnto his enemies sword, and so within
„ lesse then a yeare that great warre was ended: This hee held to bee the best course,
„ finding that warre was the cause of all corruptions and miseries, and was able to bring
„ the mightest kingdomes to ruine.

Shippes of Holland and Zeeland discharged in Spaine.

At this time the better to satisfie the common people a rumor was spred abroad
that the Princely Cardinall *Albertus* should come to gouerne the Netherlands, and D
succeed his brother *Ernestus*, and to make him the more acceptable and pleasing vnto
the people, many Esterlings and Netherland ships (which had beene stayed in Spaine,
to go as men of warre, to meete with the Indian fleet which was then to come home)
were discharged in diuers hauens, and set at liberty: And in Siuille the Duke of Medi-
na Sidonia tould the marchants, and saylers of these shippes, that the King had expres-
ly commanded it should be done, being moued there-vnto by the Cardinall of Austria,
and that from henceforth all the Netherlands shippes might freely come into Spaine
and passe away againe, to the which end all men that would desire it should haue pas-
ports graunted them, hoping that in time they would be more mindfull of the Kings
gratious fauors, and submit them-selues vnder their naturall soueraigne Prince. And E
to the end the vnited Prouinces should be the better perswaded of the Kings loue and
fauor towards them, he set *Phillip* of Nassau (who is now Prince of Orange and Earle of
Buren, who had beene long restrayned of his liberty in Spaine (free and at liberty, but
as it is thought at the instance of the Prince of Spaine, and the Cardinall aforesaid, that
he might goe with him into the Netherlands.

Cambray beseeged by the Spaniard.

After the taking of Chastelet and Dourlans, as we haue said, the earle of Fuentes mea-
ning to be spoken of and to make his authority eminent during the time of his proui-
sionall gouernment, limited vntill the comming of the cardinall *Albert* of Austria, and
to returne with some honor out of the Netherlands into Spaine, vnder-tooke a
greater action then any gouernor before him had euer done: which was to beseege F
the towne and Cittadell of Cambray: the which (although it were an Imperiall towne)
did acknowledge the French King for their Prince, vnder the gouernement of the Lord
of Balaigny bastard to *Iohn* of Monluc Bishoppe of Valence. In this seege (during, the
which there entred into the towne, but very late, (the hearts of the Bourgers being
lost)

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A loſt) the Duke of Rothel, ſonne to *Lewis* of Gonſague Duke of Neuers, brother to the Duke of Mantua, with the Lord of Vyck, (a braue and wiſe Caualier) the Earle of Fuentes wrought ſo by batterie and myne (hauing many of his factions in the towne among the Clergie) as the Burgers beeing wonderfully incenſed for the indignities which *Balagny* had done them, and for the inſolencies and oppreſſions of his ſoldiers, not able to indure any longer, on the ſecond of October after they had wonne the Suiſſes that were in garriſon within the towne, to beat their deuotion, and not to hinder their treatie with the Earle of Fuentes, hauing no hope of ſuccors, they yeelded vp the towne by compoſition, and vppon certaine conditions among others, that they ſhould haue none but Wallons in garriſon (remembring ſtill how B badly they had beene intreated by the Spaniards, beeing there in garriſon in the yeare 1558.) but this promiſe was not long kept; but they were ſince in farre worſe eſtate then in *Balaignies* time. The French garriſon which was within the towne (ſeeing the Swiſſers agreed with the Burgers to treat of the yeelding vp of the towne) retired into the Cittadell to *Balaigny*: where at the firſt they made ſhew to defend them-ſelues, but hauing beene ſummoned once or twiſe vppon promiſe of a good compoſition if they yeelded, and threates if they ſhould long contend (which accord *Fuentes* ſayd hee would make in fauor of the Duke of Rothel and of the Duke his father) it did ſo tereifie *Balaigny*, as on the ſeauenth of October, hee deliuered the Cittadell into the Earle of Fuentes hands, in the name of the King C of Spaine. 1595

Cambray yeelded by the Burgers.

About September this yeare the Gouernor of Breda had an enterprize vppon Lire in Brabant two Leagues from Antwerp; with certaine troopes of horſe and foote: which towne hee ſurprized by Scaladoe, hauing put the Sentinell and the Court of gard to the ſword, and breaking open one of the Ports about fiue of the clocke in the morning, hee drew in his horſemen and the reſt of his foote. Againſt whom *Alonſo de Iuna* Gouernor of the towne made ſome reſiſtance in the Market place, and at the towne-houſe; but finding him-ſelfe to weake, he retired ouer one of the Ports with his men, reſoluing to make it good, vntill hee had ſome ſuccors from Antwerp, whether he had ſent with all ſpeed: the which arriued the ſame day by the ſame D Port, whileſt that *Herauguieres* men (who ſhould haue laboured to diſlodge them and purſued their victory) were moſt buiſie to rob and ſpoile: and hee not able to rallie them in time, being diſperſed here and there, he reſolued to ſaue himſelfe, with as many of his men as he could. Thus the ſpoilers were ſpoiled and defeated, after that they had beene maiſters of the towne aboue eight houres, not caring to winne the ſaid port, and yet *Herauguiere* did cry out; importune, threaten, and ſtrike. There were aboue 500. of them ſlaine, beſides priſoners, and the loſſe of horſes. This ſhould ſerue as an example for all other vndertakers.

Lire ſurprized & loſt againe.

Cardinall *Albertus* being vpon the way towards the Netherlands, and bringing with him *Phillip* of Naſſau, Prince of Orange and Earle of Buren: the Eſtates of the Vnited E Prouinces being aduertiſed thereof, they wrot a letter vnto the Prince, bearing date the 22. of December 1595. as followeth.

My Lord, it was no ſmall ioy and contentment vnto vs all to heare of your deliuerie from ſo long and vndeſerued impriſonment, as well in remembrance of the great ſeruices which this Eſtate hath receiued from my Lord the Prince of Orange your father of famous memory as in regard of the murther which was committed vpon his perſon, which conſiderations do continually bind vs to loue and affect all ſuch, as haue the honour to belong vnto him, eſpecially your Lordſhip, who haue ſo pittifully ſpent not only your youth, but euen the beſt time of your life in the tedious and melancholy priſon, the which you could not beare without great griefe for the death of your honourable F father, the which was procured as vniuſtly as your impriſonment: & yet your Lordſhip hath therein ſhewed great conſtancy, as the neceſſity of the time & cauſe required: in regard wherof we thought fit to congratulate your liberty: but my Lord as we are informed the enemie pretends to effect great diſſeigns by this action of your honors deliuery, to the great preiudice of this Eſtate: & for that it wil be no ſmal griefe & diſcontent vnto

The vnited Eſtates write to the Prince of Orange.

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1595. „ vnto vs, to haue any cause to alter and withdraw that entire loue and affection which A
„ we beare vnto you (although we do confidently beleeue, that your Lordship wil neuer
„ be made an Instrument for the Spaniards, to vndermine and ouerthrow our freedome,
„ built vp with such great care, dilligence and wisdome, by your honourable Father the
„ Prince of Orange, who for the maintenance and defence thereof was so cruelly mur-
„ thered; and thereby to blemish that worthie memory, which is euerlastingly to be had
„ of him.) For which cause they haue thought good to intreat you, that if your Lordship
„ should haue any desire to come into these Prouinces, that it would please you to stay
„ your iourney for a while, vntill a more fit and conuenient time, whereof we will ad-
„ uertise your honor, & send you to that end fit assurance according to the orders which
„ we haue set downe all along our frontiers, not suffering any one to enter into these our B
„ vnited Prouinces, without our pasport. And so assuring our selues that your Lord-
„ ship will take this aduertisement in good part, we will here-with end, beseeching GOD
„ to send your honor long life and happy daies.

This letter being deliuered to the Prince comming to Luxembourg, he made answer there-vnto, bearing date the first of February, as followeth.

The prince of Oranges answer to the Estates.

„ My good Lords, I thanke you most hartily, for the contentment you receiue by my
„ libertie, and for the good remembrance you haue of me, as appeareth by your letters.
„ And although vntill this time I haue not beene allowed to make my loue knowne vnto
„ you, who haue alwaies so well deserued; yet I hope by this good occasion of my deliue-
„ ry, to shew you such effects to your good likings and contents, as you shall haue no C
„ cause to complaine or bee discontented there-with. And when-soeuer any occasion
„ shall be offered, whereby I may let you know how much I desire to do you seruice (as
„ he that affecteth nothing more in this world, then to see his poore oppressed countrie
„ restored to her ancient florishing Estate) I will not vndertake any thing but with your
„ good likings, and to your content. And I hope that you for your parts will not refuse
„ any dutie and seruice, that may helpe to settle a peace, & make an end of so great troub-
„ les and miseries, to the generall good of all these Prouinces, which God graunt
„ may succeed for this seruice, and giue you my Lords the full fruition of all your good
„ desires, recommending my selfe most earnestly vnto you all. From Luxembourg.
„ Signed.

Philippe William of Nassau. D

The Prince of Orange meets with his sister in the Duchie of Cleues.

The Executors of his fathers testament vppon the last day of December against his comming, sent him ten thousand gilders in ready money, as part of his owne goods: and in October after, at the said princes instance, by meanes of intercessors, it was concluded that there should bee a meeting in the Duchie of Cleues, betweene him and his own sister by the mothers side, now Countesse of Hohenlo, where they did salute & visit each other, conferring about their patrimoniall goods; where she had licence to send him tapistry, hangings, and other houshold stuffe, making great shewes of loue & friendship one vnto an other. The generall Estates sent Mounsier *Hessels* one of the Counsel E vnto him to congratulate his comming, and to let him vnderstand what order had bin taken about their reuenues in Breda, least he should haue some false reports made concerning the same.

ALBERTVS

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ALBERTVS CARDINALL OF AVSTRIA, Lieutenant and Captaine generall for the King of Spaine in the Netherlands. 1595.



ALBERTVS. D. G. ARCHIDVX AVSTRIÆ. BELG: PROVIN: GVBERNATOR.

Fifth brother of the house Imperiall
Of Austria was I borne, and seeing fate
Fail'd me, in lands and meanes proportionate
To my great birth, became a Cardinall
But my great Cousin having euermore
From my greene yeares accepted my aduise
In points of state: by his Kingly choyce
Grac'd me with place of chiefe Inquisitor.
And thinking none of all his linage bore
Perfection fitting such a match of price
As Isabel, chose me, but first of all
Stil'd me these lands Lieutenant generall.

THE

1596. The Cardinal of Austria comes to gouerne the Netherlands for the King of Spaine.

THE Cardinall *Albertus* of Austria (long attended with great deuotion in the Netherlands, by the King of Spaines subiects, all beleeuing that hee would bring a good peace, and an assured reconciliation with the vnited Prouinces) arriued at Brusselles the eleauenth of February, bringing with him *Philip* of Nassau Prince of Orange elder brother to Prince *Maurice*, hauing beene kept as it were in a prison at large in Spaine since the yeare of our Lord 1569. where hee was receiued with great pompe, euery man casting his eies vpon him as vpon the author of the countries quiet. But contrary wise (insteed of propounding some meanes of vnion and peace, at his first arriuall, as his brother *Ernestus* had done) hee was no sooner acknowledged for Gouernor, but hee prepared to make warre both against the French and the vnited Estates. And for his first beginning hee would attempt an exploit long before proiected by *Valentin De par Dieu* signior of La Motte, Gouernor of Graueling: the which the Earle of Fuentes (not content with his victories of Chastelet, Dourlans and Cambray) would willingly himselfe haue put in execution in his time: but it was reserued for the first fruites of honor which the Cardinall should get in the Netherlands at his arriuall, which was the taking of the towne of Calais, a sea port of great importance, which the French recouered from the English in the yeare 1558. the which hee went and besieged: whereas the signior of Vysdossein Nephew to *Mounsier Gourdan* was Gouernor, who had commanded there since it was conquered by the French, vntill his death, and then his Nephew succeeded him. There was but a small garrison both in the towne and castle: although the Gouernor were well aduertised, that all their preparation was against that place, yet was hee so vnfortunate and indiscreet, as hee would neither fortefie himselfe with men, nor make any prouision for a seege. Yea the generall Estates and Prince *Maurice* sending him some succors, hee would receiue but two companies, which were those of captaine *Dominique* and of *Gron*, who had not the credit to enter into the towne at the first, and much lesse into the castle, but they were put into a poore ruined fort at the head of the hauen, called Richbanc (the which had beene a stately fort built by the English and ruined at the conqueste of the French, the which *Gourdan* nor his Nephew *Vysdossein* neuer tooke any care to repaire, as it was requisit, considering the importance of the place where it was seated) and some part of them in the suburbes along the hauen, and before the port which they call Courguet, the which was nothing fortefied: where as the Cardinall made his first attempt, so as those two companies were chased from thence, after they had fought valiantly, there was captaine *Gron* slaine, the rest retired fighting into the towne, whereas they had small assistance and credit giuen them by the Inhabitants. As the Cardinall wanted no inteligence nor fauorers within the towne, the inhabitants were easily perswaded to yeeld it vp by composition, which was, that euery one should remaine quietly in the possession of his house and goods. *Vysdossein* neuer made any offer to hinder this composition nor the yeelding of the towne, neither did hee interpose his authoritie, nor doe any endeauor to suppresse the first authors of this treatie with the Spaniard. Where with the French King beeing much incensed, sent the signior of Champanolles who (notwithstanding that the towne was straightly besieged round about) entred into the castle behinde, with some hundred men. Where beeing entred, hee sought to order all things, and with the Estates souldiars (the which at the yeelding of the towne, had retired thether) and those which were of the ordinarie garrison, hauing incouraged the signior of Vysdossein, and tould him how highly the King was displeased for so yeelding vp the towne, hee resolued to attend all extremities rather then to harken to any accord.

Calais besieged by the Cardinall.

Richbanc and Courguet wonne.

The towne of Calais basely yeelded.

But the disorder was great, the ordinance beeing ill mounted, wanting Gunners and many other things necessarie for the defence of such a place, so as the Cardinall hauing made a sufficient breach, hee gaue at the first a generall and very furious assault, at the which the signior of Vysdossein, (who desired rather to die, then

to

A to leaue the place beeing taken, in regard of his honour, whereof the King did so much accuse him) was slaine and some others of his captaines, so as notwithstanding any resistance they were forced, and the castle taken at the first assault, with the slaughter of all that were found armed, whereas fewe of the Estates men escaped. There captaine *Dominique* and his Lieutenant were taken prisoners. 1596 The castle of Calais taken by assault.

The Cardinall hauing had such good successe at the taking of Calais, which was the seauenteenth day of Aprill; hee went presently to set vpon the towne of Ardre the which is held the strongest little place in France, in the which there was a good garrison, for so small a place, of twelue hundreth men, and as well furnished with ordinance (where there was a Magasin of munition like vnto that of Calais) as any
B small towne in France. Yet as soone as the Cardinall had at his first approch taken the base towne, the which is nothing but an intrenchment of a number of poore cottages and gardines towardes Gynes, whereas the cattle were wont to passe ditches and rampars) hauing planted his ordinance before the towne, and begunne to batter the Rauelin, the which they call the feast, (so named by reason of a feast which was sometimes made there betwixt the Ambassadors of the Emperour, and the Kings of France and England) the wall beeing nothing at all shaken nor the parapet beaten downe, neither yet their defences broken: the signior of Bois *de Annebout* Gouernor of the towne, yeelded it, and the Cardinall had it good cheape, hauing camped before it eight daies. Ardres besieged and basely yeelded to the Cardinal.

C To speake truelie, many were amazed at this sodaine yeelding, and at the small resistance which they made in so strong a place: I cannot impute the fault thereof, but to the coueteousnesse of the Gouernors wife, who for feare to loose her goods and treasure, might perswade her husband (who otherwise I haue knowne to bee valiant and a wise gentleman) to yeeld, for feare (that beeing forced as the castle of Calais was) to loose all. If this bee not the motiue, I know not what else could moue the Gouernor to yeeld, vnlesse the vnfortunatnesse of the French made them then to faint and to forget their duties, for that as Mounsire *la Noue* saith, the successe of armes is variable. I. Petit.

During these two sieges of Calais and Ardres, the Fench King was yet before
D La Fere, the which seauen daies after the deliuering vppe of Ardres, in the end yeelded vnto the King by composition. The Seneshall of *Montlimart* one of the league, and *Don Aluarez Ozorio* a Spaniard, hauing with their souldiars endured all the toiles and all discomodities that could bee inuented, hauing the towne full of water two or three foote deepe, and suffred a thousand difficulties for the space of fiue monethes and more that they were besieged. The composition was verie honorable for the besieged, who departed with their colours flying, drummes sounding, with their full armes and bagage, drawing after them a double cannon markt with the armes of France, and so they retir'd towards Cambresis. An honorable composition at La Fere.

When as the Cardinall of Austria, by the taking of Calais and Ardres, had tryed the courage and resolution of the French, meaning to returne an other time; hee
E now ment to trie what spirit was in Prince *Maurice* and the Estates souldiars. Then carrying backe the bodie of his armie out of that quarter of Picardie (hauing first manned those places with good garrisons) and disperst his troupes as well in Flanders as in Brabant; Hee first made shewe of some troupes in the Land of Vaes to them of Hulst, in the East quarter of Flanders, onelie to blinde their eyes; then hee caused Mounsire *Rhosne* a French Leaguer, now Marshall of his campe, (before Lieutenant to the Duke of Maine) to march with the number of some fiue thousand men through Antwerp, as if hee went to goe to Berghen vp Zoom, or to Breda.

F Prince *Maurice* had no sooner newes that the Spaniard had shewed himselfe about Hulst, but hee posted presently thether to set all things in order, but hearing that hee had taken the way of high Brabant, hee dislodged from thence, and went speedelie to Berghen. The Cardinall had written a short letter vnto *Rhosne* (the which was giuen vnto a Gentleman to deliuer vnto him, but not before that hee were come

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1596. to a certaine place neere vnto Hochstraten). This letter contained no other thing, A
but that vpon sight thereof hee should presently returne: As hee did, and past the next day through Antwerp, the same way hee went, to goe into the Land of Waes.

In the meane time Collonel *La Borlotte*, an aduenturous souldiar, and very fortunate in his attempts: to enter into the territorie of Hulst, hauing chosen the flower of all the souldiars of his Regiment, with some others, hee hazarded himselfe with certaine shaloupes or long boates, to passe a chanell betwixt the fort of the flower of Blomme, which the Spaniards had formerly built, and one of the Estates fortes, called the pettie Rape: the which hee past notwithstanding the Estates shippes of warre, the which did no way impeach him: and yet Prince *Maurice* had expresly recommen- B
ded the gard of that passage vnto them, the which they might easily haue defended with their shaloupes and small Gallies, if they had not beene so negligent: Wherefore finding no resistance, hee past through the fauour of the fort of Blomme and of that of the great Rape, which the Spaniardes had also built opposite to the pettie Rape: betwixt the which and the towne, the Estates had an other great fort, called the Moervaert, from the which vnto the towne, there was a good trench well manned.

Prince *Maurice* seeing that the Cardinal had deceiued him, he parted sodainly from Berghen and came to Hulst, to giue order for all things: Hauing recommended the towne to *George Euerard* Earle of Solms his cousin, and furnished it with men, to bee C
the neerer vnto it, hee retired in the beginning to the fort of Santbergh, from whence hee sent new supplies vnto the towne, as hee could get them to come. This passage beeing gotten by few men (the which the garrison of the towne might easily haue defeated, if at their landing they had sallied forth vpon them) *La Borlotte* caused more men to enter dailie by small numbers. And when as they were well fortefied, they of the towne intending to chase them out againe, went forth to charge them, but they were so well entertained, as they were forced to retire with shame and losse, amongst others captaine *Nyuelt* and *Pottey* were taken prisoners. The Spaniard beeing incorraged by this, and daylie fortefied with more men, hee went and set vpon the fort of pettie Rape, wherein there might bee some thirtie men, the which D
hee tooke.

Prince Maurice returnes to Hulst.

Pettie Rape taken.

After that time there were gallant skyrmishes made dailie betwixt the Spaniardes and them of the towne, and the fortes of Moervaert and of Nassau, which was a fort of one side of the towne. On a Thursdaie amongst the rest, the Spaniardes came sodainelie to charge the trench (the first time that there euer was any gard) betwixt Moervaert and the towne, along the dike thinking to lodge there themselues, and so diuide the fort from the towne, but they had such a wellcome, as hauing lost some thirtie men, and many hurt they were forced to retire, beeing chased euen vnto their quarter. Yet notwithstanding resuming courrage and hauing fresh men, they returned with great cries according to their custome, and forced the Protestants to recoyle E
euen into their trenches, hauing lost three or foure men, and amongst them captaine *Broucsaulx* Sargent and thirteene hurt, yet in the end the Spaniard was forced to leaue the partie. At these two charges, there died of the Spaniards besides the common souldiars, three captaines, one a Fleming called *Steenlandt*, one *Diego* a Spaniard, and *Doyon* a Frenchman: the which being sent for according to quarter, were found dead.

La Borlotte attempts the trench in vaine.

The next daie Collonel *La Bourlotte* came himselfe in person, and had almost surprized them that were in the trench, hauing layd downe their armes, and laboring with the spade to fortefie themselues; yet hee was so well entertained, as hauing small hope of getting it, hee thought it best to retire. This trench did much import both the one and the other: Wherefore captaine *Bæuvry* and *Haeve* beeing F
in *Moervaert* sallied forth with their companies, whereas captaine *Haeve* was shot in the knee. Captaine *Bercham* was kild with a cannon, and his Ancient was slaine; for the better defence of this trench, the Protestants made a point, in forme of a halfe-moone.

Those

A Thoſe of the towne did often make gallant ſallies, ſtill getting ſomething, and retyred with ſmall loſſe. In the meane time the Spaniard paſt his Ordinance; now one peece and then an other: Of the which hee planted three againſt the Fort of Moeruaert, and placed as many in the Fort of Flower, that hee might beate them within the trench vppon the flanke: And hee planted three others vppon the old dike, betwixt the Flower and Moeruaert, the which did much annoy Prince *Maurices* ſhips of war. But notwithſtanding all their ſhooting againſt Moeruaert although they had made a ſufficient breach, yet did it auayle them nothing, for that they could not make their approaches, but they muſt firſt take the trench which goes from the fort vnto the towne, being defeated by a halfe Moone. 1596. The Spaniard paſſeth his Canon and plants it.

B The Prince would gladly haue recouered the pettie Rape, which the Spaniard tooke eaſilie at the beginning, for the effecting whereof hee made a halfe Moone before the fort of Spitſenburch, meaning there to plant ſixe peeces of Ordinance, that hauing this little fort, hee might ſhoote cloſe by the water vppon the ſhaloupes in the which the Spaniards did vſually paſſe their horſemen: for at the beginning there was no meanes for them to make a bridge. They of Moeruaert had alſo planted one peece of Ordinance to play vppon the ſaid ſhaloupes, of the which they ſometimes ſunke one. That which did moſt of all concerne the beſeeged, was the defence of this paſſage, to keepe the Spaniards from paſſing, and from making a bridge vppon boates, as hee did afterwards, the which hee could not doe before hee had taken

C Moeruaert.

On the eighteenth day of Iuly there came foure Cornets of horſe from Berghen vp Zoom, the which entred into the territorie of Hulſt, by the part which they call Campen: Where at their firſt arriuall they defeated ſome three hundred Spaniards, whome they ſurprized in the country going a free-booting, then hauing burnt three milles to incomodate the Cardinals campe, they returned: for they could not haue ſtayed long there without great danger of being beaten: And to haue lodged in any fort, there was no likelyhood, for want of forrage, neither could they haue ſerued to any great vſe. The Eſtates horſemen defeate ſome Spaniards.

The Spaniards to be reuenged of this loſſe, came the ſame night at tenne of the clock with great fury to charge the counterſcarpe of this great trench, which was betwixt

D Moeruaert and the towne: And did ſo tyre them with redoubled forces, as in the end hee became maiſter thereof, but not without great loſſe of his men. Yet not content herewith, about three of the clocke in the morning he returned with new forces, and gaue ſo furious an aſſault vnto the trench, as thoſe within it (beeing amazed with the late loſſe of their counterſcarpe) fell preſently into route and fledde, ſome towards Moeruaert, and ſome vnder the towne, to their great confuſion, and the great ioy of the Spaniard, by that meanes diuiding Moeruaert from the towne. His Artillerie in the meane time was not idle, continuing his batterie ſtill vppon the fort of Moeruaert with nine peeces, ſeeking to make a breach and to aſſaile it by the trenche which he had wonne. In the end hauing made a ſufficient breach, and find-

E ing that the Proteſtant ſoldiers began to fainte, (whereof they did moſt taxe the Friſons) the Spaniard cauſed the Fort to bee ſummoned, in the which Captaine *Beaury* commanded, who could not perſwade the ſoldiers, but they refuſed to fight; ſome putting out their Matches, and caſting downe their armes; ſo as hee was forced to yeeld vp the place by compoſition to depart with their armes and baggage, the which they did the ninth of Iuly, retiring to the Fort of Spitſenburch to bee imbarked there. The Spaniards winne the great trenche. The Forte of Moeruaert yeelded to the Spaniard.

Prince *Maurice* was greatly grieued for this loſſe, and ſo much mooued againſt the three companies of Friſons which had beene in it, as hee would gladly haue puniſhed

F them after the manner of the ancient Romaines (which was to execute the tenth man) if feare of ſome greater inconuenience had not ſtaied him. The Spaniard by the taking of this Fort of *Moeruaert*, had free paſſage for all his army in the territory of Hulſt, then he began to approach neere vnto the towne, and planted three Canons vpon a Mill mount, with the which he did much annoy the towne, ſhooting at random through the Hulſt beſieged neere.

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1596. streetes and houses, so as the besieged were no where safe, but at the foote of the ram- A
par, and in their sellers: and withall hee filled vp the old hauen to make it a passage to the Forte of Nassau, there to plant his Canon. In the Towne there were about three thousand men full of courage, and resolued to die, or to defend it from the enemy, they were commanded by the Earle of Solms, vnder whom were foure Collonels; *Iohn* of Egmont, *Tack-hettinck* Lieutenant to Cont *William Lewis* of Nassau, *Iohn Piron*, and the Admirall of Zirixee. And when as the said Earle being shotte in the legge, could not goe vp and downe, nor performe those duties which hee had formerly done with great care and dilligence: Collonell *Piron* was appointed superintendent ouer the other Collonels, who discharging his duty well, being acquainted with such sports, caused three mines to bee made, by the which the besieged might when they pleased sallie forth to skirmish. B

Cont Solms hurt.

The Spaniard hauing stopt vp the old Hauen, and planted artillery there, he thought thereby to annoye the Estates shippes, and to cut off their passage to the towne, seeking in like sort to vexe the Forte of Nassau, but it was so farre off, as they could doe little hurt to either of them, so as it was no hindrance vnto the shippes, but they went and came dayly into the Towne.

On the three and twentie of Iuly this present yeare 1596. the besieged made a sallie by the mine at the Porte of Beguines, into the neerest trenches of the Spaniards campe, out of which they chased them, hauing surprized them sodenly playing at Cardes: but they returning to the charge with new forces, the besieged retired, alwayes skirmishing, and the Spaniard pursuing them; but they were so well entertained with Musket shotte and Canon from the towne, as in an houre and a halfe which this skirmish lasted (both parties being obstinate) hee lost many braue men, whereas the besieged lost onely three, and had but fewe hurt. C

A braue sallie made by the besieged.

The last of this moneth of Iuly, Collonell *Piron* who neuer rested day nor night from his charge, beeing vppon the Rampar, hee was shotte in the cheeke vnder the eye, the which did make the besieged very heauie, for hee was forced to goe out of the Towne to bee cured; finding himselfe vnable to doe any seruice during this dangerous wound. In the meanetime the Spaniard approched still neerer and neerer vnto the Towne, so as on the first of August they began to fortifie euen before the Porte of *Beguines*, in the ditche of the Boulwarke, so as they had no more to doe, but to fill it vppe and to vndermine the Rauelin: but the besieged had so mined themselues, as it was all hollow, so as the Spaniard could haue done little good: hauing planted his ordinance in as many places as hee could, the which did some-times batter the Rampar, and some-times the houses and other buildings of the Towne at randome; beeing but a harguebuze shotte of. Yet for that hee could not doe any thing against the Forte of Nassau, by reason it is all enuironed with water, and that the Canon of the hauen that was filled vp, was too farre of, hee could not hinder the passage of shippes, but that fiue or sixe Galleys and Shaloupes came in dayly at a full Sea. And although the Spaniard did continue his batterie for to make a breache, yet the besieged shewed them-selues very diligent and laborious to rampare it vp, working both day and night, so as although they had made a sufficient breache, and beene Maisters of the Porte of Beguines, yet had they aduanced little, and in the mooning thereof they must haue lost many men; for the besieged had made within the Towne through the houses (which the enemies Canon had torne and rent in peeces) a halfe Moone, with a good and strong ditche, which had not beene very easie for them to winne: the circumference whereof from the Porte was all hollowe with vnder-mining, the which they might very easilye haue blowne vp, if they had offered to force them on that side. D E F

Collonel Piron hurt.

A halfe Moone made within the towne.

The second of August the Spaniard hauing continued his batterie all the day long, with foureteene peeces of Ordinance, both against the Rauelin, the Rampar, and the Porte, about sixe of the clock at night, hee gaue a very furious assault at the point of the Rauelin, which they called *Daniels gat*, the which he carried, but with great losse:

but

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A but being entred the beſeeged blew vp the ſaid point by their mine, which made many fly vp into the ayre and ſome were buried in the ruines, about ten of the clocke he gaue a charge at the Rauelin of the port of Beguines, where he was ſo receiued by Captaine *La Corde* and the Lieutenant of Captaine *Potey*, either of them with two ſquadrons as the Spaniard was forced to retire with loſſe: the cannon and muſket ſhotte flew ſo thicke, as (according to the report of a Wallon ſoldiar, who fled into the towne, for that (as he ſaid) he had ſlaine a Spaniard) in thoſe two charges, and the two daies before, the Spaniard had loſt aboue eight hundred men. Among the which *Rhoſne* Marſhall of the Cardinalls campe was ſlaine with a cannon. There died in a manner all the Captaines of la Borlottes regiment, with ſome Noblemen of note. Of the beſeeged B Captaine *Poteys* Lieutenant was ſlaine, with ſome few others, with ſeauen or eight Friſons, the which were drowned paſſing ouer a narrow planke in haſt at their retreat from the rauelin, which the Spainards had wonne: who in leſſe then twenty foure houres gaue foure furious charges to that little Rauelin at the port of Beguines, but at euery time they were valiantly repulſt by *La Corde* and his men, with the fauor and aſſiſtance of them of the towne, who fayled not to caſt wild-fire and other burning matter vpon the aſſaylants, ſo as they were ſtill forced to retire with ſhame and great loſſe. The Spaniards came vnto the aſſault armed in ſuch ſort from head to foote as they ſeemed litle hilles of iron, which did moue, and yet they got nothing by blowes. The beſeeged being by daily continuance, and accuſtomed to receiue them with a C wounderfull courage and reſolution, and the more they did ſee the ſlaughter of their enemies, the more reſolute they were to die, although they had many wounded, the which were preſently imbarkt and ſent into Zeland, either to Middelbourg, Campoere, Fluſſing, and Arnemuyden. On the other ſide the hoſpitall of Antwerp, Gant, Macklyn and other places, being as full of Spaniards, Wallons and Germaines as they might be, ſo as many were left in barnes in the villages, which cauſed great murmuring among the Cardinalls men, and eſpecially of the common people, who lamented the loſſe of ſo many men, which they ſaied were led wilfully to the ſlaughter, in ſeeking to force ſo little a place, in the which their were ſo many ſoldiars, neither was it yet wholy beſeeged, but they had ſtill meanes to haue a port open behind, D when they pleaſed.

1592

Two furious aſſaults at Hulſt.

Cuſtome confirms and aſſuers the courragious.

The fourth of Auguſt after noone the Spaniards returned to aſſault the Rauelin at the port of Beguines, with great fury and fearefull cries: but if they aſſayled it valiantly, it was as reſolutly defended: the two companies of Zeeland (which were that of the Seignior of Cats, and of the Admirall of Zirixee) behaued them-ſelues ſo valiantly with all ſorts of armes, offenſiue and defenciue, as the Spaniard was forced to giue ground and retire backe. The ſixt of the moneth the Spaniard blew vp a mine which he had made vnder the breach of the ſayd Rauelin, wherewith ſome of the beſeeged were carried away, yet not many, the Spaniard being in armes in his trenches, attending vntill the mine were blowne vp; he came the fourteeenth time E to aſſayle the ſaid Rauelyn, and to chaſe away the beſeeged, as well by the ruines of the mine, as by the port, which was beaten quite downe. Here-vpon all they of the towne were ready to receiue them, and to keepe them from paſſing any further at a certaine parapet, which they had made behind the breach. There they fought long, euery one doing his vttermoſt endeauor, the Spaniards for victorie and to winne the towne at his aſſault, and the beſeeged to defend it, and to preſerue them-ſelues: ſo as in the end the Spaniards were forced to recoyle, and to quite that which they had wonne, retyring the ſame way they came, except one who was taken vpon the port armed from head to foot, who ſaid hee was one of thoſe *Entretenidos*, which are pentioners to the King of Spaine, as Engliſh, Scottiſh, Iriſh and F many others.

An other aſſault at the port of Beguines.

After that the Spaniard had beene thus chaſed from this Raueline, with great ſlaughter of his men, the beſeeged made a new trench in the mideſt of it in forme of a parapet, the which they kept vntill the mine (which they had in hand) were ready to

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1596. blow vp, if the Spaniard ſhould returne, who in ſteed of enſeignes of warre, in this A laſt charge and aſſault, they vſed Banners ſuch as Church-men carrie in proceſſions in the rogation weeke. Of the beſeeged Captaine *Egger* a Scottiſhman was carried away with a cannon ſhot, and many other ſoldiars were ſlaine and hurt: From that time it was decreed, that of the fower Regiments which were within the towne, euery Regiment ſhould haue the gard of the ſaid Rauelyn in his turne, to the end that all the burthen ſhould not lie vpon any one of them. There were in the towne ten companies of Zeelanders, (which before had alwaies garded it) ten of Hollanders, ten of Friſons, and ten of Engliſh and Scottiſh, thoſe that were not in gard there, ſhould be alwaies armed, and remaine at the foote of the rampar. Moreouer the beſeeged (to fortefie them-ſelues the better towards the ſaid Rauelin) made an other halfe B Moone which ſtretch into the middeſt of the port of Beguines, neither did they ceaſe laboring day and night at their rampars. Collonel *Dorp* after the retreat of Collonel *Piron* (by reaſon of his hurt) was ſent into the towne, where he did execute his charge with great care and dilligence. The Spaniard hauing approched to Abſdal, planted three peeces of ordinance there, to hinder the entry of the ſhippes by the new-hauen, and ſome Faulcons, the which did reach vnto the fort of Naſſau, although it were farre of, and withall they did batter the Churches and higheſt houſes in the towne the which was made like to a heape of ſtoanes, for there was noe ſafety for the ſoldiars but at the foote of the rampar, and in caues and ſellers for other men and women, whereof moſt part were gone out of the towne, ſence the beginning of the ſeege. C

Collonel Dorp in the place of Collonel Piron.

The ſeauenth day of the moneth, the beſeeged being at the gard of this Rauelin, tooke an alarume, and the Spaniard ſhewed him-ſelfe, then the beſeeged making a ſhew to retier into their trench, the Spaniard pourſued them into the Rauelin, whereupon they of the towne giue fire to their mine, which blew many braue ſoldiars of the enemies into the ayre, ſome being buried aliue, and ſome caſt farre of into the diches and other places, which was a pittifull thing to here, the lamentable cryes of men dying and wounded, ſo as there died many of either ſide, but moſt of the Spaniards.

The thirteenth of the moneth the beſeeged tooke twenty men out of euery company, the which going by night out of the forte of Naſſau, lay cloſe vntill noone, D that the tide was quite ſpent. They had prepared two ſhaloupes with all things neceſſary to make a bridge thereon, vpon a little creeke, the which they did and were not diſcouered by the Spaniard: then they marched with a reſolution to the enemies trench, the which hee left, and fled to his fort of Abſdal, where there were ſome peeces of ordinance, with the which they ſhot continually vpon the fort of Naſſau, and at the ſhippes: yet the beſeeged going on entred this fort, chaſed away the enemy, cloyed their artillery, ſlue about a hundred men, and brought away priſoners, a Captaine, a Lieutenant and an Ancient. The Spaniard came in haſt to ſuccor them with eight companies of foote and two Cornets of horſe, whome the beſeeged did charge along a chanell where there was a bridge: the Spaniard thinking to retyre ouer it in haſt, being ouercharged with the multitude, it brake: ſo E as there were many drowned, and ſuch as thought to ſaue them-ſelues by ſwimming, were ſlaine in the water; among the which there were three Captaines which offred great ſummes of mony to haue their liues ſaued: but there was no pitty nor mercy at this time. Hauing thus with honor chaſed away the Spaniard, they returned in the ſame order that they came, and repaſt the bridge which they had made, hauing not loſt aboue foure men, and ſome few hurt, among others, captaine *Potter* in the head, and two Sargants which were cured, carrying their firſt priſoners ſafely into the fort of Naſſau.

A braue ſally from the fort of Naſſau

The ſame day about three of the clocke in the afternoone the Spaniard mynding ſecretly to diſcouer the myne which the beſeeged had vnder the Port of Beguines, F by the which they were wont to go vnto the Rauelin, which the Spaniards had wonne before: the beſeeged perceyuing it, they went and ſtopt vp this myne preſently

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A presently, leauing onely some little cranies open at the point thereof, towards the Spaniard: Who comming to visit the place with some Officers well armed, foure musketiers which were at these holes, did salute them with good steele bullets, and slue some. The Spaniard seeing they came with targets and corslets of proofe, to stoppe this myne, against the which the besieged caused two or three barrels of poulder to bee suddainely brought and fired, which blew vp those that were about to stop it, so as many were slaine, besides those that were hurt and burnt, which died afterwards in great torment. 1596

This ruelyne beeing thus wonne, as wee haue said, hauing no other flanker about the towne, it was easie for the Spaniards (hauing so long battered it furiously with B thirty peeces of Ordinance, and made a breach of aboue forty yardes wide) to plant him-selfe in the rampar, and to lodge them-selues pike to pike with the besieged, who had no other defence but fire and stones: In which estate they maintained themselues three weekes: And although the Earle of Solms was so hurt all that time, as hee could not goe, yet there was not any thing done without his direction, as if hee had beene euery where in person, the which was speedilie put in execution by the foure aboue named Collonels. Yet for all this the Spaniard had not done any thing, if they had not come to the sappe, and myne, the which they aduanced so fast, as within three daies after they should haue giuen fire, to haue wrought the effect the night following, to their aduantage, which the Captaines perceiuing, notwith- The besieged begin to parle
C standing their resolution the day before to liue and dye there, as they had also promised to the Earle of Solms, they held it conuenient to enter into treatie with the Spaniard, seeing there was no meanes to resist these forces long with their honour (beeing almost twenty thousand men) who might force them in diuers places by assault, the besieged beeing not aboue fifteene hundred fighting men, or else after their mines had wrought their effect, to enter in a throng. And besides the losse of the towne, it was likely the soldiers would be defeated and put to the sword, to no purpose: the which the Earle hauing well considered, and duly waighed all inconueniences, hee yeelded vnto the Captaines aduice, to the end that within foure or fiue houres after they should not bee constrained to doe it by force, with disorder, and
D without any hope of an honourable composition, which they might then doe with order and to their aduantage. It was also to bee feared (as most commonly it often falles out in sieges) that some one of the besieged might flye vnto the enemies campe, and informe him of the estate of the towne: The which out of all doubt would haue made them hasten their ruine. And that which did confirme the said Captaines reasons the more, was the small likelyhood, yea the impossibilitie of speedie succors, in case of vrgent necessitie to raize and dissodge an armie, so farre aduanced in their enterprize, and of such power and might: Iudging that the succors which the Estates were wont to send to refresh a place beseeged, could not suffice for any long resistance, against such a Campe, which had such aduantages,
E the which could not by any meanes bee taken from them without double force. Wherefore they began to treat the sixteenth day of the moneth. The Spaniard A Capitulation made by them of Hulst
(beeing ignorant of the estate of the besieged, and of the extreme necessitie they were in) was glad to giue eare vnto them: and the eight and twentith of the moneth the accord was made betwixt the Cardinal of Austria and the Earle of Solms, in manner as followeth.

The Earle of Solms with the Collonels, and Captaines, Officers and soldiers beeing within the towne of Hulst, hauing sent yesterday to enter into conference, and to yeeld the towne vnto the King of Spaine vppon reasonable conditions. His Highnesse beeing very willing to fauor such as doe their indeauours in any exployte of
F armes, doth graunt and promise in the worde of a Prince, vnto the sayd Earle of Solms, and generally to all other persons of what qualitie, nation or condition soeuer they be, being at this present within the said towne without any exemption, these points and articles which follow. 1. First that the Earle of Solms with all the soldiers may go away freely either by water or by land, whether they please, with The articles of the accord

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1596. their coullors flying, drummes beating, matches lighted, bullets in their mouthes, A armes, baggage, horse, carts, trayses, boates, shaloupes, and generally whatsoeuer belongs vnto them: and meaning to go by land, either all or part, they shal bee conducted in all safety: and if to that end they haue need of any carts, they shal furnish them, giuing securitie for their returne.

2 In regard whereof the said Earle of Solms shall be bound to yeeld vp the town vnto the King, with the Fort of Nassau, and to depart out of the said towne and Fort, as soone as the boates shall come: The said Earle promising vppon his faith to send for them with all the speed that may bee: And to lodge presently vppon the breach the Marquis of *Teruicos* regiment, who shall haue charge giuen them, not to do any harme, nor to passe any farther during their abode there. And for assurance of B their abode there shall be giuen in hostage vnto the Earle, the said Marquis of Tervico and the Earle of Sorres.

3 All prisoners taken during the siege of any side, of what qualitie soeuer they bee, hauing not compounded for their ransome, shall be sette at libertie paying the charges onely.

4 All Burgers and inhabitants without any exception, may freely depart with their goodes and moueables either by water or by land. And they shall haue a yeares time to sell, alienate and transport their said moueables and inmoueables; and that time beeing past, they may inioy them, causing them to bee gouerned by some receiuer, which shall haue his abode in some neutrall towne or place: and such C as will stay may remaine quietly without any molestation, & inioy all their goods, both within the towne and without, and in all places of his Maiesties obedience: with remission, abolition and perpetual forgetfulnesse of all that hath hetherto hapned, hauing no need to seeke any other discharge then this present treaty, so as they liue hereafter as his Maiesties good subiects ought to do: and they shall be maintained in their ancient priuiledges and acustomed freedomes. And in regard of the Burgers & proprietaries which are retired during the siege, they may returne freely with their wiues, children and goods, and inioy the benefit of this present treatie. So concluded the 18. of August 1596. signed *Albert* and *George Euerard* Earle of Solms: which treaty was put in execution accordingly. D

The towne of Hulst a deere conquest to Cardinall Albert.

They had perswaded the Cardinall that the taking of this towne was more easie then hee found it, thinking to carry it as lightly as hee did Calais and Ardres: But hee found other men, and in better order then in these two townes: So as it cost him at this siege (which continued about two monethes) besides his great charge, about threescore Captaines, besides other Commanders, Collonells and men of marke, and aboue fiue thousand soldiers at the least, Yet (how deere soeuer) hee had the honour to carrie it: vnlesse hee would say as *Amurath* Emperour of the Turkes, who beeing nothing ioyfull of the victorie which hee had gotten neere vnto Varna, sayd: *That hee woulde not often vanquish in that manner.* E

The Earle of Solms taxed for the yeelding of Hulst purgeth himselfe.

Touching the yeelding vp of this towne, some iudging of matters of warre according to their owne imaginations (speaking their pleasures in their table-talke) would haue taxed the Earle of Solms and some Collonells and Captaines, as if they had yeelded it out of season, imagining that if they had yeelded it but eight daies longer, the Cardinall had beene forced to raize his siege: but they shew not the reasons why, nor what should haue moued the enemie to retire; and they doe not dreame of the inconueniences (which are doubtfull in warre) that might haue hapened in these eight daies. To stoppe whose mouthes, the Earle of Solms in the name of all the rest, yeelded so good an account of that action, both to the generall Estates and to Prince *Maurice*, as they had good reason to bee satisfied and appeased. Onely they of Zea- F land were somewhat discontented, it may bee for some words vsed by the Earle, and mistaken by them.

The twentith of Nouember the King of Spayne published a proclamation or Edict giuen at Pardo, by the which hee complaines that the great quantity of gold and siluer which

A which the Indies furnish him yearely, with all his reuenues and treasor are exhausted and consumed, and his royall patrimony in a manner spent, for the great charges and expences, which hee saies, hee beares for the defence of Christendome and of his dominions. The cause whereof he imputes to the great and excessiue domage hee suffers, and interest, which hee paies by the taking vp of mony by exchange, and other contracts which are made in his name with the Marchants: by reason whereof all his demaynes, aydes, with the ordinary and extraordinary reueneues are held by others, so as matters are come to that extremity, as hee hath no treasor to helpe him-selfe withall; seeing that the Marchants and Bankers, (who vntill that time were wont to furnish him by exchange) excused them selues and made difficultie B to deale, for that they held in their hands, and in their power all the reuenues and royall demaynes, for the helping whereof, hee found nothing more conuenient and fit nor of better iustification, then to cause the royall treasory to bee raysed and repayred of the wrongs and Iniustice which it hath suffered by reason of these rigours of charges and interests, which hee hath suffred and tollerated in the time of contractions, to avoyde greater dangers, as the want of prouiding for the affayers of the warre and that which depends thereon, had beene; the which hee intends to remedie by these meanes: being impossible to vse others vppon the occasions which are offred: meaning (for the taking away and abolishing of the said interests) to resume and make vse of all the assignations which hee hath giuen C and transported to all Nations and Bankers, for what summes of mony or contracts soeuer, that they haue made with them, by his commandement, sence the decree and generall order set downe by him the first of September in the yeare 1575. and the fift of December in the yeare 1577. vnto the twenty of Nouember in the yeare 1596. which Assignations giuen, vpon all, or any part of his demaynes, hee houlds suspended, so as the Marchants shall not inioy nor receiue them: but the mony that shall rise thereby shall bee put into his coser and that all contracts for enterests shall cease, approuing all that which in this regard hath beene resolued and decreed by the Presidentes, and those of his royall councel, and of his treasor, for that all hath bin done by his especiall commandement. 1596.

The King of Spaine proclamation whereby he dispenceth with himselfe for the payement of his debts.

This Edict signed *Io el Rey*, and by commandement from his Maiestie *Gonzalo de* D *Vera*, bred a great alteration among the marchants, as well in Spaine, Italy, as at Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Middelbourg, so as many fell Banquerout making this their pretext: And Cardinall *Albertus* letters of exchange being sent backe vnto him and protested, made him for a time to loose his credit, and kept him bare of mony, so as hee could not attempt any thing against his enemies for the space of three or foure moneths.

Many banquerouts by reason of this Edict.

About the end of August the Marshall of Biron being followed by some troupes of horse and foote past the riuer of Soome, and the first day of September he entred into Arthois, seazed vpon the Castell of Imbercourt, forced certaine good Borrough townes to redeeme them-selues for great summes of mony, and being accompa- E nied with fiue Cornets of horse, hee charged the Marquis of Warembon, Gouernor of Arthois, who thought to defeat the marshall he hauing fiue or six hundred horse, but he him selfe was put to rout and taken prisoner, which gaue a terrible alarume to all the country of Arthois: then hee ouer-runne the country of Saint *Paul*, tooke the towne and some other places. Some peasants defended them-selues out of their steeples and quarries of stoane (as in such accidents they haue no other retreats) but they were roughly intreated in regard of such as remayning in their houses did stay the violence of their enemies by contribution of mony and victualls. All this was donne in eight daies.

The Marshall of Biron makes warre in Arthois.

F Cardinall *Albert* vnderstanding of the taking of the Marquis of Warembon, hee sent the Duke of Arschot in his place: who whilest he entred into Arras, had the French of an other side seing fire of one of the suburbes within hargubuse shot of the towne. And for that they were laden with booty, the Marshall being loth they should

1596. ſhould looſe it, retired ſafely with them vnto the frontiers of Picardie. A

The French returne againe into Arthois. Beeing diſcharged the one and twenty day of the month they entred againe into Arthois, about Bapaulme, ſpoyling Hebuterne, Beruiller, Courſelles and other places, ſacking the Peaſants that made any head againſt them. The duke of Arſchot camped with his forces cloſe vnder Arras, and intrencht himſelfe carefully, beeing reſolued not to hazard any thing, knowing well with whom hee had to deale. The French ſet all places on fire, carried away more bootie then before and returned quietly, making a courſe towards Bethune, Aire and Teroanne, from whence they carried much cattell and many priſoners: then they retired and camped in the plaine of Agincourt, and yet no man made head againſt them in this ſecond voiage, for the ſpace of ten daies. The duke of Arſchot beeing renforced with eight hundred foote ioyned to the Regi- B ment of *La Borlotte*, hee parted from Arras the fift of October, and went and camped

The French enter the third time into Arthois. at Saint Pol, whereas the Marſhall of Biron leauing him, hee entred ſeauen daies after with his horſemen againe into Arthois, and beeing followed by his footemen, hee ſtaied at the Abbay of Mont Saint Eloy three leagues from Arras: and on the thirteenth day hee did runne euen vnto the portes of Douay, then hauing ſpoiled all, hee returned into Picardie, about ſome foure or fiue daies after the Duke of Arſchot (hauing recouered Imbercourt) diſmiſt his little army, putting his companies into garriſon.

1597. In the beginning of Ianuary in the yeare of our Lord 1597. Prince *Maurice* beeing

The Cardinals army at Tournhout. aduertiſed from diuers partes, that Cardinall *Albertus* was reſolued either by ſeeret C practiſes or by open force, to attempt ſome great exploit that winter to the diſaduantage of the vnited Prouinces: The Cardinall hauing to that end lodged his army in December paſt, at Tournhout in Brabant, conſiſting of foure Regiments of foote, that of the Marquis of Trevico a Neapolitaine, in the which there were fiue hundred appointed (Officers of many companies) that of the Earle of Sults, re-enforced with an other Regiment of Germaines, Collonel *La Borlottes* Regiment, and that of the ſignior of Hauchicourt, vnder captaine *Cocquielle* his Lieutenant, theſe two Regiments of Wallons beeing ſupplied with new men, in their places that were ſlaine and dead ſince the ſiege of Hulſt, and of fiue cornets of horſe of *Nicholas Baſta*, *Don Iohn* of Cordua, *Alonſo Dragon*, *Grobbendonc* and *Gouſman*: hauing for Commander and chiefe of the D

The Earle of Varax chiefe of the Spaniſh army. whole army, the Earle of Varax, Barron of Balanſon, Brother to the Marquis of Warembon Gouernor of Arthois, at that time a priſoner in France, the Cardinall hauing commanded many companies of horſe and foote, as well Spaniardes as other Nations, to march towards that campe, with neceſſarie munition for ſome great action.

Prince *Maurice* to preuent him, ſtudied how hee might by ſome notable peece of

Prince Maurice reſolues to ſet vpon the Cardinals army. ſeruice, giue a good beginning to the new alliance and confederation which they had lately made with the French King and the Queene of England. And although there ſeemed to bee many difficulties in this reſolution of ſo great importance, not onelie in regard of the diſcommoditie of the ſeaſon, beeing in the verie heart of winter, and E the time very variable and inconſtant, ſometimes diſpoſed to freeze, ſomtimes to thaw, but alſo for the great diſtance of the garriſons, ſome beeing aboue twenty leagues from others, from whence they muſt draw their ſouldiars, with that which was neceſſarie for the execution of his enterprize, a hard matter to mannage ſecretly, and to drawe them to a fit and commodious place, but the Spaniard ſhould diſcouer it. Yet the Prince laying aſide all difficulties, drewe together in leſſe then eight daies, and as ſecretly as hee could, into the towne of Gheertruydenberghe, about ſixe thouſand men, foote and horſe, with all that was needfull for his enterprize. The Eſtates according to their cuſtome hauing appointed one day of publicke praier, to craue his diuine helpe, the two and twenty of Ianuary in the towne of Gheertruydenbergh, to part the F next day, with his horſe and foote, two cannons and ſome field peeces, and to march with all ſpeede daie and night towards the Spaniard, to force him in his lodging at Tournhout by the breake of day: the Prince being accompanied by the Earle of Solms and Sir *Francis Veere* generall of the Engliſh.

The

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A The same day the Prince arriued at Gheertruydenberghe, there arriued almost in two houres space about 150. boates full of men, furniture and munition of warre, whether also came the same day Sir *Robert Sidney* Knight (now Vicont *Lisle*) Gouernor of Flussing, with three hundred of the choisest soldiers of his gouernment, and the Lieutenant Gouernor of the Bryel, with two hundred English more. 1597

The Earle of Hohenloo, Lieutenant generall to the Prince, hauing a little before prepared himselfe (with the consent of the generall Estates, and of the sayd Prince) for a voyage into Germanie, for his owne priuate affaires, being stayed some dayes by reason of the inconstancie of the weather, and lying vpon the frontiers of the vnited Prouinces, had newes that the Prince had sent for (with all speed) a good number B of horse and foote towards Gorrichon, for the 21. of Ianuary, whereby the Earle did gather, that this sending for men in the middest of winter, was not done but for some matter of great importance; wherefore laying his voyage aside, hee resolued to bee an actor at it. The Earle of Hohenloo comes to the battaile.

The Earle of Varax Generall of the Spanish armie, being aduertised of the Princes approche, with his forces and artillerie: where as hee should haue fortified his lodging, or gone to incounter the Prince in good order, and chose a place of aduantage with his lustie men to fight with them that were wette, wearie, and tyred with the length and discomoditie of the wayes (the which seemed the most safe and honorable for him,) who had the reputation among the greatest Commanders, beeing C in a manner as strong as the Prince, and both his horse and foote held for the best Soldiers which the King of Spaine had in his seruice, yet for feare hee left his lodging in the night, without sound of Trumpet or Drumme, or making of any noyse, retiring to Herentall, foure leagues from Tournhout, a towne of the King of Spaines party, where he thought to saue himselfe and his men. The Earle of Varax retires from Tournhout.

The Prince comming to Tournhout at the breake of day, and finding his enemie gone, resolues to follow him, and to ouer-take him (if hee could) with his horse, commanding his foote-men to follow with all speed. A quarter of a league from Tournhout towards Herentall a certaine number of Spanish foote, through fauour of a wood, kept the passage of a little riuer, the foarde whereof was long and vn- The Prince pursues the Spaniard.
D easie for horsemen, the which could not passe but one by one; and it was no lesse troublesome for the foote-men, hauing no meanes to passe it but by a narrowe planke. Wherefore the Prince (to make them quitte this passage) commanded Sir *Francis Veer*, and *Vander Aa*, Lieutenant of his guardes, to charge them with two hundred Musketiers, the which they did, and chased them away. This passage being wonne, hee followed and ouer-tooke the enemie a mile from Tournhout, vpon a plaine, the Regiments marching a hundred paces one from another. That of the Germaines was the first, *Hachicourt* next, *la Barlotte* the third, and the Neapolitanes the last: on the right hand marched their horse-men in three troopes, beeing couered on the left wing with the foresayd wood, and their baggage was sent before:
E when as the Prince who with halfe his horsemen (beeing deuided into sixe troupes) remained behinde, did see the Earle of Hohenlo, whome hee had sent before with the other halfe of the horse-men (diuided also into sixe troupes) so farre aduanced as hee might charge the Spaniarde in the flanke, as hee had commanded him, hee sent Sir *Francis Veere*, Sir *Robert Sydney*, and the rest of the horse-men, to set on them behinde, and hee with the body of the armie stood firme, to second and releeue them if they were repulst.

According to this order, the Earle of Hohenloo, and with him the Earle of Solms, charged the enemy in flanke, and the other Commanders fell vpon the reere- The Earles of Hohenlo, and Solms charge first.
ward with such furie, as notwithstanding all their resistance, the Spaniards rankes
F were broken, his horse-men put to flight, and both his foote and horse which could not saue themselues by running, were all defeated and ouer-come. There it appeared that pikes were not able to resist long Pistolles (which in the countrye language, they call *Carabins*) the which are long peeces, that the horse-men (hauing left their lances) carryed in this battaile.

In

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1597. The Earle of Varax slaine, and his army defeated.

In the which there were aboue two thousand men slaine vpon the place, with the Earle of Varax their Generall, who for hee was too simple attired for such a Commander, was not knowne. There were aboue fiue hundred prisoners taken, and among them many that had charge, with a yong Earle of Mansfeldt. The Prince carried backe seauen and thirty enseignes and one cornet. That which made his victory absolute, was the small losse of his men, for (the which many would not beleeue, and yet it is true) hee lost but nine men in all. Whereof *Dounck* a captaine of horse was hurt, and died a while after, and a flemish Gentleman called *Gabillan*, were two, and verie few hurt. A

After the victorie the Prince went and lodged at Tournhout, where hee had left his artillerie with some of his footemen, vnder the charge of the signior of *Heraugnieres* Gouernor of Breda. Whereas after that the castle had endured three volees of great ordinance, it yeelded by composition, to depart with their liues and goods, which being done, the Prince retiring the eight day of February towards the Hage, hee sent all his troupes to their garrisons, hauing done this happie exploit in so short a time. B

The Cardinall did much grieue at this losse, the which disapointed the designes which hee had as well vpon the Island of Tolen, as in the countrie of Zuyt Beuelandt. After which neither hee, nor his did bouge, till afterwardes seeking to be reuenged of the French, the Gouernor of Dourlans, with the Spanish garrison which was in Saint Pol in Arthois, (beeing mutined, or at the least making a shew to bee in a mutine) made an enterprize vpon Amiens, the chiefe towne in Picardie, the nineth day of March, on a sundaie about eight of the clocke in the morning, the which succeeded happelie for him, and the towne was taken without any resistance. The Earle of Saint Pol beeing within the towne, and finding no man to make head against the enemie, seeing all lost, hee fled away, abandoning his wife and all his familie, vnto whom the Gouernor shewed himselfe very courteous, sending backe the Lady and all her traine, and not suffring them to receiue any wrong. C

Amiens surprized by the Spaniard.

The towne beeing taken, the Spaniard shewed himselfe tractable ynough; but sixe daies after, making a shew to mutine for their pay, they spoiled it, and then ransomed the Inhabitants, without any respect of Clergie men, or others. The King had a little before made a Magasin or store-house for the warres there, and had sent fortie great cannon peeces with all the carriages, and poulder, bullets and munition fit for them. This was the greatest losse which the King made: for the Inhabitants were not much lamented, for that they would neuer receiue any garrison, although they were within sixe leagues of their naturall enemies within Dourlans. D

The King was fully resolued to haue made hot warre this sommer in the yeare of our Lord 1597. in the countrie of Arthois, but the surprize of this important towne, and the taking of Calais and Ardres from him by the Spaniard; made him to change his designe, and turne all his thoughts to recouer the towne of Amiens. The sixteenth day of March the Spaniard made an enterprize vpon the towne of Steenwyc in the countrie of Oueryssell, after the manner which followeth. The daie before, some troupes assembled at Ham neere vnto Ommen, at a certaine houre of the night, from whence they parted by secret, and vnknowne waies, carrying with them certaine portiue bridges with the which they had meanes to passe, and not goe through any villages, so they were no where discouered: but about two of the clocke after mid-night they came neere vnto the towne, and lodged themselues in gardines which are behinde a rampar (called Rondeel in their language) vntil that the Moone was quite downe, which was little after three of the clocke: Beeing then darke they gaue a hot alarme at Onighen-port, and at that of the hospitall, with about two hundred men, and the sound of trumpets, drummes and fearefull cries, according to their custome. E F

The Spaniard failes to surprize Steenwyc.

In the meane time about a hundred of them that were in the gardines, went closely into the towne ditch, carrying ropes, hatchets and sithes to cut downe the palissadoe

on

A on the North side, by the which they go from the rampar to the Church-yard, where they gaue a very furious charge, with about three hundred men, led by Captaine Zanthen. The sentinell hauing discouered them, gaue the alarum: wherevpon the Bourgers and soldiars being in the nereſt Corpes de gard, and those which dwelt in that quarter of the towne being awaked, some halfe naked ranne to the rampar, and the number increasing in an instant they made a braue defence, and repulst the first charge, they being chased behinde the rampar, another troupe of three hundred men led by captaine *Malagambo*, approched to second and assist the first: then soone after came the third troupe of three hundred men vnder the leading of Captaine *Harman ven Ens*, who also gaue a charge, the which continued almost an hower, with such
B a vehement force and fury, as they hard it to Blocxyel and to Cuinderl. Those of the towne defended them-selues valiantly both with shot, stones and all kind of other defensiue armes. 1597.

The assailants thinking to diuide them-selues into two troupes at the foote of the rampar, to charge in two places, seing it preuayled nothing for the great resistance they found, in the end they made a more quiet retreat then their approch was, carrying away (through the fauor of the night) as many of their dead men and wounded as they could, so as there were but two of there dead men remayning in the ditches, whereof the one was some Lieutenant, and at the foote of the rampar eight or nine hurt and halfe dead: the which were dispatcht: except two that were carried into
C the towne, whereof the one was Lieutenant to *Malagambo*, who declared the proiect and successe of this enterprze. Of them within the towne, there was but one Bourger called *Cornellis Been* slaine, and one *Martin Iacobs* a gunner hurt, whereof hee died afterwardes, with some nine or ten other Bourgers, and foure and fiue soldiars lightly hurt; and soone cured. These vndertakers at their retreat, leaſt in the towne diches, all the instruments which they had brought for that exployt, from whence (with the seauenteene Wagons full of dead men and hurt) they carried little honor: yet the towne made a fayre escape, for it was in danger to haue beene sodenly surprized.

Prince Maurice maks an enterprise vpon Veuloo which succeeds ill.

In May Prince *Maurice* had an enterprize well laied but succeeded ill, vpon the towne of Venloo in the country of Geldres, at the which hee was in person with
D some horse and foote. The exploite should be done with two shippes at the opening of the towne-gate which was towards the riuer of Meuse. The first and leaſt shippe (wherein were the leaders of this enterprize) with Captaine *Mathis Helt* and his Lieutenant did their endeuors well, about fifty men that were in it, seasing at the appointed houre both vpon the Kaye and the port, but as the second shippe being the greater, could not so easely mount by reason of the violence of the streame, and for that the ships lay so before the towne, as he could not come neere to land his men, which were more in number, the Bourgers had time (whileſt that the others kept the port) to put them-seles into armes, and to charge captanie *Mathis*, and withall the mariners of Liege which were in their shippes shot at him and his men behind:
E so as being vnseconded, the Bourgers recouered the port where as the said *Mathis* and *Schalck* Captaine of the shippe were slaine, and *Mathis* Lieutenant being wounded, was carried away vpon pikes by certaine English soldiars. And so this enterprize fayled, to the great ioy of the Bourgers.

Ambassadors from the king of Poland to the Estates.

At that time *Sigismond* King of Poland and Sueden, at the request of the King of Spaine, sent an Agent of his vnto the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces (who tooke vpon him the title of an Ambassador (called *Paul Dziali* a gentleman of his household, and one of his Secretaries, who arriued at the Hage in Iuly, and was very honorable receiued by the Estates and Prince *Maurice*. His chefe charge was to moue the states
F and the Prouinces in his Masters behalfe, (being a mediator for the King of Spaine) to giue eare vnto a peace. This Ambassador extolling the King of Spaine and his power vnto heauen, and lighty esteeming the Estates, seemed to threaten them in his maisters behalfe, if they did not yeeld vnto the proposition of his legation: yet the

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1597 Eſtates gaue him the reception and did him the honor which his qualitie and perſon A
required, making him but a ſhort anſwere, as the Queene of England did in like manner, vnto whom he alſo went.

The Emperor alſo ſent in the beginning of Auguſt to perſwade them to a peace,
An Agent from the Emperor to the Eſtates. at the inſtance of the King of Spaine: the Agent which hee ſent to the generall Eſtates and to Prince *Maurice*, was *Charles Nutzel* of Honderpuihel, his councellor in the kingdome of Hongarie, who had audience the tenth daie of the ſaid moneth.

His legation was, that the Eſtates would admit and heare certaine Ambaſſadors in the behalfe of the ſaid Emperor, and other Princes of the Empire, to propound ſome meanes for a peace betwixt them and the King. To whom a ſhort anſwere was B
made, that they could not change their firſt reſolution; wherefore that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie not to take their refuſall in bad part, the which they did not by contempt, but rather to auoide his indignation, which they might incurre, if ſuch Ambaſſadors of ſo great ſtate, ſhould not returne from them with ſomething pleaſing to his Maieſtie, being moſt certaine that if they deſired to propound any thing of a reconciliation with the Spaniard (the which was not lawfull for the Eſtates once to thinke of) it would bee but labour loſt, elſe they would not refuſe the ſayd Ambaſſadors as they neuer yet had refuſed any, eſpecially from his Imperiall Maieſtie; beſides the Eſtates beeing in league with the French King and the Queene of England, they could not without their priuitie and conſent beginne any thing, eſpecially in a matter of ſo C
great waight, which concernes their gouernment: wherefore they beſought his Maieſty that he would hold them excuſed.

The French King preſently after the ſurprize of Amiens by the Spaniards, ſent cer-
The French King prepares to beſiege Amiens. taine troupes of horſe and foote about the towne, eſpecially to thoſe places where there are bridges vpon the riuer of Some, as at Pont Remy, Picqueni, Corbie and other places, attending vntill his army were readie, to beſiege it nere.

Cardinall *Albertus* (whom it did much import to preſerue this towne for the King his Maiſter, as beeing the chiefe keye of France towardes Arthois) ſent all his Spaniſh forces to the fronters, beſides the garriſons which hee had in Cambraie, Chaſtelet, Dourlans, Calais, Ardres, Monthulin and diuers other places in thoſe D
quarters, taken from the French, that hee might at neede breake the French Kings
Cardinal Albert reſolues to ſuccor Amiens. ſiege, and raiſe it by force if it were by any meanes poſſible. But hee could not bee ſo ſoone readie, for want of money, or otherwiſe, ſo as before hee could bring his army to field, the King had ſo well intrencht his campe, as the Cardinall held it not conuenient to charge him: although that hauing put his men in order of bataile, with his artillery, hee had once or twiſe made ſome ſhew, yet hauing no intent to hazard any thing, ſo as the towne was forced to yeeld in September following, euen in view of the Cardinal.

Prince Maurice goes to field with his Army. Whileſt that the Cardinall was in thoſe quarters of Picardie, with the King of Spaines forces, the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces and Prince *Maurice*, hauing ſtaied their armie from going to field vntill Auguſt, for that they would E
firſt ſee which waie the Cardinall did turne head with his armie, doubting not but hee would bee kept verie long there, (although hee could not raiſe the King from his ſiege) to ſerue for a bridle for the French, that they ſhould not ouerrunne Arthois.

In the beginning of Auguſt in this yeare of our Lord 1597. the Eſtates and the Prince hauing reſolued for to free the riuer of Rhine, the aforeſaid Prince cauſed all his armie, with the Artillerie to march, as well by land, as by the riuers of Rhine and Wahal, with three or foure hundred ſhippes of all ſortes towardes Rhinbercke: and before hee came there, paſſing cloſe by the towne and caſtle of Alphen, F
(belonging to the Conteſſe of Moeurs and Nyeuwenart) which might anoy his campe: he approched only with two peeces of ordinance, which hee cauſed them that were in garriſon there for the King of Spaine to ſee, being about 60. men: who being ſũmoned,

and

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A and offered a good compoſition, if they did yeeld before the Canon was planted, finding them-ſelues too weake to with-ſtand an armie; and beeing loth to looſe them-ſelues through wilfulneſſe, they yeelded both Towne and Caſtle into the Princes hands the eight of Auguſt, departing with their armes and baggage, ſeeing they had not attended any force, but onely threats. 1597

Alpen yeelded to the Eſtates.

The ſame day the Prince aduanced with all his armie before the towne of Rhinberck, the which was that night all inueſted by land, the ſhippes of warre and boates remaining before Wezel in the countrie of Cleues, for that they could not eaſilye mount vp the Rhine: but the next day it was in like ſorte inueſted by water, and the towne ſhippes taken, with a little Iland in the middeſt of the Rhine, oppoſite vnto the

B towne, where the Prince planted ſome peeces of batterie, beſides thoſe that were in the ſhippes of warre, from whence hee battered a great Tower in the Biſhops Paliace, (which commanded vppon the ſayed riuer) vntill they had made it vnprofitable.

Rhinbercken veſted.

The beſieged made not any ſallye worthe the writing, onely they did importune the Campe with their Canon, and among others they ſhotte once neere vnto the Princes Tent, into the Pauillion of the Siegnior of Sonſuelt his Councellor, and in his youth his Gouernour, the which came cloſe by his head, as hee reſted himſelfe vpon a Mattras, touching onely his breeches which hee had layd at his beds head, without any other harme: wherevpon they made a terraſſe the height of a man

C or more, to defend the Princes Tents.

The nineteene day of the moneth, the Prince hauing planted his batterie at the ſtrongeſt part of the Towne, beeing about ſixe and thirty peeces: hee cauſed it to play from tenne of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the after-noone, that the wall began to fall, and to make a breache: the which did ſo amaze the beſieged (who were not leſſe then a thouſand fighting men, which beeing reſolute might haue endured many aſſaults,) that although there were not a ſufficient breache, yet they required (that whereas they were ſummoned to yeeld) to parle: the which the Prince did not refuſe to giue eare to, to ſpare his men, and the effuſion of bloud: ſo as they agreed that by the next day the Gouernor, Captaines, Officers, Souldi-

D ers and Marriners, ſhould depart with their full armes, coulours flying, Drummes beating, carrying away all their mooueables and baggage vppon a certaine number of Wagons, with good conuoye to conduct them vnto the Towne of Geldre: with whome all men, as well Cleargie as Laye men might depart, and all the King of Spaines officers: vpon condition that what belonged to the King of Spaine, with the ſhippes, and alſo the mooueables of the Counteſſe of Nyenwenart beeing in the towne ſhould remaine there ſtill: and the Bourgers ſhould bee maintained in their freedomes and priuiledges.

Rhinberck eaſily yeelded to the Eſtates.

Without doubt it was a ſpeedie and eaſie purchaſe, of ſo ſtrong a towne, and of ſo great importance, which did ſo much harme to all her neighbours, and eſpeci-

E ally to them of Wezel, for that they make profeſſion of the Proteſtants religion. The beſieged might well for their honor haue held it ſome certaine dayes, and endured two or three aſſaults, and the rather for that Cont *Herman vanden Berghe*, marched with goodly troopes of horſe and foote to ſuccour them, at the leaſt to refreſh them with men, the which hee might well haue done, conſidering the diſtance of the guarders one from another in the Princes campe.

But as it is an ordinary thing, the greateſt braggers are not the moſt reſolute ſouldiars; ſo Captaine *Snater* Gouernour of the towne (who with his great words had braued the Eſtates and the Prince in Nymegen before hee yeelded it) was at the firſt ſight ſo amazed and terrified, (fearing that his brauadoes would bee re-

F membred) as hee preſently fainted and loſt all courage: Hee was in trueth much to blame to haue yeelded it ſo lightly, for the which hee was long in priſon, notwithſtanding his excuſe vpon the ſouldiers, who (hee ſayd) would not endure an aſſault, who on the other ſide layed the blame vppon him. Yet I haue not heard

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1597 that they were in any ſort puniſhed, but contrariwiſe the ſame ſoldiars mutined ſoone after in the towne of Gelders. A

The Archbiſhoppe of Cologne demands Rhinberck as naturall.

This towne being thus yeelded, to the diſgrace of Captaine *Snator* and the beſeeged, the Archbiſhoppe and Chapter of Cologne (of whoſe iuriſdiction the towne is) ſent there deputies vnto the Prince, being yet in his campe, and after-wards to the generall Eſtates at the Hage, requiring them to leaue the ſaid towne, as being of their iuriſdiction, free and neutrall: but the examples of the townes of Bonne and Nuys, with the harme which the ſaid towne did vnto the Eſtates, giuing free paſſage to the Spaniards to go into Freezland, and the robberies and inſolencies which were committed by the garriſon thereof, was the cauſe that at that time they gaue them ſmall hope to recouer it ſo eaſely from them, who had ſpent ſo much to winne it. B

The fort of Camillo abandoned.

The yeelding of this towne did ſo amaze them that were in garriſon in that mighty fort, ſeated alſo vpon the Rhine (which captaine *Camillo Sachini* gouernor of the towne of Mæurs, had cauſed to bee built and called it by his owne name the fort of Camillo) being two houres going from Rhinebercke, as without attending any ſeege, ſeeing onely two ſhippes of warre approch, hauing ſet fire of it, they abandoned it with two peeces of Artillery: which the Prince ſeeing he cauſed it to bee preſently ruined, whilſt that hee was buſie to repaire the breaches, and to make plaine the campe before Rhinebercke, then hauing viewed the towne and Caſtell of Meurs, the ſcituation and the country about it for the planting of his campe: C after that hee had left a ſufficient garriſon of horſe and foote in Rhinberck, vnder the charge of Captaine *Schaef*, hee cauſed all his army to march the twenty ſixe of the moneth towards Meurs, the which hee beſeeged, making ready to force it; but the ſeauenth day following, which was the ſecond of September, before they had endured one cannon ſhot, although both towne and caſtle were places of a reaſonable ſtrength, and had eight or nine hundred men in them, wanting nothing for their defence, eſpecially in the caſtell: yet they were ſo faint-harted by a ſoden amazement which tooke them, hearing the ſommonce that was made to yeeld, and thinking of the little or no meanes that was made to ſuccor Rhinberck, which was much ſtronger and of greater importance, hoping for no ſuccors when they had D done their beſt, being loth to bee ſcackt, they were reſolued before they would endure a battery of twelue peeces (which weee ready) to enter into treaty, and to get the moſt honorable compoſition they could, which the Prince hauing other deſſeigns, and to winne time, granted them to depart the next day, being the third of September, withall their armes, horſes, and baggage, their collours flying, drums beating, bullets in their mouths, matches light, and beſides to carry away one field peece the which had neuer beene vſed during all the Eſtates warres, but to winne time (hauing much worke elſe-where) they did graunt them all they demanded: More-ouer they had ſome Wagons graunted them to carry away their baggage, and a good conuoy to conduct them to ſome other place of more better E ſafetie.

Meurs beſeeged by the Eſtates.

Meurs yeelded

Prince *Maurice* hauing thus freed the Rhine and cut of the Spaniards paſſage into Freeſeland, after that hee had ſetled a good order in theſe three townes and Caſtells, the which hee had gotten in one moneth, with a little labour or loſſe, hee reſolued in like manner to goe and free the country of Freeſeland and Oueryſſell: ſo as on the eight of September he paſt the Rhine with all his army, at Rhineberck, cauſing his ſhippes of warre and munition to fall downe the Rhine at Yſſeloort into the riuer of Yſſel, vnto Douſbourg in the Conty of Zutphen, being determined to ſet vpon Grolle, the which hauing beſeeged two yeares before, he left, for that the Spaniards vnder the leading of Collonel Mondragon gouernor of the F caſtle of Antwerp came to cut of his victualls: before which towne hee came with his army, and did inveſt it the eleuenth of September, in the which there were ſome thouſand two hundred ſoldiars that is ten Captaines of foote, and three Cornets of horſes

Prince Maurice paſſeth the Rhine.

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A horſe, vnder the command of Cont *Frederick vanden Bergh*, brother to Cont *Harman* who then carried him-ſelfe as gouernor of all Freeſeland for the King of Spaine. 1597 Grolle beſeeged.

The firſt thing which Prince *Maurice* did after that hee had well intrencht his campe, was to drawe the water of the diches, and then to make galleries through them, euen to the foote of the rampar, that they might go couered to the ſappe. The towne was reaſonable ſtrong and could not bee eaſely wonne without a good battery, as well to take away their defences, as to make a breach to come vnto the aſſault, wherefore hee planted twenty foure peeces of ordinance: ſo as *Iohn Bovuier* maiſter of the fire-workes plaid the diuell in ſending forth his firy bullets,
B the which ſet fire of the towne in diuers places, ſo as the beſeeged were much troubled to quench it, who in the meane time did their beſt endeauors to defend them-ſelues, ſhooting with their great ordinance through the campe, and ſometimes ſallying forth. But as the rampar was already vndermined in ſeauen or eight places, and the galleries in a maner finiſhed to go to the ſappe, and all the artillery redy planted; the Prince (an enemy to the effuſion of humaine bloud) being loth to ruine the poore people without ineuitable neceſſity, and deſirous to ſpare his men as much as might be (as it is alwaies his cuſtome to batter furiouſly without intermiſſion, vntill he hath made a breach, and then preſently to giue an aſſault) but he would firſt ſommon Cont *Vanden Bergh* and the beſeeged to yeeld, the which
C hee did the ſeauenteenth of the moneth, promiſing them a good compoſition, if they did yeeld, and not attend the fury of the cannon: otherwiſe if he were forced to take it by aſſault, they ſhould feele the fury of a victorious enemy prouoked by their obſtinacy to reuenge. Grolle ſommoned.

The beſeeged ſeeing the Eſtate of their towne halfe burnt, the galleries, ſappes and mines, the great ſtore of ordinance and all things redy to force them, hauing little hope of ſuccors and much leſſe then the townes taken beyond the Rhine; they were willing to yeeld to a good compoſition, and not to attend any further extremity, promiſing to yeeld, and to depart the next day with all there armes and baggage, leauing their Enſeignes and Cornets, vppon condition not to ſerue againſt the Eſtates on this ſide the Rhine for the ſpace of 3. moneths, and that they ſhould retire
D beyond the riuer of Meuſe. The horſemen leauing their horſes at the Princes deſcretion; wherewith hee might mount ſome of his men, if it were his pleaſure: but vſing of his accuſtomed courteſie and bounty, and to let his enemies know that hee wanted not, he gaue them backe againe to one of their Captaines, an Italien which begged them, rather then to the Earle of *Vanden Bergh*, although hee weare his Coſin Germaine Brother and Siſters children. Hee graunted them in like manner a great number of Wagons to carry away their hurt men and baggage, vnto the Rhine. Thus was the towne of Grolle yeelded, at which ſeege there was no great loſſe of men of either ſide, but the loſſe fell vpon the poore Bourgers, who had their houſes burnt. And yeelded.

E The Prince hauing layd the trenches of his campe euen and put a ſufficient garriſon into Grolle, on the firſt of October he went with his army before the towne and Caſtle of Brefort, in the ſame country of Oueryſel, places by nature ſtrong hauing but two approches to them, one before, and an other behinde, but other-wiſe enuironed round about with mariſhes and boggs, and beſides ſo fortefied by the induſtrie of man, as they ſeemed impregnable, being manned with three hundred good ſoldiars which were ſufficient for the capacity of thoſe places, vnder the command of a Lorraine Capteine. The Prince the better to make his approches, and to winne a paſſage, cauſed many bauins and fagots, hardelles and plankes
F to bee caſt in thoſe places which were moſt inacceſſible, vpon the which on either ſide there were gabions planted with twenty peeces of ordinance to batter the rauelins which couered the two ports on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides, and a certaine tower which did anoy on the Weſt part: then he cauſed a gallery to bee made through the ditches, to go to the ſappe if need were. Brefort beſeeged by the Prince.

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1597. This done, and all things redy to force it, the Prince cauſed the beſeeged to bee A ſommoned to yeeld them-ſelues vpon promiſe of good vſage. This captaine of Lorraine refuſing to giue eare vnto it, the Prince cauſed three vollees of Cannon to be ſhot, and then he ſommoned them againe. But the beſeeged growing obſtinate, relying vpon the ſtrength of their towne and caſtle, imagining that the cannon could not doe them ſo great harme, as experience taught them afterwards, but to late: the Prince commanded to batter the Rauelins and ports of both ſides with all fury, the which was done from nine of the clocke in the morning vntill three in the after noone and a breach made at the Rauelin on the North ſide, the which was ſonne wonne by the bridges which he cauſed to be preſently made: The beſeeged ſeing this Rauelin beaten downe, and that their began to be a ſufficient breach to giue an aſſault, yea B to haue gone vpon horſebacke, and that the army was put in battaile to aſſayle them, they made a ſigne that they ſhould ceaſe the battery, and they would parle. But their firſt obſtinacy was the cauſe that the Prince would not forbeare, vntill that he ſee an eaſie breach, and the women and children vpon their knees, holding vp their hands and crying for mercy, the which preuayling nothing, and the battery ſoone after ceaſing, ſome ſoldiars aduanced (it may bee without charge) to go and view the breach, where being aloft and ſeeing no man to defend it, they entred, and were preſently followed by others, who charged the beſeeged, which began to fly, and to make their retreat towards the caſtle, whereof there were ſome ſeauenty of the hindermoſt ſlaine. The Lorraine Captaine durſt not retier himſelfe, (fearing leaſt his C former wilfulnes would make his owne men to kill him) but hee hid him-ſelfe in a mine, where hee was found and led priſoner to the Prince, who pardoned him and gaue him his life.

Brefort Sommoned and refuſeth to yeeld.

The Beſeeged deſier to parle but to late.

The towne wonne by the breach & they retire to the Caſtle.

The Prince would gladly haue kept the towne from ſpoyle: and haue ſpar'd, the poore people, and avoyded all diſorders and inſolencies, which vſually happen in the like accidents, ſtanding him-ſelfe a long time in the breach to keepe and defend it, and would not ſuffer that any of the inhabitants ſhould be taken priſoner nor ranſomed, yet was the towne partly ſpoyled by them that entred firſt: but being forbidden the ſpoyle was not great: and the Bourgers had not beene in very ill caſe, if a ſoldiar ſeeking ſome aduenture in the night, with a wiſpe of ſtraw burning (for D want of a candle) had not ſet fire of the houſe the which ſpred ouer all the towne, and could not be preuented, ſo as the whole towne was burnt except eight houſes. The ſoldiars that were retired into the Caſtle cryed out for grace, yeelding vnto the Princes mercy: who gaue them all their liues, leauing their armes, and paying a conuenient ranſone, who hauing left the moſt apparent among them for hoſtages for the ſaid ranſome, the reſt retired towards their other troupes, as thoſe of Grolle had done. The mony which grew by theſe ranſomes, was diuided by the Prince among the ſoldiars, reſeruing no penny to him-ſelfe, wherein hee ſhewed his bounty and clemency, for he might by the law of armes if hee had pleaſed, intreated theſe obſtinat men roughly, as the Spaniard doth in the like caſe, cauſing all to bee han- E ged or ſlaine: but the Prince is of ſo mylde a diſpoſition, beſides his other vertues, as hee alwaies prefers clemency and mercy before rigour and malice. As for his buunty and liberality he gaue ſufficient teſtimony thereof to the horſe-men of Grolle, as we haue ſaid.

The Caſtle yeelded.

The Prince hauing taken the towne and Caſtell of Brefort, and hauing giuen order for all things, hee turned head with his army towards the towne of Enſchede, the which was great, but none of the ſtrongeſt, nor yet of the weakeſt places, meaning to make him-ſelfe Maiſter thereof before hee paſt any further. Hauing made his approch with twelue peeces of ordinance, and cauſed it to bee ſomond, the garriſon which was within it being better aduiſed then they of Brefort, F ſeeing there was no hope of ſuccors for them, and that thoſe ſtrong and important places had beene wonne without any ſhew of ſuccors: they demanded that they might depart with their armes and baggage: the which the Prince graunted them, yet without Wagons and conuoy, vpon condition ro paſſe beyond the riuer of Meuſe

Enſchede yeelds to the Prince.

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A Meuſe. Thus the ſayd garriſon departed the ſame day the Prince arriued, beeing the ſeauenteene day of October, the which were but two ſmall companies, who held it for honor ynough to haue ſeene the Princes army and cannon. 1597.

The next day the Prince went and planted his campe before the towne of Oldenzyel, in the ſame country of Oueryſſel, reaſonablie great and well peopled, hauing three double walles, and as many ditches, in the which there were ſixe hundred ſouldiars. The Bourgers who would not willingly ſee their towne ſpoyled with the cannon, nor their liues and goods in danger, knowing well that howſoeuer they muſt needes bee taken by force or by accord, either ſoone or late: and that attending longer they might haue the worſe compoſition, ſeeing the ordynance and that they beganne B to drawe the water out of their ditches, they perſwaded the ſouldiars that they might with one generall conſent, enter into capitulation: ſo as on the two and twenty daie they ſent a drumme vnto the Prince, to let him vnderſtand their mindes: wherevpon after a little parle, it was agreed that the ſouldiars ſhould depart the next daie with their armies and baggage, vpon the ſame compoſition that they of Enſchede did: And moreouer that ſuch as would depart, and could not ſo ſpeedelie doe it by reaſon of their affaires, ſhould haue three monethes time to finiſh all their buſineſſes, and then to depart freely without any deſturbance whether they pleaſed, with their goods and mouables.

Oldenziel beſieged by the Prince.

And yeelded.

Whileſt that the Prince was before Oldenzyel, hee ſent his couſin the Earle of C Solms to beſiege the little towne of Otmarſum in Oueryſſel, before the which *Charles* of Lievin Lord of Famas, Generall of the Artillery for the Eſtates, had beene ſlaine in yeare of our Lord 1595. where hauing giuen three volles, with foure ſmall peeces, the garriſon (beeing but of one company) required that they might depart with the compoſition of Enſchede, the which was granted them; ſo on the one and twenty of October the towne was yeelded, the ſouldiars departing with their armes and baggage. Thoſe that were in garriſon in the towne and fort of Goor, ſeeing the Princes happy ſucceſſe, & how he ſtil proſpered, being loth to attend the hazard of themſelues, they abandoned thoſe places to the Earles pleaſure, who preſently cauſed the forts to bee ruined by the peaſants of that quarter, who were very glad to bee imployed about ſo good a worke, whereby they might recouer their quiet and libertie. All D the countrie of Ouerſſel beeing freed, by the taking of Grolle, Breſort, Enſchede, Oldenzyel, Otmarſum and Goor, and of ſome fortes, which the Spaniard had held there, the whole countrie hauing beene by reaſon of them extreamely afflicted euen vnto the gates of Deuenter, Campen, Zwol, Haſſelt and Steenwyc, chiefe townes, of the countrie of Oueryſſel vnder the Eſtates obedience, for the which they are bound in dutie to thanke the Prince, who performed ſo great a worke in ſo ſhort a time, and with ſo little oppreſſion, the which the whole countrie did afterwards very thankefully acknowledge.

Otmarſum yeelded to the Eſtates.

Goor abandoned to the Eſtates.

To finiſh the Princes victories for this yeare, and to free the countries of Friſeland, Oueryſſel and Gronning, ſo as the Spaniard ſhould hold nothing beyond the Rhine: E there yet remained the towne and caſtle of Linghen (places of great importance) beeing the paſſage by land, towards Hambrough, Breme and other townes of the East countries, beeing neighbour to the countrie of Weſtphalia, and the Counties of Emden and Oldenbourg, making a ſigneury and pettie Eſtate by it ſelfe, which the generall Eſtates had heretofore giuen to the Prince of Orange, father to Prince *Maurice*, in recompence of the libertie which they had recouered by his meanes and ſeruice.

The townes and caſtle of Linghen remaine in that quarter.

Cont *Frederic vanden Berghe*, after that hee had yeelded vp the towne of Grolle by compoſition, had retired himſelfe into the caſtle of Linghen, which was all that F remained of his Gouernment on that ſide the Rhine, beeing fully reſolued to keepe both the one and the other, and there to ſet vp his reſt: for that the places were verie ſtrong, and furniſhed with ſixe hundred good men, the floure of all the King of Spaines forces in that quarter of Friſeland, with a cornet of horſe, and ſome ten or twelue verie good braſſe peeces of Ordynance, beſides iron ones. The Earle aſſuring himſelfe

Cont Frederic in Linghen.

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1597. that he should be besieged, he caused certaine houses nere vnto the towne to be burnt, A the more to annoy his cousin the Princes campe, and had done more, if hee had not beene hindred by the sodaine comming of the army: winter beeing then at hand, and the wether likely to prooue bad.

The Prince retyring out of the countrie of Oueryssell causing his armie to march that way on the twenty eight day of October, the same day he did inuest the towne, and for as much as on that side there were no enemies to bee feared but those which hee besieged, he therefore (the better to accommodate his souldiars) lodged them a little at large, and most of them in peasants houses, the countrie being very much peopled. The Prince himselfe was lodged in a Gentlemans house, nere halfe a myle from the towne, and his horsemen dispersed. B

The Prince doth inuest Linghen.

The approches were easie to make, for that the towne hath many little hilles about it, so as in a short time (the season beeing reasonablie mylde) his men lodged in the counterscarpe, euen vpon the edge of the ditch, out of the which the water was soone drawne, then were there certaine galleries made through the ditches, especially on the castles side. The slow arriuall of the great ordynance, was the cause the battery was not so soone readie: yet to take away their defences, the Prince did presently imploy those few which hee had brought with him: but when the rest were come, hee caused foure and twenty cannons to bee planted against the castle: the which on the second day of Nouember did batter with such fury for eight houres together, at the two Rauelins, that Cont *Frederic* seeing their meaning was against the castle, drew C all the ordinance out of the towne into the castle, with the which he made an exchange with the Prince, causing his men to sally often forth, with losse of either side.

The galleries beeing finished against those two Rauelynes (whose worke the besieged could by no meanes hinder, by reason of the continuall thundering of the cannon and of the small shot, and that all the defences of the rampar were taken away) the Prince commanded his men to sappe the sayd two Rauelyns: *Frederic* perceiuing it, and knowing his cousins vsuall course, which is, that hauing a sufficient breach, hee goes presently to the assault, hee therefore desired to make a good retreate in time, wherevpon beeing sommoned, hee desired to parle, and to enter into capitulation. D

Linghen yeelded by composition.

The Prince did the more willingly giue eare vnto him, for that hee feared the season of the winter, which vntill that time had beene verie fauorable, and to winne time to carrie backe his army. Wherefore on the twelfth day of the month, *Frederic* accorded to yeelde, and to depart with armes and baggage, furnishing him with certaine wagons vnto the next village: deliuering the castle the same day into the Princes hands, who instantly put men into it; the Earle retyring his men into the towne vntill the next day, that he departed.

It was a strange thing of these Bretheren of *Vanden Berghe*, that of all the places which the King of Spaine committed vnto them, they could neuer keepe one against the attempts of Prince *Maurice* their cousin, as Deuenter, Steenwic, Grolle, Linghen, E and all those other pettie places in the Countrie of Oueryssell, which the Prince wonne this sommer. They say that the Spaniard did of purpose put them into them, to the end that if they had them in gard, hee should not incurre the dishonour to loose them himselfe, whereof they would not haue fayled no more then these of Vanden Berghe, who alwaies shewed themselues faithful and readie to do the King of Spaine their Master seruice.

The King of Denmarkes Ambassadors in the campe before Linghen.

Whilest that the Prince was camped before Linghen, the King of Denmarkes Ambassadors came vnto him, which were *Arnold VVitfeldt* Chancellor, and *Christian Bernekar* a Councellor, who would not depart, vntill hee was master thereof. These Ambassadors returning from their Embassie out of England, came to F the same end to the Hage in Holland in the beginning of October, to the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, where hauing had their dispatch, and returning into their owne countrie, they would needes see Prince *Maurice* as they past along.

The

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A The ſome of their Legation which they did deliuer as well by word as by writing, 1597.
on the ninth of October, was.

THat *Chriſtierne* King of Denmarke at this preſent raigning, remembring the good "
loue and neighbour-hood which King *Frederic* his Father had in his life time with "
the deceaſed *William* of Naſſau, Prince of Orange, the ſayd generall Eſtates, and ge- "
nerally with all the Inhabitants of the vnited Prouinces, who had euer ſought, and "
labored as much as hee could poſſibly, that not onelie the ſayd vnited Prouinces "
ſhould bee once diſcharged of thoſe long, cruell and deuouring warres: but alſo that "
they and all Chriſtendome might bee reſtored to an aſſured peace and quietneſſe. "
B So as it was to bee hoped that this ſo holy a deſigne and intent of their ſaid Lord and "
King would haue taken good effect, if it had not pleaſed God to take him ſo ſodainely "
out of this world. But now that his preſent Maieſtie their Prince and Lord, hauing "
ſucceeded the King his father, not onely in his realmes, and Eſtates, but alſo in his "
Chriſtian and Godly vertues, to follow his ſteppes, in the entertainment of amitie, "
good neighbor-hood, and correſpondencie with the ſayd vnited Prouinces, by de- "
monſtration of the loue and affection which hee beares them, deſiring nothing more "
then to ſee them diſcharged of theſe miſeries and calamities, and of whatſoeuer might "
grieue or annoy them, which deſire and zeale hath mooued his Maieſtie, to ſend "
them as his Ambaſſadors vnto his Excelencie and their Lordſhips, to vnderſtand "
C if they had any inclynation, and could bee content, that his Maieſtie with other Chriſ- "
tian Princes and Potentates, ſhould deale and labour that theſe long warres and pub- "
like calamities (common to them all) might once bee ſuppreſt and quencht, and peace, "
(ſo much deſired) generally ſetled and planted, hoping that the King of Spaine, their "
aduerſe partie might in like manner bee drawne vnto it. And the generall Eſtates "
may reſt well aſſured, that the King their Prince, would not herein ſeeke nor procure "
any thing that ſhould bee preiudiciall to the Proteſtants religion, in the which his "
Maieſtie hath beene borne, bred and brought vp, and with the grace of GOD will "
continue vnto the end: but onelie procure the meanes by the which they might bee "
preſerued and maintained, with increaſe of their happineſſe. Whereupon his Maie- "
D ſty doth moſt affectionatly intreat the ſayd Prince and Eſtates, that they will giue "
care vnto it, and reſolue to propound conditions and Articles, whereby they may "
bee inclined to enter into conference, and that the King their Maſter might bee there- "
of informed by them: which his holie and Godly intention, his Maieſtie had made "
knowne vnto the renouned Queene of England, *Elizabeth* his deare Siſter and Allie, "
with all good and holeſome admonitions and exhortations, vpon the horrible amaze- "
ments, doubtfull euents, and iminent dangers of this war; as in like ſort he would haue "
them repreſented vnto his Excelency and their Lordſhips. "

His Maieſty requiring alſo the ſayd Eſtates, that all neutrall perſons, which haue "
no communitie with this bad warre, might haue free nauigation, comerece and traffick "
E of Marchandiſe, into any place whatſoeuer, ſo as they forbeare to carry any munition "
of warre vnto the enemie. And much leſſe that his Maieſties naturall ſubiects "
ſhould be reſtrained, in regard of the perpetuall contracts, neighbour-hood, friend- "
ſhip and good correſpondency, which hath alwaies beene betwixt his ſubiects and "
them of the vnited Prouinces, to whom the like is freely allowed in all his hauens, paſ- "
ſages and ſtraights. "

Then afterwards hauing beene interceſſors for Steyn Malteſen, Amptman of the "
caſtle of Bahuyſen in Denmarke, that he might bee paied the arrerages of his account "
for the ſeruices which hee had done to the particular Eſtates of Holland and Friſeland. "
The ſayd Ambaſſadors hauing in his Maieſties name wiſht all happineſſe and proſ- "
F peritie vnto Prince *Maurice* and the Eſtates, with offer of his loue and good neigh- "
bor-hood, in imitation of his Anceſtors, and eſpecially of the deceaſed King, his Lord "
and Father: And they for their parts did offer vnto the Eſtates their humble ſeruice. "
Beſeeching them aboue all that they might carry vnto the King, their Lord and Maſter, "
in the Eſtates behalfe, a good and a pleaſing anſwere. "

Where-

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1597. Wherevpon the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces made aſwere vnto the A
ſayd Ambaſſadors, as well by mouth as by writing, the foure and twenty day of October, as followeth.

The Eſtates anſwere to the Ambaſſadors.

„ THat the Lords of their aſſemblie deputed and repreſenting the ſayd generall E-
„ ſtates, had beene exceeding glad to here and vnderſtand the good remembrance
„ which his Maieſtie had retained, of the friendſhip, neighbour-hood, correſpondency,
„ and ancient contracts which had bin of long time betwixt the crown of Denmark, Nor-
„ way &c. with the Prouinces of the Netherlands in generall: and eſpeciall of the good
„ opinion which the worthie King *Frederic* the ſecond of that name King of Denmarke
„ &c. had of them, and of the worthy remẽbrance which he hath had of the deceaſed *Vvil-* B
„ *liam* of Naſſau Prince of Orange. &c. The ſaid Eſtates hauing neuer had any doubt of the
„ loue and good inclynation of the ſayd King, to the vnited Prouinces, which giues them
„ the greater cauſe of ioye, for that his Maieſty doth offer to continue and perſeuer
„ therein, for the which they did moſt humblie thanke him. Hoping that they neither
„ haue, nor euer will neglect any endeauor, that may ſerue to entertaine and augment
„ his Maieſties good will and affection to them and the ſayd Prouinces.

„ That the ſayd Eſtates will neuer forget the good affection which the deceaſed
„ King did carry to theſe Prouinces, deſiring to retire them from vnder the heauy bur-
„ then of warre, and to reſtore them to peace and reſt: aſſuring themſelues that his Ma-
„ ieſty now raigning, hath not onely inherited his fathers Kingdomes and Eſtates, but alſo C
„ his vertues, and the ſame inclination which hee had to the friendſhip, good neighbour-
„ hood and correſpondency with the ſaid Prouinces. Whereby they do firmely beleeue,
„ that his Maieſty deſires nothing more, then to ſee the proſperity and health of theſe
„ countries, by the rooting out of all acts of hoſtility, and of all that might be preiudicial
„ and chargeable vnto them: for the which they hold themſelues ſo much the more
„ bound vnto his Maieſty. And as they do herein know his good will, ſo they hope that
„ by the reaſons hereafter produced, his Maieſty will beleeue; that the ſayd Eſtates haue
„ neuer deſired any thing more, then once to ſee an end of this warre, and it changed in-
„ to a good and firme peace, for the attayning whereof they haue done what poſſible
„ they could: for their ſafeties, preſeruation of their religion and good of the country. D
„ Whereas contrariwiſe on the Kings behalfe; and of the councell of Spaine, in all confe-
„ rences of peace, as well in his name as otherwiſe they ſeeke nothing but practiſes and
„ cunning ſhifts to ſurpreſſe the countrie and the good Inhabitants thereof. As it ap-
„ peared by the firſt conference in the yeare of our Lord 1574. betwixt the Lord
„ of Champigny in the King of Spaines name, and the ſignior of Saint Aldegonde,
„ for the Prince of Orange and the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland, the which went
„ to ſmoake, for that they would not yeeld to the leaſt point that was demaunded
„ for the ſafetie of religion: beeing the Spaniards onelie intention during the ſayd
„ conference, to breed a diuiſion betwixt thoſe two Prouinces, and ſo beeing maſters
„ of the good towne of Leyden, to lodge themſelues ſafely in the heart of Holland. E
„ The which (by the fidelitie and good endeauors of the ſayd Prince and Eſtates, toge-
„ ther with the beſieged in the ſayd towne: by the helpe of GOD) was preuented. The
„ like was ſeene in that ſolemne aſſemblie held at Breda, in the yeare of our Lord 1575.
„ at the interceſſion of the Emperour *Maximilian*, hauing ſent the Earle of Swarſen-
„ bourg thether: at the which refuſing to yeeld any thing in the Kings behalfe, touch-
„ ing the reformed religion, nor allow the generall Eſtates of all the Netherlands to aſ-
„ ſemble together to that end, in like manner there came no good of it. But during
„ the time of the ſayd conuocation, the Spaniardes did ſo much by their practiſes and
„ warlike attempts, as in few monethes they got more vpon Holland and Zeeland, then o-
„ therwiſe they had done in many yeares. F

„ Afterwards as by the grace of God (the which the King of Spaine hath ſought by all
„ meanes to breake) the Prouinces ſubiect to the oppreſſion of the Spaniards, freed
„ themſelues, beeing aſſembled and in the end confederated with the ſayd Prince and the
„ Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland, and their aſſociates in the towne of Gant. Whereas

they

A they haue made the pacification which followed, with an order concerning relligion, " 1597.
and the conuocation of the generall Eſtates of all the Netherlands. As after the "
death of the great Commander *Don Louis* of Requeſence, and before the con- "
cluſion of the ſayed Pacification, *Don Iohn* arriued in the country of Luxembourg: "
whereas many of the ſaid Prouinces treated with him, and in the end agreed (notwith- "
ſtanding the ſaid Pacification and vnion which followed) to receiue him for their "
Gouernor, except thoſe of Holland and Zeeland and their Aſſociats, who oppoſed "
them-ſelues, for that the King of Spaine would not conſent vnto the ſaid pacificati- "
on, nor the aſſembly of the generall Eſtates, but conditionally that it ſhould not de- "
rogat, nor preiudice the Popiſh and Romiſh Relligion, and that the ſaid Eſtates ſhould "
B ſweare to entertaine the ſame. And *Don Iohn* being receiued into the ſaid gouern- "
ment, hee not onely ſought to ſuppreſſe the Prouinces whereas hee commanded, "
but would alſo force them to enter into warre againſt them of Holland, Zeeland, "
and their aſſociats, wherevnto they would not yeeld: hee then tooke armes againe, "
and called backe the Spaniards, the which by the treaty of Gant were gone out of "
the country, hauing ſecret practiſes with the Germaine and Wallon garriſons, to "
be aſſured of the towne and Caſtle of Antwerp, and of many other places, ſeazing "
vpon that of Namur, where-vpon the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland being againe "
required to ſend their deputies, vnto an aſſembly of other Prouinces, being reunited "
together, they were long in treating an other accord with the ſaid *Don Iohn*: But "
C when they could not attaine vnto it vpon reaſonable and iuſt conditions that were "
propounded vnto him, they were forced againe to returne to an open warre, and to goe "
to field of either ſide. "

In the meane time the King of Spaine ſent the Barron of Selles, to the generall "
Eſtates aſſembled at Bruſſelles, who in outward ſhew preſented ſome means of peace, "
but in ſecret he labored to corrupt the one and the other, eſpecially the heads of the "
army being then camped at Gemblours: whereof hee gayned ſome, which was "
the cauſe of the rout of the ſaid army, by the abſence of thoſe Noblemen that "
were retired at the ſame time: when as the Eſtates to ſhew their good and ſin- "
cere intention and deſire to a peace, called *Mathias* Archduke of Auſtria to their go- "
uernment. After which rout, the ſaid Archduke, Prince of Orange and ſome o- "
D thers of the chiefe Noblemen, with the generall Eſtates, appointing to raiſe a new "
army, there was an other conference of peace propounded: and therevpon a con- "
uocation was held at the requeſt of the Barron of Selles, in the towne of Macklin, "
whether the Earle of Boſſu and ſome other Noblemen of the Eſtates were ſent: but "
all that was done there, was that the Barron of Selles corrupted the Siegnior of "
Bours gouernor of the towne of Macklin, ſo as within few months after it was yeelded "
vp and loſt from the Eſtates. "

Afterwards there was an other conference of peace held in the towne of Lou- "
uaine, whereas the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, of the French King and of the Queene "
of England aſſiſted: but for that they would not yeeld vnto the leaſt point which "
E was required touching reformation of relligion, all proued but winde. As in like "
manner they could not doe any thing in that great aſſembly at Cologne, in the which "
the Emperor (that now is) was a mediator by his Ambaſſadors, Electors and Prin- "
ces of the Empire, by reaſon that they would not prouide for the ſafety of the ſaid "
Religion, nor for the Eſtate of the country, according to their ancient rights, and "
preuiledges: during which aſſembly, the diſunion of the Wallon Prouinces was "
practiſed, and of ſome of the cheefe of the Nobilitie, with the reduction of the "
towne of Boiſleduc and others to the Spaniſh party, ſome by practiſes, ſome by "
force. "

F So as in the end the ſtates ſeeing that neither by interceſſion nor by any other meanes "
they could attaine to a good and an aſſured peace, the were forced to reſolue to "
chooſe an other Prince, where-vpon moſt part of the ſaid Prouinces did chooſe and "
call in the Duke of Aniou and Alanſon, the onely Brother to the French King: "
after they had by ſufficient declarations, and by Edicts publikely proclaymed the "

King

1597. "King of Spaine to bee fallen from all right of Seigneurie and command, which hee "was wont to haue ouer the Netherlands. And although the reaſons why this hath "happened bee notorious to all the world; yet it merits to bee ſuccinctly related in this "place: which is, that the ground of all the warres and miſeries of the Netherlands, is, "for that the King of Spaine hath ſought to ſuppreſſe the preuiledges, freedomes, "liberties, pollicie, forme of gouernment, and other rights of the ſayd countries, "whereas he pretends to make this his *Rendezvous*, and ſeate of warre, to the oppreſſion "of all neighbour Princes, and eſpecially of them that were fallen from the Romiſh "religion. The which the Princes, chiefe Noblemen, and Eſtates of the ſayd countries, "being not able to endure, the King of Spaine tooke occaſion to ſend the Duke of "Alua with a mightie armie into theſe parts, to execute his ſayd deſſeigne, by whom B "hee cauſed the Earles of Egmont and Horne to bee apprehended, with a great num- "ber of Noblemen, Gentlemen and good Cittizens, whom hee did publikely and "ſhamefully execute, baniſhing an infinite number of people, and chaſing them away, "to the great griefe and ſorrow of the poore inhabitants which remained. Yea the "Marquis of Berghes, and the Baron of Montigny, ſent a little before into Spaine, by "the Gouerneſſe, to ſhew the iminent danger of the ſayd Countries, and to ſeeke for "remedie, the King againſt the dutie of a good Prince, againſt his othe made both in "generall and in particular, and againſt all lawe of nations, cauſed them to dye, and "did confiſcate all their goods. Making Cittadels in the chiefe Townes of the coun- "trie, bringing in a new forme of iuſtice, eſtabliſhing a ſupreme councell, called a C "Councell of the troubles, in Flemiſh *Blout-raed*, that is, a Councell of bloud, all "againſt the preuiledges; And vnder coulour of a generall pardon, aboliſhing gene- "rally all the right and priuiledges of the countrie, to gouerne at his pleaſure, for- "getting not in the meane time his chiefe deſſeignes vpon the neighbor kingdomes, "ſeeking occaſions of quarrell to inuade them by armes. The which GOD pre- "uented, ſtirring vp the Prince of Orange, who entred into the ſayd countries with "two mightie armies, vntill that hee was ſetled in his gouernments of Holland and "Zeeland.

"This was not yet ſufficient for the King of Spaine, that in thoſe countries there "are aboue a hundred thouſand perſons dead for the religion, and that by his charge D "the Duke of Alua hath cauſed aboue twentie thouſand to bee executed by the hang- "man, but hee muſt withall quite ruine whole townes, and murther moſt part of the "people, as the Townes of Macklyn, Zutphen, Naerden, Oudewaeter, and others which "may ſerue for preſidents: And beſides that, hee was cauſe of the Prince of Oranges "murther by a publike proclamation, who had alwayes carried himſelfe as a Fa- "ther of the countrie: the which giues the Eſtates the more occaſion to perſeuere "in their iuſt conceptions. Whereby it is apparent, that theſe vnited Prouinces haue "good reaſon not to ſubmit them-ſelues vnder the ſubiection and rule of the King of "Spaine, nor to enter into any Treatie with him of a perpetuall peace. And the rather "for that they haue found by experience, that all the conferences of peace, (how E "ſincerely ſo-euer they haue beene made by the Mediators and Interceſſors,) haue "beene alwayes held by the Spaniards, tending to ſome practiſes or enterpriſes: "that hauing made ſome diuiſion or breach betweene them, then ſodenly to ouer-runne "and diſperce them.

"Beſides in their particular Treaties with the Townes of Gand and Bruges, the King "of Spaines miniſters propounded in the beginning goodly conditions, yea for mat- "ter of religion: but when they came to reſolue, they would not once ſuffer them to "open their mouthes vpon the leaſt point. The fraudulent treaties of the enemies, "and the wayes of hoſtilitie which the Spaniards haue vſed againſt the State and "Crowne of France, for ſo many yeares, doe ſufficiently ſhew, that all they doe is F "but to ſuppreſſe religion. And the like happened in the yeare 1588. when during the "Treatie of the Engliſh with the Spaniards at Bourbourg in Flanders, that great Sea- "armie thought to inuade England. And withall the Eſtates cannot enter into any trea- "tie with the King of Spaine, for that ſince the murther of the Prince of Orange, they haue

A haue choſen Prince *Maurice* his ſonne for the cheefe, whome God hath endowed with 1597.
ſo many graces and heroicall vertues, as he not onely defends and preſerues theſe vnited
Prouinces, but doth alſo augment and dilate their limits and iuriſdictions; with the
ayde and fauor of the Queene of England, who like a moſt Chriſtian Princeſſe, conſi-
dering the power and ambition of the Spaniards, and their manner of proceeding, hath
alwaies for the good of all Chriſtendome fauored the ſaid Eſtates, with whom they are
in league, vpon promiſe not to make any peace with the ſaid enemies without her pri-
uity and conſent.

That ſince the King of Spaine hath continued warre againſt all Kings, Princes, and
Potentats, vnder collour to maintaine the Pope and his relligion: but the true cauſe
B is to domineere ouer all Chriſtendome, the which he hath ſhewed plainely againſt
the French King, by reaſon whereof the ſaide French king hath alſo made a league
with the Queene of England: into the which theſe vnited Prouinces haue beene re-
ceiued, being bound not to treat any peace with the Spaniard without both their
conſents, whereof the Eſtates hope that the kings maieſty of Denmarke will conſider
of the ambitious deſſeignes of the king of Spaine, and of his councell, againſt all
kings and Potentates, and eſpecially againſt them that haue forſaken Popery:
euen ſo all Chriſtendome ſhould deſire to ioyne in the ſame league, aſſuring themſelues
alſo that his Maieſtie by his great wiſdome will not onely iudge how vnfit it were for
theſe countries to returne vnder the yoake of the Spaniard, to the totall ſuppreſſion
C of relligion, and their vtter ruine, but alſo how preiudiciall it would be to neighbour
kings and Princes, if the ſaid Prouinces were brought againe vnder the King of Spaines
ſubiection: and that he ſhould command ouer their ſoldiars, ſhippes, and marrines,
hauing the meanes in his power, by the mony wh ch the ſaid Prouinces haue by rea-
ſon of the warres beene forced to leuie for their defence and preſeruation: the which
being at his deuotion, would giue him meanes to entertayne twenty thouſand
men continually, with the which hee would doe greater exployts againſt all other
neighbour Kings and Princes, then hee could doe with the reuenues and demaines
of his other realmes and Prouinces, yea of his Indies.

That the King of Spaine hath beene alwaies a perſecuter of the relligion, the gouern-
D ment of Spaine and Portugall, and the great councell of the Inquiſition do ſuffici-
ently ſhew it, with that goodly title which hee giues him-ſelfe of *Defender of the
Popes authority*, who attributes vnto him-ſelfe, and vſurpes the power to transferre
kingdomes from one King or Prince vnto an other. Moreouer the ſaid Eſtates do
moſt humbly beſeech his Maieſty to beleeue that the beginning of a conference of
peace with the King of Spaine is full of difficulties, and ſecret deſſeignes, which can-
not be preuented. For as with other Kings, Princes and commonweales conferences
of peace doe coole mens affections to warre, or at the leaſt doth hinder the meanes:
the ſame reaſon hath greater efficacy with theſe Prouinces and townes: for that many
would imagine that the reaſons which had moued the ſaid Eſtates to enter into confe-
E rence were ſo ſollide, and built vpon a foundation of ſuch aſſured conditions, as they
could not faile to attayne vnto a firme peace, the which would cauſe many inconuenien-
ces, for to thinke that the vnited Prouinces could make any peace with the King of
Spaine without the extirpation of the reformed relligion in the ſaid contries, and with-
out bringing the inhabitants thereof vnder the abſolute obedience of Spaine; it hath
bin deliuered at large by word of mouth vnto the Ambaſſadors, that it cannot poſſible
bee performed.

The ſaid Eſtates do alſo beſeege his Maieſty to beleeue that they are very ſencible
of the great miſeries and calamities which theſe countries haue ſuffered and do ſuffer
during theſe preſent warres, and of the effuſion of humaine bloud. And in like man-
F ner they doe duly weigh and conſider of the commodities which a good peace ſhould
bring by the ceſſation of armes. But ſeeing that (beſides the entereſt of all Chriſ-
tendome, and of Kings, Princes and neighbour common weales) this conference of
a peace with the Spaniards, would be ſo preiudiciall and hurtfull to the Eſtate of theſe

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1597. „ Countries, as the ruine thereof and all the inhabitants might thereby enſue. For theſe A
„ conſiderations their Eſtate cannot endure to haue any other ouerture made, but it
„ behoues them to attend an other iſſue from the hand of GOD (whereon they haue
„ grounded all their hope) by a good reunion of the other Belgicke Prouinces, or other-
„ wiſe. And therefore the ſaid Eſtates doe humbly beſeech, that it would pleaſe his
„ Maieſty to receiue their reſolution in good part, and in reſpect therof not to carry leſſe
„ affection to them, then ſubiects and inhabitants.

„ As for that which the ſayed Ambaſſadors haue charge from his Maieſty, to inſiſt
„ vnto the Eſtates, that all neutrall perſons which haue nothing common with this
„ warre, might freely ſayle and trafficke into all places, ſo as they carry no munition of
„ warre to the enemy, and eſpecially his Maieſties ſubiects, in conſideration of their B
„ hereditary contract and good neighbourhood. The ſaid Eſtates declare that they
„ confeſſe moſt willingly, and will alwaies confeſſe, that they are greatly bound vnto
„ his Maieſty by reaſon of the ſaid hereditary contract, neighbourhood and good cor-
„ reſpondency, and in like manner for the ſecurity and fauor which the inhabitants of
„ the vnited Prouinces receiue throughout all his dominions, in regard whereof ſence
„ the beginning of theſe wars vnto that day, they haue endeauored to ſhew vnto al Kings,
„ Princes and neighbour common-weales, and eſpecially in reſpect of the ſaid King of
„ Denmarke for matters of nauigation and trafficke, all good neighbourhood, correſ-
„ pondency and friendſhippe. And that in this conſideration they would not hinder
„ the ſubiects and inhabitants of the realmes and countries of the ſaid King, nor any C
„ other neutrall perſons; from the nauigation into Spaine, Portugall or any other weſ-
„ terne parts vnder the King of Spaines dominions or obedience, or any other neutrall
„ countries what ſoeuer, no more then their owne ſubiects and inhabitants of the vni-
„ ted Prouinces.

„ Touching *Steyn Malteſen* Collonell to his Maieſty, and *Amptman* of Bahuyſen, of
„ whome mention is made in the ſaid propoſition. The ſaide Eſtates declare that it
„ is not long ſence, that hauing taking information vpon his pretenſions in quality of
„ Lieutenant to the moſt famous *William Lewis* Earle of Naſſau, gouernor of Freezland,
„ they haue giuen him all ſatiſfaction, and ouer and aboue at his departure a gratuity of
„ a chaine of gold, ſo as in regard of his ſeruices done vnto the ſaid Prouinces, he cannot D
„ pretend any thing. And as for the ſeruice which the ſaid Collonel pretends to haue
„ done as Captaine of the company which was rayſed by the deceaſed Captaine *Schagen*,
„ ſince the twenty one of October 1580. vnto the firſt of February 1586. that the Seig-
„ nor *Nicholas Malte* his Brother ſucceeded in his place, he was in like ſort paied, as o-
„ ther Captaines which were in the ſame ſeruice had beene, and are daily according to
„ the order and vſe of the country, with the which al ſoldiars content themſelues without
„ any contradiction, leauing the reſt of their pay vnto the end of this warre. And in the
„ meane time if it happen, that at the great ſute and inſtance of any Captaines which
„ leaue their ſeruice, for ſome good conſiderations, be it for their poore eſtate or other-
„ wiſe, they come to accord with them, it is done with ſuch a ſmall compoſition, aba- E
„ ting that which ought to be abated according to the order: that in that caſe there
„ would bee little comming vnto the Collonell vpon the accoumpt of his ſeruices,
„ wherefore the Eſtates aſſure them-ſelues that the ſaid Collonell being better infor-
„ med thereof by their letters, will the more willingly haue patience with the reſt, and
„ attend the end of this warre, rather then to accept of ſo meane a Compoſition, as hath
„ beene told him by mouth.

„ Finally the ſaid Eſtates do humbly thanke his Maieſtie for his good affection to-
„ wards them: beſeeching God withall their hearts, that it will pleaſe him to preſerue
„ his perſon, his realmes, Eſtates, countries and ſubiects, in a happy and proſperous
„ gouernment, good and long life, to the good and quiet of all Chriſtendome. As F
„ for them, that they would neuer faile of their duties and ſeruice, in all good affecti-
„ ons towards his maieſty the which they not onely deſire to continue, but alſo
„ will ſtriue more and more, and at all times will bee ready to doe their beſt indeuor to
increaſe

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A increaſe it. Thanking likewiſe the ſayd Ambaſſadors of their great paines which they had taken in this legation: Intreating them earneſtly that they would bee pleaſed to make a good and fauourable report vnto his Maieſtie of the good affection and humble inclination which they haue vnto him, with their humble recommendations, &c. Made at the Hage the 24. of October. 1597. 1597.

The ſayd Ambaſſadors hauing receiued this anſwer, departed, after they had beene ſtately entertained by the Seignior of Pipenpoix, a Gentleman appointed to that end by the Eſtates, as Steward: aſſiſting at euery meale to beare them companie, two of the Deputies of the Eſtates: and beeing richly and honorably gratified with goodly preſents, they went (as wee haue ſayd,) to ſee Prince *Maurice*, in his Campe
B before Linghen, where they were likewiſe well intreated and defrayed, as long as they remained in the Eſtates territories, taking their way from thence towards Denmarke.

According to ſo many Ambaſſages and purſutes tending to a peace, at the great inſtance of the King of Spaine: Cardinall *Albert* his Lieutenant, ſent in the beginning of the yeare 1598. his Commiſſioners vnto the French King, the which were, the Preſident *Richardot*, *Ioan Baptiſta Taxis* and *Lewis Verreyken*, Audiencier, to ſeeke ſome good courſe for a peace betwixt him and the king his Maiſter, who ſhould bee his father in lawe (the *Infanta* of Spaine being promiſed him in marriage) whereC vnto the Queene of England and the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces did alſo inuite him. For hee knew well that ſo long as thoſe three great and mighty countries of France, England and the Netherlands, ſhould bee vnited together in ſuch a league as they had ſworne, that his affaires could not ſucceed well, his power (although it were very great) not being ſufficient to incounter all their three forces together: fearing that hee ſhould not onely bee forced to caſt vp that which hee had deuoured in Picardie and elſe-where; but alſo to looſe the reſt of his Netherlands, and by their ioynt forces to bee aſſailed in Spaine. 1598. The king of Spaine ſeekes for peace.

On the other ſide the French King much incenſed at the indignities which hee had receiued of his owne ſubiects, leaguers and others; knowing the deſolation of his country, and that his ſubiects by this warre were ſo impoueriſhed, as they could indure no more. And to recouer that by the way of armes, which the Spaniard had
D taken from him in two or three yeares before, hee muſt imploy much time, looſe many men, and ſpend his treaſor, which hee found to bee greatly exhauſted. And that Picardie was ſo ruinated, as it was nothing but a deſart, ſo as there was no meanes to feede an armie there, for the recouerie of Calais, Dourlans, and other places: wherefore hee was aduiſed by his Councell, to ſend his Deputies thether; which were the Lords of Bellieure and Sillery, both of his councell, and the Generall of the Friars as a mediator; to enter into conference with the Cardinalls Commiſſioners, making the place of their aſſembly at Veruine, where they continued long before they could reſolue. The French King giues eare to a peace.

The Queene of England, and the generall Eſtates ſent their Ambaſſadors into
E France, concerning this treatie, as nothing pleaſed with this conformitie of the French King with the Spaniards, but they returned with-out any effect. The Eſtates Embaſſadors by reaſon of the contrary windes, came too late, the Treatie of peace being concluded with the Spaniard. Yet going to the king to Nantes, they were welcomed, much made of, and had priuate audience, whereas the king aſſured them of his loue and good affection to the ſayd Prouinces; ſo as they returned reaſonablie well ſatisfied from his Maieſtie. Yet the Eſtates ſent other ambaſſadours to the Queene of England, to conferre of that which was to be done, or not done concerning this peace: the ſaid ambaſſadors were *Iohn Duyvenvorde* knight,
F Siegnior of Warmont, Admirall and great forreſter of Holland; Maiſter *Iohn Vanderwerck* Councellor of the Eſtates of Zeeland, and *Iohn Hottinga* a Squire, both Deputies of the generall Eſtates. And although it ſeemed according to the league made in the yeare 1596. betwixt France and England, in the which the vnited Prouinces were comprehended, that the King ſhould not haue proceeded in this treatie of peace Ambaſſadors ſent from England and the Eſtates vnto France. The Eſtates ſend Ambaſſadors to the Queene of England.

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1598. with the Spaniard, without the conſent of his allyes: yet the French King thought himſelfe ſufficiently diſcharged in that behalfe, to haue inuited and ſummoned the Queene and the ſaid Eſtates: who by their refuſall or delayes could not bridle his will, hauing giuen the Ambaſſadors both of the one and the other ſufficiently to vnderſtand, how neceſſary peace was for his kingdome, to reſtore and put his poore ſubiects in breath, his condition being contrary to the Queenes and the Eſtates, who preſerued and maintained them-ſelues by warre, and hee on the other ſide did but ruine his realme thereby. In the end hee concluded the ſayd peace with the Cardinalls Deputies, in the name of the King of Spaine their Maiſter: the articles whereof I haue ſet downe briefly and ſuccinctly, as followeth- A

Articles of peace betwixt the French king & the king of Spaine.

„ 1. Firſt it is agreed, that the Treatie of peace concluded and reſolued, betwixt the B
„ ſaid Kings, *Henry* the fourth, and *Philip* the ſecond, in confirmation of the articles con-
„ teined in the treatie of peace, made at Chaſteau Cambreſis 1559. betwixt the ſayd
„ Catholicke King, and *Henry* the ſecond the French king, deceaſed, of high and wor-
„ thy memorie, which treatie the ſayd Deputies haue a new confirmed in all points,
„ without innouating any thing, but all ſhall remaine firme, except that which ſhall bee
„ expreſly derogated by this preſent Treatie.

„ 2. According to the which, from the day of the date of this preſent treatie, betwixt
„ the ſaid Kings, their children borne or to be borne, heires and ſucceſſors, realmes, coun-
„ tries and ſubiects, there ſhall be a good, firme, ſure and ſtable peace, confederation,
„ perpetuall league and amitie: they ſhall loue one another as bretheren, procuring by C
„ all meanes, the good, honor and reputation, one of another, and ſhall auoyde as much
„ as they may the hurt one of another. They ſhall not fauor nor maintaine any perſon,
„ to the preiudice one of another; and from this day they ſhall ceaſe all acts of hoſtili-
„ tie, forgetting all things paſt, the which ſhall remaine aboliſhed, without any future
„ mention thereof. Renouncing by this preſent treatie, all practiſes, leagues and intelli-
„ gences, which may tend to the preiudice of the one or the other, either of them
„ promiſing neuer to doe any thing, nor to procure to bee done, that may tend to the
„ hurt and preiudice of the other, nor to ſuffer their vaſſailes or ſubiects to doe it di-
„ rectly or indirectly. And if here-after any, of what qualitie or condition ſoeuer
„ they bee, ſhall goe againſt it, and ſerue by land or ſea, or in any other ſort, to ayde D
„ and aſſiſt, to the preiudice of eyther of the ſayd Kings, the other ſhall bee bound to
„ oppoſe him-ſelfe, and to puniſh them ſeuerely, as breakers of this Treatie, and trou-
„ blers of the publick quiet.

„ 3. And by meanes of the ſayd peace, and ſtrict amitie, the ſubiects of either ſide
„ whatſoeuer, may (in keeping the lawes and cuſtomes of the countrie) goe, come,
„ remaine, frequent, conuerſe and returne in peace, from one vnto the other, in
„ trade of Marchandiſe, or conuerſing and treating together as they ſhall thinke
„ good, by land, ſea, or riuers. And their ſubiects ſhall bee defended and maintained,
„ paying the duties in all accuſtomed places, which ſhall bee appointed by their Ma-
„ ieſties, and their ſucceſſors. E

„ 4. All letters of Marke and repriſall which haue been giuen for what cauſe ſo-euer,
„ ſhall be ſuſpended: and here-after none ſhall be giuen by either of them, to the preiu-
„ dice of the orhers ſubiects, but againſt the chiefe offenders, their goods and adherents,
„ and that in caſe of manifeſt deniall of Iuſtice: whereof and of the letters of ſomma-
„ tion and requiſition thereof, thoſe that purſue the ſaid letters of Marke and repriſall,
„ ſhall make proofe as it is required by law.

„ 5. The townes, ſubiects and inhabitants of the Counties of Flanders, Arthois and
„ other Prouinces of the Netherlands, together with the realmes of Spaine, ſhall enioy
„ the preuiledges, freedomes and liberties, which haue beene granted by the Kings of
„ France, predeceſſors to the moſt Chriſtian King: and in like maner the townes, ſubiects F
„ and inhabitants of the realme of France, ſhall alſo enioy the preuiledges, freedomes &
„ liberties, which they haue in the ſaid Netherlands, and in the realme of Spaine: as eue-
„ rie one hath heretofore inioyed and vſed them, and as they did enioy them by vertue
„ of the Treatie made in the yeare 1559. and other former Treaties.

6 It

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A 6 It is also agreed in case the catholick King, should giue or transferre by testa- 1598.
ment, donation, or resignation, or by any other title whatsoeuer, to the noble Infanta
the lady *Isabella* his eldest daughter, or to any other, all his Prouinces of the Nether-
lands, with the counties of Bourgongue and Charolois: that all the said Prouinces
and Counties, are meant to be comprehended in this present treatie, as they were in
the yeare 1559. together with the sayd Lady *Infanta*, or hee in whose fauour the
sayd King hath disposed it, neither shall it bee needfull to make a new treatie to
that effect.

7. The subiects of eyther Prince, as well cleargie as secular men, shall returne
(although they haue serued the contrary party) into their benefices and offices to
B the which they were preferred before the end of December 1588. except Curates,
others being cannonically called: and to the enioying of their immoueable goods,
rents, and annuities, seazed on and held by reason of the warre, begun in the sayd
yeare 1588. to enioye them from the publication of this peace, and in like manner
of those which are since fallen vnto them, by succession or otherwise, with-out
making any question, or demanding of any of the fruites before time receiued,
since the seazure and holding of the sayd immoueable goods, vnto the publi-
cation of this present Treatie, nor of the debts which haue beene consumed before
the said day: and it shall be held for good and auaileable, the partition which shall be
made by the Prince, his Lieutenant or Deputie, in whose iurisdiction the arrest was
C made, and the creditors of such debts shall not be allowed to sue for them, in any sort
whatsoeuer, against them to whom the sayd gifts were made, nor against such as by
vertue of such gifts and confiscations haue paide them, for what cause soeuer the sayd
debts may growe, notwithstanding any bonds which the sayd creditors may haue,
the which for the effect of the sayd confiscation, shall remaine by the sayd treatie,
voide, and of no force.

8. And the sayd subiects and seruants of either side shall returne into their im-
moueable goods and rents, notwithstanding all donations, concessions, declarations
and sentences giuen by contempt, in the absence of the parties, and they not heard,
by reason of this warre, which sentences and iudgements giuen, both ciuill and cri-
D minall shall remaine voyde, without any effect, as if they had not beene, restoring
the sayd subiects to the full possession of their rights, as they had them before the
beginning of the warre, neither shall they bee molested or troubled for any publike
charge which they haue had, whether it were for the victuals, mannaging of mo-
ney, or otherwise, during the warres, whereof they had yeelded an accompt before
them, who had power to command it: Prouided alwayes that the sayd subiects
and seruants bee not found charged with other crimes and offences, then to haue
serued the contrarie partie: which may not returne into the territories of the sayd
Kings, before they haue obtained their pardon and letters pattents, sealed with their
Maiesties great seale, whereof they shall bee bound to pursue the verification,
E before the Courts and officers of their sayd Maiesties.

9. Such as haue beene preferred to benifices of eyther side, being in the colla-
tion, presentation or disposition of the sayd Kings, or other lay persons, shall abide
and remaine in the possession, and enioy the sayd benefices, as beeing duely and or-
derly preferred.

10. In fauour of this peace, and to giue both the Kings contentment one of an-
other, it is agreed that they shall restore really and without fraude one vnto another,
whatsoeuer shall bee found to haue beene taken, seazed and held by them, or others
hauing charge from them, or in their names, one in anothers countrie. That is to say,
the most Christian King shall yeeld vnto the Catholike King, the possession of the
F countie of Charoloys, with the dependances and appurtenances, to bee enioyed fully
and peaceably by him or his successors, to hold it vnder the soueraignte of the Kings
of France: and if there shall be any other places found, which haue bin occupied since
the said peace 1559. by the Christian King, or by his command, they shall be in like man-
ner restored, and all within two moneths, from the day of the date of these presents.

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1598. „ 11. And in like manner the Catholicke King ſhall reſtore vnto the ſayd Chriſtian A
„ King, ſuch places as ſhall be found to haue beene by him, or others hauing charge from
„ him or in his name, taken, ſeazed on, or held ſince the treatie of Cambreſis, that is,
„ Calais, Ardres, Monthulin, Dourlans, la Capelle, Chaſtelet in Picardie, Blauet in Brit-
„ tanie, and all other places which the ſayd Catholick King hath held in the realme of
„ France, ſince the ſaid treatie, and are yet deteined by him or his.
„ 12 In regarde of Calais, Ardres, Monthulin, Dourlans, la Capelle, and Chaſtelet,
„ the ſayd places ſhall bee reſtored by the Catholike king or his miniſters, effectually
„ with-out fraude, and without any delayes or difficulties, vpon any pretext ſoeuer, vnto
„ him or them that ſhall bee deputed by the moſt Chriſtian king, preciſely within two
„ moneths, from the day of the date of theſe preſents, in the ſame eſtate they now are in, B
„ without pulling downe of any thing, or weakning them in any ſort, not pretending
„ nor demanding re-inbourſment for the fortifications done in the ſayd places, nor for
„ the payment which they may owe vnto ſoldiers or men of warre being there. And
„ this reſtitution ſhall firſt bee made of Calais and Ardres, and then of the reſt, ſo as all
„ may be reſtored within two moneths.
„ 13. As for Blauet, the reſtitution ſhall be alſo made effectually and faithfully, with-
„ out any delay or difficultie, vnder what pretext or coulour ſoeuer, to him or them that
„ ſhall be deputed by the moſt Chriſtian king, and that within three moneths from the
„ day of the date of theſe preſents. And the ſaid Catholick king may ruine and beate
„ downe the fortifications made by him or his, in the ſaid Fort of Blauet, and other pla- C
„ ces, which ſhall be reſtored by him in Brittanie, if any there be.
„ 14. Reſtoring the ſayd places, the Catholick king may carry or cauſe to be carried
„ away all artillerie, boullets, armes, victuals, and other munition of warre, which ſhall
„ be found in the ſaid places at the time of the reſtitution. And the ſoldiers and men of
„ warre, which ſhall depart out of the ſayd places, may carry with them all the mooue-
„ able goods which belong vnto them: but it ſhall not bee lawfull for them to exact any
„ thing of the inhabitants of thoſe places, nor of the champian country, nor to endomage
„ their houſes, nor to carry away any thing belonging to the ſayd inhabitants.
„ 15. And to the end the ſouldiers which are in Blauet, may the more ſpeedily retire
„ into Spaine, the moſt Chriſtian king ſhall fit them with ſhips and marriners: in which D
„ ſhips they may imbarke their artillerie, victuals, and other munition of warre, with
„ their baggage, being at Blauet and other places, which ſhall be reſtored in Brittanie,
„ giuing ſecuritie for the reſtitution of the ſayd veſſels, and ſending back of the marri-
„ ners within the time that ſhall be appointed.
„ 16. The Deputies doe promiſe for aſſurance of the reſtitution of the ſayd places,
„ as ſoone as this preſent Treatie ſhall bee ratified by the moſt Chriſtian king, to de-
„ liuer him foure hoſtages, ſuch as hee ſhall chooſe, being ſubiects to the ſayd Catho-
„ licke king, the which ſhall bee well and honorably intreated, befitting their qualities:
„ which reſtitution being made, and really performed, the ſayd hoſtages ſhall bee duly
„ ſet at libertie without any delay. Prouided alwayes, that the reſtitution of the ſixe E
„ places in Picardie being performed, two of the ſayd hoſtages ſhall bee deliuered, the
„ other two remaining vntill the reſtitution of Blauet.
„ 17. And touching matters conteined in the Treatie of the yeare 1559. which haue
„ not beene executed according to the articles thereof, the execution ſhall be made, in
„ that which is to be executed, as well for the tenour in fee of the contie of Saint *Pol*, the
„ limits of the countries of both Princes, lands held in ſurceaſe, exemptions of cuſtomes,
„ and forraine impoſitions pretended by them of Bourgongne, Biſhoprike of Teroane,
„ Abbay of Saint *Iohn* of Mant in the Dutchie of Bouillon, reſtitution of ſome places
„ pretended of either part, according to the ſayd treatie, and all other queſtions which
„ haue not beene decided, as it was then agreed: there ſhall be deputies and arbitrators F
„ appointed of either ſide to that effect: as hath beene reſolued by the ſaid treaty, who
„ ſhall aſſemble within ſixe moneths, in places appointed for the ſame, if the parties
„ agree, if not they ſhall appoint ſome other place.
„ And for as much as in the diuiſion of the lands appointed to the dioceſſes of Arras,
Amiens,

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A Amiens, Saint Omer and Boulogne: there are some villages of France vnder the Bi- 1598.
shopricks of Arras and Saint Omer, and other villages in the countries of Arthois
and Flanders, belonging to the Bishops of Amiens and Bologne, so as often-times there
growes disorder and confusion; it is agreed that hauing the consent of the Holy father
the Pope, commissioners of either side shall be deputed, who shall assemble within one
yeare, in some place appointed, to resolue of the exchange which may bee made of the
sayd villages, to the best commoditie of the one and the other.

19. All prisoners of warre being deteined of either side, shall be set at liberty, paying
their charges, & what they may otherwise iustly owe, without being tied to pay any ra-
some, vnlesse they had first agreed & promised it: and if there be complaint made of the
B excesse therof, the Prince in whose country the prisoners are detained, shal moderate it.

20. All other prisoners subiects to the sayd Kings, which through the calamitie of
the warres may be deteined in their Maiesties Galleys, shall be presently deliuered and
set at liberty without any delay, vpon what pretext so-euer, demanding nothing for
their ransome nor charges.

21. And there shall be reserued vnto the said Catholick king of Spaine, and the In-
fanta his eldest daughter and their successors, all their rights, actions and pretensions,
which they pretend to belong vnto them in the said realmes, countries & siegnories, or
elsewhere, for any cause whatsoeuer, the which neither he nor his predecessors haue not
expresly renoūced, to make his pursute by an amiable course of Iustice, & not by armes.

C 22. And touching that which hath bin said by the Catholike kings deputies, that to
attaine vnto a perfect peace, it was requisite that the most excellent Prince and Duke of
Sauoy, should be comprehended in this treatie. The Catholike king desiring and affec-
ting the good and preseruation of the said Duke, as his owne, for the neerenesse of bloud
and the alliance he hath with him. The which is also signified by *Gaspar* of Geneue, Mar-
quis of Lullin, councellor of Estate, Chamberlaine and Collonel of the sayd Dukes
guards, his Lieutenant and Gouernor in the Dutchie of Aoust, and the citty of Vrce,
his Deputie as appeares by his commission here-vnto inserted, that the said Duke his
maister hath the honor to be issued from the brother of the Christian kings great grand-
father, and from a cousin germaine to the Queene his Mother: that his intention is to
D giue the king contentment, and as his most humble kinsman to acknowledge him with
all honor, seruice and obseruance of friendship, to giue him better satisfaction here-
after of him and of his actions, the which time and occasions past would not giue him
the meanes to doe; and he promiseth vnto himselfe of the sayd king, that knowing this
his good affection, he will vse the same bounty and shew of loue vnto him, which the
last foure kings did vnto the deceased Duke his father of happy memory.

23. It hath bin concluded and agreed, that the said Duke shall be receiued and com-
prehended in this treaty of peace. And to signifie the desire which he hath to giue the
most Christian king contentment; he shall restore the towne and castle of Berra, with-
in two moneths after the date of these presents, faithfully and without delay or diffi-
E culties, vpon any pretext whatsoeuer: and the said place shall bee deliuered by the
Duke, to him or them that shall be deputed by the king precisely within the time, and
in the same estate it is now in, without demantling or weakning it in any sort, or de-
manding re-inbourssement for any fortifications made in the said towne and castle, nor
for that which may bee due vnto the soldiers being in it, leauing all the artillerie that
was within the place when it was taken, with the bullets that shall be found therein fit
for them, and they shall haue liberty to retire those peeces which haue bin brought in
since, if there be any.

24. It is also agreed, that the said Duke shall disauow and abandon Captaine *la For-
tune*, being in the towne of Seure in the county of Bourgogne, and that he shall not giue
F to him, nor to any other that shall vsurpe the said towne against the most Christian
kings will, neither directly nor indirectly, any ayde or fauour.

52. And touching all other questions & differences betwixt the most Christian king
and the said Duke of Sauoy, the said deputies in their name do agree, for the good of the
peace, that they shalbe referred to the iudgment of our holy father Pope *Clement* the 8.

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1598 „ to be decided by his holinesse within one yeare, from the daye of these presents, accor- A
„ ding to the answere giuen by the sayd King in writing the fourth day of Iune last, bee-
„ ing hereafter inserted. And whatsoeuer shalbe decreed by his holinesse, shalbe fully
„ executed and accomplished of either side, without any delay or difficulty, or any pre-
„ text whatsoeuer. And in the meane time vntill they shalbe otherwise decided by our
„ holy father, matters shall remaine in the same Estate they are at this present, without
„ any alteration, but as they are enioyed of either side, not beeing tollerable to extend
„ themselues any further, to impose or exact contributions, out of the territories of those
„ places, which are held by either party.

„ 26. And according vnto this it hath beene agreed, that from this present there shal- B
„ be a firme and stable peace, amitie and good neighbor-hood, betwixt the sayd King and
„ Duke, their children borne and to be borne, heires and successors, realmes, countries,
„ lands and subiects one of an other, without any breach vpon what pretext soeuer.

„ 27. The subiects and seruants of either side both Clergy and temporall, although
„ they haue serued a contrary party, shall returne and enioy all their goods, offices and
„ benifices, as hath beene sayd for the subiects of the two Kings, the which is not to bee
„ vnderstood of Gouernors.

„ 28. As for prisoners taken in the warres they shall bee intreated as it is agreed be-
„ twixt the two Kings as it is before expressed.

„ 29. And the treaties made heretofore with the most Christian Kings *Kenry* the se- C
„ cond in the yeare 1559. at Chasteau Cambresie; *Charles* the 9. *Henry* the 3. and the said
„ Duke of Sauoy, shalbe in all points and articles confirmed; but in that which shalbe de-
„ rogated by this present treaty, or by others, and according vnto this the said Duke of
„ Sauoy shall remaine with his countries and subiects, a good neutrall Prince and com-
„ mon friend to the said Kings. And from the day of the publication of the sayd treatie,
„ the commerce shalbe free and assured betwixt their countries and subiects, as is con-
„ tained in the said treaties, and hath beene vsed by vertue thereof, and the orders contai-
„ ned therein shalbe obserued, especially in regard of the officers which haue serued the
„ said Kings, although it were derogated by any other treatie.

„ 30. Notwithstanding there is reserued vnto the said most Christian King and to his
„ successors, al their rights, actions and pretensions, which they challenge to belong vnto D
„ them by reason of the said realms, countries and signeuries, or els where, for any cause
„ soeuer, the which he nor his predecessors haue not renounced, to make his pursute by
„ any amiable course of Iustice and not by armes.

„ 31. In this peace shalbe comprehended by a common consent of the most Christian
„ and Catholike Kings (if they will be comprehended). First on the Catholike Kings part
„ our holy father the Pope, the holy Apostolike sea, the Emperor of Romaines, the Arch-
„ dukes his brethren and cousins, their realms and countries, the Electors, Princes,
„ townes and Estates of the holy Empire, obeying him: the duke of Bauaria, the duke of
„ Cleues, the Bishop and countrie of Liege: the Hans townes, and the Contie of East-
„ Friseland. And the said Princes doe renounce all practises, promising hereafter not to E
„ make any, neither within nor without Christendome, that may be preiudiciall vnto the
„ said Emperor nor vnto the Estates of the Empire, but they shall procure with all their
„ meanes the good and quiet of the same: so as the said Emperor and Estates of the Em-
„ pire, carrie themselues respectiuely and amiably to the most Christian and Catholike
„ Kings, and do nothing to their preiudice. And in like manner shalbe comprehended,
„ the Cantons of the Suisses of high Germany, the Cantons of Grisons, and their Allies,
„ the Kings of Poland and of Sueden, the King of Scotland, the King of Denmarke, the
„ duke and signeury of Venise, the duke of Lorraine, the great duke of Tuscane, the com-
„ monweales of Genoa and Luca, the duke of Placentia, the Cardinal *Farneze* his bro-
„ ther, the duke of Mantua, the duke of Vrbin, the chiefe houses of Colonne and Vrsins, F
„ the duke of Salmonette, the Lord of Monaco, the Marquis of Final, the Marquis of
„ Massa, the Lord of *Plombin*, the Earle of Sala, the Earle of Calorino, to inioy in the like
„ manner the benifit of this peace, with an expresse declaration that the most Christian
„ King may neither directly nor indirectly, by himselfe, or by any others molest any of
them.

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A them. And if the moſt chriſtian King pretends any thing againſt them, he may ſeeke it only by law, before competent Iudges, and not by force. 1598.

32. And on the behalfe of the moſt chriſtian King ſhalbe comprehended, if they pleaſe, the Pope, the Apoſtolike Sea, the Emperor, the Princes Electors, Clergy and Secular, townes and commonalties of the holy Empire and eſpecially the Cont Palatin Elector, the Marquis of Brandenbourg, the duke of Wyrtenberg, the Landtſgraue of Heſſen, the Marquis of Hansbac, the Earles of Eaſt-Friſeland, the Hans townes, according to the ancient alliances, the king and kingdome of Scotland according to the ancient treaties, allyances and confederations which are made betwixt the Realmes of France and Scotland. The Kings of Poland, Sueden and Denmarke, the duke
B and ſigniory of Veniſe, the thirteene Cantons of Suiſſes, the three Cantons of Griſons, the biſhoppe and Siegneury of the countrie of Valays, the Abbot and towne of Saint Gall, Clottenberghe, Mulhauſen, the countie of Neufchaſtell, and other allyes and confederates of the ſayd Cantons. The duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuſcan, the Duke of Mantua, the common-weale of Luca, the biſhoppes and chapters of Metz, Thoul and Verdun, the Abbot of Gozzo, the ſignior of Sedan, the Earle of Mirande. Prouided alwaies that the conſent which the catholike King giue to the comprehenſion of the Earles of Eaſt-Friſeland, bee without any preiudice to the right which the catholike King pretends to their countries: as in like manner the defences, rights and exceptions of the ſayd Earles againſt it ſhalbe reſerued: all with declaration that
C the ſayd catholike King may not directly nor indirectly, by himſelfe nor by any others moleſt them. And if the catholike King pretends any thing againſt them, hee may purſue it by lawe before competent Iudges, and not by force in any ſort whatſoeuer.

33. And there ſhalbe alſo comprehended in this preſent treaty, all others which by common conſent of the ſayd Kings may bee named, ſo as within ſixe monethes after the publication of this treatie, they giue their letters of declaration and bond, as is requiſite in that caſe.

34. And for the greater aſſurance of the peace, and of all points and articles contained therein: this treaty ſhalbe veryfied, proclaimed and regiſtred, in the court of Parliament at Paris, and in all other Parliaments of the realme of France, and chambers of
D accounts of the ſaid Paris: as in like manner it ſhalbe proclaimed, verefied and regiſtred in the great councel, and in al the courts and chambers of accounts of the ſayd catholike King in his Netherlands, after the ſame manner as it is contained in the treatie of the yeare 1559. whereof expeditions ſhalbe giuen of either ſide within three monethes after the publication of this preſent treaty.

Which points and articles aboue mentioned and comprehended, with all that is contained in euery of them, haue beene treated, accorded, paſt and promiſed by the deputies, in the names aboue mentioned. The which by vertue of their commiſſions haue promiſed and do promiſe vpon bond of all the preſent and future goods of their ſaid Maiſters, that they ſhalbe by them inuiolably entertained, obſerued and accompliſhed,
E and alſo that they ſhall deliuer one vnto an other autenticall letters, ſigned and ſealed, whereas all this preſent treatie ſhalbe ſet downe word for word; and that within one moneth after the date of theſe preſents, in regard of the moſt chriſtian King, the Cardinal the Archduke, and the duke of Sauoy: which Archduke ſhall promiſe to procure the like letters of ratification from the catholike King, within three monethes after. And moreouer the deputies haue and doe promiſe in the ſayd names, that the letters of ratification of the moſt chriſtian King, Cardinal and Duke beeing made. The ſaid moſt chriſtian King Cardinal and Duke, ſhall ſollemnly ſweare vpon the croſſe, the holie Goſpel, and canon of the maſſe, vpon their honors, in the preſence of ſuch as it
F ſhall pleaſe them to depute, to obſerue and fulfil fully, really and faithfully; the contents of the ſaid articles: and the like oth ſhalbe made by the catholike King, within three monethes after, or when he ſhalbe required. In witneſſe of which things the ſayd deputies haue ſubſcribed this preſent treatie, in their names at Veruin the twelfth of May in the yeare 1598.

The

1598 The Cardinal *Albertus* of Auſtria, to whom the Infanta of Spaine was promiſed, and had beene of a long time appointed to bee his wife (although the King had entertained the Emperor, the Archduke *Erneſtus*, and the petty Kings of the League in France with hope of this alliance) had before the treatie of peace, by the Kings aduice and commaundement, and of his councell of Spaine, ſent *Don Franciſco de Mendoza*, Marquis of Guadaleſta, Admiral of Arragon, in Ambaſſage to the Emperor, to demaund ſixe points of great importance of him, the which if hee had obtained and put in execution, they would haue greatly ſerued for the augmentation of the lymmits of his Eſtate, ioyned to them of the Infanta, and to make warre with more eaſe againſt the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces. To euery of which points, anſwer was made by the Emperor, and replied vnto by the Admiral, and by his Imperiall Maieſtie againe anſwered, the which we haue thought good to inſert in this place the better to conceiue the Cardinals deſignes, the which hee hath ſought ſince to put in execution by the ſayd Admiral of Arragon, although with little ſucceſſe and leſſe honor, as wee ſhall ſee. The firſt of theſe ſix points was.

A

The Admiral of Arragon ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

B

The firſt of the ſix points demanded of the Emperor.

That it would pleaſe his Imperiall Maieſtie, (for the reaſons which had beene afterwards deliuered vnto him) to make the King of Spaine viccar of Beçanſon. This vicariat or Vicontie of Beçanſon (which is an Imperiall towne in the Countie of Bourgogne) did belong vnto the deceaſed *William* of Naſſau, Prince of Orange, whoſe goods (which were verie great) the King of Spaine had confiſcated, lying in the French county, and throughout all the countries of his obedience. Wherefore hee required that the Emperor vſing the right of confiſcation, againſt the ſayd Prince, and his children; would conferre vpon him the Vicontie of Beçanſon: by meanes whereof, hee might in ſucceſſion of time, get into his power and controwle by his officers; all the changes, counter changes and other buſineſſes which paſſe at Beçanſon, for France, Germany, the Netherlands and Italie, the which doe import him much to know: but aboue all to haue an entrance into the dutchie of Bourgongne. To whom the Emperor made anſwere.

C

That his Imperiall Maieſty was not ignorant, how much it did import the townes vnder the King of Spaines obedience that were neighbours to Beçanſon, that the ſaid towne ſhould bee maintained in peace vnder the deuotion of the Empire. Wherefore his Maieſtie would aduiſe as ſoone as might bee, by what meanes hee might graunt the ſaid Vicariat. And although by this anſwere the Emperor did not flatly refuze the ſayd Vicariat to the King of Spaine, yet the Admirall, after that hee had thanked his Imperiall Maieſtie, made ſhew that hee was not much pleaſed with this anſwere, and ſaid, that hee tooke it for a repulſe, after ſuch great purſuit: ſhewing that without regarding the excuſes which ſome ill affected to the Empire might pretend of ſome allyances, it ſhould for the ſame reaſons, be the ſooner graunted, thereby to make the Emperors authority more eminent, and more commodiouſly to preuent all miſchiefes which growe on euery ſide. And as the beginning in euery thing ſeemes moſt difficult, which beeing once well aduanced makes the worke halfe perfect; So if his Imperiall Maieſtie doth paſſe the ſayd Vicariat (as it is alreadie graunted) they will eaſily finde the meanes to confirme it, and to put it in execution.

D

E

The Emperour ſeeing himſelfe thus importuned and preſt, deſiring firſt to ſee what the iſſue ſhould be, as well of the treatie of peace which they expected, as of the marriage of Cardinal *Albertus* his brother, and of the deſignes alreadie proiected vpon Germanie, beeing loath to doe any thing in haſt, which hee might afterwardes repent and reape ſmall honour by and the French King take it in verie ill part: hee anſwered againe. That for certaine great conſiderations hee muſt conferre with the Princes of the Empire touching the aforeſaid Vicariat. And to the end it might bee done with great authoritie and aſſurance, hee would exhort them to ſecond him. Intreating the King of Spaine in the meane time, for to take this delaie in good part. And thus much for the firſt demande. The ſecond was.

F

That

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A *That his Imperiall Maieſtie would openly declare himſelfe againſt thoſe that hinder the progreſſe of the peace betwixt the Eſtates of the Netherlands.* This was as much to ſay as by an inteſtine ciuill warre to ſet all Germany on fire, which was the maine point whereat the King of Spaine and the Pope had long aſpired: whereof they had oftentimes ſeene ſome little flames, the which notwithſtanding by the wiſdome of the Princes were ſoone ſmothered and quenched. Whereupon the Emperor anſwered. That vpon this article hee attended the report of ſuch as had beene deputed by the Empire, whereof his Imperiall Maieſty would not faile to aduertiſe the King of Spaine vpon all occurents: and how much his Imperial Maieſty deſired that the ſayd countries might bee reduced to a good peace. Theſe deputies were certaine Ambaſſadors, as
B well from the Emperor, as from the Princes of the Empire, who ſent *Charles Nutzel* of Sonderſpuehel to the Eſtates, to requeſt them to receiue the ſayd Ambaſſadors, who had a ſhort diſpatch, as wee haue ſayd. The Admiral replying to this anſwere, ſought to taxe ſome Princes of the Empire, and to incenſe the Emperor againſt them, as if they had beene the fauorers and ſupporters of the warres in the Netherlands: ſaying. That it would pleaſe his Imperiall Maieſty to imbrace the action of the Netherlands, that what hath beene begunne may not bee in vaine, and that when it ſhal pleaſe his Maieſty to vnderſtand how the Princes of the Empire (which haue the charge) ſtand affected: that it will then pleaſe his Imperiall Maieſty to iudge betwixt his Maieſtie and his rebells. Giuing all the world to vnderſtand whoſe fault it is that the peace is
C not aduanced; puniſhing them that are coulpable according to the paines appointed by the conſtitutions of the Empire: and the rather for that ſuffrance and diſſembling it, doth feed and nouriſh the miſchiefe. 1598. The Admirals ſecond demand.

By this replie the King of Spaine could not more openly accuſe the ſaid Princes of the Empire then hee did, councelling him to puniſh them, as thoſe which by their winking and diſſimulation, gaue nouriſhment vnto the miſchiefe; hindring the courſe and aduancement of the peace. But the Admiral did therein much miſtake himſelfe, being ignorant, or at the leaſt not conſidering, that the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, hauing abſolutly reiected & abiured the King of Spaine, refuſing to truſt any more in him: had reſolued neuer to enter any more with him into any conference of peace,
D nor with any other comming on his behalfe. Wherefore the Emperor (who had ſo often preſt them by his Ambaſſadors and Agents; and had now ſent to them againe, but in vaine) ſayd. That vnto that day he had giuen ſufficient proofes of the good affection hee bare to the peace of the Netherlands, and when hee ſhall haue heard the report of the deputies, hee will proceed as farre as his authoritie will extend. The third demand was.

That his Imperiall Maieſtie would appoint a Gouernor and councell in the countries of Cleues and Iuilliers &c. Thereby the King of Spaine or the Cardinal *Albertus*, his future ſonne in law, did plainly deſcouer, how they did gape after theſe dutchies of Cleues and Iuilliers, & the other Eſtates & Signeuries of Duke *Iohn* of Cleues, rainging at this pre-
E ſent in good and perfect health. Grounding vpon this hope, that the ſayd duke beeing without children, and therfore his Dutches, Earldomes and Signeuries, ſhould by right fall vnto the Emperor, who ſhould giue them vnto his brother *Albertus*. Or els, (the which hath appeered by the effects) that hee would not attend duke *Iohns* death, but ſeize vpon them by force and practiſes in his life time, as the ſayd Admirall ſought to doe ſoone after, and in deede did too much, yea he was expreſly commaunded from the court at Bruſſelles (as wee will ſhew hereafter) not to deſiſt for any thing in the world, from the conqueſts of the Dutchies of Cleues, Iuilliers and Berghe: ſeeing there was ſpeech of marrying this Duke *Iohn*, with the Duke of Lorrains daughter, as after happened. Wherein the Emperor ſeeming to bee of the ſame hope and
F expectation with the King of Spaine, anſwered: As for the countries of Cleues & Iuilliers, his Imperiall Maieſty had reſolued to ſend one or two good catholiks thether, to auoide ſome greater inconuenience. In the meane time the king of Spaine ſhould looke to keepe good gard on his ſide, and make account of al needfull ſuccors, the which notwithſtanding muſt be done with diſcretion: to the end that ſuch as pretend any intereſt The third demand.

ſhould

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1598. ſhould haue no cauſe to enter into ſuſpition: which the Emperor himſelfe is forced to entertaine, by reaſon of the concurrence of time. A

This anſwere did the more confirme the King of Spaines deſignes, and the ſylent pretention of the Emperor vnto the ſaid countries of Cleues, Iuilliers &c. So as it ſeemed this was the very fable of the Beares skinne, for his replie. *Hee required that it would pleaſe his Imperial Maieſty*, to declare as ſoone as might be his intention touching Cleues and Iuilliers, that thereupon the Catholike King might haue his forces readie. Hee required alſo that his Imperiall Maieſty would ſend for the Princes pretending right to the ſayd countries, that hereafter they ſhould not medle, nor ſeeke to make any Innouations, tending to the blemiſh of the Emperors authoritie, or the preiudice of his Catholike Maieſtie, yea that his Imperiall Maieſty ſhould call away the commiſſioners that were at Duyſſeldorp, as Authors of bad practiſes: to the end that his Catholike Maieſtie bee not forced to vſe other meanes. And although it were a decent thing to reſpect the Princes, yet they muſt not bee ſo negligent and careleſſe, as in taking away the miſchiefe which might happen without, they neglect to prouide for that which might miſcarrie within. B

This replie did plainelie laie open the King of Spaines deſignes vpon the countries of Cleues and Iuilliers, requiring that the Emperor, would ſend for the Princes pretending right (the which are Princes of the Empire that is, the duke of Pruſſe, and the two Brethren dukes of Dieux Ponts, by their wiues, Siſters to duke *Iohn*) and to charge them not to attempt any thing to the diminution of his Imperiall authoritie, C for that the Emperor maintained, that for want of a lawful heire male, the ſaid dutchies ſhould by right of the fee fall vnto the Emperor their ſoueraigne; as beeing maſculine fees of the Empire. And the ſayd Princes pretending (in caſe the duke ſhould die without heires) maintained to the contrary, that they might (as in France and in other realmes and countries) as well fall vnto the femals as males: the which the alliances of the ſaid countries, which haue not alwaies beene vnder the ſame Prince, by marriages of one with an other, had well declared in times paſt. And as for that which hee ſayeth to the preiudice of his Catholike Maieſtie, there could bee no other, (by reaſon of the multitude of other heires) but to the preiudice of the deſignes of his pretended vſurpation. For the preuenting whereof, there was an D aſſemblie of Eſtates held at the ſame time at Duyſſeldorp, the chiefe towne of the dutchie of Berghe, where the Dutcheſſe of Pruſſe and one of the duke of Deux Ponts, where preſent with the Emperors commiſſioners (who for that they would proceed roundly and ſincerely, not diſcouering the King of Spaines deſignes, are called *Authors of bad practiſes*:) and the deputies of the King of Spaine, who in this Dyet, made ſhewe not to feare any thing more (with a certaine Nuncio of the Popes who was of the ſame mettall) then that theſe countries ſhould fall into the hands of ſome Proteſtant Prince, (whom they called heretike) ſuch as the Princes pretending intereſt are, which would be (as the King ſayd of the towne of Aix) to pernitious a thing for his neighbour countries, which might be infected with the poiſon of their here- E ſies: the which is alway the foote of their ſong. To whom the Emperor being willing to ſhew himſelfe conformable, ſayd. *As for Cleues and Iuilliers hee would ſend for the Princes pretending right, that they ſhould not meddle, ſeeing it belonged onelie to his Imperiall Maieſtie to diſpoſe among them, hoping they would obey him*. Wherein the Emperor might haue beene deceiued, for theſe Princes would not ſo ſoone haue yeelded vnto him: and this had beene an occaſion to put all Germany in warre and combuſtion.

The forth demand was. *That the ſentence giuen againſt them of the towne of Aix, might bee preſentlv put in execution, without any delay*. It did greatly import the King of Spaine and Cardinal *Albertus*, for the attayning vnto their deſignes, to haue the towne of Aix (ſituated in the countrie of Iuilliers, neere vnto Lembourg) at their F deuotion: the which they could not eaſily obtaine, ſo long as the Proteſtants were Maiſters thereof, and the ſtronger, who failed not to bee vigilant and to keepe a good gard for their owne preſeruation: wherefore hee required the execution of the ſentence giuen againſt them in the Imperiall Chamber: which was in effect the re-eſtabliſh-

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A re-eſtabliſhment of a Catholike Romiſh Magiſtrate in the ſayd towne, the extirpation of the Proteſtants religion, and the excluſion of the Proteſtants themſelues: the which beeing executed, hee held himſelfe then aſſured. As Cardinal *Albertus* with the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of Liege, the executioner of the ſayd ſentence, by vertue of the Emperors commiſſion, hath done ſince, to the diſolation of the ſayd towne, and eſpecially of thoſe that did purſue it, who for the moſt part died ſoone after their re-eſtabliſhment: and thoſe which remaine languiſhing in miſery. And although the Emperor touching the ſayd towne of Aix, had the like deſire with the King of Spaine, yet the Admiral full of choller replied. *That in regard of them of Aix, they could not exceede the bounds of ordinary Iuſtice, as beeing vnworthie, that they* B *muſt exceed the execution of the ſentence, for that the lymmited time is almoſt expired, and there is no likelehood that the time will draw them to obedience, but rather make them obſtinate: elſe the Catholike King ſhalbe forced to prouide for it by ſuch meanes as he ſhal thinke fit.* What the Emperor anſwered to this raſh reply, may bee ſeene in the demande following, which was. 1598.

That it would pleaſe his Imperiall Maieſty to prouide ſome ſpeedy remedy for the Hans townes, to reſtraine the boldneſſe of Engliſh pirats. The King of Spaine to play the good The fift demand. companion, and to make himſelfe neceſſary to the townes of the Eaſt country, as Lubecke, Roſtich Hambourg, Bremen, Stoade and others (of whoſe ſeruice hee hath moſt need) will let them vnderſtand by this demand, that hee hath a care of them, although C hee knew well that the Emperor could prouide no other remedie then that which he had formerly done; which was to forbid the townes of Staple, and to baniſh the traffick of Engliſh clothes. So as the Engliſh marchants retired themſelues, and ſent their clothes to other places. Wherevnto anſwer was made *that his Imperiall Maieſtie*, had propounded in the laſt imperiall Dyet held at Ratisbonne, diuers complaints of many Hans townes, to the Eſtates of the Empire: the aduice of which Eſtates was written vnto the Queene of England, who did anſwere ſo impertinently and diſcourtuoſly, as it is better to conceale it then to publiſh it. Wherevpon his Imperiall Maieſty hath thought to ſurceaſe, vntill other like or more greeuous complaints ſhall come, to prouide for it by the Imperiall authority: the which his Imperiall Maieſty is fully reſolued D to imploy, whereby they may eaſily conceiue that there is not any thing ommitted that concernes Iuſtice and the duty of an Emperor. The impertinent and diſcourteous anſwere of the Queene of England vnto the letters of the Eſtates of the Empire, was that ſhe was not much terrified, neither did ſhe regard the threats which were ſent her: and that her men did not ſet vpon any of the Eſterlings ſhippes, but ſuch as did carry prouiſion for warre, vnto the Spaniards, the which ſhe had forbidden by a publike proclamation, and ſignified it vnto them. As ſome yeare before ſhee had written the like to them of Hambourg; among other points of her anſwere, ſhe ſayd, that ſhe did not impute the threats contained in their letters, to their greatneſſe, but to the ignorance or fault of their Secretarie: which ſhewed ſufficiently that her Maieſty was not terrefied E with any threats of whom ſoeuer; and withall ſhee knowes well that the Emperor of himſelfe hath no meanes to hurt her, nor to make warre againſt her. Wherevpon the Admiral inſiſting verie earneſtly to ſhew himſelfe a good ſeruant, replied. That it was more then neceſſarie, his Maieſty ſhould declare his pleaſure concerning the Hans townes, and prouide ſome ſpeedy remedy, and not to tollerate any longer the inſolencies of the Engliſh, who did gnaw the bowells of the Empire. To which importunities of the Admirall, the Emperor knowing well that he could not otherwiſe prouide for it, anſwered both to this demand and the former: That at this preſent the Emperor cannot reſolue any other thing touching the towne Aix and the Engliſhmen, then that which he hath formerly anſwered. Finally for his ſixt demand the Admiral propoũded. The ſixt de- F As the King of Spaine had no other meanes to reduce his rebellious ſubiects to obedi- mand. ence, but by force: that it would pleaſe his Imperial Maieſty, to ſuffer 6. or 7. Regiments of ſoldiars to bee leauied on the lands of the Empire, at diuers times, and when they ſhould haue neede: wherevpon the Emperor anſwered pertinently, knowing well to what intent the King of Spaine demanded it, the which hee had neuer done before,

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1598. ſaying. That it was fit to attend the report of ſuch as are deputed to make motion of A
a peace, before hee granted any Commiſſion to leuie ſoldiars. And in caſe the Eſtates
will not gouerne them-ſelues according vnto reaſon, then they may take occaſion to
vſe ſtrict and ſeuere courſes, nither could the Catholike King doubt in any ſort of the
good affection of his Imperiall Maieſty, for that his patience hath ſuffred him for ſo
many yeares to make the like leuies of men. The which notwithſtanding was neuer
granted to his aduerſaries: who yet haue leuied ſome, but without the knowledge of his
Maieſty hauing no meanes to hinder them, as he would gladly. And to haue his imperi-
all Maieſty graunt any ſuch thing vnto the king of Spaine by pattent, or by letters of
cõmiſſion it were not fit nor conuenient, conſidering that they haue need of many men
againſt the Turke, whereby a murmuring throughout all the Empire were to be feared, B
yet his Imperiall Maieſty is content vnder-hand to yeeld him as much as may-be. And if
the Eſtate of the affayers of Hongary will in any ſort ſuffer it, to ſatiſfie his deſire, and
that openly. Although that this anſwer was but a kind of complement, as the diſcourſe
doth ſhew, the Spaniard aſking no leaue moſt commonly to make any ſuch leuies, the
which he doth when he pleaſeth, and when hee hath mony; yet the Admirall to put the
Emperor & the Imperiall Chamber in quarrel with the neighbor Princes & Potentats,
if that might be granted him by pattent, he inſiſted by his reply. That patents might bee
diſpacht, conteyning a commiſſion to leuie men vpon the lands of the Empire, notwith-
ſtanding theſe reaſons alleaged to the contrary, which concerne the reſpect of the
Princes of the Empire, and the warre of Hongary, the which in this caſe ſhould not C
fall into conſideration, for that the Emperor hath beene ſuffred to make the like leuies
in the Netherlands againſt the Turke. And whereas the Emperor promiſeth to ſuffer
it vnder-hand, that were not ſufficient, ſeeing that no man can make any leuie without
leaue.

It is the ordinary practiſe of the Spaniard rather to ſuffer the Turke to rule and
dominier, then to ceaſe making warre againſt the Proteſtants of the relligion, eſpecially
againſt the vnited Prouinces, whom they hold to be worſe then Turkes. Wherevnto his
Imperiall Maieſty anſwered, that he could not grant vnto the King of Spaine, a gene-
rall pattent or leaue to raiſe as many regiments of ſoldiers as hee pleaſed, ſeeing that
in former times it was not done: they might well haue giuen leaue heretofore to raiſe D
ſome Regiments along the riuer of Danou, confining vpon the Turke, wherein hee
would gratefie him more, if it were poſſible. But ſeeing that his imperial Maieſty is not
ſtrong inough to endure the burthen of this warre without the aſſiſtance of the Princes
of the Empire: there is no doubt but at the firſt campe, and vpon the firſt occaſion,
they would charge him and reproch him therewith: whereby his contributions which
he hath but by intreaty, and ſupport of the ſaid Princes, would faile him and grow ſhort.
Finally the Emperor deſiers, that the King of Spaine, as well in this regard as in all
other things, would reſt aſſured of his loue and good affection: And how acceptable
and welcome this his Ambaſſador was vnto him. Theſe were the King of Spaines de-
mands vnto the Emperor, the which will appeere more plainly, to what end they ten- E
ded, by the ſayd Admirall of Arragons actions, being entred into the limits of the
Empire with the King of Spaines army; as we will ſhew in the end of this yeare of our
Lord, 1598.

The death of Iohn Bouvier the maiſter of the fire workes.

The Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces had a very expert Maiſter of their fier-workes,
called *Iohn Bouvier* a Liegeois, who by his inventions had made ſharpe warre againſt
the Spaniard; in all the townes which Prince *Maurice* had beſeeged, comming to the
gouernment vnto that day. In May being buſie with his ſeruants to faſhion certaine
grenadoes or bales of wild fire, with other fire workes for prouiſion in the towne
of Dordrecht, in the places appointed to that end, it happened by misfortune,
that the fire with the which they do vſe to melt the roſine and other conſuming and F
deuouring ſtuffe, fell amongeſt it; and ſo came to the grenados, and balles of wild-fire
full of ſmale cannons charged with bullets & heads of nailes, which firing one after an-
other, made a noiſe, as if a thunder bolt burſt forth, and ſlue the maiſter and 3. of his ſer-
uants, & carried away the top of the ſtore houſe, with a great terror, the which doubled

twiſe

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A twise, hauing some respite betwixt, the fire lying smothered in that ruinous matter; so as no man durst approch, fearing some greater mischiefe: the which was much to be doubted, for that in the sellars vnderneath there were many barrels of poulder, the which were not toucht; the nature of fire being rather to mount vpward, then downward. Yet the losse was very great, and the Maister was much lamented of the Prince and States. Behold how this diuilish arte requited his Maister, as the diuill is accustomed to pay his seruants. 1598.

At the same time there was another treason discouered, the which was vndertaken at the perswasion of the Iesuites, against the person of Prince *Maurice*, by a Flemming called *Peter Panne*, a poore banquerout, borne in the towne of Ypre. Who vpon cer- An other treason against Prince Maurice,
B taine speeches deliuered by him, and some suspition gathered thereby, was apprehended in the towne of Leyden in Holland. You may read the whole discourse in his sentence, and the progresse of his wretched and treacherous desseigne, as followeth.

Whereas *Peter Panne* borne at Ypre, a Cooper by his trade, hauing beene a Broker or banquerout Marchant, and at this present a prisoner in the behalfe of the Scout or Bayliffe of Leyden, hath confest, being out of Yrons, and free from torture, that some yeares past hee being accustomed to make prouision of Butter for the Colledge of Iesuites at Douay. It happened that one *Melchior Vande-walle*, seruant to the sayd Iesuits, cousin germaine to the prisoner, about fiueteene dayes before Shrouetide, came vnto the prisoners house at Ypre, requiring him to send Butter for their Colledge. His sentence.
C And as the prisoner was then absent from his house about his affaires, the sayd *Vande-walle* staied two or three dayes for him, during the which time he had speech with *Mary Boyets* his wife, who was much addicted to the Iesuites, (as shee afterwards told him) to kill his Excellencie, whom hee called Duke *Maurice*. That being returned to his house, the sayd *Melchior Vande-walle* had vsed some speeches to him of it, building vpon the prisoners words that he was wonderfully decayed in his estate, hauing no meanes to satisfie his creditors. The sayd *Vande-walle* telling him in effect, that hee knew how to free all, if hee would goe into Holland and finde the meanes to kill his Excellencie. And as hee made some difficultie to doe it, hee was sollicited by his owne wife there-vnto, saying, that hee should make no difficultie to kill such seducers
D and peruerters; and that if she had beene a man, she would vndertake it and execute it her selfe. And yet the sayd prisoner being still in doubt to vndertake such an action, the sayd *Melchior Vanden-walle* desired him to goe with him to Douay, to conferre with the Fathers, assigning him to the Rector of the Iesuites. Afterwards the said *Vande-walle* being returned to Douay, the said prisoner to reckon with diuers persons, and to make his businesse straight, especially with the said Iesuites at Douay, went of Ashwednesday from Ypre towards Lille, from thence to Tournay, and so to Mons, where hee was for a time arrested for debt; from thence hee returned towards Tournay, and so went back againe to Mons, where hee was againe arrested, but beeing deliuered, hee went to Valenciennes and so to Douay, where hee was in the Rogation weeke, and
E did eate three or foure times with the Prouinciall, Prouost and Rector of the Iesuites, with whom he made his accoumpts, so as there was comming to him some fiue pounds sixe shillings starling, for the which they referred him to one *Nicholas* of Lalain a Marchant of hempe. That being with the said Prouinciall, Prouost & Rector of the Iesuits, they had some speech againe with him, of that whereof *Melchior* had spoken, which was to murther his Excellencie, shewing him the meanes, that beeing a Cooper by his trade, hee should goe into Holland, where hee should worke some fiue, sixe or eight moneths, either at Delft, Leyden, or at the Hage: And in the meane time hee should watch some oportunitie to kill the Prince, either with a knife, Poynard, or Pistoll,
F which hee should buye and carrie in his pocket, to vse, were it at the Court, in the streete, or in any other place, where he might finde his best aduantage. And the more to incourage the Prisoner, the Prouinciall made as it were halfe a sermon, with a long discourse of the merite of such a worke, and what a sacrifice it would be to kill such a man, who did seduce, yea murther so many poore soules: whereby he might purchase Paradise, which hauing done hee should finde the meanes to escape, and saue him-

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1598. „ selfe as well as hee could. And if it should chance that hee should dye there, A
„ that hee was assured to goe directly into eternall life, and that hee should bee lif-
„ ted vp into heauen both body and soule, with many other intrycing words: so as in
„ the end by the goodly perswasions and sweete words of the sayd Iesuists, (where-
„ in they are their crafts masters) he suffered himselfe to be so seduced, as he vndertooke
„ to put it in execution, through dispaire, by reason of his debts, so as he neuer thought
„ of any danger that might befall him, nor of his wife nor children, in regard of the pro-
„ fit which he did hope to reape thereby: for the sayd Iesuits had promised and assured
„ him, that in executing this murther, he should haue two hundred pounds starling, which
„ should be paied him by the treasure of the towne of Ypre, by fifty pounds by the yeare,
„ taken out of the hundred pounds which the sayd Iesuits receiue yearely out of that B
„ towne, by reason of their Seminarie and instruction of the youth in the Latin tongue.
„ Secondly that there should be giuen vnto the prisoner the office of messenger of Ypre
„ worth a hundred pounds a yeare: And although the office were not in the Iesuits dis-
„ position, yet he should rest assured thereof, seeing it was but the writing of a letter, the
„ which they durst not refuse: Thirdly that *Hansken Panne* his sonne should bee made
„ Chanoine of Tournaye. Vpon all which presentations and promises the said prisoner
„ hauing confessed himselfe the next day to the Prouinciall, going to say masse, hee had
„ absolution, and therevpon receiued the Sacrament. During the which confession hee
„ promised againe to execute this designe. Wherevpon the Prouinciall sayd vnto him,
„ these words, *Go in peace, for thou shalt go like an Angell in the gard of God.* And to ad- C
„ uance his voiage hee receiued a letter of exchange from the sayd Iesuits for twelue
„ pounds to receiue at Antwerp of one *Francis Thibault* dwelling neere the Iacopins,
„ with which dispatch and resolution the prisoner parted from Douay, came to the Ab-
„ bay of Flines from thence by Orchies to Tournay, then to Oudenarde, Dendermonde,
„ Basserode and so by boate to Antwerp: where hauing receiued the sayd twelue pounds,
„ he sent eleauen pounds with his cloake and his breaches to his wife by one *Deric Bal*
„ dwelling nere the corne market of Zeeland, to maintaine her house and to clothe her
„ children: sending withall a letter to his wife, and writing that hee went into Holland
„ for the businesse she wot of, and that shee should pray vnto God for him. So the pri-
„ soner, with this resolution and without pasport, hauing hidden himselfe in a ship came D
„ into Zeeland, and from thence came into this towne on Saterday the 23. of May. But
„ being arriued here he had changed his minde, and was not intended to do any thing (as
„ he saith) considering with himselfe that vndertaking such an act to kill such a person,
„ and to put the countrie into great garboyles, hee did runne headlong to his death:
„ and there-with-all had a remorse of conscience. Of which confessions the priso-
„ ner hauing beene often heard and examined; in the space of ten or twelue daies, and
„ still persisting, without any torture or irons, with protestation that all was true, and
„ that therein hee would liue and die. The sayd prisoner hauing at euery time a great
„ greefe of heart, falling vpon his knees, with his hands lift vp to hauen cryed for
„ mercie, and that they would pardon him, seeing they had so seduced him being an in- E
„ nocent, promising that if they would saue his life, to do (as hee sayd he had the meanes)
„ great seruice vnto the country, and that he could soone deliuer them some Iesuites.
„ All which being of bad consequence, hauing in this sort intended to kill and murther
„ the sayd famous Prince *Maurice*, borne Prince of Orange, Earle of Nassau &c. Gouer-
„ nor and captaine Generall of the vnited Prouinces, and by that meanes depriue the
„ sayd Prouinces of their head, and of the great and notable seruices which they receiue,
„ and which by the grace of God he doth for the defence and protection of the said Pro-
„ uinces and the good Inhabitants thereof, togither with the preseruation and defence of
„ the Christian reformed religion, and of the freedomes, liberties and priuiledges of the
„ sayd countries; to the rooting out of the imperious rule of the Spaniards: and to put F
„ the said Prouinces into great trouble, danger of ruine, and entier desolation. The which
„ ought not to bee tollerated in a country of Iustice: but that such wicked, abominable,
„ and execrable designes, attempts, and murthers, should be punished with all extrea-
„ mity, to the terror and example of others. To the end that not any one shall here-

after

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after ſuffer himſelfe to bee ſeduced and ſuborned, by this bloudie and murtherous Ie- 1598.
ſuitical ſect, the which as it is notorious to all the world, ſeeke out a thouſand practiſes,
treaſons and murtherous deſignes, and put them in practiſe, to murther all Kings, Prin-
ces and Potentates, which will not adhere to the Popes ſuperſtitions (which they call
the Catholike, Romiſh Religion). Whereupon the Sheriffes of the towne of Leyden,
hauing ſeene and heard the criminall concluſion taken by the ſcout of the ſaid towne
againſt the priſoner, for the cauſes aboue mentioned. Hauing alſo heard the confeſ-
ſion of the priſoner, with the informations and all other circumſtances. And hauing
thereon the aduice of the deputies of the Eſtates of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland, with
opinions of the great and Prouinciall councels, being thereto required by the ſaid E-
B ſtates, hauing conſidered all with mature deliberation and councell, doing Iuſtice in the
name and behalfe of the ſoueraigne Magiſtrate of the countries of Holland, Zeland and
Weſt-Friſeland. They haue for the cauſe aboue mentioned condemned the ſaid priſo-
ner, where they are accuſtomed to do Iuſtice vpon malefactors, and there to be execu-
ted by the ſword. And his head to be ſet vpon the Boulwarke of Witteport, his bodie
to be cut in foure quarters, his bowels to be buried, and his quarters to be hanged vpon
the foure gates, declaring his goods to bee confisked to the benifit of the countrie of
Holland. Thus done and Iudged by Maiſter *Francis Vander Merwen*, *Ian Iſenhourſen*
Vander Neſſe, *Franc Corneliſen Van Thorenvlyet*, *Cornellis Thibour*, *Clais Corneliſen Van-*
den Noort and *Ian Van Baeſdorp* the yonger; the two and twenty day of Iune, and the
C ſame day the priſoner was executed.

Foure thouſand Spaniards ſent to the Cardinal.

The King of Spaine ſent vnto Cardinal *Albert* in the beginning of this yeare, about foure thouſand foote of Spaniards, vnder the leading of *Don Sanchio de Leva*, beeing commanded by foure Collonels, in forty ſhips great and ſmal: whereof the ſmaler entred into Calais without any danger, for that the Eſtates ſhippes of warre were forced to way anchor by reaſon of the foule wether. But the torment beeing paſt, they came time ynough to take one of the greateſt, in the which there were 150. Spaniards, *Alonzo Sanches de Villareal* and two Pilots; & to make foure more run on ground, the which the Spaniatd did willingly to ſaue the ſoldiars that were in them. Theſe pilots beeing brought to Fluſſing and examined, confeſt, that there were twelue Gallions ſent to the Tercers, to fetch the treaſure which was come from the Indies: and that they had left
D ſome 70. ſhips at the Groyne whereof foure were furniſhed like men of warre, with a-
bout 2000. Spaniards and Italians. The generall *Sanchio de Leva* hauing lodged theſe troupes in diuers parts in Flanders, went to Bruſſels, which made many ſuppoſe that the Cardinall did not greatly truſt the ſoldiars that were borne in the country, which made them begin to contemne him. On the other ſide the general Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, perceiuing that the trafficke and negotiation with Spaine (by reaſon of the dayly arreſts of their ſhips, goods & marriners) decaied: finding themſelues freed from the bridle of the Spaniard (who would neuer ſuffer them to ſaile to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, to Ginney, nor to the Molucques) they gaue leaue to their marchants to ſaile thether, yea they aſſiſted them with artillery and other munition, to goe and ſeeke trade in
E the Eaſt Indies, and in thoſe Iſlands, wheras the Portugal had no command. So as foure ſhips were ſet forth by the marchants of Amſterdam, the one named *Maurice*, (of the Princes name) the 2. Holland, the 3. Amſterdam, and the 4. beeing but a pinaſſe, was called the Doue: theſe hauing doubled the Cape of Bona Eſpranza, ſeene the Iſland of Madagaſcar, bin at Sumatra, at Iaua Maior, in the towne of Bantan, at Saint Helena and in many other Iſlands, from whence they brought certaine boyes, whom they cauſed to learne the Dutch tongue, they returned into Holland in Auguſt the yeare before. And this yeare 1598. (as in the firſt voyage they had not made any great proffit) meaning to freturne with the ſame ſhips, an other company of marchants ioyned with them
F raighting forth eight ſhips, all called by the names of the eight vnited Prouinces: they parted from Texel the firſt of May, their returne & ſucceſſe you ſhal heare afterwards.

The vnited Prouinces ſaile to the Indies.

Balthazar of Moucheron (who had before ſent to deſcouer the ſtraight northwards) did alſo ſend two ſhips out of Zeeland to the ſaid Iſlands, the one called the Lion, the other the Lioneſſe. And in the like manner certaine marchants of Middelbourg ſent

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1598. forth three, the Sunne, the Moone and an other: the Moone diſcharging her cannon A
right againſt England, the port-holes beeing through negligence left open, the ſhippe (whether that ſhee were ill balaſted, or that the helme was not turn'd in time) lying on the one ſide, the water entred ſodainely and in ſuch aboundance, as it was not poſſible to recouer her, but ſhe ſonke preſently, with many men and much ſiluer, which they had to buy their commodities.

An other company of famous Marchants of Rotterdam did ſet forth fiue ſhippes, whereof the Admirall was called the Hope, and commanded by *Iames Mathieu* a worthy marchant. Theſe parted the 26. of Iune from the Iſland of Bryele, with about fiue hundred men, among the which there were many ſoldiars: taking their courſe to Breſil, and to the Straights of Magellan, and ſo farther to ſeeke their aduenture and traf- B
ficke. The eight and twenty of March the ſignior of Moucheron ſent fiue ſhips more with a hundred and fifty ſouldiars and two hundred marriners, by the conſent and authority of Prince *Maurice*, vnder the conduct of captaine *Iulian Van Cleerhagan*, as generall (of whom mention is made in the tumult of Vtrecht) and of *Gerard Stribos* as Admiral, hauing all charge to go to the Iſland del Principe. Their voiage in going was not ſo fortunat as *Moucheron* would haue deſired, for whereas it is commonly ſailed in two monethes, they were almoſt fiue vpon the way, hauing great contrarieties of winde, and ſome miſchances, they arriued at the Iſlande del Principe on the ninth of Auguſt, whereas they found the ſhippe of *Anthony Clere* which was of their company, in the which *Cornellis* of *Moucheron* Nephew to the ſignior of Moucheron commanded. Who being well knowne in the ſayd Iſland, by reaſon of his great trafficke hee had C
had with them, and hauing prepared all things for his vncles ſeruice, he gaue directions vnto the General *Cleerhagen*, by the which he made himſelfe maiſter of the place without ſtriking ſtroke, for the ſayd *Cornellis* had aduertiſed the Iſlanders before, that the ſignior of Moucheron was in perſon in the fleete, who paſſing that way was deſirous to ſalute them, and to recommend his men vnto them, who commonly paſt that way; intreating them in his name that they would goe aboord his ſhippe. So as both the new and the old Gouernor, the father Vicar of the place, and all the officers vnto the number of fifteen of the chiefe came aboard, where they were verie kindly entertained.

Then after they had made good cheere, the generall *Cleerhagen* lets them vnderſtand D
why hee was come thether with his fleete; deliuering them the letters of the ſignior of Moucheron, with the commiſſion and will of Prince *Maurice*, of whom they depended. Theſe Iſlanders ſeeing themſelues thus ſurprized; ſeemed to bee very glad of their comming: and conſented preſently to their demand, and after they had taken an oth of fidelitie in the hands of the ſayd *Cleerhagen*, they went all to land, whereas the generall was in the name of the ſignior of Moucheron proclaimed Gouernor of the Iſland. There after the oth taken, the Spaniards and Iſlanders thinking to ſhake of the yoake (which yet was not after the Spaniſh manner) made a conſpiracie, by the perſwaſion of the father Vicar, and in an inſtant came with great furie to aſſaile their men, but they were ſo withſtood as their deſigne prooued vaine, which they finding they E
ſcattered and retired themſelues, but leaſt they ſhould grow ſtrange, there was (by the aduice of the Generalls counſell, and of all the Commanders of the fleete) a pardon proclaimed of all that was paſt, the which made them returne, and ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the generall; betwixt whom and the Portugals and Iſlanders was made a new accord more ſtricter then before. So as they liued a moneth or ſixe weekes in good peace and quietneſſe. But as the ſayd Generall *Cleerhagen* carried himſelfe in all his actions like a diſordered man, regarding more his owne particular then his charge, hauing no reſpect to the order that was preſcribed him, and careleſſe to build vp the forts which had beene deſigned, hauing good meanes to effect it. The which the Portugals and Iſlanders conſidering, they conſpired againe: which beeing come vn- F
to the Generals knowledge, hee found meanes to ſeize vpon the author, which was the *Padre Vicario*, meaning to make his proceſſe and to doe Iuſtice: And as *Francis Fort* Nephew alſo to *Moucheron*, treaſurer of the Iſland with *Stephen Quareſmo* the Iudge, went to viſit the ſayd *Vicarios* houſe, beeing negligent of their buſineſſe, they were

A were both ſlaine by the ſlaues of the ſayd *Vicario*, which cauſed a third tumult: for the councell beeing incenſed with this treacherous act, they preſently diſpatcht *Vicarios* proceſſe, who was condemned and hanged with one of his complices, which made a friend of the *Vicarios* to ſend for ſuccors to the Iſland of Saint Thome, to the Gouernor *Don Antonio de Meneſes*, who about a moneth after ſent the Gouernor of Caſtel del Mina in Guine with fiue hundred ſoldiars: who ſo perſwaded the ſlaues and the Iſlanders, as they reſolued all ioyntly togither to make head againſt the ſignior of Moucherons men. 1598.

In the meane time the generall *Cleerhagen*, being ſuſpected to haue beene of the faction with them which had cauſed *Le Fort* and *Quareſmo* to be murthered, and thereof
B accuſed and reproched to his face by one of the ſea captaines; ſeeing his mallice deſcouered, he fell ſicke of griefe and melancholy, ſo as he died within fifteene daies. And as hee had in no ſort obſerued the orders which the ſignior of Moucheron had preſcribed him, nor had any care of the health of his ſoldiars, hee was the cauſe that moſt of them fell ſicke. So as after the death of *Cleerhagen* the Admirall *Striłos* ſucceeded in his place: who had not ſo good meanes to reſiſt the enemie as hee deſired. Yet taking courage, being verie actiue and willing to take paines, not conſidering the Clymat of the countrie, laboring at the fortification of the place (the which *Cleerhagen* ſhould haue done in the beginning) to giue example vnto others, he fell alſo ſicke; and hauing had the Gouernment about three weekes hee died. The reſt of Moucherons
C men ſeeing themſelues depriued of their head, made as it were a pettie Senat of foure men, which were *Cornellis Moucheron*, *George Speelberch*, *Adrien Leo* and *Stephen Ianſon*, vpon whom all matters both for pollicie and warre in the ſayd Iſland ſhould depend. But after they had endured the croſſes of their enemies about a moneth, ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of ſouldiars, the beganne to faint, and to looſe all hope to maintaine themſelues long in a place ſo farre from ſuccors, againſt ſo many and ſo ſtrong enemies, in regard of the ſmall number of men they were: In the end being neither chaſed nor forced away, they did abandon the place, and the fort of Pauesſon, after they had ſet fire of it all, and then they imbarked and went to ſea. Fifteene daies after their departure, the ſayd ſignior of Moucheron ſent them ſupplies both of men and victuals, but they came to late. Behold how this Iſland was wonne and loſt in a
D ſhort time: the which is a place of great importance for the commoditie of the hauen, which is great and capable to hold fiue hundred ſhips; the which in time might haue beene a great benifit to the vnited Prouinces.

Many other ſhips went this yeare out of Holland and Zeelande, as well to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Breſil, Caſtel de Mine, as to other coaſtes of Affrike and Guinee, the which were eſteemed to bee about foure ſcore ſhippes: Beſides thoſe which ſailed into Suria and Greece, as to Conſtantinople, *Alexandria*, *Trepoli*, *Patraſſa*, *Chio*, *Aleppo* and others, by grant and preuiledge from the great Turke, obtained by the French Kings Ambaſſador, vnder the banner and name of the French King, as well as the French did in the yeare of our Lord 1569. which preuiledge was dated in the moneth
E or moone Ranazan, in the yeare of *Mahomet*, a thouſand and ſixe, which comes to the yeare of the incarnation. 1598.

There fell out at that time a new trouble in the towne of Emden, which was. That the ſayd towne finding it ſelfe greatly indebted by reaſon of the precedent tumults, and which did yet continue againſt the Earle of Eaſt Friſeland their Protector, as well for the purſuing of their right, as to pay the annuall penſion which according to their treatie they did owe vnto the ſayd Earle. Hauing now but ſmall meanes left to maintayne themſelues againſt the practiſes of the ſayd Lord, but that the Magiſtrate with the conſent of the Bourgois, ſhould raiſe ſome newe Impoſition
F to ſupplie their wants. The which hauing propounded to their cittizens, the Earle laboring to recouer his former vſurped authoritie, the which by the contract of Delfzyel had beene lymited, he practiſed by the meanes of ſome men which were corrupted, to be at his deuotion, to hinder the grant and conſent of this Impoſition, thereby to make the towne of Emden poore and needy. Herevpon he gained a Cofrer (which was

New trouble in Emden.

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1598. one that had some charge (of the treasor) to whome commission was giuen in writing, to stirre vp troubles, and to draw partisans vnto him, who togeather might haue kept a port open, by the which his soldiars (the which hee had long before leuied vpon diuers pretexts) might enter into the towne. And the more easely to atteine vnto it, and to giue some respect and authority vnto this interprise, hee sent two of his young sonnes into the towne, who remayned in the Castle attending the execution. This maister *Cofrer* came with his commissiõ to certaine men of the Flaccien sect, which is a kinde of relligion couered vnder the cloake of that of the Martinists (who they say hold the confession of Ausbourg) of the which hee wonne some so farre as they consented: among them hee came vnto one which had beene of the said sect, but hee was retired and become of the Protestants Relligion; who discouerd all this practise vnto the Magistrat, who presently sent for the *Cofrer*, and after some questions and denialls, in the end hee confest that hee had such a commission from the Earle, the which being in the hands of one of the young Noblemen in the Castle, hee offred to fetch it him-selfe and to bring it them, where-vpon they let him goe. But afterwards buthinking them-selues they caused him to be followed and well garded in his house where the said commission was found. The night following hee was led to the councell house, where hee was often examined, and in the end put to the racke, where hee confest that one *Iohn Groenen* brother in law to one *Fonck* who at that time was at Brusselles with the Cardinall *Albert*, and had hereto fore beene prisoner in Holland for the like cause (but deliuered without any harme) was the cheefe conductor of this bvsines, with some others, who were all taken prisoners, and their papers seazed on. Where-vpon some of the Magistrats were deputed to go vnto the Castle to the young Noblemen, and to let them vnderstand that it was ill done of the Earle their father (and of them if they had any knowledge thereof) to seeke to go against a contract so sollemnely past by him, and authorized by the Emperor, whereof they excused themselues saying, that they had not herd speake thereof: And although they were required to remaine in the towne, yet not daring attend a popular tumult, they retired the 9. of May. Among the papers of *Iohn Groenen*, there were found many coppies of letters and instructions written vnto the Earle, and some letters from *Fonck*: which said that seeing the Earle did find that he was abandoned by the Emperor and the Empire (for that they of Emden had a little before obtained a sentence against him to their benifit in the Imperiall Chamber at Spier) that he must seeke some other support elsewhere: so as there was no better, none more redy, nor more mighty, then the King of Spaine, nor that would willingly vndertake it, that he should practise to make him-selfe maister of the towne: which hauing done, that he should suffer the King of Spaine to entertaine the head of an army in his Conty of East Freezland, who might serue him, as well by land vpon the riuers of Ems and Dollrad, whereby he might be restored to his first authority. The insatible ambition of man is strange, this Earle who had more credit in the said towne, then any of his Predecessors in the said Conty, (who of gentlemen had by armes gotten this estate ouer their neighbors, were it by right or wrong, whereof he was the fourth Earle) euer had; yet not contenting him-selfe with the Magistrate and people of the said towne, which is one of the Hans Imperial townes, held immediatly of the Empire: and that they had freely and willingly receiued him for their protector, and in respect thereof did giue him an annuell pension or gratuity: he sought by all meanes to make them his Vassalls, yea rather his slaues, and to depriue them of all their Imperiall priuiledges, granted by so many good Emperors, taking violently from them their ancient liberties and freedomes. But in the end he reaped little honor & lesse profit of all his attempts, surcharging his poore subiects of the champian country to maintaine his attempts against the said towne. But let vs finish this busines: Among the said papers there were some found making mention of this enterprise and how it should be managed, whereby the Maigistrat knew plainely what the Earles practise and intent was, which made them seeke to seze vpon the partisans of this conspiracy, whereof some fled and left the towne, wherevpon the Maigistrate was induced (although that the towne were greatly charged) to giue order to the captaine to leuy 300. men at their charge,

A B C D E F

A charge, writing vnto Cont *Willian Lewis* of Naſſau, gouernor of the contries of Freezeland and Groning for the Eſtates, that it would pleaſe him for their preſeruation, if neede required, to aſſiſt them with ſome men, to be redy at hand The ſaid gouernor not onely granted them, but he alſo cauſed ſome of the captaines of the neighbor garriſons to diſcharge ſome of their men, who were preſently entertained by them of Emden: ſo long as this trouble continued, which was to the end of May, and was appeazed by the death of the *Cofrer* and of *Iohn Groenen*, who were beheadded, and by the baniſhment of ſome other priſoners, whereof ſome were condemned in great fines. Then the Earle tooke occaſion to complaine of them of Emden to the Imperial chamber, accuſing them to haue broken the contract, whereupon he obtayned a commiſſion of adiornement, the B which was ſignified vnto them, to appeere in the ſaid chamber the 16. of Auguſt the ſame yeare 1598. At which day he propounded for a complaint, among other things that they of Emden had with the ſoldiars of the vnited Prouinces, made an irruption vpon the lands and iuriſdictions of Marienhoue, Viſquart, Proſtthumb and other places: to haue taken many priſoners, to haue put to death *Iohn Groenen* and *Iohn Kemps*, after they had greeuouſly tortured them; to haue vnworthely intreated his two ſonnes, the Earles *Iohn* and *Chriſtoper* being at Emden with his inſtructions and by his commandement: to haue vſed a notary ill; to haue forced a new oth from the youth of the towne, with other points, whereupon the Earle and they of Emden entred into new quarrells one againſt another, and the ould were reuiued; of the iſſue whereof we will treat in the C yeare following. 1598.

The Earle complains of them of Emden to the Imperiall chamber.

We haue made mention of an Edict made by the King of Spaine at Pardo, by the which he diſpenſed with him-ſelfe not to pay his debts, retayning all his aſſignations vpon his reuenues, giuen by him in payment vnto Marchants which had furniſhed him with great ſummes: But now meaning to diſcharge his conſcience better, and fealing him-ſelfe at the graues brinke, hee made another contract of the 14. of February this yeare 1598. with *Hector Pocamillo*, *Ambroſio Somola*, *Franciſco de Maluenda*, and *Iohn Iacomo Grimaldi*, hauing ample Procuration from all the other Marchants, who dad negotiated with his Maieſty for the lending of mony. By the which contract hauing firſt excuſed him-ſelfe for that which was giuen at Pardo, he confirmes the aſſignations giuen by him vpon the ſaid demaynes, vpon condition that for an ouerplus and new Loane they D ſhould furniſh him with the ſumme of ſeauen millions, and two hundred thouſand ducats paiable euery moneth, two hundred and fifty thouſand ducats to the Archduke, Cardinall *Albert*, to defray the charges of the warre in the Netherlands, and that for the ſpace of 19 moneths, whereof the firſt paiment ſhould be expired the laſt of Ianuary, the ſaid yeare 98. making for the Netherlands foure millions and a halfe. The reſt to be payed in his realme of Spaine, or elſe where, at his good pleaſure, And by this meanes the King of Spaine (being reſolued to giue his daughter the Infanta vnto the Cardinall *Albert*) would ſhew that he would not leaue him in need of mony for the continuance of the warre againſt the vnited Prouinces.

The King of Spaine makes a new contract for the payment of his debts.

There is in Flanders a fort called Patience, which a Wallon corporall in the yeare E 1595. deliuered vnto the Eſtates of Zeeland, there were this yeare ſome French men in garriſon in this fort, who dealing after the ſame manner with the Eſtates, ſold it and deliuered it vnto the Spaniards. In the mideſt of Aprill the Duke of Writembergh Earle of Montbeliard, ſent an ambaſſador to the vnited Prouinces, to demande that his ſubiects might trafficke freely & vnder their ſafe conduct throughout the Netherlands by the riuer of Neckar, which deſcends into the Rhine, and that they would furniſh him with ſome ſufficient man for riuers and waters, to make the ſaid riuer of Neckar more nauigable. His demand was granted touching the commerce; and with the Ambaſſador there was ſent one *Iohn Bradley*, a man very expert in water works. The 9. of Iuly the town F of Calais was reſtored to the French King, into the hands of the Earle of S. *Pol* and the Siegnor of Viques who was made Gouernor, entring into it with 2000. men, after that the artillery and munition had beene drawne forth, according to the contract, and ſent to S. Omer. The Spaniſh troupes within Ardes and Dourlans, being mutined for their pay, made ſome difficulty for a time, but in the end they were pacified, and went out

The fort of Patience ſold by the French vnto the Spaniards.

Calais and the other townes reſtored to the French King.

in

1598. in Auguſt following: the like did they of Monthulin, Chaſtelet and la Capelle in Tyeraſh: But Blauet was not ſo ſoone yeelded, vntill that the Duke of Merceur was reconciled vnto the King, treating the marriage of *Cæſar* Monſieur the kings Baſtard and Duke of Vendoſme with this Dukes daughter, whereupon Blauet, and all other places which had beene held in Brittane, in the name of the Infanta of Spaine, were yeelded. A

The King of Spaine finding his ſtrength and helth to decay daily, being deſirous to ſee an end of the reſolution which hee had taken, to giue the Lady *Iſabella* his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the Archduke *Albert* his Nephew, although he were aduanced to great Eccleſiaſticall dignities, and namely to the rich Archbiſhoprike of Toledo: he called in his preſence (in the towne of Madril) the 6. of May Prince *Philip* his only ſonne, being about 20. yeares old, being accompanied by *Don Gomes d' Auila* Marquis of Velada, gouernor and Lord Stuard of Prince *Phillips* houſe, *Don Chriſtophel de Mora* Earle of Caſtel-Rodrigo great commander of Leon, all three councellors of State, and *Nicholas Damant* Knight, councellor, Preſident and Chancellor of Brabant, with the ſecretary for the affaiers of the Netherlands, Laloo, and no more, whereas the reſolution of the ceſſion and tranſaction of the Netherlands made by the King vnto his ſaid daughter, was read, ſigned, and ſealed in the French tong as followeth. B

The King of Spaine giues his eldeſt daughter to Cardinal Albert with the Netherlands and Bourgogne.

Phillip by the grace of God King. &c. To all preſent and to come that ſhall ſee, read and heare theſe letters, greeting. Whereas we haue thought it fit and conuenient as well for the generall good of all Chriſtendome, as of our Netherlands, not to deferre any longer the mariage of our deere and wel-beloued eldeſt daughter the Infanta *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*: being the more inclined therevnto for the preſeruation of our houſe, and for certaine other good reſpects; In conſideration alſo of the loue we beare vnto our moſt deere and welbeloued brother, coſin and Nephew, the Archduke *Albert*, gouernor and captaine generall of our Netherlands, and of Bourgogne in our name, hauing caſt our eyes vpon his perſon, and choſing him to be future husband to our eldeſt daughter, as well by the conſent of our holy father the Pope, who hath there-vpon granted his diſpenſation, as alſo hauing imparted it to the moſt high, moſt excellent and moſt mighty Prince, our moſt deere and wel-beloued brother, couſin and nephew, *Rodolphus* the ſecond of that name Emperor of the Romaines, and in like manner to our moſt deere & wel-beloued good ſiſter the Empreſſe his mother. All which conſidered, and to the end our ſaid daughter may (as reaſon requiers) haue meanes according to her graces, vertues and merits. And the rather to giue a teſtimony of our behalfes of the great loue and affection which we haue alwaies borne, and do yet beare vnto our countries of the Netherlands and Bourgogne, we haue reſolued to giue vnto our ſaid daughter, in ayde and fauor of the ſaid marriage our ſaid Netherlands, and all that depends thereon, in the forme and manner as ſhall be hereafter ſet downe and ſpecified: And that by the meanes and mediation, will and conſent of our moſt deere and wel-beloued good Sonne Prince *Phillip* our onely Sonne and heyre, according to the aduertiſments which haue beene giuen by vs and our ſaid Sonne, to the heads and Noblemen, knights of our order, councellors and Eſtates of our ſaid Netherlands, being vnder our obedience, together with them of our country and Conty of Bourgogne, who haue ſhewed and teſtefied by their anſwers, the ioy and contentment which they haue had of this our kind reſolution: the which they know and confeſſe to bee ſo neceſſary for the good of our Netherlands: Being the true meanes to attaine vnto a good peace and vnion, and to be diſcharged of this painfull warre: wherewith they haue beene afflicted for ſo many yeares; which peace and reſt we haue alwaies wiſhed and deſired, conſidering alſo (the which is notorious to all the world) that the greateſt happines which a country may inioy, is to ſee themſelues gouerned by the eye and preſence of their Prince and naturall Lord. God is our witnes of the paine and care we haue often had that we could not performe that in perſon which we willingly deſired, if the affaiers of great importance of our realmes of Spaine, had not tied vs to continue our reſidence there, and not to abſent our ſelfe, as we yet are bound at this houre. And although for the age of the Prince our ſonne, it ſeemes, it might be now more conuenient, then at our firſt voiage, yet the will of GOD hath beene ſuch, hauing giuen vs ſo many Realmes and Prouinces, in the which there want

A coppy of the letters of tranſaction of the Netherlands to the Infanta. C D E F

A want neuer affaires of great importance, by reaſon whereof his preſence is here very requiſite. Wherefore we haue thought it expedient to take this good reſolution, not to ſuffer the Netherlands to runne into the inconueniences which they haue done heretofore together with the reaſons of portion and partage, which we ought to make vnto our ſaid daughter the *Infanta*, according to her merits & the greatneſſe of her birth. Wherefore we giue all men to vnderſtand, that deſiring now to put duly in effect, that which hath beene reſolued by vs: to tranſport vnto our ſaid daughter the *Infanta*, in aduancement of the ſaid marriage, all our ſaid Netherlands and Bourgogne, in manner and forme, and with the conditions here-after mentioned. 1598.

1. The firſt condition is: that the ſaid *Infanta* our daughter, ſhall ioyne in marriage
B with the Archduke *Albert*, and that by way of donation or gift, ſhee receiue our ſayd Netherlands, and the Contie of Bourgogne: and in caſe the ſaid marriage ſhould bee hindred by any occaſion whatſoeuer: then this preſent donation or ceſſion ſhall bee voide and take no effect; as in that caſe we do preſently reuoke and diſanull it.

2. *Item*, that the children and ſucceſſors of this marriage, be they males or females, lawfully borne and no baſtards: although it were by a future marriage, the elder going before the yonger, and the male the female, ſhall from hand to hand ſucceſſiuely bee heires in the ſame degree of all the ſaid prouinces ioyntly, without taking away or ecclipſing any thing. Declaring that the eldeſt ſonne or daughter of the father deceaſed, ſhall be preferred before the Vncles or any other of the collaterall line.

C 3. Item vpon condition, that if there be neither ſonne nor daughter (which God forbid) of this marriage: or that they bee dead, after the death either of the Archduke *Albert*, or our daughter the *Infanta*, comming of this preſent marriage, the ſaid donation, ceſſion and tranſport, ſhall be voide & of no force. In which caſe if our ſaid daughter the *Infanta* ſhould remaine a widdow, her lawfull portion on the fathers ſide, & her donation of the mothers ſide, ſuch as ſhall belong vnto her, ſhall follow her: beſide that which wee or our ſonne the Prince ſhall doe for the loue wee beare her. And if the ſaid Archduke *Albert*, ſhould ſuruiue the ſaid *Infanta*, he ſhall remaine Gouernor of the ſaid countries, in the name of the Prince Proprietary, to whom they ſhall fall.

4. Item vpon condition, that if all the deſcendants males and females proceeding
D of their marriage ſhould chance to faile, ſo as there ſhould not any one remaine that is ealled to theſe countries. In that caſe they ſhall all returne vnto the King of Spaine, which ſhall be deſcended of vs. And according to this donation and ceſſion, in that caſe we make him donatarie preſently, as being giuen vnto him.

5. Item, vpon condition, that whoſoeuer ſhall be Princeſſe and Lady of the ſaid Netherlands, ſhall marry with the King of Spaine or the Prince his ſonne, that ſhall bee then liuing, with a diſpenſation, if need ſhall require. And if then they haue not the will nor the power to make any ſuch marriages for themſelues, in that caſe the Lady cannot take any husband, nor meddle with any donation, nor any part thereof, without the aduiſe and conſent of vs and our heires and ſucceſſors in our ſaid realme of Spaine,
E which ſhall be iſſued from vs. And in caſe of contrauention, all that hath bin giuen and granted, ſhall returne, as if this donation, ceſſion and tranſport had neuer beene made.

6. Item vpon condition that our ſaid daughter the *Infanta*, nor any other called to the ſaid ſucceſſion, ſhal not for any cauſe whatſoeuer, part nor diuide the ſaid countries, nor giue or exchange without our conſent, & of thoſe ſhall ſucceed vs in theſe realmes.

7. Item that euery Prince and Lord of thoſe countries, ſhall be bound to marry their ſonnes and daughters with our conſent, & of thoſe ſhall be our heires Kings of Spaine.

8. Item that our ſaid daughter the Infanta, nor her husband, nor any of their ſucceſſors, to whom the ſayd countries ſhall deſcend, ſhall in any ſort whatſoeuer, negotiate, traffick, or contract to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, neither ſhall they ſend any ſorts
F of ſhips, vnder any coulour or pretext ſoeuer: vpon paine that the ſayd countries in caſe of contrauention ſhall be forfeited by them. And if any ſubiects of the ſaid countries ſhould preſume to goe contrary to the defences; the Lords of the ſaid countries ſhal puniſh thē by confiſcation of their goods, & other grieuous paines, yea with death.

9. Item, that if the ſaid Archduke *Albert* our good couſin, ſhould ſuruie our daughter the *Infanta*, leauing either ſonne or daughter, that he ſhall haue the gouernment of ſuch

ſonne

1598. „ ſonne or daughter, with the managing of all their goods, as if our daughter the *Infanta* A
„ were yet liuing. And ouer and beſides our ſaid couſin the Archduke, ſhall in that caſe
„ enioy and reape the fruites during his life, entertaining the ſaid children according to
„ their qualitie, giuing vnto the eldeſt ſonne or daughter the country and Duchie of
„ Luxembourg, and the countie of Chiny, which ſhall belong vnto them, to inioy it du-
„ ring the fathers life: after whoſe deceaſe that child ſhall haue all as ſole heire. Being
„ here expreſly declared, that this clauſe of vſufrute ſhall be vnderſtood, onely in fauour
„ of our good Couſin the Archduke *Albert*; and not to be drawne in conſequence. To
„ the end that none of his ſucceſſors may vrge any preſident, nor pretend right in the
„ like caſe.

„ 10. Item for that it is the principall and greateſt bond aboue all others: that all the B
„ children and deſcendants of the ſaid marriage, ſhall follow the holy religion which
„ doth now preſently ſhine in them, and ſhall liue and dye in our holy Catholick faith, as
„ the holy church of Rome doth teach and entertaine: and that before they ſhall take
„ poſſeſſion of the ſayd Netherlands, they ſhall take an othe in the ſame forme that it is
„ ſet downe in the article following. And in caſe (which God forbid) that any of the ſaid
„ deſcandants ſhould decline from the ſayd religion, and fall into hereſie, after that our
„ Holy father the Pope hath pronounced them ſo, they ſhall be depriued of the admini-
„ ſtration, poſſeſſion and propertie of the ſaid Prouinces: and that the vaſſals & ſubiects
„ thereof ſhall no more obey them; but they ſhall admit and receiue the next that is a
„ Catholick of the ſame deſcent, which ſhould ſucceed vnto ſuch a one that is fallen C
„ from the faith: and that hereticke ſhall be as if he were naturally dead.

The oth of the Prince of the Netherlands.

„ *Ego Iuro ad ſancta Dei Euangelia, quod ſemper ad extremum vitæ meæ ſpiritum, ſacro-*
„ *ſanctam fidem Catholicam quam tenet, docet & predicat, ſancta, Catholica & Apoſtolica Ec-*
„ *cleſia Romana (communium Eccleſiarum mater & Magiſtra) conſtanter profitebor, & fideliter*
„ *firmiterq; credam & veraciter tenebo; atq; eam a meis ſubditis teneri, docerí & predicari*
„ *(quantum in me erit) curabo. Sic me Deus adiuuet & hec ſancta Euangelia.*

„ 11. Item, that for the greater aſſurance and confirmation of the peace, loue, and
„ correſpondencie which ought to be betwixt the King and his realmes, our deſcendants
„ and ſucceſſors, and the Princes and Lords of thoſe countries, being alſo our ſucceſſors,
„ enery one of thē which hereafter ſhall come vnto the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Netherlands D
„ and Bourgogne, ſhall aduow, approoue, and ratifie, what is conteined in this article.

„ 12. And for as much as our intention and will is, that the ſaid articles ſhall take full ef-
„ fect by their meaens. *We giue, grant, quit, tranſport, renounce and accord, in gift of fee,* & in
„ the beſt and moſt auaileable forme, way and manner, that may be deuiſed by law, to the
„ *Infanta Iſabella, Clara, Eugenia,* our moſt deare and beſt beloued eldeſt daughter, *All our*
„ *Netherlands, and euery Prouince thereof, with the Country and County of Bourgogne, compre-*
„ *hending that of Charolois therin, the Duchies, Principalities, Marquiſats and forts,* which are
„ in our Netherlands and Bourgogne, together with all the regalities, and all ſorts of iu-
„ riſdictions, which wee might pretend by reaſon of the ſame, as alſo all preheminences,
„ gards, and all other kind of ſoueraignty whatſoeuer, in the ſame forme they are now, or E
„ may be ours, to haue the full poſſeſſion as wee haue had, without any exception, vpon
„ charge notwithſtanding, that they ſhall inuiolably obſerue all here aboue mentioned, &
„ the Pragmatick made by the deceaſed of immortall memory, the Emperor my Lord &
„ father (who is in glory) in the month of Nouember 1549. touching the vnion of the ſaid
„ Netherlands, without conſenting to any ſeparation thereof, for any cauſe whatſoeuer.

„ 13. And it is our intention: that in regard of this donation, our ſaid daughter the *In-*
„ *fanta*, and her future husband the Archduke *Albert*, ſhall be charged and bound, to pay
„ and acquit all debts, made by vs, or in our name, or by his deceaſed Imperiall Maieſty
„ vpon our patrimonie and demaines of the ſaid Netherlands, and of the Contie of Bour-
„ gogne; and they ſhall bee alſo tied and bound to beare and diſcharge all the rents, an- F
„ nuities, for life, and all other donations, penſions and recompences, which his ſaid Im-
„ periall Maieſtie, wee or our predeceſſors haue made to any perſons whatſoeuer.

„ *And ſo we do make, create and name by theſe preſents, our ſaid daughter the Infanta, Prin-*
„ *ceſſe and Lady of the ſaid Netherlands, and Earle of Bourgongne and Charalois.*

Wee

A We do also grant vnto our said daughter, that ouer and aboue the particular titles of euerie of the said Prouinces of the Netherlands, and countie of Bourgoigne, she may also write, intitle, and name her selfe Ducheſſe of Bourgoigne, notwithstanding that we haue reserued (for so long as it shall please vs) for our selues, and for the prince our sonne, the said title of Duke of Bourgoigne, with all the rights that may belong vnto vs, together with the soueraignetie of our order of the Golden Fleece, whereof we retaine the power vnto our selues, to dispose hereafter as we shal think most fit. We consent and agree, and do suffer our said daughter the Infanta, giuing her absolute & irreuocable power, of her own priuat authority, without any further consent to be demaunded, by her selfe, or by her deputies sent to her future husband, to take full and absolute possession of the said Netherlands, and of the countie of Bourgoigne, and
B Charolois: And to that end to cause the generall Estates of the said countrey to assemble, or the particular Estates in euerie prouince, or els to obserue any other course that shalbe thought fitting for this donation, cession, and transport; to signifie it, & to take an othe to the Estates and the subiects of the said countries, to demaund the inuestiture and admittance to euerie peece and seigniorie, if the case shall so require: As also to receiue a fit othe of them, to bind them to al that wherunto they were reciprocally bound by precedent othes. And vntil our said daughter shall haue taken, or caused to be taken in her name, the reall possession of the said Netherlands and countie of Bourgoigne and Charolois, in that maner as it is set downe by her patent, wee doe make and constitute our selfe possessor thereof, in the name and behalfe of our said daughter.

C In witnesse whereof we will and ordaine, That the same letters patents bee deliuered vnto her, granting vnto our daughter the Infanta, to retaine, admit, and establish in the said Netherlands and Bourgoigne, Gouernours, Iudges, and Iustices, as well for the preseruation and defence thereof, as for the administration of iustice and policie, and the receit of reuenues, or otherwise. And moreouer, to do all that which a true princesse, ladie of the inheritance of the said countries, by right, or according to the customes, might or ought to doe, and as wee haue done, and might yet doe; alwayes obseruing the conditions hereunto inserted: To which effect we haue quitted, absolued, and discharged, and doe quit, absolue, and discharge by these presents, al bishops, abbots, prelats, and other church men, dukes, princes, marquesses, earls, barons, gouernors, heads and captaines of the countrey, townes, courts, presidents, men of our
D counsell, chancellors, them of our treasure and accounts, and other justices, captaines, men of warre, and souldiers of forts and castles, their lieutenants, knights, squires, vassals, magistrats, bourgers, inhabitants of good townes, boroughes, franchises, and villages, and all and euery of our subiects of our said Netherlands, and the countie of Bourgoigne and Charolois, and euerie of them respectiuely, of the othe of fidelitie, faith and homage, promise and bond, by the which they were bound vnto vs, as to their lawfull prince and soueraigne lord: willing and expresly commaunding them to sweare, and to accept the said Infanta our daughter, for their true princesse and ladie, and to giue her their othe of fealtie, faith, and homage, promise, and bond, after the accustomed maner, according to the nature of the countries, places, fees, and seigniories. And moreouer, that they shew vnto her and to her future husband, all ho-
E nour, reuerence, affection, obedience, fidelitie, and seruice, as good and loyall subiects ought and are bound to their lawfull prince and naturall lord, as they haue hitherto made demonstration. And to supply all defects and obmissions, as well in law as in fact, which may bee omitted in this present donation, cession, and transport, and which might be wel inserted, of our owne motion, certaine knowledge, and full and absolute royal power, which by these presents we will vse, we haue derogated, and do derogate to all lawes, constitutions, and customes, which may impugne and contradict these presents: for such is our good will and pleasure. And to the end that all that is formerly said, may be for euer firme and stable, wee haue signed these presents with our name, and caused our great seale to be hanged thereunto, willing and commanding, that it shall be registred, to be held of force in euerie counsell and chamber of
F accounts. Giuen in our citie of Madril the 6 of May 1598, of our raigns of Naples and Ierusalem, the 45, of Castile, Arragon, Sicile, and others, the 44, and of Portugall the 19. It was paraphed N.D.V. Signed *Philippes*. And vnderneath, By the King signed A. de la Loo. 1598

This resignation was also ratified by the letters patents of prince *Philip*, at this time king of Spaine, the 3 of that name, as followeth.

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1598 „ *Philip* by the grace of God, Prince, ſonne and onely heire of the Realmes, Countries, and A
„ Seigniories of king *Philip* the ſecond of that name, my lord and father, To all preſent and to
„ come, greeting. Whereas my ſaid lord and father hath reſolued to marie the ladie *Infanta Iſa-*
„ *bella Clara Eugenia*, our moſt deere and well beloued good ſiſter, to the Archduke *Albert*, our
„ good vncle and coſin: And that according to the ſame his Catholike Maieſtie hath determi-
„ ned with our liking and conſent, being thereunto induced for certaine great reaſons and re-
„ ſpects for the common good, namely for the generall quiet of all Chriſtendome, and in parti-
„ cular for the peace & tranquility of the Netherlands, to the end that our ſaid ſiſter may be pro-
„ uided for according to her qualitie and great merits, to giue vnto our ſaid ſiſter the Nether-
„ lands, and the countie of Bourgoigne, in that forme and maner as it hath beene made and paſt,
„ as it appeareth by the letters patents which my ſaid lord and father hath cauſed to be made, ſig- B
„ ned with his hand, and ſealed with his great Seale, wherof the tenor followeth word by word.
„ *Philip* &c. All which being here aboue inſerted, it is not needful to repeat.

„ Wee let them know, that hauing particularly vnderſtood all that is mentioned therein, con-
„ ſidering the publike good that may thereby come vnto Chriſtendome, eſpecially by reaſon of
„ the ſingular loue which we are bound to beare, and do beare vnto our ſiſter the Infanta, for her
„ graces and great merits, we commend, approue, and allow, and by theſe preſents hold for
„ good, notwithſtanding any preiudice that may grow thereby to vs or our ſucceſſors hereafter.
„ And for the ſame reaſon we conſent, and are content by theſe preſents, that the ſaid Nether-
„ lands and countie of Bourgoigne and Charolois, ſhall be giuen and tranſported to our good
„ ſiſter the Infanta, as my ſaid lord and father hath done. And to the end it may ſubſiſt the bet- C
„ ter, for the greater aſſurance, corroboration, and ſtrengthening of that which his Maieſtie hath
„ diſpoſed and decreed in fauour, and for the aduancement of our good ſiſter, wee diſpoſe and
„ ordaine as farre as it is needfull by theſe preſents, in fauour thereof, and in the ſame forme and
„ manner in euerie point, of our owne proper and free wil, & without any extortion, conſtraint,
„ deceit, fraud, nor any reſpect, fatherly reuerence, nor feare, nor by any other indirect perſuaſi-
„ ons; our will and intention being, that the ſaid countries ſhal belong and appertaine vnto our
„ ſiſter the Infanta, *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, and to her ſucceſſors, conformable to the diſpoſition
„ of the king my lord and father. And to the end it may take full effect, and remaine firme and
„ ſtable for euer, wee haue renounced, and do renounce by theſe preſents, in fauour of our good
„ ſiſter, for vs and our ſucceſſors, all benefits which may by right come to vs or them, to contra- D
„ dict theſe preſents; or that it were by the law, *De reſtitutione in integrum*, to the which we haue
„ renounced, and doe renounce by theſe preſents: for our reſolute and determinat will is, that
„ nothing whatſoeuer ſhall bee of any force and efficacie againſt this donation, ceſſion,
„ and tranſport, which hath beene made of the ſaid Netherlands, in the maner and forme aboue
„ mentioned.

„ Whereupon we haue giuen our faith, and taken our othe vpon the holy Euangiliſts, which
„ we haue touched with our hand, to hold, maintaine, obſerue, and keepe, and cauſe to bee held,
„ maintained, obſerued, and kept, punctually all that hath beene ſaid, without any excuſe or ex-
„ ception, nor yet to ſuffer any other to vſe any: The which we do affirme and promiſe by the
„ word of a prince, and that we ſhal giue all aid & aſſiſtance for the ful accompliſhment thereof, E
„ for that it is our ſincere and reſolute will. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters
„ patents to be made, the which we haue ſigned with our owne hand, and cauſed to bee ſigned
„ by the ſecretarie of eſtate for the king my lord & father, for the affaires of the Netherlands and
„ Bourgoigne, and to be ſealed with the great ſeale of his Maieſties armes, hanging thereunto in
„ ſtrings of gold. To theſe were preſent as witneſſes *Dom Gomes d'Auila*, marqueſſe of Velada,
„ our gouernor and lord ſteward of our houſhold, *Dom Chriſtophel de Mora*, earle of Caſtel, *Ro-*
„ *derigo* great commaunder of the Alcantara, a gentleman of his Maieſties chamber, and butler
„ for our perſon, *Dom Ioan d'Idiaques* great commander of Leon, all three of the counſel of ſtate,
„ and *Nicholas d'Amant*, knight, alſo counſellor of ſtate, and keeper of his Maieſties ſeales for the
„ affaires of the Netherlands and Bourgoigne, chancelor of his duchie of Brabant. Giuen in the F
„ citie of Madril, in the realme of Caſtile, the 6 of May, in the yeare of grace 1598. Paraphed M.
„ E.R.T. Signed *Philip*, and vnderneath, By the commandement of my lord the prince *A. de*
„ *la Loo*.

Theſe two patents of the kings reſignation, and of the princes agreation, were both ſealed with

A with one ſeale in vermilian waxe, with ſtrings of gold. 1598

Theſe inſtruments being thus read, paſt, ſigned and ſealed in autentike forme, the prince of Spaine riſing, went and kiſt the king his fathers hands, thanking him for the good affection he bare vnto his ſiſter: then going to his ſaid ſiſter, he did congratulat with her, for the good which ſhe had receiued that day; who riſing, in like maner went and kiſt the king her fathers hands, and gaue thanks for his fauours and benefits: as in like ſort ſhee did thanke the prince her brother, and ſo the aſſembly brake vp. The reſt of the day was ſpent in ioy and ſport in the court, yet more had beene continued, if the kings indiſpoſition had not beene, who began now to grow verie weake.

Two daies after, which was the eight of May, the empreſſe, ſiſter to the king, and mother to
B the archduke *Albert*, came to court, being accompanied by the embaſſador of the emperour, her ſonne, the marqueſſe of Vellada, *Dom Chriſtophel de Mora*, *Dom Ioan Idiaques*, and others, whereas the mariage ſpoken of was confirmed, the Infanta binding her ſelfe by an othe in the hands of the empreſſe, to marie the archduke *Albert* of Auſtria, according to his Maieſties good pleaſure: Whereupon the ſaid ladie empreſſe bound her ſelfe reciprocally, that the ſaid archduke her ſonne ſhould take her to wife, by vertue of a ſpeciall procuration which hee had ſent. Then the Infanta aduanced to kiſſe the hand of the empreſſe her aunt, and future mother in law, but ſhe retired her hand, and would not ſuffer it, and for a greater ſhew of her loue imbraced her very faſt. In the end, after many kind ſpeeches and mutual curteſies, as the empreſſe retired, the Infanta bending downe vpon her knee, would againe haue kiſſed her hand, which
C ſhe pulled backe, and making her to riſe, the empreſſe kiſt her cheeke, and ſo they parted. All this being thus performed, the Infanta ſent a procuration in qualitie of princeſſe of the Netherlands, to the archduke her lord by mariage, and future ſpouſe, as followeth.

Iſabella Clara Eugenia, by the grace of God Infanta of all the realmes of Spaine, Ducheſſe of Bourgoigne, of Lothier, of Brabant, Lembourg, and Luxembourg, Counteſſe of Flanders, Arthois, Bourgoigne, Palatine of Henault, of Holland, Zeeland, Namur, and Zutphen, Marqueſſe of the holy Empire, Ladie of Friſeland, Salines, and Macklin, of the countrie and citie of Vtrecht, of Oueriſſel, and of Groning, To all preſent & to come, that ſhal ſee theſe preſent letters greeting: Wheras, as wel for the good of all Chriſtendome in general, as for the Netherlands in particular, and for other good conſiderations, it hath pleaſed the king my lord
D and father, for the aduancement of my future mariage, by the diſpenſation of our holy father the pope, with our moſt deere and well beloued coſin the archduke *Albert*, with the good liking, allowance, conſent and aſſiſtance of the high and mightie prince our moſt deere and wel beloued good brother, to make a gift, ceſſion, and tranſport, vnto vs, of all the Netherlands, and of Bourgoigne, according to the letters patents which haue beene made and ſigned reſpectiuely with their owne hands, the ſixt of this preſent moneth of May, with other our letters patents, touching the acceptation of the ſaid donation and tranſport: To the end that the ſaid Netherlands and Bourgoigne, might bee by vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, held and enioyed in manner and forme, and according to the conditions particularly comprehended and expreſt in the ſaid letters patents; by the which his ſayd Maieſtie hath granted vnto vs, with
E abſolute power, and irreuocable, of our owne priuat authoritie, not beeing bound to require any other conſent or agreation, to take and receiue by vs, or by procuration to our future ſpouſe the archduke *Albert*, the full and entire poſſeſſion of all the Netherlands and countie of Bourgoigne and Charolois, and to that effect to do in particular according to the ſaid letters patents. Wee therefore make it knowne, for the reaſons aboue mentioned, and to follow in euerie poynt the will and pleaſure of his Maieſtie, yea to aduance all that in that regard may be neceſſarie before our departure towards the ſaid countries, wee haue of our certaine knowledge and abſolute power, authoriſed and giuen full power and commiſſion irreuocable, as well generall as ſpeciall, to our future ſpouſe the archduke *Albert*, in our name, and on our behalfe, by himſelfe or other his ſubſtitutes, as hee ſhall thinke fit, by vertue hereof, at once,
F or at diuers ſeuerall times, to doe all things, as well in our name, and in our behalfe, as in the behalfe of the Netherlands and the countie of Bourgoigne and Charolois, in generall, or by the Eſtates of euerie prouince in particular, that ſhal be requiſit and neceſſarie to be done and paſt; reſpectiuely to take, accept, or retaine in our name, the full, reall, and entire poſſeſſi-

The Infantaes procuration to the archduke.

1598 „ on of all the ſayd countries, and of euerie prouince thereof, and of all that doth depend, to A
„ enioy them fully and peaceably without any contradiction, let, or moleſtation: Cauſing the
„ Eſtates of the ſaid countries, either generall or particular, to bee called to this end, and to take
„ the othes required in our name. And moreouer, that our future ſpouſe the archduke *Albert*,
„ ſhall doe all that wee our ſelues might doe if wee were there in perſon, without any more ſpe-
„ ciall commiſſion, than is contained in the ſaid letters. Promiſing in the word of a princeſſe,
„ and vpon our honour, to hold it for agreeable, firme, and ſtable for euer, and to obſerue, and
„ cauſe to bee obſerued, and inuiolably and faithfully accompliſhed, all that by the ſaid arch-
„ duke *Albert*, our future husband, or by his committees and ſubſtitutes, by vertue of the ſayd
„ letters ſhall bee done and paſt, in regard of the ſayd abſolute and reall poſſeſſion of the ſayd
„ Netherlands and Bourgoigne, in the manner and forme as it is mentioned in the ſayd letters B
„ patents of donation, ceſſion, and tranſport, whereunto wee referre our ſelues, without doing
„ any thing to the contrarie, nor ſuffer to bee done, directly, nor indirectly, in any ſort what-
„ ſoeuer; for ſuch is our pleaſure. In witneſſe whereof wee haue ſigned theſe preſents with our
„ owne hands, and cauſed it to bee ſigned by the ſecretarie of my lord and father, for the af-
„ faires of the ſaid Netherlands and Bourgoigne, and ſealed with his Maieſties great ſeale of
„ armes, hanging in ſtrings of gold. Giuen in the citie of Madril in the realme of Caſtile, the
„ 30 day of May, in the yeare of grace 1598. Paraphed N. D. I. V. Signed, Madame *Iſabella*,
„ and vpon the fold, By the commaundement of the Ladie Infanta, Signed A. de la Loo.

This procuration was accompanied with letters from the king and the prince his ſonne, vnto the Netherlands, with promiſe not to bee left in danger, for that which ſhould be need- C full (if a good peace could not bee made) for the ſupporting of the charges of the warre. Wee will now treat of other things, attending newes of this reſignation of the countries of the Netherlands, and of the Infantaes mariage with the archduke *Albert*, at the court in Bruſſels.

Embaſſadors from the elector of Cologne, to the Eſtates, for Rhineberck.

About that time prince *Erneſt* of Bauaria, archbiſhop and elector of Cologne, and prince of Liege, ſent his embaſſadors (which were the yong earle *Iohn* of Naſſau, and the ſeigniour of Soppenbroeck, to the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, to purſue the reſtitution of Berck vpon the Rhine (the which prince *Maurice* had the yeare before taken by ſiege from the Spaniards) vpon promiſe that their enemies ſhould haue no paſſage that way. The Eſtates hauing anſwered pertinently to the ſayd embaſſadours, yet conſidering that the ſayd towne D was a great charge vnto them, and more preiudiciall than profitable, and neceſſarie to bee double fortified, prince *Maurice* hauing counſelled them to yeeld it, if they would not otherwiſe prouide for it; beſides that it was too farre from them, and not able to endure a long ſiege, they reſolued to deliuer it vpon certaine conditions, if the ſayd elector could obtaine them from cardinall *Albert*, yea in the end they would haue yeelded it vpon the electors ſimple promiſe, not to ſuffer it to fall any more into the Spaniards hands, if the cardinall had not ſet the admirall of Arragon on worke about another deſigne. Notwithſtanding the townes of Mœurs and Alpen were at that time, with the conſent of the Eſtates and the archduke *Albert*, reſtored free, the one vnto the counteſſe of Mœurs, the other to the lady Dowager Palatine, widow before to *Henry* lord of Brederode. E

A ſentence againſt the magiſtrat of Aix.

The proceſſe againſt the magiſtrat and counſell of the imperiall towne of Aix la Chapelle, hauing remained long vndetermined in the chamber of Spyer, was (to the great deſolation of the ſayd towne) decided this Summer by ſentence, the which did baniſh and proſcribe all them of the magiſtrat and the counſell, together with their adherents, abandoning both their perſons and their goods, appointing for executioners of the ſaid ſentence, the archbiſhops of Treues and of Cologne, with the duke of Iuilliers: who finding themſelues too weake, called the archduke *Albert* to their aid. This ſentence was ſignified to them of Ayx by an imperiall herauld: They were much troubled and perplexed at this rigorous ſentence, which they did little expect, hauing beene aſſured from ſome princes and townes, that the matter ſhould neuer come to proſcription (but *Dom William* of Saint *Clement*, the king of F Spaines embaſſador, and the admirall of Arragon, purſued it to this extremitie.) They did ſee on the one ſide of their towne the archdukes armie, and on the other that of the emperour, appoynted for Hongarie, and their towne nothing ſtrong for to endure a ſiege:

A a ſiege: whereupon they tooke a ſhort reſolution, and defended all exercise of the Proteſtants religion (both of that of Ausbourg, and of the reformed) within their towne, and ſent to the archbiſhop of Cologne, prince of Liege, their neighbour, intreating him to be an intercessor for them; who did write vnto them of Iuilliers and Lembourg, who (not thinking what might happen vnto themſelues, and was ſo neere them) began to oppreſſe them of Aix, driuing away their cattell, and taking them priſoners where they could catch them. Theſe letters from the elector of Cologne, did ſomewhat reſtraine the acts of hoſtilitie of them of Iuilliers, & of Lembourg: Whereupon the magiſtrat continued in the gouernment of the towne, as before, vntill it were otherwiſe ordained. Soone after their aduerſe parties (which were thoſe of the old magiſtrat, being fugitiues for their lewd demeanors) brought foure or fiue hundred of the 1598
B duke of Iuilliers ſouldiers into the towne, who diſplaced the one, and placed the other. Thoſe that were diſappointed had their houſes for priſon, vntill it were otherwiſe decreed: whereof ſome of the chiefe, eſpecially two bourgmaſters, the ſeignior *Colin*, and doctor *Vercken*, ſeeing themſelues threatned by the clergie, found meanes to get ſecretly away. Theſe magiſtrats being reſtored, were not only filled with Catholike Romans, but they depoſed all officers of the towne, little and great, baſe and other, and placed new, all Catholikes, euen vnto the hangman: They alſo changed all the midwiues, phyſitians, comforters and keepers of ſicke perſons, appointing all Catholikes, and depoſing the others. The lamentable eſtate of Aix.

Among them of the magiſtrat that were reſtored, there was one *Iohn Ellerborne*, a ſheriſe, who of himſelfe, and without conſtraint had beene a fugitiue, hauing ſince the yere 1590 cal-
C led many merchants and other ſubſtantiall men of the Netherlands, that were fled vnto Aix, into iuſtice to the imperiall chamber, for the paiment of the arrerages and account of his ſeruices, in qualitie of captaine of the horſe (who, to ſpeak the truth, was a baſe coward, and a drunkerd, and had done nothing but hindered the ſeruice, ſpoyling, robbing, and deceiuing all the world) who not able to doe what he would with the merchants, at the verie time of the ſentence he obtained letters of repriſall againſt them, the which at the returne of the magiſtrat reſtored (wherof he was one) hee put in practiſe, cauſing it to be executed (among others) vpon *Lewis Malapert*, and *Iean Viuien*, great marchants, from whom, eſpecially from *Viuien* (although he died of the plague) he cauſed all his goods to be taken, yea euen his bed. Whereof complaints came to the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, who hauing written diuers
D times to them of Aix, yea euen with threats, matters were ſomewhat moderated with *Ellerborne*, who reſtored all for a certaine ſumme of money.

About that time there was great preparation of men made for Brabant, with prouiſion as it were to raiſe a campe, whereupon the vnited Eſtates gaue charge to the earle of Hohenloo to guard the quarter of Bomel with twentie foure companies of foot, and foure cornets of horſe, that the Spaniards might get no footing there, for that they ſaw that the archduke *Albert* did draw men from all parts, comming from France and other places.

The duke of Cleues and Iuilliers hauing his ſences better ſetled, was this yeare put in poſ- The duke of Cleues recouers his ſences
ſeſſion of many of his townes. Prince *Maurice* to gratifie him, ſent him two goodly horſes by his chiefe counſellor the ſeignior of Sonsfeldt: and then there was much ſpeaking of a mari-
E age betwixt the ſaid duke and the duke of Lorrains daughter, the which tooke effect the yere following. Let vs now returne to that of the Infanta of Spaine, with the archduke *Albert*,

1598 # ISABELLA CLARA EVGENIA, Infanta of Spaine, Ducheſſe of Brabant, of Lembourg, &c. Counteſſe of Flanders, Arthois, Bourgoigne, &c. Palatine of Henault, *and Namur. Ladie of Salines and Matklin.*



ISABELLA AVSTRIACA. PHIL. II. CATH. HIS. REG. FIL.

My father minding for to make a royall mariage
Twixt me and th'Archduke Albert, *gaue me for my heritage*
The Netherlands, with Burgondie, and Countie Charolois,
To hold in chiefe of Spaine (and I of him did make my choice)
But the conditions ouer hard, and far too ſtrict withall,
Retain'd the Netherlands in too much ſeruitude and thrall:
But Guelder, Friſeland, Vtrecht, and the Hollanders, alſo
Oueriſſel, Groning, Zutphen, and Zeeland, will not once ſhow
Obedience to the Spaniard, nor the houſe of Auſtria,
And doe the great ſt reuenue of my liuing beare away:
But Brabant, Flanders, and Arthois, Henault, and eke Lembourg,
To me are true, with Burgondie, Namur, and Luxembourg.

THE

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A 1598

THE XV. BOOKE.

The Argument.

CArdinall Albert *assembles the Estates at Brussels touching the donation of the Netherlands. The articles propounded vnto the Cardinall vpon the receiuing of the Infanta. He leaues his Cardinals habit, and goes to fetch the Infanta. He writes to the vnited prouinces, and causeth the prince of Orange to write to prince Maurice his brother. The Estates resolue rather to warre, than to a fained peace, and send their Embassadour to the Queene of England to that end, who doth in like manner resolue to warre. The Admirall of Arragon marcheth with the king of Spaines armie towards the Meuse, takes Orsoy and some other neutrall places. Prince* Maurice *camps at Gelderscheweert. The death of* Philip *the second king of Spaine. Embassadors from the princesse of Cleues to the Archduke* Albert, *and his answer. The murther of the Earle of Broeck by the Admirals men: He takes many townes in the countrie of Cleues, besiegeth Rheinberck, which yeelds: he threatens them of Wezel, and passeth the Rheyn: against whom prince* Maurice *fortifies himselfe, and brings his armie to Doesbourg, where he attends him. The inferiour circles of the Empire assemble at Dortmont. The Admirall takes Deutecom. He wasts the neutrall countries of Westphalia, Berghe, Marcke, and Munster, and takes many neutrall townes, where his Spaniards commit horrible cruelties and inhumanities. The princes of Germanie take it ill, and procure a decree from the Emperour against him, which he regards not, and against the Estates, who iustifie themselues. The princes of Germanie arme against the admiral. He brings his armie into the Isle of Bomel. The Estates armie at sea spoiles the Canaries, and some other Islands. The armie of the princes of Germanie consumes. The Spaniards retire from Bomel, and build S. Andrews fort. Prince* Maurice *intrencheth himselfe in the head of the enemie. The archdukes armie retires out of the Isle of Bomel, leauing S. Andrewes fort and Creuecœur well furnished. Soone after the garrisons mutine for their pay. Prince* Maurice *besiegeth these two forts, the which yeeld, and the garrisons serue the Estates. The archdukes and the Infanta's comming into the Netherlands, and their instalment. The Emperour sends vnto the Estates concerning a peace. The Estates resolution to make warre in Flanders. Prince* Maurice *besiegeth Nieuport, takes some forts from the Spaniards: ouerthrowes the archdukes armie, he being in person, and takes the admirall prisoner, the which is called, The memorable battaile of Nieuport: then he returnes with his armie into the vnited prouinces. The exploits of the galley of Dordrecht.*

THE acts and dispatches of the donation of the Netherlands, made by the king of Spaine vnto the *Infanta* his daughter, for the aduancement of her mariage with *Albert* Archduke of Austria, as then a Cardinall, beeing come to Brussels in Iulie, the said Cardinall Archduke caused them presently to be published, and copies to be giuen forth; together with the agreation of the prince of Spaine, procuration from the *Infanta*, and letters sealed vp from the king and the prince his sonne, to the gouernors and Councellors of all the Prouinces, which were vnder the obedience of Spaine: commanding them to send their deputies to Brussels, with commission and full authoritie, by the 15 of August following. Where the deputies of euery Prouince in particular beeing arriued at the day appointed, the next day they assembled in the towne house to shew their commissions, and to treat vpon that which was to be done concerning the said act of donation, and letters come out of Spaine; whereupon in the beginning there grew many difficulties: and although there were diuersity of opinions, vpon the accepting of the *Infanta* by her procuration, and to take the oath vnto her, in regard of the priuiledges of the countrie, especially of the dutchie of Brabant, the which receiueth no princes but in their owne persons: yet all beeing

1598 beeing well considered, in the end all controuersies ceasing, the cardinall archduke, in the name of the said ladie, and by vertue of her procuration, was accepted, and an oath taken, vpon certaine conditions, which follow. A

A summe of the articles propounded to the cardinal at Brussels.

1 The first article contained the agreation of the donation and transport of the Netherlands, together with the mariage of the princesse and ladie thereof, with the said cardinall.

2 The second, how shee should be receiued, and the oath taken.

3 That his highnesse should consummate the mariage within three moneths.

4 That the king shall giue an act, that the twelue articles comprehended in the said transport, shall not be in any sort preiudiciall vnto the Netherlands.

5 That he shall free the countrie from all contributions, oppressions of souldiers, and other exactions, and that hereafter his highnesse shall be contented with his reuenues. B

6 That all forraine souldiers shall hereafter be vnder the kings paie and entertainment, the which shall be imployed in field vpon the enemies frontiers.

7 All Germane souldiers and such as are borne in the countrie, shall be entertained and paied as farre as may be, and that the surplusage shall be discharged by the king.

8 That all offices and gouernments of prouinces, townes, and forts, shall within one yeare at the farthest be deliuered into the hands of the noble men of the countrie, to gouerne.

9 All extraordinarie councellors shall be reduced to the order that hath beene accustomed. And the great councell of Macklin, with that of Brabant, and the couucell of estate, shall be filled with them that are naturall borne in the countrie.

10 That all prouinces, countries, and townes shall be entertained and maintained in their auncient rights, priuiledges, and freedoms. C

11 His highnes shall be bound to returne into the Netherlands by the month of may next comming.

12 That her highnesse during her absence shall appoint a gouernour in the said countries, which shall be of her blood, who shall be bound to sweare to all that which the king hath sworne.

13 That it shall be tollerable for the generall Estates, by the interuention of his highnes, to enter into conference with them of Holland and Zeeland touching a peace.

14 And vntill the countrie may be furnished with noblemen, naturall borne of the countrie, they shall depute three to go with his highnes into Spaine, and to thanke the king. D

15 That his highnesse shall be bound to entertaine all aboue mentioned, and at his return with the *Infanta* to take the accustomed oath in all the prouinces.

16 That the gouernors, captaines, nor men of warre shall not attempt any new thing during his highnes absence.

17 His highnes at his returne shal be bound to assemble the generall Estates, to labour together for the redressing of the affaires of the Netherlands.

All aboue mentioned being thus past, and the said cardinall archduke sufficiently acknowledged and accepted for their future prince, according to the promise of mariage betwixt him and the *Infanta*, meaning to vncardinall himselfe, and to enter into the consummation of the said mariage, according vnto the popes dispensation, hee went to Hault a little towne in Brabant, three leagues from Brussels, commonly called, *Our ladie of Hault* (in old times a famous place of pilgrimage) where he laid downe his cardinals hat and habit vpon the high altar, the which he offered vnto the said ladie. He had also vpon expectation of this mariage, resigned his archbishopricke of Toledo, by vertue whereof he was head of the Inquisition (which of right belongs vnto the said archbishopricke) by the which resignation they said hee retained an annuall pension of 50000 ducats (for it is not lesse worth than 300000 a yeare.) This done, he began to giue order for his voyage, and for the gouernment of the Netherlands, to the which during his absence he named his cousin a cardinal also, *Andrew* archduke, sonne to the archduke *Ferdinand*, who was brother to the emperour *Maximilian*, and therefore cousin german to *Albert*, ioyning with him the councell of estate. He appointed *Francisco de Mendoza*, admiral of Arragon to be general of his armie, & Cont *Herman vanden Berghe* marshal of the campe, with other commanders and officers to put in execution, during his absence, the resolution which was taken at Brussels touching the frontiers of Germany, whereof we will hereafter discourse more at large. To beare him companie according to the articles, there were deputed

The archduke Albert leaues off his cardinals weed. E F

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A puted *Philip* of Naſſau, prince of Orange, &c. (to whom his ſiſter the counteſſe of Hohenloo ſent a good ſumme of money to make his voyage, being of the reuenues of his meanes in Holland and Zeeland) the earle of Barlaymont, and the earle of Sores (noble men borne in the countrie) and many ladies and gentlewomen, amongſt them the counteſſe of Mansfeldt widow to the earle, and dowager to the earles of Henin and Hochſtraten, and many other yong noble men and gentlemen deſirous to ſee Spaine, the triumphs & ſtate of the prince of Spaine, and of the ſaid archduke and *Infanta*. 1598

All things beeing thus prepared, the archduke parted with his traine from Bruſſels about the midſt of September, taking his way (as he ſaid) towards Prague, to ſee the emperour his brother, to conferre with him of the affaires of the Netherlands, and of his deſignes vpon the
B territories of the empire: and from thence to goe to Grets to fetch the ladie *Gregorie Maximilienne* daughter to the archduke *Charles* of Auſtria, who was brother to the emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond, betrothed to *Philip* of Spaine. This princeſſe was borne in the ſame degree with the prince of Spaine, that is, of her fathers neece; for the king of Spaine and the archduke *Charles* had either of them maried his neece: which princeſſe the archduke *Albert* was to conduct into Spaine, to accompliſh her mariage with the ſaid prince, and the archduke his with the *Infanta* altogether.

The ſaid archduke before his departure, had written on the 18 of Auguſt, to the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, containing in ſubſtance that he went to marie with the *Infanta*, with whom he had the Netherlands in dower; wherein he had alreadie proceeded ſo farre, as
C moſt, & the greateſt part of the prouinces had receiued him for their lord and prince. That he deſired nothing more, than to ſettle a good peace in the Netherlands: and now ſeeing it was manifeſt, that the king was reſolued to ſeperate the ſaid countries from Spaine, thereby to take away all iealouſies and cauſes of diſtruſt, yea and the warre it ſelfe, he required the Eſtates that they would enter into conſideration, and remember, that warres muſt once end by peace, and that therefore they ſhould conforme themſelues with them of Brabant and Flanders, & yeeld to a generall peace, and receiue and acknowledge him for their prince and lord; for the which he had authoritie from the generall Eſtates of his prouinces, whereunto he expected their anſwere.

There were letters alſo from the prince of Orange vnto prince *Maurice* his brother, and
D from the duke of Arſchot and the marqueſſe of Haure, containing; That ſeeing the king of Spaine had diuided the Netherlands from Spaine, there ſhould now be no more doubt on that ſide: and therefore they perſuaded him to doe his beſt indeauour, there might be a good peace made, wherein they knew he could doe much: that he ſhould lay before his eies the honour of his houſe, to the which hee could neuer doe better ſeruice, ſeeing that all other prouinces had already acknowledged and receiued the ſaid archduke &c. To all which letters there was no anſwer made, neither by the Eſtates, nor by prince *Maurice*.

The peace betwixt France and Spaine beeing concluded, and the townes yeelded on either ſide, as we haue ſaid; there was yet a time limited for them that would be comprehended in this peace, according to the clauſe contained therein. All this time they talked of nothing
E but of peace in England, many and diuers diſcourſes were made thereon: the Queene finding her ſelfe preſt (the French king beeing disbanded from the vnion, and the vnited prouinces not to be perſuaded to ſubmit themſelues vnder the obedience of Spaine, holding the tranſport of the Netherlands made vnto the *Infanta* in ſuſpition) ſent ſir *Francis Vere* vnto the generall Eſtates of the ſaid prouinces, beeing generall of all their Engliſh forces, to vnderſtand plainely what their reſolution was, either to peace or warre: if not to peace, then what meanes they had ioyntly with her to beare the burthen of the warre; whereof ſhee demanded a ſpeedie and abſolute reſolution: whereof ſhe deſired to be duely informed by men well qualified, hauing full charge and commiſſion to deliuer their reſolutions. The Queene of England ſends vnto the Eſtates.

Whereupon the Eſtates meaning to aduice and reſolue in their generall aſſemblie, all diffi-
F culties and diſcommodities on either ſide beeing propounded, debated and well ballanced, ſeeming rather inclined and reſolued to warre, than to a doubtfull peace, were it neuer ſo beneficiall, they had at that inſtant newes brought them, that the ſeignior *Daniel vander Meulen* of Antuerpe, remaining at Leyden in Holland, had ſuddainly beene ſent for, with a paſſport from the archduke, the which came from his brother in law, who fained himſelfe to be extreamely

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extreamely ſicke) to conferre with him before his death, & that he ſhould come to Antuerpe; A
where being arriued, he was ſent for to Bruſſels (as he was a very ſufficient man, and well acquainted with affaires of Eſtate) before the counſellors *Richardot* and *Aſſonuille*, the abbot of Matolles, and the marqueſſe of Haurec, one after another; who demaunded of him, if there were no meanes to make a generall peace among all the prouinces of the Netherlands (& this was only to heare his opinion) whereunto he anſwered, That concerning that matter he had not any charge. Then they declared vnto him, to the end he might tell it againe, That the king of Spaine and the archduke *Albert* were intended to make a peace, in what ſort ſoeuer: and thereof to giue ſuch aſſurance as ſhould well content them, they would leaue vnto the vnited prouinces their Religion, their forme of gouernment, and they ſhould haue contentment giuen them, from the leaſt point vnto the greateſt. They ſaid moreouer, That the king was B
wonderfully affected to prince *Maurice*, held him in great eſteeme, and deſired not to impaire his eſtate, but rather to confirme and make it greater: yea, he would gladly ſee him Generall of the armie againſt the Turke; ſo much he was eſteemed of all men for his vertues and valour. That they would ſuffer all them that were in the gouernment of the vnited Prouinces, to continue ſtill in their offices, eſtates, and dignities, and would promiſe to continue their children in them, being capable, if they would onely giue eare vnto a peace, and acknowledge the ſaid archduke *Albert* for their lord and prince. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches were vſed vnto him: being carried before the archduke, he ſayd as much to him in Latine, entreating him, that he would make a good report thereof, when it ſhould be fitting. C

Goodly offers made by the archduke vnto the vnited Eſtates.

All this being vnderſtood by the Eſtates, they preſently conceiued, that theſe baits tended to no other end, but to breed ſome diuiſion in the countrey, and to mooue the commons: as if they deſired to continue the warres without cauſe or reaſon, whileſt that they might (according to their ſaying) enter into an aſſured way of peace. They did eaſily beleeue, that both the king and the cardinall would gladly haue ſeene prince *Maurice* in Hongarie, and that to him and the vnited Prouinces there ſhould be made what promiſes they could deſire, if they could onely get but that point of them, as to acknowledge the ſaid archduke for their prince, ſuppoſing if that were done, that hee ſhould eaſily become maſter, firſt, of them that had charge of the gouernment, and managing of affaires (who would preſently ſeeke to creepe into his fauour) and then generally of the gouernment of the D
Prouinces.

Some thought theſe ſpeeches were but a common bruit, to draw the Eſtates to giue eare to a parle, and to enter into conference, as ſome yeares before they had in the like manner circumuented them of Bruges and Gant, which they cauſed to be bruited abroad, onely to make a triall, and then goe backe from it when they thought good; ſuch ſpeeches ſeruing to no other end. Thither were alſo brought vnto the Eſtates certaine letters, intercepted both in Fraunce and in England; by the which the king of Spaine gaue contrary inſtructions vnto the cardinall archduke, which were, That in the treatie of peace with France, his Rebels (for ſo he called the vnited Eſtates) ſhould not bee comprehended, but vpon condition, that the Romiſh Catholicke religion ſhould bee receiued and eſtabliſhed in all E
places, the kings ſoueraignetie and dignitie maintained, the old officers, which had been diſplaced and chaſed away, reſtored, and that thoſe which remained, being capable and fit, might be admitted, if they were Catholickes and not heretickes, and beſides, they might promiſe them a generall pardon: that the French king ought not to procure any thing elſe, if he were as he ſhould be, that is, a Catholicke.

This inſtruction conferred with the former ſpeech, & with many other aduertiſements, the Eſtates ſeeing how they ſought with faire words to abuſe & circumuent them, conceiued that there could nothing grow of ſuch a peace, but a change of religion, and a tranſlation of the gouernment out of their hands, vnto baniſhed men and Spaniolized, more couetous of reuenge than the Spaniards thēſelues. And therfore not any one hauing ſerued or had any office in the F
ſaid Prouinces, might remaine, knowing that with ſuch conditions, & no other, they ſhould be yeelded to the Infanta, who would bridle thē in the ſame manner that the Spaniard had done: Wherupon the Eſtates, nobilitie and towns in generall, reſolued not to giue eare to any peace or truce, but to ſupport the burthen of the warre to the extremitie, and to attend ſuch an

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A issue as it should please God to send them, rather than to abandon their countrey, and to receiue their enemies into the gouernment thereof: but rather to procure and aduance what they should find needfull for them, & especially to giue contentment to the Queene of England. Hereupon they appointed a greater number of deputies in their colledges, and in the generall Estates, sending into England as her Maiestie had required, certaine notable embassadors, to induce her to continue the warre with them against the Spaniards: the which were *Iohn van Duyuen Woorde* knight, seigniour of Warmont, of Woud &c. *Iohn van Oldenbarneuels* seigniour of Tempel, first councellor and aduocate for the Estates, and keeper of the seale of Holland and west Friseland, *Iohn vanden Werke* councellor and orator of Middlebourg, *Iohn van Hottinga* esquier, councellor and deputie for the generall Estates, & *Andrew Hessels* chiefe B councellor of the councell of Brabant established at the Hage, for that which depends of the vnited prouinces, who also had some particular charge from prince *Maurice*, as beeing of his ordinarie councell. Who beeing arriued in England, they had audience of her Maiestie, and were gratiously receiued by her, sending them to treat with her councell of all matters, whereof her Maiestie desired to be satisfied, and for the which they were sent thither in the Estates name; so as in the end hauing giuen contentment vnto her Maiestie, they agreed vpon all things the sixt of August. According vnto which accord and resolute determination of the Estates to maintaine themselues by armes against the king of Spaine and the archduke *Albert*, her Maiestie did also resolue for her part to the continuance of the warre, the which could not be so preiudiciall vnto her as to the Spaniard, who beeing alwaies armed both at sea and C land, entertained her rebels in Ireland to small profit: whereas her Maiestie on the other side, might get from him as well vpon the coasts of Spaine and Affricke, as at the east and west Indies, the which shee did for the most part at the charge of her marchants, who are greedie of gaine. And although her Maiestie at the same time had receiued some losse in Ireland by the earle of Tyron, through the fauour of the Spaniards, yet in September following, their accord was past and solemnly ratified on either side, after that the said embassadours were returned into Holland. 1598

The seigniour of Buzenual embassadour for the French king with the generall Estates of the vnited prouinces, parted (presently after their embassadors) from the Hage, to goe vnto the king, & to know his pleasure, if after the conclusion of the peace with the Spaniard, he should D be continued in his embassage: but the peace beeing finished, and hee hauing dispatched some of his priuate and domesticke affaires in France, he was sent backe againe into Holland by the king his master, to continue his charge there. At his returne he propounded many reasons and excuses to the Estates, which had moued the king to make peace with the Spaniard; assuring them, that he would be no enemie vnto them, nor contrarie to their gouernment; but as much as lay in him (the peace excepted) he would fauour them, and continue in their alliance, with promise to pay them the money wherewith they assisted his Maiestie during the warres.

Whilest that the archduke *Albert* disposed of the affaires of the Netherlands with the councell of Spaine, or Spaniards in heart, at Brussels, and made his preparatiues for his voy- E age, *Francis* of Mendoza marquesse of Guadaleste, admirall of Arragon, and generall of the armie, began to march towards the riuer of Meuse: prince *Maurice* hearing of his approach about the end of August (the Estates hauing lien still all the sommer, watching which way he would turne the head of his armie) made them also readie to stand vpon their guard, that the Spaniard should not passe the Rhine: and as there was at the same time a shippe of warre of the Estates in the riuer of Meuse before Venloo, whereof one *Iohn de Raet* a Hollander was captaine, the Spaniards assailed it, tooke and burnt it, where they had but sixe prisoners, the rest saued themselues by swimming.

In the beginning of September the admirall past the riuer of Meuse with all his armie neere vnto Ruremond; it consisted of 178 ensignes of all nations, Spaniards, Italians, Bour- F guignons, Germans, Wallons, Irish, and others, making about fiue and twentie thousand foot, and twentie eight cornets of horse, beside other twelue which he left in Brabant; so as all the archdukes forces (among the which there were many of the reliques of the French league) might be about 30000 men (the which without doubt was a goodly armie, able to amaze a world) the which being past the Meuse, dispersed it selfe at large in the countrie of Iuilliers,

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1598. Iuilliers, the dioceſſe of Cologne and country thereabouts, ſo as approching neere the Rhine, A
the admirall ſent colonell *Berlotte* to paſſe firſt, and to helpe to make the paſſage for the reſt,
the which he did at the village of Kerckraet, betwixt the townes of Cologne and Bonne,
whereas he drew downe all the boats he could find: hauing paſt onely with eight hundred
men of his regiment, and ſome field peeces, with the which going downe the Rhine lower
than Cologne, he chaſed away all the Eſtates ſhips which were vpon the riuer. Hauing ga-
thered all the boats he could together, he paſt the reſt of his regiment, and ſome more artille-
rie. The admirall *Cont vanden Berghe* and other noblemen of the armie marched that way,
and approaching neere vnto the Rhine, they came firſt with their troupes before the towne
of *Orſoy*, ſeated vpon the Rhine, and belonging to the duke of Cleues, being eaſie to fortifie,
the which duke *William* had begun to compaſſe in with rauelins, after the manner of the ca- B
ſtle of Antuerp, whereof the foundations are laid, but for the great charge they left it vnper-
fect, which notwithſtanding might be eaſily finiſhed: which towne the admiral ſummoned,
and required to haue it opened, that he might paſſe the Rhine: the ſeignior Horſt marſhal of
the countrey of Cleues, and the ſecretarie oppoſing themſelues, pretending their neutralitie,
the admirall tooke an axe, and began to beat vpon the gate, his men taking downe the ſides of
their wagons of Brabant, which are verie long, would haue ſcaled the wales: wherewith the
bourgers being terrified, vpon promiſe that they would but paſſe the Rhine, they ſuffered
him and his men to enter. Hauing the ſaid towne at his deuotion, he preſented himſelfe be-
fore the caſtle (in the which there were a garriſon of ſome ſouldiers for the duke of Cleues)
with three Capuchin friers, and a hangman, holding many halters in his hand, asking them if C
they had rather be hanged, than to yeeld the caſtle; the which did ſo terrifie the ſouldiers, as
they preſently yeelded the place, where he went to lodge, and from thence did ſeize vpon
and ranſome all the ſmall townes and places thereabouts. Hee preſently cauſed Orſoy to bee
fortified with all ſpeed, whereas there paſt three regiments of Spaniards, with that of the earle
of Buſquoy, and twelue cornets of horſe, the which did campe right againſt the ſaid towne,
whileſt that the admirall cauſed a mightie fort to be built at Walſom, for which fortification
he cut downe all the trees in that quarter, the which he did betwixt the firſt and the eight of
September, before that the archduke *Albert* was parted from Bruſſels.

The Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, and prince *Maurice*, being awaked at this ſodaine in-
uaſion, began to thinke of their affaires, and calling together their ordinarie garriſons, which D
had beene idle all the Summer, they ſent them to the rendezvous about Arnhen in Guel-
derland, imbarking great ſtore of artillerie, bridges, boats, and all other things neceſſarie, whi-
ther the prince parting from the Hage went vnto them the fourth of September, and the
eight day he went to the fort of Grauenweert (commonly called *Schenks Sconſe*) where hee
had the firſt newes of the taking of the towne and caſtle of Orſoy, and that one part of the
Spaniſh armie had paſt the Rhine, and did fortifie at Walſom, to keepe the paſſage free and
open of either ſide.

The oppreſſion of the Admirals ſouldiers.

The admirals men did run ouer all the countries of Cleues, Iuilliers, Cologne, Mont,
Marke, Munſter, and other quarters of Weſtphalia, ſpoyling, ranſoming, killing, and murthe-
ring, finally committing all the exceſſe and inſolencies they could in any enemies countrey. E
And notwithſtanding the neutralitie which the archduke *Albert* had granted vnto the ladie
Dowager, Palatineſſe of Rhine, they ſeized vpon the towne of Alpen, and other places there-
abouts. The counteſſe of Mœurs, who a little before had obtained the like neutralitie, was
forced to open her towne, and to ſee daily againſt her will the Spaniſh Hidalgoes at her table,
hauing much adoe to content them, and fearing worſe, but hauing no meanes to retire her
ſelfe, ſhe was forced to haue patience.

Prince *Maurice* being in the fort of Grauenweert hauing vnderſtood by a priſoner of the
Spaniſh campe, that one of the yong earles of Embden was with the admirall, ſoliciting him
to ſend his armie before Emden, being in controuerſie, as I haue ſaid, with cont *Edzard* his
father. The ſaid prince and cont *William* of Naſſau, his coſin, gouernor of Friſeland and Gro- F
ning, did write vnto the magiſtrats of the ſaid town, aduiſing them to ſtand vpon their guards,
offering them ſuccours, yea a garriſon, if they had need, beeing of aduice to fortifie ſome pla-
ces and approches thereabouts, before that the enemie ſhould preuaile. And vpon this report
(which was verie credible) the prince and earle were troubled, for the countries of Friſeland,
Ouetiſſel,

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A Oueryſſel, countie of Zutphen, and other frontiers on the other ſide of the Rhine: they ſent to fortifie the garriſons in all places; and the prince himſelfe went the eleuenth of September to Doesbourg and Deutecom with ſome horſe, to order things there (Doesbourg is a towne ſituated vpon the riuer of Yſſell, where the Spaniard might make the ſhorter paſſage) vpon the way he encountred with his aunt the counteſſe *Vander Berghe*, mother to the earles *Herman*, *Frederic*, and *Henric*, ſeruants to the Spaniard, being in the admirals armie, who had ſollicited the generall Eſtates, and obtained it, that her caſtle of Wulſt might not be demanteled, and that the town of ſaint Heeren-berghe (in the which the Eſtates had a garriſon) beeing freed from it, and laied open, might remaine a neuter towne, ſhewing forth an act of the archduke *Alberts*, that he would not attempt any thing againſt that place, wherby the countrey might receiue any harme; making her three ſonnes alſo to promiſe the ſame, vpon paine to forfeit all manner of iuſtice (the ſaid towne holding in fee of the dutchie of Guelders) and to looſe all their goods lying there. The ſaid ladie had ſhewed a certaine act of the archdukes beeing cardinall, but ſince that hee tooke poſſeſſion in the Infantaes name, it was neceſſarie to renue it, the which was not yet done, for which cauſe ſhee came with her daughters to meete him and ſalute him, promiſing to cauſe the ſaid towne to be preſently demanteled (the which ſhee did to preſerue it from ruine, knowing well that the Spaniards would not faile to beſiege it, by reaſon of the Eſtates garriſon that were within it) and within 8 daies to ſend an act from her ſons, & as ſoone as might be to aduertiſe him of the renuing of the archdukes, whereof ſhee did aſſure her ſelfe: wherupon it was granted, that the town of saint Heeren-berghe ſhould remaine neuter, and that the companie of captaine *Poelgheeſt* ſhould depart, as it did. And by that meanes the ladie obtained that which ſhee had long ſued for: this pretended encounter was happie for her. The like neutralitie was alſo graunted for the towne of Anholt, from whence the garriſon did alſo retire, and from Bronchorſt. 1598

In the meane time there were certaine letters brought vnto prince *Maurice*, the which were intercepted from the Spaniards campe, written by captaine *Henrie* of Chalons, baſtard ſonne to *Rene* of Chalons prince of Orange (who had ſtolne away the daughter of the earle of Mansfeldt, by whom he had this captaine Chalons) vnto the ſaid *Peter Erneſt* earle of Mansfeldt his grandfather by the mother; whereby he acquainted him with the eſtate of the Spaniſh campe, the taking of Orſoy, the admirals reſolution to hold & fortifie the riuer of Rhine on both banks, to haue a free paſſage, before he would proceed any farther, which he thought ſhould be vpon the quarters of Friſeland, if the lateneſſe of the ſeaſon did not withhold him. That they had beene as farre as Berck, and chaſed away the Eſtates ſhips of warre, viewed the towne, and done nothing elſe. That the 9 of September there was an alteration in the campe among the Spaniards, which if the admiral had not pacified by his authoritie, their armie had not beene fit to doe any great exploit, but only to ruine the poore countrie of Cleues. Letters intercepted from the Spaniſh campe.

The 13 of the month, after councell held and reſolution taken, where prince *Maurice* might beſt campe with the Eſtates armie, to make head againſt the Spaniard, and to ſtop him from entring any part of their limits, were it into the higher or lower Betuwe, or the Veluwe; the prince went and lodged at a village called old Seuenter, not farre from the town of Seuenter, ſeated vpon the banke of the riuer of Rhine, before the which there is a faire goodly iſland (called *den Gelderſchen-Weerd*, that is to ſay, *the iſland of Guelders*) where he camped as well vpon the firme land, as in the ſaid iſland, making a bridge oppoſite to the Church of the village, and an other on the other ſide in the middeſt of the iſland, about 100 yards long, made of firre boards, vpon 44 great barkes, to paſſe his horſemen from the campe into the Betuwe, where they were commodiouſly lodged, with danger of the Spaniard, who muſt of neceſſitie paſſe the Rhine, or the Wahal. In this iſle of Guelderſchen-Weerd, which hee had intrenched and fortified whereas the riuer was narroweſt and eaſieſt to paſſe at a lowe water, whereas he planted ten cannons, fiue demie cannons, and tenne field peece. Thither came the earle of Hohenloo vnto him, with ſome ſupplies of foot drawne out of the frontiers of Flanders. A while after, as the towne of Zutphen is great and ſpatious, and hath need of a great garriſon to guard it, the prince (to reenforce it, and to furniſh it, with the townes of Groll and Brefort, with all neceſſarie munition) ſent the earle of Hohenloo with ſome ſupplies of foot, foureteene cornets of horſe, and foure peeces of ordnance of yron, as good as demie cannons,

1598 nons, the which the earle did performe happily, in view of the enemie, who was not then farre off. A

Now I come to the declining & death of *Philip* the second, the catholike king of Spaine, I hope the curious reader will not hold it tedious nor impertinent (if beeing related at large in the French inuentorie) I should here againe make a new discourse of the same subiect, and in a manner in the same tearmes, beeing so written by mine author. I am very loath to distast the iudicious reader with any idle or needlesse repetition, but this beeing a matter which doth so much concerne the subiect of this historie, I should wrong mine author (who might be condemned of great negligence and indiscretion) if I should omit to relate the catastrophe and end of that great king (passing it ouer in silence, and as it were in a dreame) who hath beene the maine subiect of this historie, and hath filled the greatest part of this volume with the acts of his life. B

Besides it might hereafter breed a confusion in the reader, to haue no distinction made of the father and the sonne, seeing there are so many matters following which haue their dependancie vpon his life and death.

The end and death of the king of Spaine

The king of Spaine (after the resignation of the Netherlands to his daughter the Infanta) decayed daiely in his health, so as finding his forces to faile him, hauing sometimes a fit of an ague, through the extreame anguish of his gout; beeing deuoutly addicted to his cloyster of saint *Laurence*, and taking great delight in his court of Escuriall, he desired to be transported thither, contrarie to the aduice of his physitions: beeing brought from Madril thither within the compasse of sixe daies, his paine increased in such sort, as hee despaired of helpe, and began to prepare himselfe to die, causing the sacraments to be administred vnto him. Then hee would haue *Dom Garcia Loiola* consecrated archbishop of Toledo by the popes legat, the archduke *Albert* hauing resigned vnto him, retaining a pension of fiftie thousand ducats a yeare. C

After which, he had an apostume vpon his right legge, and foure others vpon his breast, the which did amaze his physitions, so as they called doctor *Olias* from Madril, who altogether by the councell of *Licentias Virgayas*, applied plaisters to these apostumes, the which beeing broken, they cast forth a great quantitie of stinking corrupt filth, with great aboundance of lyce, so as they could hardly clense them, and he was therewith so extenuated, as foure men were faine to lift him out of his bedde in a sheet. The physitions said those lyce did grow of that corrupt filthie matter, the rest of his bodie beeing to anotomie. His patience during his extreame torments, was very great. D

In the beginning of September he called for the prince his sonne, and the princesse his daughter, in the presence of the archbishop of Toledo and others, and shewing his bodie vnto his sonne, he saied vnto him, *See prince what the greatnesse of this world is, behold this poore carkasse, all humane helpe is vaine:* willing them prouide for his funerals. Hee called for his coffin, beeing of brasse, and caused a deaths head to be set vpon a side cupboard, with a crowne of gold by it. Then he sent *Ioan Reys de Velasco*, one of his chamber, for a little casket, causing them to take out of it a rich iewell of pretious stones, the which hee gaue vnto the princesse his daughter in the princes presence, saying, This iewell came from your mother, keepe it for her sake: he also caused a paper to be drawne out, which he deliuered vnto the prince, saying it was an instruction how to gouerne his realmes and countries: after which he caused a whippe to be taken forth, at the end whereof there appeared some signes of blood, and commanding it to be lifted vp, he said, *This is blood of my blood:* not that it was his owne blood, but the emperours his fathers, who did vsually punish his carkasse, and to that end he had kept it to shew them. E

Then hee disposed of all things concerning his funerall pompe; which done, hee recommended vnto his children in the presence of the popes Nuntio, the holy sea of Rome, the Pope, and the catholike religion, desiring the Nuntio to giue him absolution of his sinnes, and to blesse his children, recommending his daughter to the prince his sonne, and charging him to keepe his countries in peace, to appoint good and discreet gouernours, and to reward the good, and punish the badde. Hee commaunded to set the marquesse of Monteiar at libertie, conditionally that hee should returne no more to court. F

As for

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A As for the wife of *Antonio Peres*, sometimes his secretarie, he commaunded that she should haue libertie, and retire to a monasterie. Hee pardoned all such as had beene put in prison for hunting, and such as were condemned to die, so farre forth as the mercie of iustice shall beare it. Then he commanded them all to retire, but onely the prince his sonne, to whom he said; *My sonne I haue desired you should assist at this last act, that you might not continue in ignorance as I haue done, whereby you may behold the end of kings, and of their crownes and sceptiers: death is readie to teare my crowne from my head, to set it vpon yours. I now recommend two things vnto you, that you continue obedient to the church, and doe iustice to your subiects. The time will come when this crowne will fall from your head, as it doth now from mine: you are young, I haue beene so: my daies were numbred and haue their end; God keepes an account of yours, and* B *they shall likewise end.* 1598

The kings speech vnto his sonne.

It is reported that hee enioyned him with passion to make warre against hereticks, and to maintaine peace with France; which done he bid his children farewell, by imbracing them, and then willed them to take their rest.

The prince going out of the chamber, asked *Dom Christophel de Mora*, if hee had the royall keie, who answered, yea: giue it me said the prince; to whom *de Mora* answered, your highnesse will pardon me, it is the key of trust, the which I may not deliuer without the kings expresse commandement: whereupon the prince said, *It is well*, and so past on. Afterwards *Dom Christophel* returning into the kings chamber, and finding him somewhat better, he told him that the prince had demaunded the said key, but hee durst not deli- C uer it without his Maiesties leaue: whereupon the king said, that hee had done ill. Afterwards feeling himselfe to faint againe, he demaunded the extreame vnction, the which was ministred vnto him by the archbishop of Toledo. Hee called for a certaine crucifix that was kept in a coffer, which was the same which his father had held when hee died, with the which hee would also die. Two daies before he died, his doctors had giuen him a drinke of *Iacinthes*, whereof he said in taking it, that his mother the empresse, a yeare before shee died had drunke the like; saying, that hee should not die that day, nor the next, for that a religious man had foretold him the houre of his death. Then the prince returnig to see him, *de Mora* kneeling downe, kissed the key and presented it vnto him, the which the prince tooke, and deliuered it vnto the marquesse of Denia. And as the prince and his sister were D before the kings bedde, he said vnto them; I recommend vnto you *Dom Christophel de Mora* for the best seruant I euer had, and all my other seruants, vse them well: and so embracing them againe, and taking his last farewell, his speech failed him, remaining two daies in that estate, vntill the 13 of September, at three of the clocke in the morning, when hee gaue vp the ghost, being 71 yeares old and about 4 moneths.

Hee had not beene much subiect to infirmities in all his life time, hee was but of a meane stature, and of a faire complexion, flaxen haired, which grewe white, resembling rather a Dutch man than a Spaniard, hee had a high and a broad forehead, with somewhat a thicke lippe, the hereditarie marke of the house of Austria: he had not the quicknesse of spirit which his father had, but very vigilant and laborious, spending both the day E and night in affaires, yea sometimes whole nights. And notwithstanding his deuice, which was, *Nec spe, nec metu*, yet hee still aspired to great designes, which hee conceiued in his imagination, the which did trouble him much more than was needfull, or that hee could beare. Withall, hee was alwaies doubtfull, yea fearefull, so as sometimes matters succeeded ill by his timiditie, the which hauing beene vndertaken with a couragious resolution, had beene farre more successfull. By nature hee was close and counterfeit, seeking to couer his faults rather with the preiudice and disgrace of another, than of himselfe: and whosoeuer had once offended him, was not easily receiued againe into fauour, yet hee was more bountifull than couetous, and more staied than well aduised. Hauing such great power and meanes, both in lands, men, and treasure, hee effected very little, and (ex- F cept the conquest of Portugall) hee lost more than hee wonne: hee was deuout in his religion, nay rather superstitious, giuing great credit to Iesuits; yet not so much, but that he would haue the clergie yeeld vnto the temporall command.

The paper which the king deliuered vnto the prince his sonne, beeing an instruction

1598 to gouerne his kingdome, contained this diſcourſe which followeth, or the like in ſubſtance. A

The king of Spaines inſtruction to the prince his ſon.

My ſonne, I haue beene often in care to leaue your Eſtates in peace, but neither my many yeares of life, nor the helpe of other princes, could euer effect it. I confeſſe that I haue diſburſed in leſſe than three and thirtie yeares, aboue fiue hundred ninetie and foure millions of » ducats, the which haue bred me nothing but griefe and care. True it is, I conquered Portu- » gall, but as France did lightly eſcape mee, ſo may this be wreſted from me. I would to God » I had followed the counſell of my deceaſed father, of moſt happie memorie; or at the leaſt, » that you would beleeue and follow mine: I ſhould then beare my croſſes more willing- » ly, and ſhould die more contented, leauing you in this vale of miſerie. Behold therefore » what I leaue you for an euerlaſting teſtament, ouer ſo many kingdomes and ſtates, B » to ſee as in a glaſſe, after what manner you ſhall well gouerne your ſelfe, after my de- » ceaſe.

» Bee alwaies verie vigilant of the alteration and change of other kingdomes, to make » your profit thereby, according to occurrents. Keepe good guard ouer them that are » moſt inward with you in counſell. You haue two meanes to entertaine your realmes » of Spaine; the one is the preſent gouernment, the other the traffique to the eaſt and » weſt Indies. As for the gouernment, you muſt either depend vpon the nobilitie, or vpon » the clergie: if you fauour church men, bee ſure to keepe the other ſtill in awe, as I haue » done; but if you ſtrengthen your ſelfe with the nobilitie, curbe the clergie as much as » poſſibly you can. If you ſeeke to entertaine them equally, they will exhauſt you, and with C » all you ſhall diſturbe your kingdomes, and neuer come to any certaine reſolution: the » ballance ſhall rather bee on the other ſide. If you will leane to the nobilitie, then hold » friendſhip with the Netherlands, for that they are friends to the French, Engliſh, and » ſome prouinces of Germanie: neither Italie, Poland, Sueden, Denmarke, nor Scotland » can aſſiſt you therein. The king of Scotland is poore, Denmarke drawes his reuenues from » forraine nations, Sueden is alwaies diuided, and beſides ill ſituated, the Polonians are al- » waies their kings maſters; although Italie be rich, yet is too farre off, and the princes are » diuerſly affected.

» On the other ſide, the Netherlands are populous in men, rich in ſhipping, conſtant in » labour, diligent in ſearch, hardie to vndertake, and willing to ſuffer. True it is, I haue giuen D » them vnto your ſiſter, but what imports that? there are a thouſand eſcapes which you » may vſe when opportunitie ſerues. The chiefe are, that you alwaies maintaine your ſelfe » guardian to her children, and that they change nothing touching religion; for theſe points » taken away, you haue quite loſt thoſe countries: and ſoone ſome other kings will preſent » themſelues, who by meanes will bind them vnto them, whereby you may be vndone. » If you thinke to fortifie your ſelfe againſt this with the clergie, you ſhall prouoke many ene- » mies, I haue tried it: yet keepe good correſpondencie with the popes, be bountifull and » courteous vnto them, be great with ſuch cardinals as are moſt inward with them, and » ſeeke to haue a voice in their conclaue. Hold friendſhip with the biſhops of Germanie, » but truſt not the diſtribution of their penſions to the emperour: let them knowe you, E » they will ſerue you the more willingly, and receiue your gifts more thankfully. Doe not » countenance ſuch as are of baſe condition, neither reſpect the nobilitie and commons e- » qually; for ſeeing I muſt now ſpeake the truth, their pride is great, they are very rich, they » muſt haue what they deſire, they will be burthenſome vnto you, and in the end will be your » maſters.

» Make vſe of nobles of the chiefeſt houſes, and aduance them to benefices of great » reuenues: the vulgar ſort are not ſo needfull, for they will cauſe you a thouſand croſ- » ſes, which will conſume you: beleeue not any of them, if they bee not of qualitie. » Diſcharge your ſelfe from Engliſh ſpies and French penſions: imploy ſome of the noble- » men of the Netherlands, whom you ſhall haue bound vnto you by fealtie. As for the F » nauigation of the eaſt and weſt Indies, therein conſiſts the ſtrength of the kingdome of » Spaine, and the meanes to bridle Italie; from the which you ſhall hardly reſtaine » Fraunce and England: their power is great, their mariners very many, their ſea too

ſpatious

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A ſpatious, their marchants too wealthie, their ſubiects too greedie of gaine, and their ſeruants too faithfull. I haue excluded the Netherlands, but I feare that time and mens diſpoſitions 1598.
may change; by reaſon whereof you muſt doe two things: change your officers at the weſt Indies often, ſuch as you call home, imploy them in the councell for the Indies: and ſo in my opinion you ſhall neuer be circumuented, but the one or the other will make knowne the be-
neſit vnto you, aſpiring to more honour. See how the Engliſh ſeekes to deprine you of that commoditie, beeing mightie at ſea both in men and ſhipping: as for the French, I doe not much apprehend them. Strengthen your ſelfe with them of the Netherlands, although they
were part hereticks, and would ſo perſiſt, vpon condition that they might freely ſell their goods in Spaine and Italie, paying the royal cuſtomes and other duties; and in obtaining paſ-
B. port to ſaile to the weſt or eaſt Indies, they ſhould put in caution, & take an oath to diſcharge their goods in Spaine at the returne of their ſhippes, vpon paine of puniſhment in doing otherwiſe: I thinke they will not refuſe to obſerue it. By this meanes the treaſure of the Indies and Spaine ſhall be common, and ſhall be vnited to the traffique of the Netherlands, and then both France and England muſt goe without it.

My ſonne, I could repreſent vnto you greater matters, for the conquering of other kingdomes, but you find in my ſtudie, the diſcourſes which haue beene offered me to that end. Cauſe *Chriſtophel de Mora* to giue you the key preſently, leaſt ſuch ſecrets ſhould fall into any other perſons hands. I did cauſe ſome of the minutes of theſe inſtructions to be burnt the 7 of September, I feare there are ſome imbeſilled, be carefull to ſeeke them out. I haue this ad-
C ded, that if you can like of *Antonio Peres*, ſeeke to draw him into Italie, or at the leaſt, that hee ingage himſelfe to ſerue you in ſome other of your kingdomes, but neuer ſuffer him to come into Spaine, nor to goe into the Netherlands. Touching your mariage, the inſtructions are in the keeping ſecretarie *Loo*. Read this note often which is ſealed, and written with mine owne hand. Haue an eie alwaies to your moſt ſecret councellors: acquaint your ſelfe with cyphers, diſcontent not your ſecretaries, keepe them alwaies occupied, whether about important affaires, or otherwiſe: make triall of them rather by your enemies, than by your friends. If you happen to diſcouer your ſecrets to any familiar friend, keepe alwaies the ſubſtance thereof within your owne boſome, reueale it not to any.

D This inſtruction was preſerued from the fire, among thoſe papers which the king had commanded ſhould be burnt: whatſoeuer it be, it may be as well true as likely, by the circumſtances that are noted therein.

The ſixteenth of September prince *Maurice* beeing aduertiſed that a great ſupply of victuals, artillerie, and munition ſhould come from the towne of Guelders vnto the admirals armie, with a conuoy of 1500 foot, and two cornets of horſe, he parted from his campe, beeing accompanied with the earles of Hohenloo, Naſſau, & Solins, and al his horſemen, leauing the ſeignior ſergeant maior of the armie, to haue the care of the campe in his abſence; and hauing paſſed the riuer of Wahal in great boats, neere vnto Bomel, hee thought to watch for the ſaid conuoie, betwixt Venlo and Orſoy, and there to charge them; but the Spaniards ha-
E uing ſome notice thereof, prouided otherwiſe, ſo as the prince returned backe without any effect.

After that, ſome mariners of Bomel and of Tyel, which had runne away vnto the enemie, came on the twentieth of September with a barke couered, to ſet vpon one of the Eſtates gallies, beeing in guard vpon the Rhine, right againſt the towne of Rees, ſuffering their barke to fall downe with the ſtreame, as if it had beene through negligence, hauing but one man at the helme, vntill it came to ſtrike againſt the prowe of the gallie, whileſt that the mariners were at their praiers in the morning before beakefaſt, not ſo much as dreaming of any ſurprize by ſuch a boat, whereof the mariners hauing lift vp the couering with their ſhoulders, and caſt it into the water, they boarded the gallie, and
F began to charge the men beeing thus ſuddainely ſurprized; whereof ſome of them were ſlaine, and others hurt. The captaine called *Simon Ianſon* of Eeedam, ſaued himſelfe, with nine more in his boat, and ſo eſcaped their hands. So theſe mariners being maſters of the gallie, they tooke out their iron peeces of ordnance, and all that liked them, and abandoning the

A hardie attempt of certaine mariners of the Spaniards.

1598 galley for that it was old, they set fire on it. The 25 of that moneth, the duke of Iuilliers estates A
assembled, to resolue what was to be done touching the taking of the towne of Orsoy, and o-
ther attempts made by the admirall. Some among the said Estates did secretly fauour the ad-
mirall, knowing well that what hee did was by the king of Spaines commandement (with
whose double pistolets they had bin long fed) and of the archduke *Albert*, all which was done
with a pretext to make warre that way against the vnited prouinces, and after an other man-
ner than all the other gouernors (for those were the archdukes bragges at his comming into
the countrie) yet notwithstanding all difficulties, the said Estates of Cleues did resolue to send
and summon the admirall to restore the said towne of Orsoy, seeing he had said it was but to
haue a passage ouer the Rhine: and that if he refused it, and that they must go by way of force,
they would write vnto the earle *Vander Lippe*, captaine generall of the inferior circle of B
Westphalia, that from thenceforth hee should not suffer them to leuie any more men in his
quarters and circle, for the warres of Hongarie; but for the defence and preseruation of the
countrey, they should gather together all they could, and imploy the money which was ga-
thered and appointed for the warres against the Turke: and that hee should with all speed
assemble the fiue inferiour circles in the towne of Dortmont, to resolue of the meanes how
they would assist them of the dutchie of Cleues. Moreouer, that the duke of Cleues
would write vnto the emperour, princes, and imperiall townes, and especially to the foure
princes electors of the Rhine, to the duke of Brunswic, and Landtsgraue of Hessen, making
his complaints of the great wrong was done to him, and to all his countries, and demanding
succours to remedie it, and to diuert a greater mischiefe. The said Estates did also depute C
some among them to goe vnto fiue circles, when they should be assembled, and to require
some speedie remedie. As in like manner they deputed some to them of Cologne (who fa-
uoured the admirals actions too apparently) to persuade them not to send any victuals nor
munition vnto the Spaniards campe, as they had alwaies done. There they also decreed that
there should be a good garison put into the towne of Duysseldorp.

Sibilla princesse of Cleues the dukes sister, had before and soon after written vnto the arch-
duke beeing at Niuelli on his way towards Spaine, and by her embassadours shee made the
dukes complaints and her owne, of the taking of the said towne, and other the admirals at-
tempts: to whom the archduke answered in these tearmes.

The archdukes letters to the princesse of Cleues.

Most worthie and deere cousin &c. The complaints and grieuances which your Excel- D
lencies embassadour, and of the most famous prince the duke your brother hath made vnto
vs, haue not beene much pleasing to vs to heare, touching the conduct of the king of Spaines
„ armie; seeing they might well thinke and consider, that such a passage of a royall armie would
„ be burthensome to your Excellencie, and your subiects, and that the lodging which they had
„ taken in the towne of Orsoy, would make many to censure it diuersly. But so it is (whereof
„ you may rest assured) that we neuer had any thought to preiudice your lands and countries
„ with the kings armie, nor to giue you any occasion of complaint. *But seeing that wee were*
„ *once moued to assaile his Maiesties rebels, and them of your Excellencies by armes, the which beeing*
„ *concluded in councell by mature deliberation, whereof wee haue thought good to make you acquain-*
„ *ted, that it must be exploited in that manner, your Excellencie, no more than our deere and well be-* E
„ *loued cousin, wee hope, will not take it otherwise than in good part.* As for that wee doe presently
„ leaue the towne of Orsoy as you demaund, and ruine the fort of Walsom, your Excellencie
„ shall vnderstand, that for the present time, we cannot vse any other passage ouer the Rhine, to
„ effect our designe, but wee will doe it vpon the first opportunitie, according to our promise:
„ and that the kings souldiers in their passages, and in the quarters where they are presently
„ lodged, shall be held in such order and discipline, as neither your Excellencie, nor the duke
„ your brother shall haue any more complaints of their subiects, as they haue hitherto had:
„ and that we will entertaine good and loyall neighbourhood together, the which we thought
„ good to signifie vnto you by these presents, with our sincere intention &c.

Contrary to these promises, all this moneth of September, whilest that the admirall did so- F
iourne at Orsoy, his men being dispersed ouer the countrey of Cleues, took the towns of Al-
pen, Santhen, Calcar, Goch, & Gennep, not without murthers & a world of insolencies: 300
of whose horse went before the town of Cleues (where the duke was in his palace) seeking to
enter

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A enter into the town, vpon promise that they would leaue the duke peaceably in his castle, the which being refused them, they returned with disdaine; and fiue dayes after they returned, making the like demaund, saying, that they had charge from the admirall, and that in case they they would seeke some other meanes: but they returned as ill satisfied this second time, refused, as at the first. 1598

In this assembly of the Estates of Cleues, the duke and his sister beeing there in person, the princesse behaued her selfe couragiously, incouraging the said Estates and their nobilitie, yea sometimes with teares in her eyes: And there were letters written on the dukes behalfe and hers, vnto prince *Maurice*, thanking him for the good order hee held to keepe their countries from oppression, intreating him to continue it, and to preserue them as much as he could, and
B not to be discontented against them, that the enemie had lodged so long in their countrey, but rather that he should haue pitie and commiseration of them. And as the deputies of the inferiour circles were then assembled at Dortmont, they were required by the Estates of Cleues, to send cont *Vander Lippe* to the admirall, to pursue the restitution of Orsoy; but it was farre from thence, and the admirall made no account to leaue it so lightly.

Prince *Maurice*, whilest that the admirall did fortifie Orsoy, meaning to take a view of his whole armie, he caused it to be put in battaile, by squadrons, vnder the mountaine of Elten, in a great plaine of heath, if haply the Spaniard, who had past the Rhine, should haue any desire to charge them: but no occasion being offered, the prince was glad to see the good order of his horse and foot, and their resolution and desire to affront the enemie.

C The admirall hauing finished his fort of Walsenright Orsoy, on the 29 of September hee sent to summon the towne of Rhineberck, by friendly letters written to captaine *Schaef* gouernor of the towne, whom he knew to be verie sicke of the plague (the which was at that time verie hot in the towne) who made him no other answer, but, That they were in conference with the prince elector of Cologne, to deliuer it into his hands, whereof hee expected an answer, wherefore he could say no more vnto it at that present. Before Berck there was a little
D iland in the middest of the Rhine, whither prince *Maurice* (expecting it would bee besieged) had sent three companies to intrench themselues there; who finding the place not onely discommodious, but that at a low water the enemie might passe easily ouer, and cut their throats, they retired into the towne, although they died verie fast there, hauing not aboue foure hundred men left. The admirall not content with this answer, writ againe to captaine Schaef, sending him word, That notwithstanding the said conference, hee should deliuer the towne into his hands by prouision: And he did in like maner write vnto the captaines wife, promising to giue her a good recompence, if she could perswade her husband. But it was all labour lost: besides prince *Maurice* hearing of *Schaefs* sickenesse, had appointed captaine *Hedduic* to be gouernor of the towne, so as the admirall being forced to vse other materials than inke and paper, on the 10 of October he came to inuest it.

The admirall summõs Berck

They of Wezel, the chiefe towne of Cleueland, goodly, rich, and a place of great traffique, and thinking to light a candle before the diuell, they resolued to send him some goodly pre-
E sents to appease his wrath, that he should not force them, as he had done other townes of the same countrey, on the other side of the Rhine, writing vnto him, and desiring a pasport for their deputies, horses and wagons, that they might bring him the said gifts and presents safely. Whereunto the admirall answered in substance, That it was not his intent nor custome, to accept any presents to diuert him in any sort from his duetie, for the profit and seruice of his friends: but rather he required, that they all together, according to the necessitie of the time, should do their indeuors with him, and labour to take away the occasions and causes of all the miseries wherewith the Church and Commonweale were so torne and dismembred. By reason whereof, seeing the chiefe point to serue the common good, and to purchase his fauour, consisted therein, that they could not send him a greater present, than to let him vnderstand that they indeuour to cut off the causes of this mischiefe, and to restore the Church and Com-
F monweal to the estate they were in before the troubles: the which hoping should be accomplished by them, they should therein make him great presents, and might spare the charge and danger of sending to him. From Orsoy the 12 of September.

They of Wezel write to the admirall, & his answer.

The earle *Vanden Broek*, did in like maner write the twentieth of the moneth vnto the admirall, intreating him to send him a safegard for his castle of Broek, his familie and subiects.

Whereunto

1598 Whereunto the admirall anſwered in theſe couert and doubtfull termes, alledging the contracts and mutuall bonds betwixt the king of Spaine and the duke of Cleues, for the defence and preſeruation of the Catholike religion, and the publike quiet: in which termes the ſayd earle maintaining himſelfe according to his duetie, he ſhould be receiued with all loue into his protection, and honoured according to his merits, the which ſhould bee a firmer ſafegard for him than paper. A

The earle of Broek beſieged in his caſtle, and yeelds.

Yet cont *Vanden Broek* hauing receiued certaine aduertiſements, that the Spaniards were reſolued to force his caſtle of Broek, on the 6 of October late at night, hee ſent away his wife, daughters, and gentlewomen, meaning the next day to doe the like with the chiefeſt of his goods, the which he could not execute: for the next day his caſtle was wholly inueſted, ſome canons planted by the breake of day, and battered the ſame day. The 8 of the moneth the earle parled with the Spaniards, and made a compoſition, which was, That the ſouldiers that were in the caſtle ſhould depart with him, and be conducted to a place of ſafetie. Whereupon the caſtle was yeelded, and he went forth with his men, which were choyce ſouldiers: but he was preſently laid hold on by the Spaniards, and taken priſoner: the ſouldiers, being about fortie, were carried into a neere field, where they were not onely diſarmed, but ſtript naked, and then miſerably maſſacred. There were yet ſix of the duke of Iuilliers men (who being loth to truſt the Spaniard) had ſlipt out of the way, vntill the greateſt furie were ouerpaſt: In the meane time they did in like maner diſrobe the earle, whom they would haue vſed as they had done the ſouldiers, if a captaine had not retired him into a chamber apart, and by that meanes his ſix ſouldiers had their liues alſo ſaued, yet they ſtript two of them as naked as when they came from their mothers wombe, whom in deriſion they planted on either ſide of the earle, yet at the earles inſtant ſuit they ſuffered all ſix to depart. In the meane time the earle had a guard of halberdiers in his chamber, and not any one of his owne people might come neere him, but the ſeignior of Hardenbergh his coſin, and one page. B C

The earle of Broek murthered.

The tenth day of the moneth the captaine appointed for the guard of this caſtle, came and told the earle, That he might go walke, if he pleaſed: Whereunto he anſwered, yea, if it might be without danger. After dinner he had a deſire to walke with the captaine, beeing in whoſe companie he feared nothing: as he went he eſpied much bloud ſpilt vpon the way, and ſayd vnto his page, See here the bloud of our ſeruants, if they haue an intent to doe as much to me, I had rather to day than to morrow. Going on vnto his water mill vpon the riuer of Roer, hee was knockt downe with a leuer, others ſay with the ſtaffe of a halberd, or pertuiſan, and layed all along, ſaying onely with his hands lift vp to heauen, My God, &c. and then hee was thruſt twice or thrice thorough the bodie, and remained there dead vpon the place, vntil the twelfth of the moneth. Behold how miſerably this poore nobleman was murthered, yet could not this dead carkaſſe bee at reſt, for the Spaniards burnt it to aſhes, to doe a diſgrace to his religion. D

The admirall doth ranſome the towne of Wezel.

A while after the Spaniards tooke the townes of Burick, Dinſlaken, Holt, and Rees, in the ſame countrey of Cleues, and all other places and frontier forts thereabouts, chaſing away or murthering the garriſons that were in them, and committing a thouſand other inſolencies. The reaſon why the admirall did not receiue any preſents from Wezel, was, that hee meant to draw ſome greater benefit from them. After that he had written ample letters vnto them in Latine, of a meere Ieſuites ſtile, ſeeking to haue them reſtore the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, hee ſent his armie before the ſaid towne, and did threaten them in ſuch ſort, as they were glad to ſend away their miniſters, and to receiue prieſts and Ieſuites, to ſay ſeruice in the temples, according to the Romiſh church. And moreouer, he forced them to a very hard extortion, in ſo poore and miſerable a time, which was, to prouide him an hundred thouſand rix dollers, and a thouſand quarters of corne; wherewith the ſouldiers made ſhew to bee diſcontented, thinking in taking of the towne to become all gold, yea they would haue fallen vpon them that had made this taxation. The firſt paiment of the hundred thouſand dollers being come, the Spaniards would not receiue them but in weighty money (that is to ſay, at the ſame price that dollers had beene coyned in the beginning, which differs not much leſſe than a third part from that they goe for at this day) or elſe they would breake the treatie of accord which was made with them: the which bred a diuiſion in the towne, in the which there were three hundred ſouldiers of the duke of Iuilliers, two thouſand bourgeſſes maſters of families, and two thouſand E F

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A ſand yong men, handicrafts men, and workemen, ſo as ſome of them had rather bee doing againſt the Spaniards, than ſuffer themſelues to bee ſo oppreſt by ſuch exactions, without any ground, right, or action: But the marſhall of the countrey diſſuaded them; and it was their beſt courſe, for if the Spaniards had but burnt their ſuburbes and their countrey houſes, it had beene thrice more preiudiciall vnto them: beſides the marſhall laid before them, That admit they had repulſt an aſſault, two or three, yet the Spaniard would not haue cared for it, but would haue returned ſo often (hauing men ynough) as hee would haue carried it, and then ſhould they looſe all without redemption. The dukes ſouldiers hearing this reſolution of the inhabitants, and that they were in termes to doe the one or the other, beeing in ſome feare of themſelues, and making their excuſe, that their time limited was expired, they retired. 1598

B The judge of the towne hearing the obſtinat and vnreaſonable demaund of the Spaniard, ſayd openly, *That if they were not content with the firſt accord, and that it might not bee otherwiſe, that with the helpe of God they would prouide for their owne defence, and would rather fire the towne themſelues, and abandon it, and ſeeke their ſafeties as they could.* This reſolute anſwer did coole the Spaniard, who was verie glad to haue the money.

The admirall hauing cauſed Rhineberck to bee inueſted, his Spaniards entred into the iſland which is in the middeſt of the Rhine, both on horſebacke and on foot, vpon whom they of the towne played with their canon at their pleaſures, yet they charged them that were there for the Eſtates being but lightly intrenched, which trenches they won, they alſo planted two peeces vpon the ſide of the riuer, from whence they did ſhoot againſt the fort which The admirall beſieges Rhineberck.

C was in the iſland, which the bullets did pierce thorough and thorough: the which the gouernour obſeruing, he appointed a ſergeant, and ſeuen or eight men onely to remaine in the fort, and that the reſt ſhould retire vnder the towne; where being arriued, the ſaid ſergeant and his men ſhould follow, after they had ſet fire of their cabens: the canon of the towne and the rampars beeing planted full of musketiers, fauoured their retreat, and ſo they came ſafely into the towne, quitting the ſaid iſland, whereof the Spaniards (not daring to approach preſently, for feare of ſome hidden fire) ſeized the next day.

On the twelfth day the Spaniards hauing intrenched themſelues within their campe, they made three batteries, either of foure peeces at the point of the iſland, to take away their defences: they planted two canons more, and two leſſer peeces before Caſſell port and the bul-

D warke.

The foureteenth day (beeing a miſt) they approched neerer, vnto a ſluce neere vnto the Rhine port, without the halfe moone which was before the towne. Being thus ready to batter it, *Alphonſo d'Auales* cauſed it to bee ſummoned by a drumme in his owne priuat name. In the meane time the magiſtrat of the towne perſuaded the gouernour to demaund a paſport of the admirall, for a meſſenger which they would ſend vnto the prince elector of Cologne, to ſee if they might not obtaine, that the ſayd towne might be neutrall. Whereupon, and for this ſummons the captaines, and *Nicholas Wippart* auditor, beeing aſſembled, they reſolued to hold out vnto the end, refuſing the magiſtrats propoſitions, to auoid all doubt and iealouſie: And although they had receiued inſtructions from prince *Maurice*, what to anſwer when

E they ſhould bee ſummoned by the admirall; yet ſeeing they were ſummoned priuatly by a colonell, they thought it good to anſwer the drumme, That they would keepe the towne for the ſeruice of God, of prince *Maurice*, and the Eſtates, vnto the laſt man, and that the ſayd drumme ſhould returne no more vnto them in that behalfe, if hee would keepe himſelfe ſafe from bullets.

This drumme beeing returned with his anſwer, the Spaniard began to diſcharge all his ordnance, ſo as about nine of the clocke they ſet fire of a tower, whereas the powder was, the which blew it vp into the ayre, ſo as there was no more powder left in the towne, but what the ſouldiers had in their flaskes, and what the gunners had by the ordnance. This tower was cloſe by the caſtle neere vnto Rhine port, and as all the doores and windowes were well The powder in the towne ſet on fire.

F ſhut, they could not iudge but that the fire entred with a ſhot, the wall beeing not aboue a foot thicke, and ſo it fell among the powder. Howſoeuer it came, there were an hundred and fiftie barrels of powder blown vp, ſo as they thought the town would haue ſunk, not only carrying away many houſes, but alſo a good part of the rampar neere vnto Rhine port. Captaine

Lucas

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1598 *Lucas Heddnic*, gouernour of the towne had beene slaine, and many souldiers which were in A
the halfe moone, the port whereof was carried away. The which the Spaniards perceiuing,
they came to burne the portcullis, but they were hindred by fresh men that were sent thither
to succour the towne.

The towne hauing had this great mischance, the breaches being not easily to bee repaired,
Rhineberck yeelded. and the besieged finding themselues in want of powder; the captaines beeing assembled with
the auditor, to conferre what was to bee done, they held it conuenient to treat of a composi-
tion, whereof any delay might bee verie preiudiciall and dangerous, beeing impossible to re-
pulse the assaults which might be giuen them; wherfore striking vp the drumme at Sant port,
they required hostages, that they might send their deputies to the admirall. Whereupon *Al-
phonso d'Avalos* sent two Italian captaines, and out of the towne there went captaine *Loen* B
and *Fouillan*, who in the end agreed to yeeld the towne, departing with their armes and bag-
gage, but their colours wound vp, without any drumme sounding, or fire in their matches:
That all that would might depart with the souldiers, and they should giue them fortie wa-
gons, with a good conuoy to conduct them vnto Zanten, vpon promise, that for foure mo-
nethes they should not carrie armes against the king of Spaine, nor the archduke *Albert*.

And in this maner the towne was yeelded vpon the fifteenth of the moneth, vnto *Dom Al-
phonso d'Avalos*, who shewed them great courtesie, in requitall of the good vsage which prince
Maurice had giuen him at the Hage, when as hee was taken prisoner in the Betuwe, when as
the duke of Parma did besiege the fort of Knotsenbourg, right against Nimeghen, and that
part of his horse-men were defeated, which forced him to rayse his siege, and to retire from C
thence.

Prince Maurice writes to the deputies of the circles. Prince *Maurice* had the last day of September written vnto the deputies of the inferiour cir-
cles of Westphalia, being assembled at Dortmont, hearing that they were come thither to
cõsider of the means wherby the lands of the empire might not only be freed from the Estates
„ souldiers, but also from the Spaniards; and in like manner how the townes of either partie,
„ vpon the territories of the empire, might bee deliuered free to their princes and lords, the
„ which was verie pleasing vnto him to heare: Wherfore he would not conceale it from them,
„ how that the worthy prince elector of Cologne, had required of the generall Estates of the
„ vnited prouinces, to haue the towne of Rhineberck deliuered vnto him: The which the said
„ Estates were resolued to performe, yea to giue caution that hereafter their souldiers should not D
„ attempt vpon any townes on the limits of the empire, so farre foorth as the sayd deputies, prin-
„ ces, and noblemen, together with the members of that lower circle of Westphalia would bee
„ answerable, that their enemies should in like manner deliuer vp those townes which they
„ held of the empire, and would promise not to attempt hereafter vpon any more; nor build
„ any forts there, so as they should haue no more cause to feare on that side.

„ And seeing the sayd Estates haue not taken the said towne from the prince elector, but
„ haue wrested it by force from the enemie, so as by right they might retaine it, yet they were
„ readie vpon those conditions to yeeld it to the naturall lord, seeming to them as reasonable,
„ that their enemies should deliuer the townes and forts which they held of the empire, not vn-
„ to the Estates, but vnto their princes and naturall lords, who by force, and contrarie to the E
„ lawes of the empire, had seized on them, and contrarie to their promises: For if they should
„ suffer the enemies of the said Estates, to make warre against them by the meanes of imperiall
„ townes, that the sayd deputies (beeing men of iudgement) would thinke it no lesse lawfull
„ for them, than for their enemies. The which, for the singular loue and affection they bare
„ vnto the empire, they could not conceale, being loth thereby to moue the electors and
„ princes of the empire, for that there is not any thing can bee more pleasing vnto them, than
„ the prosperitie and peace thereof, which they would with all their powers seeke to entertaine
„ and aduance: intreating them with all affection to enter into consideration of this important
„ businesse, and so to resolue as they shall thinke fit and conuenient for the entertainment of a
„ generall peace and neighbourly loue, &c. From the campe at Gelderschenweerd the last of F
„ September 1598.

After which letters on the foureteenth of October came to the princes campe certaine de-
puties from the duke of Cleues, to let him vnderstand, how that the admirall did dayly swal-

low

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A low vp and deuourt the townes and places of his countries, and that those of the circles of Westphalia, had agreed to leuie three thousand foot to put in garrison into the frontier townes, attending the emperours resolution, vpon such disorders and oppressions: for that the sayd duke of Cleues and the princes electors of the Rhine, had written vnto his imperiall Maiestie, That if it were not done now at this verie instant, when as his brother, the archduke *Albert* was with him, that they were resolued to take the matter in hand, the sayd deputies protesting before prince *Maurice* and the counsell of warre, that whatsoeuer the enemie did or practised against them, was not by any counterfeit dissembling of them of the dukes countrey, but by meere force, violence and outrage, to the great griefe of their prince, and of all his countries and subiects. 1598 Deputies from the duke of Cleues to prince Maurice

B The admirall hauing receiued this money aboue mentioned from Wezel, and much more from other townes which hee had ransomed, with some other money from Brussels, he gaue some pay vnto his souldiers, whom hee caused to passe the Rhine, leauing garrisons in the townes which hee had taken in the duchie of Cleues: then hee went and past the riuer of Lippe, neere vnto Wezel, whereas there grew some question betwixt him and the commaunders, what course hee were best to take, whether towards the countrey of Oueriſſel, or descend downe the Rhine. Cont *Frederic vanden Berghe* would gladly haue had the armie entred into Oueriſſel and Friseland, but *Don Lewis de Velasco* refusing to march, considering the lateneſſe of the season, and Winter at hand, sayd openly, That to lead the kings armie so farre into a countrey whereas they might want victuals and other commodities, was
C the way to ruine. Whereupon the admirall tooke his way to Bocholt, writing to all the townes of the dioceſſe of Munster, to bring him money, victuals, and munition. By reason whereof the general Estates of the vnited prouinces, did write vnto the gouernours and superintendents of the sayd dioceſſe, that they keepe themselues as carefully as they had hitherto done, else they could not hold them for neutrals, that should assist their enemies in that manner.

Prince *Maurice* hauing heard this diuersitie of opinions of the commaunders of the Spanish armie, meaning to worke securely, fearing least hee should come sodainly vpon him in this village, neere vnto Seuenter, where hee was, and cut him off from the townes of the countie of Zutphen, his intention beeing to lead his armie to Doesbourg, and to leaue that
D lodging, hee caused the church in that village to bee fortified, where hee planted three batteries vpon the approches, and some halfe moones without the trenches, the which was done with wonderfull expedition, whereby hee assured the passage towards Doesbourg. Then hauing taken view of his armie within the island of Gelderschenweerd, the which hee found to bee about two thousand foot, leauing these forts, and the towne and castle of Seuenter, well furnished, hee led his armie to Doesbourg, part whereof hee lodged in an island opposit, beeing in the middest of the riuer of Issel, and part of it at the backe of the towne towards the fields, in trenches which hee had caused to bee made, well defenced with good artillerie, there to attend his enemie, if haply hee should haue any desire to come and fall vpon the said towne of Doesbourg, there to get a passage ouer Issel, and an entrie into the
E Veluwe.

And as the riuers of Rhine, Wahal, and Issel, were risen seuen or eight foot higher than of custome, the prince caused a ship of warre to come downe from towards Rees the last of October, to cut the dike of the riuer of Hetter, aboue Emmeric, the which was finished the same night, the pioners being defended by 1200 horse, which the earle of Hohenloo had there, so as before it was day the water running with great force through the hole, drowned the countrey whereas the Spaniard was come to lodge. The Spaniard seeing this, went thither speedily with many musketiers, which shot furiously at the earles men, who notwithstanding stood firme, vntil the enemy hauing brought some artillery vpon the dike, they were forced to retire from thence, as the ship of warre did in like manner: and then the Spaniard la-
F boured with all diligence to stop this hole, the which they the same night did, to their great content.

The admirall hauing brought his armie as low as Emmeric (although that the said towne, at the instance of the deane of the Iesuites, had obtained, that they should not bee charged with any garrison, for the which they had an act of the admirals hand) yet hee caused it to bee sum-

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1598 ſummoned, to giue paſſage to his artillerie: the which beeing granted, hee became by that meanes maſter of the towne, where he placed a good garriſon. The deane (beeing a reſolute man) ſeeing himſelfe deceiued, hee went vnto the admirall, with three of his owne letters of promiſe, that the ſaid towne ſhould not be in any ſort oppreſt (as the Spaniards mildneſſe and courteſie was generally well knowne, where as they might be maſters) to whom ſeeing his reſolution to enter, he ſpake after this manner. *Without doubt the Gueux* (meaning the Eſtates) *haue reaſon of diſtruſt, ſeeing that the Spaniards promiſe much, and performe little: You haue by this armie diſtracted the hearts of a thouſand, that were well affected to the king of Spaine, who otherwiſe would haue beene deuoted vnto him. Seeing it can be no otherwiſe, we muſt make our complaints vnto God.* Whereunto the admirall made no anſwer, but, *That the euents of warre were variable, and changed ten times in an houre, but for the preſent he could do no otherwiſe.* Yet he did them this fauour, that they had none but Landsknets in garriſon. He had done the like at Rees, whereas he had left Spaniards and Italians, as alſo at Iſelbourg, whereas the bourgers were miſerably intreated, and ſome murthered. Then he marched with his armie, and camped at the foot of the mountaine of Elten, from whence hee ſent the fift of Nouember, foure regiments before Deutecom, in the countie of Zutphen, to beſiege it. If the earle of Hohenloo had beene duly aduertiſed of their numbers, hee had charged them with his horſe; but thinking the whole Spaniſh armie had beene there, hee forbare. He was ſent by prince *Maurice* with the regiment of cont *Erneſt* of Naſſau, and halfe the Scottiſh men, to the fort of Tolhus, that the enemie ſhould not ſlip into the Betuwe, the which he furniſhed with ſome artillerie, to keepe it with the towne of Huſſen; the prince remaining with the reſt of his armie at Doesbourg, to defend the Veluwe on that ſide, whither he cauſed his bridges & boats to be brought, the which he had in Gelderſchenweerd, leauing it well furniſhed and fortified.

A B C

The deane of Emmeric's ſpeech to the admirall.

The eight of Nouember the admiral being come to the campe before Deutecom with the reſt of his armie, without ſummoning it, he planted foure peeces of ordnance againſt the port Doesbourg, thinking to take it ſodainly, and ſo to terrifie all the other ſmall neighbor townes, which batterie continued vntill the next day at noone. The towne is ſmall and weake, hauing then but foure companies in garriſon, which were not ſufficient to defend ſo poore a place, againſt ſo mightie an enemie. The night following the admirall cauſed foureteene peeces more to be planted on both ſides of the port of Doesbourg: whereupon the beſieged ſeeing that port almoſt battered downe, and thrice as many canons planted, they began to faint, as well the ſouldiers, as the bourgers, eſpecially for that they had not vouchſafed to ſummon them, fearing leaſt the enemie would force them, to cut all their throats, and by them giue example to the other townes. Whereupon the magiſtrat and the captaines thought it good, to ſtrike vp a drumme, and demaund a parle: which being done, captaine *Ghyſelaer* and *la Grappe*, with two bourgmaſters, went forth to treat with the admirall, the captaines demaunding that they might paſſe out as they came in, and that the bourgers might remaine there halfe a yere quietly to ſell their goods and retire afterwards if they pleaſe, and as for the others which would remaine, they ſhould bee maintained in their liberties and freedomes: Whereunto the admiral at the firſt would by no meanes yeeld, commaunding them to retire, if they would not yeeld ſimply to his mercie. Whereupon the towne captaines propounding vnto themſelues, that they had yet threeſcore barrels of powder, the which (rather than they would yeeld to mercy) they would imploy to blow vp the breaches, and to ſet fire on the towne, and burne all their prouiſion, corne, and other munition, before the enemie ſhould enioy them, and dye there all themſelues, before they would yeeld vpon ſuch a compoſition. In the end it was agreed, That in regard of the ſouldiers, they ſhould depart with armes and baggage, leauing their colours, and promiſing not to carrie armes in Holland, nor Zeeland, againſt the king for ſix monethes. As for the bourgers, he would not yeeld to any conditions of agreement by writing, but promiſed them vpon his word, That they ſhould not bee wronged neither in bodie nor goods: wherewith the bourgmaſters contented themſelues, ſeeing they could obtaine no more, and ſo yeelded, the foure companies departing the ſame day, being the eight of Nouember. This towne had held the partie of the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces aboue twentie yeares.

D E F

From thence the admirall went before the caſtle of Schuylenbourg, wherein captaine *Dort* commaunded for the Eſtates, with his companie: hee cauſed him to be ſummoned, that in caſe he attended the canon, both he and all his men ſhould be hanged: but the captaine being loth

A loth to yeeld it ſo lightly, he cauſed it to be inueſted the ſame night, and brought ten peeces of ordnance, beginning to batter it the ninth day in the afternoone, continuing it vntill night, and moſt part of the night, making his preparations to aſſayle it the next day, with many boats (the caſtle ſtanding in a mariſh ground, hauing but one approch) ladders, hurdels, and planks. Captaine *Dort* ſeeing this, and finding himſelfe too weake to endure many aſſaults, he gaue eare to a parle, on the eleuenth day, and in the end was forced to depart with a white ſtaffe onely. 1598

Prince *Maurice* hauing news of the taking of Deutecom, and of the fort of Schuylenbourg, thinking now that the admirall would come and charge him in his trenches by Doesbourg, he attended him there in good deuotion the 11, 12, and 13 dayes of Nouember. But whereas
B by reaſon of the Eſtates neighbour garriſons, victuals could not come freely to the admirals campe, the princes men cutting off his ſouldiers by little and little, ſo as his armie decreaſed, and did melt away like waxe, as well by famine, want, and miſerie, as for that the enemie did leaue them dayly, and withall his ſouldiers disbanded and fled from this miſerie, euerie one hauing in three dayes but one loafe of verie blacke bread, and water his fill, ſo as ſome of his men being taken priſoners, did affirme, that his armie was decreaſed aboue ſeuen thouſand men; yea a lieutenant of horſe being brought priſoner before the prince, did proteſt that hee had not eaten any bread in fiue dayes, beſides other great diſcommodities which the Spaniſh armie endured: For theſe conſiderations the admirall durſt not attempt any thing more vpon the limits of the Eſtates, deſiring nothing more (Winter being at hand) than a good lodging
C for his armie. For as cont *Frederic Vanden Berghe* ſaid, *Againſt his coſin* (whom hee called prince *Maurice*) *there was nothing but blowes to be gotten.* So as on the 16 of Nouember after a long conſultation, the admirall found no better aduice, than to carrie vp his armie into the countries of Cleues, Munſter, Berghe, and Marck, to lodge his troups there during the Winter: What they did there you ſhall ſoone heare.

Whileſt the admirall was yet in counſell what to do, prince *Maurice* hauing ſome doubt of the towne of Lochem, which had beene ſo much recommended vnto him by the Eſtates, and of the towne of Zutphen, he ſent a companie of footmen, and ſome gunners to Lochem, thinking the admirall would go againſt it: and he himſelfe went to Zutphen, to ſee all things well ordered, where finding all well diſpoſed, he returned the ſame day to Doesbourg, hauing gi-
D uen order for the making of two new rauelins, whereof he himſelfe layed the plot, as he did in like manner at Doesbourg. The deputies of the lower circles of Weſtphalia, whereof cont *Vander Lippe* was chiefe, and captaine generall, being yet aſſembled at Dormont, hearing the complaints which were made from diuers parts, of the admirals irruption vpon the territories of the empire, and the oppreſſions and inſolencies of the Spaniards, they decreed about the middeſt of Nouember, to write vnto the emperour, and to the foure princes electors of the Rhine, that it would pleaſe his imperiall Maieſtie, and their excellencies, to write both to the admirall, and to Bruſſels to cardinall *Andrew* of Auſtria, biſhop of Conſtance, gouernour in the abſence of the archduke *Albert*; and in like manner to the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, that either of them ſhould reſtore the townes which they held
E by their garriſons vpon the territories of the empire, yeelding euerie of them to his prince and naturall lord. The ſubſtance of which letters was:

That as ſoone as the archduke *Albert* was gone out of the Netherlands, *Dom Franciſco de Mendoza*, admirall of Arragon, duke of Veraguas, marqueſſe of Guadaleſte, gouernour &c. had entred with an armie of about thirtie thouſand horſe and foot, into the duchie of Cleues, and had taken the towne and caſtle of Orſoy, chaſing away the dukes garriſon, and paſſing a good part of his armie ouer the Rhine, had fortified the village of Walſom right againſt the ſayd towne. From thence hee went into the duchie of Mont, and beſieged the caſtle, and abode of the noble lord *Wirick van Daun*, earle of Falckenſtein, ſeignior of Broeck: which caſtle of Broeck (which is a fee of the ſayd duchie of Mont) hee had beſieged and battered, and
F notwithſtanding that the ſayd earle, vpon condition of faith and promiſe made of libertie both for bodie and goods, as well for his owne perſon, as for his ſouldiers (ſome beeing the dukes, and ſome his) had yeelded by compoſition, yet the ſouldiers were ſome of them ſtript and murthered, and ſome ranſomed, and then the ſayd earle was ſecretly murthered, with a

The deputies of the circles letters from Dormont.

1598 „ ſtrange and vnheard of crueltie (whoſe widow was come to complaine vnto them, notwith- A
„ ſtanding that he was a neuter, and had alwayes carryed himſelfe as an officer and faithfull ſer-
„ uant to the ſaid duke his lord, hauing before demaunded a ſafegard from the admirall, expe-
„ cting nothing leſſe, than any ſuch violence) ſpoyling and carrying away all that they found
„ in the ſayd caſtle. Moreouer, the Spaniards and the admirals men had taken in the countries
„ of Cleues, the townes of Burick, Dinſlaken, Holt, and Rees, by force, committing great in-
„ ſolencies and outrages, taken the frontier forts, murthered and chaſed away the garriſons that
„ were in them, ranſomed the towne of Wezel at an hundred thouſand dollers, and one thou-
„ ſand quarters of corne: We doe not ſpeake how that within theſe two dayes they haue ſum-
„ moned ſome townes in the countrey of Munſter, and forced them to receiue garriſons for the
„ king of Spaine: beſides, they haue ouer-run and ſpoyled the quarters of Eſſen and Werden, B
„ the ſeigniorie and caſtle of Frankenbergh, belonging to the earle of Schauwenbourg, and
„ Wenelickouen, in the countie of Benthem, the caſtles and forts of Loo, Wynendael, Dri-
„ ersfort, Reſau, Impel, Dornic, Luchauſen, all the countrey of Cleues, without any reſpect
„ vnto the duke, making his reſidence in the ſayd countrey, ſpoyling and robbing monaſteries
„ and churches, and reducing the poore country people into ſo miſerable eſtate, for theſe eight
„ weekes ſpace, as it is impoſſible to write it, and for the which they neuer can anſwer before
„ God. And that in the meane time the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, were alſo crept into the
„ duchie of Cleues, and had ſeized vpon the towne and caſtle of Seuenter, and the fort of Tol-
„ hus, the which they had battered with their artillerie, and taken many priſoners, both clergie
„ and lay men, out of the countrey of Munſter. That *Dom Gaſton Spinola*, gouernour of Lim- C
„ bourg, vnder colour of the execution of the ſentence of proſcription giuen againſt the imperi-
„ all towne of Ayx, had forced two gentlemens houſes, *Frankenburch* and *Heyden*, from which
„ places his men did great outrages to all men they incountred. And in like maner the Spaniſh
„ garriſons exacted certaine thouſands of dollers from the villages of the high quarter of Guel-
„ dres; with many other complaints: Requiring therefore that it would pleaſe their excellen-
„ cies to be mediators to his imperiall Maieſtie, that ſome remedie may be had &c.

Whereupon the ſayd princes electors did write on the 12 of December, the ſame yere 1598, vnto the emperour after this maner.

The princes electors letters to the emperour.

Moſt gratious Emperour, we doubt not but your Maieſtie hath beene fully informed, not onely of the lamentable complaints of the afflicted circles of Weſtphalia, which are too appa- D
rant, but alſo you haue heard by common fame, how vniuſtly the countries of the duke of Iu-
„ illiers haue beene in hoſtile manner inuaded, by the armies of the two parties in the Nether-
„ lands, eſpecially by the King of Spaines ſouldiers, his townes and places taken, his poore ſub-
„ iects ſpoyled, taken, ranſomed, murthered, and otherwiſe tormented: whereof they would
„ more amply informe his imperiall Maieſtie, by the inſtructions thereunto adioyned, quored
„ A. B. C. Saying, That they muſt needs confeſſe that ſuch attempts will ſound ſtrangely
„ throughout all the empire, to the ſcandall of his Maieſtie, and contempt of his decrees, which
„ may prooue verie preiudiciall to the members and eſtates of the ſayd empire, if ſuch vnreaſo-
„ nable attempts, irruptions, and inſolencies of ſtrange ſouldiers, were not preuented by good
„ and ſufficient meanes, and their boldneſſe ſuppreſt. That not onely the circles and countries E
„ at this preſent afflicted, would bee vtterly ruined, but alſo that they the princes electors and
„ neereſt neighbours could not otherwiſe coniecture, but that in the end they ſhould bee paied
„ with the ſame money, inuaded, and drawne into the like calamities: Nothing doubting, but
„ that his imperiall Maieſtie doth conſider how contemptible this may be both to the holy em-
„ pire and his imperiall Maieſtie, and that without attending any aduertiſements from them,
„ hee hath forecaſt how for the greater ſafetie of the countrey thoſe things might bee pre-
„ uented: this preſent fact beeing a matter of wonderful conſideration, that the guiltleſſe mem-
„ bers of the empire, vpon the ſodaine without any cauſe giuen, and contrarie to the
„ promiſe and good words of the deceaſed king of Spaine, and the late gouernours of his Ne-
„ therlands, and (as we hope) againſt the will and commaundement of our moſt deere lord, F
„ friend, and coſin, *Albert* archduke of Auſtria, ſhould bee ſpoyled and made a prey to theſe
„ ſtrange ſouldiers. And to all the admonitions and intreaties that can be made, they haue no
„ other anſwer, than that they can giue no other reaſon for all this, but that it is ſo decreed in the
counſell

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counſell of Bruſſels, that the holy empire with all the dependances and allies, ſhould bee ſubiected vnto their intollerable ſeruitude, and ſubmit themſelues vnder the gouernment of Bruſſels, as it ſhould pleaſe them to commaund, as beeing bound to beare all ſuch vndeſerued burthens as it would pleaſe them to impoſe. Wherefore in conſideration of theſe cauſes aboue mentioned, we princes electors, not onely vpon the complaints of theſe afflicted countries, but in regard of the conſequence which may follow of all theſe oppreſſions, haue giuen order to our men, to remaine in ſome commodious place, and to bee watchfull ouer all, and foreſee how they might preuent thoſe inuaſions of the enemie; by whoſe reports the forces of either ſide ſeeme ſo great, as in our iudgements there muſt be fit remedies vſed: yet wee haue giuen the ſaid archduke and the cardinall of Auſtria's vicegouernor at Bruſſels, to vnderſtand of all theſe diſorders, to the end they ſhould command the captaine generall of the kings armie, to forbeare hereafter from all ſuch outrages, and inſolencies, with order for the reſtitution of townes and places, and the dammage they had endured, hoping that they like renowned German princes, will with their hearts affect the health, good, and honour of the empire; and that they would not fayle of their dueties, in all they may do for the aduancement of the German eſtate. And we haue in like manner written vnto the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces. That for their parts they ſhould depart out of the limits of the empire, and forbeare to attempt any thing againſt it, the which is to be hoped. By reaſon whereof wee that are ſeated vpon the Rhine, by the knowledge which is giuen vs of theſe diſorders, are forced openly and without diſſimulation, to beſeech your imperiall Maieſtie, to interpoſe your authoritie, after full information of all. That it would therefore pleaſe your imperiall Maieſtie (whereunto wee know you are wholly inclined) to ſeeke to pacifie theſe dangerous inconueniences, and to remember how earneſtly and with what zeale the generall Eſtates of the empire did propound it, and intreated you at the laſt diet at Ratisbone, as alſo that the voluntarie contributions were not graunted to any other end, but to preuent all courſes, paſſages, lodging, and ſpoyles. And that againſt ſuch violences, your imperiall Maieſtie ſhould vſe authoritie, that the holy empire fall not into contempt, to haue abandoned the countrey to the ſpoyle of ſtrange ſouldiers; and that beeing ſodainely ſurpriſed, it ſhould come to ruine and deſolation: but that it would pleaſe him to deale ſo by mild meanes, as theſe poore afflicted countries may bee freed from their intollerable miſeries. And beſides, that all the other prouinces of the empire may bee preſerued and aſſured from ſuch inuaſions. And as wee remember that your imperiall Maieſtie, and the generall Eſtates of the empire, had an intent heretofore to ſend embaſſadours to both parties that make warre, wee would now make the ſame prayer, and inſtant requeſt, and will moſt humbly beſeech your imperiall Maieſtie not to neglect it, but to ſeeke by all meanes to ſuppreſſe ſuch extraordinarie inſolencies; hoping that God will put to his bleſſed hand, and ſend vs a more happie ſeaſon, than we haue hitherto had, and that therby there may follow a good peace, as wel for the holy empire, as for the two parties that make warre. 1598

The which for the care wee haue of the good and quiet of the empire, wee could not forbeare to ſhew vnto your imperiall Maieſtie, with all humilitie, hoping you will not take it in ill part, but rather will excuſe vs by reaſon of the importance of the cauſe; and that, of your imperiall clemencie, you will prouide for this publike miſchiefe, ſo as the poore countries afflicted, may bee relieued and eaſed, that the generall reputation of the holy empire may bee kept, to the protection of thoſe prouinces that depend thereon. And ſeeing that the Eſtates of the circle of Weſtphalia, by vertue of the imperiall conſtitutions, haue required vs and the princes electors of the vpper circle of the Rhine, to aſſemble our ſelues on the tenth day of Ianuarie nextcomming, in the citie of Cologne, to reſolue vpon theſe important affaires: Wee therefore moſt humbly beſeech your imperiall Maieſtie, that you would bee pleaſed at the ſame time and place, to ſend (if it be poſſible) your Maieſties gratious reſolution, or declare if that wee with the aforeſayd circles, may not aduiſe and ſeeke by all poſſible meanes to diuert this miſchiefe.

And in caſe wee may not haue this charge and commiſſion, and that a more ample declaration from the holy empire bee required, that it would pleaſe you to aduiſe the deputies of the deputies of the ſayd Eſtates, in caſe they bee required by them that are oppreſſed, or

1598 „ others to call vnto their ſuccours or counſell the other circles, and giue charge to the deputies A
„ touching that matter, for the next aſſemblie: wherein your imperiall Maieſtie ſhall doe a
„ worke worthie of his clemencie, the which may ſerue for the aſſurance and quiet of the affli-
„ cted countries, and of all thoſe of the Empire: Praying God &c.

In the meane time, and before theſe letters were ſent vnto the emperour, M. *Charles Nutzel*, ſeigniour of Sonderſpuhel, commiſſioner and counſellor to his imperiall Maieſtie, being come by his commiſſion to preſerue the countrey of Cleues, to haue all things reſtored, and to treat of the dukes mariage with the princeſſe of Lorraine, he writ vnto the admirall the laſt of October from Cleues: By the which hee complained, That according vnto the promiſe which he had made vnto him in the towne of Gueldres, to reſtore the towne of Orſoy to the duke that was lord thereof, within ten, twelue, or twentie daies at the moſt; and that af- B
„ ter he had taken the towne of Rhineberck, all his troupes ſhould bee ſent out of the coun-
„ trey: yet hauing truſted too much vnto his promiſes, and the words of a prince, hee found
„ himſelfe circumuented and deceiued, hauing receiued nothing but words full of ayre, and
„ ſeene the effects full of hoſtilitie: reproaching him, that hee had gone in perſon from one
„ towne vnto another, ranſoming them, ſome for great ſummes of money, others for victuals
„ and munition, the which hee ſayd hee had ſeene with his eyes: Being a queſtion how this
„ will bee taken by the emperor (in whoſe name he ſaid he remained there to preſerue the coun-
„ trey) and not onely of the other princes of the empire, but of all Europe, whom it doth con-
„ cerne in generall, the which they may eaſily conceiue, who hauing their lands and iuriſdicti-
„ ons thus afflicted, would gladly ſee them freed, and aſſured hereafter. That the houſes of C
„ Cleues and Lorraine were now preſently allyed by mariage, and that of Lorraine with the
„ crowne of France: beſides other alliances with other neighbor princes, all which will be ama-
„ zed, and great wounds, which are not yet well cured, will be reuiued; all which (being well af-
„ fected, as he ſaid, vnto the Spaniards) be brought into conſideration. That now a Catholike
„ prince, who with all his meanes, with a Catholike zeale, hath preſerued and maintained the
„ Catholike Religion, ſhould bee in that ſort troden vnder foot, yea in a manner deuoured
„ quicke, when as (leauing the enemie at reſt) they come and powre out all the diſcommodi-
„ ties of warre, vpon the kings owne kinſmen; when as churches are abuſed, religious women
„ forced, and all that was conſecrated vnto God, prophaned: when as they offer force and
„ violence to embaſſadours, who by the lawes of nations ſhould bee free and aſſured, as it is D
„ ſaid did happen vnto other embaſſadours of the duke, deſcending downe the Rhine to
„ come vnto the towne of Cleues, who would not ſay, but as this tends chiefely to the pre-
„ iudice and contempt of religion, and of that which doth moſt concerne the honour and re-
„ putation of the houſe of Auſtria? the which (according to the ſaying of Hyſtorians)
„ through mildneſſe and ſinceritie, haue beene happie in their enterpriſes and ſucceſſe, procu-
„ ring with all their meanes (the which not friends onely, but enemies will confeſſe) that they
„ might not bee taxed to haue rayſed or mannaged an vniuſt warre, to blemiſh them, and to
„ make them odious and contemptible to all the world. And not onely to prouoke the wrath
„ and vengeance of God againſt the king of Spaine, but alſo againſt the authors and practiſers
„ of ſuch cruelties. I beſeech you (ſayd hee) what good can you expect of ſuch incertaine E
„ things, when as they are worſe intreated than the ſtranger? the kinſman, and the enemie,
„ the innocent and the guiltie, the good and the wicked, are all held in one ranke. And to
„ the end I may diſcharge my duetie, I am reſolued to write all theſe wofull and tragicall pra-
„ ctiſes, ſo preiudiciall to the whole empire, and ſend them to the emperour, intreating you
„ in the meane time to take order, that ſuch oppreſſions and outrages may ceaſe, that the towns,
„ forts, and caſtles, belonging to the duke of Cleues, may be reſtored. That the troups may bee
„ withdrawne, the dammages repaired, and that no more occaſion may bee giuen of further ru-
„ ines; the which by right and reaſon ought to be put in execution, and would proue honorable
„ vnto you: Whereof I wil attend a good and courtious anſwer. From Cleues the laſt of Octo-
„ ber 1598. F

The emperors commiſſioner writes vnto the admiral.

A diſcourſe of the inſolencies committed by the Spaniards.

The oppreſſions committed by the Spaniards, whereof the commiſſarie cõplains, & which were ſent by atteſtation, quoted by number & alphabet, together with all the admirals proceedings, were, That his men tooke & ſpoyled, without any reſpect of ſafegards, and much leſſe of neutra-

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A neutralitie, betwixt the riuers of Iſſel & Lippe in the duchie of Iuilliers, firſt the caſtle of Dieſ- 1598
fort, belonging vnto the ſeignior of Willich, ſteward by inheritance of the duchie of Cleues, notwithſtanding the ſafegard ſet vp at the gate, the which they ſpoyled, with all that the poore countrey men (truſting in the ſayd ſafegard) had brought in thither for their refuge and ſuccour.

Item, the caſtle of Billingof, belonging to them of Bernſau, the which beeing taken at the third aſſault, they ſlew all they found within it, and then ſpoyled it. The caſtle of Oberenbergh, belonging to the ſeigniour of Marnhoſt, was alſo ſpoyled.

Item, after they had robbed the cloyſter of Schlenhorſt, they drew all the Nunnes into a troupe, ſtript them naked, rauiſhed them, and intreated them tyrannouſly. The
B caſtle of Aſfeldt beeing taken and ſpoyled; they threw the men which they found in it, from the top of the tower into the ditches. After they had ſpoyled the caſtle of Gran, belonging the ſteward of the countrey, they carried all away priſoners that they found in it. The caſtle of Hackenhuys, belonging to the ſeighiour of Ilf, they ſpoyled. They did not onely ſpoyle the caſtle of Impel, belonging to the ſeigniour of Diepenbroek, and carried away all the corne, cattell, and other goods, but they burnt the baſe court, and tare an infant out of the mothers wombe, beeing readie to bee deliuered. Roſſau, belonging to the ſeigniour *Goddard Williche*, was wholy ſpoyled. Wenge, appertaining to them of Gar, and the village Dornic ſpoyled. The ſtrong caſtle of Hynd, belonging to the ſeigniour of Grauſtein, was alſo ruined, and all burnt that was about it. The monaſteries of Mariendale and Fryet
C were ſpoyled. And all the villages about the ſayd caſtles, endured a thouſand outrages and ſtrange indignities which were by them moſt cruelly executed both againſt men and women. We haue mention before of the caſtle of *Vanden Broeck*, and what they did there: beſides they haue entred into the riuers of Lippe and Roer, ſpoyled the caſtle of Wewenhuys, belonging to them of Hueffen, and burnt the baſe court of the caſtle of Fuert, appertaining to *George van Syburch*:

Item, the caſtle of Mamich, whereof the widow of Capelle was owner, burning the baſe court. The caſtle of Eſſand, belonging to the ſeignior *Wittenhorſt*, ſpoyled, beaten downe, and burnt, with diuers others. And going higher towards the countrey of Munſter and Weſtphalia, on the three and twentieth of Nouember *Dom Louis de Velaſco*, generall of the
D Spaniſh artillerie, came before the towne of Dortſen, with letters from the admirall, requiring the bourgmaſter and counſell to open their gates, and receiue a garriſon: Whereunto anſwer was made him, That it did not belong vnto them to open their gates to any ſtrange ſouldiers, without the aduice and commaundement of their lord and prince, the electot of Cologne: Moreouer, they had not deſerued any ſuch vſage of the king of Spaine, wherefore they required foure dayes reſpite to aduertiſe their lord and prince. But they replyed, That they ſhould not haue an houres reſpite to take counſell, and therefore they ſhould preſently ſay yea, or no, whether they would open their gates, and doe what they demaunded: and if they did it not preſently, they had brought that with them which ſhould maſter them before night, and then they might thinke what would become of them. They of the towne in-
E ſiſted to haue but two dayes (ſaying, That it had not beene heard of, no not in time warre, to receiue ſtrange ſouldiers without the priuitie & conſent of their prince) but they could not obtaine it, the meſſengers retiring, who had made this ſummons, there preſently approched many troups neere the towne, who began to intrench themſelues with all ſpeed, and to plant nine peeces of ordnance to batter it, as if it were an enemies towne. The bourgers ſeeing theſe ſodaine acts of hoſtilitie, not able to preuaile any thing by prayers nor intreatie, began ſomewhat to defend themſelues, ſhooting certaine vollies into their campe, hoping that the generall vpon better aduice would forbeare; but it preuailed nothing, the Spaniards continuing their batterie, vntill they had ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, ſo as the ſame night, or the next day they had gone to the aſſault, for the which they made a bridge ouer the
F riuer of Lippe, bringing their men at night euen to the foot of the counterſcarpe. And althogh the bourgers had rampared vp that which was battered, and ſomewhat aſſured it againſt an aſſault, hauing chaſed the ſouldiers from the counterſcarpe, yet the next day they began their batterie againe, the which did not onely batter downe all they had rampared, but did ſo teare the houſes along the ſtreet of Lippe, as no man durſt ſhew himſelfe at the rampars. The Spa-

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1598 niards making preparation to aſſayle them, about noone they ſhot fierie bullets into the towne; A
wherewith the poore bourgers being terrified, and abandoned of all ſuccours, knowing well
that their prince was ignorant of all this, and too farre to deliuer them from theſe attempts, be-
ing vnable of themſelues to reſiſt them, in the end they conſulted how they might preſerue
their liues, wiues and children, ſo as they ſent certaine deputies vnto the Spaniard, to offer
him the towne, vpon the beſt conditions they could obtaine: the which being accorded the
generall *Velaſco* entred with thirteene hundred men, and demaunded the keyes, with all the
armes and munition in the towne, the which was not done without great oppreſſion of the
good bourgers.

The Spaniard hauing got footing in the iuriſdiction of Reckelinhuyſen, ſome of his
troups marched towards Dortmont, whereas they demaunded entrance to lodge one thou- B
ſand horſe all Winter, which if they refuſed, they would come ſo well accompanied, as they
ſhould haue no cauſe to thanke them. Whereupon they of Dortmont anſwered, That bee-
ing a free imperiall towne, they were not ſubiect to the king of Spaine, neither had they any
need of horſemen: wherefore they intreated them to ſuffer them in peace, giuing order for
their rampars, towers, and fortifications: Wherefore the Spaniards retired for that time, and
went into the countie of Marck, where they tooke the townes of Vnna, Kam, Lun, and Ham,
with Lunkenhuyſen, and Herberum, all by ſieges, threats, or otherwiſe. And although that
Poſtule of Munſter, archbiſhop of Cologne, ſeeing the Spaniards bend towards Weſtphalia,
had ſent ſome of his counſellors, and certaine deputies of the chapter of Munſter, to the admi-
rall, to intreat him, and aduertiſe him that thoſe things were contrarie to the conſtitutions of C
the empire: but nothing could withhold the Spaniards from the beſieging of Bocholt, the
inhabitants whereof to ſaue themſelues from oppreſſion, being too weake to maintaine a ſiege,
reſolued to compound vpon certaine conditions, the which were not verie well kept. So as
in the ſame countrey of Munſter, there fell into the Spaniards power the townes of Koeſuelt,
Borcken, Bemſdorp, Halterens, Duſmont, Lundunckuys, Stadtloon, and Sudloon; and
their pride was ſo great, as they ſpared not Ahours, one of the archbiſhops palaces, nor Horſe-
meir, whither they were carrying prouiſion for him to keepe his court, with the caſtles of
Werde, Frede, and Ottenſtein: yea *Contreras* a Spaniſh commiſſarie went in view of the arch-
biſhop, with certaine troups towards the townes of Alem and Brockem, which they ſurpriſed
by policie, ſaying they were the Archbiſhops men, as alſo the townes of Rene, Warendorp, D
Tolgt, and Senderhorſt.

They made no difficultie to commaund the towne of Oſnabrughe, to furniſh them a maſſe
of maſſie ſiluer and gilt, or two hundred pounds weight of pure gold. They made the like
demaund vnto them of Badenborne, the which they ranſomed, commaunding the biſhop to
chaſe away the Proteſtant miniſters, nay there were two Wallon colonels, the baron of Ha-
chicourt, and the earle of Buſquoy, that were not aſhamed to demand of the earle of Olden-
bourg, prouiſion of money to pay their ſouldiers, or elſe they would ſend them to Winter
in his countrey: to whom the earle made as braue a refuſall.

In all places whereas the Spaniſh armie was lodged, they would not ſuffer the bourgers and
inhabitants to meddle with the corne which they had in their garners, to feed their families, E
yea in peaſants houſes whereas they found no prouiſion of corne, they forced them to go and
prouide it at what price ſoeuer. They would none but the whiteſt bread, mutton, and pul-
lets, and drinke wine, ſaying openly, That they were bound to aſſiſt the king to ſubdue his re-
bels, as being a member of the empire, wherefore it was reaſon they ſhould lodge and nou-
riſh them. They would haue all places opened vnto them, and did wonderfully threaten the
Proteſtants, eſpecially the earles *Vander Lippe*, and of Benthem, from whom they did extort the
ſeigniorie of Weuelickhoue, and others. When as ſome aduiſed colonell *Barlotte* to carrie
himſelfe more modeſtly, and that the princes of the circles might take it ill: he anſwered (poin-
ting with his finger) *As much as that cow.* And when any of the princes embaſſadors ſent to
the admirall, had their diſpatches, the Spaniards made mouthes at them, and aſſes eares, with o- F
ther diſgraces, terming them Lutherans: to conclude, they eſteemed the Germans no more
than dung.

Beſides the Spaniards inſolencies before rehearſed, they committed others in the quarters
of Marck, Weſtphalia, Munſter, and thereabouts, where they did hang vp many peaſants, ſome
by

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A by the feete, some by the hands, and some by the priuie members. In the village of Reeke they bound three poore peasants to pikes neere to a willow, and did roast them like vnto a peece of flesh vpon a spit. It is not possible to expresse the execrable rauishing and forcing of wiues and maidens which they committed, whereof we will relate some. Seauen Spaniards hauing bound the iudge of Duslemont in a chaire, they presently after rauished his wife before his face. They bound a yong virgins hands and feet to foure stakes in the ground, and the haire of her head wound about the fist, and then they forced her: the like they had done before to a maiden in the castle of Brock. It was not enough for them after the taking of the castle of Billichouen, and other gentlemens houses, to haue forced many honest wiues and virgins, but they did set their heads downeward, and their legges vpward (beeing stripped naked) in the feathers of beds, and in this manner did vse them so inhumanely, as it is a shame to write it; with many other barbarous acts, which are not fit to be written. 1589

B

All these detestable cruelties were set downe in writing, and sent vnto the emperour, and to many princes of Germanie, whereupon the duke of Brunswick made a proclamation ouer all his territories, of the nineteenth of December 1598, wherein were briefly contained all the attempts and cruelties of the Spaniards, exhorting all his subiects to take armes against them. The archbishop of Cologne who was much interessed, did write vnto the Landtsgraue of Hessen, on the ninth of December, requiring his aduice what was to be done in these occurrents. The sixe princes electors by their letters on the 12. of December, did write vnto the Emperour at large, aduertising him of all these cruelties, and complaining greatly that his imperiall authoritie was contemned and troden vnder foot by the Spaniards; for the redressing whereof they desire succours. The archduke *Albert* beeing come to Milan, hee writ in his owne excuse vnto the gouernour of the prince elector of Saxonie on the 28 of December, where after he had made the Estates of the vnited prouinces the cause of all these miseries, he maintaines that the duke of Iuilliers and the lower circles are bound to aid and assist him against the said Estates, accusing also the earle *Vanden Broeck* to haue done acts of hostilitie against the kings men, as if he would say (and as the admirall hath since said) that hee had well deserued it.

C

Vpon the letters from the electors, the emperour did write vnto the archduke *Albert* on the thirtieth of December, complaining, that notwithstanding so many letters written to cardinall *Andrew* of Austria, then gouernour of the Netherlands, and to the admirall; namely, on the 24 of October, and on the 14, 19, and 29 of Nouember, by the which he commanded reparation of these oppressions, and restitution of exactions, and that the Spanish armie should dislodge, yet nothing had beene effected, but rather those insolencies and cruell attempts had increased more and more: then making a repetition of some of the said attempts and oppressions, and of diuers admonitions which had beene made vnto the cardinal and admirall, he intreats the archduke that he would commaund the admirall to carrie himselfe more modestly. The same day the emperour did also write vnto cardinall *Andrew* of Austria, admonishing him of his dutie, that his imperiall Maiestie bee not forced to take another course to remedie it by his imperiall authoritie. And in like manner he sent vnto the admirall, the complaints which he receiued daily, of the excesse of his men of warre, commanding him that presently without all delay, he should retire his troupes out of the limits of the empire, yeeld vp the townes and places to their masters, restore the money that had beene extorted, deliuer prisoners, both clergie and lay men, punish the murtherers of cont *Vanden Broeck* corporally, restore vnto his wife her iewels, and all that had beene taken out of the castle, vpon paine of default, that he should be forced to vse his imperiall authoritie &c. this letter seruing but for a kind of aduertisement.

D

E

The emperour did write the like vnto the Estates of the vnited prouinces, of the same date, and from the same place, that for their parts they should quit those places which they held vpon the territories of the empire, releasing prisoners, and forbearing to attempt any further &c. To which letters of aduertisement, both to the one and the other, the emperour added his proclamation, or imperiall commandement, the which we haue thought good to insert here, and first that of the admirall, as followeth.

F

The emperours proclamation against the admirall.

Rodulphus by the grace of God, elect emperour of the Romans, alwaies *Augustus* king of Germanie, Hongarie, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclauonia, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgoigne,

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1598 Bourgoigne, Stiria, Carinthia, Crain, and Wirthemberg, earle of Tyrol &c. To our welbe- A
loued *Dom Francisco de Mendoza*, admirall of the kingdome of Arragon, Marquesse of Gua-
„ dalcste, commaunder of the knights of the order of *Val de Peunas*, captaine generall to our
„ most deere brother *Albert*, archduke of Austria, and to all commaunders of the sayd armie,
„ colonels, captaines, lieutenants, ensignes, officers, and in generall to all men of warre,
„ both of horse and foot, of what name, estate, condition, or qualitie soeuer they be, to whom
„ this present Imperiall commaundement shall come, or bee signified, so farre as they shall
„ be found camped, or lodged vpon the lands, or in the townes, forts, places, and riuers, be-
„ longing to vs and the holy Empire, or the members, estates, and allies thereof, eyther by
„ water or by land: We let you know, that the princes and estate of the circle of Westpha-
„ lia, and especially of the most famous *Iohn William* duke of Iuilliers, Cleues, and Berghen, B
„ our welbeloued cousin, haue of late time continually aduertised vs with all reuerence, and
„ haue grieuously complained, that you admirall haue come out of Brabant about the moneth
„ of September with a mightie armie of aboue thirtie thousand men, hauing taken your pas-
„ sage through the duchie of Iuilliers towards that of Cleues, and that the eight of the said
„ moneth had assailed and taken the towne of Orsoy, belonging to the said duke of Iuilli-
„ ers, the which hauing fortified and furnished with your garrisons, hauing caused many
„ thousands of your men, both horse and foot, to passe the Rhin, and made a fort to be built
„ before it vpon the territories of Cleues, driuing all the cattell, both great and small, away,
„ and spoyling all the neighbour quarters, carrying your selfe to the poore people through
„ violence, murthers, spoyles, and ransoming in such sort, as the like was neuer seene nor C
„ heard of in any warre: so as all the inhabitants and subiects haue beene forced to abandon
„ most part of their goods, houses, and inheritances, and whatsoeuer they had gathered to-
„ gether with their great toile and sweat, to nourish them in Winter: yet not content with
„ this, your souldiers haue gone before a castle, held in fee of the said duke of Iuilliers,
„ whereas the deceased *Wirick Daun*, earle of Falckenstein, called *Broeck*, made his residence,
„ they battered it with the canon, so as in the end the earle yeelding, vpon faith and pro-
„ mise of assurance of bodie and goods for him and all his; yet most part of the souldiers
„ were cut in pieces, and the said earle, notwithstanding that he had required a safegard from
„ the admirall, not fearing any inconuenience, as hee went to walke, with the consent of
„ the captaine of the castle, was very miserably murthered. In the meane time the said soul- D
„ diers haue seized vpon the townes of Buderycke, Dynslaken, Holt, Rees, Emmeric, and
„ other places of the said duchie of Cleues; as also many castles, gentlemens houses, bo-
„ roughes, townes, and villages haue beene besieged, battered, assayled, and forced to yeeld
„ vnto them, and haue beene destroyed and ruined, whereas many (both clergie and lay
„ men) had beene very poorely and miserably entreated, some strangled, some massacred,
„ carrying themselues most brutishly and villanously to wiues and virgins, the like where-
„ of was neuer heard of. Besides that, the inhabitants of the towne of Wezel haue been for-
„ ced to compound with you and the commaunders in the warre, for a hundred thousand
„ dollers, halfe in hand, and the rest within few daies after; and besides that, to furnish them
„ with a thousand quarters of corne. The Seigniories and castles of Crudenberg, of Wene- E
„ linckhouen, the houses and ducall forts of Loo, Wynendael, Dyershorst, Rassau, Impel,
„ Dornic, and Luckhausen (although the duke himselfe kept his court not farre off) haue
„ beene reduced into extreame miserie and desolation: besides so many other places, which
„ haue beene taken, spoyled, and consumed to ashes, whereof an ample declaration hath
„ beene sent vs: yea, some haue beene so audacious to brag in the campe, that there was
„ an intent to seize vpon the duke of Iuilliers person. And moreouer, you admirall haue
„ not onely sent your men into the countrey of Munster, and summoned the townes there-
„ of to receiue the Spanish garrisons within two daies, but your souldiers haue also forced
„ them that would not receiue them, *Alexander Veble*, a colonel, hauing presumed to offer
„ vnto the bishops vicar, and the counsellors of the dioceese of Munster, a list of the quar- F
„ ters where they intended to Winter their souldiers, and to take thirtie places more, besides
„ those that had alreadie yeelded: the territories of Essen and Werden, beeing wholly de-
„ stroyed and ruined: many spoyles being also made by the garrisons of Gueldres vpon
„ the villages and neere farmes; so as the tylling of the land, and all traffique and commerce

of

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A of marchandiſe muſt needes ceaſe, with many other concuſſions and violences; for the preuenting whereof, wee are continually required and beſought by the chiefe princes e- lectors, and other princes of the empire, in the behalfe of the poore afflicted and deſolate. Conſidering that all theſe inuaſions are done wrongfully and vniuſtly, and are not excuſa- ble, that you admirall haue preſumed to inuade our ſaid countries, and thoſe of the holy empire in hoſtile manner, before peaceable and quiet, beeing bound vnto vs by oath, with ſo mightie an armie, without defiance, ſummation, or aduertiſement; and eſpecially at ſuch a time, when as neither wee, nor any of the other princes, nor Eſtates, did expect any diſlike or quarrell from the king of Spaine, and much leſſe from our deere brother the archduke *Albert*, nor yet from the generall gouernours of the Netherlands; but rather attended all B good and ſincere friendſhip, neighbourhood, correſpondencie, and neutralitie, and not to bee in this manner ſpoyled and ruined: Hauing heretofore written often and ſeriouſly vnto you, to let you vnderſtand our intention, and that of our deere and well beloued brother; but ſeeing that you haue not in any ſort reſpected our letters, wee are forced to prouide for it, and ſeeke to preuent it by a ſeuerer courſe. Wherefore wee commaund you admirall of Arragon, of our imperiall power and authoritie, and all your commaunders, of- ficers, and ſouldiers, as well in generall as in particular; and firſt thoſe that are not vnder our obedience, nor ſubiect to the empire, vpon paine of death, where they ſhall be taken, and all other our ſubiects, depending mediately or immediately of the holy empire, members, vaſ- ſals, men holding in fee, or hauing goods, and poſſeſſions there, vpon paine of baniſhment C and proſcription of the holy empire, and the loſſe of all benefices, freedomes, priuiledges, dignities, fees, and goods, in what places ſoeuer they bee, lying, and beeing within the holy empire, or the Eſtates, and allies thereof: the tranſgreſſors beeing apprehended, vpon the fact, to be put in execution, without any further inquirie or information. Wee doe expreſly inioyne and commaund, that you, and all others (preſently vpon the ſight or ſignification of this our imperiall charge and commandement, or the authenticall copie thereof) ſhall retire, without any further indammaging our countries, or the lands of the holy empire, nor the townes, caſtles, gentlemens houſes, boroughs, forts, nor villages, belonging to the duke of Iuilliers, and Cleues, nor to the dioces of Munſter, nor elſewhere, of what name and qualitie ſoeuer they be: and that preſently you quit and reſtore them vnto their lords and maſters, D repairing all dammages which you haue done them: and that you reſtore vnto them of Wezel, before your retreat, the money which you haue extorted from them. And to the end that you admirall ſhall make it appeare that the wicked murther of the earle *Vanden Broeck* doth diſpleaſe you, you ſhall cauſe all them that murthered him, to bee corporally puni- ſhed, according to their merits, reſtoring vnto the counteſſe his widow, all the goods, gold, ſiluer, iewels, and plate, which were taken from her, or the iuſt value thereof. That all perſons as well eccleſiaſticall as ciuill, armed and vnarmed, bee ſet at libertie by you, without any ranſome. And that hereafter you ſhall not attempt any thing more againſt the ſaid coun- tries, places, ſubiects, or others, nor oppreſſe them in any ſort whatſoeuer, nor yet ſhew your ſelfe ſlacke, nor diſobedient, if you will auoid the aboue mentioned paines, according to E the which you ſhall order and gouerne your ſelfe: for ſuch is our intention and will. Giuen at our caſtle of Padibrath the thirtieth day of December, 1598. Signed, *Rodulphus.* 1598

The emperour did write in like manner to the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, commanding them to retire their forces out of the countrie of Weſtphalia, and other places of the empire, vpon paine of imperiall proſcription, in ſubſtance as here immediately fol- loweth.

Rodulphus &c. To all and euery the Eſtates generall of Holland, and Zeeland, and the prouinces aſſociate vnto them, their colonels, commanders of horſe, and their lieute- nants, captaines, enſignes, officers, and generally to all their men of warre, both of F horſe and foot, howſoeuer they bee called, and of what qualitie or condition ſoeuer they bee, to whom this preſent commaundement, or the copie thereof ſhall come or bee ſignified, ſo farre forth as they bee lodged or entred vpon our limits of the holy empire, the Eſtates or members thereof, or that are vnder their protection & gouernment, or in any townes, The emperours commandement to the generall Eſtates.

1598 townes, forts, and caſtles. We giue you to vnderſtand, that wee haue ſeene and heard the complaints and grieuances of our princes and Eſtates of the lower circle of Weſtphalia, and A
» eſpecially of the moſt famous *Iohn William* duke of Iulliers, Cleues, and Mont, our moſt deare
» and well beloued couſin, how that in autumne laſt, as wel the king of Spaines ſouldiers as
» yours, haue entred and lodged in the ſaid quarters, committing great ſpoyles: and that a-
» mong others, many electors, princes, and noble men, had inſtantly required and beſought vs
» to interpoſe our imperiall authoritie. And although wee haue written thereof at large vnto
» the commaunder and captaine general of your vnited prouinces, by letters of the nineteenth
» of September, and the ſecond of October: yet we vnderſtand, that you haue not onely neg-
» lected it, but doe euen at this houre maintaine your armie in the territories, of the duchie of
» Cleues, and that of late you haue taken the towne of Seuenter, and the fort of Tolhus, called B
» Colnits, and that you haue alſo ſeized on the towne of Vreda in the countrie of Munſter,
» and carried away many perſons, both ſpirituall and temporall, out of that quarter, vnto the
» towne of Groll; the which neither your captaine generall, nor you, nor all your men of
» warre can iuſtifie, in a friends countrie, allied vnto the holy empire, hauing ſworne faith and
» loyaltie vnto vs, and hauing no communitie with this warre. Conſidering alſo, that our
» princes, electors, lords, and eſtates (expecting no actes of hoſtilitie from you, but all amitie,
» and good correſpondencie) redoubling now their complaints, with thoſe of the poore affli-
» cted, beſeech vs, that wee will take ſome more rigorous courſe, and ſettle a conuenient
» order.

» Wherefore we commaund you all in generall, and euery one in particular, of our imperiall C
» power and authoritie; that is, thoſe which are not our ſubiects, nor vaſſals of the empire, vpon
» paine of death, whereſoeuer they ſhall bee taken; and for the ſubiects, mediat, or immediat,
» vaſſals, and freed men, remaining vnder the holy empire, vpon paine of proſcription, and pri-
» uation of all their benefices, priuiledges, freedomes, rights of fee, goods, lands, and inheritan-
» ces, whereſoeuer they be vnder vs, and the holy empire: that as ſoone as euer that this imperi-
» all commandement, or the copie thereof ſhall be ſignified vnto you, you cauſe all your forces
» to retire out of the limits of the empire, without doing any more wrong vnto any perſon:
» and that you reſtore vnto their lords and maſters, all the townes, caſtles, gentlemens houſes,
» places, forts, retrenchments, places where they take toll, by what name ſoeuer they be called,
» to repaire the damages, inlarge all priſoners whatſoeuer, depending of the holy empire with- D
» out ranſome, and neuer to attempt in hoſtile manner any thing againſt them, nor the lands
» and ſubiects of the empire, nor to doe otherwiſe, nor to ſhew your ſelues vnwilling, as it doth
» concerne you, and you deſire to auoyd the ſaid puniſhment. According to the which you
» ſhall rule your ſelues, for ſuch is our pleaſure. Giuen at our caſtle of Padibrath the 30 of De-
» cember, 1598. Signed, *Rodulphus.*

To theſe two imperiall commaundements directed to the admirall of Arragon and his Spaniards, on the one part, and to prince *Maurice* and the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces on the other, there were letters added from the emperour, bearing the ſame date, admoniſhing them to obey the ſaid commandements reſpectiuely. But for that the admirall did not much regard his letters and commaundement, but continued ſtill his old courſe, de- E laying it all he could, vntill that his armie had paſt the winter vpon the frontiers of Germanie, whereas they did rob and ſpoile round about; the prince and the Eſtates could not in the beginning retire their men ſo ſoone as they deſired, and leaue an enemie behind ſo neere them: yet ſoone after they deliuered vnto the duke of Cleues his towne of Seuenter, and the fort of Tolhus.

Wee haue ſhewed in the yeare 1595, before the archduke *Alberts* comming into the Netherlands, how fauourably they dealt in Spaine with the Netherlāders, releaſing al their ſhips and men which had beene ſtaied for the kings ſeruice, and granting them free libertie to traffique into Spaine: but this winter newes came out of Spaine, that they made ſtrait ſearch and inquirie, among all the Dutch ſhips which were found in any ports of thoſe countries, of F whence they were (notwithſtanding their bils of lading, & that the owners & ſaylers were of neutral places, as of Emden, Breme, Hambourg, &c.) & whether they had any Netherlād marchants partners with them, of whence their marchants were, & where they were borne, and ſo found matter to areſt, attach, & confiſcat many ſhips in diuers hauens in Spaine, committing the

A the maſters and ſaylers to priſon, and putting many of them in the gallies; yet a great num- 1599
ber of them, by meanes of the common people, who diſliked of this rigorous courſe, eſcaped and fledde away, beeing forced to leaue both ſhippe and goods behind them. In Andaloui-ſia and ſome other places in Spaine, if they did but ſuſpect any Netherland marchant or fay-ler to haue beene in the Indian fleet, or at the taking of Cales, they examined and tortured them, and beeing confeſſed, they were made galley-ſlaues without redemption. In Portugall they dealt more mildly with the Netherlanders, for that the Caſtilians which gouerned there, durſt not preſume any way to breake their priuiledges, ſo as moſt of them got ſafely home.

For confirmation, and to excuſe this rigorous proceeding, *Andrew* cardinall of Auſtria, A proclamati-
B gouernour of the Netherlands for the Infanta, by a proclamation bearing date the ninth of on in the In-
Februarie, 1599, ſhewed what the king of Spaine late deceaſed had done to quench the ciuill fantaes name
warres, not onely by armes, but by all milde courſes, offering them a generall pardon, and forbidding all
graunting them free commerce and traffique into Spaine, that it might not be taken from the traffique into
Netherlanders by other nations: and that in former times peace had beene offered them at Spaine.
Breda, and at Cologne, and had beene often propounded by the emperours embaſſadours, yet would not be accepted: yea the French king had deſired to comprehend them in his peace, the which was reiected by them. Moreouer, that the king had ſent the archduke *Erneſtus* and the cardinal *Albert* to be gouernours ouer them, for that they complained ſo much of the Spaniards gouernment, which his fauours and kind vſage they alſo deſpiſed. In the
C end the king of meere compaſſion and loue, reſolued to giue the Netherlands vnto ſome priuate prince, and ſo beſtowed them by donation vpon the high and mightie princeſſe his daughter, marying with the archduke *Albertus*, who in her name had aſſembled the Eſtates at Bruſſels, commanding and ſuffering them to write vnto the vnited prouinces, to reconcile them vnto the king, whoſe meſſengers returned without any reſolution, which proceeded from an obſtinate vnthankfulneſſe towards God, their prince, and natiue countrey; hauing no commiſeration nor compaſſion, to thinke that the empire was much troubled and oppreſt by their warres, Chriſtendome inuaded by the Turke, and the Netherlands miſerably ſpoy-led and ruined: making the ſimple people beleeue that they looſe not thereby, but that they haue free trade of ſea-faring, fiſhing, and marchandiſe, growing richer and mightier by warre,
D than euer they were; which grew, for that they were ſuffered (by paſport and licence) to trade freely with the prouinces vnder the kings obedience, and alſo to haue libertie to fiſh, the which were nothing but meanes to nouriſh and increaſe the warres.

For which cauſe, the king her brother had forbidden them all traffique into Spaine, vntill they ſhould ſhewe themſelues obedient ſubiects, as they had beene in times paſt. And therefore ſhee by the good aduice and counſell of the gouernour, cardinall *Andrew* her couſin, and of the councell of Eſtate, did forbid all communication, traffique, and trade of marchandiſe, with the aforeſaid Hollanders, Zeelanders, and their adherents, whether it were by their ſubſtitutes or others, vntill ſuch time as they ſhould bee reconciled vnto his Maieſtie, or vnto her, as their ſoueraigne and naturall ladie and princeſſe: forbidding all men to tranſport any
E money, or wares &c. by ſea, riuers, or by land, directly or indirectly vnto them, nor yet out nor from thoſe prouinces, which refuſe to obey her, to bring any wares, marchandiſe, or other things growing there, or comming or paſſing from or through thoſe countries, vpon paine of forfeiture of the ſaid goods and marchandiſe, and otherwiſe to bee extraordinarily puniſhed, reuoking all paſports, grants, and licences, which haue beene heretofore giuen: and for that cauſe we diſanull all ſafegards granted for fiſhing and nauigation: and as for paſports giuen to trauellers, they ſhall be alſo reuoked, giuing euery man a moneths reſpite to conſider thereof, and to conforme themſelues. And yet ſhee meanes not to exclude her ſubiects from all grace and fauour, nor yet to take from them all meanes of reconciliation; but rather to offer them the ſame conditions, which haue bin heretofore offered, and ſuch as may ſtand with
F reaſon.

This proclamation beeing publiſhed, the ſecond of Aprill 1599, another was made by the A proclamati-
vnited prouinces, to forbid all trade into Spaine, or into thoſe countries which were ſub- on made by
iect vnto him, as alſo concerning the giuing or receiuing of any ſafegards from their the vnited Eſ-
enemie, tates to for-
bid traffique
with Spaine.

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1599 enemie, thereby to traffique or fish freely, vpon paine of punishment and confiscation of their goods, with promise to take good order for the freeing of the seas and fishing; and withall forbidding all saylers and pilots which should bee taken prisoners by the enemie, to pay any otherwise than was appointed by them to bee paied: ordaining that all ransomes and losses should bee leuied vpon the officers and subiects of the villages of Brabant, Flaunders, and other prouinces vnder the enemies commaund, besides the contribution which they vsed to paie vnto them for the common cause, gluing the charge and command thereof vnto certaine committees thereunto deputed. A

A proclamation made in Friseland forbidding contribution to the enemie.

The generall Estates also caused a proclamation to bee published in Friseland, against the enemies safegards, who by letters and threatnings sought to force them of Friseland to pay them contribution, vpon promise of safegard and defence from them; and for that cause forbad all correspondencie by letters and otherwise with them: and commaunding euery man vpon the sound of a bell, or any signes of fire made, to chase, spoile, kill, or at the least to take prisoners, all souldiers belonging to their enemies, that should aduenture to enter into their territories, declaring all quarter to be broken with their enemies without any exception, vpon paine to be punished in like manner as the enemies themselues should bee: assigning vnto euery one that should in that sort spoile, kill, or take prisoner any of the enemies souldiers, the summe of fiftie gulderns for his paines: and whosoeuer should present any one for not obseruing the contents of this proclamation, or that had harbored, or had correspondencie with the enemie, 25 gulderns for a reward. B

This yeare there were three shippes set out of Holland, to discouer a mine of gold about Guiney, who sailed to all the islands thereabouts, and some that were not inhabited, which they called the salt islands, for that the water which was beat vp by the sea, through the heat of the sunne, congealed and became hard salt, the which is exceeding fine, white, and very strong, and better than any other, very fit to make refined salt, which costs nothing but the fetching, lading, and bringing away, whereas eightie or ninetie sayle of the greatest shippes of burthen of Holland and Zeeland, find their fraight yearely, and make great profit, the voyage beeing but short, for some haue made it in eleuen weekes, others were somewhat longer, as winde and weather did serue them; the which is likely to prooue a great hindrance to Spaine and Portugall, especially by the restraint made in Spaine, where they were accustomed to fetch their salt; whereby the Spaniards were much deceiued, supposing that one nauigation would hinder another, especially that into the east countries: but it hath bin found otherwise, for that this yeare in the beginning of April, there came vnto Amsterdam at one time fixe hundred and fourtie saile, most of them great shippes, out of the east countries, most beeing laden with corne, wood, masts, sparres, deale, pitch, tarre, flaxe, waxe, &c. which altogether brought at the least thirtie thousand tunnes, and had one with another foure pounds starling for the fraight of a last (which is two tunnes) so as by that computation they did earne sixtie thousand pounds starling at the least for fraight: whereby it may be truely said, that sea-faring, fishing, and trade of marchadise, is the Netherlanders myne. C D

This winter the vnited prouinces prepared not onely for a defensiue warre, as they had done some yeares before, but also to offend the enemie, who lay so strong vpon their frontiers with their winter armie, as they were forced to raise new regiments, and more cornets of Netherland horse men. First they gaue to *Ernestus* earle of Nassau, a commission to leuie a regiment of high Dutches of tenne companies, euery commission beeing two hundred men, the which were raised about Emden. Monsieur *la Noue* had charge to bring two thousand men out of France into Holland, of those which had so long serued the king there at their owne charges, hoping the king would be the more willing to restore the money which they had disbursed for the entertainement of those men, especially the money beeing paied vnto his owne subiects and vassals. They also entertained a thousand Suitsers which had serued in France: they added nine cornets more to their horse men, one cornet beeing vnder prince *Maurice*, his lieutenant was *Ioncker Walrauen van Gent*, sonne to the lord of Oyen, two cornets vnder the old and yong earles of Solines, and the rest vnder monsieur *Timpel*, *Balen*, *Iohn Bax*, *La Sale*, *Cloet*, and *Hamelton* a Scottish man. The Scottish footmen were also made complear, euery companie consisting of an hundred and fiftie men, and the colonels companie of two. E F

hundred

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A hundred. They would willingly haue had more supplies out of England, but they durst not moue the Queen, for that she had long before written vnto them for 2000 Englishmen to be sent ouer, for her warres in Ireland, offering to send 2000 new souldiers in their places, which they could not refuse; and for that at that time there were 27 companies of English, they sent sixe whole companies, and out of the rest they chose the worst men they could find to make vp the number, which was ill taken: in whose places the Queene sent ouer about two thousand new souldiers vnder Sir *Thomas Knowles*, who expected to be colonel ouer them, but he could get but a companie, and the rest of the men did serue to fill vp the other companies. 1599

Orders made by the Estates for their horse and foot.

B They further made a proclamation concerning their musters, for the preuenting of all deceit, by keeping their companies full, with all other orders necessarie for the warres: as first that vnder the Reisters no man might serue, but vpon his owne horse, which horse should not be lesse than fifteene great handfuls high, according to a measure made of purpose. The Reisters themselues were to haue a head-piece, a gorget, a breast, and a backe, two poldrons, a gantlet to hold his bridle, a short peece or pistoll, the barrell being two foot long, and a short sword, according to a measure appointed to that end: and if any one wanted any of the said furniture, he might not passe musters, or else he was checked and debarred from some part of his entertainment. Some in euery cornet were allowed to haue horses to carrie their necessaries, who (besides the furniture aboue named) were to bee armed with thighes, knee pieces, and culots (which is a piece of armour to defend the reines of the backe)

C with another short piece like vnto the first: their armour was to bee caliuer proofe, and they were allowed a boy who should carry a piece like vnto the other. The horsemen called Carabins, were to haue a head-piece, a gorget, a breast and a backe, a sword and a piece hauing a barrell three foot long, and a good horse.

At that time they vsed no more launces, for that they could doe but small seruice, vnlesse they were running in their full cariere, but in stead thereof they did vse pistols or short pieces, and did weare cassockes or liueries as launciers were accustomed to doe. The footmen which carried pykes, were to haue a head-piece, a gorget, a backe and a breast, a sword or rapier, a pyke of eighteene foot long, and that vpon a penaltie, and the one quarter of those that did beare pykes, were to haue poldrons to their elbowes.

D The musketiers were to haue a head-piece, a rapier, a musket, carrying a bullet whereof tenne would make a pound, and a rest. And the harquebusiers must haue a head-piece, a rapier, and a good caliuer, bored for a shot of 20 or 25 bullets in the pound, euery one hauing pay accordingly. Thus much I thought good to obserue, that posteritie may know what armes men vsed in the Netherlands in those warres.

In the end of Ianuarie 1599, certaine cornets of Reisters of the vnited Prouinces, with some companies of foot, vnder the leading of *Edmonds*, a Scottishman, and others, made a rode into the countries of Lembourg and Luxembourg, for that they brought not in their contribution orderly as they had promised, whereas they made a great spoyle vpon them of Kelinsberch, and others, taking many horses and great store of bootie from them, and

E bringing away many gentlemen prisoners, who were forced to answere for the said contribution. They also reuenged themselues for certaine Reisters, which had beene hanged as freebuters by the Prouost *Schenckern*, neere Iulliers, whose bodies they caused to be cut downe, and honourably buried, and in their returne they tooke certaine horses from the baron of Grobendonc, and after that they ouerthrew a troupe of souldiers, which were gathered together for some secret enterprise vpon Breda. This enterprise notwithstanding was attempted on the seuenteenth of Februarie, by a souldier called *la Roche*, who had bin laboured by *Grobendonc*, gouernour of Boisleduc, and by *Augustine Mexia*, Castellaine of Antuerpe, to giue entrie to the kings forces into Breda, promising him two thousand crowns, with other preferments: but he discouered it to prince *Maurice*, who with *Gouert Montons*

F and *Monsieur Heraugier*, gouernour of the towne, deuised how to intrap these vndertakers, wherein *la Roche* discharged his part well. The seuenteenth of Februarie the baron of Grobendonc and *Augustine Mexia* came secretly in the night with foure thousand foot and eleuen cornets of horse, before Breda, whereas secretly (and yet cunningly) the gate was set open for them, and all things well obserued both within and without: but in regard of

1599 the great care that is to be taken in such cases; for that diuers of the bourgers, and some of A
the souldiers of the castle which laie in the towne were drunke, the gouernour and *Meuion* were in some doubt, and therefore they caused a bridge to bee drawne vp, and so disappointed their designe, onely giuing charge and commaundement to discharge the ordnance as the enemie approached, the which was done disorderly, for the reason aforesaid, yet the Spaniards marching circumspectly, finding themselues to bee deceiued, and beeing then so neere the towne, they would haue offered to haue forced it, but it was in vaine the bridge beeing drawne vp, yet their resolution kept them of the towne from sallying out vpon them: and it was thought there were some hundred of them slaine, and so they retired without any more losse.

There was another enterprise attempted vpon Nymeghen, by the earle of Bothwell, B
who had beene banished out of Scotland, and liued then in the court at Brussels, who in Aprill had practised with a gentleman called *William Libboth*, and one *Robert Lumsden*, with promise of 3000 crownes for a reward, to betray the towne vnto the Spaniards, hauing good meanes to effect it, for that there lay foure companies of Scottish men within the towne. There was also one M. *Thou*, whom they both knew well, and trusted, for that in former times hee had beene of the *Bothwels* faction in Scotland, whom they acquainted with this practise, expecting aid from him; but in the end he discouered the whole plot, so as *Libboth* and *Lumsden* were apprehended, and committed to prison: the said *Lumsden* hauing beene most eager about this practise, being condemned was executed at the Hage, much lamenting his treason. C

A preacher murthered at Deuenter.

About this time there happened a strange accident in Deuenter, commited by one *Henrick Achteruels*, who traiterously murthered one M. *Scherickmans* a minister in the said towne: this *Henrick Achteruels* beeing in the church, whereas the said preacher had made a sermon, and was come downe out of the pulpit, walking behind the quire betweene two men, this *Achteruels* followed him, and thrust him into the necke with a knife which had two edges, cleane through the throat, and cut a peece of his tongue, wherewith the minister fell downe, and died presently. Hauing done this villanous act, hee ranne out of the Church, but beeing followed by the officers of the towne on horse backe, hee was taken and racke, where hee confessed that hee had done that deed willingly, in regard of his doctrine, and for the zeale hee bare to the catholike Romish religion, to the which end hee had caused the D
said knife to bee made, to effect that meritorious deed; for the which he was condemned and executed as a murtherer.

This winter vpon the eighteenth day of Ianuarie, the garrisons of Lillo and Liefkenshook-skonce lying vpon the riuer of Scheld, set vpon the skonce of Veyr in Flanders, right against Antuerpe, who going behind the drowned land, suddainly entred it, and slue all that made any resistance, taking all that was within it, where they found good bootie and iewels, which came out of the castle of Antuerpe, by meanes of the mutinie of the garrison there; and among other things they found a case of pearles, of great value, and tooke many prisoners, which they put to ransome, and so returned backe againe to their garrisons. E

The diuision continued still at Emden, betwixt the earle of east Friseland, and the towne, by the practises of the Spaniards, and the king of Poland, so as the contract made at Delfzeil was broken, and a faction growing in the towne of Emden, for the aduancing of the earles pretences: this faction consisted of marchants, owners of shippes, and sailers trading into Spaine, who as then hoped, by meanes of the prohibition of trade into Spaine, and the Spaniards rigorous proceeding against the Netherlands (who secretly vnder other mens names had great dealings in Spaine) to drawe the whole trade into their hands, wherof the Netherlanders beeing debarred, they should also in all apparance loose their trade in the east countries, and so all that traffique would also fall into the hands of them of Emden. This faction beeing strong, by the incouragement of the earle, and such as were affected to the Spaniard, F
was well liked of the common people, so as the magistrates and rulers of the towne, were forced to seeke some meanes to preuent it, and to leuie certaine souldiers to oppose against enemies designes, for the which they wanted money, hauing no meanes to take vp many, beeing ouercharged with the paiment of certaine summes of money vnto the earle, according

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A ding vnto the contract and agreement made at the towne of Delfziel, wherefore the vnited prouinces found meanes to aid the towne with twentie thousand Guelders, the towne and bourgers binding themselues vnto the Estates for the paiment thereof, wherewith they leuied some souldiers vnder certaine captaines and commaunders, remembring diuers presidents of the duchie of Cleues, Westphalia, the towne of Wezel, and others, wherefore it much behooued them to stand vpon their guard: yet they of the contrarie faction sought to make themselues masters of the towne, so as in the moneth of Aprill there was likely to haue beene a great tumult within the towne, whereas they had shut vp the magistrate and about some fourtie others in the towne house, and in the meane time the contrarie faction resolued to send to treat with the earle; which they of the towne fearing, they made meanes vn- 1599
B to the Estates to send them some souldiers with all speed: to whom captaine *Iohn vander Corput* was sent, with certaine companies, who beeing neere vnto the towne, and the earles messengers comming to Emden, met with them of the towne, vnto whom captaine *Corput* spake, and tooke them away with him, saying, there was no reason the towne of Emden should agree with the earle, vnlesse the vnited prouinces (according to the contract and agreement made at the towne of Delfziel) might haue their voices and consent therein: by which meanes the pretentions of the said factions for that time ceased. Not long after *Edzard* earle of east Friseland died, leauing fiue sonnes by his wife, who was daughter to the king of Sweathland, their names were cont *Enno* the eldest, *Gustanus*, *Iohn*, *Christopher*, and *Charles*; whereof, *Enno* vntill that time was called baron of Esens by his mariage with the
C heire of Esens, who tooke the rule and gouernment of the countrie vpon him: his brother *Christopher* went to serue the archduke *Albert* in the Netherlands, who made him colonel of a regiment of foot, the which hee raised this yeare in Brabant, and elsewhere.

Enno earle of Emden comming to the gouernment (by the mediation of *Iohn Fredericke* bishop of Breme, sonne to *Adolph* duke of Holst, and of the duches dowager of Holst, the said *Enno* hauing for his second wife maried one of his daughters) made an agreement with them of Emden, and with their adherents, together with the vnited prouinces, according vnto the contract made at Delfziel foure yeares before. This accord was afterward proclaimed in Emden the sixt day of October, in the yeare 1599, and cont *Enno* was installed in his earledome.

D As certaine troupes were leuied this yeare in France by monsieur *la Noue*, for the vnited prouinces, cardinall *Andrew* of Austria gouernour of the Netherlands, sent the earle of Bassigni, sonne to the lord of Boytel, to hinder the same, and to make complaint vnto the king, for that he had suffered such aid to goe vnto the rebellious Netherlands, contrarie to the contract and agreement of peace: whereunto the king made a short answer, saying, that he vnderstood that such as went thither were Huguenots, who went to aid their brethren, for that the warre which he had beene constrained to maintaine with the leaguers (wherein they had faithfully serued him) had made him so bare as hee could not reward their seruices, whereby they might haue meanes to liue quietly at home in their houses: and that if the cardinall had need of as many leaguers out of his realme, that hee was content to
E graunt them to doe him seruice: and if it should be construed to be against the peace, he said that he should not be found to bee the first that did infringe it, but rather the king of Spaine, who supported the duke of Sauoy against him, whereby he did not yeeld the marquesate of Saluses vnto him, whereunto he had so iust a title, as all the world did know: and besides he had suffered an armie of 30000 men to enter into the duke of Cleues countrie, beeing his friend and allie.

In the beginning of this yeare the old countesse of Arembergh (a wise and discreet ladie) widow to the earle of Arembergh, who was slaine in battell by *Lodowicke* earle of Nassau, died at Stuenberghen, where shee liued as in a neutrall place; so as vpon the 24 of Februarie, they of Holland decreed that her lands and goods (which were of great value in Holland, &
F by her death descended vnto her two sonnes, who as then serued the king, beeing their enemies) should be againe confiscated, and so held to the vse and benefit of the countrie. But omitting to speake of any other thing, we will returne to the admiral vpon the frontiers of the empire.

The death of the old countesse of Arembergh.

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1599 The princes electors of the Rhine, and of the inferiour circle of Westphalia, hauing their deputies assembled in the citie of Cologne the 21 of Ianuarie, to take some future course for the admirals disorders, by way of armes, seeing that the emperours letters were of so small credit with him: to that end they did write to the princes and estates of the circle of Franconia, and the lower Saxonie, to mooue them to ioyne with them, and with their common forces, to chase the Spaniards out of the limits of the empire, and that the said princes, to the number of fiue circles, would to that end, send their deputies to Conflans, on the 11 of March following, the which they did. A

In the meane time the emperour did write againe from Prague the 11 of Februarie, 1599, to cardinall *Andrew* of Austria, gouernour of the Netherlands in the absence of the archduke *Albert*, reiterating his commaundements, with other letters to the like effect to the admirall; who on the other side, as it were in despight of the emperour and the princes of the empire, tooke Emmeric againe, beeing in the country of Cleues, the which prince *Maurice* had before taken from them, and deliuered to the duke free. B

The archduke *Albert* meaning to excuse himselfe of all these disorders, by his letters written vnto the emperour from Milan on the 29 of December, he seemes to lay the blame vpon cardinall *Andrew*, that the imperiall commandement for the retreat of the Spaniards out of the territories of the empire, was not executed: whether he did it fainedly or with a good intent, may well appeare, by the taking againe of Emmeric.

The deputies beeing at Cologne, by letters of the 21 of Ianuarie, made their complaints vnto the emperour, as well of the admirall and the Spaniards, as of prince *Maurice* and the Estates armie; beseeching, that they might haue an imperiall armie granted them (which ought commonly to bee of fourtie thousand men) to force both the one and the other to depart out of the territories of the empire, and repaire the hurt that was done. Whereupon the admirall sent a commissarie in his name to Cologne, to treat with the said deputies of the princes and Estates, but especially with that of cont *Vander Lippe*, captaine generall of the lower circle of Westphalia: which commissarie, before hee would propound any thing in the assemblie of the deputies, required a copie of the reasons why the admirall was sent for, with the names of all the deputies, and of the princes, lords, and Estates their masters, saying, that if they thought those affaires should be decided according to the constitutions of the empire, they were deceiued; but it was his intention that they should be ended according to the forme of a councell of warre: whereupon answer was made him, that seeing hee auowes himselfe to bee for the king of Spaine, the archduke *Albert*, and the cardinall *Andrew*, they would see his letters of credit, and heare his propositions: the which beeing seene, the commissarie would not say any thing vntill the next day. C D

In the meane time the deputies of the princes and Estates of the circles beeing somewhat diuided, the commissioner sent to the deputies of cont *Vander Lippe*, that they should send one to conferre with him, which was onely to haue a delay for the deliuering of his propositions, the which he said he would at large in writing on the sonday following. At which day, the said cõmissioner being in the assembly of the deputies, he presented a certain iustificatory writing in the admirals name, promising as soone as might be to retire the Spanish forces out of the limits of the empire. The letters which the admirall had written vnto the deputies of the circles assembled at Cologne, from Rees the twentieth of Ianuarie, to excuse himselfe, were full of allegations, pretending an vrgent necessitie, which had moued the king of Spaine to come and lodge his armie in those quarters, that hee might the better by that meanes subdue his enemies the Estates, laying before them the great benefits which the empire had receiued from the king of Spaine, and the house of Burgoigne; wherefore it was reciprocally bound to serue and accommodate him therein; saying, that he was not come thither with any bad intent, to incorporate any mans lands, or countrie, or to wrong any man, but through extreame and vrgent necessitie, and with sincere affection which hee bare vnto the empire, and the preseruation thereof, accusing as much as possibly hee could, the Estates of the vnited prouinces, to bee the onely and chiefe cause of these miseries, for that they would neuer reconcile themselues vnto the king, notwithstanding so many goodly treaties which haue bin offered, with the intercession of the emperour & other kings and E

The substance of the admirals letters to the deputies at Cologne

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and princes of Germanie, nor yet the grace which the king of Spaine hath done them to haue transported all his Netherlands to the Infanta his daughter, with the archduke *Albert*, so as they haue bin forced to take a very rigorous course. And seeing that the king & the said archduke had made him Generall of their armie, to imploy it as soone as might bee, and to march into the kings countrie, which was held by the enemies, they haue thought they might well allow them so much, as to passe by the frontiers of the empire, to take from the enemie those places they held, and afterwards restore them to their lords. In the meane time, by the long expectation of the prince elector of Cologn, after the yeelding of Rhinberck, and the retreat of the enemies shippes vpon the Rhine, the said armie by the diligence of the archduke (pretending to ruine *Schencks* fort, situated vpon one of the corners of the Rhine) had staid still: but afterwards beeing suspected of delaie in the pursuit of this designe, wee haue brought it (said hee) along the Rhine, to aduance that businesse by his presence and ours. And beeing come thither, the which by reason of the treaties and negotiations was a long worke, it was forced to remaine there, as well to assure the riuer of Rhine, and defend the towne of Orsoy, as for other considerations. They were forced to vse the towne of Burick, to disappoint the enemies, and to hinder their designes. In the meane time victuals and forrage beeing wasted, considering the complaints of neighbours, many things haue past: among others, the fact of cont *Vanden Broeck*, who for his accustomed cruelty, and for the hatred he had formerly borne them, falling vpon them that went to forrage, and putting them to the sword, remembring it, and beeing incensed to reuenge for former affronts, hauing neglected and contemned our brotherly admonitions, desiring rather to practise armes than to entertaine amitie, if any thing hath happened vnto him more than wee would, it was with our griefe and dislike, and whereof wee are resolued to doe iustice. And when as the neighbour countries came vnto vs: to complaine of the wrongs and oppressions which they said they had endured, wee haue giuen them iust and lawfull excuses to euery point: so as after wee had taken Bergh, to preuent the pollicie of the enemie, as soone as wee had receiued money and victuals from them of Wezel, according to their redemption and accord made with vs, to distribute among our men, and to raise the army which wee brought to Rees, and hauing well furnished it, wee came to Emerick in view of the enemie, a towne seated vpon the Rhine, neere vnto *Schencks* skonce, the which beeing strong both by art and nature, of hard accesse by reason of the waters, ill to batter, and worse to assault, leauing it there, wee tooke the high countrie and went before Deutecom, the which yeelded, and so did the castle of Schuylenbourg. Whilest this past, beeing in counsell what was to bee done, whether to lead the armie vp higher and farther into the enemies countrie, or not, considering the varietie of the season, raine, cold, and swelling of the riuers, the depth of marish and muddie waies, and the poore estate of the souldiers, beeing impossible to hold them longer in the raine and wind, after long consultations, by the reasons of warre, the iniurie of the time, and the preseruation of the armie, it was held most expedient to winter in the neerest places, that is, in the countries of Cleues, Munster, Marck, Cologne, about the Rhine, and beyond the Meuse, that they might thereby both stoppe the enemies courses, entertaine the kings armie all the winter, and haue it euer in a readinesse. By reason whereof, wee haue seene what the common necessitie required, which was the shortest course, and the most expedient for vs to hasten, as wee haue courteously done, according vnto militarie order: seeing that through the shortnesse of time wee had not leisure to demaund nor attend the consent of superiours, who by their difficulties and tedious disputes, might haue beene the cause of greater danger. Against the which, as many by reason of the strangenesse of the fact, neither knowing the danger, necessitie, nor profit thereof, haue made their complaints vnto their princes, who apprehending the hindrance of their subiects, haue also complained vnto vs, wee haue answered them courteously, commending the good amitie of the confederate lords of the Rhine, and of their countrey against all inconueniences; putting them in mind of the kings great benefits, and of his hazard, to preserue the countrie & territories of the empire from vtter ruine, to the preiudice of his own affaires. Finally, we gaue them to vnderstand the kings iust intention and ours in this action, hauing demaunded nothing more of them, but that wee might winter for a time, not to hold any thing, nor to doe any manner of wrong or oppression, earnestly intreating

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1599 them to put in ballance according to equitie, the benefits which they haue receiued from A
the king, against the small hindrances which the lodging and entertaining of his souldiers
„ may cause them suffer, in regard of that which his enemies had caused them to endure, if this
„ armie of the kings had not restrained them. Finally, hauing laid before them the assurance
„ there was (were it by peace or warre) that rest and tranquillitie would ensue: that it would
„ please them to beare this common fortune modestly betwixt them and the king, and con-
„ taine their subiects for a time with patience, and rather make the best interpretation of this
„ action to the emperour, and other princes of the empire, than by badde reports and fruitlesse
„ and false complaints, and badde conceptions, aggrauate the kings sincere actions, bringing
„ our innocencie into danger, and it may be, vnder a pretext of commiseration and succours
„ required, kindle a fire which would spread ouer the whole empire, the which may not bee B
„ quenched, but by the generall ruine of the whole. By which friendly behauiour and ad-
„ monitions, wee had thought to haue cut off all occasions of complaints, and that there
„ should be no more mention made vnto the emperour, nor in any other courts and estates of
„ the empire: whereof, notwithstanding, wee vnderstand the contrarie, and feare that in
„ this assemblie (through the exclamations of some, mooued with hatred and spleene
„ conceiued against the king and the catholike religion, or through indiscretion, or malice,
„ trusting too much to the light promises of the enemies of the countrie, or through ingrati-
„ tude, or such like) that such false reports are againe brought in question. By reason whereof,
„ wee haue thought it expedient, as wee haue done by letters to his imperiall Maiestie, and by
„ word of mouth to M. *Charles Nutzel*, his Maiesties commissioner in these parts, to oppose C
„ vpon euery article, the kings merits and iustifications, against such friuolous complaints, and
„ to send them in writing to the princes and estates of the empire; and to you in your assem-
„ blie, intreating you in his Maiesties name, and ours, not to haue any sinister impression
„ without cause of his Maiesties sincere intention, by an vndue commiseration, or spleene, ri-
„ sing from a little disorder, which bee the ordinarie fruits of warre, least you fall into grea-
„ ter inconueniences and troubles, which would bee the cause of a farre greater mischiefe,
„ whereof you should reape nothing but a late repentance. But rather vsing your accusto-
„ med wisdomes and discretions, according to the loue and affection which you beare to
„ the publike quiet, measuring the good with the small losses and hindrances which haue
„ happened vpon the frontiers of the empire, ioyning to these of the king, you will interpret D
„ it in the best sence, and comfort and feed with hope such as haue beene partakers of these
„ losses, giuing others which are farre off to vnderstand, to what a good end all may sort;
„ without giuing credit vnto the complaints which haue beene wrongfully made, as well vn-
„ to the emperour, and vnto the estates of the empire; the which beeing most notorious,
„ should suffice any man of vnderstanding, to excuse and iustifie his Maiesties actions and
„ ours. Yet for that in these concurrents of time, some mens iudgements are so depraued, as
„ these nouelties sound so strangely in their eares, as they neither can nor will comprehend
„ the true ground; and therefore matters remaine thus obscured and darkened. For whose
„ better satisfaction, wee thinke that the king hath therein satisfied, if (as these false reporters, by
„ lies and slaunderous suggestions, doe charge his Maiestie) wee on the other side doe shew E
„ by the deduction of alliances and treaties, as well of the whole empire, as of the princes and
„ estates, with the house of Burgoigne, that his Maiestie in stead of seruices against his ene-
„ mies and rebels, hath receiued disseruices: although that according vnto diuine and humane
„ lawes, yea and according vnto the constitutions of the empire, they were thereunto bound
„ and obliged. Contrarie wise, it appeares with what bountie, moderation, clemencie, and
„ with what charge his Maiestie hath, amidst so great troubles and tumults of warre, pre-
„ serued the whole dioces of Cologne, and neighbour countries, beeing in great danger to
„ bee all lost, and the catholike religion suppresst and put downe; and that to the great hin-
„ drance of his owne affaires. By which merits and good deedes, they of the dioces of Co-
„ logne and Westphalia were the more bound, so as no man of iudgement, if hee will not bee F
„ noted of ingratitude, can iustly blame his Maiesties actions, nor ours, touching the lodging
„ and wintring of his armie, contained with all militarie modestie: and they should not giue
„ place to so many fruitlesse clamours and complaint, at the least if such men be any thing affe-
„ cted to their countries good, to stir vp in stead thereof new troubles, & new warres, whereof

there

A there can be nothing expected but fire and flame, and a totall deuaſtation. Wherefore wee truſting in your wiſedomes and diſcretions, and aſſuring our ſelues that you will therein do all good offices to his Maieſtie and the Eſtates of the empire, ſeeking nothing more, than by the effects to attaine vnto a good peace, and to diſcharge the frontiers of the empire of the ſaid armie, as ſoone as may be; wherein if through the preſumption, raſhneſſe, or bad practiſes of ſome I be hindered, we proteſt openly, that the blame of all the miſchiefe ſhall be layd vpon the authors and procurers of thoſe hindrances, and not vpon the king. And to the end that the reaſons here produced for his Maieſties iuſtification and ours, may bee the better repreſented vnto his imperiall Maieſtie, and to your excellencies, and the neceſſitie which hath forced vs thereunto, wee intreat you, that in ſtopping your eares to all falſe reports (which elſe would B increaſe daily) you will now reſolue to aſſiſt this warre with all your meanes; and to conuert it to a good peace, with which hope we wil attend your iudgement and aduice, beſeeching God, &c. From Rees the twentieth of Ianuarie 1599. Signed, *Francis* of Mendoza, great Admirall of Arragon. 1599

The ſame deputies of the admirall, on the ſeuenth of February following, preſented a certaine declaration in the aſſembly of the deputies of the princes and Eſtates of the ſaid fiue circles, in the ſaid towne of Cologne, in the name of the king of Spaine, the archduke *Albert*, the cardinall *Andrew*, and the ſaid admirall, in a ſharpe and Ieſuiticall ſtile, in the which are related particularly and at large, the iuſtifications, reproches, inſtances, and purſutes made vnto the emperour and to the princes ſummarily ſet downe in the admirals letters: All which diſ-C courſe ſeemes rather to be made in contempt and mockerie, and the more to incenſe the Germans, as if they did them great wrong to complaine of the admirals actions, and of his armie, and that they were yet beholding vnto them. The which they did onely to win time, and to haue the bad ſeaſon of winter ſpent, and to ſee if the Germans would doe any thing, as it ſeemed they threatned them. This diſcourſe is ſo tedious, as it would tire the reader, and ſo impudent and arrogant, as we haue thought good to omit it. To the which anſwer was made, and all the points of the reproches, and accuſations, made in the ſaid declaration, examined, debated, and reiected as falſe & calumnious, to the preiudice of the emperors honor, of the princes and the Eſtates of the empire.

The fifteenth of December, the ſame yeare 1598, there died in the towne of Leiden in Hol- Aldegonde & Longolius die.
D land, that worthy and learned perſonage, *Philip* of Marnix, ſeignior of S. Aldegonde, who was much lamented of all learned men, being about threeſcore years old, who in his time had done great ſeruices to the prince of Orange, and the general cauſe of the vnited prouinces. The next day there died in the towne of Arnhem, doctor *Elbert Leonin*, called *Longolius*, chauncellor of Gueldres, ſometimes profeſſor, and a great lawyer in the vniuerſitie of Louuaine, a man of great knowledge and experience in affaires of eſtate, of a quick conceit, and ſound iudgement, hauing alſo done great ſeruices to the ſaid prince and States. He was aboue 80 yeres old when hee died. In two dayes together the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands, loſt theſe two learned men.

Cardinall *Andrew*, gouernour of the Netherlands in the abſence of the archduke *Albert*, The elector of Mentz anſwer to cardinall Andrew.
E did alſo ſend *Fernando Lopes de Villanoua*, gouernour of Carpen, to the emperour, with the like iuſtifications, with expreſſe charge in paſſing, to excuſe and iuſtifie him to the prince elector, archbiſhop of Mentz, and to make the emperour and all the princes and ſtates of Germanie deafe and blind, if it were poſſible, although they did heare and ſee plainely. The prince elector of Mentz, gaue him a ſhort and reſolute anſwer, which was in effect, That he could not allow of that which the ſaid cardinall and admirall had attempted vpon the territories, and againſt the conſtitutions of the empire. That for his part he would not fayle in that which concerned his duetie for the preſeruation of the peace and quiet of Germanie, being in that maner troubled and interrupted: And that for his better counſell, he did aduiſe the ſaid cardinall, to retire his armie out of the confines of the empire, as ſoone as might be, and not to attend vnto
F the end of Aprill, to repaire all iniuries, to reſtore that which they had extorted, and make ſatisfaction for the dammages which they had ſuffered both in generall and particular. In doing ſo the princes and Eſtates of the empire ſhould haue reaſon to excuſe that which was paſt, and to allow of the vrgent neceſſitie, by the which they ſeeke to purge and iuſtifie the ſaid actions. This anſwer was giuen to *Fern. Lopes* by the ſaid prince elector, the 25 of Februarie 1599.

The

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1599. Letters from the vnited prouinces to the princes of Germany.

The Estates of the vnited prouinces sent in like manner their iustifications in writing, of all A
their actions, to some of the princes electors, and others in Germanie; whereof the substance
was, That they had receiued their letters, containing the complaints of the circles of West-
phalia, for the wrongs and oppressions which the countries of Cleues, Iuilliers, Cologne, and
Westphalia, did suffer by the souldiers of either partie: By the which letters they were requi-
red to retire their souldiers out of the confines of the empire, without any delay, restoring the
» townes which they held, pulling downe the forts which they had built, and leauing the coun-
» tries, townes, and estates of the empire in their antient peace, quiet, and tranquilitie: Where-
» vnto their answer and resolution was in like sort requisit. In answer whereof the sayd
» Estates protested, That they were verie sorie to heare of any such complaints, and the more, for
» that they were put in the same ranke with the Spaniards and the admirall; who had not for- B
» borne to besiege, batter, force, and take the townes, castles, forts, and houses of gentlemen in the
» countrey of Cleues, and the circle of Westphalia, with murthers, burning, spoyles, and raui-
» shing of wiues and virgins, without any respect of what estate, condition, or qualitie soeuer;
» wherwith not content, they haue by their garrisons and threats, forced some of the said townes,
» ouer and aboue their ransomes & concussions, to change their religion & policie, which they
» had for many yeares past quietly enioyed, vnder the authoritie of your excellencies, and other
» princes, wherein the king of Spain had no title nor interest, and therefore had no reason to co-
» lour his attempts.
» Whereas for their parts (say the Estates) nothing hath beene done but by meere constraint
» and necessitie (which hath no law) for the preseruation, maintenance, and assurance of their v- C
» nited prouinces, and the which without any contradiction, according to the law of armes, and
» martiall discipline, may be done, whereunto they haue beene forced. By reason whereof they
» besought their excellencies, and all men of iudgement in matters of warre, calling them to wit-
» nesse, if considering the admirals attempts (seeing they had no other meanes to make head a-
» gainst the enemie, but in preuenting him, and in fore-occupying the places which he himselfe
» had incorporated) they had seized first thereon, and put in some of their men, for that the
» Tolhus which they had seized, was not sufficient to resist the admirals forces, who in the
» end would not haue failed to haue come thither (where the inhabitants should haue been in-
» treated with the like mildnesse that they were in other places) and thereby to haue had an en-
» trie into their vnited prouinces: Besides, they neuer had any intent to seize vpon one foot of D
» land belonging to the empire, nor to any prince or lord that were a neuter, to hold or retaine
» them as proprietories, as (they said) they had of late assured his imperiall Maiestie, the princes
» electors, and namely the prince elector of Cologne, with whom they desired nothing more,
» than to entertaine all good alliance, amitie, correspondencie, and good neighborhood: main-
» taining themselues in that sort, without diminution of their estate, vntill they might once see
» an end, whereunto they haue alwayes aspired, vnto that houre, and the which they haue suffi-
» ciently made knowne by their resolution, to restore the town of Rhinebeck to the said prince
» elector of Cologne, to hold that vnder the lawes of neutralitie, if that had not beene preuented
» by the siege which the admirall laid before it, who thereby would giue colour to his attempts
» vnto those, who through impatiency would not looke vnto the ground of the matter: E
» Which attempts are the more manifest, by the taking and surprising of townes and pla-
» ces, and the alteration of religion and policie: whereby he doth not onely aduertise the prin-
» ces and noblemen, but he doth teach them plainly, how hee will intreat both them and their
» subiects, vpon the first oportunitie, to erect the Spanish Monarchie. They haue well found
» by experience, how willingly and freely (sayd the Estates) in the yeare 1590 last past, they did
» at the request of the said princes and estates of the empire, deliuer vp diuers places which
» they had taken from their enemies, being scituated vpon the territories of the empire, hoping
» that the enemies would in like manner yeeld vp those which they held, and which they had
» promised the said princes and estates to yeeld, being also held of the empire, as it is well known
» to all the world: Which yeelding of their parts, and refusall of the enemies, hath been so pre- F
» iudiciall vnto them, as in the end they haue beene constrained to besiege and force Alpen,
» Mœurs, and Berck, according vnto the good successe which they haue had. It is also well
» knowne, how they haue since yeelded the townes of Alpen and Mœurs, without restitution
» of any one peny of that which they had layd out to conquer them, and how they had offered

to

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A to do as much for the towne of Berck, with the declaration of the true meanes to entertaine 1599
the limits of the empire in peace, so farre foorth as the enemie (who did all hee could to the
contrarie) did not hinder it: which their good and sincere intention hath beene so much "
the more apparant, for that according to the order set downe by prince *Maurice* their generall, "
to chase away the enemies garrisons out of the towne of Emmeric, they haue done it, and be- "
ing satisfied therewith, haue yeelded the towne vnto his prince. Whereby your excellencies "
and other princes may iudge of the sinceritie of their actions, without any doubt or distrust "
of them: but that you would rather seeke the meanes, by the which the Spaniards and their "
adherents might be chased out of all Germanie, and preuented of their pretended monarchy, "
driuing them euen beyond the Alpes, to the end that the members and subiects of the empire "
B may be deliuered and freed from so great troubles and dangers, wherein for these many yeres "
we haue pretended and done our best indeuours, and are yet resolued so to do: wherein wee "
hope and trust, that God will moue the hearts of kings, princes, potentats, and commonweals, "
and opening the eyes of their vnderstanding, they wil take the defence of their common cause "
in hand, running all ioyntly to quench this fire, which begins now to flame. For the which "
we pray vnto his diuine Maiestie both night and day, beseeching most humbly, that it would "
please your excellencies, and the other princes, to take and interpret our reasons and iustifica- "
ons here set downe, in good part, and as the sincerenesse thereof doe deserue. Praying the "
Almightie &c. "

During all these rescriptions and iustifications of either side, the Spaniards had, like har-
C bingers with chalke in their hands, run ouer and forraged the frontiers of Germanie in West-
phalia, Cleueland, Marck, and Bergh, the which neither writing nor threats could make them
forbeare; making their greatest excuse, that they would first haue the Estates deliuer vp that
little which they held vpon the confines of the empire, as the Tolhus, and the fort of Grauen-
werd. By reason whereof the deputies of the circles of Franconia, of the Rhine, of base Ger-
manie, of Westphalia, and of base Saxonie, assembled at Conflans, to consult what was to be
done, to reduce Germanie to quietnesse, and to cause the Spaniards retire, freeing as wel those
places which were scituated vpon the riuer of Rhine, from their garrisons, as all other places of
the territories of the empire. And in like maner those which the Estates of the vnited prouin-
ces held, with reparation of damages and spoils made by either partie vpon the territories of
D the empire: According to the which they did write vnto the said Estates the tenth of April,
commaunding them in the emperours name and the princes, to retire their garrisons out of the
confines of the empire, to deliuer vp the townes, and to ruine the forts which they had built,
(namely that of Grauenwerd) to repaire the damages done by them, to punish the breakers of
the peace, and the perturbers of the publike quiet of Germanie, to restraine the courses and
spoyles of their souldiers, that hereafter the territories of the empire may bee freed from such
spoyles and oppressions, and that the traffique and commerce may be restored.

Whereunto answer was made by the said confederat Estates, That they had hoped and did Letters from the Estates to the deputies of the circles,
verily beleeue, that they had giuen contentment vpon the like points vnto his imperiall Maie-
stie, and to the princes, by their precedent letters, whereof they sent a copie vnto the said de-
E puties: for that nothing had been since attempted by them vpon the territories of the empire,
hauing no other intent, but to make head against the admirall, and to resist his mightie armie,
by preoccupation of those places, where their troups were lodged; of the which without
doubt the admirall would haue seized, that by the fauour thereof he might get an entrie into
their prouinces. Assuring the said deputies, that they had neuer any intention to seize vpon a-
ny one foot of land belonging to the empire, nor to any country that was neuter, but haue ra-
ther sought to win and entertaine with good friendship and neighbourhood, all princes, po-
tentats, and commonweales, wherein they desire to continue as much as may be, and the assu-
rance of their estate may beate; as in effect they had sufficiently declared, when as (notwith-
standing all the barbarous insolencies which the Spaniards practised before their eyes, in the
F duchies of Cleues and Mont, and in the dioceses of Cologne and Munster) they had carried
themselues temperatly and modestly, and had done more, if the Spaniards had not brought
their garrisons so neere: for which cause they could not restraine their souldiers, but they must
sometimes go to discouer them, and to skirmish with them: so as the deputies had no iust cause
to distrust their good and sincere intention. Assuring them, that as for those places which they
held,

1599 held, and were of necessitie to hold for their safetie vpon the territories of the empire, that as A
soone as euer they had abandoned those quarters, that they also for their parts would quit them, and giue order for the excursions of their men of warre. And whereas the deputies required, That the Estates would abandon and ruin the fort of Grauenweerd: they shewed that the countrey and iurisdiction of the duchie of Geldre, had alwayes maintained, and did yet, that that place is of the seigniorie and dependance of Geldre, and not of Cleues. And if the duke of Cleues would not be therewith contented, that in that case they would be mediators to the Estates of Geldres, and the county of Zutphen, which are of their vnion, that they would consent to haue this controuersie decided by the said deputies, according to the treaty past in the yeare 1544. betwixt the emperour and the duke of Cleues, by the which the sayd difference hath remained vnto this day vndecided, so as they cannot now do otherwise. They B
intreated them, that their answer and sincere declaration might be taken in good part, and that they would be mediators vnto the emperor, the princes and estates of the empire, that the Spaniards might effectually leaue the townes and places which they held vpon the confines of the empire: that in the like case they might for their parts deliuer all, and giue more cause of contentment to the emperour. This answer was sent from the Hage in Holland, the 12 of May 1599.

The deputies write againe to the Estates.

The said deputies of the circles being again assembled at Munster, writ their letters vnto the generall Estates of the vnited prouinces, on the 15 of May, insisting chiefly vpō the restitution and abandoning of those places which the Estates held vpon the confines of the empire, especially for the fort Grauenweerd, the which doth the Spaniard more hurt than all the rest. The C
said deputies did also complaine, that the Estates entertained some of their troups in the suburbs of Emden, and that they caused the * Montaigne of Calmine, in the countrey of Lembourg, to contribute, and that for the execution thereof their men had burnt certaine mils to beat copper. Whereupon the Estates answered, That for the first point of restitution of places, they thought they had giuen them contentment by their letters of the 12 of the said moneth, and by the copie annexed, written vnto the emperor, and to the princes of the empire: for that the places which they held were only for their defence, manned with a moderat garrison, and well paid, the which did not oppresse the inhabitants, whereas if the Spaniards had held them (whereof they would not haue failed, if they had not bin preuented) they must haue attended nothing but ruine & desolation: assuring them againe to haue them, as soone as the Spaniard D
should be retired. As for those men which they had in the suburbs of Emden, it had bin done since that the Spaniard had past the Rhine with his whol army, & had sought to make himself master of that towne, aswell by the disvnion that was within it, as by the troups hee had about it: for which consideration they had bin moued to send some troups to preuent any such enterprise, not only for the assurance of the said town, & of the good inhabitants, but also for the seruice of the empire, and the estate of their prouinces, the which they entertained with great charge & good order for their pay: Hauing (according to the promises made by them to the earle deceased, and to the senat of the said town (when they made an agreement betwixt them at Delfziel) to cause the said treatie to be obserued) sent their deputies thither, to make a good peace betwixt the new earl & the senat, and if it were possible to reconcile all their quarels and E
discontents. And that when as the danger of Spanish practises shall cease in those quarters, by this peace which they do mediat, they would then speedily retire their men, wherof they haue giuen charge vnto their commissioners: Intreating them, that they would interpret this action in the best sence, and excuse it as done for the seruice of the empire: remembring that the magistrat of the said towne hath not yet made any complaint of our souldiers.

* It is a mineral matter which they vse about copper, The Estates answer.

As for the contributions of the Calmine, that they should not take it in ill part, to aduance the Spaniard, for that if they get any contributions out of the enemies country, the Spaniards draw much more out of theirs: that it is according to the law of armes, wherein they haue done no wrong vnto the empire. That they had no knowledge of the burning of any mils, if it be not by some exploit of warre, wherein it is verie hard (although they should F
be verie sorie any such thing should happen) to restraine the incensed souldiers, promising to take such order, as their souldiers shall bee hereafter more temperat and modest in their behauiour.

Henry Iulio duke of Brunswick and Lunebourg, postule of Halberstat, hearing the many com-

A complaints of the barbarous cruelties committed by the Spaniards vpon the frontiers of Germanie, fearing least this canker should spread further, and creepe into the bowels of the empire, had on the nineteenth of December the yeare past, by his proclamation exhorted his subiects and vassals, to be armed and readie vpon all occurrents to repulse the attempts of the Spaniards: wherein he was seconded by prince *Maurice*, landtgraue of Hessen, who hauing leuied good troups of men, with those that the Estates of the circles, aboue named, ioyned vnto them, made a goodly bodie of an armie, none but Germans, beeing about ten thousand foot and three thousand horse, whereof noble *Simon* earle of Lippe was generall: *Philip* earle of Hohenloo commaunded the duke of Brunswicks troupes, and *George Everard* earle of Solins, those of the landtgraue of Hessen, and *Oliuer* of Timpel, seignior of Cruybeke, was called B from the seruice of the generall Estates of the vnited prouinces, to be generall of the artillerie to the said armie, without the assistance of which Estates, to speake the truth, the said armie had wanted many of the chiefe commodities which they had need of. 1599

This armie being on foot, the Spaniards left their lodgings about the end of Aprill, in the quarters of Westphalia and Munster, the which they left miserable and desolate, comming along the Rhine, to the townes of Emmeric and Rees: then the armie approched, and came and besieged the fort of Walsom, right against Orsoy, on the riuers side, which the Germans tooke, after which the armie spent almost two months idly in those quarters, to the great discontentment of the said princes of Brunswick and Hessen, & of their lieutenants. In the end cont *Vander Lippe* causing it to descend lower on the same side of the Rhine, the admirall of Arragon C retired his Spaniards out of Emmeric the 7 of May, displacing the bridge which he had vpon the Rhine, and carrying it downe before the towne of Rees, and hauing well mannaged the said towne with a good garrison, he past ouer the greatest part of his armie, and hauing cast a portatiue bridge vpon the riuer of Meuse, he entred into the island of Bomel, betwixt Rossum and Driel, vpon either banke of which riuer he intrencht himselfe, and built a fort.

The German armie hauing the towne of Emmeric at their deuotion, being abandoned by the admirall, cont *Vander Lippe* besieged Rees, a little towne, and of small defence, beeing vnworthy to stay such an armie, in which campe (besides the discontentment of the commanders and souldiers) there were many wants from the beginning, and had beene more, if the Estates had not relieued them, whose armie also was not farre from them. This sodaine and vnexpected descent of the Spaniards into the isle of Bomel, made them of the towne to wauer, so as D many of the inhabitants retired with what they could carrie away. Whereof prince *Maurice* being aduertised, hee posted thither with all speed, with some of his horse and foot to assure them, the which did much incourage them of the towne. Without doubt if the admirall at his first entry into the island, had gone directly to the towne of Bomel (the which lay then open on the one side, by reason of their workes which they made at the rampars and bulwarks) it had beene in verie great danger. At the Admirals first arriuall into the quarter of Bomel, he besieged the fort of Creuecoeur, whereas captaine *Spronck* commaunded for the Estates, who after it had beene battered, hauing endured some assaults, hee was forced to yeeld by composition, he and his men departing with their full armes and baggage.

E The Estates seeing the last yeare how the king of Spaine drew vnto them with his armie, whenas the admirall past, they resolued to make warre against him in his owne countrey, by sea, not with any hope to get any thing from him, which they would keepe with their forces (which had beene too farre from them) but to annoy him and his subiects: for the effecting whereof they would prepare an armie at sea, of foure score sayle of ships, of Hollanders, Zeelanders, and West-Frisons, diuided vnder three admirals, whereof *Rener Vander Does* was admirall generall; his ship was called Orange, and carried an orange coloured flag: *William Dirrickson Cleyer* was captaine of the ship. The second was *Ian Gheerbrandus*, carrying a white flag, and the third *Cornelis Ghysleynsen* of Flessingue. Captain *Sturme* was lieutenant colonell, with some companies of foot, and great store of mariners: for as there were about 3000 souldiers and saylers, the which being well prouided, faied but for a winde. F

Prince *Maurice* being at Bomel, and resolued to set vpon the admirals bridge, which he had made vpon the riuer of Meuse, he seem for most part of the said mariners: whereof the admirall being aduertised by two French men which were fled vnto him from the princes campe, this enterprise was not followed, and the mariners were sent backe.

The

1599 The admirall after he had prouided for the defence of his bridge vpon the Meuse, approaching the towne of Bomel, he besieged it afarre off. Prince *Maurice* made trenches without the towne (to hinder his neere approach) from one corner of the riuer vnto the other; the which he manned with good troups; yet the Spaniard left not to approach neere, and to bring his artillerie to batter the towne at random, as he did, so as colonell *Murrey*, a Scottish man, being vpon the rampar, and viewing the countenance of the Spaniards campe, was slain with a canon. And as the princes armie was part of it in the towne, part in the trenches, and the rest on the other side of the riuer of Wahal, he was forced to make a bridge of boats vpon the said riuer, before the towne, to passe from one quarter to another. The Spaniard to annoy this bridge, planted certaine peeces of ordnance vpon the riuer side, to batter it in flanke, doing much harme vnto passengers, and in the towne. In the meane time the besieged (who notwithstanding were not besieged but on the one side, hauing the riuer and their bridge alwayes free) requited them, their men being in the trenches, were daily in fight with the Spaniards by whom they were also often assailed, with losse of either side, but more of the Spaniards, of whom they did daily carrie great numbers hurt to the towne of Boisleduc; so as the Spaniards were forced to leaue their approaches, and to retire further off, and in the end to abandon all their trenches neere vnto the towne.

The Spaniards being parted from their campe with foure thousand foot, and a good troup of horse, appearing plainly that it was for some exploit or enterprise, which they supposed to bee vpon the towne of Breda, prince *Maurice* hauing some intelligence thereof, parted from Bomel, & past the Meuse to enter into Brabant, neere the town of Wandrichom, with sixteen cornets of horse, and some foot, thinking to surprise some of his enemies; but they were aduertised, and retired speedily to Herental, fearing a second battaile of Tournhout, and so the prince returned to his armie in the towne of Bomel.

The sea armie of the Estates did set sayle the fiue and twentieth of May, to goe and braue the Spaniards at their owne doores, so as vpon the eleuenth of Iune, comming neere vnto the Groyne, they met with two Spanish boats, and hauing taken a Spaniard out of one of them (they being also sent to discouer them) they vnderstood, that they were aduertised vpon that coast of their comming, and that they were in armes, that at the Groine there were foure thousand foot, and some horse. Whereupon the generall hauing called his captaines aboord the admirall (within canon shot of the fort, which shot among their ships) they found it not fit to attempt any thing vpon that quarter: so hoysing sayles, they tooke their course towards cape S. Vincent, so as hauing past the islands of Lanceroua, Alleganza, and Forte ventura, they discouered the great island of the Canaries, where they arriued the six and twentieth of Iune. Wee will speake soone of their successe, but now let vs returne to the affaires of the Netherlands.

Letters from the deputies of the circles to the Estates.

Whilest that the earle *Vander Lippe* was with his German armie at the siege of Rees, and the admirall in the island of Bomel, the deputies of the circles of the empire, being now assembled in the towne of Huxar, they writ vnto the Estates the eighteenth of Iune, tending to the same complaints of their troups lying in the suburbs of Embden; Whereunto answer was made the tenth of Iuly, being conformable to the others. And soone after the deputies writ other letters from Huxar to the Estates, wishing the Estates to forbeare to doe any executions vpon the lands of the empire, for the countesse of Mœurs and Nyeuwenaer, seeming to reproach the Estates, as if they would not suffer such executions to be done in their iurisdiction. Whervnto the Estates answered, That seeing the wrong which was done vnto the said countesse, detaining her goods and reuenewes in the dioceese of Cologne, against all right and reason, they had often requested the prince elector, and the chapter of Cologne, that they would suffer her to leuie and receiue them, the which had beene often reiected by meanes of some of her enemies in the said chapter: But in the end there was a certaine agreement made, the which notwithstanding they would not performe. Wherefore seeing the said ladies husband is dead in our seruice, they could not refuse (as to a poore defolat widow) to grant her letters of reprisal, and so they are to be vnderstood.

The German deputies send to the Estates for a passport.

Afterwards the sayd deputies sent a trumpet with letters on the three and twentieth of Iune, demaunding a safe conduct for a certaine number of them, who would come vnto the Estates to treat with them as well of the points and grieuances aboue mentioned, as of other matters concerning

A concerning the quiet of Germany, and the preseruation of the publike good: which trumpet, was presently dispatchd with a safe conduct, with an answere on the eleuenth of Iuly, in the which are set downe the insolencies and oppressions of the Spaniards in the countries of Westphalia, Cleues, Cologne, Marck and Mont: and that for their owne defence, the Estates had need to make vse of the townes which they held as it were by way of lone of the countrie of Cleues. But as the iourney to come into Holland, seemed too troublesome for the deputies, they desire by letters of the fourteenth of Iuly, that the Estates wold send to them, and to cont *Vander Lippe* generall of the armie of the circles, being camped before Rees, certaine commissioners, or their embassadors, to treat of the aboue mentioned points: Where- upon the Estates sent *Nicholas Bruninck* counsellor to prince *Maurice*, & *Daniel Vander Meulen*, B where beeing arriued in the campe before Rees, on the fifteenth of August they had audience in the counsell of warre, before the said cont *Vander Lippe*, *Otto Van Starckedel*, lieutenant of Cassel, for the landtgraue of Hessen, *Isaack Crafs* for them of Brandebourg, *Christopher Coninex-Merck*, for the duke of Brunswic, & doctor *Amandus Rutterscheir* chancellor of the said armie. At which audience of *Bruninck* and *Vander Meulen* there were propounded foure points: the first was, The restitution of Grauenweerd: the second was, The reparation and restitution of dammages, which the Estates men had done vpon the territories of the empire: the third, Libertie of commerce, and cassation of licences: and the fourth was, Caution, that hereafter there should bee no more oppressions, nor incursions made by their souldiers. To all which points there was an ample and pertinent answer C made by the Estates deputies: Three of them were but faintly maintained by the Generall and his assistants, yea, it seemed they were reasonable well satisfied with the allegations of the said deputies: But the reparation of damages and oppressions, was disputed with great vehemency; for the Estates commissioners did lay before them, & did aggrauat the great damage and losses which the Estates of their vnited prouinces had receiued from the enemy by the land of the empire, who not onelie vsed it for a passage, but to ease his country where he commanded, and to entertaine his armie there for many monethes, making it his rendez vous, and the seat of war: wherfore the Estates could do no lesse, than to seeke the enemy where he was. That if by any such occasion their men had at any time exceeded, that they were sorie for it, and had done what they could to redresse it, causing restitution to be made, & punishing the D offenders: but that which the Spaniard had done, was with a purposed intent. The imperiall deputies maintained, That if the Spaniard did ill in seazing vpō the land of the empire, yet the Estates shold not do the like, but they should haue attended their enemy in their own limits. Wherunto answer was made, That the lands held by the enemie was not the empires, so long as they held them, and that it was against reason to bind them to hold that place as neuter, which made war against them: that it was not for the Estates to dispute, by what title, or with what authoritie the enemie had vsurped the said places, but it did belong vnto the said imperiall deputies; who hauing taken order for the dislodging of the enemie, the Estates would let all their neighbours see by the effects, what difference there is betwixt their neighbourhood and the Spaniards. But the deputies of the Estates did coniecture, that vnder colour of E these restitutions and reparations of damages, the German did hope to draw some money from the Estates: but there was no mention made there of any restitution of places held of the empire, and vsurped by the emperor *Charles* 5. nor of the towne of Emden, neither yet of the countesse of Mœurs, which as yet seemed, serued but for matter of cauillation, wherof mention is so often made in the letters written by the said imperiall deputies to the vnited Estates.

1599

The estates send commissioners to the deputies.

The Estates had a day or two before the arriuall of their deputies at the imperiall campe, deliuered vp vnto the Germans the fort of Tolhus, the towne of Seuenter, and some other forts there abouts; as afterward the Spaniards (to shew some willingnes of their parts) abandoned (but it may be, being forced thereunto) knowing the preparations that were made for the towne of Genep.

F The Deputies of the Estates hearing that the German army was leuied but for three monethes, the which being expired, might perchance be continued three moneths longer, they did represent vnto the earle of Hohentoo for the duke of Brunswic, to the earle of Solins for the landtgraue of Hessen, and to the baron of Creange for the marques of Ausbach, the difficulties which would grow by this continuation, & the small likelihood there was for them to

Counsell propounded to ioyne both the armies against the Spaniard.

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1599 win any honour, and to aſſure the credit and the Eſtates of their princes, without the coniun- A
ction, directly or indirectly, of the German armie with prince *Maurice*, whereby they ſhould haue meanes to ruine the enemie, and to ſettle Germanie at quiet: but there was need of a ſpeedie reſolution, for that all hope of good ſucceſſe conſiſted in celeritie, and that not making this coniunction in time, & to purpoſe, they might looſe both their charge and paines, making them ſoon ſubiect to reproches & ſlanders: wherfore they ſhold do wel not to looſe any time, but to ſend ſpeedily vnto their princes, & to aduertiſe them of the true eſtate of the affairs, and of their danger, in caſe they ſuffered themſelues to be abuſed by any treatie with the enemie.

Letters from the imperiall commiſſioners to the chiefe of the Spaniards, like to them of the Eſtates.

The ſaid generall and imperial commiſſioners, did importune the commanders of the Spaniſh armie with cõplaints, no leſſe than they had done the vnited Eſtates, vpon the ſame points of reparation of damages, reſtitution of places held by them, libertie of commerce vpon the B
Rhine, and caution for the preuenting of ſuch oppreſſions hereafter. Whereunto the Spaniards made diuers euaſions. In the mean time the general approched his army neere vnto Rees. Doctor *Tenburch* was ſent by the Spaniards vnto the general and the imperial commiſſioners, on the 16 of Auguſt: at his arriuall he talked to euerie man of the reparation of damages, and the charge he had to deliuer vp Rees: but the next day he denied all, ſaying, That hee had no ſuch commiſſion, intreating them, that they would giue him three dayes time to aduertiſe his maſters, euery man knowing that the Spaniard ſought nothing but to win time: ſo as they were diſcontented with this kind of proceeding, yet after they had diſputed much againſt him and threatned him with the coniunction of the Eſtates armie, with that of the princes & circles of the empire, in the end they granted him theſe three daies, for there was no ſhew that they C
would begin to force the towne of Rees, hauing no preparation but what the Eſtates had lent them, and ſent them: beſides the iealouſies and diſtruſts which were in the ſaid camp, were the cauſe that they imputed thoſe things to practiſes and malice, which haply proceeded from the ignorance and want of experience of the generall, being accuſed of ſome, as if from the beginning he had had a bad intent, that in leading the armie vp and downe here and there, hee had cauſed them to ſpend two moneths and aduanced nothing, and that he had a meaning to diſſolue the armie, and make the companies disband: and that himſelfe had ſolicited the emperor, to be imployed in a treatie of peace. Others ſpake wel of him, that he had a good mind, and that they did what they would with him, but they complained of his inſufficiencie, which was the only cauſe of theſe diſorders; the which after the retreat of the army were better known. In D
the mean time all agreed, That there were ſome dangerous people about the general, to whom he was too open, who gaue aduice vnto the Spaniards, of all that paſt among the Germans, holding *Frentz*, marſhall of the campe, in greater iealouſie than any other, by reaſon of which diſtruſts there was no reſpect among the commanders, contending one againſt another, by aduancing nothing for the generall: yea the Spaniards ſought to corrupt ſome in the campe, as it was diſcouered by letters of captaine *Palants* and others, who thought to draw away two or 300 horſe at a time: beſides the free acceſſe of them of Rees vnto the camp, did debauch many. Whereupon the generall was conſtrained to make a proclamation, That no man ſhould preſume vpon paine of death, to confer, eat nor drinke with the Spaniards, nor with them of the ſaid towne. Finally they held this bodie of the German armie, as a *Poliphemus*, who hauing loſt E
that one eie which he had, goes without any conduct, looſing by little & little his vigor, bloud and life, finding no hope of recouerie, if prince *Maurice* did not approch with his forces, and by his good conduct and direction, reſtore it both ſight, bloud, and life. But their matter muſt bee far ſought, and if there had bin any good diſpoſition, yet the Germans durſt not: notwithſtanding money comming afterwards vnto the campe from the princes, it reuiued the Germans, and began to daunt the Spaniards. What the iſſue of this armie was, we will preſently ſhew: and now we will returne into the iſland of Bomel, and ſee what the admirall of Arragon and prince *Maurice* did, fronting one another.

The Eſtates hauing for a long time held a fort in a little iſland called Voorn, which is in a manner of an ouall forme vpon the banks whereof are good trenches, which they muſt win be- F
fore they could enter into the iſland, the which lies in the middeſt, at the meeting of the two riuers of Meuſe and Wahal, the which hauing with their mingled courſe enuironed the ſayd iſland, either of them notwithſtanding run in ſeueral ſtreames, vntill they come to win in one bodie of a riuer neere vnto Gorchom, whereas the iſland of Bomel failes at Loueſtein. This

ſtrong

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A strong fort was a great gall vnto the Spaniard, to which if he could he would haue done some affront. So as the admirall and colonell *Borlotte*, who was the chiefe conductor of this enterprise in the island of Bomel, sawe there was no good to bee done against the towne, for that they had come on so slowly: for we must confesse the truth, that if at their first entrance into the island, they had marcht directly vnto the towne, which lay then open by reason of their works, and before that prince *Maurice* had leisure to assure it with great new trenches without, doubtlesse he had put it in great danger: the which hauing neglected, they thought they had done sufficiently in the beginning to haue freed a passage into the said island. So all the towne being well assured by the princes comming, the supply of men, and the finishing of their fortifications, retiring on the 5 of Iune with all their losses, behind the said towne, and further into B the island, they went and lodged at a village called Rossum, being but a good canon shot from the fort of Voorn, where he remained almost a moneth without any attempt, but the making of some trenches. Prince *Maurice* knowing well that the Spaniards designe was vpon the fort of Voorn, after that he had long attended to see if he would passe the riuer, and to annoy him in his passage, in the end he past himselfe in the night with 3000 men the third of Iuly, & came to his enemies quarter at Herwerden, hauing at his backe the ioyning of the riuer of Meuse and Wahal together, where, with an incredible celeritie, he intrencht himselfe against his enemies in the forme of a halfe moon, of the height of 2 men, with ditches 12 foot broad & 6 deep, & of so great a circuit, as they easily might haue lodged six or 7000 men. The Spaniard discouering this work the next day, being the 4 of Iuly, made sodenly, thinking to hinder it, he came C in the afternoone with some troups of foot and horse, and presented himselfe before this halfe moone, thinking to draw the princes men out of their trenches: but they being aduertised, that the enemie was in ambush, hidden behind the dikes, kept themselues quiet: the which the Spaniard seeing, he returned soon after to charge with great troups, falling vpon these trenches of the halfe moone like a sodaine lightning, with such violence and furie, as some hauing past the pallisadoes, fought hand to hand. The princes men vnder the valiant cõmand of sir *Francis Veer*, monsieur *de la Noue*, and colonel *Edmonds*, defending themselues couragiously, repulst them. The captaine who had forced the pallisado, lay slaine vpon the place, to retire whose bodie they made a second charge, at the which they carried it away, but not without great losse of their men. That which made the greatest spoile among the Spaniards, were eleuen peeces D of ordnance, planted in three batteries vpon the fort of Voorn, and three peeces from the trenches of Varyck and Hessel, the which shot directly through the Spanish squadrons, with the musketiers which galled them in flanke aboue the riuer: al which forced them to retire, hauing lost seuen captaines, many officers, and aboue 700 souldiers, besides those that were hurt. At these charges there marched in the first ranks among the Spaniards, two monks, carrying crosses, and banners, whereof the one was slain, and the other taken prisoner, being hurt in the head. Prince *Maurice* lost the sergeant maior of sir *Fr. Veers* regiment, being generall of the English, with some ten or twelue souldiers, and some twentie hurt.

1599

The Spaniards retire from Bomel.

The 5 of that month a troup of Spanish horse, with 400 musketiers, thinking to surprise the princes guard, were so entertained, as hauing lost a captaine, & left a Spanish earle behind them E prisoner, they retired with losse and shame. We will leaue them for a while in the island of Bomel, in face one of another, and will speake of the successe of the Estates armie vpon the coast and islands of Spaine, hauing left them in the road of the great Canaries.

The 20 of Iune *Peter vander Does*, generall of the Estates armie, beeing arriued with all his fleet before the towne of Alegoena, he cast anchor vnder the great castle which is on the Northwest part of the town, from whence the Spaniards began to shoot at him and his whole fleet, so as causing those ships to approach neerest which had the greatest ordnance, hee began in like maner to batter the castle, which was called Gratiosa, spending some time in this sort: during the which the general had his maine mast pierst thorough, and his fore mast somewhat perished, the viceadmirall, which was the great ship of Amsterdam, had six or seuen shot tho- F rough her, which slew some souldiers before they could get into their boats to goe to land. Those of the castle hauing tryed what ship ordnance could do, began to coole their first heat of shooting. In the meane time the souldiers and mariners hauing gotten into their boats, rowed towards land, whereas the islanders attended them in great numbers vpon the sea shore, with three small peeces of artillerie. The generall being in his boat, hauing caused all

The successe of the Estates armie at the Canaries.

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1599 The armie lands.

the others to come about him, approaching neere vnto land, they ſaluted one another with their muſket ſhot, the iſlanders keeping their ground firme: the which the generall conſidering, and that for want of water they could not get to land, he himſelfe leapt firſt into the water vp to the girdle, and ſo did all the reſt, marching reſolutely to land, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance of the Spaniards, who defended the landing place verie valiantly; yet they got to land, not without ſome loſſe of their men, by reaſon of the difficultie there was in landing, whereas the Spaniards did alſo looſe ſome fortie men, before they would abandon the landing place; among others the gouernour of the towne being on horſebacke, had a leg ſhot off with a great peece: the Eſtates generall was hurt in the leg with a pike, and had three thruſts vpon the bodie, but they were light hurts, and if one of his men had not ſlaine the Spaniard which incountred him, he had beene in danger of his life. The ſouldiers of the armie hauing thus gotten to land, and the boats returning to their ſhips to fetch new ſupplies of men, the iſlanders abandoning their artillerie, and carrying away their gouernour with one leg, they made their retreat towards the towne, leauing ſix and thirtie of their men dead vpon the ſhore. The generall hauing all his men together, hee put them in battaile, beeing foure and twentie companies, with ſo many colours flying, and ſo they marched one and twentie in front. They of the great caſtle, ſeeing the landing won, were ſo terrified, as from that time they made not a ſhot. The Eſtates men being thus in battaile, three of their mariners came running to them from towards the caſtle, bringing the generall word, that they of the caſtle would yeeld, if they might haue their liues and goods ſaued: whither he preſently went, being accompanied with ſome captaines, to whom the place was preſently yeelded, truſting vnto his ſauour and mercie, leauing their armes, nine peeces of braſſe ordnance, and ſix of yron, with all the prouiſion and munition, there being eight and fiftie perſons priſoners, the reſt had been ſlaine by the canon: Theſe priſoners were put into a Spaniſh ſhip, which the armie had taken, except three of the chiefe of them, whom the admirall had reſerued to informe himſelfe more particularly of all things. Hauing receiued this caſtle into his power, hee cauſed the king of Spaines enſignes to bee taken downe, and the colours of prince *Maurice* to bee ſet vp in the place.

The caſtle of G. atioſa yeelded to the generals mercie.

Toward the euening this petie armie was diuided into three ſquadrons, whereof the one was ſet at the foot of the rampar of the towne, the ſecond vnder the mountaines, and the third, being the reereward, along the ſea ſhore, and ſo they continued all night in armes. Earely in the morning the next day, they marched al together in good order vnder the towne, where they continued a while readie to fight; but as the canon from another caſtle ioyning vnto the towne, did much annoy them, and made a great ſpoyle among their ſquadrons, carrying away ſometimes fiue or ſix at a ſhot, the generall *Vander Does* beeing ſomewhat intrenched, and hauing made his platforme for his batterie, hee planted fiue peeces of ordnance, the which hee cauſed to bee brought from the caſtle hee had lately taken, wherewith he ſhot but one volley that night: in the meane time the beſieged hauing planted ſome peeces againſt the Eſtates batterie, did them much harme. The night following they ſtood all againe in battaile: the iſlanders had ſome field peeces alſo vpon a mountaine, wherewith they ſhot into the campe.

At the breake of day, being the eight and twentieth of the moneth, the generall *Vander Does* cauſed his battery to begin, playing with foure peeces vpon the caſtle, and the fift againſt thoſe which the iſlanders had vpon the mountaine, the which continued about foure houres. The beſieged in the caſtle had ſet vpon their rampars and bulwarkes, in manner of parapets and defences, certaine packes of wool, and pipes ful of ſtones: but the canon paſſing thorough theſe pipes, the ſtones did them more harme than the canon it ſelfe, the which ſlew many of their men, brake their defences, and diſordered their artillerie, then were there foure companies ſent towards the mountaine, to diſlodge them that were with the artillerie, and in the meane time the generall cauſed fire to bee ſet to the towne gate: the which they of the caſtle (whoſe ordnance was diſmounted and ſpoyled) and they of the mountaine hauing diſcouered, and the townes-men ſeeing their port on fire, abandoning both towne, caſtle, hill, and artillerie, they fled all towards the mountaines, to holes and caues, which they haue there, carrying away the beſt of their goods, plate, and iewels, and ſauing themſelues with their wiues and children as well as they could.

The towne & caſtle of Alegoen: abandoned.

About

A About noone the generall caused two ladders to be fetcht from a church without the towne, and brought thither, whereof the one was too short: he himselfe mounted with some souldiers, one man in front, vp to the towne wals, where they found no opposition; and being entred in this sort, his men ran directly towards the castle. The Spaniards at their retreat had left a mine, with a match, the which tooke fire before the Estates men were entred in so far, so as this mine did them no harme: being entred, and hauing taken downe the king of Spaines ensigne, they set vp that of prince *Maurice*, whereas they found fiue peeces of ordnance, with all that belonged. The towne and castle being thus won, the generall put his men againe into battaile, 15 in front, as if he would take a view of them, in a low plaine within the wals of the towne. Some souldiers brought one vnto him that was borne in Flessingue, whom they had drawne 1599
B out of prison: whereupon the generall went himselfe with some captains vnto all the prisons, from whence he freed about 36 prisoners, who gaue him to vnderstand, That the towns men flying towards the mountaines, had carried with them two prisoners, the one an English man, the other a Dutch man, which were condemned to be burnt, who had bin a long time prisoners in the Inquisition. Towards the euening the quarters were made, and the whole armie was lodged within the towne, euery captaine hauing his quarter apart, except such as were appointed to be in guard without the towne, at the descent of the mountaines, whereas the islanders did sometimes shew themselues in great troups. The towne was spoiled of all that remained, the best being carried into the mountains: whereupon the generall caused a proclamation to be made, whereby no man might appropriat any goods to himselfe, but all was to be car-
C ried into the admirall, according to the decree of the Estates.

The next day being the 29 of the month, some mariners got vp into the mountains, to seek some aduenture, but the islanders being better acquainted with the passages than they, crost them, and slew some 20. Towards night the generall sent some 300 men to a little castle, halfe a league from the towne, but the garrison seeing them come, abandoned it presently, and fled towards the mountaines, whereas the Estates souldiers found three peeces of ordnance, and hauing left a squadron of men in guard there, the rest returned to the towne. The last day of Iune the generall commanded, that the wine, oyle, and all the goods which they had gotten should be imbarked. The Spaniards which had fled into the mountaines presented themselues diuers times to treat with the generall, but hauing heard their first demands, which he held im-
D pertinent, he sent them backe, and would no more heare them, commaunding his men not to aduãce any further into the mountains, than their lost sentinels were set, in the mean time making haste to imbarke the bootie. On the 1 of Iuly he caused his minister to preach in the chiefe church of the towne, whereas he assisted with aboue 400 men, to giue God thanks for this victorie and happie successe, and to pray vnto him, to blesse and prosper all their enterprises. The third of the moneth, after that he had shipt all the bels, artillerie, munition, and other goods, abandoned by the islanders, the generall sent 2000 men into the mountaines, to assayle them which were fled thither, who at the first made head, where there was a braue fight, where although the Spaniards had great aduantage, yet retiring further into the mountains, the Estates men not knowing the passages, and not daring to pursue them, after they had lost 70 men, and
E one sea captaine, they returned to the towne.

The Estates men slaine in the mountains

The next day the generall hauing put all his troups in battaile, after that he had blowne vp the castle of the towne with a mine, and burnt all the churches and cloisters, both within and without it, in the end being readie to make his retreat, hauing drawne forth all his men, he caused the towne to be set on fire: then they came to the first castle which they had won, called Gratiosa, distant halfe a league from the towne, whereas they all imbarked in their shaloups and boats, and being entred into the ships they kept the sea. They were no sooner imbarked, but the islanders came presently from the mountaines, and ran to rescue the fire, the which they quenched as well as they could. The generall before his imbarking had left a mine in the castle of Gratiosa, the which tooke fire presently after, and blew it vp in the ayre. The general being
F at sea, he called all the captaines both of land and sea to counsell, to consult what was to bee done, and to informe himself of the most expert mariners and pilots, of the situation and landing of the other islands in those parts. In the mean time there came certaine Spaniards to the sea shore, carrying tokens of peace, and desiring conference: Whereupon the generall sent a barke which brought them aboord; and hearing that it was for the prisoners which were

The armie retires and burns Alegoena.

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1599 taken in the castle of Gratiosa, hauing receiued their ransome, hee suffered them to goe, A
and returned them all free and glad men vnto the towne, so farre as their ransomes would extend.

The eight day of the moneth the generall hauing hoist sayle with all his fleet, carrying with him the rest of the Spanish prisoners which had not beene ransomed, they did for a while (by reason of a contrarie wind) coast along the island of the great Canarie, vnto a corner thereof, where they were forced to cast anchor, discouering the island of Tenariffe, which is one of the Canaries, there they sent all their boats to land, for fresh water: The mariners before they returned to their boats, burnt great store of wood laid vpon heaps along the sea shore, but yet they incountred not any one Spaniard in this watring. Hauing set sayle againe with an inconstant and troublesome wind, on the 12 day they were in sight of the island of Gomora, in B
the which there was a small towne, whereunto the admirall with the white flag, with his vice-admirall and a pinace, approched, at whom there were certaine great shot made: whereupon retiring themselues out of the danger of the canon, they cast anchor. The other ships (which were yet farre off) did what they could all night to approach. The next day the generall *Vander Does* hauing gathered together all his fleet (which had beene much dispersed by reason of the foule weather) called a counsell, where they resolued to set vpon that island: the which was done, and foure companies were sent to land in the valley right against that corner where they were at anchor: which being done, all the ships approched neere vnto the towne, before the which they cast anchor, and from thence they made certaine great shot against the town, but they answered them not, neither did they make any resistance, although there were C
foure brasse peeces in a little castle neere the shore, the which they buried, seeing the armie approach. Then were there six companies more landed, who came vnto the towne without any resistance, all being fled away with that which they could carrie into the mountains, which the foure companies which were first landed in the valley perceiuing, they aduanced towards the mountaines, to stop their passage, and to get their bootie. The Spaniards which were hidden in the caues, hauing suffered them to passe vnto a descent, finding themselues strong ynough for them, they burst out, and compassed them on euerie side: The souldiers of the fleet seeing themselues hemd in, they fought for their liues, & slew many of their enemies, so as in the end they freed themselues, with the losse of 80 of their men, among the which there were 2 lieutenants: the rest which escaped, returned towards the euening to Gomora, the which was seyzed on, and guards set in all places: the houses were searcht, and all places digged, where they thought that any thing might be hidden, wheras they found certaine pipes of wine, and not any thing else at that time. Some souldiers going in small troups to the mountaines, to seeke aduenture, were defeated, ten and twelue at a time. D

The generall *Vander Does* hauing made a generall muster of his men, to see how many hee might haue lost, commaunded his men to imbarke the wines, three peeces of ordnance, and the bels which he could find, with the rest of the spoile which the islanders could not carry into the mountaines; then on the 16 day hee shipt all his men, beeing resolued to send three or foure hundred men on land the next day, to seeke them that were fled into the mountaines: but they had so cruell a storme that night, as it was put off, seruing as an aduertisement to the E
generall to spare his men, and not to send them lightly into danger, yet 300 men went into the valley, whereas but three dayes before their companions had beene surprised: but they found no enemie, and being loth to enter into the mountaines, they returned with a little field peece, and two barrels of powder, which they found there. And seeing that the islanders kept themselues in their caues and hollow places of the mountaines, and that there was no more there to be gotten, hauing set fire of the towne church and cloister, they went to sea, leauing the island all desolat. The islanders seeing them all imbarked, came downe speedily from the mountaines to quench the fire, as they of Allegoena in the great Canaries had done, The fleet remained the 20 day still at anchor in the road. Behold how these two islands of the great Canaries and Gomora, which for many yeares had felt no enemie, were conquered, spoyled, and burnt, by F
the sea armie of the Estates, the which was leuied to no other end, but to do an affront to the king of Spaine, their capitall and mortal enemie, and to annoy him as well by sea as land, without any intent to keepe or hold any thing: so as hauing carried away all they could find in the said islands, they fired them, and so abandoned them. And so,

Quicquid

A *Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achiui,*
Seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine & ira. 1599.

For wee may say of them, as well of other places, and especially of that which the frontiers of Germanie had suffered and endured of the Spaniards the winter past, *The poore people were not in fault, but oftentimes they pay which were not the debtors.*

This exploit beeing thus performed, not content to haue skoured the seas, and to haue fronted the enemie of the Estates in his owne countrie, but meaning to attempt something else, and thinking for the small resistance which he had found, that he had no need of so great a fleet, nor of so many mariners, and to haue them which he should keepe with him the better furnished, he resolues vpon good counsell to send away halfe his shippes; whereupon he calls
B all the captaines and officers aboard, where after he had thanked them courteously for the good and faithfull seruice which they had done vnto the Estates of their common weale, and to prince *Maurice* their captaine generall, and great admirall of the vnited prouinces, and praied vnto God to continue his fauour and blessings to them all; he appointed 35 shippes to returne home into the vnited prouinces with one admirall, which was captaine *Ian Gheerbrantsen*, and hauing taken his leaue of him and the other captains, and recommended them to the tuition of God, they tooke their course eastward, and hee with thirtie sixe of the best shippes, and best appointed with men, and all other things necessarie, for two or three moneths bent his course westward. The fleet of *Ian Gheerbrantsen* being often scattered one from another, arriued in September safely in Holland.

C The generall *Vander Does* sayled westward with his fleet, towards the iland of S. *Thome*, right vnder the equinoctiall line, along the coast of Guynee, not farre from the iland del Principe, which is one of the Portugall ilands, inhabited and gouerned by naturall Portugals, abounding in sugar, which is their chiefest traffique, whereof hee became master, with small toyle or losse, hauing wonne the towne of S. *Thome*. But as the aire of that climate is very violent, hotte, and intemperate, for men comming out of a country neere vnto the Northern region, more accustomed to temperate cold, than to the extreame heat of the line; (whereas the souldiers remaining in the towne and iland, had lien longer vpon the ground than was fit, or their natures could indure, and to refresh themselues had filled their bellies with such waters as they found, the which were more hurtfull than profitable, and it may be
D had been corrupted and spoiled by the islanders and inhabitants of the place) there fel a sicknesse among them, in a manner contagious, whereof there died many in great torments; which the generall *Vander Does* finding, hauing shipped all the spoile which he could find in the towne and iland, and *Francisco de Meneses* gouernour thereof beeing taken prisoner, hee put to sea, and bent his course homeward: notwithstanding, beeing infected with the venemous contagion of the aire, there died a great number of them, wherewith the generall *Vander Does* was likewise toucht, whereof he died, and in a manner all the captaines and officers; of the captaines there returned onely *Reynier Camp* and *Calwart*, the rest, and aboue three parts of their men, both souldiers and saylers were buried in the sea with their captaines and officers, so as they had scarce men enough to bring home their shippes and bootie, who in the
E end returned one after another into Holland and Zeeland.

The progresse of the Estates armie at sea.

It is true this sea armie had beene very chargeable to the Estates, and they lost many men, but they neither esteemed the losse, nor the profit of the bootie (the which I heare did in a manner counteruaile the charge) in regard of the affront which they thinke they haue done vnto the king of Spaine, whilest that his Spaniards braued it in the iland of *Bomel*, against whom it seemed that their men and money might haue beene better imployed.

Now let vs returne to the two armies in the iland of *Bomel*, betwixt the riuers of Wahal and Meuse, that of the Spaniards lying at Rossum, and prince *Maurice* in the little iland of Voorn, and thereabouts along the dikes, and in his trenches. The Spaniard finding that (by
F reason of the Estates forces, and the situation of their campe) hee should preuaile nothing, hauing attempted twice or thrice (but in vaine) to enter into the iland of Thiel, hoping that the winter following, through fauour of yce, the riuer beeing all frozen, he might easily passe the Rhine, the Wahal, and other riuers, to haue entrie and accesse into the Veluwe, or into some other part of the countrie of Gueldres, or the dioces of Vtrecht, and so into Holland, hauing resolued to retire the body of his armie (which had suffered infinite discommodi-

ties

1599 ties in that iſland of Bomel) and to put it into garriſons, meaning to keepe a place of armes & A
ſeat for the warre in thoſe parts.

Whileſt that the admirals armie and prince *Maurice* were in field, and neere one another, cont *Lodowicke* of Naſſau went forth of the campe on the eight of Auguſt, with tenne cornets of horſe, paſſing ouer the riuer of Meuſe, betweene Batenbourg and Rauenſtein, and marcht towards Genep, where he found the waies very bad; in Longſtrate by the towne of Graue, they were purſued by *Ambroſio Landriano*, who with ſome twentie cornets of horſe charged him in Longſtrate, but he got out and reſiſted them valiantly, forcing one of the cornets to flie, but for that he could not diſcouer *Landriano's* ſtrength, he retired backe againe to Genep: thoſe which were led by *Marcellus Bax*, and *Lewis Seis*, lieutenant to *Iohn Bax*, hauing receiued no great harme, ſaued themſelues and paſſed ouer the Meuſe, hauing loſt about B
an hundred in Longſtrate, whereof the more part were taken, and yet they brought away two hundred forrage horſes, and 25. priſoners with them.

Deutecom taken by William of Naſſau. The admirals armie lying for the moſt part in Brabant, prince *Maurice* ſent his coſin *William* earle of Naſſau gouernour of Friſeland, with 10 cornets of horſe, & 24 companies of foot, giuing him commiſſion to take 26 companies more out of other places, with ordnance and munition, and to take the towne of Deutecom from the enemie againe, who went before it on the 24 of Auguſt, making his trenches on the 25 day, and the next day he planted two peeces of ordnance, and then an other, and ſo began to batter it; which they within finding, they demand to parle at the firſt ſummons, making their compoſition to depart: the which they did on the 27 day, with foure enſignes, *Don Inigo de Ocasla* beeing gouernour, who alſo C
commanded the caſtle of Schuylenbergh, the which was alſo yeelded, for that hearing of the comming of the Germans armie, whereof there was great brute, and beeing beſieged by the Eſtates, he had called forth the ſouldiers, fearing that otherwiſe he ſhould not haue any good compoſition, nor yet a conuoy. Theſe two places beeing taken, the Eſtates were againe freed for their paſſage all abours to the Rhine: they put a garriſon into Deutecom, whereas they found 52 barrels of poulder; which done the earle returned to the princes campe on the 29 of Auguſt.

S. Andrews fort built by the Spaniard. He therefore cauſed a mightie fort to bee built in the village of Roſſem, a very commodious place, beeing the narroweſt part of all the iſland of Bomel, bordering vpon the riuers of Wahal and Meuſe, with fiue great bulwarkes, whereof two to the north and northweſt, and two others to the ſouth and ſouth weſt were waſht by the Meuſe, hauing without that counterſcarps vpon either riuer, like vnto a halfe moone, which made two little forts, being diſtant D
ſome 1400 paces from prince *Maurices* halfe moone at Herwaerden, which couered his fort of Naſſau in the iſland of Voorn. This fort cardinall *Andrew* of Auſtria lieutenant generall to the archduke *Albert* in his abſence, and his couſin german, cauſed to be called by his name, the fort of S. *Andrew*, without doubt, an inexpugnable fortreſſe, for the building whereof, they cut downe all the willoes and other trees in the iſland of Bomel, the which was left naked of trees.

Which fort (commonly called the key, and by ſome the ſpectacle of Holland) beeing finiſhed, the Spaniſh armie retired from thence, and was put into garriſons, but ſoone after they E
fell to mutine for their paie. By reaſon whereof, after that the cardinall *Andrew*, the admirall of Arragon, and other commanders and councellors of the Spaniſh armie, had duely obſerued and conſidered that (notwithſtanding the bridges of yce, which God had giuen them vpon the ſaid riuers, the waters being ſo frozen as they might eaſily haue paſt both on foot and horſe backe) the forces which prince *Maurice* had left in thoſe quarters, would haue hindren and annoyed them much, they thought it not fit to attempt any thing, or at the leaſt not to attempt to paſſe there, whether it were for feare of being beaten, or hauing paſt, of a thaw, which would haue ſtaied them, like mice in a trap: beſides, it may be they had not their ſouldiers at commaundement, by reaſon of the ſaid mutinies; as ſoone after it appeared very F
plainly.

The Germane armie being diſorderly broken vp & diſperſed, Genep was taken frō them on the fourth day of Nouember by the admirall, who alſo threatened to beſiege Emmeric, the which was held yet by the Germans: monſieur *de Rheyet* gouernor of the towne doubting it, and ſeeing the Spaniards lie before Genep, he ſent vnto prince *Maurice* for aid, all the

reſt

A reſt of the Germans beeing gone, who preſently ſent colonell *Edmonds* and *Dunewoord* with fifteene companies of foot, and fiue cornets of horſe with monſieur *Sidleniskie*, who comming before the towne on the ſixteenth of Nouember, and thinking to enter, they found the townes-men and ſome of the ſouldiers in quarrel, contrarie to the gouernours mind, who durſt not then aduenture to let in thoſe ſupplies, who ſtood ſtill, and knew not what to doe. In the end colonel *Edmonds* went to the Rhine gate, wherewith the bourgers fell into an vproare; in the meane time certaine Germans who were well affected to the Eſtates, beeing within the towne, brake open the gate, and ſo hee got in with the loſſe of few men, and then marched along to the ſtone gate, which they opened, drawing in the reſt of their troupes: and ſo taking order for all things within the towne, the colonels with monſieur *Sidleniſky*, B and the horſemen left the towne, placing ten companies there vnder monſieur *de Rheyet*, for the guard thereof, and to preuent the admirals deſigne, who ſeemed to haue an intent to paſſe with his armie along the Rhine, by Berck and Rees, and ſo to enter into the earledome of Zutphen. 1599

Thus Emmerik continued ſtill vnder the gouernment of monſieur *de Rheyet*, but in the vnited prouinces paie: his Germanes which lay in the towne (although they were promiſed to be duely paied, to make them the more willing to ſerue) were ſo iealous of the others, and ſo inconſtant as they could not be ſtaied, for that the duke of Brunſwick (whoſe men they were, had forbidden them, and called them home, making ſhewe as if he would imploy them againſt the towne of Brunſwick, with whom hee was in quarrell at that time, C and ſo vpon the eighteenth day of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1600 they left the towne: and ſo through the iealouſie of theſe princes, the beſt reſolutions were croſt, and quite ouerthrowne.

Thus the great preparation made by the princes and Eſtates of Germanie, which continued the ſpace of a whole yeare, vaniſhed away like ſmoake, looſing thereby much of their reputation, and diſcouering their owne weakeneſſe and diuiſions, which defects the wiſeſt men did iudge the Spaniards would afterwards make vſe of, to their aduantage, whenſoeuer they ſhould command abſolutely ouer the Netherlands, thereby to make ſome conqueſt vpon the frontiers of the empire; for it appeared plainely that the admirall ſought to effect more by policie than by force, ſpending more money than blood in all his enterpriſes: for D when as the admirall ſaw that prince *Maurice* had gotten Emmerik againe, hee had no will to attempt any thing more that yeare in Cleueland; wherefore hee did not onely forbeare to take any more townes for the wintring of his armie, but hee alſo reſolued to abandon Rees, which ſerued him to no vſe, but as an vnprofitable frontier towne, from the which he could make no great incurſions, nor much annoy his enemie; neither could hee well hold it, but either it ſhould bee forced, or elſe hee ſhould be conſtrained to keepe a ſtrong garriſon, to his great charge, and a bad report of all men: for which conſiderations he cauſed the skonce before the town to be razed, and on the 18 of December left it and went to Rhineberck, hoping to get it eaſily again, if prince *Maurice* once left it; to which end there were embaſſadours ſent from the princes of the empire to treat thereof: at the ſame time alſo hee left E Genep.

The end of the Germans enterpriſes againſt the Spaniards.

The vnited prouinces made offer vnto the princes of Germanie to take all the townes lying vpon the Rhine for their vſes, and to free the riuer of Rhine and the frontiers of the empire from the inuaſions of the Spaniard, with certaine troupes of horſe and foot, paying them for it, but they could not agree; for many princes and townes were of opinion to leuie and entertain foure thouſand foot, & a thouſand horſe, for the defence of the frontiers in the winter time; but thoſe of the contrarie faction croſt it, for that the Spaniards, that winter, ſent *Charles* earle of Egmont, and their counſellor *Heeſt*, as embaſſadors vnto diuers princes of the empire, giuing them to vnderſtand, that they would leaue all the townes and places which they held, excuſing whatſoeuer had beene done, and promiſing recompence for all wrongs F which had beene committed by them.

The Eſtates of the vnited prouinces (although they had made but a defenſiue warre this yeare) found themſelues in great want of money, and the more for that they had ſet forth a great fleet at ſea, the which had coſt aboue twelue hundred thouſand gulderns, whereof as then

1599 then but few were returned. They also grew bare by the leuying of so many new souldiers, whom they meant to entertaine but for a time, and yet they kept them still in pay; so as vpon the 29 of October they mustered their whole armie, and found it to be 10600 foot strong, besides their horsemen. Moreouer they had spent much money in digging and making of skonces, and kept in paie many ships, boats, wagons, horses to drawe, carriages for artillerie, with other extraordinarie charges, amounting to aboue twelue hundred thousand gulderns, besides the souldiers pay: for which cause they appointed an assembly of the Estates to bee held at Gorchom, whereas the generall Estates, the councell of estate, prince *Maurice*, and *William* earle of Nassau met together, to consult how they might abate the charges of their armie, seeing the disorders among the Spaniards, for want of foresight and keeping of accounts, the which might serue them for a president. They were also to take order in Zeeland, for the keeping of the gallies in the hauen of Sluce, and to determine of some things concerning the princes of the empire, with other like. A B

Whereupon order was taken that a generall reduction should be made of their souldiers, and that they would hold no more in paie than the estate of the countrie would afford, and that they would discharge as many ships, waggons, and other traines, as they might conueniently, and digge no more than they should be forced vnto, and yet they would haue a newe passage made through the Weert, right ouer against S. *Andrews* fort, that they might passe freely vp and downe the riuer of Wahal, without any let of the said fort. And moreouer touching the admiraltie, and sea causes, that all things might be ordered in euery prouince, after the best manner that might be, and for the keeping of the mouth of the riuer of Sluce, which they would not haue abandoned, but haue the gallies still fought withall, they also deuised to haue a skonce made at Niewer hauen in Flanders, but it was not done for want of money, & yet the men and the ordnance was readie. C

Lastly, they resolued to doe some exploit in the enemies countrie, meaning to moone certaine high Dutches, when as then laie still at Seuenaer, to serue them a while, but they could not effect any thing, for that those souldiers would not serue the Estates; wherfore they resolued vpon a reduction and discharge of some of their souldiers, & the abating of their charge. In this assembly they also deuised how to raise some good summes of money against the next yeare.

Vpon the 21 of Nouember the earle of Busquoy, who had beene taken prisoner before Emmeric, was deliuered, paying 20 thousand gulderns for his raunsome, & *Paul Emilio Martinengue* for 1000 gulderns raunsome, according to the quarter newely made and agreed vpon for captaines and colonels of horsemen. D

Prince Maurice breaks vp his armie.

Vpon the 20 of Nouember prince *Maurice* began to breake vp his campe, and dismisse his troupes, but yet he resolued once againe to attempt some thing against Creuecoeur skonce, or els against Boisleduc, but beeing readie to march with certaine troupes, and 60 wagons with all kind of furniture, there fell so great a storme of wind, raine, and snowe, as they could not possibly march; so as vpon the 28 of Nouember he brake vp his armie, leauing the Voorn, Hesel quarter, and all the small skonces well appointed with men.

All this time there was an order taken by the generall Estates, that execution should bee done vpon the villages and pesants of Brabant, which would paie no contribution: and to that end there were 12 corners of reisters, and two thousand foot, appointed by prince *Maurice* to go into Brabant; but hauing their commission, and beeing all readie to march, the foule weather (before spoken of) kept them from passing the water, neither could they get to Louaine as they had charge, so as they could not doe any thing; but on the 29 of Nouember they fell vpon a companie of poore pesants, who would haue made head against them at Baller, whereas they burnt certaine houses. Captaine *du Bois* would needs march further into the countrie, but he was wounded, and his cornet slaine; yet this road did so terrifie the pesants of the countrie thereabouts, as most of them brought in their contribution to the Estates, as they had decreed. E F

Vpon the first of December *Iohn* earle of Nassau, sonne to old *Iohn* earle of Nassau and Dildenbourgh, and brother to *William* prince of Orange, who was murthered in Delft, came to the Hage in Holland, and had audience in the assemblie of the generall Estates, touching

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A ching the arrerages of his fathers lands, which was the pretence of his comming, yet many did conceiue, that he had ſome ſecret charge from ſome of the Germane princes, but all was kept ſecret, and nothing enſued, although the earle of Hohenlo were a mediator betwixt them. 1599

The admirall of Arragon hauing diſcharged his armie, with great diſcontentment of the ſouldiers, for want of their pay, among whom there was a rumor ſpread abroad, that the archduke *Albertus* would pay no arrerages to his ſouldiers, but from the time of his inſtallment, and that they muſt ſeeke the reſt at the king of Spaines hands, the which was very vnpleaſing vnto the ſouldiers; whereupon many of them mutined. The Germanes of *Slegels* regiment being in Herentales, with a companie of Albanois horſemen, vnder *Nicholo Baſti*, tooke the B ſmall towne of Peer by ſcalado, whereas many of them were ſlaine, but they put the bourgers to the ſword, and ſpoyled the towne. *Iohn Iacomo*, earle of Belioioſo, was ſent to pay them with good words, but they would not heare him ſpeake, nor let him in. *Henry* earle of Berghes ſouldiers tooke three hundred oxen before the gates of Cologne, being brought thither to be ſold, whereof part were ranſomed. Many ſuch like inſolencies were committed in other places: ſuch as were intereſſed by the ſouldiers, made their complaints at Bruſſels, but had no anſwer; they had only a certificat giuen them, that they had done their meſſages, and made their complaints.

The admirall of Arragon breaks vp his campe, and payes not his ſouldiers, who mutine.

About the laſt of December the Spaniards being 1200 ſtrong of all nations, horſe and foot, tooke Weert and Kempen, and fell vpon the towne of Hamont, making a generall mutinie, C the footmen did chuſe *Iohn Alonzo Maiolichino*, an Italian, for their Electo, and the horſemen *Gionanni Martines*; to whom *Gaſpar Sapena*, a colonel, was ſent to pacifie them, whom they refuſed to heare, and chaſed him away.

In the end of the yeare, an embaſſadour ſent from them of Weſtphalia, had audience of the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, where he complained of the great wrongs and oppreſſions done vnto them by the Eſtates ſouldiers in their territories, deſiring to know, if it were done with their priuities and conſents. Whereunto the Eſtates made anſwer, That they were very ſorry for it, and would take order to preuent it, ſaying moreouer, That they wondered why thoſe of Weſtphalia had made ſo ſmall reſiſtance againſt their enemies, hauing made ſuch great complaints vnto the emperour, and drawne the princes and Eſtates of D Germanie into armes; and when as their brethren and allies were in the field, they drew their neckes out of the coller, and not onely abandoned them, but did helpe and aſſiſt the enemie, which might haply bee a cauſe to moue their ſouldiers to vſe that vnlawfull rigour againſt them, taking them for their enemies, as being the cauſe of their owne and their neighbours harme, through the great affection which they had borne vnto the Spaniard. The like anſwere was alſo made by them vnto others, which came from thence to complaine, yet they did write vnto their troupes, commaunding them to carry themſelues diſcreetly, & to reſpect neutrall places.

The archduke and the Infanta hauing conſummated their mariage in Spaine, came into Italie, and ſo arriued at Bruſſels in Nouember 1599, but before they would be inſtalled, E and enter into the gouernment, they did what they could to procure a generall peace: to which end they moued the Emperour (who did much affect the greatneſſe and welfare of the houſe of Auſtria) to ſend an honourable embaſſage vnto the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, to perſuade them to yeeld vnto a peace, for the good of the empire and of all Chriſtendome.

The embaſſadours which were appointed to this charge, were *Salentin* earle of Iſenbourg, *Harman* earle of Manderſcheyt, and *Charles Nutzel van Sonderphiuls*, knight. Being come to Grenſaw, they ſent a trumper vnto the generall Eſtates, with a letter, to deſire a paſport, to come freely and deliuer what they had in charge: whereunto the Eſtates made anſwer as followeth.

F Right honourable, we haue receiued your letters, dated at Grenſaw the eight of October, whereby we vnderſtand, that the emperours Maieſtie hath giuen you in charge to deliuer vnto vs certaine points which concerne his imperiall Maieſtie, and by conſequence the whole Empire, crauing firſt a paſport and conuoy to come perſonally vnto vs, for the preuenting of all miſchiefes, which may dayly happen in theſe troubleſome times, deſiring

The Eſtates letter to the emperors embaſſadors concerning a peace.

alſo

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1599 also a time and place to be appointed to deliuer your message and to receiue our answere: A.
wherein we could not choose (in regard of the dutie which we owe vnto his imperiall Ma-
» iestie and the whole empire) but let your honours vnderstand, that we hold our selues much
» bound vnto the high and mighty imperiall Maiestie, to the princes electors, and others the E-
» states of the empire, that it hath pleased him and them to giue your honours charge to bring
» this message vnto vs, which we vnderstand to consist of two points; first, to procure a treatie
» of peace betwixt the high and mightie prince *Albert* archduke of Austria, with the noble In-
» fanta of Spaine, and vs: and secondly, for the restitution of places belonging to the holy em-
» pire, and ceasing from incursions into the territories thereof.
» Touching the first point, may it please your lordships to remember what was set downe
» by vs at large in our letters vnto his imperiall maiestie, in the yeare 1591, as also what answer B.
» was made by vs vnto the baron of Rheyt, vpon the like propositions; and also in *anno* 1594,
» vnto the letters of the archduke *Ernestus* of famous memorie, and in the yeres 1595 and 1596
» vnto the high and mightie imperiall Maiestie, the elector of Ments, the archbishop of Salf-
» bourg, the administrators of Saxony, *Philip Ludowicke vander Nieubourgh*, and the estates of
» Cologne and Nurembergh, as also to the embassadours of Poland and Denmarke, and lastly
» vnto your honours, and to *Charles Nutzel van Sonderphiuls*, concerning this point, whereof
» the copies are hereunto annexed, whereby his imperiall Maiestie, and the whole Estates of
» the empire may easily coniecture, how this may be effected: and although it may be allead-
» ged that the estate of the Netherlands since that time is much altered, by reason of the preten-
» ted gift of the said countries vnto the Infanta, besides the death of the old king of Spaine, with C.
» the ensuing mariage of the archduke *Albertus* and the Infanta; yet it may be auouched that
» the vnited prouinces haue now more waightie and more inuincible reasons and arguments
» to moouе them not to treat of any peace with the Spaniards, or with the archduke and In-
» fanta (as depending of the Spaniards) than euer they had, as may appeare by a proclamation
» set forth by vs in Aprill last, in the which wee haue briefly set downe certaine chiefe points,
» whereby the king of Spaine that now is (vnder the gouernment of the archduke) hath shew-
» ed himselfe more rigorous against these countries, and the inhabitants thereof, and against the
» members of the empire, concerning their rights and priuiledges, than the deceased king his fa-
» ther did: and that vnder the archdukes command great seueritie hath beene shewed against
» the Christian religion, and not onely the vnited prouinces, but also their neighbours, namely D.
» the confines of the empire haue bin so vnworthily intreated, as it is strange that the members
» and Estates of the empire doe not seeke reparation of the wrongs, iniuries, and oppressions
» done vnto them, by force; and the rather, for that hee that was generall for the king and arch-
» duke, beeing prest to obserue what had beene promised, hath openly protested vpon the very
» frontiers of the empire, that he could not obserue the promises made by the archduke, for that
» God and the kings seruice required other proceedings; saying, that notwithstanding the said
» promises, he would not forbeare to vse all force and violence, by murthering, spoyling, bur-
» ning, and other execrable actions against the territories and subiects of the empire, as also in
» changing and altering of lawes, policies, and religion: which proceedings should be displea-
» sing vnto the archduke; yet they keepe still the townes of the empire in their possession, and E.
» bragge that they haue gotten a great victorie against the forces of the empire, as it may be suf-
» ficiently prooued, hauing no intent to yeeld vp the said townes so vsurped, but to hold them
» for their owne vse and commoditie. Moreouer it was neuer more apparant than at this pre-
» sent, that the Spaniards and their adherents designe is, perpetually to disturbe and subuert the
» Estates rights and priuiledges of the Netherlands, and vtterly to ruine them, to the vnspeaka-
» ble preiudice of all neighbour kings, princes, and common weals, but especially of the Estates
» of the empire, whom they seeke to ouerrule, & to keep the archduke with the Infanta & their
» heires in perpetuall subiection, not allowing them authoritie to yeeld any thing vnto the pe-
» titions of the Netherlands and the inhabitants thereof, concerning the Catholike religion,
» and other principall points belonging to the wel fare of the same. We shal not need to speake F.
» of the letters, by the which it is agreed, that alwaies foure or more of the chiefe townes or forts
» in the Netherlands, shall haue Spanish garrisons in them, nor yet of the secret aduice giuen
» by the late deceased king of Spaine, vnto the king that now is, shewing by what meanes hee
» may alwaies take occasion to regaine the Netherlands; but it shall suffice to produce the
said

A said pretended donation, whereby the archduke, the Infanta, and their successors, haue for e- 1599
ner promised, and bound themselues by oath, to follow the wills and appetites of the Spani- "
ards, not onely in regard of the freedomes, rights, and priuiledges of these countries, but also "
for the disposition of the succession of the Netherlands, the protection and bringing vp of "
their heires by the Spaniards, and the power and prerogatiue which the kings of Spaine will "
haue to dispose of them and their childrens mariages, or to giue in mariage to whom they "
please, to hold the Netherlands of them in chiefe, and to restraine them from their free naui- "
gation and trading by sea; and all and euery of these points, vpon forfeiture of the same: ad- "
ding hereunto, that they and their heires shall be bound to hold and maintaine the catholike "
Romish religion, vpon the like penaltie, as doth plainely appeare by the articles of the said do- "
B nation hereunto annexed: so as there is small reason for the emperours Maiestie, the empire, "
or these prouinces, if they will maintaine their respectiue freedomes, priuiledges, and religion, "
to enter into any treatie of peace with the archduke, considering the late rigorous procee- "
dings both in the Netherlands and vpon the frontiers of the empire. And it is manifest that "
the treatie not long since made betweene the Queene of England, the Spaniards, and the "
archduke, was according to their old manner, vnder colour of a treatie, to effect some further "
designe, as the armie sent of late yeares out of Spaine to inuade England doth sufficiently "
witnesse: as also in August last the like should haue beene done, if almightie God by his "
grace had not diuerted that pretence, forcing them to employ that fleet to follow our ships "
of warre, which were then sent out vpon the coast of Spaine. Besides the archduke and the "
C Infanta haue such great spirits, as notwithstanding they cannot pretend any right to the vni- "
ted prouinces by the said gift, or by any other title, yet by their proclamations they publish & "
hold them for rebels: actions vnworthie of so great princes, the which can neuer bee for- "
gotten. "

Touching the second point, wee hope not onely by presentation, but actually, to haue "
made manifest our iust and true intents vnto the emperours maiestie, the princes electors, "
and the Estates of the empire, so as it seemeth strange to vs, wee should be further molested "
and troubled, for that wee seeke to bring our common enemie to reason, and to abate his "
pride. "

By these and many other reasons, it may be thought vnnecessarie that (for the preseruati- "
on of the honor of the emperors maiestie, and of the whole empire) your lordships should "
D come hither to treat of the said points, which wee also thinke not fit: wherefore wee haue not "
sent you any pasport to that end; hoping that the emperour, and the Estates of the empire, "
hauing seene these our letters, will conceiue our meanings herein, which is, that wee hereby "
desire to ease your lordships of the paines and trouble which you may indure in this iourney; "
humbly beseeching the emperours maiestie, and your honours, to haue a good conceit of "
vs, and to aduance the cause of the Netherlands, wherein the welfare of the emperour, the "
seruice of the empire, and our good consisteth, and we will not faile alwaies to acknowledge "
and requite the same vnto the honours &c. Dated in the Hage the seauenth of December, "
1599. "

E This letter beeing deliuered to the emperours embassadours, they returned an answer on the 8 of December, as followeth.

Right honourable, wee haue receiued your letters, and vnderstand by the contents therof, that you are informed (*ex relatione aliorum*) of our comming, and of the effect of our embas- sage: wee must confesse, that touching the restitution of places belonging vnto the holy em- pire, and the dammages receiued thereby, we haue especiall charge to sollicite both parties in "
all friendly manner; but concerning the other point, it is not intended that we by the empe- "
rours commandement should enter into any new treaty of peace with you, but onely for the "
furtherance of a treatie which was begun at Regensborgh, in the yeare 1594, the which the "
princes electors, and the electors of the Estates of the empire referred to some other conueni- "
F ent time. And concerning the other points contained in your letters and copies, touching "
the doubts risen betweene the kings Maiestie of Spaine, and the Netherlands, to the great "
dishonour and preiudice of all Christendome, experience hath taught vs to iudge thereof, "
as time and occasion shall serue. And although wee haue commission from the emperours "

The embassa- dours answer to the Estates letter.

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1599 maiestie, our gratious lord and soueraigne prince, to treat with either partie; yet you may assure your selues, the emperours maiestie, the princes electors, and other Estates of the empire, » know how to remedie the wrongs done both by the Spaniards, for their parts, and by you of » the vnited prouinces; & not to free the empire, but also the oppressed members thereof, from » all vnneighbourly force and inuasion: yet his Maiestie at the earnest request of the princes » electors, and Estates of the empire, hath thought good to impose this commission vpon vs, as » your honours at our comming shall vnderstand more at large. And although, according to » these our instructions gratiously giuen vs by the emperour, we may not (as it seemes by your » letters) be heard at this time, nor allowed to shew the vnto the generall Estates, yet we doubt » not but you will dutifully consider them, and not vpon any colour or pretence whatsoeuer, » contrary to the commendable custome of all nations, and to the blemishing of the emperors » authoritie and reputation, refuse to giue vs a pasport, and without hearing vs speake, so skorn- » fully reiect the instructions sent vnto you by the emperours maiestie, and the whole empire, » the which are done with a good intent; but rather accept friendly and thankfully thereof, and » take them in good part, whereby the cause may be aduanced, and so without further delay we » may proceed to a neighbourly audience of you, and the discharge of the commission and » embassage receiued by vs, the which according to our instructions wee are to deliuer vnto » you. The consideration whereof, in all friendly manner we recommend vnto your honours, » &c. and therewith we commit you to the protection of the almightie, and our selues vnto » your friendly censures. Dated as aforesaid &c.

A B

The generall Estates hauing receiued this letter from the embassadors, they made a reply, the which, for that it is very long, & in manner a repetition of the former, I haue thought good for breuities sake to omit, and to touch onely at the principal points. First hauing made protestation of their duties and seruice to the emperours maiestie, & the holy empire, they insist, that for many vrgent reasons they could neither directly nor indirectly, enter into any treatie of peace with the king of Spaine, or the archduke and Infanta, & that not onely in regard of the welfare of the vnited prouinces, and the inhabitants thereof, but in respect of the Queene of England, and other princes and common weales their neighbours, and the good of all the inhabitants of the Netherlands, sighing vnder the burthen of the Spanish yoake.

C

Touching the restitution of certaine places which was demanded, they answered that they held them for their owne safeties, & the emperors seruice, & not onely to free the vnited prouinces, but also the territories of the empire from the inuasions and oppressions of the Spaniards; in which places they entertained garrisons at their owne charge, for their necessarie defence. That they would giue contentment to certaine embassadors which were at that instant come from Cleues, Iuilliers, and other territories of the empire to the same end, so as the emperours maiestie, nor the Estates of the empire should haue no cause to dislike of them: protesting that they had no desire to hold any lands out of the vnited prouinces, nor to doe any wrong vnto their neighbour countries, offering to deliuer vp Emmeric and the Tolhus, as soone as the enemie should doe the like, and to giue securitie not to take any place vpon the frontiers of the empire, nor to build any skonces, nor to make any incursions vpon the territories of the empire, so as the enemie would make the like promise, & giue the like securitie. After that they make an ample relatiō of the Spaniards proceedings for the space of 15 months, and the great insolencies committed by them vpon the territories of the empire; all which they had done as they said in contempt of the emperours maiestie, and of the holy empire. In the end they persuade the princes electors, & other estates of the empire, to oppose themselues against the enemie, and to reuenge the wrongs done vnto the empire, that hereafter he should not dare to attempt the like. Lastly, they desire them to censure of their proceedings, as tēding onely to the seruice of the holy empire, and that they would giue the emperours maiestie, the princes electors, and all the Estates of the empire to vnderstand in what honourable respect they held thē, & wold be alwaies ready to do the like vnto their honors, to their best abilities.

D E

Whilest the Estates were framing of this answer, the embassadors came to Brussels to deliuer their charge, whereupon the first of Februarie they had open audience of the archduke, they being accompanied with the admirall, the prince of Orange, & diuers other noble men. *Charles Nuzzel* made the speech; the effect of his oration was, that they did congratulate

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(in

A (in the emperour their brothers name) the archdukes comming into the Netherlands, shewing how much the emperour desired to plant peace and quietnesse in the Netherlands, who was bound by his office to defend the friends and allies of the empire from all force and inuasion: then hee passed to the restitution which the archdukes were to make of the towne of Rhineberck to the elector of Cologne, and the satisfying of them of Westphalia, & the countries of Cleues, Marke, and others, for the wrongs and oppressions done vnto them the yeare past. Whereunto the archduke made answere in generall termes, That he thanked the emperor for his great loue and kindnesse, promising to send him an answer in writing, whereby the sincerity of his heart vnto the holy empire might be the better knowne (wherof he said he was no vnprofitable member) and how much he desired the peace and good of those countries, 1599
B which as then were his, and that there should not bee any defect in him to enter into any honourable condition of peace, that he might not be the cause (as it was neuer his intent) why his neighbors should endure any harme or wrong by his souldiers, the contrary effects wherof were to be ascribed to the condition and fruits of warre, and not to the disposition & wilful suffrance of the commanders &c. And so being feasted by the archdukes, & receiuing diuers presents, they returned backe to the emperor, by whom not long after they were sent againe, about the same subiect.

After the archdukes comming into the Netherlands, he wrote a letter with his owne hand vnto the Q. of England, aduertising her M. of their arriuall in the Netherlands, and what great desire he had to make a peace with his neighbors, & to renue the old league & alliance which
C their house for many yeares held with the K. of England, for the effecting whereof he said he had full power from the king of Spaine. Whereunto the Q. of England made answere, That she had alwaies sought that peace, which might tend to the general good of all Christēdome, wherunto she would willingly giue eare, seeing they said they had authoritie from the king of Spaine to treat, but that she was bound in honor, as the vnited prouinces in like sort were, not to enter into any treatie before she had first made them acquainted therwith, and known their resolution, if they meant to be comprehended therein; to whom she would send, to know if they would ioyne with her, or that she should treat alone by her selfe, the which whē time serued should be made knowne vnto them. Moreouer, her Ma. did congratulate the archdukes cōming into the Netherlands, & the rather, for that she had had an vncle of their bloud, who
D had done her great honour, and therefore she wished the Infanta all good. These letters with others being sent to and fro by 2 brethren, called *Ieronimo* and *Iaspar Coyemans*, at the last there was a treatie of peace agreed vpon, but it tooke no effect.

Whilest that the atchdukes did labor by all means to bring the Netherlands to an vniforme obedience vnder them, news came, that the duke of *Lerma*s secretarie in Spaine was cōmitted to prison, for a discourse which he had written, saying, That the last deceased K. of Spaine had pretended to erect a Monarchy in the Netherlands, and there to make his *Sedem belli*, being more cōmodious for vse that than Spain, in regard of the great riuers bordering on the neighbor countries, and the cōmoditie of the sea, together with the great numbers of ships & sailers, the discouery wherof it may be was ill taken by some, yet in Febtuary after he was set at liber-
E ty. This Winter the duke of Arschot came to Cruyninghen in Zeeland, whither his lady the countesse of Meghen came from the Hage to meet him, where they continued together for certain daies, vpon hope of further reconciliation, there being some dislike betwixt them, as it was said, for matter of religion, but many thought it was rather to make some propositions for a treaty of peace: but for that the Estates held it not conuenient for them, there appeared no man in their behalfes, so as vpon the 19 of Nouember the duke returned againe into Brabant, and the countesse his wife vnto the Hage.

The archduke *Albertus* being now 39 yeres old, for that he was borne on the third of No- The instalment of the archdukes.
uember 1560, and the Infanta *Isabella* 33 yeares old, being borne on S. *Clares* day 1566, being
F come to Brussels, they sent for the Estates of their dominions, who by commission from their generalitie, came thither to congratulate & salute them, with whom they tooke aduice about their instalment, and for the making of their ioyfull entries into the chiefe townes, according to the auncient custome, disposing of their officers and houshold seruants according to their Estates, imitating the auncient orders of the houses of Bourgoigne and Spaine, rewarding many of their seruants with offices. At their requests, and to doe them honour,

1599 the order of the golden fleece (the soueraigntie whereof the king of Spaine reserued to him- A
selfe) was giuen vnto prince of Orange, the duke of Arschot, the marquesse of Haurec, the
Knights of the golden fleece made. earle of Arembergh, who also was made admiral, to *Florents* earle of Barlaimont, *Charles* earle of Egmont, *Philip* of Croy earle of Sores, and to the admirall of Arragon his generall, in recompence of his seruices, seeking to bind many others vnto them, by rewards and preferments.

Their court and traine was magnificent and stately, hauing a stable of seauentie or eightie great horses, eightie coach horses, and 150 mules, the earle of Sores beeing master of their horse. There attended on them sixteene or eighteene pages, all which were noble mens sons; besides a guard of halbardiers and shot, with other officers, so as the charge of their court was esteemed aboue two thousand gulderns a day, besides officers and seruants wages: *Don* B
Roderigo de Lasso was captaine of the guard on horsebacke. They sent embassadours into all places, to entertaine friendship and good correspondencie with their neighbours, as into France they sent the prince of Orange, and others elsewhere.

They mooued the deputies of the prouinces, which were come to Brussels to congratulate their comming, to further their installment, and ioyfull entries, wherein there did grow some difficultie, for the prouinces in generall, yet by seuerall petitions demanded the performance of certaine articles, and the peace which was promised them by the archduke, before his departure into Spaine, and then they said they would proceed to their installing, standing vpon this point, to haue forrain souldiers sent out of their towns & forts, & to haue all places of importance kept & guarded by them that were borne in the countrie; saying openly, that they C
had beene aduertised for certaine, that the archdukes before their departure from Spaine, had promised to entertaine Spanish garrisons in diuers townes and castles of the Netherlands, for their safeties, and to seeke to raise a certaine contribution of foure millions of gulderns yearely, for the maintenance thereof, which bred a great iealousie among them, so as at that time they could not resolue vpon the installing, vnlesse the three articles following (which they said were more than necessarie) might be performed. That according to their priuiledges, all strange garrisons and souldiers should be sent out of the countrie: all offices executed by such as were borne in the countrie, and a peace concluded with the vnited prouinces, by the counsell and aduice of the Estates of those prouinces.

But concerning all these doubts, a messenger was sent into Spaine, and secret conference D
had with diuers men; many Machiauilian persuasions were vsed, as that the townes and forts beeing planted with garrisons, and the prouinces full of strange souldiers (against whom there was no striuing, they beeing masters) it was best vnder that yoake, to choose the least euill, being forced thereunto through feare and compulsion, and that the installment and oath made by the prouinces in that manner, could not be of force, beeing as it were compulsiue, and that therefore they might at all times breake it, with many such reasons more. It is said the Infanta alleadged, that she was not bound to take any oath at all, as her predecessors had done, for that the countrie was giuen her by her father: the which was hardly censured. But the archduke being duly informed hereof, thought it best and least preiudiciall for them, to vndertake those points, and to sweare to maintaine their priuiledges, that so they might get possession, and af- E
ter when time serued, find some starting hole. With these considerations on both sides, & not without secret persuasions, they agreeed vpon their installment, according to the ancient maner. All things beeing thus concluded, vpon the 24 of Nouember they were honourably re-
The archdukes installment at Louaine. ceiued and installed in Louaine, whither the deputies of the smaller townes, & of the 4 chiefe townes came, as of Boisleduc, Antuerp, Brussels, and Louaine, which made the third member of Brabant; for the second member there appeared the barons of Bassigni, Gromberghen, and Weesemale, the earle of Arembergh, the marquesse of Berghen vp Zoom, the prince of Orange, and the duke of Croy and Arschot: and for the clergie, which was the third member, there appeared the prelates of saint Gheertrude, Eueruode, Diligem, Tongerlo, Heylichstem, Grumbergen, Villers, and Vlierbeque; all which presented themselues before the F
archduke & the Infanta, who were accompanied by the embassadours of Spaine, the duke of Aumale (who was banished out of France) the marques of Haurec, the earle of Masfeldt, the admiral of Arragō, the president *Richardot*, & the auditor, who read the ioyful entries (signed and sealed by the archdukes) openly both in Latine and Dutch: which the Infanta kneeling

vpon

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A vpon her knees, did firſt ſweare vpon the holy Euangils to obſerue, and after her the archduke: which being done, the three Eſtates aforeſaid, in regard of their principalities, and the eſtates and townes of Brabant and Ouermaſe, tooke their due othes of obedience, & then all the priuiledges of Brabant were confirmed and ſworne vnto. From Louaine they returned to Bruſſels againe vpon the eight and twentieth of Nouember with great ſtate, whereas the triumphant Arke, made at their firſt entry, ſtood yet ſtill vndefaced, and there they were alſo inſtalled, they of the towne giuing them a preſent of plate, which was eſteemed to bee worth 20000 gulderns. 1599

From thence vpon the fift of December they entred into the caſtle of Antuerpe, and ſo on the eight of December they made their ioyfull entry into the towne, where they were moſt B honourably, ſumptuouſly, and triumphantly receiued: firſt, there rode before 56 officers or wardens, of 28 ſeuerall occupations of the towne: after them 26 Wyckmaſters, apparrelled in purple, veluet, and ſilke: after them followed ſuch as had beene magiſtrates in the towne, being 17 in number, all knights and men of good account, whoſe names, for breuitie ſake, I omit: after them went foure officers, called the ſhort Roade, and the long Roade, & the foure Secretaries of the towne; then followed the foure Clarkes of the towne: after them came the Eſtates penſioners, who are alſo of the counſell of the towne: then followed the treaſurers, the bourgomaſters, and Schepenen of the town: after all followed *M. Henrick van Varigh*, Schout and Margraue of the land of Rhyne, and *Iohn Dammant*, amptman of the town, both knights. The archduke made foure of the bourgomaſters knights, with theſe ceremonies: C they kneeling downe one after another before the archduke, the earle of Solre ſtanding by him, and giuing him his ſword, hee gaue each of them three ſeuerall blowes vpon the right ſhoulder, and therewith he made him kiſſe the pomell of his ſword: which done, the archduke ſaid: *I make you knights in the name of God and S.* George, *truly to defend the Chriſtian faith the church, iuſtice, and all widowes and orphanes.* On the 10 of December the archduke and Infanta, after a maſſe ſaid by the biſhop of Antuerpe, went vnto the towne-houſe, where they were inſtalled vpon a ſcaffold, and ſworne with the accuſtomed ceremonies; the forme of their oath was as followeth.

The archdukes inſtalling in Antuerpe.

We *Albertus* and *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, princes of Spaine, by the grace of God, archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundie, Lorraine, Brabant, Lembourg, Luxembourg, and Guelder, D earles of Habsbourg, Flanders, Arthois, Tirol, Burgundy, Palatin, Henault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, Zutphen, & Margraue of the holy empire, lord of Friſeland, Salines, Macklyn, Vtrecht, and the territories of Oueriſſel & Groningue, let you vnderſtand, that I *Albertus* archduke, as husband to the foreſaid Infanta, and I the Infanta as princeſſe and heire of theſe countries and prouinces, doe promiſe to fulfill and accompliſh that which vpon the 21 of Auguſt anñ 1598, was by vs and in our names promiſed and ſworne to all and euery one of the Eſtates of the Netherlands in particular (as then aſſembled at Bruſſels in the great hall of the palace) and moreouer doe ſweare, that we will vphold and maintaine the rites of the Church, and of the Margraueſhip of the holy empire, and in generall all their ſtatutes, priuiledges, charters, freedomes, rights, liberties, and cuſtomes, both new and old, as alſo the priuiledges of our ioyfull E entries, which were giuen and graunted by vs and our predeceſſors vnto the Eſtates of Brabant, none excepted, and to hold and maintaine them, and cauſe them to be held and maintained fully and wholly in euery point, and that we will not doe any thing contrary to the ſame, neither in all, nor in part, in any ſort whatſoeuer, and that we will doe all that good and lawfull lords and Margraues of the holy empire are bound to do vnto their good ſubiects in the ſaid Marqueſſate, and whatſoeuer is innouated contrary therunto, we will amend and reduce it to the former eſtate, as God and all his holy Saints ſhall helpe vs.

The forme of the archdukes oath in Antuerpe.

Whereupon the magiſtrat in the behalfe of the towne (ſpeaking vnto the auditor of the towne in Dutch) holding vp his fingers, tooke his oath as followeth: Wee bourgomaſters, Schepenen, counſell, & inhabitants of the towne of Antuerpe, all in generall, and euery one in F particular ſweare vnto you, right high and mightie princes, *Albert* and *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, princes of Spain, by the grace of God archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundie, Lorrain, Brabant, Lembourg &c. earles of Habsbourg, Flanders, Arthois &c. our ſoueraigne lords & lawfull princes, who are here perſonally preſent, that we ſhall and will be good and true ſubiects vnto you, and doe all things that loyall and faithfull ſubiects are bound to do for their lords and

The oth of the magiſtrat of Antuerpe.

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1600 and lawfull princes, so God vs help and all his holy saints. A

Moreouer according to the auntient manner, there was an instrument or writing drawne of this solemne oath taken on both parts, and at the request of the Margraue was signed by both the princes, and their names set downe as witnesses, that were at that time present, in this manner. Giuen in our towne of Antuerpe the twelfth day of December, 1599, in the presence of the right worthie and reuerent father in God, the bishop of *Tricaricensis*, the popes Nuntio, *Balthazar de Sunniga* embassadour for the king of Spaine, the duke of Aumale, the earle of Mansfeldt, the duke of Arschot, the prince of Orange, the marquesse of Haurec, the earle of Arembergh, the earle *Vanden Berghe*, the marquesse of Berghen vp Zoom, sir *Iohn Richardot* knight, *Iohn Berlij* president, *Christopher van Assonuille*, monsieur *van Alsen* knight, *Nicholas Dammont* knight, and chancellor of Brabant, besides other officers and stan- B
ders by. Signed, *Albert* and *Isabella*. Vnderwritten, by commandement of their highnesse, & signed *Vereycken*.

This was done in euery place with great solemnitie and triumph, as vpon the 28 of Ianuarie at Gant, whereas the last of Ianuarie they of Bruges and other places tooke their oathes by their deputies, the 3 of February it was done at Cortrick, the 6 at Dornick, the 9 at Douay, and so in other townes.

Wachtendōck in Gueldres taken by prince Maurice.

Whilest the archdukes were riding abroad to bee installed, prince *Maurice* vndertooke an enterprise against Wachtendonck, a very strong town, lying in the higher parts of Gueldres, vpon the riuer of Niers, the which was recouered from the vnited prouinces some twelue yeares before, by *Charles* earle of Mansfeldt, hauing besieged it two moneths; to which end C
vpon the two and twentieth of Ianuarie hee gathered together eight cornets of horse about the cloyster of Bebber by Cleef, and some eight hundred foot vnder *Lodowicke* earle of Nassau, and colonel *Edmonds*, who began to march thither-wards in the forenoone, with certaine waggons, and by night came to Nyekerke by Wachtendonck, where they rested a while, and then they went forwards towards the towne, some went ouer the yce, and some through the ditches, and so got ouer the walles into the towne, whereas there were not aboue eightie souldiers neither in the towne nor in the castle, for that the horsemen which lay in it were gone forth to seeke for bootie, and to spoile the fort of Wandersluyten, where they were encountred by certain souldiers of the garrisons of Bonne & Buyler, & defeated: prince *Maurice* his men were no sooner entred into the town, but the bourgers tooke an alarme, yet they found smal resistance, so as they becam masters of the town without any difficultie: then D
they placed certaine musketiers vpon the towne wall, to shoot at any they should discouer within the castle, whereas monsieur *van Gileyn* gouernour of the castle was hurt in the throat, and an officer, with one other, slaine. The gouernour hauing not aboue thirtie souldiers within the castle, sent with all speed to Ruremond, to the earle *Vanden Berghe* for aid, who presently caused all the garrisons thereabouts, to march thither, but it was too late; for cont *Lodowicke* of Nassau was come with his horse and foot, whereas some of his horsemen left their horses, and among the rest, the lieutenant of prince *Maurice* his companie, got ouer the ditches, and so vpon the castle wall, whereas at last hee perswaded the souldiers to yeeld, vpon promise of their liues: one of the gouernours maids beeing of a stout courage, ranne E
to the walles with a forke in her hand, and therewith ouerthrewe a ladder whereon there were fiue men climing vp.

By this meanes on the three and twentieth day of Ianuarie they did winne the towne of Wachtendonck, which towne lying in the vpper parts of Gueldres, in a marish ground, among the townes which as yet are held by the Spaniards in that prouince, was of great importance for them. to crosse the admirals proceedings.

There laie certaine companies of Spanish footmen thereabouts, who were in great danger to be discouered and charged, for that neither the towne of Gueldre, nor any other place would receiue them, by reason of their disorders, and of the generall mutinie. This enterprise thus happily performed by cont *Lodowicke* and colonel *Edmonds*, was very benefi- F
ciall vnto them, for that the pesants thereabouts had brought all their best goods into the towne: who after they had taken good order for the estate of the towne, they departed from thence with their horsemen, leauing *Lewis vander Cathulle* lord of Rihoue for gouernor of the town, with all the footmen; & for that the town was vnfurnished of match, scoops, spades,

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A spades, and other furniture vpon the 5 of Februarie colonell *Edmonds* went thither againe, to carrie such necessaries as they wanted. 1600

As it was said before, certaine of the archdukes souldiers were mutined: the archduke by the aduice of the admirall, had resolued to punish them, beeing a necessarie and fit medicine for such a disease, and to that end he caused three peeces of ordnance to bee drawne out of Mastricht, hauing two thousand Bourguignons which were newly raysed by the marquesse of Varrabon, and two thousand Wallons, to whom there was least due, which hee meant to imploy against the mutinous souldiers, which would not be pacified without money: but they found few of them willing to march, some of the leaders obiecting the inconueniences which might grow, by suffering duetifull and quiet souldiers to fight against desperat mutiners, put-
B ting him in mind of what had happened betweene the Italians and Spaniards at Sichem, in the yeare 1595, and that it grieued and discontented many men, to see such rigour vsed against poore men, whom meere necessitie forced to demaund their owne. They laid before him the danger of a general mutinie, if he tooke that course: Wherefore he resolued by the changing of garrisons, and other exployts which *Borlotto* had in hand, to preuent all further mutineis; yet they mutined more, as at Creuecœur, and in S. *Andrewes* fort: so as the archduke finding no other meanes to pacifie them, he granted the mutinous companies at Hamont, that they should goe to Dyest, and there stay vntill they were paid all their arrerages: whereupon they were conducted thither by *Tessada* Master of the camp, being two thousand foot, & one thousand horse, where they were to receiue daily fourteene stiuers for a footman, and twentie eight
C for a horseman, vntil their account and reckoning were paid them. Yet notwithstanding, whether it were that their pay came not time ynough, or for some other reason, eight hundred of these horsemen, & one thousand footmen, went into the Wallon countries, as far as Berghen, Henegoe, and to Dornick, whereas they forced the countrey men (who had not paid them any contribution since they were in Hamont) to pay them their contribution, wherein no admonitions of *Iohn Lasonie* earle of Belidioso (who was sent vnto them) was able to dissuade them.

The garrison of the castle of Carpen, being but two and twentie souldiers, and some horsemen, mutined also, and receiued two hundred Spanish horsemen in to them, to whom *Fernando Lopes* their gouernour was sent, but he could not pacifie them, vntill it was August fol- The souldiers of Carpen mutine.
D lowing.

Part of the Spanish armie lying about Boisleduc, betwixt Graue and Venlo, the commanders thought it dangerous to lye neere the mutiners, finding some of their men both horse and foot to goe vnto them daily, especially Wallons and Italians, so as they were growne to bee three hundred horse, and fiue hundred foot, and went to Hamont, from whence many of the Spaniards were gone to Dyest, who after the manner of the mutiners, had chosen them an Electo, whose name was *Brunoro Grabieli di Augubio*, and for the horsemen *Pietrantonio Geneuef d'Alessandria*, and all their officers were Italians, as fittest for that vocation. Whereupon *Loys de Velasco*, fearing that more of his men would run away, hee past ouer the Meuse to Arson, and so marched towards Berck, and lay in the villages of Nidekerke and Oudekerke, not Mutine is in the Spanish campe
E farre from Venlo, but the same night three hundred of his horsemen and some of his footmen left him, and went to the mutiners, whereby the archdukes affaires concerning the wars were but in bad estate, vntill that more money came.

It was said before what was done by the vnited prouinces, in the winter time, concerning the warres, now I will shew what preparation they made for the summer warres. In winter they sat in counsell, to procure a consent from the prouinces, for the leuying of certaine money towards their warres: where they found many difficulties, partly for that the admiraltie in euerie place was bare of money, and much behind hand, for that their receits grew short, by reason of the restraint of licences, whereby each partie thought to weaken other. The Indian ships were also of more charge than profit vnto them, and their traffique into all places was
F small: besides, the gallies being at Sluce, bred no smal feare in them of Holland and Zeeland; so as there was a speech they would insconce the Hage, and place a garrison of horse and foot there.

The beginning of the yeare 1600 beeing spent without any exployt, the garrisons of the forts of S. *Andrew* and Creuecœur, for want of pay (beeing behind hand for many moneths) began

1600 began to mutine, chasing away their commaunders, captaines, and officers; hauing all the winter (which was verie sharpe and long) endured verie much, as well by cold, as other discommodities, to whom (by reason of the princes souldiers) there was no free accesse, without great conuoy, although they did protest sufficiently, that they would continue in the seruice and obedience of the king of Spaine, and of the archduke *Albert* of Austria, his sonne in law, demanding no other thing but their pay, whereon the archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta of Spaine, duchesse of Brabant, his wife, seemed careless. A

The garrisons in S. Andrewes fort, and in that of Creuecœur, mutine.

Prince *Maurice*, who was in like maner retired (being yet watchful vpon all occasions) with the rest of his forces, hauing verie well manned the towne of Bomel, the fort of Naffau in the island of Voorn, and his other trenches, being desirous to imbrace this occasion, and to make his profit of these mutinies and alterations of the enemies souldiers; winter being past, hee appointed the rendez vous for his armie about Rotterdam, and at Willenstadt, and her parted the eighteenth of March 1600 from the Hage, and came to Dordrecht, whereas imbarking two dayes after with a great troupe of noblemen, colonels, commanders, and captaines, hee mounted vp the riuer of Meuse, with some two hundred sayle vnto the fort of Creuecœur (whereas the Spaniards were likewise mutined.) Being landed with his armie the one and twentieth day, he began to plant his canon, at the first hee summoned the place to yeeld vpon certaine good conditions. There were foure companies of Wallons within it, who remembring their former mutinie, and the smal hope there was of any timely succours (although that their mutiny were pardoned, or at the least they had so promised them) and seeing what hast the prince made to force them, they yeelded to a composition which was offered them by the Estates, and the foure and twentieth of the moneth they yeelded the fort vnto the prince, whereof two companies, not trusting vnto the Spaniards curtesie, did willingly put themselues into the princes seruice, and the other two (as they had free libertie giuen them) retired themselues vnto S. *Andrewes* fort. B C

The fort of Creuecœur besieged, and yeelded to the prince.

This fort of Creuecœur being so easily gotten by the Estates and prince *Maurice*, seeing this beginning to promise a good and a happie end of his designes, hee entred with his armie into the island of Bomel, to trie S. *Andrews* fort by siege, to the which hee approached the six and twentieth day of the month, although the time and season were verie vnfitas well by reason of the continuall raine, as for the cold, so as most part of the time his men were forced to lye couered in the ships, dispersed here and there vpon the riuers of Meuse and Wahal. D

The prince builds many forts.

The prince was no sooner come before the fort, but he built many forts to assure his camp, in frontier places of Brabant, by the which the Spaniard might haue accesse to succour the said fort, and in like maner to importune him. Among others, he built a fort in the village of Hesel, and in the compasse of the territorie of the said village, seuen smal sconces, which were called the seuen Planets, and three in the village of Rossum, aboue the intrenchments of the one and the other, opposit vpon the North and the West to S. *Andrewes* fort. And to the end that the ships sayling vpon the riuer of Wahal should not be in danger of the canon of S. *Andrew*, the prince caused a chanell to be made, which turned out of the riuer, and fell into it againe: which chanell was called by the name of S. *Andrewes* Crosse. On Brabant side, beyond the riuer of Meuse, the prince caused seuen other forts to bee built in a great circuit of ground, from the village of Maren vnto Kessel, being three hundred paces distant one from another, yet ioyned one to another with good trenches, in the which they might safely lodge good numbers of horse and foot. And on another side of Brabant, and beyond the Meuse, another fort in the village of Alem, ioyning to the which were the Estates ships, and a bridge ouer the Meuse, to passe their men out of the isle of Bomel into Brabant, with some other batteries betwixt Alem and Maren, besides those that were at the point of their trenches at Rossum, opposit to S. *Andrew*; with another vpon the Meuse, vpon Brabant, called *Knol S'chans*, about 1600 paces distant from the fort of Alem. And the better to hinder the approach of the Spanish forces, at all these forts built vpon Brabant side, betwixt Maren and Kessel, and at Litsenham, or at euerie end of a halfe moone which the prince had caused to be built, were two small sconces, like vnto the others. Hee also caused a banke of the riuer of Meuse to bee cut, ioyning to two of his sconces in the village of Littogen, by the which the riuer did flow ouer all the champian countrey neere vnto the towne of Boisleduc, which tooke all meanes from the Spaniards to set vpon the princes forts vpon Brabant side, and much lesse vpon them that E F

were

A were in the iſlands of Bomel and Tyel, and betwixt the two riuers of Wahal and Meuſe, whereas the prince had his chiefe forces, as well along the dike, as in the ſaid forts and trenches. He had alſo made another bridge vpon the Meuſe, right againſt the fort of Keſſel, ioyning to the which was another part of his ſhips of war, and other barkes with victuals and munition, as there was in like maner neere vnto the banke, that was cut at Littogen, with ſo many intrenchments within the circuit of Maren, Keſſel, Heſel, Alem, Voorn, and Roſſum, as it is impoſſible to deſcribe them perfectly by writing, nor make them to bee conceiued with ſeeing of the purtraict, the which is very induſtriouſly cut in copper. By reaſon of all which forts and trenches, prince *Maurice* was to ſtand to it, and to attend the Spaniards ſtrongeſt attempts, his whole camp being ſo well fortified, as 50000 men would haue bin much troubled to haue forB ced a quarter: for proofe whereof colonell *Borlotte* hauing ſworne to raiſe the ſiege with 2000 men, hauing approched to the village of Os, and there ſtaied ſome time, he was forced to retire as he came, and returne into Brabant, confeſſing ſince, that he found no meanes nor acceſſe to effect any thing. 1609

The prince hauing thus intrencht and fortified his campe of a great circuit, and taken from the Spaniard all hope to force him, eſpecially by reaſon of the waters, ſo as the beſieged in S. *Andrewes* fort were not free from the inundations, beeing forced to lodge like conies in their rampars, in great miſerie and pouertie, ſuffering extreamly, vpon hope that they ſhould be relieued, reconciled, and paid, doing their beſt endeuors to reconcile themſelues with their canon: ſo as the prince could not well approach to batter them in breach, by reaſon of the waC ters, but the whole moneth of Aprill was ſpent in ſhooting at random one at another: but on the firſt day of May, the waters beginning to fall, the prince commanded, that in a darke night in the waine of the moone, they ſhould make their approches with good trenches, towards Roſſum and Herwaerden, there to make his batteries: and ſoone after hee ſent a drum to ſummon the beſieged, who although they ſeemed to be reſolued to hold the place for the king of Spaine, and the archducheſſe his daughter, yet they gaue ſome eare vnto him, conſenting to enter into treatie. According to the which vpon the 4 and 5 of May, there were ſent vnto them the ſeignior of Vchtenbrouck, colonell of the regiment of Vtrecht, and *Vander Aa*, captaine of the princes guards: at which conference the beſieged ſeeing ſmall hope of ſuccors, and the vncertaintie of their reconciliation, and much leſſe of their pay, they demanded of the Eſtates, the D arrerages of their ſeruice which the king of Spain did owe them, and for the which they were mutined, which came to the ſumme of 500000 florins. Whereupon an offer was made vnto them of 125000, which they wold not accept, hauing alſo diſcouered a ſigne which was made them at Boiſleduc (being within leſſe than two leagues) which gaue them to vnderſtand, that they ſhould be relieued within leſſe than foure daies; ſo as this treatie was without effect, beginning againe to thunder with the canon after their accuſtomed maner, vntil that on the 8 of the month, the beſieged ſeeing the princes men to be much aduãced, euen to the foot of their owne counterſcarpe, and that they began to make two bridges, to come vnto the aſſault, after that a breach were made, the foure daies of their hope being expired, and ſeeing no aduancement of any ſuccors, about two of the clocke in the afternoone the ſame day, they cried vnto E the pioners which wrought in the trenches cloſe by their counterſcarpe, ſaying, That they deſired to parle with ſome deputies from the prince and Eſtates, if it pleaſed them to ſend vnto them & heare them: to which effect there were 2 or three meſſengers ſent at their requeſt, vnto the prince and the deputies of the Eſtates. Wherupon the prince with ſome noblemen and colonels, went to horſebacke, and came into the trenches, without the which at the half moon which S. *Andrews* fort had without their counterſcarpe, the ſaid ſeignior *Vander Aa*, and another captaine had ſome conference with them: whereupon the beſieged ſent 8 deputies in 2 boat, the which were brought vnto the princes trenches, the prince ſending backe 4 of them, entred into the treatie with the reſt, granting vnto them willingly and freely whatſoeuer they could in reaſon demaund, being loth to looſe ſo faire an occaſion, fearing (the which hee did F foreſee, and it fell ſo out ſoone after) another ouerflowing of the riuers, the which had forced him to abandon thoſe approches and trenches which hee had before S. *Andrew*, and to retire his canon with great toile. The compoſition being concluded and made, there was promiſed them 125000 florins, and to remaine within the fort vntill that the money were paid them; promiſing & ſwearing vnto the ſaid prince, That they would keep and defend it faithfully for the

S. Andrewes fort yeelded.

1600 the Estates and the said prince, and to obey such captaines and officers as should be appointed A
them by him, renouncing and reuoking the oth which they had made vnto the K. of Spaine,
or the archduke *Albert*. Moreouer, these were the articles.

The articles of the accord.

1 That the sicke and wounded should bee sent to some towne of the vnited prouinces,
who should receiue their parts, as much as should rise due vnto them, out of the said summe
of one hundred twentie fiue thousand florins: and that there should be a gratuitie giuen vn-
to widowes out of the same summe.

2 All souldiers which had heretofore serued the estates or the said prince, should haue their
pardon, and should be paied what was due vnto them out of the said summe.

3 All such as would retire, should be satisfied out of the said summe, to whom good pas-
ports and safeconducts should be giuen, and that the said souldiers should be as well intreated B
as the best the Estates could haue.

4 Those which were come from the fort of Creuecœur, should be also paid as the rest.

5 That to all souldiers hauing bin vnder the princes seruice, requiring leaue to depart, and
a pasport, it shall not be refused them, so they demand it not vnseasonably.

6 Nothing shalbe reproched vnto them, of that which is now done.

7 The souldiers may, with the princes aduice, chuse 8 captaines of the Wallons regiments
of the baron of Hauchicourts and of the Marquesses, and three of the Germanes.

8 All Commissaries, Prouosts, Brewers, Bakers, Victuallers, and all others that would re-
tire, shall haue good and safe conduct. The chapleine may also retire freely with all his orna-
naments, church furniture & baggage, to whom safeconduct and conuoy shalbe giuen as vnto C
the rest.

9 That all reformed sergeants and corporals, hauing had pensions in the K. of Spaines ser-
uice, shall haue the like entertainment, remaining vnder the prince and Estates.

10 All Commissaries, captaines and officers, shall haue a surplusage and increase out of the
said summe, proportionable to that which euery souldier shall receiue.

11 That to morrow commissaries shalbe sent into the fort, to take an Inuentarie of the artil-
lerie, munition and victuals that should be found therein.

12 Being gone out of the fort, the souldiers shall take the same oth which others haue done
that serue vnder the prince and Estates.

All these conditions being granted and accepted, the 8 of May in the euening, Cont *Ernest* D
of Nassau required the souldiers of the said fort, in the princes name, and for his sake, to giue a
salue with their canon and small shot, in signe of victorie, the which they did thrice with their
muskets and harquebuses and then with their canon.

Finally, on the 11 of the moneth, the souldiers as they went out of the fort, were paid by the
poll, by the Estates commissaries, being 1124 men past by muster, the least of them receiuing
106 florins. All which being departed, the prince sent in foure of his companies and before
that he himselfe entred, he suffered all bourgers, citizens, marchants, and other inhabitants
of the vnited prouinces, which through curiositie and zeale to their country, were come, and
desired to see, to enter in great numbers, and to view it both within and without. Then he en-
tred with all the chiefe of his armie, and hauing well viewed the place, he returned vnto his E
quarter.

As for the article before mentioned, that nothing should be reproched vnto them which
was past, that was in effect presently kept. For as on the tenth of the moneth, after the accord
was made, a French souldier would haue entred in despight of the souldiers of the garrison,
being yet in guard (who being repulsed by them, he began to iniure them, calling them trai-
tors and marchants of forts) he was layd hold on, and by the law of armes condemned to
die, and then deliuered by the princes commaundement to them of the fort, to be shot to
death, or to doe with him as they pleased, who notwithstanding pardoned him, and sent
him backe.

After that the souldiers of the fort had receiued their pay, being all gone foorth, they were F
presently imbarked, and sent by water into garrison into diuers townes in the said prouinces.
Behold how this fort, which was held impregnable, was easily gotten by the Estates, and not
only the place, artillerie, munition, prouision of warre and victuals, which was more in value
than 125000 florins, but also a great troupe of as braue men as the king of Spaine had of

a long

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A a long time in his armie, all choyce men, and old experienced souldiers, whereof they made good proofe at the battaile of Nieuport, as you shall presently heare. And although the negligence or want of meanes of the archduke, although this place did so much import him, as the Spaniards called it the Key whereby to enter into Holland, and the other vnited prouinces, wheron depended a great part of his honor, hauing lost so many men, and spent so much money, before he could bring it to such perfection, as when it was deliuered to the Estates. If it were not through want of meanes, nor by the archdukes negligence, but of his commaunders in the war, captaines, commissaries, or treasorers, I know not how they could answer it, nor discharge themselues before him: and yet it hath not been heard, that any one hath bin called in question for it: for what could such valiant men haue done more, hauing 20 months pay due B vnto them, being half buried aliue in the earth, like mouls, enuironed round about with water, without any auoidance, halfe naked, all tattered, starued with cold, and smoakt vp like red herrings, hauing suffered infinitly, during the season of a tedious winter, and vnto their yeelding: seeing themselues in the goodliest season of the whole yeare, abandoned of all succors, having so long attended them in vaine, notwithstanding their great indeuors? What could they haue done, but in the end to fall into dispaire, or to do that which otherwise they would neuer haue done? For* my part, I cannot blame them, and much lesse accuse them, it belongs vnto them that are interessed: but if they will weigh this fact in the iust ballance of militarie discipline, and the rules of war, it may be they will excuse them. 1600 *Iohn Petit.*

They found in this fort 96 barrels of powder, certaine thousands of bullets, 18 peeces of ord- C nance, and other sorts of arms and munition in great number, with a great quantitie of wheat, rye, corne to brew with, and other victuals and prouisions.

The Estates force them of Groningue to pay their contribuuon.

They of Groningue, and the countrey thereabouts were this yere discontented, for that being behind hand with their contribution, for the space of 3 yeres, and taking no order for the paiment thereof, being at the least 400000 gulderns, the Estates of the other prouinces, were forced against their wils, to vse some forcible execution (a bad and vnfit president, especially in the time of their ciuill wars) giuing the charge therof vnto monsieur *Temple*, with 800 foot, and 200 horse, who with some other companies of Friseland, vpon the sixteenth of March entred into Groningue, partly against the bourgers wils, who the next day forbad the bourgers to watch, and in the end dealt verie seuerely with them; and yet *William* earle of Nassau laboured D what hee could to haue them mildly intreated, whereof some particular persons were the cause. But to preuent all further inconueniences, in the end there was a citadell built, the Estates pretending that both the towne and the territories of Groningue were in great daunger, by reason of their great weekely markets, whereas there was so great a concourse of people, as the enemie might easily by that meanes attempt something against it: so as they were forced to keepe a continuall garrison there, of twentie, or twentie fiue companies. For which cause they resolued (not without great dislike and murmuring of many men) to build vp a castle; the which after long disputation, and much contrarietie, was begun the next summer, at the North end of the towne, which the surueyors and workemen said, would not cost aboue 70000 gulderns, which made them yeeld thereunto the more willingly: but in the end they E found the charge to be aboue 400000 guldernes, the which was more than the arrerages of their contribution amounted vnto, so as the surueyors and masters of the worke had small thankes for their labor. *Gaspar van Eusum* was made gouernor therof with 6 or 800 men.

They of Zeeland complain of their charge

They of Zeeland complained, that they were not able to leuie the generall contribution which they were rated to pay, for the further maintenance of the warres both by sea and land, laying open all their meanes, both contributions and other, vnto them of Holland, desiring they might be discharged of so great a taxe, or else to haue some aid of men and money, with other necessaries for their defence, the warre lying most vpon them. They of Holland and Vtrecht seemed to be well content, and promised to pay their rate as they had done the yeare before, aduising them to prouide for the defence of the countrey, with all the means and speed F they could.

They of Gueldres and Ouerissell seemed also to complaine: yet all in generall thought it fit to take the aduantage of the time, whilest their enemies souldiers were in mutinie, and to make better resistance against the gallies at sea, whereupon they resolued to deuise al the means they could to raise money, to make a good offensiue war the next yeare.

Prince

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1600

Henry prince of Orange made one of the counsell of Estate in the vnited prouinces.

Prince *Henry*, yongest sonne to *William* prince of Orange, hauing beene with his mother in France, and now returned againe into the Netherlands, the general Estates thought it good to acquaint him with the affaires of the countrey where hee was borne, and to that end (although he were but seuenteene yeares old) they made him one of their counsell of Estate, that he might see and heare what was done concerning the affaires of the countrey, so as vpon the 17 of March was his first sitting. A

The archduke *Albertus* and the Infanta, being installed in most of the prouinces vnder their obedience, they now found themselues much perplexed for money, so as the Spaniards, Italians, and other nations, fell generally into mutinie, and spoiled all the countrey, forcing the peasants to pay them contribution, so as they feared a greater tumult, if it were not speedily preuented: for which cause the generall Estates vnder their command were assembled, whereas vpon the eight and twentieth of Aprill, beeing at Brussels, the archdukes both by mouth and writing, made these propositions vnto them, by the president *Richardot* and *d'Assonville*. B

Propositions made by the archdukes, to the prouinces vnder their command.

My lords, it is not vnknowne to euerie one of you, how much you haue longed after this assembly, in regard of the great zeale you beare vnto the aduancement of your countries cause which you thinke is too much neglected: the like desire their highnesses haue also had, since their first comming into these countries, the which had beene long since effected, if the time spent in their instalments in these their countries, had not beene some let, being necessarie for
» them to begin with that ceremonie, not only to giue the common people contentment there-
» by, but also to accomplish that which was promised, before my lord the archdukes your prin- C
» ces departure into Spaine: and now hauing proceeded thus farre, the cause of this assemblie
» being well knowne to euerie one of you, for that you may haue beene particularly informed
» thereof in each of your seuerall prouinces, it shall not be needfull to make any long discourse
» of that which is here to be done, touching the aduancement of the countries cause, for that
» your princes long much to heare what you intend to propound vnto them, beeing well informed
» of the businesse, hauing also no intent to offer any new matter vnto you, but that where-
» with you are alreadie made acquainted. And their highnesses thinke it sufficient, that you
» know, and are assured, that they are come hither to liue and dye with you, and to do all offices
» befitting good and mild princes: hoping withal, that you for your parts wil not faile to do the
» dueties of good and faithfull subiects. And if you desire to vnderstand more of their loues D
» and affections towards you, it shall appeare by that which they now desire at your hands,
» which is, To be carefull and prouident for the present estate of your countrey, which (to their
» great griefe) they find to be in farre worse estate than they would haue it. It discontents them
» to see you surcharged with so great burthens, yet they haue not vndertaken to disguise any
» thing vnto you, nor yet to feed you with any vaine hopes, or to hold you in suspence: for they
» know there are many great difficulties, to surmount the which we must both labor and sweat,
» hauing no better meanes to be vnburthened thereof, and to free our selues from these difficul-
» ties, which seeme to enuiron vs round about, than to shew our power and force according to
» our abilities, alwayes with the helpe and assistance of God, the which shall neuer be wanting,
» if we pray heartily vnto him. The chiefe cause therefore of this assembly (in regard of the E
» great and generall complaints, and the disorders which grow daily by such long and bloudie
» warres) is, That their highnesses desire, that all in generall, and euerie one of you in particular,
» will endeuor your selues to giue him counsell, how it may be effected, and to set downe the
» necessarie meanes to be vsed, for the maintenance of the common cause, & the setling of some
» good course, for the profit and commoditie of the countrey. I do not prescribe in what man-
» ner it should be done, wherein they desire to haue your wise aduice and counsell, hauing no
» other intent, but to gouerne all things well, as their future actions shall make manifest. But to
» proceed to a point of greater importance, whereon we must resolue, is either Peace, or Warre:
» Peace were more beneficial vnto vs, which without doubt is that which you much desire, and
» your princes much more than you, being naturally inclined therunto, and desiring to gouerne F
» you in peace and quietnesse. If therefore you know any means how to attain vnto it, you shal
» doe well to impart it vnto their highnesse, wherein they will heare you with all attention, and
» stand alwayes readie with open armes, to receiue the strayed members, and to vnite them a-
» gaine to the whole bodie, from the which to their owne great preiudice (through the persua-

sions

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A ſions and inſtigation of ſome men) they haue indiſcreetly ſeperated themſelues, and (which is worſt of all) haue ſo hardned their hearts, as no reaſons, offers, nor meanes, haue hitherto been of force to draw them to any reconciliation. 1600

If this then bee no more ſucceſſefull than the former, wee muſt of force take armes in hand and prepare to war, for the maintenance whereof we haue a million of aduantages aboue our enemies: for beſides, that God doth commonly aid the iuſt cauſe, wee our ſelues are without all compariſon the ſtronger, yet wee will not denie but wee haue our meanes and chiefe maintenance from that great monarch of Spaine, whereas the vnſpeakable treaſure of Peru and the Indies lye open vnto vs, in regard that the yong king loueth the high and mightie Infanta, his ſiſter, ſo deerely, and ſheweth more bountie vnto her, than the deceaſed king her
B father. But it is true, all muſt not come from thence, we muſt put to our helping hands, that we may once free our ſelues from theſe miſeries, and for that cauſe you are called to this place, to aduiſe with one conſent of the meanes how to maintaine the wars, vntill it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend vs a good peace.

That which is allowed monethly by the king of Spaine, amounteth vnto two hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes, and what more is to bee added thereunto, muſt bee rayſed in theſe countries: wherein you muſt reſolue what courſe you thinke fitteſt, to imploy the money comming out of Spaine, and that which ſhall be leuied here, thereby to keepe better martiall diſcipline, to ſuppreſſe all complaints and diſorders, and to content the common people.

Moreouer, you muſt haue a care for the paiment of your ordinarie garriſons, and the repay-
C ring of your frontier towns and forts, the which muſt neceſſarily bee done, for that they are in great danger. Beſides all this, you know that euerie man muſt liue of his owne, the which is to be vnderſtood both of princes and priuat men. The inheritance and patrimony of our princes is their demeanes, whereof in times paſt the dukes of Bourgoigne, who were our princes, and their predeceſſors, did liue, reſeruing it for themſelues and their houſes, but being once vnited with Spaine, our princes grew ſo mightie, hauing ſo many other eſtates and kingdomes, as they made no eſtimation of the reuenues of theſe countries for their owne maintenance, but did bountifully imploy and pawne the reuenues of theſe countries, for the neceſſities of the war, and for the defence and preſeruation of the countrey, in ſuch ſort as it is ſcarce able to pay the rents, whereunto you muſt haue a great regard, as being bound by nature to diſcharge
D thoſe debts, which were made for you, that our princes may haue meanes to liue, and not bee burthenſome vnto their ſubiects. It is to be hoped that this may bee effected in few yeares, whether it be by ſuch meanes as you your ſelues ſhall find out, or that their highneſſes ſhall propound vnto you. In the meane time they deſire you to prouide them meanes whereon to liue, vntill their reuenues may bee freed from all ſuch debts. If theſe things may bee effected, we ſhall haue meanes to bridle our enemies, to keepe our ſouldiers in diſcipline, to preuent all diſorders, and to pacifie the daily complaints, which are verie great and many, to the great trouble and griefe of their highneſſes, and of all good men. Wherefore my lords you are to proceed herein, and to conclude with one generall conſent, what you ſhal thinke poſſible and conuenient, as if you were all children borne of one wombe; and whereas you cannot agree,
E their highneſſes ſhall in friendly maner giue you their aduice, and ſhew you ſuch means as are likeſt to be effected, that ſo all ioyntly and with one common conſent, may ſeek to vphold and maintaine the bodie of this eſtate, which hath bin ſo mightie and flouriſhing.

Theſe propoſitions being made, & for that daily, beſides the mutinies in Dyeſt, Hamont, & Bilſen, the other garriſons alſo mutined, and forced al Henault, and the champian countrey of Brabant to contribution, meaning to do the like in Arthois, as they had done in the countries of Liege and Lembourg, ſo as they were conſtrayned to reſiſt them by force: It was therefore mentioned in this aſſembly (for the preuenting of further inconueniences, & to appeaſe theſe mutinies) that the Eſtates ſhould leuie 50000 crownes preſently, the which was granted, vpon condition, That it ſhould be defalked out of the firſt money that they ſhold agree vpon to pay
F vnto the archduke. And entring into further treatie, the general Eſtates deſired a particular expoſition of euery point, as well what numbers of ſouldiers they were to maintaine, and what countrey ſouldiers they ſhould be, what their entertainment would amount yearely vnto, and what was ſufficient for the maintenance of the admiraltie, ordnance, munitiõ, victuals, &c. and what all would amount vnto: Prouided alwayes, that firſt of al the mutiners of Dyeſt, Ha-

The Eſtates demand an expoſition of the propoſitions.

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1600 mont, and Bilsen, should bee satisfied and paid. A

The archdukes demand

Whereunto, vpon the 23 of May, the archduke made answer, That it was hard to be done, letting them vnderstand, that he would desire no more than should bee needfull to maintaine 10000 foot of the naturall borne subiects of the countrey, besides the ordinarie garrisons, and 5 companies of light horsemen, besides their ordinarie troups.

For the maintenance of the admiraltie, they thought it necessarie to haue 30 thousand gulderns a moneth.

For the repairing and fortification of frontier townes, 300000 gulderns a yeare.

For the freeing of the demeanes and reuenues, a prouisionall yearely summe of 200000 gulderns, to be made for the maintenance of their houses.

Touching the paiment of the old debts, and the mutinous souldiers, they did hope to haue B some helpe therein from the kings bountie, and that they would take vpon themselues the charge of paying the strange souldiers, with the money which was to come out of Spaine, being 250000 duckets a moneth, and not charge the Estates therewith.

The Estates desire to know what the state of the wars would be.

After this, the Estates desired to know what assurance they should haue out of Spaine, for the paiment of the said 250000 duckets monethly, and how that money should bee imploied, that the souldiers might be kept in good discipline, without any charge to the common people, both for seruice money (which is their lodging) carriages, and other things: for that hauing no good orders established, the countrey might be wasted, and made vnable to giue their princes any aid: and therefore they held it necessarie to make an account and reckoning with the souldiers, and to acquaint the king of Spaine therewith, that by his bountie they might C be paid their arrerages: desiring also to haue a particular note what garrisons should be paied by the countrey, as also, if furnishing the ful summe demanded of them, they should not be discharged of wagons, pioners, &c. and of all other things that concerne the wars, as for the passing of souldiers through the countrey, and that they should liue vpon their owne pay in the champian countries, &c.

To these and the like points the archduke made answer the 12 of Iune, assuring the 250000 crowns a month, declaring moreouer their priuat meaning and intent in 13 articles, the which for breuities sake I omit.

Whereupon the generall Estates, on the 27 of Iune, made answer vnto euerie seueral article, and among the rest, that touching the assurance of the 250 thousand crowns a moneth, which D should come out of Spaine, such orders might be taken, as the Estates might tast the effects thereof: desiring moreouer, that some able and trustie messenger might be sent vnto the king, to beseech him to continue the said paiment of 250 thousand crowns, not onely that yeare of 1600, but vntill the first of Ianuarie 1602: and also to hasten the extraordinarie prouision for the paiment of the old arrerages vnto the souldiers: the Estates desiring leaue to write particularly vnto the king concerning the same: and in the meane time, for their better securities and contents, they besought their highnesse, that it might appeare euerie moneth, how it had beene performed: And so they made answer vnto the rest of the articles.

The death of the countesse of Mœurs.

In May past, *Walborgh*, countesse of Nieuwenar, Horne, Mœurs, &c. died, who had to her first husband *Philip* of Montmorencie, earle of Horne, who was beheaded by the duke of E Alua, and then shee maried with *Adolp* earle of Nieuwenar, Alphen, &c. hauing no issue by either of her husbands. By her testament she gaue the earledome of Mœurs to prince *Maurice*, the earledome of Horne, with the towne of Weert and all her mouables, vnto *Euerard* earle of Solins, who had maried with *Sabina* countesse of Egmont; the baronie of Bedborgh with the appurtenances, shee bequeathed vnto the earle of Benthem, and made the Estates of the vnited prouinces her executors, who had assisted her much in the defence of her right: but as soone as the duke of Cleues vnderstood of her death, hee sent certaine souldiers to seyze vpon the towne and castle of Mœurs, as depending vpon the duchie of Cleues; and not long after, when as monsieur *Cloot* went thither with certaine souldiers, to take possession thereof in prince *Maurice* his name, hee was repulst by them of Cleueland, but the next yeare F following, when as the towne of Berck was woon againe by prince *Maurice*, it was deliuered to monsieur *Cloot*, who was made gouernour thereof. There was a great summe of money offered to prince *Maurice* for the sayd earledome of Mœurs, but hee would not in any wise sell it.

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A In the same moneth of May *Harman* earle of Manderschelt, and *Charles Nutzel*, embassadours for the emperour, came to the Hage, who deliuered their embassage vnto the Estates, which was, To command them to make restitution of such places as they held in the territories of the empire, with reparation for the wrongs and damages which they had done vpon the frontiers of the empire; saying, That the emperor wondered they had not performed the contents of their letters of the 31 of Ianuarie, by the which they had promised to deliuer vp such places as they held in their possession, belonging vnto the empire, whereas the Spaniard had left Rees, Emmeric, Lobith, and other places, and they on the other side had taken more places, and held Emmeric still, thereby giuing the Spaniards cause of iealousie and distrust, it being an open contempt against the emperor and empire. 1600 Embassadors sent from the empero: to the Hage.

B And as touching the sconce of Grauenweerd, commonly called *Schencks sconce*, which the estates did pretend to stand vpon the territories of Gueldres, seeing it stil remained *sub lite pendente*, it was requisit it shold be deliuered into the duke of Cleues hands, or else by forme of sequestration, it should be put in some neutrall hands, vntill the law had determined of the situation thereof.

They also demaunded restitution of the ransomes and other booties gotten by them from the subiects of the empire, and assurance that no such excesse should be committed hereafter.

Moreouer, they said, That they had expresse commission, to complaine of the wrongs done by their souldiers in the territories of Aix, whereas they made the peasants to pay contribution euen vnto the gates of the towne; as in like maner in Westphalia, Iuilliers, and the territories of
C Cleues, as also of a sentence giuen by them against those of Gelekerke. Besides, that the rents of the Foukers of Ausbourg, were detained from them in Friseland, with such like complaints: wherefore they desired there might be certaine committees appointed to take order therein, and that in the meane time there might bee a truce or surceasing from armes, hoping that by the intercession of the emperor and the empire, the aduerse party would be drawne to consent and agree thereunto.

Whereunto the Estates of the vnited prouinces made answer, on the seuenth of Iune, saying, That they humbly thanked the emperor, and the princes of the empire, for the great care they had of the Netherlands: and that for their parts they had alwaies sought to yeeld all due respect and honor vnto the said princes, and to the empire, according to their best means, with
D restitution and satisfaction, according to the order set downe at Renisbourgh, &c. being much grieued to heare that the emperor should be so falsely informed, of their taking of any new places, since the Spaniard had deliuered vp those places which he had held. And as for Emmeric, they desired them to consider that the towne was not yeelded vp againe by the Spaniard; but the Spaniard holding it by force from the empire, their generall, prince *Maurice*, had taken it from them in the yeare 1598, and deliuered it vnto the duke of Cleues, to whom it belonged, with condition, not to suffer any Spanish garrison to enter any more into it, and that, when as in the yeare 1599 the Spaniards tooke Genep, and Rees, and attempted to take it ageine, the bourgers of the towne desired them to send in certaine souldiers for their defence, where they haue euer since continued. The Estates answer to the emperors embassadors.

E Touching the castle of Lobith, they said, it was neuer in the Spaniards power, but in the yere past, when as the Spanish army marcht that way, they were forced to put a garrison into it for their owne securities, as they did in Seuenar, and other places; which garrisons (as soone as the Spaniards were gone to Bomelerweert) they retired againe, the which they were also readie to do at Emmeric, if the Spaniards would promise not to take it againe, and would leaue Rhineberck, with other places which they still detained; and that the duke of Cleues would suffer prince *Maurice* and the earle of Solms quietly to enioy the lands of the countesse of Nieuwenar and Mœurs, giuen vnto them by her last will and testament. They said, they had thrice since the yeare 1597 restored such places to the empire, as the Spaniards had taken from it, and therefore they hoped that now the fourth time they would not vrge them to make restitution
F before the Spaniards did the like.

As for their title to Grauenweerd sconce, they said, That wheras in the yere 1586 the Spaniards had resolued to build a sconce in that place, therby to haue an entry into Guelderland and into Cleueland, they were preuented by them, who had built a fort there for their defence;

1609 without any complaint of them of Cleueland, as being vpon the territories of Gueldres: A
at the last they of Cleueland pretended to haue certaine ciuill iurisdiction ouer the same, and
yet the soueraignty of Gueldres was not any thing prejudiced thereby.

The fort being made in the yeare 1590, the Estates of the vnited prouinces informed the emperour, what right they had thereunto, wherein as then there was nothing done, so as they proceeded in the fortification of the place, and therefore they hoped (that seeing it was built vpon a void peece of ground, *ad legitimam defensionem*) they might hold the possession thereof: and for that it was a place which concerned their enemie much and that the duke at that time made no complaint touching the same, they were of opinion therefore, that hee made no motion for the restitution thereof, but onely by the practises and persuasions of the Spaniards. And as for putting of the place into the hands of some neutrall persons, and they to bee B
charged with the garrison, that would onely be a meanes to pleasure the Spaniards.

Touching restitution of damages, they said, That they thought the Spaniards ought to do it, who wilfully had entred into the confines of the empire, to make it their passage into Holland, so as they were vnwillingly forced to oppose themselues, and if thereby any incursions were made into the empire, it was done against their wils, and contrarie to their proclamations, and if they had not suffered the Spaniards to enter into their territories, no such inconueniences had happened.

Concerning them of Aix, they promised to take so good order therein, as they should haue no cause to complaine, so as they would remaine neutrall, and not more partiall to one partie than to another. The like they answered for them of Cologne, Iuilliers, and others, protesting to be sorie for any wrongs that had beene done vnto them. And as for the Foukers rents C
in Friseland, if it were found they had any right thereunto, they would take order they should haue speedie iustice.

Touching the foresaid embassage determined on at Renisbourgh, tending to the making of a peace, they said, That it appeared, that both the deceased king of Spaine, and the king that now liueth, sought nothing else, but to bring the countries of the Netherlands vnder the Spanish yoake, the which was especially intended, by the donation of the sayd countries vnto the Infanta, by the which gift the Archduke and Infanta are bound by othe, to gouerne according to the will and disposition of the king of Spaine, contrarie to the priuiledges and laudable customes of the Netherlands, as also that the protectorship and mariage of the prin- D
ces of the Netherlands, is reserued to the pleasure and disposition of the king of Spaine, the countries freedome being infringed, and thereby made feudatorie *in perpetuum*, to the crowne of Spaine, the libertie of nauigation restrained, and at the king of Spaines disposition, beeing also sworne, for euer to maintaine the Romish Religion, and none else, and that all those conditions should bee so strictly obserued, as for the least breach they should forfeit the sayd countries.

Besides, that the donation of the Netherlands serued them for a iustification, and to proue that there was no good meant therby, as it appeared in the beginning of their gouernment, for that the king of Spaine had violated *fidem publicam*, by committing so many sailers and seafaring men of the Netherlands to prison, whom his father suffered to come into Spaine for his E
owne good and profit. And that the archduke also since his entrie into the possession of the Netherlands, had broken his pasports and safeconducts, commanding that the poore fishermen should be spoyled at sea, during the time of their pasports.

Moreouer, That the admirall of Arragon had entred in hostile manner into his neighbours countries, forciblie taken their townes, vsed all cruelties towards the inhabitants, proclaiming others that haue nothing to do with him, rebels &c. All which beeing duely considered by them, they had great reason to thinke, that it could neither bee honourable nor profitable for them to acknowledge the archduke, nor yet to treat with him nor the king of Spaine: And therefore they humbly besought the emperor and the empire, to consider of all these things with equitie and reason. F

After this, the emperors embassadors persisted to haue thē grant liberty for the embassadors appointed by the estates of the empire, to come & make relatiō of their embassage, who might haue other reasons to alledge, wishing them to consider of all they had deliuered. Whereunto the

A the Eſtates replied on the 12 of Iune, That they had ſufficiently conſidered of the points concerning reſtitution and reparation, and found by the proceeding of things ſince the yere 1594, that the reſolution taken at Rhineberck was not good nor profitable, neither for the empire, nor for the Netherlands, deſiring them to preſſe the Spaniards to repaire the hurt which they had done in the countrey of Mœurs; and that for their parts they would doe their beſt endeuors to giue the emperor contentment, and take order to preuent all future incurſions. There was alſo a motion made by the embaſſadors, to haue the towne of Wachtendonck made neutrall, thereby to preuent all incurſions, which the Eſtates held to be an vnreaſonable demand, it being theirs by conqueſt, taken from their enemies in Guelderland. 1600

In the end the emperors embaſſadors dealt in ſuch ſort with the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, as they did willingly conſent to deliuer the towne of Emmeric to the duke of Cleues, vpon promiſe, That the emperors Maieſtie and the empire, ſhould procure the archduke to yeeld vp the towne of Rhineberck, vnto the prince elector of Cologne, and ſo both parties, to free the frontiers of the empire from further moleſtation and trouble: Shewing by the effects, that they deſired nothing but friendſhip and good correſpondencie with the empire, proteſting not to hold any thing belonging vnto the empire, vnleſſe it were Grauenweerd, wheron they had built Schencks ſconce, which *weert*, or peece of land, beeing in queſtion to whom it ſhould belong, they pretended to hold it vntill the cauſe were decided. And ſo the towne of Emmeric was deliuered vp to the duke of Cleues, the lord therof, in Iune 1600, to the contentment of the ſaid duke and embaſſadors, who went from the Hage to Antuerpe, and ſo to Bruſſels, to procure the reſtitution of Rhineberck vnto the elector of Cologne: but the archduke was gone into Flanders, about the war there, ſo as the embaſſadors were forced to follow him to Gant, where, vpon the 14 of Iuly, they (with other embaſſadors) deſired him, That Rhineberck might be reſtored vnto the elector of Cologne, as the vnited prouinces had already done vpon their words; but they could not then obtaine it, the matter beeing referred to a conference, which by meanes of the embaſſadors was concluded, betweene the deputies of the vnited prouinces, and the committees for the Eſtates vnder the archdukes command, as Brabant, Flanders, &c.

Emmeric yeelded by the Eſtates to the duke of Cleues

The archduke refuſeth to deliuer Rhineberck to the Elector of Cologne.

About that time the ſeignior of Briaute, a yong gentleman of good eſteeme in France, captaine of a companie of horſe in the Eſtates ſeruice, verie valiant, & exceeding iealous of his honor, was in garriſon in Gheertruydenbergh: vpon certaine words of diſgrace, as wel againſt his owne perſon in particular, as againſt the whole French nation in general, ſimply reported, and vainly ſpoken by a ſouldier, who had fled from the Eſtates partie, called *Lekerbitken*, that is to ſay, a delicat morſel, for his valor being made lieutenant of a horſe companie to *Grobendonc*, gouernor of Boiſleduc (*Briaute*, doing therein wrong to his reputation, to make queſtion to a baſe traitor, for words of ſo ſmal moment, being vſual among ſouldiers, for he was one of them which had ſold Gheertruydenbergh to the duke of Parma) hee ſent him a challenge, to fight with him ſingle, fiue to fiue, ten, or twentie. This was accepted by *Lekerbitken*, of twentie to twentie on horſeback, and with ſuch armes as they vſed in the warres. The day and place appointed, prince *Maurice* ſought to diſſuade him, ſhewing the ſleightneſſe of the quarrell, and the diſproportion to equall his perſon with a traitor and renegado: but no perſuaſions could preuaile. *Briaute* made choyce of nineteene, almoſt all French men, and went out of his garriſon, giuing the gouernour to vnderſtand, that it was with the princes conſent, and hauing giuen him (in caſe he were ſlaine in this combat) his beſt armes (the which were as faire, rich, and as curiouſly wrought, as any prince could weare) hee went out of the towne to the place appointed for the combat, midway betwixt Boiſleduc and Gheertruydenbergh, where finding not his enemie, courage and heat made him aduance further than he ſhould haue done, meeting him about halfe a league from Boiſleduc. Vpon their approach they charged equally, *Briaute* and his companie with two long piſtols onely, and *Lekerbitken* with petronels, and long piſtols (the two champions hauing before giuen markes how to know one another, *Briaute* by a great white plume, and the other by a red) *Briaute* hauing choſen his aduerſarie charged him furiouſly with his troupe, and notwithſtanding all their harquebuſadoes, ſhot him in at the beauer, and ouerthrew him: *Lekerbitkens* brother was likewiſe ſlaine, and two or three more of his companie, ſo as it ſeemed that *Briaute* ſhould remaine victor: but they of Boiſleduc to reuenge the death of their cõmander, charged more furiouſly than before

Briaute fighes a combat, & is ſlaine treacherouſly.

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1600 the which terrified some of the French, so as they fled, and left their captaine in danger, who was taken prisoner with a kinsman of his, the rest were slaine or put to rout. *Briante* and three of his companie beeing led prisoners to Boisleduc, *Grobendonc* being before the port, attending the returne of his men, and to know with the first how the combat went, seeing not his lieutenant, hee demaunded where he was? Answer being made him, That both he and his brother were slaine: He replyed, And why haue you not slaine these men? at which words his men fell vpon *Briante* and his cosin, whom they murthered in cold bloud. I leaue it to others censure, whether this fact of *Briantes* bee to bee imputed to magnanimitie of courage, or to vanitie and presumption, and *Grobendoncs* commaundement, to murther, or to an action of warre. But in my opinion he should not haue done it, neither should *Briante* haue beene so vaine, as to challenge a traytor to combat: and *Grobendonc* should not haue endured the affronts and disgraces which the kinsman of *Briante* did him, hauing beene chalenged to fight bodie to bodie, yea by his yonger brother, beeing but eighteene yeares old, the which hee basely refused, not knowing how to excuse this fact before the archduke, nor the captaines and men of honor.

The Estates resolution to make war in the countrey of Flanders.

The islands of Zeeland, as Walchren, Schouwen, Zuytbeuelandt, Tolen, and others, especially that of Walchren, finding themselues oppresst by the six gallies which *Ieronimo Spinola*, a merchant of Genes, had obtained of the king of Spaine, the which (notwithstanding the Estates ships of warre, which were in guard at sea) hee had brought into the hauen of Sluce, from thence to rob and spoyle the vnited prouinces; besides the great spoyles which they of Dunkerke made daily at sea, as well vpon them of Holland and Zeeland, which fish for herrings, as vpon their ships, merchandise, and passengers, required the generall Estates of the vnited prouinces (seeing there was no more danger towards Holland and Gueldres, by the taking of the forts of S. *Andrew* and Creuecœur, and by the freeing the island and towne of Bomel) to helpe to free them from the said gallies and Dunkerkers, and by that means diuert the warres from Holland and Gueldres, into the countrey of Flanders, against the sea townes of Dunkerk, Nieuport, and Sluce, making themselues masters of the sea, after they had once wrested the said townes from the Spaniard, which did so much mischiefe.

This attempt seemed weightie, and ful of difficulties, yet the Estates remembring the goodly victorie which God had giuen them in the isle of Bomel, that the old regiments of the archdukes Spaniards and Italians, were generally in mutinie for their pay, the which by all presumptions was not easie to find, nor for them to pacifie them, by reason of the great arrerages that were due vnto them; and therefore entring into Flanders with their whole armie, there should not be any one to hinder their designe, hoping to take one of those three townes, before the archdukes armie should be readie. All being well debated, and resolution taken, the prince sent for as many ships as he had need of, from al the sea towns of Holland, Zeeland, and Friseland, to imbarke his troups, both horse and foot, with his artillerie, victuals, prouisions, and munition of warre, in great aboundance, assigning to euerie one his quarter, and the time when they should all come to the great rendez vous, to the number of about eight and twentie hundred saile of all sorts, fit for such a voyage, as well to fight at sea, as to land men, the which had neuer beene seene in any expedition in the Netherlands, so as there past in one day betwixt morning and night, aboue 2000 before the town of Dordrecht, the which was a pleasant thing to behold.

All which ships being come to the rendez vous in Zeeland, before the island of Walchren, vnder the castle of Ramekins, staying for a wind to carrie them to Oostend, vpon the coast of Flanders vnder the Estates obedience, there to land, hauing had none but a Northerly wind, all the time they lay at anchor, with the which they could hardly land at the towne, the prince doubted that their long stay might giue the archduke leysure to gather his armie together, before that hee should bee entred into Flanders with his armie: wherefore, leauing Zeeland, he imbarked the 19 of Iune in his pinace. The deputies of the generall Estates of the vnited prouinces were likewise at Flessingue, the which were the seigniors of Keuenburch, Oldenbarneuelt, Vander Dussen, and others for Holland and West-Friseland, the seignior *Fernande Alleman* for Zeeland, *Renesse Vander Aa* for Vtrecht, the seignior *Frankena* for the lordship of Friseland, and the seigniour *Alberda* for Groningue, the Ommelands, and the rest, to assist the prince with counsell, and to attend the will and pleasure of God, hauing some few

The deputies of the Estates go to assist the prince.

dayes

A daies before commanded a faſt and publike praiers, that it would pleaſe God to bleſſe their 1600
deſignes; whereupon the prince and all the commanders and captaines beeing aboard, ſeeing the wind conſtant in that corner of the north, with the which it was not poſſible for them to land at Ooſtend, he tooke another reſolution, with the deputies of the Eſtates, to aduance their deſigne by land, although it were at the firſt appointed by ſea (the which had beene the ſhorter, and the more commodious) and the ſame day waighing anchor about noone, they ſet ſaile with about 1500 veſſels, leauing the reſt (whereof they had no great need) before the caſtle of Ramekins, there to attend a good wind to carrie them to Ooſtend. The ſame night the prince arriued with his armie before the towne of Bierulyet, which is a little iſland vpon the coaſt and iuriſdiction of Flanders, not farre from the Sas (which is the ſluſe of Gant go-
B ing to the ſea) from whence he ſent the earle *Erneſt* of Naſſau his couſin, with ſuch ſhips and men as he thought neceſſarie, to land neere vnto the fort of Philippine, which was held by the Spaniards, and to get it as ſoone as poſſibly he could: thoſe of the fort did only make ſhot with the cannon, but being amazed at the great number of ſhips, and ſeeing that it was intended againſt them, they yeelded vp the place by compoſition to depart with their rapiers and daggers, the which was done the ſame night, and the next morning early the prince landed, where hauing taken a view of his armie, with the deputies of the Eſtates, leauing the forts of Patience and Yſendicke which were neere and held by the Spaniards; on the 23 of Iune they parted from *Philippine* and marcht towards Aſnede, where the caſtle being ſummoned, yeelded, without attending the canon, the ſouldiers departing with their armes & baggage, the
C ſconſe that was there, and the barricadoes of the church being abandoned.

The fort of Philippine in Flanders yeelded to the prince.

The prince and his armie being entred into Flanders, in the middeſt of their enemies countrie (whereas the Spaniards had ſo often deſired to ſee them) the ſhippes which had tranſported them beeing diſcharged of their victuals and munition, were diſmiſt, and returned home. The 24 day the prince parting from Aſnede, came to lodge at Eckloo with his whole armie, from whence he parted the next day. After his departure the peſants vſed ſome crueltie againſt ſome of the Eſtates ſouldiers, hanging them vp booted and ſpurd: in reuenge whereof (yet without any knowledge or commandement from the prince) ſome ſouldiers (which could not be afterwards knowne) returned, and burnt the whole borough. This was wont to be one of the greateſt and goodlieſt boroughs in Flanders for traffique and handiworks. The
D ſame day the prince parted from Eckloo, hee arriued at the village of Male, a league from Bruges.

The ſame day the wind beeing come faire to ſaile to Ooſtend, ſome fourtie barkes of the fleet, which carried baggage being left (as we haue ſaid) vnder Ramekins ſet ſaile, being guarded by three ſhips of warre; but (as it happens in ſuch caſes, that ſome are alwaies more forward than others) the gallies of Scluſe fell vpon them that were moſt ſcattered, and could not aduance by reaſon of the calme, ſo as they tooke eighteene or twentie of them, and the ſhips of warre could not helpe them, nor purſue the gallies to reſcue the bootie. And when as the Spaniards had taken all that was in them, with the maſters, mariners, and paſſengers priſoners, not able to carrie away all the ſaid ſhips, they burnt foure and let the reſt goe. At this en-
E counter captaine *Blanckart* captaine of one of thoſe ſhips of warre (not able to bee ſeconded by the other two, by reaſon of the contrarie tide, and the calme) was ſet vpon by the ſaid gallies. He had fiftie good men aboard, who defended themſelues couragiouſly, and repulſt the Spaniards thrice from off their hatches, which they had wonne: finally, they defended themſelues in ſuch ſort, as after they had loſt 22 men, and all the reſt hurt, but eight, among the which, the captaine was ſo wounded, as within few daies after he died, hauing their ſhip ſhot through & through, loſt their maine maſt and yard, & ſo torne, as it could not be more, thoſe which remained whole, refuſing to yeeld, although they were grapled faſt vnto them, but threatened the Spaniards (wherof the captaine himſelfe had giuen charge to one of his men) that rather than they would yeeld, to ſet fire of their owne poulder, and blowe them vp, and
F ſo the one ſhould be as rich as the other. Wherewith the Spaniards beeing terrified, they abandoned it ſuddainly, beeing all torne with the cannon, and in this eſtate it was brought to Flellingue: the Spaniards going to their hole at Scluſe, with the bootie which they had taken from the reſt of the other ſhips, among the which was the baggage of cont *Erneſt* of Naſſau, and the baron of Sidleniskie, ſergeant maior of the princes armie, that of ſir *Robert Sidney*

1600 ney gouernour of Flessingue, of captaine *Wernhard du Bois*, of doctor *Strahanus* the princes A
physition, of two of his surgeons, and the rest was belonging to poore victuallers. Captaine
Blanckart died in Flessingue, where he was honorably interred with a militarie pompe.

In the meane time prince *Maurice* marching with his armie in battell, passing through the
country of Flanders, he came the 26 of Iune to Iabeque, passing almost by the ditches of Bru-
ges, at whom they made some shot, but did him no harme. In the meane time the prince
and the Estates wrote letters both to Gant and Bruges, and to the villages of their iurisdictiõs,
and to other neighbours (who could not beleeue that the Estates designe, nor their ar-
mie had bene so great, but that it was a road only, made by some aduenturing troups) that
their intent was not to spoile the country, but that their disegne and desire tended to the ge- B
nerall freedome of their country, and the expulsion of the Spaniards and their adherents: re-
quiring them therefore to ioyne with them, and to furnish them with a good sum of money
to help to supply the charges of this warre, the which would turne to their great good and
profit. But (according to their expectation) it was but wind: and contrariwise the Brugeois
who before had bene free from souldiers, did now receiue a garrison into the towne: the pe-
sants being for the most part retired into the townes, leauing nothing in their houses, where-
with the princes armie might be in any sort accommodated, so as the souldiers endured great
wants, being forced by reason of the great heat and the small store of victuallers which follo-
wed, to drink stinking water; yet the prince did forbid vpon paine of death, first of all fire,
ann. then all sorts of insolencies to the pesants, and especially to wiues & maydens: the prince
comming the next day with his armie to Oudenbourg, the which was abandoned by the C
Spaniards, as in like manner the fort of Snaskerke, Bredene, and some sconses here and there,
for that they were not to be held against so mighty an armie. The spaniards left in Bredene
foure peeces of ordnance. The prince stayed two dayes at Oudenbourg with part of his ar-
mie, sending the Wallons, French and Suitsers to Oostend, to besiege the fort of *Albert* vpon
the downs, within canon shot of the towne, toward Nieuport, and two other forts more
within the country, called *Isabella* & *Grotendorst*; that hauing that of *Albert*, he might haue
free & easie passage betwixt Oostend & Nieuport, which towne he had resolued to besiege.

The same 29 day of Iune *Ian* of Duyvenuoord knight, seignior of Warmont, admirall of
Holland, hauing a good wind to get out of the road of Ramekins, with 10 shippes of warre, &
some 150 ordinarie barkes laden with victuals and munition of warre, beeing come before D
the fort of Scluse, foure of the gallies seeing that by reason of the calme they could not ad-
uance, came and charged the fleet, thinking to carrie away some part thereof, but approch-
ing neere, and the wind rising, they were so galled with the great ordnance from the ships of
warre, as they were glad to retire, with great losse of their men, and one of their gallies was so
beaten, as had they not laboured very much at the pumpe, it had bin in danger of sincking:
they had very many men slaine, for they might see the blood of such as were slaine vpon the
hatches, run out at the scuppet holes. And it was an admirable thing, a gallie-slaue Turke, as
he rowed, his chaine was taken away with a cannon shot, hauing his garters left on his legges,
and a peece of the chaine, without any other harme; so as seeing himselfe vnchained, desirous
to get his libertie, or els to die (as such poore soules desire often to die, and had rather die than E
liue) he cast himselfe into the sea, and began to swimme towards the Estates ships of warre,
where at the first they shot at him, but shewing his garters and the peece of the chaine, he was
knowne to be a slaue which had escaped, so as he was receiued into one of the ships, and well
intreated. The 28 of Iune, the prince hauing his campe at Oudenbourg, made a iourney to
Oostend, to giue order for the siege of *Alberts* fort, and to resolue vpon that of Nieuport with
the Estates deputies, the which being done, he returned the next day to his camp: that mor-
ning they began to batter the fort of *Albert* with foure canons, the which did so terrifie the
besiged, as about ten of the clock before dinner they yeelded, to depart with armes and bag-
gage, leauing foure peeces of ordnance in the place. The prince at his dislodging from Ou-
denbourg, left *Iohn Piron* colonel of a regiment of Zelanders, with seuen companies of foot F
and two of horse, of captaine *Wigeman* and *Lambert*, and one companie in the fort of Snas-
kerke, to keepe those places, and to stay the Spaniard for a time, if he would aduance, & with
all to serue to giue aduertisements vpon all occasions, what course the enemie tooke.

Alberts fort before Oostend besieged, and yeelded to the Estates.

The prince being vpon the way with the body of his armie, he past aboue the fort of *Isa-*
bella

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A *bella* and *Grottendorſt*, at a bridge lying betwixt them and the towne of Nieuport, and went and camped cloſe by the downes, and neere vnto the towne; with all the forces he had, cauſing the French which had taken *Alberts* fort to approach preſently; the Wallons and the Suitſers arriued the ſame day, about three of the clocke in the after noone: ſo as the firſt day of Iulie, the prince hauing paſt the hauen of Nieuport, with a good part of his troupes, and won the fort of Dam, halfe a league from thence, the Spaniard hauing abandoned two other forts that were not to be held, the one vpon the downes, the other vpon the dike ioyning to Nieuport, where there is a tower ſeruing for a lanthorne to ſea-faring men, he went to beſiege the towne, camping on that ſide which looks towards Dunkerke; cont *Erneſt* of Naſſau his couſin remaining with his regiment, and the Scottiſh men camped on Ooſtend ſide, and ſo to be- 1600
Nieuport beſieged.
B ſiege it on both ſides the hauen, the which he meant to doe with all ſpeed, before that the Spaniard ſhould interrupt him (as it was euer the princes courſe to intrench his campe with all diligence, and not giue the enemie leiſure to come and diſquiet him; wherein he hath a ſingular grace to winne the hearts of the ſouldiers, who in that caſe ſerue him willingly for pioners) doubting not but the archduke would doe what he could to preuent him, and beeing well acquainted with the diligence of the Spaniſh captaines, who in affaires of great importance are not idle nor ſleepie. For as ſoone as the archduke *Albert* had intelligence that the prince was entred into Flanders with his armie, coniecturing quickly what his deſigne might be; quite contrarie to that which the commons had imagined, he diſpacht poſt vpon poſt to the Spaniards, and other ſouldiers that were mutined, hee praies, intreats, proteſts, threatens,
C promiſeth wonders, exhorts, chargeth them with their faith and loyaltie, accuſeth them, that if they faile him at this need, to be the cauſe of his and their owne ruine: finally, he, the Infanta his wife, their commanders, gouernours, and captaines, labour ſo hard, as vpon aſſurance and hoſtages they draw them to field, with the which in few daies (and in a ſhorter time than prince *Maurice* or the Eſtates did imagine) he frames an armie of twelue thouſand foot, and about three thouſand horſe, with the which he makes haſt (promiſing vnto himſelfe an aſſured victorie) to come and encounter the Eſtates armie, were it in field, or in their campe and trenches.

The prince and Eſtates were ill aduertiſed of this ſuddaine preparation, for that their ſpies were on all ſides taken, ſo as not any one returned. Finally, hearing for certaine that the Spa-
D niſh armie marcht and approached neere vnto them, whereof they were aduertiſed by captaine *Wageman*, whom colonel *Piron* had ſent expreſly from Oudenbourg, aduertiſing them that the archduke came to charge thē in perſon, & to vnderſtand his pleaſure what he ſhould doe in extremitie. *Piron* had beene aduertiſed of the archdukes comming, by the rout of ſome horſemen of Oudenbourg, whom he had ſent to the warre to diſcouer ſome thing.

The deputies of the Eſtates beeing aduertiſed hereof by *Wageman* in the fort of *Albert*, they preſently diſpacht a poſt vnto the prince, who was in his campe on the other ſide of the hauen at Nieuport, to whom there was no acceſſe to conferre, but at a low water, for the which they muſt alwaies attend. But the deputies hauing taken a reſolution, that it was ne-
E ceſſarie to goe and meet with the enemie, and not to ſuffer himſelfe to be coopt vp betwixt Dunkerke and Nieuport, where there was no retreat for the armie, they aduertiſed the prince thereof; who hauing alſo therein taken the aduice of his councell at warre, he reſolued to paſſe the hauen, and to fight with the enemie, if hee came and offered it: the which notwithſtanding hee could not inſtantly doe, but muſt of force ſtaie till the next day, by reaſon of the high water, and the multitude of ſhippes which lay in the channell, the which hee would cauſe to retire into ſea, as it was done according to his commandement, meaning to take from his men all thought or hope to retire and ſaue themſelues by ſea, but that they muſt either fight or die: commanding cont *Erneſt* of Naſſau in the meane time, to go with the regiment of Scottiſh men, and that of the Zeelanders to encounter the Spaniards at the bridge, which they had firſt paſt, ioyning vnto their enemies forts, to ſtoppe the archdukes paſſage, if it
F were poſſible: the prince aſſuring himſelfe that hee would come that way, hauing no other paſſage, for the countrie was full of water: the which the archduke did with all ſpeed, hauing taken the forts of Snaskerke and Oudenbourg, which were not to be held againſt ſo mightie an armie, the which were yeelded by a compoſition, ſigned by the archduke himſelfe. By the

1600 the which it was said that colonel *Piron* and all his men being in the fort of Oudenbourg, A
should depart with their armes, enſignes, and baggage. But being ready to iſſue forth, colonel
Piron ſeeing the mutined Spaniards ſtand ready with a countenance, as if they meant to cut
them in peeces, hauing proteſted that it was againſt the accord (which they meant to doe vn-
to them) he retired backe againe, and there ſtayed, declaring that he would not come forth,
but would die all fighting, if they might not bee aſſured to haue the accord kept, as it was
made; the which *Dom Louis de Velaſco* generall of the archdukes artillerie, did eſpecially medi-
ate, yet were they ſpoiled of ſome of their baggage and horſes, and their enſignes violently
pulled from them, contrarie to the compoſition. But thoſe of Snaskerke comprehended in
the ſame accord, where captaine *Buſigni* commanded, eſcaped not ſo eaſily, for both hee and
his lieutenant, with captaine *Eindoren* of cont *Erneſt* of Naſſaus regiment, were at their com- B.
ming out of the fort, ſlaine in cold blood, and almoſt all their ſouldiers, except ſome who bee-
ing ſtript into their ſhirts ſaued themſelues by their heeles. Of which treacherie and crueltie
the archduke excuſed himſelfe, laying the blame vpon the mutined Spaniards, with whom he
ſaid, his authoritie at that time had ſmall credit, beeing like men halfe maddes; but whatſoeuer
it was, theſe mutiners did ſoone after receiue a iuſt recompence and reward for their trea-
cherie and crueltie, hauing carried themſelues ſo inſolently vpon ſo ſmall a victorie.

Colonel *Piron* being come to Ooſtend with ſuch men as could eſcape the enemies furie,
hauing acquainted the deputies of the Eſtates of the accord that was made with him, ſigned
with the archduke *Alberts* owne hand, and vnderneath, By commaundement from his High-
neſſe, *Vaſſeur*, they did then beleeue, that the archduke was in perſon in the armie, the which C
before neither they nor prince *Maurice* could imagine. Whereupon the prince was preſently
aduertiſed, that the archduke was there in perſon with all his forces, and that Oudenbourg &
Snaskerke were recouered againe by the Spaniard, aduiſing him to be readie in good order,
and reſolute to encounter the enemie. Whereupon the ſaid colonel was ſent by the prince to
ioyne with Cont *Erneſtus* and the Scottiſhmen, & to ſtop the Spaniards paſſage at the bridge,
or at the leaſt to ſtay him a while; vntill that the prince ſhould repaſſe the haué with his army,
and cauſe the ſhips to retire as he did, bringing with him ſix peeces of ordnance in the head
of his foreward. Cont *Erneſtus* being vpon the way, and marching towards the bridge with
two peeces, he found, that part of the enemies armie was alreadie paſt, againſt the which he
muſt needs fight, to ſtay them a while. But as the Spaniard aduanced his paſſage, and his D
number encreaſing continually, the partie being too vnequall, the earle hauing maintained
Cont Erneſt and Scottiſh men defeated. the skirmiſh a long time, and very valiantly, not being able to ſubſiſt any longer, hee was for-
ced to giue backe, after that he had loſt his two peeces, and about 800 men, moſt part Scot-
tiſh men, and among thē captains, *Arthur Stuart, Robert Barckley, Andrew Murray, Iohn Kilpa-
trich, Iohn Meichel, Iohn Stoachem, and Hugh Nyesbeth*, Scottiſh captaines of ſir *William Edmonds*
regiment: whereof *Murray* and *Barckley* being priſoners, hauing receiued their faith that held
them, were afterwards moſt inhumanely murthered in cold blood, euen in their armes that
had taken them. After the ſame barbarous maner were ſlaine the captains *Turquean, la Grappe*,
and *Walrauen*, of the regiment of colonel *vander Noot* of Zeeland, and captaine *Ghiſtels* a Zee-
lander alſo, of colonel *Pirons* regiment: moſt of the ſouldiers that were not ſlaine in the E
fight, beeing taken priſoners, were againſt all law of armes, miſerably murthered. Cont *Er-
neſt*, colonel *Edmonds*, and ſome other captaines were purſued vnto *Alberts* fort, whereas
they ſaued themſelues, yet ſome of their men were ſlaine, euen at the paliſado of the ſaid fort.

The victorious Spaniard puſt vp with this good ſucceſſe in the beginning, and to purſue
his victorie, holding the Eſtates armie (in his opinion) alreadie vanquiſhed, and prince *Mau-
rice*, and prince *Henrie*, with their hands and feet bound, hauing reſolued not to leaue one li-
uing in the whole armie, but thoſe two princes, to ſerue him as trophies, which deſigne was
ſolemnly ſworne by the captaines and their officers, as ſince it hath beene voluntarily confeſt
Iohn Petit. by the mouth of many of them that were priſoners in Holland, and * I my ſelfe haue heard it
auerred in Vtrecht, and that they had horror to take ſuch an oath. F.

The archduke hauing paſt the bridge with his whole armie, began to march with a
ſtately countenance towards his enemie, vpon the ſands of the ſea, carrying with him eight
peeces of ordnance, with 9 cornets of lances, 5 companies of harquebuziers on horſebacke, 5

of

A of cuirasses, and 600 Spanish and Italian horse, of the mutiners of Dyest, three regiments of Spanish foot, two of Italians, 5 of Wallons, 2 of Burguignons, 4 of Germans, with some companies of the regiment of cont *Frederick vanden Berghe*, all bending directly towards Nieuport, with an intent to charge the prince, and the Estates armie in their campe and trenches, assuring themselues of victorie, by their mornings good successe: but the archduke found himselfe deceiued in the opinion which he had conceiued of the prince, finding that he had repast the hauen, and that he attended him in good order, and with a resolute countenance to fight with him. Then the archduke and the admirall of Arragon began to thinke otherwise of their affaires, abating some part of their first heat, so as making no such hast as before, they began to dispose of their battailons and squadrons, and to come and charge the prince B along the sea shore, the tide beeing farre spent, so as there was a great distance betwixt the water and the downes. The prince obseruing his enemies countenance, hauing disposed of the order of his armie, as his little leisure would giue him leaue (without any amazement for these first losses, the which he kept secret, for that he would not discourage his souldiers) hauing the wind for him, and the sunne in his enemies faces, he fronted them a while in order of battel, beeing thus disposed. 1600 The archdukes armie.

Cont *Lewis* of Nassau, lieutenant of the Estates horse, brother to cont *Ernestus*, and cousin to the prince, had the leading of the foreward, with his companie of horse, that of cuirasses of the prince, commaunded by the seignior of Gant, sonne to the seignior of *Oyen*, a Gueldrois, the companie of Cont *Henry Frederic*, the princes brother, led by captaine *Bernard*, C and that of *Goddart* of Bertenborch, in the first squadron of the right wing. Vpon the left, the second squadron was led by captaine *Macellus Bax*, with his cornet, and that of the seignior *Paul Bax*, gouernor of Berghen vp Zoom his brother, that of captaine *la Salle* and of *Peter Pauier*, hauing in the middest of the said squadrons, and in the head of the first battailon, the princes companie of gards, commanded by the seignior *vander Aa*, captaine thereof, & the companie of the earle of Hohenlo, led by the seignior of Strydhorst, with Sir *Francis Veers* regiment of Englishmen (being generall of all the English nation, that were vnder the Estates seruice) himselfe marching in the head of his colonel companie, with that of captaine *Hamond Taxlee*, his sergeant maior, of *Denis*, of *Daniel Veer*, of *Hamont*, of *Ogle*, of *Tirrel*, of S. *Calisthenes Brooke*, of *Foster*, of *Fairfax*, of *Grant*, & of *Holcroft*. In the second battailon was colonel *Horatio Veer*, brother to the generall sir *Francis Veer*, marching also in the head of his regiment, D with the companies of *Sutton* his lieutenant colonel, of sir *Th. Knowles*, cõmanded by captain *Petsyn*, of *Cecil*, of *Purton*, of *Morgan*, of *Meetkerk*, of *Scot*, of *Vauesor*, of *Caius Hartewiston*, & of *Dexbery*. In the third battailon commanded the seignior *Tacco Hottinga*, with his companie, that of the baron of *Sidlenisky*, sergeant maior of the armie, led by his lieutenãt, of *Gasper Euwsum*, by his lieutenant, of *Michael Hago*, of *Frederic Gronsteyn*, of *Iean Kyef*, of *Hans van Osthem*, of *Hans Vryes*, of *Hans Zagreman*, of *Quirin Blanw*, of *Edsard Groenesteyn*, of *Egbert Honing*, of *Holsteyn*, of *Assuerus*, of *Gerrit Schan* the yonger, of *Arnsma*, and of *Ripperda*, which was the regiment of Friseland, vnder cont *William Lewis* of Nassau their colonel, gouernour of the said country of Friseland, of Groning, and of the Ommelands, cousin to the prince, and brother to E the earles *Ernest*, & *Lodowick* of Nassau. These 3 battailons of foot making 41 companies, hauing the foresaid 2 squadrons of horse vpon their wings, made the foreward. Cont *George Euerard* of Solins led the battel, with his cornet of horse, that of *Ioos Wyernh Clout*, and of *Iohn Bax*: the said 4 companies were led by cont *Frederick* in the first squadron on the right wing, & vpon the left, captain *Goddard van Balen*, led by his cornet, that of sir *Fr. Veer* commãded by his lieutenant, and the cornet of sir *Edw. Cecil*: & in the midst of the said 2 squadrõs, there marched first the regiment of prince *Henry Frederic* of Nassau led by *Daniel* of Hartin, seignior of Marquette, his lieutenant colonel, with the companies of *Iean du Boult*, *Antony* of Sancy, of *Francis Marli*, *Francis Mareshal*, *Philip de la Lou*, *Iean Nemmery*, *Ionas Durant*, & *Gabriel* of Nouuelles, whom they called the *New Gueux*, the which was wont to be the regiment of the barõ F of Hachicourt, in the archdukes seruice, & were come out of S. *Andrews* fort, as we haue said. In the second battailon were the Suitsers, being but 4 companies, & then the French vnder monsieur *la Noue*, the which were put into 2 battailons, the first was commanded by the seignior of Domeruille, lieutenant colonel, & the second by captain *du Sault*, both of *la Noues* regiment, of *Semendiere*, of *Mareschot*, of *Hamelet*, of *Cornieres*, by his lieutenant (for hee had bin slaine The order of the princes armie.

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1600 slaine two dayes before at Alberts fort) of Formentiere, of Verneuil, of Pont Aubert, and of A
Lefort. Which foure battalions making 25 companies of foot, and two squadrons of horse, made the battaile: In the middest whereof was prince *Maurice*, to haue an eie both before and behind him, being accompanied by prince *Henry Frederick* his brother, a young prince of 16 or 17 yeares old, whom the prince would gladly haue had retired, to the end (said he) that if he himselfe died in the fight, yet the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, should haue another generall to command ouer their armie, to repaire it if it should be put to rout, but it was not possible to persuade him to retier, intreating and protesting that he would liue and die with his brother, and that he would not chuse any other fortune; which doubtlesse was signe of a great courage in so tender an age. The rereward was led by *Oliuer Vanden Timpel* knight, seigniour of Corbeke &c. with the cornets of horse of *Wernhard du Bois*, of *Hamelton*, of B
George Conteler, vnder the conduct of *du Bois*. In the which there was also three battalions of foot, the first was the regiment of cont *Ernest* of Nassau, with his colonel companie, led by his lieutenant, of captaine *Huseman* his lieutenant colonel, of *Strael* seriant maior of Massau, of *Imbise*, of *Clorwits*, of *Balthazar Enwsum*, of *Pithon*, of the old company of cont *Ernest* by a lieutenant, of *Andrew Breeder*, of *Criminits*, of *Lucas Wenser* and of *George Verkele*. In the second battailon was the regiment of the Lord of Ghistelles, with his colonel companie, that of cont *Euerard* of Solins led by his lieutenant, of *Eneas Treslon*, of *La Mouillerie*, of *Langeuels*, of *Ruysse*, and of *Floris van Wyngaerden*. In the third battailon was the regiment of colonel *Huchtenbrouik*, with his colonel company led by his lieutenant, of *Marlin* sergeant maior of the regiment of north Holland, of that of the seignior of Timpel, by *Belin* his lieute- C
nant, of *Dericke de Iaughe*, of *Ruyssenburch*, and of *Calwaert*, being in all 27 companies of foot, and three cornets of horse, which made the rereward. Such was the disposition of the armie of prince *Maurice*, and the Estates of the vnited prouinces.

The earle of Hohenloo was left behind in Guelderland, with 24 companies of foot, and 6 cornets of horse: fearing that if all the Estates forces had been in Flanders, the enemie might in the meane time haue attempted some thing in those parts, or in the isle of Bomel; who would gladly haue bin there, & so did the Prince and the Estates wish it, when as they saw the Spaniard so neere them with all his forces. But the wind did neuer serue to come to Oostend neither before nor after the battell: where there were also some companies of foot and horse left for the gard of the towne. D

The deputies of the Estates being at Oostend, hauing newes of the defeat of cont *Ernests* troups, & seeing the archdukes armie march with all speed towards Nieuport: they thought it then their best course, to continue within the towne, to haue their refuge vnto God, and to implore his ayd, as they did in their councell chamber by M. *Iohn Vuytten-bogoerd* their minister at the very instant when as both the armies were ready to fight.

On the other side the Spaniards, especially two or three of the old commanders, who were best experienced in such actions, obseruing the resolute countenance of the prince, and the disposition of his armie, which seemed ready rather to come and charge them, than to attend the shock, they see they should not find that which they had conceiued in their imaginations, their enemie being in better order, and more resolute than they expected: for they did con- E
fidently beleeue that the prince would retire with his armie into the ships, & that they should come time enough to charge before they were all imbarked, where they lookt to get a great bootie, through the confusion that would be among them. But seeing the armie in battell, & the ships in the middest of the sea, they began to doubt that there would be blowes. Some were of opinion not to fight, and that it was sufficient to haue viewed the enemies countenance, seeing their souldiers began to be wearie, hauing marcht fiue or six dayes together, and with their first fight before noone, but they should seeke to recouer the fort of Albert, and by the fauour thereof and others, intrench themselues there with all their armie, to cut off the victuals which came from Oostend to the princes campe, couping them vp, betwixt Nieuport, their armie, and the sea. Which councell without doubt, had bene most auaileable for F
them, and most preiudiciall to the prince. But the archduke and some of his commanders, growne too proud with their first victorie, impatient of all delay, and boyling with heat to fight, gaping after their pray, as if the beast were alreadie taken, reiect all councell, and resolue to charge the prince, at what rate soeuer.

The

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A The prince hauing put his armie in battell, as we haue said, & viewed the Spaniards countenance from one of the highest downes, he caused 6 peeces of ordnance to be aduanced on the sands, betwixt the downs and the sea, in the head of the foreward; then entring into counsell with his commanders and colonels, what was fittest to be done, whether to suffer the enemie to approach neerer, to get some aduantage, or else to goe and begin the charge first: all beeing well debated, they resolue to aduance, and to charge the enemie, and thereupon being informed (according to his demaund) by captaine *Mortier* and *Fernel*, gentlemen of the artillerie, commanding at those sixe peeces, that the enemie was neere enough to be endammaged with their cannon; hee thereupon gaue them charge to shoote, as they did: all the commanders beeing retired, euery one to his battailon, the prince hauing encouraged his B souldiers, recommends vnto them their honours, liues, and the fruit of the victorie, telling them that there was the place where they must either vanquish or die in fighting, or else drinke all that water of the sea (which he then shewed them) to saue themselues: then falling downe vpon his knees, he made his prayers, and implored Gods aid and succour, and so did all his souldiers. 1600

About two of the clocke in the after noone, the princes armie marched with great cou- The charge begins.
rage and resolution against the Spaniards, and hauing let passe some volleys of great shot, which did no great harme, but onely one peece past through a squadron of English footmen, he began to charge along the sands, his cannon hauing endammaged the Spanish horsemen, who finding themselues galled on that side, and withall the vice-admirall of the Estates houe-
C ring vp and downe the road, did annoy them; leauing the sands they entred into the downs, and then were there two demie canons planted vpon one of the highest downs, which commaunded round about: in which downes they did fight long, and in diuers charges, the victorie beeing long in ballance, vnder a doubtfull fight, inclining sometimes to the one partie and sometimes to the other, first one retiring, and then another; the which no man can particularly describe, for that the greatnesse, heat, and furie of the fight was in the downes, among those sandie hilles, in seauen or eight seuerall charges, so as no man could discerne what was done in all places, by reason of those little hilles, but onely that which was before his eies, the downes hindring the sight of that which others did. So as in this battell, euery one was for himselfe, taking away the knowledge as well of those that prospered in their armes, as of such
D as wanted helpe, which made them thinke that euery one had enough to doe for himselfe, without caring for his companion, and that here he must either find his victory, or his graue.

The battel continued so long, as the tide came vp to the foot of the downs, so as there were some among the Estates Frisons, who seeing some of their horsemen turne their backes (the which fell out often on either side) thinking that all was lost, and flying into the sea to get to their ships, were drowned; yet the body of the Frisons returning to charge on the one side, generall *Veer*, and colonel *Horatio* his brother with the English on another side, the seignior *Domerville* with the French, and the other colonels in other places, beeing incouraged by the prince, did so gall and tire the Spaniards & Italians that were mutined (who were more obsti-
E nate in the fight than all the rest, and behaued themselues as valiantly as any souldiers could doe) besides cont *Lodowicke* of Nassau, the earle of Solins, the captaines *Gant* and *Balen*, charged them so furiously with their horsemen out of the downs into the meadows, as they durst returne no more into the downes for feare of the princes cannon, which did much annoy them, so as beeing prest by these troups, their footmen beeing defeated of another side, and all their caualarie disordered by the princes battel, they find that all their resistance was in vaine, and that their souldiers were too weake to endure so great force; so as euery one seekes to saue himselfe; some flying towards Nieuport, & the rest to other places of easiest accesse for them. The duke of Aumale retired beeing lightly hurt.

The archduke seeing this disorder, hauing no meanes to recouer that which hee had but The archduke flies, and the prince had his armes and his horse of combate.
newly lost, he leaues his armes, and turnes head with the first towards Bruges, where he saues
F himselfe, but looseth all his houshold, artillerie, and baggage, and abandons all to the victors mercie, who in his furie kils all he encounters, without respect, mercie, or ransom. The slaughter of the mutined Spaniards (who had bin most wilfull in the fight) was very great, receiuing a iust reward for their cruelty in the morning, the Scottish men sparing not any one for an expiation of their companions that were slaine the same day; yea their choller and rage was so

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1600 great,as they that fledde and were ouertaken, were ſlaine like beaſts, and ſome were murthered being priſoners,euen in their armes that had taken them, and would willingly haue ſaued their liues. The victory continued vntill night,chaſing,taking,and killing. The blood of men ſlaine dyed the fields. and the ſlaughtered carcaſſes lay diſperſed ouer the countrey, vpon the lands,downs,and medowes, ſo as the number of them that were ſlaine on the archdukes part exceeded 6000, and about 800 priſoners, who were in great danger of their liues,euen the admirall of Arragon (being taken priſoner and led to Ooſtend) if he had not bene in the princes company. A

The loſſe on the archdukes ſide.

The loſſe on the princes ſide. The dead men.

The prince and the Eſtates as well at the firſt incounter in the morning,as at this battaile loſt aboue 2000 men, among others *Bernard*, *Couteler* and *Hamelton*, captaines of horſe, and ſome 20 captaines of foot,but noe man of marke. On the archdukes ſide were ſlaine,the earle of *Saume*, the earle of *la Fere*,the Seneſhall of Montelimar, the baron of Pimereul, *Chaſſey Ostigny* ſonne to the preſident *Richardot*, *Dom Gaſpar de Sapena*, colonel, who died at Ooſtend, *Dom Diego de Torres*,*Dom Gaſpar de Loyaza*, *Dom Gonzalo d'Eſpinola*, *Dom Ioan de Pardo*, *Dom Garcia de Toledo*, *Dom Lopes de Capata*, *Dom Alonzo Carcamo*, *Dom Louis Faccardo*,*Sebaſtien Velaſco*,*Sebaſtien Doteloa*,*Chriſtoual Verdugues*, *Metrheo d'Otteuille*, *Ioannetin de Caſa nueua*, the pay maſter Alines,and many others which are yet vnknowne to vs, and cannot recouer their names. Among the priſoners,beſides *Dom Franciſco de Mendoza* admirall of Arragon,lieutenant generall of the archdukes armie,there were *Dom Baptiſta de Villanoua*, who was conueyed to Horne in Holland,*Dom Alonzo Ricquel* to Delft, *Dom Gonzalo Hernandes de Spinoſa* to Vtrecht, *Dom Pedro de Montenegro* to the Hage, *Dom Pedro de Velaſco* to Berghen vp Zoom, *Dom Pedro de Leuſina* to Enchuiſen,*Dom Antonio de Mendoza* to Berghen alſo, with *Dom Frãciſco de Torres*. Among them of the archdukes houſhold, there was the cont *Carlo Rezi*, *Dom Diego de Guſman*,and *Mortier*,all three pages, and *Dom Pedro de Monte-maior*, a gentleman taſter,his phyſition,barber,harbinger,rider,cooke,porter,the groomes of his chamber, ſome of the archers and halbardiers of his guard,and in a manner all his houſhold: 3 prieſts or monks, 40 ancients,37 pencioners, which are ancients and ſergeants reformed,as they tearme them. They loſt ſixe peeces of ordnance,and thoſe two of cont *Erneſtus* were recouered: there were 136 enſignes of foot taken,and 5 cornets of horſe,comprehending the mutiners ſtandard, and the colours that were loſt the ſame day were recouered. B C

The priſoners

The bootie.

Prince *Maurice* beeing victorious,did camp that night vpon the place of battell,& the next day he returned with his armie to Ooſtend,leading the admirall of Arragon with him,whereas he,the deputies of the Eſtates,the commanders of the armie, with many captaines and others aſſiſting,gaue ſolemne thankes vnto God for ſuch an vnexpected victorie proceeding from his onely hand. The prince ſtaied at Ooſtend vntill the ſixt day of the moneth, to take ſome courſe for the ſupplying of his companies that were ſpoiled, whileſt that the ſouldiers did refreſh themſelues of their labours paſt. D

Such as diſcourſe of warre at their pleaſures, and conſider not the variable euents which doe often happen vnlooked for,would haue wiſht that the prince ſhould haue purſued his victorie after another manner, and that the deputies of the Eſtates beeing in Ooſtend, ſhould haue ſent forth both the horſe and foot that were in the towne, to cut off the paſſage at the bridge,by the which the Spaniards were come, the which was the archdukes onely retreat, where they might eaſily haue beene taken;and beſides, they might haue made a great bootie of their baggage,which remained behind. But ſuch as talke thus (although it had beene well done) doe not ſay,that the deputies might well conieƈture,but they could not preciſely iudge what the iſſue would be:ſo as they were not certainely aduertiſed of the victorie, vntill it was compleat by the defeat and flight of the enemie, ſo as they could not haue purſued them ſo ſuddainly,but they would haue paſt the bridge,as they did,and brake it after them, being late before the victorie was aſſured. Beſides there is an ancient prouerb,*That you muſt make a bridge of gold to a flying enemie*. And although the prince,beſides thoſe troupes that were in Ooſtend, had horſe and foot enough, that were freſh and fit enough to purſue them; yet contenting himſelfe with the victorie,and to remaine maſter of the field, he did forbid his men to follow after them,for that he would not hazard them too much: what did they know, whether the archduke had any freſh troupes beyond the bridge, who fortifying them that fled, would either through ſhame or deſpaire haue made them returne to the charge? E F

Others

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A Others demanded, why the prince (ſeeing his enemie was defeated, and the countrey of Flanders and Arthois ſhaken) returned not preſently before Nieuport; or at the leaſt, that hee beſieged not the forts about Ooſtend, the which (it may be) would haue yeelded preſently, whereby he ſhould haue aſſured the towne better, and made the whole countrie contribute? To whom I muſt anſwer, That the town of Nieuport was not to be taken ſuddainly, nor yet the forts, which are almoſt inacceſſible by reaſon of the waters (as it hath beene well knowne ſince) were not to yeeld ſo eaſily, as ſuch conquerours haue imagined: into the which colonell *Barlotte* (a reſolute ſouldier, and not to be terrified with ſmall matters) was retired. Moreouer the prince aſſured himſelfe that the archduke would ſeeke to repaire his armie with all ſpeed; and therfore he would willingly attend the earle of Hohenloo his brother in law, with B his troupes to fortifie his campe. Beſides there were many things to bee ordered: ſo as hee could not haue leſſe than fiue or ſixe daies libertie to prouide for all neceſſarie occaſions, and for his ſouldiers to refreſh themſelues; and withall in a manner halfe the armie was buſied to prouide for their companions and camerados that were wounded, and to haue them dreſt, & alſo to aſſure themſelues of their priſoners, whereof a great number of them were alſo hurt. 1600

The fift day after the defeat, the prince beeing gone to ſet downe againe before Nieuport, hauing againe paſt the hauen, called backe his ſhippes, landed his canon, intrencht his campe, and made his platformes for his batterie; the ſame night there entred three regiments of foot into the towne (the which they could not hinder, for that the place was not fully beſieged) beſides the fiue companies that were in garriſon in the towne before: ſo as the beſie- C ged about the twelfth of the moneth made a gallant ſallie with about a thouſand men, betwixt one and two of the clocke in the afternoone, and came and charged the princes men in their trenches, ioyning vnto the towne, with a furious skirmiſh, the which was ſo well maintained, and the beſieged ſo repulſt, as they were forced to retire: but not content therewith, they returned the next day, but they preuailed no more than at the firſt, neither was there in both theſe skirmiſhes, any great loſſe on either ſide. The prince returneth againe to beſiege Nieuport.

All which, the prince hauing well conſidered, and the multitude of men that were within the towne, that it would not bee eaſie to take by aſſault, without greater forces than hee had, and without a long ſiege; the which would greatly haue weakened his armie, and it may bee haue waſted the tenth part of his ſouldiers, the which at that time, and according D to the place were fewe enough, which he had no need to waſt prodigally, for ſuch a paltrie place, the which at his departure he muſt of neceſſitie haue abandoned (although hee had forced it) or els to haue beene in danger to haue beene ſoone taken againe; beſides at that time there was nothing to be gotten there: therefore he reſolued to raiſe his campe, and to make an honeſt retreat. Wherfore on the 17 of the moneth, he commanded to imbarke all the cannon, the tents & pauilions, and at the firſt high tide to haue the ſhips get out of the hauen, to returne towards Ooſtend, being reſolued to beſiege the forts of *Iſabella*, *Clara*, and *Grottendorſt*: to the end alſo that he ſhould be no more in danger to bee ſhut vp, as the enemie had thought to haue done, knowing well that the Spaniſh commanders prepared for a new armie, to haue their reuenge if they might. Moreouer in beſieging the ſaid forts, if hee were E willing to attend them, and to fight with them with ſuch forces as might haue come vnto him; he had Ooſtend alwaies at his backe, whither he might at all times retire himſelfe without danger, and goe to ſea whenſoeuer he pleaſed to returne into Holland. So the next day the prince hauing repaſt the hauen of Nieuport with his armie, he went to beſiege the fort of *Iſabella*, lodging in the meadows towards the ſea, neere vnto the downes; on which ſide, by the meanes of *Clara* & *Grottendorſt*, the ſaid fort might haue bin relieued at need: wherefore he cauſed 2 peeces of ordnance to be planted on the downs, looking towards the approaches, & 4 others vpon Ooſtend ſide, neere vnto the fort of *Albert*, to batter that of *Iſabella*, and the 19 of the moneth he planted 6 cannons more, and ſomewhat neerer, with which 10 peeces he began to batter the next day, 2 or 3 houres onely; whereby they did conceiue that hee muſt F vſe greater force, or elſe he ſhould preuaile little. Notwithſtanding, though al things were readie to make two other batteries, yet was it not battered after that time; they made a ſhew alſo as if they would vndermine it: but at the break of day the Spaniſh armie being fortified with new ſupplies ſhewed it ſelfe, and campt neere vnto the fort of *Clara* without any let, for that neither it nor the fort of *Grottendorſt* were in any ſort beſieged; from whence the commāders of the armie ſent to refreſh all thoſe forts, both with men and munition; to the which they had

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1600 free acceſſe, by reaſon of the cutting of the ditches in the meadows, the which are neceſſarie A
in that countrie of weſt Flanders. Some ſaid the prince ſhould haue done better, firſt to haue attempted the fort of *Grottendorſt*, which was not very well fortified, by means whereof that of *Clara* had bin ſeperated from the fort of *Iſabella*, betwixt which two it is built.

And as theſe 2 armies of the Spaniards and Eſtates were in front one of another, but could not annoy one another, but by light skirmiſhes, by reaſon of the forts and the ſcituation of the countrey; the Spaniard hauing all the firme land at his commandement, and the Eſtates hauing that onely hauen of the ſea, Ooſtend, to furniſh them with all their cõmodities, whither they could not at all times go aboord nor get out: ſeeing therfore that he ſhould profit little in battering of the ſaid fort, where although he had made a deſired breach, yet could he hardly haue giuen an aſſault, for that he muſt haue incountred with two enemies at once, one in B
front at the breach, and the other at his backe out of the enemies campe. It was therefore reſolued to make a retreat, and to content themſelues for that yeare with that goodly victorie which God had giuen them in that part of Flanders. Whereupon on the 24 day of the moneth, all the artilleric was taken away to be imbarked in the hauen of Ooſtend, whereas the ſhips were entred, except thoſe foure peeces which were vpõ the downs neer vnto the fort of *Albert*, and the firſt two which they had planted in the princes quarter before *Iſabella* fort.

Whileſt this was doing, on the 25 day, colonel *Barlotte* being in the firſt trenches of the counterſcarpe of *Iſabella* fort, or within the fort it ſelfe, hauing ſhewed himſelfe too much, he was ſhot into the head with a musket, whereof he died inſtantly, being much lamented by the archduke but nothing by the Spaniards, Italians, nor any other commanders; for that his C
fortunate ſucceſſe, hauing made him preſumptuous & a bold ſpeaker, it did procure him hatred among the great, for that hee perſuaded himſelfe that nothing could be well executed without him. And to ſpeake the truth, of a poore ſouldier of fortune, a barber as he had been, hauing paſt throgh all militarie degrees, he had by his valor attained to a colonels place, & to other goodly charges, hauing bin often imploied in dangerous exploits, wherein hee did alwaies acquit himſelfe happily for his maſters ſeruice. At his death he left great wealth to his children.

Prince *Maurice* and the deputies of the Eſtates, hauing cauſed the fort of *Albert* to be ruined and beaten downe, as much as they thought good, he imbarkt his cannon and retired his garriſons out of all the forts which he had wonne from the enemie. And the laſt day D
of Iulie, after that he had left 51 companies of foot, and 7 cornets of horſe in Ooſtend (hauing not ſhips ſufficient to imbarke them all) to haue the towne wel manned, vntil they might ſee the Spaniards reſolution, whether hee would beſiege it or no; hauing ſet good order for all things, the prince and the councell tooke their courſe for Zeeland. Beeing at ſea, the gallies of Scluſe came in a calme (for otherwiſe they came not forth) to affront ſome of their ſhippes, thinking to get ſome ſtraglers, but the wind beeing ſomewhat riſen, they could not retire ſo ſpeedily as they would, but they were well battered, and loſt many of their men. The prince beeing returned with his armie into the vnited prouinces, and hauing diuided his men into their ordinarie garriſons, to refreſh them after ſo painefull a voyage; the archduke in like manner retired the bodie of his armie out of Flanders, except ſome compa- E
nies which he left for the guard of thoſe forts, and of ſuch as he found abandoned, repairing that of *Albert* in a ſhort time, and leauing them all, as they continued vnto the ſiege & yeelding vp of Ooſtend; which mooued the Eſtates alſo to retire their horſemen, and 27 companies of foot, the reſt remaining there in garriſon.

The crueltie of the vice-admirall of Dunkerke.

At that time the ſeignior of Wackene, vice-admirall to the archduke, remaining moſt cõmonly at Dunkerke, to be reuenged for the death of the Spaniards, and others which had beene ſlaine at the battell of Nieuport, went in perſon to ſea with ſeauen or eight ſhippes of warre, and fell vpon a poore companie of fiſhermen of Holland and Zeeland, which were fiſhing for herrings; who although they had certaine ſhippes of conuoy diſperſed here and there (as they make their fiſhing in a great compaſſe of the ſea) the foremoſt beeing too farre F
off to helpe the hindermoſt at need, ſo as the ſhips of warre appointed for their guard could not equally defend them al alike: the vice-admirall (a Flemming by nation) yet with the furie of a Spaniard, enters in among them, and takes fifteene or ſixteene of the ſaid ſhippes (which they call Buiſſes) and hauing taken all that was good in them, retaining the pylots & maſters of the ſhips, he nailed all the mariners and fiſhermen vnder the hatches, making holes in the keeles

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A keeles of the ſhips, ſo as they ſunke by degrees, and yet thoſe poore miſerable wretches that were ſhut vp, could not come forth to ſaue themſelues; or, at the leaſt, to doe their beſt endeauours, being drowned like mice in a trap: A cruell act, and moſt lamentable to ſee, and heare the cries and ſighes of thoſe that were ſo miſerably drowned. Of this cruell and inhumane act, the Seignior of Wackene went himſelfe to carry newes to the court of Spaine: for the which at the beginning he was commended, honoured, and recompenced by the king: but all good men, which loued their honours on either party, did hate and deteſt him. He died afterwards very miſerably in that court. 1600

The Eſtates being aſſembled at Bruſſels, they acquainted the archdukes, by what meanes they might attaine vnto a peace with the vnited Prouinces.

B First, they gaue them to vnderſtand, That the reaſons why they of Holland and Zeeland would not ſubiect themſelues vnder their highneſſe obedience (as it appeared by diuers of their letters and ſpeeches) were, that (notwithſtanding their highneſſe preſence, and the priuiledges of the countrey, ſworne and confirmed by them) they ſaw the Spaniards and ſtrange ſouldiers had ſtill the guard and gouernment of the chiefe townes and forts of the countrey: as the caſtles of Antuerpe and Gant &c. the townes of Graue and Liere, the forts of Flanders and Denremonde, the Sas of Gant, the towne and caſtle of Sluce, Nieuport, Dunkerke, the towne and caſtle of Cambray, with diuers others. The Eſtates ſhew the archdukes meanes how to make a peace with the vnited

This (ſaid the Eſtates) might be eaſily redreſſed, by remouing of thoſe ſtrange garriſons out of the ſaid towns and caſtles, aſſuring themſelues, that their highnes authoritie might be con-

C firmed as well by other meanes, conſidering the loyaltie and conſtancie (whereof there hath beene ſufficient proofe made) of many townes, which haue no ſtrange garriſons, as Arras, S. Omer, Bethune, Ryſſel, Valenciennes, Douay, Berghen in Henault, Aloſt, Dornick, Namur, Maeſtricht, Bruſſels, Macklyn, Louaine, Venloo, Boiſleduc &c. and therefore, if their highneſſe thought it good, there ſhould bee ſouldiers borne in the Netherlands put into thoſe townes, when the Spaniards ſhould leaue them.

The ſecond obiection made by the Eſtates, was, That a peace could not be concluded, ſo long as the Spaniards held the chiefeſt gouernments (the which was contrary to the priuiledges of the countrey) as in the town of Lembourg Veert, the countrey of Cambreſis, Bruges, Antuerpe, Gant, Dixmuyden, Liere, Nieuport, Dunkerke &c. which difficultie ſaied they

D might eaſily be remooued, for that there was ſtore of noblemen and gentlemen borne, within the Netherlands, to whom the gouernment of thoſe towns and caſtles might well be committed, beeing bound as ſtrictly by oath vnto their highneſſe, as thoſe Spaniſh gouernours were vnto the king of Spaine; otherwiſe in time their highneſſe might be depriued of thoſe townes and caſtles, by ſuch as would pretend to hold them for the king of Spaine, to the vtter ruine and deſolation of the whole countrie: for which reaſons they of Holland and Zeeland did confidently beleeue, that thoſe townes and caſtles were yet in the poſſeſſion and vnder the command of the king of Spaine, and not of their highneſſe.

The third point was, the libertie and freedome of religion, wherein they excuſed them of Holland and Zeeland, for that their highneſſe had ſworne by the donation made vnto them,

E neuer to yeeld thereunto; which point ſaid they, ought to be referred to diuines to diſpute, & to the conſideration of princes.

The fourth reaſon which the Hollanders did obiect, that the prouinces vnder their highneſſe commaund, by vertue of the ſaid graunt, ſeemed to be held in fee of the king of Spaine; whereupon they ſaid, that as it had pleaſed their highneſſe to ſignifie often vnto the Eſtates of Brabant, that they had no meaning the Netherlands ſhould be held in fee of Spaine, ſo now they would be pleaſed to intreat the king of Spaine to vouchſafe to write his letters of certificate to the contrarie, and to let them vnderſtand that he hath no ſuch intent; although there be ſome likelihood, conſidering the contents of the grant.

The fift obiection was, that they held it not conuenient that the Netherlanders ſhould be

F reſtrained from their traffique to the Indies, which they ſaid was as much as to ſtriue againſt nature, to forbid the Netherlanders that trade, vpon ſuch conditions as they ſhould thinke good, for that they ought to haue free paſſage to all places, as well as the Spaniards.

In the fixt and laſt point they ſhewed the diſtruſt which they of Holland and Zeeland had, that if a peace ſhould bee made with their highneſſe, how it ſhould be obſerued from point

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1600 to point, and what assurance they should haue for the same: for the freeing of which doubt, A
they thought it conuenient, that libertie and free pasport should be graunted to them of Holland and Zeeland, to come and be admitted to sit in the assembly of the generall Estates, and there to entreat of a peace, or of a truce and cessation from armes, wherein they thought themselues best assured, hauing authoritie from their highnesse, alwaies with this exception, that in regard of the prouinces vnder their Highnesse commaund, there should bee nothing altered touching their religion, nor their Highnesse authoritie, but they should treat only about restitution of lands, goods, and priuiledges; and the conclusion of the peace should be made vpon these conditions, That if it should so fall out, that all things concluded with them of Holland and Zeeland, were not fully and directly obserued and kept from point to point, that the generall Estates should bind themselues to see them obserued and kept, and to that end should B
aid and assist them of Holland, Zeeland, and their associats; and for not performance thereof, the generall Estates should be wholly discharged from their oath taken vnto their Highnesse: for the obseruing whereof, the generall Estates should bind themselues by oath vnto the vnited prouinces of Holland, &c.

Herein it seemed the generall Estates of the prouinces vnder the archdukes command, fayled somewhat of the maine point which the vnited prouinces aimed at, who said, they would neuer be subiected vnto the Spanish gouernment, for if their sheafe of arrowes were once diuided and broken, they would be as strongly vnited again. Thus much was treated of at Brussels, and what ensued, you shall hereafter heare.

The generall Estates had a galley, called the blacke galley of Dordrecht, for that it was built C
there, carrying 10 or 12 peeces of ordnance, whereof there were two canons in prow, and two in poupe, manned with rowers, whereof some were voluntarie for pay, as well to rowe, as to fight at their boording, besides the souldiers that were in it, vnder captaine *Wipcul*, who had for his lieutenant that gally slaue Turke, which had escaped by swimming from one of the gallies of Sluce. This galley was sent to Flessingue in Zeeland, to draw *Spinolaes* gallies thither. During the time it lay there at anchor, the captaine had discouered, that three of those galleyes of Sluce had taken a marchants ship of Zeeland. Whereupon he pursued them, and at the first charged one of them so furiously, as being well beaten, hee forced it to retire into their hole. Then the captaine rowed vnto the two other gallies, who had seized vpon the ship, the which hee tooke from them in despight of them, forcing them to retyre, with no small D
losse.

A gallant exploit done by the blacke galley.

On the 29 of Nouember the said captaine with his galley, and foure long boats well manned, went and set vpon the admirall ship of Antuerpe, in the middest of the riuer, before the towne, the which was one of the goodliest ships that was vnder the archdukes seruice, in the which there were 16 brasse peeces, 10 of yron, 6 to shoot stones, & many harquebuses a crocke, the which hee boorded suddenly in a darke night, cut some in pieces, and some leaping ouer boord were drowned: then he tooke the ordinarie marchants ships of Brussels and Macklin, in euery one of the which there were 4 brasse peeces, besides others, and fiue other ships, which they call Heus, seruing to conuey victuals and munition which went to Sluce, and to other E
forts which the Spaniards held vpon the sea coast, and vpon the riuer, appointed as the marchant ships were. All which ships and prisoners he brought to Flessingue, passing at the mercie of the enemies canon at Ordam, and other forts vpon the riuer of Antuerpe. This was an act of able and resolute men, the which caused a great amazement in the towne of Antuerpe, where they kept their gates shut two daies, for feare of some treason. They tooke in these ships 50 brasse peeces of all sorts, which were more worth then the gallie had cost at the first to make and rig, although in the beginning they had held it to be vnprofitable, and the charge lost, but other effects since haue shewed the contrary.

The archduke hauing (to his charge) after the battaile of Nieuport, gathered together some new troupes of souldiers, after prince *Maurice* his returne into Zeeland, he sent most of them into Brabant, vnder the commaund of *Don Louis de Velasco*, lodging the greatest part of them F
betweene Duffel and Macklyn, not very farre one from another, doubting prince *Maurice* his horsemen, who did greatly spoyle the countrey round about. The mutinous souldiers of Hamont held the towne and castle of Weert still for their securitie, hauing 14 stiuers a day deliuered them for euery souldiers pay, and yet they made great spoile in the country. The archduke

A duke alſo reformed his old ſouldiers, both horſe and foot, eſpecially the Spaniards and Italians, and reduced diuers companies into one. 1600

We haue ſhewed before how the emperors embaſſadors moued the archdukes for the deliuerie of Rhineberck vnto the elector of Cologne, but they referred it to a treatie of peace which was then in hand, ſaying, That they daily expected a paſport from the vnited prouinces, for the deputies of the Eſtates vnder their commaund, as Brabant, Flanders, &c. who were at that time in Antuerpe, attending the ſaid paſport; the which being ſent by them of the vnited prouinces, the deputies appointed for the Eſtates of Brabant, Lembourg, Luxembourg, Gueldres, Flanders, Arthois, Henault, Valenciennes, Namur, Ryſſel, Douay, Orchies, Dornic, Torneſis, and Macklin, being aſſembled at Bruſſels, went to Antuerpe, and from thence to
B Berghen vp Zoom. Their names were, *Gerard* of Horne, earle of Baſſignie, ſonne to the lord of Boxtel, of the houſe of Horne, gouernour of Macklin, *Philip van Bentinghe*, lord of Bight and Paffenhowen, colonell and ſteward of Montfort, M. *Henric Goet*, pentioner of Ypre, and others; who vpon the 19 of Iuly, came to Berghen being brought in by monſieur *Bax*, gouernour of the towne, who met them ſome quarter of a mile off. There they found ſome eight or ten deputies for the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, whereof monſieur *van Oldenbarneuelt*, aduocat for Holland, was one, where they were all feaſted by monſieur *Bax*.

A treatie betwixt the prouinces vnder the archduke and the vnited prouinces.

The next day being met together, the letters ſent from the Eſtates aſſembled at Bruſſels, vnto the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, were there read, the cõtents wherof was, To ſhew how deſirous they were to enter into a treatie of peace, with the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces,
C ſhewing how good and neceſſarie a peace would be, and what miſeries and calamities follow warres; praying them once to vnmaske themſelues, to lay aſide all iealouſie and diſtruſt, and to enter into this treatie of peace with ſinceritie of hearts, &c.

The contents of the Eſtates of Bruſſels letters to the vnited Eſtates.

Which ended, the deputies of the vnited prouinces roſe vp, and went into a corner of the hall, where hauing conferred together, they ſat downe againe, monſieur *Barneuels* ſpeaking for them all, ſaid, That they reioyced much, to heare the generall Eſtates aſſembled at Bruſſels, ſo well affected to a generall peace and vnion of the whole Netherlands, as they had ſent naturall borne ſubiects and members (wiſhing well vnto the Eſtates) vnto them, whereof ſome were their kinſmen, and had liuings among them: for which their great good will and affection, they gaue them heartie thanks, taking God, the world, and their owne conſciences to wit-
D neſſe, that they deſired nothing more, than a godly, iuſt, and aſſured peace: but in regard of many ſtrange oppreſſions and cruelties, vſed by the Spaniards and their adherents, they had great cauſe of diſtruſt, whereof he produced ſome examples: Hee alſo laid open the admirals violence and crueltie, not onely to them, but to their neighbour countries, who notwithſtanding were better affected vnto him than vnto them, with many ſuch like reaſons: ſo as they could not beleeue, but that all ſuch violent actions were reſolued on by the archduke and his counſell, intending to do the like vnto them, when time and opportunitie ſerued: Therefore (they ſayd) they were not in any ſort reſolued to enter into any treatie of peace with the Spaniards or their adherents, vnleſſe that the generall Eſtates would take armes with them, to chaſe all ſtrangers out of the countrey, and then the whole prouinces would find meanes to vnite
E themſelues together, and ſo reduce them againe to their former eſtate &c.

Barneuelts anſwer to the generall Eſtates.

Wherunto the deputies for the Eſtates in Bruſſels made anſwer, That it was verie credible, that by the retreat of ſtrangers, and the committing of townes and caſtles into the hands of ſuch as were borne in the countrey, all doubts and diſtruſts would bee remoued, and matters reduced to the antient order: But looking preciſely into this action, they were of opinion, That as long as the vnited prouinces continued in armes, and made war, it was not fit nor conuenient for the Eſtates in Bruſſels to reiect the king of Spains aid, therwith to defend themſelues againſt ſuch as made war againſt him.

The anſwer of the deputies of Bruſſels.

Whereupon either partie conferred together, and then ſitting downe againe, monſieur *Barneuelt* ſayd, That they held the donation made by the king of Spaine to the Infanta, to bee
F falſe, and of no force, for that it was therin expreſly ſet downe, That if the archduke died without children, the Infanta ſhould returne into Spaine againe; and if the Infanta dyed, the archduke ſhould remaine in the Netherlands but as gouernour thereof, and the countrey returne againe vnto the king of Spaine. And moreouer, if they had any children, they ſhould not marie but with the houſe of Spaine. It was alſo decreed by the ſame gift, That the ſubiects of the

Barneuelts reply.

Ne-

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1600 Netherlands should not trade vnto the Indies, and that vpon forfeiture of the said countries: A
concluding thereby, that they were now more subiect vnto the Spanish seruitude than euer,
for that in consideration the archdukes had bound themselues so strictly vnto Spaine, and that
the generall Estates of those prouinces had likewise sworne to be true and faithfull vnto them,
as to their naturall lords, that of force that yoke must needs ensue. He also said, That touching
the points of communication specified in their letter, with their instructions and verball pro-
positions, the deputies of the vnited Prouinces, hauing duly cõsidered theron, they found, that
the whole transport made by the K. of Spain to the Infanta his daughter, tended meerly to the
preiudice of the Netherlands, in regard that the archdukes, & the Estates also with them, were
so strictly bound vnto the king of Spaine, as in their opinions they could not safely deale con-
cerning a peace, neither with Spain, the archdukes, nor with the Estates, as their sworne vassals; B
neither had they sufficient authoritie to do it. They also said, their commission extended not so
far, as they could maintaine and effect that which shold be concluded betwixt them, and ther-
fore they desired to haue full assurance thereof, before they would enter into any conference
or treatie of peace. Lastly, they said, That if they might be freed from the archdukes and the
Spaniards, they for their parts would suffer them to liue in their former Estates, and betweene
them they would make a forme of gouernment, where all men, both Catholikes and Refor-
med, might vse their own religion, and liue in freedome of conscience.

The Estates of Brussels answer. Whereunto the deputies of the Estates of Brussels made answer, That they had a prince,
without whom they desired not to do any thing, being in good hope that all matters by the
help of good mediators might be so wel reconciled, as their highnesses in the end would agree C
with the Estates, and both parties be well satisfied.

And touching the assurance which they demaunded, they said, They must not set the cart
before the horse: for if the treatie of peace were once begun, the deputies of the general estates
should haue ample commission to treat with them, and whensoeuer they came to the maine
points, they would secure them in such sort, as they should rest satisfied, concluding, that they
would not forsake their princes, nor attempt any thing but with their likings and consents; so
as the conclusion of a peace must proceed from the archdukes, and not from the Estates.

Whereupon the deputies of the vnited prouinces gaue them to vnderstand, that they were
bound by contract to diuers princes and states, not to make any peace with the Spaniards, nor
the archdukes, without them, to which end they had caused diuers decrees to bee published, D
being also desirous to aduertise the said princes and commonweals, what their instructions and
propositions were, the which they would do in such friendly manner, as all men should find
that they desired peace and vnity, intreating them of Brussels to do the like, and to persuade the
Estates, to get the Spaniards out of the townes and castles of the Netherlands, and to place such
as were borne in the countrey &c.

The conference breaks vp at Berghen. And thus the conference between them ended, the deputies of the vnited prouinces giuing
letters sealed vp vnto the other deputies, bearing date the 22 of Iuly, containing a discourse of
all their conference, and recommending the peace vnto them, wherewith the deputies depar-
ted from Berghen, and returned to Brussels, making report of all that had beene done.

Vpon their returne, the Estates being assembled at Brussels, finding by the report of their E
deputies, that there was no peace likely to be concluded (the vnited prouinces hauing so lately
gotten a victorie before Nieuport) and that their prouinces were in the meane time to bee de-
fended, they resolued to raise a good summe of money, according to their antient and laudable
custome, who neuer left their princes in need, but liberally assisted them: whereupon they a-
greed, to impose a taxe of two shillings vpon euerie chimney throughout their countrey, and
consulted how to find meanes to entertaine 10000 foot, and 3000 horse, which they found
325000 pounds sterling. would cost them 320000 gulderns a moneth, and to that end, vpon the 4 of Iuly, when as they
had receiued newes of the archdukes ouerthrow, they deliuered their fourth declaration vn-
to the archdukes committees, containing many seuerall points.

First, That the mutinous souldiers should be paid, and all other souldiers kept in good mar- F
tiall discipline.

That the Spanish Tribunals, called *de la Hazienda*, and *de la Visita*, that is, Treasorers and
Ouerseers of the Spanish treasure, being 250 thousand duckets a moneth allowed by the king
of Spaine, might be reformed, and that they should haue no further dealing with the accounts
of

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A of the naturall borne ſubiects of the countrey, vnleſſe it were with ſuch as were indebted vnto them vpon ſome former reckonings. 1600

That the Eſtates were content to vndertake the diſcharge of the admiraltie, the payment of the garriſons, and the repairing of the forts, according vnto the liſt propounded vnto them.

They alſo vndertooke to furniſh 250 wagons for an armie, and to entertaine ten thouſand footmen, and the ordinarie horſemen of the countrey, for a yeare; vpon condition, That they ſhould be freed from the fiue cornets of light horſemen: Whereunto they all agreed, deſiring that the archduke might be aduertiſed thereof.

Theſe articles were deliuered: whereunto the archduke made anſwer the ſixteenth of Iulie,
B whereby he ſeemed to yeeld vnto the chiefe points. And the ſame day the marqueſſe of of Haurec gaue the Eſtates to vnderſtand, That the archdukes deſire was, they ſhould reſolue vpon ſome meanes touching the freeing of the demeanes, and for their yerely reuenue.

Touching the freeing of the demeanes, the Eſtates deſired they might not be charged therwith, vntill a peace were made, and as for their yerely reuenues and entertainment, they yeelded to 250 thouſand gulderns yerely, as it was propounded, the which ſhould be borne by the whole prouinces in generall; and that vpon condition their highneſſes ſhould reforme their houſholds, diſcharge all ſuperfluous ſeruants, and reduce it to the antient orders of the dukes of Bourgoigne.

After this the Eſtates began to conſult, how they might raiſe theſe ſummes of money; the
C prelats and gentlemen concluding to impoſe a taxe vpon victuals, and vpon all apparell, and alſo vpon al wares and merchandiſes, wherwith they acquainted them of Flanders. Wherupon the two eſtates agreed, with the good liking of the third eſtate, to raiſe theſe ſummes vpon corne, wine, butter, fleſh, &c. *viz.* A taxe impoſed vpon victuals.

Vpon a meaſure of Brabant, called a ſeſter of wheat, foure ſtiuers.
Vpon the ſame meaſure of Rye or Meſlin, 3 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie aume of French, Reniſh, or Spaniſh wine, 8 ſtiuers.
Vpon a barrell of beere, valued from 2 to 4 gulderns, 6 ſtiuers.
Vpon a barrell of beere valued from 4 to 6 gulderns, 12 ſtiuers.
Vpon a hogſhead, and vpon all foreine beere, 24 ſtiuers.
D Vpon euerie oxe or ſteere of 3 yeares old and vpwards, 30 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie cow or heifer, 20 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie wether or calfe, 5 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie ewe or ramme, 4 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie lambe, goat, or pig, 2 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie hog, 8 ſtiuers.
Vpon euerie milch cow both winter and ſummer, a ſtiuer euerie moneth.
Vpon euerie oxe or cow that is put to paſture to be made fat, 2 ſtiuers.

But the deputies of the other prouinces ſeemed to make ſome difficultie hereat, deſiring ra-
ther, that a diuiſion ſhould be made, and that euerie prouince ſhould haue his portion ſet
E downe, with a fit moderation, as they were able to rayſe it, and that the prelats and nobilitie ſhould conſent to pay two third parts of a fourth part of the whole ſumme; vpon condition, that their priuiledges which had been broken, ſhould be reſtored, and the tolles taken away, after the antient maner.

They of Antuerpe made diuers difficulties, concerning the taxes impoſed vpon victuals, ſaying, That they had paid part of their debts out of the exciſes raiſed vpon victuals, and that the ſaid exciſes were partly farmed vnto merchants, who had diſburſed 150 thouſand gulderns for the archdukes vſe, before his going into Spaine, and that they had beene contributarie for the paiment of the mutined ſouldiers in the caſtle of Antuerpe; deſiring that conſideration might be had thereon.

F Vpon the ninth of Auguſt they conſulted againe, touching the conference which had beene betwixt the Eſtates of Bruſſels, and the vnited prouinces, to ſee how they might reunite the prouinces which were fallen from them, the which was deferred to the report which ſhould bee made by the deputies of the contrarie ſide, vnto their committees, wherein

as.

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1600 as then they could not proceed: But in regard of the former conference, and for that the enemie preſumed to haue a great aduantage, it gaue them more cauſe of diſtruſt than hope: wherefore they concluded, that their princes were in the meane time to be aided, yet not to forget the treatie of peace, which could not be ſodainly effected, and therefore they muſt take order for the warre. To which end the generall Eſtates at Bruſſels ſet downe the archdukes demaunds, with a note of the ſeuerall ſummes, what they would amount vnto; whereby they found that the entertainment of the ordinarie garriſons at that time for 8450 men amounted monethly vnto 81120 gulderns. A

The whole charge of the archdukes demands.

Ten thouſand foot diuided into fiue regiments, all naturall borne ſubiects, amounted vnto the ſumme of 128700 gulderns a moneth.

Fifteene companies of bands of ordnance, which ſhould ſerue ſix moneths with full pay, and ſix moneths for halfe pay, one moneth with another, amounted vnto 60750 gulderns the moneth. B

The archdukes houſhold charges monethly, came vnto one and twentie thouſand gulderns, and 16667 gulderns the moneth, for two hundred and fiftie wagons for the armie: ſo as all theſe charges together amounted vnto 308237 gulderns the month: whereto they added the charges of collectors, and muſter-maſters, which came to ſome twelue thouſand gulderns a moneth: ſo as the whole ſumme was 320 thouſand gulderns a moneth.

For the raiſing of this ſumme monethly, the prouinces were of diuers opinions: for in the diuiſion and quotation of the generall collected ſummes out of all the prouinces, according vnto the old taxation in the grant made by the ſaid prouinces, vnto the emperor *Charles* the 5, for his warres in France, they of Brabant and Flanders made many difficulties; for that they of Brabant for their parts (the ſumme as then being 300 thouſand gulderns a moneth) paid the fiue eight parts thereof, Flanders 6 eight parts, Arthois and Henault each of them a ſixt part of that which Flanders paid, Valenciennes a ſixt part of that of Henault; Ryſſel, Douay, and Orchies an eight part of Flanders: Holland halfe as much as Flanders, Zeeland a fourth part of Holland, Namur a ſixteenth part of Flanders, Macklin a ſmall matter: they of Guelderland, Luxembourg, and Lembourg, did not contribute. Moreouer, there was conſideration had of thoſe which lay neereſt vnto the enemie, which were Arthois, Henault, Ryſſel, and Namur, the which were taxed at ſmall ſummes, the greateſt burthen beeing layd vpon Brabant, Flanders, and other prouinces, which at that time flouriſhed: The like reſpect (ſaid they) was at that time to be had, ſo as at the laſt the archduke made a reaſonable diuiſion among them. C D

Demands and complaints made by them of Brabant.

They of Brabant deſired, That the two companies of light horſemen vnder *Adolph* earl *vanden Berghe*, and monſieur *Grobendonc* (as being verie neceſſarie for the defence of all the countrey of Brabant, and eſpecially of their frontier towne of Hertogenboſch, or Boiſleduc) might be comprehended in the liſt of the garriſons appointed to bee paid out of the collection of 320000 gulderns a moneth; as alſo that the winter army might be diuided, and that their highneſſes would be ſerued therewith according to the Ioyfull entries. That the gouernment of Lembourg, and of the townes ouer Meuſe, might be put into the hands of naturall borne ſubiects of Brabant, as alſo the reſt of the townes, caſtles, and forts in Brabant; and that the towne of Antuerpe (contrarie to the contract made for the building of the caſtle) might bee no more charged to make prouiſion of wood and turffe for the ſame; nor yet that the ſaid caſtle ſhould preſſe them to any ſeruice, which was to be done at their highneſſes charge. They complained alſo, That the towne of Antuerp had loſt the benefit of diuers cloiſters in thoſe parts; as of the monaſterie of Afligem, the which was transferred vnto the towne of Macklin, vnder the archbiſhoprick, to their great preiudice: which monaſterie did no more contribute vnto the burthens layd vpon the country, as it had vſually done, and therefore they deſired the archbiſhop would be pleaſed to reſtore the ſaid monaſterie vnto them againe, according to the iuſtice and equitie of the old dukes of Brabant, with many ſuch like complaints. They of Brabant alſo complained, That they were ouercharged to pay 70 thouſand gulderns a moneth, conſidering their arrerages, and that the chimney money amounted but to 150 thouſand gulderns: wherefore they deſired to be rated but at 60000 gulderns monthly; and that conſideration might be had of the 150000 gulderns, which they had paid vnto the archduke before his going into Spaine, as alſo of that which they had paid vnto the mutined ſouldiers of the caſtle. E F

The

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A The like complaints were made by the general Eſtates vnto the archduke the fourteenth of October, preſenting 26 articles vnto him, containing many orders touching ſouldiers, and that all maner of contributions might ceaſe, as of mony gathered for lodging, forrage, fortification, wagons, pioners, paſſages, ſetting forth of ſouldiers, &c. and all other charges which had been brought in without the conſent of the Eſtates, and that the countrey might be onely charged with the ſumme of 320000 gulderns a moneth. They alſo deſired to be freed from all the mutined ſouldiers, eſpecially from them of Dyeſt and Weert: and that all ſummes of money collected in euerie prouince, might be receiued by the rent-maſter appointed by the Eſtates of euerie prouince, and that the garriſons of the townes and forts in the ſaid prouinces, ſhould be firſt paid therewith, eſpecially thoſe which lay vpon the frontiers, who were daily forced to do
B ſome ſeruice for the countrey; and that the ſurpluſage of the money might be put into a common purſe, and kept towards the paiment of the new regiments, and other charges comprehended in the liſt exhibited from the archduke, and all with the conſent of the deputies of the Eſtates; as alſo that the ſouldiers ſhould be muſtered euerie three moneths at the leaſt: And that neither ſpirituall nor temporall perſons, knights of the Golden Fleece, counſellors of eſtate, nor any other priuiledged perſons, of what eſtate ſoeuer, ſhould bee exempted from paying their parts of the ſaid monethly ſumme, vnleſſe it were their highneſſes and their houſhold ſeruants. 1600

The generall Eſtates complain vnto the archdukes.

Vnto theſe articles the archdukes made anſwer by the earle of Solre, vpon the laſt of October, complayning, That they protracted the time ſo long before they gaue vp their full reſolu-
C tions, whereby many good occaſions againſt the enemie were loſt, and that many of the articles propounded, were vnneceſſarie, and yet they thought good to anſwer them ſeuerally at this time, without any more replications or reports made vnto their prouinces; and withall, that by the laſt of Nouember following, they ſhould prouide their money readie.

The archdukes anſwer to the generall eſtates

They anſwered ſome of their articles according to their deſires, and to others they made a larger diſcourſe. Touching the tenth article, That the money rayſed monethly, ſhould bee imployed for the payment of the naturall borne ſubiects of the countrey, they ſaid, That if it were ſo granted, they feared ſome queſtion and alteration would grow by that diuiſion of payes, if it ſhould not bee generall: and therefore they deſired the Eſtates, to referre that vnto their highneſſes, who would not pay any thing but it ſhould be for the good of the coun-
D trey, and the neceſſarie imployment for the warres; ſaying, That the naturall borne ſubiects of the countrey, were much to bee commended for their fidelities, and that hee meant to leuie foure regiments of Wallons, which ſhould bee monethly payed, as the reſt were, out of thoſe ſummes, as alſo the ordinarie bands of horſemen.

They alſo granted that women ſhould bee exempted from that taxation, for that time onely, without making it a preſident; yet they perſuaded themſelues, that it was not the Eſtates meaning, to include the foure orders of the begging friers, nor yet the Ieſuites, or Capuchins, who had more need to bee relieued and ſuccoured, than to be burthened with any paiments.

The like anſwer was made to them of Brabant, fauourable ynough, both being ſigned, *Albertus* and *Iſabella*, and vnderneath, *Vereyken*.

E This taxe being concluded, the prouinces did preſently take vpon them to raiſe certain ſouldiers, as Brabant the leuying and paying of 3 companies of horſe, and 2000 foot, Lembourg 1 comet of horſe, and 500 foot, Guelderland and Riſſel each as many, Douay and Orchies 2 cornets of horſe, and 1000 foot, Arthois & Henault each 3 cornets of horſe, and 1000 foot, and the other ſmall prouinces after the rate, beſides Flanders, which yeelded to pay 80000 gulderns a moneth.

An order for the execution of the taxation

But to preuent all further queſtions and diſputes, which might grow among the ſaid prouinces, about the raiſing of the ſaid 320000 gulderns a month, which was agreed vpon, for that ſome prouinces would raiſe it vpon victuals, and ſome by other meanes; the archdukes made an indifferent diuiſion betwixt them, after the rate ſet downe in the 9 yeres taxe, rayſed vpon
F thoſe countries in the time of *Charls* the emperor, for his wars in France, and alſo according to the abilities, power, and ſcituation of the prouinces, as the time then ſerued, *viz.*

A rate ſet downe by the archdukes.

Brabant euerie moneth 70 thouſand gulderns.
Lembourg ſix thouſand gulderns.
Luxembourg ten thouſand gulderns.

Gueldres

1600

Gueldres ten thousand gulderns. A
Flanders 95 thousand gulderns.
Arthois 30 thousand gulderns.
Henault 30 thousand gulderns.
Ryssel ten thousand gulderns.
Douay fiue thousand gulderns.
Orchies ten thousand gulderns.
Valenciennes fiue thousand gulderns.
Namur seuen thousand gulderns.
Dornic three thousand fiue hundred gulderns.
Tournesis fiue thousand gulderns. B
Macklin three thousand fiue hundred gulderns.

These contributing prouinces, according to the archdukes diuision, making in all three hundred thousand gulderns a moneth, granted it at the first but for a yeare, hauing been eight moneths before they could agree vpon this rate.

This taxation was not well looked into at the first: for being granted but for a yeare, it was afterwards made perpetuall. And whereas the Estates thought it good to haue two armies, one of strangers, the other of naturall borne subiects of the countrey, thereby the one to keepe the other in awe, the Spanish counsell thought it not conuenient, doubting that the natural borne subiects might vpon any discontent ioyne with the vnited prouinces, and driue all the strangers out of the countrey. The archdukes ordered the matter in such sort, as the money was C the most part raysed vpon victuals, &c. as fittest to continue, and the earle of Bassignie was receiuor thereof for a time: but the archdukes complaining thereof, as being dishonorable both for them and the countrey, at the last he got the receit thereof into the hands of his committees, so as the prouinces had no further dealing with the mony, and yet the contribution continued, neither had they scarce one naturall borne subiect in the field, more than they had before, but were stil subiect to strange souldiers, and mutinous companions.

Letters of comfort & money sent out of Spaine to the archdukes.

About this time *Dom Henriques Goesman* was sent from the king of Spain into the Netherlands, with certaine letters of comfort, both vnto the archdukes, and the Estates, touching the battaile lost at Nieuport, the superscription of their letters being * *A nos Estados*, which caused a great murmuring among the Estates and the people, being ignorant to whom they belonged, the king of Spaine pretending yet a command ouer them, which made them thinke, that the opinion of the Estates of the vnited prouinces, touching the transport of the Netherlands, was true, and that they were to consider well thereon, especially concerning the granting vnto taxes, the prouinces being verie poore, threatned by the French men, and warred against by the vnited prouinces: Besides that, they had no trade, by reason of the forbidding of licences, for all merchandise comming in or going out of the countrey, whereby the said prouinces were in a verie miserable estate: But this *Goesman* brought certaine summes of money with him, and the superscription was excused by the president *Richardot*, as being mistaken by the Secretarie who writ it. D

* To our Estates,

This *Dom Henriques de Goesman* had commission to complain of the merchants of Antuerp, E who (as he said) traded with the Hollanders into the Indies, and also into Spaine, vnder the names of French men, Easterlings, and such like, by indirect meanes: which trade the Spaniards sought by all meanes to take from them of the vnited prouinces, doubting that they enabled themselues by that trade to make warre against them: and for that cause they strictly forbad all licences, for any goods going in or comming out of the vnited prouinces, and to that end they stopt the passage of the Rhine at Berck, and in Spaine the admirall caused all the Netherland merchants and sailers to be committed to prison, intreating them with great cruelnie, whereof some were put into the gallies, and some executed. They examined them what rials of plate they had carried out of Spaine contrarie to the law, and whether their merchandise came out of the Netherlands, or from England, or whether it belonged to any of those places: F And to that end *Goesman* desired that certaine merchants counting-houses in Antuerpe, with their books of accounts and letters, might be seized on and perused, to find out those deceits, thinking by that meanes to take all trade of merchandise from their enemies, the which could not be easily effected. In the end, after great crueltie vsed towards the Netherland merchants and

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A and saylers, they compounded with the admirall, that for all former faults committed, they should pay him 60 thousand duckets in March following. 1601

Don Francisco de Mendoza, admirall of Arragon, taken prisoner (as we haue said) at the battaile of Nieuport, tyred with his imprisonment in the castle of Woerden in Holland, which seemed vnto him a verie melancholike place, he intreated the Estates, that they would appoint him some place of better ayre: whereupon he was brought vnto the castle of Persin, halfe a league from the Hage, where vnder colour of bestowing his charitable almes vpon the poore, giuing to each of them at the first a stiuer, the next day there came two or three hundred, to whom he gaue two stiuers a peece; so as this bait did make the number of beggers to increase daily. The Estates fearing that vnder his pretence of almes, the number of beggers, and others
B vnder that habit, would grow so great, as they might take away the said admirall, and imbarke him at Catwick, which was but a league from thence; they caused him to come to the prison at the Hage, whereof he was more wearie then of any other place, and would willingly haue giuen a great summe of money for his ransome, which the Estates respected not, hauing more care of the freedome and libertie of their vassals and subiects, that were prisoners, than desire of his money: wherefore in stead of a ransome, they offered to exchange him for their subiects and seruants that were prisoners, as well in Spaine, the Netherlands, as elsewhere, and detained in great pouertie and miserie. Whereupon the admirall, seeing that he was not to be ransomed
C neither for gold nor siluer, and that without some other meanes hee was in danger to end his dayes there, he laboured so with the king of Spaine and the archduke *Albert*, as for his deliuerance he had full libertie promised for all the prisoners of the vnited pouinces, or that had been taken in their seruice, being at that time either in gallies, prisons, or otherwise restrained, and without ransom; and that before his deliuerie, he should cause them to be represented to the Estates in full libertie: Whereupon letters were written vnto the vnited prouinces, that they should deliuer in writing, into the hands of certaine committees, that were appointed to that end, all the names of such as they knew were detained, as well in the Inquisition in Spaine, at the islands, or Indies, and in the Netherlands, at Sluce, Dunkerk, and elswhere. The which was done; and all the prisoners being returned, the admirall hauing paid for a courtesie twentie thousand florins to cont *Lodowike*, generall of the Estates horse, and one thousand to foure caualiers, which had taken him at the battaile, whereof one was a naturall Spaniard, the admirall
D was enlarged and set at libertie, in the beginning of the yeare 1601, returning to Antuerpe. The admirall set at libertie.

The spoyles done by the archdukes great armie, vnder the conduct of *Francisco de Mendoza*, admirall of Arragon, the yeares past, had much incommodated the vnited prouinces, in the desolations of Cleues, Westphalia, and the neighbour countries, but especially in the taking of Rhineberck, a towne of importance, by reason of the passage, and of the customes which they take: besides, it serued the archduke as a key for the countries of Oueriſsel and Friseland: and besides the contributions of great summes of money, which the garrison did draw monethly from many of the Estates subiects, it was a wonderfull preiudice to the merchants of Holland, Zeeland, and others, in their negotiations of Germanie: wherefore the Estates intreat prince *Maurice*, that he will take this moat out of their eye, chase away those forragers of Berck,
E and assure the nauigation of the Rhine, to the good of the vnited prouinces.

In the latter end of the yeare 1600 there was little done in the Netherlands, concerning the wars, being winter; but many secret enterprises were attempted and discouered, whereof one was vpon the towne of Geertruydenbergh. There was a gentleman in Brussels, called *Francis de Prouence*, who was persuaded by his brother *Adolph*, in the behalfe of monsieur *Grobendonc*, gouernour of Boisleduc, to imploy himselfe in the Estates seruice, that hee might find meanes to betray Geertruydenbergh to the archduke: whereunto in the end hee yeelded, not (as he said) for any desire of money, but to doe good seruice to God and his prince; and with that resolution he went to Brussels, where he receiued further instructions from monsieur *Marienſant*, and had two hundred *Philip* dollers giuen him, with promise of a more honourable
F reward. Before he departed from Brussels, he confest, and receiued the sacrament, at the hands of the father of the Iesuites, who assured him, That without any sinne or burthen to his conscience, he might practise to reduce any town into the hands of the right lord, with the shedding of as little bloud as he could, &c. At his departure he left a note written with his owne hand (in forme of a petition) for his brother, that he might therewith solicit for the said promised re-

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1601. ward, if he should chance to be committed or executed for that cause. And with this resolution he put himself into seruice in Geertruydenbergh, vnder monsieur *Nels* cornet of horse. Being there, he discouered a place where he might bring *Grobendancs* men in, which was behind a house, called the Hart, where they should climbe vp with ten ladders: but before it should be put in practise, he with others were to ride out, and by a secret compact should go towards Boisleduc, where they should meet with 20 horsemen, who should willingly suffer themselues to be taken prisoners by him and his companie; which done, hee should put them into the prouosts hands, to keepe them in prison, and the same night, that the enemie should come to scale the wals, he should find meanes to let them out of prison, who killing the watch, should keepe the wals that none should approach, vntill that *Grobendancs* souldiers had gotten into the towne. A

This enterprise being discouered, and the said *Francis* committed to prison, hee confessed the fact, for the which vpon the 5 of Ianuarie he was condemned to die, and not long after was beheaded, and his bodie quartered. Before his death he became verie penitent for the treason by him intended: He wrot a letter to his brother, lamenting his sinne, certifying him, That during his imprisonment he had beene instructed in the holy Scriptures, and learned to know what belonged to his saluation: desiring his brother and friends, to read the new Testament with all diligence, that they might attaine to the knowledge of their sinnes, with the right, true, and liuely iustifying faith. He had before made his wil, & giuen a legacy towards the repairing of the broken Sacrament house, but he reuoked it againe, willing his friends not to doe it; saying, That Christ dwelt in heauen, willing them to giue that mony to the poore, which would be much more acceptable vnto God. And so Geertruydenbergh was freed from that practise. B C

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A



THE XVI. BOOKE.

B

The Argument.

THE caſtle of Crapoll ſurpriſed by the Eſtates. Incurſions made by them of Rhineberke into Cleues and Iuilliers. The gouernour of Stralen ouerthrowne and taken. The caſtle of Cracowe taken for prince Maurice. *The force of the vnited prouinces at ſea. An enterpriſe vpon Fleſsingue. The duke of Neuers title to the duchie of Brabant. Mutinies among the archdukes ſouldiers. A practiſe to ſacke Antuerpe. The Eſtates prepare to go to field. Rhineberck beſieged. The archduke reſolues to beſiege Ooſtend. The deſcription of Ooſtend. Hee inueſts it. The prince ſends to Ooſtend. Rhineberck yeel-*
C *ded to prince* Maurice. *He takes Mœurs.* Dom Catris, *generall of the Spaniſh armie, ſlaine before Ooſtend. Monſieur* Chaſtillon *ſlaine with a canon.* Vander Noot, *gouernor of Ooſtend, leaues the towne. A fire in the archdukes fort. Aduertiſements out of the campe. The archdukes loſſe before Ooſtend. The Eſtates reſolue to beſiege Boiſleduc. The archduke prepares to releeue Boiſleduc. The Eſtates raiſe their ſiege from thence. Maſtricht refuſeth to receiue ſouldiers. Ooſtend in danger to be taken. They of Ooſtend parle with the archduke. The treatie broken off. The archduke gives a generall aſſault at Ooſtend. His loſſe at it. Sir* Francis Veer *retires from Oo-*
D *ſtend, The ſea ouerflowes Ooſtend. Mutinie in the archdukes campe. The Eſtates prepare to go to field. Prince* Maurice *offers battaile to the admirall of Arragon. The prince beſiegeth Graue. The admirall camps by him. Graue yeelded to prince* Maurice. *The mutiners of the admirals armie ſeize vpon Hoochſtraten. The admirall diſcharged of his generals place, The mutiners of Hoochſtraten baniſhed. Their anſwer to the proſcription. The popes Nuntio ſent vnto them. Eight cornets of the archdukes horſes defeated.* Frederic Spinola *brings ſix gal-*
D *lies into the Netherlands. They are defeated by the Netherland ſhips. The Eſtates make an incurſion into Luxembourg. A fight betwixt the gallies and the Eſtates ſhips.* Frederic Spinola *ſlaine in the gallies. The archduke beſiegeth the mutiners in Hoochſtraten. Prince* Maurice *rayſeth the ſiege. He brings his armie before Boiſleduc. The archdukes armie followes him. Marqueſſe* Spinola *reformes the armie. Prince* Maurice *retires from Boiſleduc. The gouernour of Ooſtend ſlaine. The Eſtates land with an armie in Flanders, they take diuers forts neere to Sluce, beſiege Iſendike, and take it by compoſition. Sluce beſieged by the prince. A generall aſſault at Ooſtend. The mutiners reconciled to the archduke. The marqueſſe* Spinola *comes to releeue Sluce, he is re-*
E *pulſt, and the towne yeelded to the prince. Ooſtend yeelded to the archduke. A treatie of peace betwixt England and Spaine. A diſcourſe touching the peace in the Netherlands. The earle of Hertfords embaſſage to the archduke. An enterpriſe made by the prince vpon the Scheld, and the taking of Wowe.* Spinola *takes Linghen. An enterpriſe vpon Berghen.* Spinola *goes into Spaine. Grol taken by compoſition. Rhineberck yeelded to* Spi-
E *nola. An enterpriſe vpon Sluce. A tumult in Antuerpe. Groningue caſtle raſed. The earle of Bronk murthered by the Spaniards. A fight in the ſtraits of Gibraltar, betwixt the Spaniards and the Hollanders ſhips. A treatie of peace betwixt the archduke and the vnited prouinces: their deputies meet at the Hage. The breaking off of the treatie.*

F ABout the fifteenth of Ianuarie 80 horſe, and ſome footmen of the Eſtates men, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Crapoll in Lembourg, forcing open the port with a petard, where they found a good bootie of money, iewels, and plate, which had beene brought by ſuch as had fled thither for ſafetie. There they tooke *Harman Sohuyl* the droſſart, brother to the rent-maſter, carrying the beſt of the goods away with them; and ſo left the caſtle, beeing preſently purſued by foure or fiue hundred horſe, as farre as the countrey of Iuilliers, where they met ſome of their owne troupes, who releeued them. 1601 The caſtle of Crapoll ſurpriſed.

The Spaniſh garriſons lying in Rhineberck, and in Gueldre all this winter, made incurſions into the countries of Iuilliers and Cleues, the which they ſpoyled, taking certain wagons, belonging vnto the duke of Cleues; the which they carried to Rhineberck, and made good prize

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1601 thereof: for which cause the duke commaunded certaine ships of Berck to be staid at Duysseldorp. Besides these iniuries, the mutinous souldiers of Hamont (to whom the towne and castle of Weert had beene deliuered for their securitie) did wonderfully oppresse them of Iuilliers, forcing them, vpon some pretences, to pay fortie thousand gulderns: for which cause the garrisons vnder prince *Maurice* demanded the like summe, in regard they gaue so much vnto the Spaniards their enemies, and did not remaine neuters, as they had promised: so as the countrey was miserably oppressed and spoiled; whereupon many townes and seigniories leuied men for their defence, seeking by all the meanes they could to free the Rhine, and offering a good summe of money for the same; sometimes getting pasports from them of Rhineberck, to passe vp to Cologne with ships laden with herring, butter and cheese, &c. A

The house and castle of Cracowe, with the lordship thereof, being giuen (as we haue said) by the countesse of Mœurs vnto prince *Maurice*, it belonging vnto the earledome of Mœurs, was before in the yeare 1586 giuen by the duke of Parma vnto *Salentin* earle of Isenbourgh, vpon some pretence, which the said earl had euer since holden in his possession: and now there lay one captaine *Longehuyuen* in it, with 15 or 16 men, it being a strong fort, seated in a marsh. Prince *Maurice* vnderstanding, that this winter the ice in the ditches was not broken nor kept open, he caused captaine *Cloet* to attempt to surprise it with 300 horse out of Nimeghen, and some foot out of Wachtendonc; and to that end *Cloet* went with his horsemen to Nieukerke, on the 8 of Februarie: Whereof *Dulcken* gouernor of Stralen, being aduertised, hee followed him with 400 horse, and 4 or 500 foot, and in the morning before sun-rising, he sodainly charged *Cloets* companies in the village; so as there were 40 of his horsemen wounded and taken, before the rest (by reason of the noise of people, and barking of dogs) could arme, and get out of the village; who being once out, they put themselues in order of battaile, but *Stralen* followed them not, retiring with his troups by a deepe way, which was of great aduantage to defend his footmen against *Cloets* horsemen, hauing taken 30 of his men prisoners, most being of prince *Maurice* his companie, the which were soone taken from them againe: for *Cloet* beeing much discõtented with this losse, fetcht a compasse about by another way, where he met with them entring vpon a heath, charging them both before and behind, he slew many both horse and foot, vpon the place, the rest fled into a certaine place, where hee presently besieged them, and forced them to yeeld vpõ composition, paying their ransoms, he suffered 370 of the common souldiers to depart, onely retaining *Dulcken*, gouernor of Stralen, captaine *Golstein*, and 7 officers, to answer for all their ransoms; *Cloet* hauing lost 6 or 7 men, and diuers of them & their horses hurt. Presently after, the souldiers which were appointed to ioine with *Cloet*, came from Wachtendonc, and then they went to Cracowe: on the 9 of February in the night they came before it, whereas the horsemen alighting, got ouer the ice, and entred into the base court, whereat they within began to shoot: but *Cloet* forced them to retire with his shot, and then he caused his men to passe ouer the ditches, and to let downe the draw bridge; which done, he set a petard to the port, and forced it open: whereupon they within yeelded both themselues and the place, euen as day began to breake; where he left 40 foot, and 20 horse, with his lieutenant, vntill he heard further from prince *Maurice*: and so he retired to his garrison. B C D

The castle of Cracowe taken for prince Maurice.

The garrison of Spaniards in the Graue, in regard of the slacknesse of their pay, were readie to mutine, but they were pacified, and some of the authors punished with the strappado. They of Venloo were also discontented, by reason of the restraining of licences, so as all victuals waxed exceeding deere among them: and whereas the archduke had granted certaine pasports, for two ships, they staid those ships in the Meuse, & forced them to vnlade their commodities in their towne, to supply their wants. In the beginning of this yeare, there was great preparation of shipping made in the Netherlands, whereby the power of the vnited prouinces by sea, may easily be seene, for that in two or three dayes there sailed out of those prouinces, betwixt 8 and 900 ships, which went into the East countries, to traffique there. And moreouer, there went out about 1500 buyses, to fish for herring & cod, the which are good ships, but not of the greatest, nor to be compared to those which saile into the Indies, the islands of Affrica, the Leuant, Italie, Spaine, France, England, and other countries, yet notwithstanding you shall see the hauens in Holland still full of ships and saylers. E F

An enterprise vpõ Flessingue

This yere there was an enterprise to be made for the archdukes vpõ Flessingue, being colored with a pretence to build a fort at Nieuhauẽ in Flanders, for the besieging of Oostend, certaine men

A men being hyred to ſet fire on the towne, and they in the meane time ſhould paſſe ouer with certaine troups, and giue an aſſault vnto the towne: but it was diſcouered, and ſome of the conſpirators apprehended, and committed to priſon, wherof one (being a ſtoole maker) killed himſelfe in priſon, and yet his bodie was cut in quarters: and afterwards the ſtateholder was beheaded on the 19 of Iune for the ſame treaſon. 1601

In the beginning of this yeare there were certaine commiſſioners appointed to meet for the French king and the archdukes, vpon certaine cauſes, concerning the peace and quietneſſe of their countries: which commiſſioners met at Maubenge, Veruins, and other places, diſputing about the ſouereignetie of certaine ſeigniories and lordſhips, as the earldome of S. Pol, and the earledome of Outreual, betweene the Scheld and Scharpe, wherof Bouchain is the chiefe B towne, lying betweene Douay and Valenciennes; the which in times paſt had been morgaged, and now the money was tendered. Commiſſioners betwixt the French K. and the archduke.

There was a queſtion alſo, touching trade of merchandiſe vpon the frontiers, as at Calice, and thereabouts; the French men deſiring, that all the Netherlanders which had put themſelues vnder the protection of France, ſhould be held as French men, both in the Netherlands and in Spaine.

To end theſe controuerſies there met at Maubenge, the duke of Bouillon, the earle of S. Pol, the earle of Dampmartin, and others, for the French king: and for the archdukes came the duke of Arſchot, the earle of Arembergh, the earle of Lignie, the earle of Solre, with others. There was alſo ſome ſpeech cõcerning the lands of the prince of Eſpinoy, Anthonich, &c. be- C ing of the houſe of *Melun*, who died in France, where he had been maried, and had left certaine children: theſe lands were in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid princes ſiſter, being maried to the earle of Ligny, who by vertue of her title called himſelf prince of Eſpinoy, marqueſſe of Robaix and Richbourg, baron of Anthonich, &c. pretending all thoſe lands to bee confiſcat, for that the prince her brother had followed the contrarie partie, and borne arms for the French king, and that they came vnto her by right; and at that time they had fortified their cauſe, by a mariage of their daughter *Iolanda*, with *Charles Alexander* of Croy, earle of Fontenay, ſonne to the marqueſſe of Haurec, a prince of the empire, deſcending by his mothers ſide from the houſes of Lorraine, Dampmartin, Vander Marck, and Cleue; the ſayd *Iolanda* iſſuing from the houſes of Melun, Lalaine, and Waſſenare. The prince of Eſpinoyes children were much commen- D ded and countenanced in Fraunce, by *Maximilian* of Bethune, duke of Rhoſny, peere of France, maſter of the ordnance, and ſuper-intendent of the treaſure, &c. beeing iſſued from the houſes of Flanders and Melun. This queſtion was to be decided by the archduke, for the which the preſident *Iauin* was ſent vnto the archduke, as he lay before Ooſtend, where, at the laſt, the cauſe was ended.

In all theſe aſſemblies there was little done that came to the knowledge of the world; which bred ſome ſuſpition that the French king would enter into armes againe, for that ſome French men were ſo preſumptuous, as to giue it out, That the duchie of Brabant belonged vnto the duke of Neuers, as heire vnto *Elizabeth* of Valoys, who was daughter vnto *Iohn* earle of Neuers, Rethet, and Eſtampes, who ought to haue ſucceeded his vncle *Iohn*, the laſt duke of E Brabant, who maried the lady *Iacoba*, heire of Hollaud, Henault, &c. and after his vncle *Philip*, the which his coſin *Philip* duke of Bourgoigne, ſirnamed the Good (as they ſayd) vſurped by force from the ſayd houſe of Neuers, by meanes of the lord of Weſemale, who perſuaded the Eſtates of Brabant to inſtall duke *Philip* of Bourgoigne in the duchie of Brabant.

With the ſouldiers that came from the earle of Fuentes out of Italie, there came little mo- Mutinies among the archduke's ſoldiers. ney, ſo as the archdukes were wonderfully diſtreſt, and the old garriſons were vnpaid; which cauſed many of them to mutine, as the Italians and Spaniards in Herentals and Weert, and the Wallons which lay in Flanders, in the ſconces of *Iſabella* and *Grottendeirit*, where they flew monſieur *Verlain*, lieutenant colonel to monſieur *de Freſin*, and wounded diuers captains, F whereupon they of Zeeland and of Ooſtend, ſent letters vnto them, and offered them good conditions, but by the perſuaſion of monſieur *Reynes* they continued conſtant, and burned the letters: Whereupon the archduke ſent them powder, and all things neceſſarie, and they were pacified, ſo as after that they receiued a guldern a day for euerie man, vntil that all were paied: But for that it was dangerous for the countrey, to let men of their diſpoſition

1601 to stay there in garrison, they were drawne out, and perswaded to lye in Wynoxberghen, and A
by that meanes those sconces were secured. These dealings made them of Oostend suspect
that they meant to besiege them, and the rather, for that in Aprill the sea being forced in by
a strong North-west wind, it ouerthrew, and carried away one of the ports of Oostend, by rea-
son that they had cut off a sand hil, which stood in the downs, & was some hinderance to their
fortifications; but the archdukes armie was not readie, so as they of Oostend soone after repai-
red it againe.

Dom Rodrigo de Lasso came this winter out of Spaine, with a confirmation from the king, of
great summes of money to be yearely paid vnto the archduke, to aid him in his warres; but it
came verie late; besides there were bils of exchange for great summes of money taken vp in
the Netherlands, and to bee paid in Spaine, returned backe againe and protested. And B
the mutinous souldiers of Weert had an hundred and sixtie thousand crownes yet to receiue,
sending word vnto the archduke, That if they were not satisfied by a certaine day, they would
force others to pay them.

An enterprise to sacke Antuerpe. In March there was a conspiracie discouered, betweene the mutinous souldiers of Weert,
and the garrison within the castle of Antuerpe, with whom the garrison of Hulst in Flanders,
and some others, were confederat, intending to enter by the castle with 2000 foot, and 1000
horse, and to sacke the towne of Antuerpe: but their enterprise was discouered, and on the 14
of March certaine of the garrison of the castle were apprehended in the night, whereof some
were executed. To conclude, through want of money there was great pouertie, miserie, and
feare throughout all the prouinces vnder the archdukes command, not onely in regard of the C
enemie, but for feare of the mutinous soldiers, being also without any trade or traffique: which
made many of the inhabitants to leaue the countrey, as it appeared by the houses and lands in
Brabant and Flanders; which were to be let and rented out, which since the siege of Oostend
were let the one halfe, or a third part lesse than had been accustomed.

Adolph earle of Bergh taken prisoner, and his troops defeated. About the tenth of Aprill there lay fiue or six cornets of prince *Maurice* his horse, not farre
from Boisleduc, for that monsieur *Grobendonc*, gouernour thereof, was to come from Antuerp
with money; but being aduertised thereof by his spyes, he went another way, and by that
meanes *Adolph* earle of Bergh fell into their hands with his cornet of horse (lying in Bois-
leduc) betwixt Lommel and Postel, where hee was defeated and taken prisoner, few or none
of his men escaping: hee himselfe was carried to Breda, and was afterwards released, paying D
his ransome.

The winter being spent without any great exploits done of either side, the prince and his
counsell resolued what they should attempt. In Aprill and May they tooke a view of their gar-
risons, and made choice of their troups for the warre. There was diuers bruits spread abroad
touching the Estates designe. The archduke had a watchful eye which way their army should
band, to march after them: but his great forces of the yeares 1598, and 1599, being much wa-
sted, being vnable to make any offensiue warre, he was forced to haue patience, and to attend
the succors which were to come out of Italie, and in the meane time to stand vpon his defence.
Prince *Maurice* was not ignorant of the archdukes affaires, who hauing his armie readie in the
end of May, makes a shew as if he wold attempt something in Flanders, or Brabant, vpon some E
one of their most important places; then sodainly (beeing satisfied to haue giuen the archduke
an alarme, who called for ayd) he turned head towards Gueldres, and on the tenth of Iune he
came neere vnto Rhineberck with an armie of seuenteene thousand men, the which was inue-
sted within two dayes after.

Rhineberck besieged. There is within the riuer of Rhine, right against Berck (as we haue shewed in the former sie-
ges) a little island, thrice as long as it is broad, the which was at that time guarded by some of
the archdukes souldiers, who being saluted with the ordnance, as well from the Estates ships
of warre, which lay both aboue and beneath the island, as by certaine peeces which were plan-
ted vpon the banks, they made no long resistance: so as on the 18 day of Iune prince *Maurice*
was master of the island, who hauing no intent to abandon it so easily vnto the Spaniards, hee F
caused two forts to bee speedily built, the one at the point towards Holland, and the other at
the other end, looking to Cologne, planting certain smal peeces of ordnance in them, to shoot
into the towne, stopping the passage of the Rhine, both aboue and beneath, that no succours
might come vnto the besieged that way.

The

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A The prince hauing ſummoned the beſieged to yeeld the place, they refuſed it, hauing a great garriſon within the town (ſome ſaid there were 4000 fighting men) to defend it: he enuironed it with a large and ſpatious trench, from one ſide of the Rhine vnto the other, like a ſemy circle, fortified with fiue great baſtions which did flanke one another; the which with the iſland and the ſhippes, cloſed vp the towne round about. There was alſo an other baſtion made ſomewhat neerer the town, and two bridges made vpon the Rhine aboue and beneath, by the which they went from one quarter to the other, and into the iſland: the prince houlding the beſieged ſhut vp, and not able greatly to annoy his camp, he made a greater fort, and caſt vp an other halfe moone, farre more ſpatious than the firſt: hauing in a fit diſtance made a deep and broad trench a league long, one of the endes comming cloſe to the Rhine aboue the B towne & the other beneath, in which trenche almoſt in equall diſtance were built 17 ſquare forts, which they call *Redoutes*. Betwixt theſe two trenches were the troupes of horſe, & ſome companies of foot lodged, with good commoditie and meanes to goe in and out, both neere and farre off from the towne, and could not eaſily be charged by any ennemy without great danger. 1601

Theſe trenches and halfe moones beeing finiſhed with great expedition, for that the ſouldiers, paied for this worke like pioners, performed it with wonderfull and almoſt incredible ſpeed, reuiuing the commendable obedience of the ancient Romane legions. In the beginning the beſieged (whileſt the ſouldiers laboured in their forts and trenches) would ſhew their reſolution and valour: they had reaſon, for they made fetters to manacle their hands, C and to reſtraine their feet from going forth any more to the pickorie, and to ſpoile the countrey: they depriued them of all hope of 60000 florins of monethly contribution, which they did exact from the countrie thereabouts. But in the ſallies which they made in Iune and Iuly, they got nothing but blowes, they loſt halfe of their beſt men in ſundry charges, they ſee themſelues ſoone peſtered with wounded and ſicke men, they had the noyſe of 50 cannons ſounding continually in their eares, and a mine which was blowen vp vnder one of their bulwarks, where they loſt many of their men; yet they were reſolute and defended themſelues in hope of ſome ſuccours, or elſe that they would prouide worke for the Eſtates in ſome other place, and ſo force the prince to retire.

The archduke ſought by all meanes to preuent the apparant loſſe of this towne: hee attend- D ded ſupplies from the earle of Fuentes; who cauſed eight thouſand men, that is, ſixe thouſand Italians vnder cont *Theodore Triuulcio*, and two thouſand Spaniards vnder *Dom Iohn de Bracamonte*, to march out of the duchie of Milan, as well of foot as horſe, the which by reaſon of the great ſtore of raine which had fallen in Iune, could not aduance ſo ſpeedily as the archduke deſired: ſo as beeing come vnto him in the end of the moneth, hauing now no meanes to raiſe the ſiege from before Berke (whereas the prince attended his enemie to fight with him with aduantage) they tooke counſell how they might diuert this ſiege. Then was nothing found more eaſie, more expedient, nor more profitable, than to ſet vpon Ooſtend, the which the Flemmings did preſſe with great inſtance, making promiſes of aid and ſubuentions, as well of money, victuals, poulder, as other munition; which the archdukes counſell aſſured E themſelues to take in few daies, as they had done Calais and Ardres, but (as the prouerbe ſaith) they were neither the ſame ſheep, nor the like ſhepheards. To ſpeake truly, it was a great error of the Flemmings, to ſeeke the ruine of this town with ſuch violence, and no great wiſdome in the archduke to continue three yeares and three moneths ſo obſtinately as he did, to winne a paltrie place, which in the end was made a heap of ſand: for if the Flemmings had beene content to pay vnto the Eſtates an eaſie contribution, the which they had beene accuſtomed to pay vnto the Receiuer of Ooſtend, they had not prodigally waſted a maſſe of money; the gentleman, cleargie man, and the farmer had receiued their ordinarie rents and reuenues; and the archduke had not loſt ſo many noble men, aboue two hundred captaines, and an hundred thouſand men. See what it is to reckon without their hoaſt. And the better to F vnderſtand how this memorable ſiege was begun and continued, we wil ſpeake a word of this place, and of the circumſtances thereof.

The archduke reſolues to beſiege Ooſtend.

Among other ſea townes of the countie of Flanders, is that of Ooſtend ſituated among the downes, three leagues from Nieuport, and foure houres paſſage from Bruges, vpon the riuer of Yperle, the which as well by other channels, as by the weſt ſluce in old times falling

The deſcription of Ooſtend

into

1601 into the sea, made the hauen good and commodious. But this passage was afterwards stopped vp by the Spaniards, with bauins and hurdles, and by them of Oostend with two bankes on the sides of Polder fort, to defend their ditches. This town contains halfe an houres iourney in circuit; it was reasonably well built, the inhabitants liued of fishing, and before these warres there were rich sea-faring men, and aboue three thousand fishermen, who for the most part haue retired themselues since to Camp-veer, there remaining in the beginning siege not aboue 250 housholds, besides the ordinarie garrison. The sea ebbes and flowes vp to the towne, as in all the ports of Flanders, the hauen being at euery lowe water in a manner drie, so as they could not enter with any great barkes, but at a high water. Of late yeares towards the east part of the towne, the sea hath made a great entrance (which they call the goulet) a hundred foot broad, and at the least two pikes deepe: but at the mouth towards the sea, it is not aboue halfe a fadome deepe; the which increasing daily, it is likely in time to proone one of the best hauens vpon all that coast. A B

Oostend walled & fortified

The towne hath bin walled in, since these warres, in the beginning whereof, which was in the yeare 1572, it was shut vp onely with bridges and palisados, to resist the suddaine incursions of the souldiers. But in the yeare 1578 it was walled in and fortified at the charge of the generall Estates of all the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands. The which alone among all the townes of the countie of Flanders, hath continued alwaies constant vnto the said Estates, vntill the yeelding vp thereof, after it had endured great extremitie; as wee will hereafter shew.

We haue obserued heretofore, that the duke of Parma after the taking of Dunkerke, and of Nieuport, in the yeare 1583 came to besiege it, with his whole armie; but fiue daies after the siege begun, he was forced to retire. And in like manner, monsieur *de la Motte*, gouernor of Graueling, in the yeare 1585, hauing surprised the old towne towards the sea (the which was not at that time fortified with a rauelin and a palisado) was valiantly repulst, with the losse of aboue fourtie men of command, and of all his munition for warre. Then they began to fortifie it more strongly, especially taking away the downes vpon the east side, the which for that they were high and neere vnto the towne, did command ouer it; by which meanes the sea hath entred into the countrie round about, and flowes commonly from the east vnto the south aboue 1200 paces, and at a spring tide, on the west side it runnes aboue a league into the countrie, the which it doth indammage on all sides, except it be the west downs; without the which there had beene no place left to campe on, nor to make their approaches vnto the towne. At the first walling in of the towne, it did comprehend all the Polder fort; but since, for that they would not haue it subiect to too great a guard, and for some other considerations, it was made lesse, and the said fort was placed without the compasse of the walles. Moreouer, they haue wrought so, as by the meanes of certaine sluces, the ditches are alwaies full of water; whereas before vpon an ebbe, there was little water remaining. The greatest fortification was made after the archdukes comming into the Netherlands, as well in the yere 1596 after the taking of Calice and Hulst, as a little before the siege, in the beginning of the spring, 1601, for then they did inlarge the rampar within, and the bulwarks were made greater; and then at one instant all the new fortification was made. C D E

How much this towne did import the vnited prouinces, the Hollanders, Zeelanders, and Flemmings know full well, and the English are not ignorant.

During the time the two armies were busied in the isle of Bomel, and that prince *Maurice* staied there to defend the towne, the Flemmings beeing wonderfully annoyed by this paltrie fisher towne, they caused many forts to bee built about it; so as in the beginning of this siege, neere and farre off from the towne, there were 17 forts: whereof the chiefe were called *Albertus*, *Isabella*, *Clara*, Grottendorst, saint *Catherine*, &c. well appointed with men and artilerie, lying neere the towne. These forts, with the rest, cost the Flemmings 100000 florins euery moneth; and they offered vnto the archduke 300000 florins a month, during the siege, and ninetie thousand florins euery moneth for the space of three yeares, after it should be taken. They obtained also, by the archdukes councell of estate, the consent of the other townes of Brabant; although that the other prouinces, subiect vnto the Spaniard, did not greatly like of this enterprise, for that they held it to be full of danger. Many were of opinion, that if the archduke had suddainly followed the Estates armie, he had vngaged Berke, dispersed prince F

Maurice

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A *Maurice* his troupes, and afterwards would eaſily haue preuailed ouer the towne of Ooſtend, for that his forces were great, and many of his captaines had a great will to fight. But calling to mind the battell of Nieuport, he inclined to a milder courſe, perſuading himſelfe that the prince would preſently abandon his forts and trenches before Bercke, to flie (though it were too late) to the reliefe of Ooſtend; and ſo with one ſtone he ſhould giue many ſtroaks, freeing Bercke, diſperſing his enemie, gleaning the Flemmings purſes, and ſatisfying the mutined ſouldiers in *Iſabella* fort, who for want of paie had beene ready to ſell it vnto them of Ooſtend. 1601

So the archduke marching towards Oudenbourg, on the fift day of Iuly, he ſent cont *Fredericke vanden Bergh* marſhall of his campe, with about fiue regiments of foot, to inueſt
B Ooſtend on the eaſt ſide: hee was ſaluted by the ordnance from the towne, which ſlue many of his men. There were at that time in garriſon in the towne, 22 enſignes, of diuers nations, comprehending one of the inhabitants. The ſeignior *Vander Noot*, a gentleman of Brabant, was gouernor of the towne. They ſent the women and children preſently into Zeeland.

Newes came vnto the prince beeing in his campe before Bercke, that Ooſtend was beſieged, the which hee would not beleeue, making light account that cont *Frederick* was come thither, ſaying; That they were but ſhewes: but when hee vnderſtood that *Auguſtine de Mexia* Chaſtellain of Antuerp was alſo arriued with fiue other regiments, and artillerie, and that they were making of their campe, he was very glad, ſaying; *In good time, let vs leaue him there knocking at the gate for a long time, this peece here* (meaning Rhinebercke) *ſhall not eſcape me.*
C This Chaſtellain went and lodged with his troups betwixt the forts of *Albert* and *Iſabella*; but the beſieged did ſo plie him with the cannon the firſt three daies after his arriuall, as after the loſſe of aboue 500 men ſlaine and hurt, he was forced to diſlodge towards the downes on the weſt ſide.

The mutiners in *Iſabella* fort were partly pacified with promiſes, and in the end went forth to Wynoxberghe to receiue money, being about fiue hundred men. The body of the Spaniſh armie was ſome foureteene thouſand fighting men, who were lodged towards the weſt downes; and there were a thouſand, or a thouſand & two hundred left vpon the eaſt downes, vnder the command of the ſeignior of Glaiſon, who began to build a new fort there, in the which he lodged his men. Then they made their approaches, and vpon the weſt downes they
D planted twelue peeces of ordnance: and moreouer there was a batterie made towards the ſea ſide, ſo as the paſſage of the old hauen was quite ſhut vp, and after that time, the entrie vnto the towne from the ſea, was vpon the north ſide; by the which the boats entred at a full ſea, through the ſea ditches, which were opened to that end.

Prince *Maurice* was now well aſſured, that the archdukes campe was planted before Ooſtend: he therefore would not abandon Bercke, being reſolued to hold it out, vntill he were maſter thereof. And to aſſure the ſaid towne of Ooſtend, he ſent Sir *Francis Veer*, the generall of the Engliſh vnder the Eſtates ſeruice, with twelue companies of his nation, and colonel *Weſtembroucke* with ſeuen enſignes of Wallons, with other companies, making in all foure and thirtie enſignes: all which arriued happily the fifteenth of Iuly: and ſoone after
E came fifteene hundred Engliſhmen more. Then began the archduke to diſcouer the vanitie of his counſels: but being ſo farre ingaged, he grew obſtinat before this towne, leauing prince *Maurice* farre off, labouring before Bercke, whereas the beſieged began to ſcratch their heads, ſeeing their hoped ſuccours turned another way; yet they continued their ſallies, but with loſſe rather than gaine. Sir Francis Veer ſent to Ooſtend.

Sir *Francis Veer* being ſafely arriued at Ooſtend, hee preſently went and lodged abroad, neere vnto the towne, and tenne daies after hee intrenched himſelfe in a place, called the Red houſe, with an intent to ſtoppe the boats which brought victuals to the campe: but the Spaniards preuented it, not without loſſe of their men. All the reſt of this moneth of Iuly was ſpent in ſallies and skirmiſhes, in the which they ſpared neither powder nor ſhot.
F The archduke loſt aboue foure thouſand men, beſides them that were hurt, and the beſieged had ſome three hundred men ſlaine. The Seignior of Warmond, admirall of Holland, furniſhed them with all ſorts of munition. So as the Flemings found themſelues much deceiued of their expectation: for they did imagine that this ſiege would be ſooner ended than that of Berck.

But

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1601 The estate of Berck.

But the prince hauing prouided well for Oostend, and so fortified himselfe before Bercke, as he neither feared the besieged, nor the archduke, hauing taken away all the defences of the rampar, blowne vp some mynes, with losse to the besieged, and hauing other readie to worke their effects; the besieged finding that they were vndone if they continued obstinate, hauing lost two third parts of their souldiers, and the rest beeing tired with continuall toyle; in the end they demanded a composition, the which the prince willingly yeelded vnto, in the beginning of August, giuing them leaue to depart with their armes and baggage, their colours flying, matches burning, and two field peeces, with fiftie bullets, and two barrels of poulder, with diuers other articles to the benefit of the besieged. They could not desire a more honourable composition. But the prince respected not the conditions, so as hee might take it, hauing continued his siege 7 weekes.

Berck yeelded vpon honourable cearmes.

The day after the composition, there went out of the towne fortie fiue horsemen, sixteene companies of foot, beeing one thousand two hundred fortie and seauen men, whole and sound, 370 hurt and sicke, & 78 sailers, with a great number of women & children, which went to Gueldre.

The archduke had sent the earle of Bergh with two thousand horsemen, and fiue thousand foot to relieue the towne, and with him the earle of Boucquoy, and *Nicholas Basta*, expecting other souldiers which came out of Italie; but prince *Maurice* his campe was so well fortified with strong trenches and good forts (wherein he is one of the most expert men this day liuing) as they durst not aduenture to offer to force it: and they within had want of many necessaries, especially of apothecarie drugges, for the recouering and curing of their sicke and hurt men.

The Estates hauing gotten this towne, resolued to defend it well; not onely for the seruice of the Netherlands, but also in the behalfe of their neighbours, vpon the confines of the empire, it lying so commodiously for the freeing of the riuer of Rhine, the gouernment wherof was giuen to colonel *Ghistelles*, prince *Maurice* his lieutenant, and *Gabriel Four-manoir* was made sergeant maior.

The Estates of Ouerysell finding their countrie to bee well fortified now by the taking of Rhineberck, and the riuer of Rhine to be free; vpon the 28 of Iuly they made a proclamation to forbid all contribution to be giuen vnto the enemie, inioyning all their villages to keepe good watch, vpon paine of great punishments, and vpon euery alarme, or sound of the bell, to be in armes; forbidding them vpon paine of death to harbour any of the enemies souldiers, and that whosoeuer could take any of them, liuing or dead, should haue twentie fiue gulderns of the countrie for his reward: and that if any marchant trauelling through the countrey should chance to be taken or robbed by the enemie, they of the countrey and place where it was done, should pay his ransome & losses: and that they should make no composition with the enemie, with other points of the same nature.

Harman earle of Vanden Bergh fearing prince *Maurice* his armie, and that hee might attempt some other place after his conquest of Bercke, sought by all meanes possible to drawe more men into Venloo; but the bourgers would not receiue any more in than their ordinarie garrison.

Monsieur *Vander Weerpe* gouernour of Mastricht, with others, were busied to haue pacified the mutined horsemen in Weert, but they were deafe, and had no eares to hearken to any words, without money. There was but a smal garriso in Mastricht, nor yet in the Graue; in the which there laie not aboue 1000 men, vnder *Antonio Gonsales* a Spaniard; so as these townes were forced to stand vpon their guards.

There lay a garrison in Mœurs, belonging to the duke of Cleues: but prince *Maurice* challenging the same by gift from the countesse of Mœurs, vpon the sixt of August he sent monsieur *Cloet*, and colonel *Edmonds* thither, with twelue cornets of horse, but they would not leaue it: whereupon prince *Maurice* went thither himselfe the next day with 25 cornets of horse, and 35 companies of foot, and foure demie cannons; whereupon they yeelded vp the towne. Hee then placed a garrison in it, and gaue directions for the fortification of the castle, and to make fiue bulwarkes about it, the which cost him an hundred thousand gulderns at the least: and vpon the 12 of August hee was installed earle of that place, with all due ceremonies: and at Cracowe he imployed twentie eight thousand gulderns to fortifie the place, where

A where hee was forced to keepe a thousand men at worke; so as those two places were made very strong, and not likely to feare any danger, but in the summer time, when it is exceeding drie. But let vs returne to Oostend, whereas we left the archduke incampt; the which, for that it is one of the most memorable sieges that hath beene in our age, both for the exploits of either partie, and the long continuance of the siege, I haue thought it very necessarie and good to set it downe somewhat particularly and at large, for the benefit of ensuing ages. 1601

There came vnto the archdukes campe about the end of Iuly, tenne companies of new Italians. Cont *Frederick vanden Berghe* intrencht himselfe with a regiment of Germans about the fort of Clara; and by the fift of August hee had extended his trench vnto the other B forts on the west part. The besieged for their part did open the fort of Polder on the north-west side of the towne, and did raise it towards the south, to plant a batterie there. On the same day they had sixe peeces of ordnance brought them out of Zeeland, whereof foure were planted vpon Sand-hill, and the other two on the bulwarkes towards the west, where there were also other peeces, which they tooke out of the east part of the towne, there to attend the enemies strongest attempts. *Dom Cairis* a Spanish colonell, commanding at the west downes, had a great desire to assaile the rauelin of the Porc-espic, along the tonnel-dike, and by that meanes (the tyde being spent) to get into the old towne; for the effecting whereof, he approached the sixt of August within sixtie fadomes of the place. Against his approach, and to preuent his designe, sir *Francis Veer*, and the gouernour *Vander Noot* made a C trench the same day, from the Sand-hill vnto the north hauen, able to lodge fiue or sixe hundred musketiers, when soeuer the enemie would attempt any thing against the old towne. On the eight day the besieged made another trench on the southeast side of the Polder, within musket shot of the Spaniards, who for two daies after made many great shot at the towne: then they approached to the tonnel-dike, the which the besieged did pierce through, being 24 foot thicke, and did make the other holes of the banke deeper, to drowne it with the tide.

Oostend.

On the fourteenth of August there was a little dike or banke on the East side of the towne cut through, with the counterscarpe and rauelyn, to lodge their ships in safetie (the which vnladed behind the counterscarpe) and to couer them from the enemies cannon. Two daies after being a Spring tide, and a great Westerly wind, it drowned all the trenches, and carried a- D way all the Spaniards gabions, euen vnto the sea side; and the next day the like tide and wind did endamage the dike on the East side. The Spaniards vsed certaine practises to mooue the souldiers that were within the towne to reuolt, shooting many arrowes with letters tied vnto them, into the towne, being written from an English fugitiue to the Englishmen that were there in garison, to perswade them to leaue the towne, and come vnto the campe: but the next day in the euening there entred a supply of a thousand Englishmen into Oostend; and the Spanish armie was in like manner fortified with three regiments of Italians, which were put vnder the commaund of the earle of Boucquoy. On the twentieth day the Spaniard approched within six fadomes of their halfe Moone, whereas it seemed they would make a gallerie along the tonnel-dike. But the next day there was a breach made by the besieged E betwixt the halfe Moone and the West Rauelyn, to hinder the enemies approches, and to make the sea ouerflow the West part of the countrey; by which breach the sea entred with great force.

On the 23 of August there came out of Zeeland fifty ships with eight companies of French, foure of Wallons, foure Scottish, foure Frisons, and two companies of cont *Ernest* of Nassau. The next day there was a sally made, but without any memorable exploit. All this moneth the archduke shot many fierie bullets into the towne, to burne their houses, but through the care & diligence of the besieged, they tooke small effect. From the beginning of the siege, vnto the end of this moneth of August, they had shot out of the campe against Oostend, aboue 50000 cannon shot, most of their fierie bullets weighing 45 pounds, wherewith some souldiers and F townes men were slaine: the bulwarkes were not much indammaged, but onely their defences broken, the which were so repaired, as they seemed stronger than before. Their greatest force was at Sand-hill, against the which they made in one day aboue seauen hundred great shot, whereas they made a great dust, but did small harme; so as this place, which is as much to say, as a hill of sand did change the name, and was called *Iserberg*, that is,

a hill

1601 shill of yron. They of the towne made almost twentie thousand great shot in sixe weekes, A
the which both parties haue since continued: their resolutions, of either partie, to assaile and
to defend, beeing wondertull great.

Dom Catris generall of the Spanish armie slaine. One the eight of September a gentleman fled out of the campe into the towne, who gaue them to vnderstand that *Dom Catris* generall of the Spanish armie, had beene shot in the head and slaine; that the armie consisted of three thousand horse, and eleuen thousand foot. Two daies after, monsieur *Chastillon* nephew to the princesse of Orange, reading a letter on the rampar, beeing set vpon the carriage of a cannon, had halfe his head shot off. And on the 23 day of the same moneth, colonel *Vchtenbrooke* was also slaine with the cannon; his body was carried to Vtrecht (of whence he was) where he was buried with a militarie pomp, according to his degree and merit. On the last day of the moneth there was a great ouerflowing of water, B
by reason of the spring tide, the which did much hurt to the town, and drowned many of the archdukes souldiers in their trenches, the which were in a manner all ruined.

In the beginning of October there were some sallies made, but to small effect. The Spaniards made a new batterie neere vnto the mouth of the hauen, to shoot into the old towne, or at the least to breake the palisados, to make a breach in the fortifications, to hinder their works, and to play vpon the boats which past in and out. They made also a great fort at the point of the downes towards the towne, and laid a great heape of bauins betwixt the downes and the towne (which they did call saucices) that they might passe and repasse freely without discouerie, from one place vnto another, to withstand the cannon, and to resist the violence of the sea, vpon euery westerly wind: whereupon the besieged made the bulwarke of Schottenbourg neere vnto Sand-hill, to flanke and couer certaine places by it. This new batterie of the C
Spaniards beeing ended, they planted two cannons there; and in like manner the bulwarke of Schottenbourg beeing finished, they planted as many there. On the eight day at night, the besieged began to make a bridge vpon the goullet, right against the mouth of the hauen, to passe vnto the other side; and the same night they made a halfe moone on the other side of the goullet, right against the hauen, and neere vnto the bridge, to assure the entrie of the hauen, and to defend the boats which should be staied at a low water, as also to sallie forth on that side; the which the Spaniards came to view in the night, who beeing discouered by them of the towne, they issued forth, slew one, and brought away a sergeant prisoner. On the 16 day at night the Spaniards came in troupe to the said halfe moone, wheras they slue three of them D
that were in guard, the rest (beeing not aboue 30 men, and the place in defence) retired themselues: whereupon the Spaniards abandoned it presently.

The night following the Spaniards returned againe with greater numbers, thinking to doe some great exploit, but they were deceiued, not finding any one; whereupon they went vnto the bridge that was neere vnto it, to burne it, the which they attempted twice or thrice, but it was in vaine, beeing forced to retire, by reason of the musket and cannon shot which played against them from all parts, especially from the bulwarks of Spaine and of Peckell, as also from the neere rauelin, beeing prepared to entertaine them; so as they lost twentie of their men.

On the twentieth day at night, the Spaniards planted on the east side, right against the port E
of Bruges, a great number of gabions, neere vnto the deepest part of the goullet, so as being a full sea, they stand farre into the water, and the tyde beeing spent they are neere vnto the water which remained, beeing directly set one against another in foure rankes, as close together as might be, euery ranke containing 32 gabions, all filled with bagges full of sand, that the water might not wash them away, and to resist the towne cannon, beeing all bound together with cables, and fastened vnto anchors, that they might stand firme to plant cannon thereon; the which did hinder the boats from entring into the goullet, and so into the hauen of the towne, or at the least to sinke them with their ordnance, and thereby to annoy the besieged more than all the batteries which they had formerly made, beeing too farre off, and too high. F

The 26 of October about noone, the tempest beeing very great, and the wind west and northwest, so as that tide was much higher than of custome; the cannon from the camp in the meane time made a great breach in the bulwarke of the Porc-espic, whereof a part of the parapet (on the which captaine *Roules* colours were planted) fell with the said colours into the ditch:

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A ditch: and in the ſame tempeſt ſome of the Spaniards gabions were carried away. The next day morning, the tide beeing higher than before, and ſo high, as the Spaniards could not ſtay at their gabions, nor approach neere vnto them, ſome ſouldiers and mariners of the towne, bethought themſelues to goe with hookes and hatchets, and to make a breach in the ſaid gabions, and cut the cables which bound them together. They went and did their beſt endeauours, but the wind was ſo bigge, and the ſea ſo high, as they preuailed little; but brought away ſome ſand bagges which were in the gabions. But the harme which was done by them, and by the violence of the ſea, was ſoone repaired by the Spaniards. They murmured in the towne, why they had ſo long ſtaied to put it in execution, for (ſaid they) if it had beene attempted in time, the firſt tempeſt had carried all away. The ſame day at eleuen of the clocke, 1601
B the beſieged made a ſally at a low water, on the eaſt ſide, to diſcouer if the Spaniards laboured behind their gabions, or not; hauing found that they wrought, and made a batterie there, they fell to skirmiſh with them, thinking to draw them within their cannon ſhot, and to take ſome priſoners, by whom they might vnderſtand the eſtate of their campe. During this skirmiſh the beſieged ſhot much from Peckell bulwarke, and ſlue ſome fiue or ſixe of their enemies, and of them that iſſued forth, ſome were hurt and maimed, but not any of them ſlaine out right.

The fourth of Nouember the beſieged made another ſallie to the ſame end, whereupon the Spaniards ſhewed themſelues in diuers places, both horſe and foot, but by reaſon of their continuall ſhooting from the bulwarkes of Spaine and Peckell, they durſt not approach too
C neere; and in like manner, the beſieged durſt not aduance too farre from the towne, leſt the enemie ſhould cut betwixt them and home.

On the ninth of Nouember, there came happily into the road 52 veſſels with victuals and all other munition, to enter into the hauen vpon the firſt commoditie; all which entred by little and little, although it were not without ſome hurt done by the cannon from the camp: I ſay this fleet came happily, for that of long time there had not any come, ſo as they wanted many neceſſaries, as well for the ſouldiers, as for their fortifications; for there was not any thing to be ſold: as for their victuals, they were faine to haue recourſe vnto their ſtorehouſe, where there was yet ſtore of wheat, rie, meale, herrings, butter, dried fiſh, and other victuals. There was no beere in the towne but ſuch as they brued there, which was very ſmall & ſom-
D what brackiſh; there was wine enough: ſo as the ſound and whole were in good caſe, but the ſicke were not ſo well, for whom, browne bread, herrings, ſalt fiſh, cheeſe, and ſuch like cates were not fit: beſides, they were ill lodged, ſome lying vpon the ground, being ill clothed and halfe naked, hauing ſcarce any thing to lie on, and nothing to couer them: and to fill vp the meaſure of their miſeries, they had not any fiering to warme them withall, ſo as many of them died of pouertie and the extremitie of cold; and yet they endured all theſe miſeries patiently. The eſtate of the beſieged.

The thirteenth of Nouember, the ſeignior *Vander Noot*, colonel and gouernour of Ooſtend, leauing all the charge of the gouernment to ſir *Francis Veer*, generall of the Engliſh, went from Ooſtend with captaine *Grenu*, and *Bronckſaulx*, and two miniſters (which were
E come to eaſe the ordinarie miniſter) to goe and informe prince *Maurice* of the eſtate of the towne. Moreouer it was ſaid, that there were ſome iarres betwixt *Vander Noot*, and ſir *Francis Veer*.

The ſame day they began to cut the cauſey of the old towne, ioyning to the ſea (which ſerued as a rampar againſt the waues, and againſt the enemie, beſides the rauelin on the north-eaſt ſide, and that which they call *Moyſes* tables, by reaſon of the forme) to the end they might make a paſſage that way to the new hauen for the boats which came from the ſea, and not be forced to paſſe any more by the goullet, for that the hauen extended it ſelfe ſo farre, where it was very broad and deep, being wont to ſtay the water there by a ſluce, when it was a full ſea, to cleanſe the hauen, when the tide paſt away, by that ſluce: and by that meanes the boats
F might be ſooner in ſafetie, and paſſe in and out with leſſe danger than by the goullet, beeing ſubiect to the cannon from their gabions and other batteries. Beſides they feared that the danger would grow greater, ſo as in the end the boats ſhould not bee able to paſſe that way; which the Spaniard ſought by all meanes to bring to paſſe, beeing the onely way to effect his deſigne. And this was their laſt refuge, when they ſhould haue no other meanes to paſſe

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1601 by the goullet: yet many held this course to bee dangerous, and had apparent reasons to A
thinke so (for else it had beene put in practise sooner.) It was much disputed on betwixt
Sir *Francis Veer* and the magistrat of the towne: their opinion was, That in a great tem-
pest there might enter such abundance of water, as it might greatly endamage the fortifi-
cations of the new towne, comming to beat full vpon Vlamenbourg, which is a high ca-
ualier or platforme, commaunding ouer the Spanish campe: but the inconuenience was,
that it was not deepe ynough, vnlesse it were at a high tide, and therfore they would not make
such vse thereof as they desired: so as many were more desirous to passe by the goullet, than
to stay for a full sea.

On that day, being the thirteenth of Nouember, fire fell into the archdukes fort, where
there was as much burnt and consumed as was esteemed to be worth fiue hundred thou- B
sand crownes. Some thought, that this fire came downe from heauen. His Estates
made him a present of an hundred thousand crownes, to helpe to repayre some part of
this losse.

On the seuenteenth day of Nouember there came into Oostend a Spanish ensigne from
Aduertisemẽt out of the Spanish camp. the archdukes campe, who made report vnto the generall, that the Spaniards were discon-
tented with the tediousnesse of this siege, and especially that the archduke had dismissed
many of the old experienced captaines, and other men of commaund, who had persuaded
him to besiege the said towne, aduancing in their places young men, which had no expe-
rience in the warres: That there were a great number of sicke and hurt men in the Spanish
campe, yea aboue two thousand: That the towne cannon slew many, and that there had C
beene many captaines and officers slaine: That the regiment of *Dom Ioan de Brachamonte*,
which was accustomed to bee two thousand fiue hundred men, was now reduced to nine
hundred: That such as had any charge, did speake very vnreuerently and immodestly of the
archduke; concluding (after all their rayling) That he was good for nothing, but to bring
a number of honourable and valiant souldiers (who were growne gray in the kings seruice)
to the slaughter: That there wanted money; that they had receiued but fiue and twentie
stiuers a man, for a long time, and had no subiect to hope for better: That they were tor-
mented with hunger: That they were full of diseases, and were starued with cold: That the
receiuors of the victuals and munitions, did diminish or falsifie them, especially the beere of
Bruges, so as the barell being not halfe full, they filled it vp with water: That of late there D
was a pasquill had run vp and downe their campe, which in effect did signifie, That the Spa-
niards had a desire to mutine, and that the archduke should bee foreed to pay them: And in
the end hee sayd, That at this siege there had beene slaine foure colonels, eight Spanish cap-
taines, ten Wallons, nine Italians, and some Germans and Flemings, many of their worke-
men, and of their best souldiers: That it was a pitifull thing to behold the new come Spani-
ards and Italians, starued with cold, and dying miserably.

At the same time there raigned a disease in Oostend, whereof many dyed in lesse than 24
howers.

Whilest the archduke was thus busied before Oostend, the Estates consulted, what was
best to bee attempted, to draw the archduke from Oostend: many things were propounded, E
but finding themselues weake of men, and their treasure much wasted, they spent much time
before they could conclude: in the end they resolued (though it were verie late) to besiege
Boisleduc, one of the foure chiefe townes in Brabant; for which intent prince *Maurice* went
with seuen and thirtie companies of foot, and three and thirtie cornets of horse (a small num-
ber for so great an enterprise) first meaning to charge the mutinous souldiers in Weert, but
they stood so vpon their gard, as they could not get any aduantage of them: then comming
backe, hee brought his armie before Boisleduc, vpon the last of October, stopping vp all the
passages that came vnto the towne. *William* earle of Nassau was quartered before Hinter-
Boisleduc be-sieged by the prince. mer port, with six and twentie companies of foot, and foureteene cornets of horse. Prince
Maurice with the rest lay before the Vughte gate, with the earle of Solins; who presently be- F
gan to make their trenches and sconces round about the towne, which could not be so soone
done, for that the towne is verie big: yet the prince vsed exceeding great diligence, hauing
no need of any great guards, for that they had not many souldiers within the towne, whose
sallyes hee needed not to feare, for there were in the towne but two companies of foot, a
cornet

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A cornet of horse belonging to *Adolph* earle of Bergh, with some fiftie horse of monsieur *Gobendonc* companie, who was gouernour of the towne: the bourgers intreated them with faire words to behaue themselues valiantly, promising them that they should be relieued by the archduke, and that their sicke and hurt men should be carefully lookt vnto and prouided for. 1601

The prince beeing busie in his worke, hauing not yet fully inclosed the towne, on the sixt of Nouember at night there entred two hundred and sixtie men (which came from the Graue) into the towne, by a low way which was not ouerflowen with water, for that the riuer was stopt; who got into the towne, and were not discouered by the princes men, but onely by some straglers: and vpon the foureteenth day of the same moneth there were
B some nine hundred men which entred into the towne also by the same way, beeing led by *Blyleuen* lieutenant to colonel *Hachicourt*, and *Michael vander Sternen*; wherein some of prince *Maurice* his men were very negligent, hauing beene aduertised thereof in time, yet made no hast to preuent them, whereat prince *Maurice* was much offended; but beeing most past, they were charged in the rere and defeated, and some seauentie of them taken prisoners; so as the towne hauing now a thousand and sixe hundred men in her, it behoued prince *Maurice* to stand vpon his guard.

Prince *Maurice* continued his workes still, and was in good hope within twelue or foureteene daies to lodge vpon the rampars, hauing brought his trenches both to the Vughter gate and Hinter gate; but the frost grew so violent, as all the waters and riuers began to be frozen
C vp, so as the armie could not get any more victuals by water: and newes beeing brought that diuers troupes were gathering together about Diest to relieue the towne, the Estates began to consult what was best to be done; for that at the beginning of the siege the Estates of Brabant had caused the marquesse of Haurec, and secretarie *Prats*, to aduertise the archduke, of what importance the losse of the towne would bee for the whole countrie of Brabant, whereby Graue, Venloo, Herentals, and other places would bee in danger. Whereupon the archduke resolued to goe thither in person, sending presently before him from the campe, *Frederick* earle of Berghes, *Nicholas Basta*, and *Iohn Iacomo* an earle of Italie, to gather souldiers together about Dyest; whereas a thousand of the mutinous souldiers of Weert ioyned with them: with which troupes they did hope to relieue Hertogenbosche,
D either by setting vpon prince *Maurice* his campe, or by the besieging of Breda, or else making some inuasion into Holland, by meanes that the riuers were all frozen; so as they had made all things readie to march: and yet the campe remained whole before Oostend, for that they of Arthois and Henault had sent diuers companies thither for a certaine time, giuing to euery man ten stiuers a day.

The vnited Estates, and prince *Maurice* with his councell of warre, beeing fully aduertised of this preparation, although their campe were so well intrencht as they feared no enemie, yet they could not stoppe their entrie into the towne ouer the yce, nor yet their passage to Bomelerweert, whereby they might enter into Holland: whereupon they resolued to yeeld vnto the season of the yeare, and the extremitie of the frost; first sending away much of their
E baggage: and so vpon the seauen and twentieth day of Nouember they raised their siege, to the great griefe of prince *Maurice*, who was resolued to stay, if so bee the weather had broken vp. The estates raise their siege from Boisleduc.

Thus this siege prooued vnfortunate, both for that so many men entred into the towne in the beginning thereof, and for that the weather grew so extreame: the princes ships were all frozen in at Creuecœur and Hemert, so as after sixe and twentie daies siege, he carried his ordnance and munition to Hensden, but many other necessarie implements, as sparres, palisadoes, scoopes, and spades, which for want of wagons they could not carrie away, were burnt; his trenches and other fortifications hee let stand, for a terrour to his enemies, and a shew of his knowledge, diligence, and meanes: and so he retired, hauing made a terrible
F spoile in that part of Brabant, of their churches, houses, and trees, which are planted in all their waies and passages to that towne in very good order.

After the princes departure they of Boisleduc made great ioy, the bishop singing *Te Deum* both within and without the towne, casting holy water vpon those houses which had beene broken or hurt by the enemie. There remained 500 men of *Hachicourts* regiment in garrison

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1601 in the towne, and the reſt went forth. Thoſe men which were leuied to relieue the towne, and A
to raiſe the ſiege, were part of them put into Herentals, and the reſt returned to the ſiege of
Ooſtend; and ſo did the archduke, who was at that time come to Bruſſels: and the mutinous
horſemen of Weert went to Louuaine. Vpon the princes retreat from Boiſleduc, there were
certaine Latine verſes made on either ſide.

Non ducis obſeſſa ſeruauit mœnia Silua,
Albertigladius, frigida ſed glacies.
T'was not your archdukes ſword, but the keene froſt,
That ſaued Boiſleduc, it had elſe bin loſt.

They were thus inuerted by the contrarie partie.

Tàm ducis obſeſſa ſeruauit mœnia Silua, B
Albertigladius, frigida quàm glacies.
Our archdukes ſword, as well as the keene froſt,
Defended Boiſleduc; t'was your paines were loſt.

Cont *Iohn Iacomo* of Belioyoſo paſt through Brabant in October, and went to Roſendale with a thouſand horſe, and ſixe hundred foot, where he burnt certaine ſhippes laden with fire wood, which ſhould haue beene ſent to Ooſtend, and did great ſpoile vnto the countrey thereabouts.

The bourgers of Maſtricht, hearing that the archduke pretended to ſend ſome of the mutinous ſouldiers of Weert into their towne, vpon the ſeauenteenth day of September, they contracted with their garriſon (beeing ſome eight companies of Italians) not to receiue any C
more ſouldiers; ſo as they ſlue ſome which were brought in by their harbingers, and chaſed away the reſt, making a compoſition with monſieur *Weerp* gouernour of the towne, to defend it with that garriſon againſt the enemie, vnder the archdukes obedience, as they of Venloo and Ruremond did, the bourgers beeing the ſtronger; but after that, the Spaniards practiſed to draw ſome ſouldiers ſecretly into Maſtricht, the which beeing diſcouered, ſome of them were puniſhed.

The horſemen of the vnited prouinces, to the number of foure hundred, with ſome foot, paſt the Rhine on the 24 of September, and went to Duyts neere vnto Cologne; where for the ſpace of two or three daies they put the countrie to contribution, for certaine money which was vnpaid, the which the deceaſed counteſſe of Mœurs pretended to bee due vnto D
her from them of Cologne, and ſo they retired to Rhinebercke. And thus they ſpent the winter whileſt that the archduke laie incamped before Ooſtend, whither we will now turne our diſcourſe.

Ooſtend. In the beginning of December the Spaniards before Ooſtend came and gaue a furious charge on the Engliſh quarter, where they were entertained with reſolution, and in the end valiantly repulſt, leauing fiftie pikes in the place, and much blood ſpilt, hauing carried away their dead men: of the Engliſh there were but three ſlaine.

The Spaniards charge the Engliſh trenches.

On the fourth day two ſhippes comming in with Engliſh beere, at the ſame inſtant there was a houſe ſet on fire neere vnto the eaſt gate, with the which the two next houſes adioyning were burnt: which the Spaniards peceiuing, they began to ſhoot much at that place, aſſuring E
themſelues (as it was true) that there were many people aſſembled together to quench the fire; but they ſlue but two ſouldiers and one boy. The ſame day there was a priſoner brought in, who ſaid he was ſeruant to the earle of Barlaimont; he reported that many ſouldiers fledde from the archdukes campe, and that they died daily in great numbers.

On the 16 day at night, the Spaniard brought three ſmall boats ful of ſand and ſtones neere to the mouth of the goullet or entrie, to ſinke them there, & to ſtop the paſſage from the hauen vnto the towne; the which they could not effect, for that the tide was too much ſpent, but were abandoned by them that conducted them, neere vnto the platformes of the town, right againſt Flamenbourg: the which the beſieged could not diſcouer vntill the breake of day, when as many ranne downe to ſee them, being ſomewhat amazed: but when as the tide was F
gone, that they might approach on drie foot, they entred to view what was within them; whereas they found nothing but ſtones and ſand: whereupon they began to pul them in pieces for fire wood, which they might eaſily do without any danger, by reaſon of a miſt which couered them from the view of the camp: but when the miſt was paſt, they retired, & attended

vntill

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A vntill night to finiſh that which they had begun: ſome Spaniſh horſe preſented themſelues to terrifie them, but the towne cannon forced them to retire. 1601

On the 21 of December, about three of the clocke after midnight, there came foure hundred men, which camped on the weſt part to this trauerſe, which was made of timber and bauins, betwixt Sand hill and the Caualier, to ſet fire of it, the which they effected cunningly. This trauerſe did ſerue as a defence for Sand-hill, and other neere parts, againſt the enemies cannon, which otherwiſe might doe much harme, as well to the paliſadoes, as to the wall, and to the workes which did defend them from the breaches of the ſea; the which was quite conſumed, with the paliſado ioyning vnto it. This beeing done, they diſcouered all the old town, next vnto the ſea, ſeeking to enter, as they did at a certaine place, where they had made a
B breach to paſſe their boats into the new hauen: comming neere a corps de guarde, they ſlue a Lanſpiſado, and entred alſo neere vnto the old temple, which place had beene abandoned by the beſieged: but they were ſoone charged, and forced to turne head, by captaine *Marſhals* companie, beeing of colonel *Marquets* regiment, who (although he were not of the guard) came running thither from the new towne. Without doubt if thoſe vndertakers had beene well ſeconded at that time with greater forces, they might haue taken the towne, for that the guard was not great, hauing not halfe the garriſon, and that ſome captaines were abſent in their lodgings: and beſides the garriſon was then very ſmall, hauing receiued no ſupplies in three moneths, and the companies that were in the towne beeing much decreaſed, many hauing bin ſlain, & many dead, through pouertie & want; beſides that, many ſouldiers (being
C vnwilling to ſuffer thoſe miſeries any longer) fled daily to the archdukes campe, eſpecially the French and Engliſh, ſo as there were ſome companies which had not aboue fifteene or ſixteene men in them: many captaines beeing abſent, and among others, thoſe which were gone into Holland with the ſeignior of *Vander Noot*. Moreouer, the old towne lay very open towards the ſea. Finally, they wanted many neceſſaries, ſo as if the enemie had come ſtrong enough, hee might haue forced them: but beeing charged ſooner than they expected, the beſieged purſued them in their retreat; and among others, tooke one of ſome command, who beeing brought before generall *Veer*, diſcouered the cauſe of their enterpriſe, and what the archduke pretended to doe; which was to aſſault the towne very ſhortly in many places at once, for that he was ſufficiently aduertiſed of the weakeneſſe of the towne, and of their
D ſmall garriſons, and that they were ill furniſhed of victuals, and of all other neceſſaries; whereupon the archduke had in all haſt ſent for all the troupes which hee had in Brabant, Arthois, Henault, and other places: which the generall vnderſtanding, hee beleeued it, and the rather, for that hee had receiued other aduertiſements to the ſame effect; who ſeeing in what danger the towne had beene that night, hee firſt cauſed the guards to bee doubled at euery low water, which ſhould bee of the whole garriſon, and they ſhould not depart vntill the tide were riſen of a reaſonable height, and then ſuch as were not of the ordinarie guard might retire: he alſo commanded, that euery captaine ſhould come in perſon with his company to the guard, and cauſed them to worke night and day to fortifie thoſe places which had moſt need, and lay moſt open vnto the enemie.

The towne in danger to be taken.

E On the two and twentieth day of December, at night, there returned a fleet of two and thirtie barkes, who by a contrary wind had beene forced to returne into Zeeland, beeing laden with victuals, and all things neceſſarie, the which entred into the hauen without any danger, onely one ranne a ground neere vnto the gabions, and was ſpoiled by the Spaniards. This reliefe came happily for Ooſtend, where they had not aboue 15 daies prouiſion of corne in their ſtore-houſe, and hauing want of all other neceſſaries.

Supply of victuals comes to Ooſtend.

The three and twentieth day at night, the weather beeing rainie and exceeding darke, the wind high, and the tide very lowe, all that were in the towne, ſouldiers, bourgers, mariners, victuallers, and others, put themſelues into armes, for that they feared the archduke would giue a generall aſſault that night, hauing two daies before taken view of all the old town next
F vnto the ſea, and found it to lie ſufficiently open; and by that which the generall had vnderſtood by the Spaniſh priſoner: hauing alſo the day before ſeene certaine ſhewes, as if they of the campe had made preparation for it, he gaue charge vnto captaine *Lewis Conſture*, to will ſome one of the archdukes commanders, that might bee in guard right againſt Sand-hill, to aduertiſe the archduke, or him that had the charge vnder him, that if it pleaſed

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1601 him to ſend certaine hoſtages into the towne, to ſee if they might come to any good compoſition, that he for his part would ſend ſome of his captaines for their ſecurities. Whereupon ſoone after, and the ſame night, the archduke ſent captaine *Rybas*, gouernour of Scluce, and the ſergeant maior of the Spaniards; and for ſir *Francis Veer*, there went two Engliſh captaines in hoſtage: which cauſed amazement, diſcontentment, and great alteration in the towne, for becauſe it had beene done in a manner without the priuitie of all the colonels, and captaines, and of the magiſtrate of the towne, beeing alſo allowed but by fewe of them: wherewith the generall beeing much diſcontented, he commanded the archdukes hoſtages ſhould be ſent backe, the which was preſently done, beeing paſt ouer in a boat vnto the other ſide of the goullet, although they had entred on the weſt ſide. Sir *Francis Veer* would willingly, that a Wallon and a Flemmiſh captaine had beene alſo hoſtages with his Engliſh men, but they would not yeeld to it; ſo as all that night hee was much troubled, beeing in armes and in conſultation: and yet the Engliſh hoſtages were not at that time called backe.

Sir Francis Veer makes an offer to parle.

On the foure and twentieth day early in the morning, the archduke ſent a letter by a trumpet vnto the generall; whereupon, in the end it was thought fit, and concluded by all the colonels, captaines, and magiſtrates, to call backe the archdukes hoſtages, that all might bee done by accord, and that no alteration might happen; as alſo to haue their Engliſh hoſtages againe. So the ſaid *Rybas* and ſergeant maior being returned, there was a ceſſation from armes and from all acts of hoſtilitie.

Succours of men come to Oſtend.

On the 25 day at night, there came fiue ſhippes of warre of Zeeland, and fiue companies of ſouldiers with great ſtore of munition, who caſt anchor in the road: the which beeing diſcouered by them of the towne at the breake of day, it did much reioyce them, thoſe ſuccours comming very happily vnto them after a long expectation. And the ſame day about one of the clocke in the after noone, beeing a very calme day, and the ſunne ſhining cleere, and the ſea beeing calme, at a full tide, the ſaid fiue companies, with the mariners landed, notwithſtanding all their ſhot from the campe, which ſlue three mariners, and hurt ſome. Wherupon the archdukes hoſtages beeing in the towne, were amazed, vntill it was told them that the truce continued ſtill.

The ſame day, and preſently after, it was reſolued within the towne, not to treat with the archduke, but to defend the towne, to ſend backe the hoſtages, and to call home theirs; the which was done, beeing much diſpleaſing to the archduke: to whom generall *Veer* did write, excuſing himſelfe that their treatie had broken off, vpon the arriuall of their ſupplies, the which he could not ſend backe, nor with his honour treat any further, ſeeing he wanted not any thing. Wherewith the archduke beeing much diſcontented, hee was out of hope euer to get the towne at ſo eaſie a rate. Whereupon his cannon began to play furiouſly, being anſwered in the ſame manner from the towne; whereat they all reioyced, euen wiues, maides, and children, for euery one had beene very melancholy at this parle: although the winter were very ſharp, & many had been ſlaine and dead for pouertie and want, beſides the warres which the ſtormes of the ſea made againſt them, yet no man was deſirous to haue the towne yeelded, but euery one was ſad and heauie for the treatie, eſpecially the Wallons, whom they called the new Gueux, beeing of the regiment of the ſeignior of Marquette; and the reaſon was for that they had deliuered vp the forts of ſaint *Andrew* and Creuecœur vnto the Eſtates, and they had behaued themſelues very valiantly at the battell of Nieuport.

After that the enemie had ſent to view the weakeſt parts of the old towne, and burnt the trauerſe neere vnto Sand-hill, they had laboured day and night to repaire that which was ruined, as wel by the cannon from the campe, as by the ſea, the which they could not repaire for want of ſtuffe, which they might haue done during the parle, but it was neglected: and then they laboured with all diligence, and nothing was ſpared to hinder the enemies approach.

On the ſixt day of Ianuarie, 1602, the archduke battered Sand-hill, and other neere places with his cannon, euen vntil night, as if he meant to make a breach, and to giue an aſſault (as two priſoners, the one a Spaniard, the other an Italian had told them) which made the beſieged to ſtand carefully vpon their guard, & to rampar vp & fortifie all ruined places, eſpecially the

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A the old towne; ſo as when the Spaniard began this furious batterie, the towne was much ſtronger than it was on the 21 of December. 1602

The ſeuenth of the moneth the archduke, before he would giue a generall aſſault, as hee had proiected, he battered euerie part of the towne with exceeding great furie; and the more to amaze the beſieged, he battered the houſes in ruine, and ſhot fierie bullets. This batterie did much harme to the ſand hill, to the falſe brayes, to the porc-eſpic, to Helmont, and to a great part of the old towne, and to all places where they had any aime; the which began earely in the morning, and continued vntill night: for they could not come to giue an aſſault, vntill it were a low water. The weather was cloudie, but the moone ſhining thorough the clouds, gaue a little light. The beſieged in the meane time laboured to repaire that which the canon
B had ſpoyled, without any ſpare of any thing, ſo as they tooke the timber from the houſes, to mend the paliſadoes; neither was there any one among them, no not the women, that ſhewed any ſigne of amazement, but rather of ioy.

The ſame day, about fiue of the clocke in the euening, the tide being well ſpent, to paſſe the old hauen, whereby the enemie might approach vnto Sandhill, and other places, whereas the canon had made any breach, the archduke cauſed his men to march in order of battaile, carrying ladders, pickaxes, and all other ſorts of inſtruments, going to aſſault thoſe places which ſeemed weakeſt vnto them. They made a braue attempt, but they were more brauely reſiſted, for the beſieged wanted neither armes, powder, nor courage; ſo as the fight continued betwixt them aboue two howers, with great obſtinacie: but the Spaniard could ſtay no longer with-
C out his vtter ruine, for that the tide was come in, and the ſluces were pulled vp; ſo as the water falling into the old hauen, & meeting with the tide which came in, it preſently ſwelled much, whereby many, ſeeking to retire, were drowned: ſo as of them that were ſlaine in the fight, and of ſuch as were drowned, they had the ſpoyles of aboue ſeuen hundred, beſides thoſe that were carried into the ſea, with the ebbe, the which were neuer found: beſides, they left behind them their ladders, inſtruments, and great ſtore of arms, the which were found vpon the ſands. Yet the archduke won by this aſſault the falſe bray of Sandhill, not by force, but for that the generall made his men to quit it, being not guardable but with a great number of men, the which he could better imploy elſewhere: And in like maner it was abandoned by the Spaniards at their retreat, ſo as they made no vſe thereof. Thoſe that were vpon the Eaſt ſide, to
D ſecond them of the Weſt, in this generall aſſault, paſſing the goullet to fal vpon the old towne, they could not paſſe the water, being not yet low ynough, when as the others began the aſſault: They thought to ſet vpon the halfe moone, which was on their ſide, but they could not come neere it, wherefore the beſieged were not troubled on that ſide; the which was a great eaſe for the other places which were aſſaulted. Wee paſſe ouer with ſilence, thoſe that were hurt and maimed, which number we may imagine was not ſmall, by reaſon of the canon which ſhot from Helmont, the porc-eſpic, and the Weſt rauelin; the which did wonderfully ſpoyle the enemie in his approach and retreat, ſo as for ſome dayes after there was nothing to bee ſeene, but wagons full of maimed ſouldiers, which they carried to Bruges, and other places: and among others, there were ſeuenteene Spaniards, which had but two legs among
E them all, the canon hauing carried away the reſt. And they were no ſooner retired, but they were purſued by the beſieged with their muſket ſhot, and to ſtrip them that were ſlain, among the which there was a woman found in mans apparell, a ſouldier hauing his skin bound about with cords, and vpon ſome there were ſmall bookes found, full of characters; all which could not preſerue them from death. In all this purſuit, the beſieged could take but one onely priſoner, and another which came and yeelded himſelfe willingly. The beſieged had but thirtie men ſlaine, of the which there were three captaines, one lieutenant, and one enſigne.

The archduke giues a generall aſſault to Oſtend.

The archduke loſe at this aſſault.

A wonderfull ſpoyle of the Spaniards.

The next day they gaue thanks vnto God for this victorie, both at the French and Dutch ſermons.

On the tenth day of Ianuarie there came into the road before the towne, twelue ſhips, with
F ſo many companies, to releeue them that had endured much, and were greatly decreaſed in their numbers, and to ſend them into Holland and Zeeland, to refreſh themſelues: and to the ſame end there entred 13 companies more on the 14 of the moneth. Generall *Veer* being alſo commanded by the Eſtates to returne into Holland, there arriued colonell *Dorp*, who ſucceeded him in the gouernment of the towne, and colonell *Edmonds*, a Scottiſh man, after whoſe comming

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1602 comming, they laboured more in the fortifications, than before. A

On the 19, at night, three companies going out of the hauen towards Zeeland, the enemies canon ſunke one of them, and another, hauing her maſt and maine yard broken, was driuen on ground on the campe ſide, whereas all the ſouldiers and mariners, with the commiſſarie *Manriques* (who had brought mony) were taken priſoners, and afterwards deliuered vpon ranſom: others runne the like fortune, and were taken by the enemie.

All this moneth, and ſome following, the archduke fortified his campe, beeing reſolued to continue his ſiege: and the ſhot which he made at randome, in time ruined the buildings, and the bullets did much harme, running vp and downe the ſtreets: Whereupon they reſolued to take vp the pauement, and to make trenches croſſe the ſtreets, where the bullets ſhould preſently ſtop, being one verie neere vnto another: And in the meane time the beſieged defended B themſelues couragiouſly, being aſſiſted and releeued euery three moneths by the Eſtates, who ſent them new ſupplies, and prouiſion.

On the ſeuenth of Februarie at night, there were certaine notes ſhot into the towne, perſuading the ſouldiers to run from their garriſon to the campe, aſſuring them of good entertainment, or elſe they ſhould haue paſports giuen them, to goe whither they pleaſed, if they would not ſerue the archduke. And that they did abuſe them, which ſaid, they ſhould bee ill intreated, or ſent to the gallies, as ſome which had fled into the towne had falſly reported. All theſe were practiſes to draw them away, and ſo to weaken the garriſon.

On the 14 of February the ſeignior of Marquette, colonell of the new Gueux, arriued, bringing 14 companies with him, to refreſh the reſt. C

On the 23 and 24 of the month, there blew ſuch a terrible North-weſt wind, as it made the tide riſe much higher than it had beene accuſtomed, the which did very much harme vnto the rampars, bulwarks, and banks, the tide comming farre into the towne; ſo as if this tempeſt had continued but two tides longer, the beſieged had been forced to flie into their garrets for ſafetie, and all the rampars and bulwarks had beene in danger to haue beene carried away into the ſea, or elſe to haue had ſuch a breach made, as the Spaniards might haue come on horſebacke to the aſſault. Finally, the ſea did more annoy them, than the archduke, againſt the which they had more cauſe to rampar themſelues, than againſt all his force: but God in an inſtant did cauſe this tempeſt to ceaſe, the wind turning to the North-eaſt, and verie calme; which made the beſieged to repaire all theſe ruines as well as they could, although they wanted bauins, D and other materials to do it.

On the ſecond of March the Spaniards came in the night, and anchored certaine pipes tyed together with cables, in the mouth of the goullet, to ſtop the entrance, as they had often attempted it: but they preuailed no more now than before, all this equipage being taken by the beſieged, and brought into the towne, except one anchor, and the pipes, which they brake.

The archdukes ſouldiers mutine. As the toyle and pouertie which the archdukes ſouldiers endured, began to tyre them, they fell at that time into mutinie, both to haue their pay, and to bee better vſed: whereupon the archduke cauſed ten or twelue of the chiefe authors of this mutinie, to be hanged; the which bred a ſtrange alteration among the ſouldiers, ſo as from that time he was faine to ſtand vpon his guard, for feare of his owne ſouldiers: yet vpon his faire promiſes, and the hope they had E of the yeelding vp of Ooſtend, and that the archdukes Eſtates wold make ſome great attempt, the ſouldiers contented themſelues; ſo as for a time he was verie wel ſerued in the continuance of this ſiege.

The Eſtates of the vnited prouinces hauing taken good order for the defence of Ooſtend, they intended to attempt ſomething this ſummer, and hauing conferred with prince *Maurice*, their lieutenant generall, about the end of March they began to gather an armie together, the which was greater, and better ordered than euer, ſo as in Aprill and May they had the goodlieſt armie readie that could be ſeene, not for number of men, but for martiall diſcipline, the princes campe being like vnto a towne furniſhed with all neceſſaries for the life of man, ſo well fortified in the night lying in field, and marching in the day time in ſuch good order, as it was F not poſſible to get any aduantage ouer them. Finally, there wanted nothing to this bodie, led by a wiſe head, with ſuch obedience of all the members, as thoſe which haue ſeene this armie, conſiſting of ſix and twentie thouſand fighting men, horſe and foot, confeſſe, that they had neuer ſeene the bodie of an armie more pleaſant to behold, nor more to be feared; but aboue all

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A all, in regard of the baggage, the which was wonderfully well ordered. 1602

All being readie, the generall Estates of the vnited prouinces published a declaration at the Hage in Holland, by the which they gaue a reason of their action, and inuited the Brabansons, Flemings, and others, to ioyne with them, and to helpe them to expell the Spaniards and their adherents, out of the countrey; whose insolencies they described briefely, with protestation to continue in their iust enterprise, to maintaine the liberties, priuiledges, and freedomes of the countrey. Which declaration being put in print, was sent vnto all the prouinces: but the people that were subiect to the Spaniard, durst not moue nor speake a word, attending an end of the siege of Oostend, and what the armie of either side should doe. The archduke hearing that the prince marched in so good order, and that hee entred into
B the countrey of Liege, (being now at S. Trudon, and at Maseek, where hee made his prouisions, besides that which hee had brought with him) hee caused his troups also to march, vnder the command of the admirall of Arragon, to whom the prince did twice offer battaile: the which (remembring that of Nieuport, where the archduke had beene so wel beaten, and himselfe taken prisoner) hee would neuer accept, neither had he any charge to do it, keeping himselfe within his fort.

Prince *Maurice* seeing how hard it would be to draw the Spaniard to fight, hauing marcht farre into the enemies countrey without any incounter, and taken from him the townes of Eindouen and Helmont, with the castle, he took another resolution, and turning head, marcht towards the strong towne of Graue; the which (notwithstanding it had a strong garrison) he
C besieged, and intrencht himselfe after his accustomed maner, as well against the besieged, as against the archdukes armie. Graue besieged by prince Maurice.

Graue is the chiefe towne of the land of Cuyck, lying vpon the Meuse: in times past it was vnder the duchie of Gueldres, but afterwards brought vnder Brabant, and was pawned to *Maximilian*, earle of Egmont and Buren, the which *William* prince of Orange, who maried his daughter and heire, bought, and inioyed it long. After the pacification of Gant, certain Dutch souldiers holding it for the Spaniard, were by the princes souldiers, with the helpe of the bourgers, thrust out, and fortie of them slaine. In the yeare 1586 it was besieged by the duke of Parma, and soone yeelded by monsieur *Hemert*, who was gouernour: since which time (being strong by scituation) it was fortified with many bulwarks, rauelins, and counterscarps, and
D is at this day one of the strongest townes in all the Netherlands. The gouernour at that time was *Antonio Gonzales*, a Spaniard: the garrison consisted most of Italians and Spaniards; and some companies of Dutch, vnder *Pangus Gallays* of Tyrol, lieutenant to colonell *Tislingh*, put themselues into it, being in all fifteene hundred men, besides the bourgers, who, by reason of the souldiers insolencies, were not aboue 3 or 400. The towne wanted neither ordnance, munition, nor victuals. The description of Graue.

Vpon the eight of August they made a sallie vpon cont *William* of Nassaus quarter, where the fight continued an houre, with the losse of fifteene of their men: the earle had thirtie slaine and wounded.

The admirall of Arragon, with *Frederic* earle of Bergh, and other commanders of the arch-
E dukes armie, marcht towards the land of Cuyck, and lay there certaine dayes, whilest that the prince fortified his campe. On the tenth of August in the morning, hee marcht towards the quarter whereas the prince himselfe lay, making a stand within a quarter of a mile, in a village called Lynde, where hee insconced himselfe, and cast a bridge ouer the Meuse, that hee might not bee distrest for victuals.

They of the towne discouering his approach, made great signes of ioy, in shooting off their ordnance, which the admirall answered. And on the 13 day, early in the morning, they made a sally out of the towne vpon cont *Williams* quarter: and at the same time the admirall approached neere vnto the princes campe, both with horse and foot; but lying too open to the princes ordnance, he retired to his lodging.

F Vpon the fifteenth of August, they within the towne made another sallie with three hundred men, vpon the English quarter, where they came to the push of the pike. Among the English there was one captaine *Keyes Herroghen*, who was a Dane borne, yet seruing among them, with some sixteene or seuenteene souldiers slaine; and of the towne there were fiftie

1602 fiftie slaine and hurt. And on the seuenteenth day they made another sally with seuen hundred men, vpon the English quarter, but after some fight, the ordnance forced them to retire, with some losse of either side. A

The admirals men skirmished sometimes with the princes guard, and hee brought his ordnance so neere, as he shot into the princes camp, and slew many souldiers; so as they were constrained to fortifie their trenches against him. Among others, *Andreas de Roy*, an expert engineer, and much esteemed by prince *Maurice*, for his industrie and knowledge, was shot looking ouer the rampars, and so were diuers captaines. And on the two and twentieth of August sir *Francis Veer*, generall of the English, was shot in the necke and cheeke; so as being forced to retire himselfe from the campe, by reason of his wound, *Henrie Frederic* of Nassau, prince *Maurice* his brother, had the charge giuen him of the English quarter. B

Sir Francis Veer shot before Graue.

The admirall began then to bee scanted of victuals in his armie, for that Brabant had bin quite spoyled and wasted; the which, together with their bad pay, made the souldiers murmure: so as finding that want would force him to retire from the place where hee was intrencht, on the one and twentieth of August, in the night, hee resolued to make an attempt vpon the campe, betwixt the princes and cont *Williams* quarters: but while they were bringing their ladders, shouels, pickaxes, baskets, and other instruments, they were discouered, so as all the princes armie stood readie in armes, to entertaine them: whereupon hee retired hastily, making all the speed hee could, leauing all those implements behind him: and on the three and twentieth day he brake vp his campe, hauing sent away his carriages before carely in the morning. C

Monsieur *Grobendonc*, gouernour of Boisleduc, intreated the admirall to march with his armie to Raueستein, where hee might haue more store of victuals, and stop the ships which came with prouision out of Holland vnto prince *Maurice* his campe: the which, for some other considerations, hee neglected, and went to Venloo with his armie. Whereupon prince *Maurice* followed him with his horsemen; and fearing hee should attempt Berck or Mœurs, hee sent *Ernest*, earle of Nassau, thither with certaine men: but the admirall sought to get into Venloo, in the which there was but a weake garrison: but they would not suffer him to enter: and so he went to Mastricht, for that the whole armie began to mutine, by reason of want, especially the new Italians, who could not shift without money: whereupon diuers of them went and offered their seruice vnto prince *Maurice*. D

They within Graue were in some doubt of the admirals retreat, yet did their vttermost endeuours to defend themselues: many of them notwithstanding got out of the towne in the night, and yeelded themselues to prince *Maurice*; letting him vnderstand, That they wanted not any thing, but men, and that the feare of reliefe made many of them to faint. Prince *Maurice* gaue pasports to all them that fled from the enemie, and a gulderne a peece, and so they went into Cleueland, or into Zeeland, and returned home into their countrey through France.

After many sallies and incounters, the besieged hauing forsaken al their workes without the town, and the princes men being come, on the fourteenth of September, to the rampar of one of the bulwarks of the towne, lying vpon the Meuse, with some losse of men, they within gaue notice thereof vnto the neighbour townes, by fire made in their tower tops: but no reliefe being at hand, and their men decreasing daily, fearing also that the galleries on the other side of the towne, would be also brought vnder their rampars, within fiue dayes, they offered a parle; vnto whom monsieur *Sydlenisky* was sent, by whose meanes they of the towne sent their deputies to prince *Maurice*, and receiued hostages for them: and so vpon the nineteenth of September, a composition was made for the yeelding vp of the towne, the which the prince did the more willingly agree vnto, for that the riuer of Meuse began to swell, whereby his trenches and galleries might haue beene much indamaged. And so, after two moneths siege, it was deliuered. E

Graue yeelded by composition.

The conditions were, That the gouernour and souldiers should depart with their armes and baggage, and ensignes displayed: they should haue an hundred and fiftie wagons for their carriages to Dyest, leauing hostages for them. That such as had runne from the Estates, should enioy the benefit of the same conditions. That the hurt and sicke might, if F

they

A they would, goe by ſhip to Maſtricht. That all victuals, ordnance, and munition, ſhould bee deliuered vnto the princes commiſſaries, without ſpoyle or diminiſhing. That the ſouldiers ſhould depart the towne the next day, or elſe ſuffer two hundred men to enter into the caſtle and the bulwarkes. And that the gouernor ſhould procure the archduke to pay the magiſtrats and the bourgers of the towne, all ſuch ſummes of money as they had lent to him and his ſouldiers. 1602.

The next day they left the Graue: and the bourgers intreated prince *Maurice*, as their lord, to receiue them into grace, to forgiue what was paſt, to protect and defend them, and to confirme their priuiledges. Concerning religion, it was agreed, That euerie one ſhould liue according to his conſcience, without any moleſtation; yet there ſhould be no exerciſe of religion,
B but as it was obſerued in the vnited prouinces. There were ſix moneths time granted vnto the bourgers, to follow the archdukes court, to recouer their debts, and longer, ſo it were with the conſent of the gouernour or magiſtrat. All ſpirituall and temporall men, ſhould haue three yeares reſpit, to leaue the towne, and to returne againe, to diſpoſe of their lands, as they thought good, and moſt conuenient. With other articles concerning the towne in particular.

This compoſition thus made, vpon the twentieth of September the Spaniſh garriſon went forth, beeing eight hundred men ſtrong, and two hundred hurt men, the remainder of fifteene hundred. Prince *Maurice* had many men alſo ſlaine, whereof there were foure hundred Engliſh: And many ſicke men were ſent into diuers hoſpitals, for that there was a diſeaſe among
C them, little better than the plague.

Vpon the eight and twentieth of September prince *Maurice* was inſtalled lord of the towne, and of the land of Cuyck: and then came the deputies of the generall Eſtates, both into the towne and armie, to take order for the breaking vp of the ſame, diſcharging the Reiſters, and giuing to euerie one halfe a moneths pay, beſides his due, to beare his charges; taking an order alſo for ſuch as fled from the admirall, being verie many. Prince Maurice diſſolues his armie.

Prince *Maurice* made monſieur *Sidleniſky* gouernour of the Graue, beeing a wiſe and a valiant gentleman, who had beene ſergeant maior of the armie, and had long ſerued the vnited prouinces faithfully, in many good places. *Mabuſe* was made ſergeant maior in his ſtead.

The ſouldiers in the archdukes armie, vnder the admirall of Arragon, were much diſcon- Mutinie in the admirals army
D tented for want of pay, eſpecially the old ſouldiers (for the new Italians ran away) for which cauſe the admirall retired further from the enemie, beeing not much beloued, but rather contemned and hated of his ſouldiers, who called him *El gran Capitan del Roſario*, in regard of his deuotion: who ſeeking to ſuppreſſe their mutinies by ſeueritie, ten or twelue hundred of them forſooke the armie, and tooke a ſmall towne in the countrey of Liege, called Hamont, whereas the admirall did thinke to aſſayle them, with ſuch horſe and foot as hee did moſt truſt; but they refuſed that charge.

Among theſe mutiners there was a baniſhed ſouldier of Geertruydenbergh, called *Papanken*, who ſent word vnto prince *Maurice*, that hee would draw a good number of horſe and foot from the enemie, to ſerue the vnited Prouinces. This offer was neither accep- The mutiners ſeize vpon Hoochſtraten.
E ted nor reiected, but all fauour promiſed them, ſo as they would gouerne themſelues well and faithfully, &c. Whereupon they entred into Grobendonc in Brabant, their number ſtill increaſing; and in the end ſeized vpon the ſtrong caſtle of Hoochſtraten, whereas they made good orders among themſelues, and forced the boors round about to pay them contribution.

The archduke to preuent theſe inconueniences, came out of Flanders to Antuerpe, leauing the Infanta at Gant. In Antuerpe hee borrowed money, wherewith he cauſed the armie vnder the admirall, to march foreward, with a third part of a monethes pay. Whereupon many Italians, and other commaunders left the armie. *Theodore Trivultio*, *Alphonſo d'Avalos*, *Fernando Cariglia*, *Martin Lopes*, and *Emanuel Texera*, maſter of the campe, and others, were
F put out of the counſell of warre; which cauſed in a maner a generall reuolt, ſo as the nine thouſand Italians, were brought to 3000, the reſt were run away, or ioyned with the mutiners. Out of Spaine they had ſmall helpe, both for that the king was yong, and his counſell diuided in opinions.

To

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1602 To preuent all these difficulties, it was giuen out, That *Dom Ioan de Medicis*, bastard of Florence, should come thither to supply the admirals place; but he came not: many thought he refused that charge, matters being so confused. A

The garrison of the castle of Antuerpe began also to bee discontented, and threatned a mutinie: but the townes-men gaue their words to see them payed, and so by that meanes they were satisfied.

The archduke went from Antuerpe to Brussels, to leuie money, whereas (by reason of the many new growne troubles) hee was not verie pleasing vnto them: At that time there was an assemblie of the Estates, but they concluded little for the preuention of so great disorders. The archduke caused many peasants to bee taken vp, throughout all the Wallon prouinces, both for his owne guard, and to make head against the mutiners, relying not much on his owne souldiers, but on some that were well paid. The high Dutch regiment vnder *Barlamont*, were also vpon tearms to mutine, and had attempted to surprise Dermonde in Flanders. B

The admirall discharged of his generals place,

The archduke went to Toren, and so to his armie, whereas hee discharged the admirall of his generals place, for want of money, who soone after went into Spaine, where hee was not verie welcome.

After that the archduke by policie and faire promises, got them of Venloo to receiue more men, and thereby assured the towne for himselfe; from thence he went to Liere, where, with certaine companies of souldiers, and the boors of the countrey, with the townes-men, and some others thereabouts, he thought to charge the mutinous souldiers, who at that time were verie strong, and lay in Hoochstraten, spoyling all the countrey, and striking a great terror into the peasants. These mutiners growing strong, and their insolencies intollerable, being a verie bad example to others, and no money to be found to pacifie them, the archduke with the Spanish counsell (contrarie to the aduice of the Estates of the countrey) resolued to banish them, and to proclaime those mutinous souldiers, traitors, and villaines. The sentence of their proscription was as followeth. C

The Archdukes.

„ As wee had drawne our armie together to releeue the towne of Graue, the which is besie-
„ ged by the enemie, and so valiantly defended by the souldiers that are within it, as they de- D
„ serue great commendation, going our selfe in person to that end, wee were aduertised, That
„ some souldiers of our sayd armie, lying neere vnto the enemies campe, vnder colour of an al-
„ teration or mutinie, to recouer that which they falsely pretend to be due vnto them, haue wic-
„ kedly abandoned their colours and cornets: and after they had made attempts vpon manie
„ places, in the end they surprized the castle of Hoochstraten, by treacherous and wicked
„ meanes, hauing giuen many vehement presumptions, to hold correspondencie, and to treat
„ with our enemies: the which is against all reason and iustice; neither hath it beene euer pra-
„ ctised among our souldiers. But contrariwise such as haue beene in mutinie (when as the
„ enemie hath besieged any place of ours, or that wee had need of men for any expedition) lea-
„ uing their forts and places of strength, came to serue vs willingly and chearefully. And for E
„ that the chiefe actors of this wickednesse and treason, are men to whom there is little or no-
„ thing due, for that they are new come, or else haue beene in the mutinies of Dyest, Weert,
„ and Carpen, and haue beene lately accounted with, and paid whatsoeuer was due vnto them,
„ beeing men accustomed to practise and inuent mutinies, to receiue money for contributions,
„ without doing vs any seruice, who haue induced, circumuented, and forced the others to
„ commit this treason; whereby their brethren and companions (which are besieged) cannot
„ bee succoured, and all other enterprises, which we might haue against our enemies, hindered;
„ forcing vs to turne our armes against them, as against those that are more dangerous and pre-
„ iudiciall than domesticall enemies; for that the enemie is thereby made stronger. And for as
„ much as this fact is strange, fowle, odious, of bad consequence, and worthy to bee exemplarly F
„ punished:

„ Wherefore desiring to prouide for the publike cause, and the good of our subiects, wee in-
„ ioyne and commaund all souldiers, or other persons, or their traine, which are in the sayd
castle

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A caſtle of Hoochſtraten, or that ſhal ioyne, there, or in any other place, with them, vnder co- 1602
lour of mutinie, within three dayes after the publication hereof, to returne vnto their enſignes
and cornets, or to preſent themſelues vnto the gouernour of Liere, or of Herental, to the end "
they may be preſently ſent away vnto their enſignes and ſtanderds, whereſoeuer they ſhall be, "
as if this alteration had neuer happened. And wee ingage our word and faith vnto them, that "
they ſhall neither at this preſent, nor at any time hereafter, be puniſhed, nor reprehended in "
particular, although they were the chiefe motiues thereof; but ſhall bee intreated with all "
kindneſſe and fauour: and there ſhall bee meanes made to giue them full ſatisfaction, as men "
whom we deſire to gratifie: The which if they refuſe to accompliſh, after the expiration of the "
ſaid three dayes, we declare, as well them that are there at this preſent, as all others that ſhall "
B hereafter ioyne with them, to bee rebels, traitors, and wicked perſons, hauing committed high "
treaſon in the higheſt degree; and as ſuch wee condemne them to looſe both liues and goods, "
and from this time wee hold them confiſcated and incorporat to our reuenews: Giuing leaue "
vnto all perſons, of what eſtate and condition ſoeuer, freely, and without any danger of pu- "
niſhment, to kill the ſaid mutiners, or any of them, after what ſort and manner hee may moſt "
conueniently do it. And whoſoeuer ſhall kill them, hee ſhall receiue for euerie one of their "
heads ten crownes, and for any one of the ordinarie officers, an hundred, and for thoſe which "
they call of the counſell, the ſergeant maior, or the gouernour of the horſe, two hundred "
crownes, and for the Electo fiue hundred. And if they which ſhall kill them bee any of their "
companie, wee pardon them, and will cauſe the ſaid ſummes to be giuen them. "
C And moreouer, wee commaund and enioyne all iudges of our armies, eſtates, and ſeignio- "
ries, that they take an inuentorie of all the mouable & immouable goods of the ſaid mutiners, "
of their apparell, and of all other things belonging to their wiues and children; and that the "
goods bee laied in depoſito; and that a true certificat bee ſent thereof vnto the iudge of the "
armie, that hee may incorporat it vnto our reuenewes, to the which at this preſent wee ad- "
iudge them. And wee commaund all perſons which haue in their cuſtodies, money, or any "
other thing belonging vnto the ſayd mutiners, or to their wiues and children, in pawne, or "
in any other ſort whatſoeuer, that they deliuer it not vnto them, but make it knowne vnto "
vs, to the end wee may make it forfeit, as is ſaid; vpon paine of confiſcation of all their goods "
that ſhall conceale them, and to bee corporally puniſhed at our pleaſure. And for the fowl- "
D neſſe of the offence, and the bad conſequence thereof for other princes, to whom the like may "
happen in their armies (this being vnpuniſhed) We intreat and beſiege the emperour and the "
king of Spaine, our lords and brethren, and all other kings, princes, and potentats, in what part "
ſoeuer the ſaid mutiners ſhall bee, or ſhall haue their goods, to commaund them to bee ap- "
prehended, and ſent vnto vs, and to cauſe the ſayd arreſt to bee made, ſending a certificat vn- "
to vs, as it is aboue ſpecified: Beeing readie to doe the like at their requeſt, in our countries "
and ſeigniories, whenſoeuer they ſhall require it. And moreouer, wee forbid all the wiues "
and children of the ſayd mutiners, to goe into any place or places, where they ſhall bee, nor "
to treat nor communicat with them by writing, nor word of mouth, during the ſaid mutinie, "
vpon paine of death: Beeing lawfull for all men to ſtrip and ſpoyle them, if they ſhall goe, "
E or bee in any ſort ſuſpected to haue an intent to goe vnto their ſayd fathers, or husbands: "
commaunding, That within three dayes they depart out of our countries, and returne no "
more, vpon the like puniſhment. "

Wee commaund alſo, That not any one of our ſubiects, or any other that is within our "
countries, as a merchant, victualer, or ſeruant, or in any other ſort, ſhall aſſiſt, ſerue, nor feed "
the ſaid mutiners nor their ſeruants, horſes, nor any one that depends of them, no not for "
their money; vpon paine of death, or other pecuniarie puniſhments, at the will and plea- "
ſure of our iudges, and according vnto their qualitie, and the merit of their offence: and "
that finding them, they may kill them without any offence. And that the names and ſirnames, "
and places where the ſaid mutiners, or their fathers, were borne, ſhall bee raſed out of the mu- "
F ſter bookes. And to the end that all men may bee the better ſatisfied, information ſhall bee "
made, ſo as it may plainely appeare, that they are condemned, and that the ſaid mutiners bee "
proclaimed in our court, and in thoſe places where they are borne, as well in our countries, as in "
the dominions of the emperor, the king of Spaine, or any other princes our friends and confe- "
derats, for baniſhed men, infamous, traiterous, and baſe perſons, which haue committed high "

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1602 treaſon in the firſt degree. And that moreouer, the puniſhments ordained in like caſes be executed againſt them, their children, and deſcendants: by the which wee doe now hold them
» condemned for this fact. And to him that ſhall bee the meanes to defeat the ſayd mutiners,
» or to deliuer them into our hands, we giue pardon, and promiſe him an honourable reward,
» and to all ſuch as ſhall aid and aſſiſt him, although they bee of the mutiners themſelues, yea of
» the chiefe motiues and officers. And to the end that our proclamation and baniſhment may
» bee inuiolably kept and executed, and may come to the knowledge of all, both generall of
» the horſe, captaines of men at armes, maſter of our artillerie, colonels, maſters of the campe,
» gouernours, heads of troups, captaines and officers entertained, ſouldiers, and all other mi-
» litarie perſons, of what qualitie, condition, degree, or nation ſoeuer they bee, as other our
» vaſſals and ſubiects; wee commaund, that it bee publikely proclaimed, and be giuen, in an
» autentike forme, to the licentiat *Iohn de Frias*, of his Maieſties counſell, and judge of the
» campe, that hee may cauſe it to bee obſerued and executed in euerie point, and giue it to the
» auditor generall, and other officers and perſons whom it ſhall concerne; to the end that all
» judges of townes and villages, may haue a care thereof, giuing him aduice of that which ſhal
» ſucceed: whereof hee ſhall aduertiſe vs, that wee may prouide, as neceſſitie ſhall require, for
» the execution thereof. And in like manner that another authenticall copie bee giuen vnto
» *Iohn Richardot* knight, chiefe preſident of our priuie counſell, and one of our counſell of
» Eſtate; to the end, that as farre as it ſhall concerne him, hee ſhall alſo cauſe it to bee obſerued
» and kept in euerie point, as it hath beene decreed by vs: Commaunding alſo all other offi-
» cers and iuſtices of our countries in theſe parts, to ſee it in like maner accompliſhed. In wit-
» neſſe whereof we haue cauſed our ſeales to be ſet hereunto. Made at Dyeſt the 15 of Septem-
» ber 1602. Signed *Albert*: and vnderneath, By commaundement from their highneſſes, *I. de*
» *Mancicidor*.

This decree of baniſhment and proſcription, may be compared to the ſentence of the Inquiſition of Spaine, giuen in Februarie 1568 (whereof we haue made mention) againſt all the inhabitants of the Netherlands: as alſo the baniſhment and proſcription proclaimed againſt the prince of Orange, in the yeare 1580, which bred great inconueniences to the king of Spaine: and it is to be admired, that the counſell of ſuch princes, doe not otherwiſe weigh and foreſee the conſequence of theſe proſcriptions, before they decree them: for either they muſt preuent ſuch inconueniences, by a ſodaine force, or receiue them into grace, elſe you may bee aſſured, that of ſeruants they will become enemies: beſides, thoſe that find themſelues wrongfully toucht and ſlandered, will want no anſwers, redounding to the diſhonor of the prince that hath decreed them; as it hath appeared by an apologie made by the Proteſtants of the Netherlands, in the yeare 1568, and of the prince of Orange, in the yeare 1580; both which were printed; by the which the king of Spaine was wonderfully touched, and his honour called in queſtion. But ſome will ſay, That princes regard not what is ſpoken of them, ſo as they may doe what they deſire, and fulfill their owne appetites: To whom I anſwer, That a meane is more befitting: And to returne vnto that point, let vs ſee what anſwer was made by theſe mutiners vnto the proſcription.

The anſwer of the Squadron, Electo, and Counſell of the Archduke Albert his men of warre, retired to Hoochſtraten.

If proſcriptions and threats may ſtand for paiment, the ſquadron and counſell of ſoul-
» diers retired to Hoochſtraten, may ſoon make readie their acquitances, and ſend them to their
» highneſſes, confeſſing that they were well and truely payd for all arrerages: But for as much
» as this kind of payment doth neither feed the belly, nor cloth the backe, and that in the
» meane time they which for many yeares haue hazarded both life and goods, without fee or
» recompence, and as it were for the honor of God, to maintaine their highneſſes in their eſtates,
» ſhould bee in danger (for want of other paiment) to dye with hunger and miſerie; it is rea-
» ſonable, that the ſaid ſquadron, Electo, and counſell, ſhould let all the world vnderſtand,
» with what vntruthes and horrible cruelties the ſayd proſcription is fraught: to the end, that the

A the iustice of their cause being knowne by this declaration, euerie one may iudge, if the archdukes haue reason thus to thunder out their choller against them, the which should terrifie women and babes, but not men. 1602

Choller makes their highnesses to say (wee say choller, for truth cannot iustifie it) that they had assembled their armie together, to succour the towne of Graue, beeing then besieged by the enemie: What meanes this? was the towne of Graue besieged at Tillemont? was it not besieged aboue a moneth after? How could their highnesses succour Graue at Tillemont, so long before it was besieged? Hee addes with the like ground: *And going my selfe in person to put this designe in execution.* What is hee among vs, or any other, that did euer see him in the armie, when as prince *Maurice* would come to visit vs, and to charge
B vs vpon our owne dunghill, beeing accompanied by them, who had two yeares before so roughly entertained their highnesses neere vnto Nieuport? The world knowes, they sometimes busie themselues at Brussels, sometimes at Gant, to giue order to their affayres, to the end their persons may bee no more subiect to bee exposed to such dangers. Wee confesse notwithstanding, that his highnesse, after that the towne of Graue was lost, came vnto the armie; not for that they had any need of his person: for hee came to whet his armes against his friends and faithfull subiects, seeing that hee had found his enemies weapons so sharpe, and his owne too much blunted in the countrey of Flanders, to cut the knot of so strong an vnion: If wee speake trueth or not, they of Venloo, and of Ruremonde, can beare witnesse.

C Hee sayes, with the like truth, That at such time as his highnesse did endeuour to succour the towne of Graue, we, vnder colour of a mutinie, did abandon our ensignes. Arithmetike, or the art of numbring, should not bee practised by troubled spirits; Choller is also an enemie vnto the memorie: but if a friend helpe to supply the defect of anothers memorie, hee deserues some recompence. If for such a courtesie wee deserue reward, it is in your highnesse to acknowledge it. And to speake the trueth (which all the world may well remember, as well our friends as our enemies; but that some haue shadowed it with passion, vntill that their troubled spirits may bee purified with the light of trueth) wee say, That wee did imploy our selues to serue their highnesses, without any respect to the extreame necessitie and desolation, whereunto wee were brought for want of money, so long as the admi-
D rall of Arragon, who was our leader (and not his highnesse) was camped neere vnto the towne of Graue: neither did wee begin to seeke any meanes for our pay, vntill that the armie was retired farre from the towne, and that the sayd admirall of Arragon had no further meaning, to make any attempt to succour it, nor against prince *Maurice* his armie. This was apparent, when as the seigniour of Grobendonc, gouernour of the towne of Boisleduc, after that hee had laboured long in vaine, propounding all the reasons hee could deuise to persuade the admirall to seize vpon the towne of Rauestein, and by that meanes to cut off the victuals which came vnto prince *Maurice* his armie (the onely meanes to hinder his designe) in the end (seeing hee could not preuaile) hee returned with much discontentment: then wee began to embrace the pursuit of our iust and reE sonable cause.

If all those that haue taken this course, are to bee held for traitors and rebels, there is not any one in their highnesses seruice, that can be free from this imputation: for who are they that were euer payed, taking any other course? Their highnesses name Dyest, Weert, and Carpen, places which can beare witnesse of our words; the remembrance beeing yet fresh of that which hath lately happened.

It is also obiected, That there is little due vnto vs, or nothing at all; and that our demaunds are false, being men newly come out of Italy, and other places: and that a little before we had beene fully payed at Dyest, Weert, Carpen, &c. If that be true or not, the accounts can witnesse, and if the summe of three millions of gulderns bee held little by their highnesses, yet is it
F a verie great summe vnto vs. But admit the summe bee small, as their highnesses say, it is so much the more easie to find it: neither should they for a small matter, haue suffered vs to fall into this extremitie. As for treaties and intelligences, which wee haue with their highnesses enemies; wee find it strange, that they maintaine and hold it to bee contrarie

1602 to all law and reason, seeing that in their proscription they confesse, that it hath beene to A
maintaine our selues with them: for when as wee did see their highnesses armes turned a-
» gainst vs, as intestine enemies, in stead of giuing audience to our iust complaints; was it not
» time (beeing reasonable creatures) to doe that which brute beasts doe teach vs, which op-
» pose themselues with all their force, against those that seeke to oppresse them? Our actions
» then are not without some ground of reason, nay they are rather grounded vpon reason
» it selfe, and vpon the common law, necessitie beeing free from all law, euen the law of nature,
» which hath giuen this instinct to all creatures, not to forget any thing which may tend to their
» preseruation.
» It is a lamentable thing, that they which for so many yeares haue hazarded their liues, and
» powred out their blouds so willingly for their highnesses seruice, should bee now forced to B
» hold their liues as it were in fee of their enemies; and their highnesses on the other side should
» seek al means to root them out, depriuing them of their liues, wiues, children, food, and friends,
» as doth plainely appeare by the said proscription.
» His highnesse remembers the example of *Dauid*, who retired himselfe to *Achis*, king of
» the Philistims, his capitall enemie, when hee was forced to flye from before the face of *Saul*
» his lord. It may please his highnesse to let the most worthy Infanta vnderstand these reasons,
» and not to thinke it strange, if wee (as souldiers) haue sought to imitat the example of such a
» man of warre, as *Dauia* was.
» It is said, That these course were neuer taken by others: Whereunto wee will make no o- C
» ther answer, but, That all our companions know the contrarie. How did they of Sichem car-
» rie themselues, who had their deputies continually at the Hage, hauing egresse and regresse
» into Breda at their pleasures, and remaining in Langthstrate, vnder their wings which doe
» now euen at this present time imbrace our defence, intreating whole troupes of prince *Mau-*
» *rices*, as their friends, and suffering them to passe thorough them without any opposi-
» on at all?
» The examples which their highnesses propound vnto vs, of them which haue mutined
» heretofore, and yet haue not left to abandon their retreats, and to offer themselues at need
» to serue their highnesses, &c. are matters propounded with small consideration: For since
» that wee were retired into this place, wee were neuer called to any seruice, as the others
» were: What subiect then haue they to complaine of vs in this respect? But if they had sent D
» a herauld at armes vnto the rest, to signifie a proscription vnto them, such as ours is, it is to
» be presumed, they would not haue left the places which they held, but vpon good tearmes:
» neither would they haue shewed themselues so zealous vnto their highnesses. It were al-
» so to bee wished (for their highnesses honour and reputation) that this great zeale and wil-
» ling obedience of the sayd mutiners, had beene deferred for a time: for that beeing too
» inconsiderat, it was more preiudiciall than profitable vnto their highnesses, when as
» (without regard of their highnesses word) they did so treacherously violat it with them of
» Snaskerke, neere vnto Oostend; which that day cost many of our fellowes and compani-
» ons their liues: Yet if their highnesses find any obedience in this act (as it seemes, see-
» ing they doe so much exalt and prayse them in that respect) then are they free from that E
» blame.
» They will persuade vs, That wee are men accustomed to mutine: Wee will receiue this
» reproach vpon our account and reckoning, with the rest; for of late yeares those which car-
» rie armes for your seruice, receiue no other pay. But what is sayd among the people? doth
» not euerie one speake plainely, That your highnesse hath brought in this custome, to the
» end, that souldiers beeing payed after this manner, without money, they may make the
» better cheere in court? And in trueth, when there is speeech of any exployt of warre, those
» that haue seized vpon any places, quit them voluntarily, and come with great zeale and obe-
» dience, to do you seruice. This cannot be called a mutinie, but to winter: for of late yeares all
» your souldiers haue accustomed to winter after this manner. At such time as your high- F
» nesse did change your Eccleiasticall habit into a secular, wee were glad and did much re-
» ioyce, thinking that your highnesse, hauing beene Cardinall, Archbishop, and chiefe of the
» holy Inquisition of Spain, would not tie your souldiers to any stricter rule than that which you
might

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A might haue read in the Bible; which is, *Content your selues with your pay:* But it seems, to your great preiudice, that you haue forgotten it: And no man can dreame where your highnesse hath found that Canon, to begin to put a law in execution, which is not yet made; which is, That wee must content our selues without pay. Wee did alwayes thinke, that the Ecclesiasticall lawes had beene the most strict, as comming from God, and regarding mens consciences: but wee now find our selues much deceiued. 1602

As for the money of contributions, your highnesse should know how it is imployed, for euen the poore peasants thinke it ridiculous, to say that we enioy it: the truth is, that to liue we goe vnto your lands; what should we else doe? your highnesse giues vs nothing, and souldiers are no Camelions, to liue by the ayre: moreouer, by law the creditor hath an interest to his
B debtors goods. But for all this your highnesse ordinary contributions are nothing diminished. That secretarie deserues (vnder your corrections) to bee cast and discharged by your highnesse, seeing that vnder your names, hee hath not beene ashamed, to insert so many palpable lyes in so small a writing: for those things which are so often practised, should not bee termed new. That which is grounded vpon the common law of nature, ought not to bee called infamous nor dishoneſt. And as for the consequence it cannot bee so bad, seeing the good seruices done with such great zeale and obedience, by our companions, and whereof hitherto we haue not made any refusall, are so highly commended by your highnesse. If it were lawfull for vs to speake vnto you in secret, wee thinke we should hit the marke; which is,
C That we haue bin aduertised from good parties, that your highnesse is extraordinarily incensed against vs, more than against any that haue gone before vs, partly, to content the people; considering, that of so many wounds which haue beene receiued of late yeares, there could neuer any meanes bee found to cure one: the which is credible, seeing that your highnesse makes no difficultie to hold vs for companions vnto them that were besieged in the towne of Graue, and who haue purchased so much honour and reputation for their good endeuours: This makes vs to hold many things contained in your proscription, to bee the more tollerable, beleeuing, that they were not inserted but for fashion sake.

It is said, That wee should returne vnto our ensignes; and that within three dayes: and for default, your highnesse proclaimes vs traytours and rebels, &c. condemning vs to death, &c. and our goods confiscat, &c. To condemne them to death, that haue a desire to dye, and
D who haue meanes not onely to defend themselues, but also to offend them that shall assayle them, is verie absurd. And your highnesse may well thinke, that wee hope so to imploy our armes, as the permission which hath beene giuen to kill vs, in what sort soeuer, shall not make you nor your substitutes to see many of our heads; for the which it shall not bee needfull to pay the ten, fiftie, nor the hundred crownes promised in your highnesse proscription, according vnto the qualitie of our persons, vnto those that shall put it in execution. As for that which is sayd of our moouable and immoouable goods, your highnesse knowes what moouable and immoouable goods poore souldiers (halfe dead with hunger, as wee are) can haue. Our moouable goods cannot bee made moouable, but by our selues; those bee our armes; and wee may also tearme them our moouable goods, for all
E such as would attempt to seize on them: daring well maintaine, that euen to his highnesse himselfe, they might prooue too heauie and immoouable, if hee should bee tempted with any such desire. And if there bee any other goods found among vs, wee will freely giue them to those that will come for them. And as for money, clothes, or other things belonging to our wiues and children, the depositors of your highnesse armie may well bee without a clerke to register them. If you haue no other meanes and reuenewes to feed so many hungrie bellies, it is to bee feared, that within few dayes your highnesse may haue as little money, and as few clothes, as wee had with our wiues and children, when as necessitie forced vs to assemble in this place, to find meanes to feed and cloth our selues. For it may bee sayd, That wee were at that time like vnto the Indians, which
F go naked; which nakednesse, for the extreame cold of this climat, was not easie to beare. Your highnesse, nor my lords the emperour, nor the king of Spaine your brethren, shall reape small profit by our clothes, nor by our goods, if they bee vnder their obedience. And as for the defence which is made vnto our wiues and children, not to come vnto vs vpon pain of death; we hold it for a great fauour done vs by your highnesse, being loth to bee troubled with the

1602 importunitie of our wiues, in the estate wee are in. It were a rediculous spectacle, that after A
they had stript our wiues and children of all their clothes, and made them forfeit to your
highnesse, they should afterward condemne them to depart out of your territories within
three dayes: The conduct of this naked troupe, might be a good recompence for some one
of your courtiers, who by the shew of so strange a sight, might easily get a good summe of
money of the people, who are curious of noueltics. But doth your highnesse thinke to fa-
mish vs, in forbidding them to bring vs any victuals? doe you thinke, that it is possible for
your subiects to obey you in that respect, seeing it is not in their power to warrant them-
selues against vs? For if you desire that which is contained in your proscription, causing vs to
bee slaine by your subiects, it shall bee alwayes lawfull for vs, to reuenge our selues of this
crueltie, by reciprocall acts. It is said in the sayd proscription, That your highnesse desires it B
should be executed against our children and successors: Wee do not thinke, that your high-
nesse, being an archbishop, and reading the Bible, hath found any such president; hauing on
the other side (although we be souldiers) often heard, That God doth not punish the chil-
dren for the fathers offence, if they bee not also found culpable. And admit wee had com-
mitted all the offences in the world (the which wee haue not) by what diuinitie doth your
highnesse find, that you should proceed in this maner against innocents? What punishment
will your highnesses reserue for your selues, seeing you are the cause of all this? All kings and
princes shall haue cause to gaze vpon your highnesse proceedings, and shall learne how it suc-
ceeds with them that seeke to make war without money, which be the sinewes of war. Those
which in antient times haue won any honour and reputation by the warres, haue followed C
contrarie courses. *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Scipio*, *Iulius Cæsar*, and many others, did neuer impo-
uerish their souldiers, but did rather inrich them: They vsed no proscriptions nor threats, in
case of discontentment, but haue sought to pacifie them by mildnesse and courtesie; and if
there were question to suffer with them, they did neuer forsake them at need. What did
Alexander, when as in a drye and hot countrey one brought him a helmet full of water? hee
chose rather to powre it on the ground, than to drinke, considering there was but for himselfe
alone, and that his whole army was in extreame want: shewing by this example, that hee would
fare as they did.

Your highnesse hath ten, an hundred, yea fiue hundred crownes, to buy our heads; but you D
could not find ten, an hundred, nor fiue hundred farthings, to maintaine our bodies and liues
in your faithfull seruice: You haue found the meanes to exceed many great princes, yea the
emperour *Charles* the fift, of happie memorie, the emperour *Rodolphus*, now raigning, and the
king of Spaine, in all sorts of pompe and magnificence, and can you not find the meanes to
pay your poore souldiers (which are the onely supporters of your estate) but with proscripti-
ons and threats? *Alexander* the Great, seeing the Macedonians (whom hee had mightily in-
riched) little inclined to continue in their duties, and in the pursuit of his victories, hee sought to
pacifie them by mildnesse and courtesie, whereby he sped well.

Your highnesses on the other side, after that you had rashly and miserably thrust headlong
into danger, the best part of your best souldiers and captaines, and seeing your officers redu-
ced to a lamentable extremitie, haue sought, with an Austrian sternnesse, and a Spanish arro- E
gancie, their vtter ruine, paying them with proscriptions and threats, and promising recom-
pence to them that should kill them. *Iulius Cæsar* his old souldiers being one day discontent-
ed, and desiring to returne home, refusing to goe into Affricke, upon a verie important expe-
dition, he did not forget any thing that might pacifie them by friendly and amiable meanes,
honouring them with the name of *Quirites*, that is to say, fellow citizens; and by this meanes
gaue them contentment. Your highnesse might learne thereby, how a prince should carrie
himselfe to his souldiers, who are miserable through his default.

Besides all these points contained in this goodly proscription, they charge vs also, That wee
haue beene the cause of the desolation of the countrey of Luxembourg, for that wee did not
preuent it. It is well knowne, that before that time they held vs for traitors and rebels: your F
highnesse armes were turned against vs, euerie man might lawfully kill vs, and euerie one of
our heads was set at ten crownes price: how then can all this accord well together? It had bin
better your highnesse had imployed your forces to defend Luxembourg, and not to haue suf-
fered so goodly a prouince to be so miserably ruined. Considering then the enormitie of your

pro-

A proceedings, and the bad consequence which may be drawn by other princes, in committing the like excesse to their souldiers. 1602

The squadron, Electo, and councell intreat all princes and common weales to make vse of this example, and to foresee, that in abusing after this manner their good and faithfull souldiers, which are the sinewes of their preseruation, they draw not vpon them the like misfortunes; the which doe daily more and more threaten to ruine their highnesses. Some one hath said well, *Woe be to that country which hath a child for prince.*

Who so shall duely consider of this answer, and shall peize it with the truth in euery point, will confesse that it had beene much better for the archdukes honour and reputation, not to haue decreed this bitter proscription; especially against Italians, who are not easily drawne
B into mutinie, without great occasion: besides they haue subtil and actiue spirits among them, although they be souldiers, to answer pertinently to euery point, as it appeares by their answere.

The archduke had at that time but small meanes to force them to obedience, they beeing growne strong, and in a manner protected by the vnited prouinces, who had contracted with them, that in time of need they might retire themselues vnder the walles & ordnance of the townes of Breda, Berghen vp Zoome, and Seuenberghen, and to furnish themselues with all necessaries for their money. The mutiners protected by the vnited prouinces.

Matters standing vpon these termes, *Octauio Frangipanny* the popes Nuntio, was sent from the archdukes vnto the mutiners, to be a mediator betwixt them. Hee perswaded them vnto
C three things: the first was, Not to serue the enemie: the second, To content themselues with reasonable conditions: and lastly, Not to suffer themselues by any meanes to bee seduced with the religion of heretickes. Whereunto they made answer, that during their liues they would neuer alter their religion: that they would make no composition with the prince, nor the enemie, but vpon meere necessitie: and touching the third point, they would not giue eare to any reconciliation, before their banishment and proscription were reuoked and called in againe.

And afterwards in October the Nuntio went to them againe (vpon hostages giuen) to Hochstraten, where he was kindly entertained and feasted by them, especially by their chiefe
D comraders, captaine *Frederigo* a Neapolitane, and captaine *Roderigo* a Spaniard, with their Electo, who gaue him very kind words: but their conclusion was, That the squadron desired not to enter into any treaty, before the banishment or proscription were called in, & some place of strength, as Thyonen, Dyest, or Vilvoorden deliuered vnto them for their securities; and then they said they would bee ruled by reason: but the archdukes would not heare of it.

After that, in December, and diuers times after, the Nuntio went vnto them, but there was nothing concluded, and they conueyed him with a thousand horse to the gates of Antwerpe. It is said the archduke had secretly caused a generall pardon to be offered vnto them, with three hundred and fiftie thousand crownes to be giuen among them all, that hee might not be troubled with a tedious reckoning, which would be long ere it could be cast vp; and
E that in the meane time, vntill the money were paied, they should haue some strong place for their securities: and euery moneth (beside the said summe) thirtie thousand crownes for their entertainment; but they would not accept thereof, saying, that it was much lesse than had beene offered to any that had formerly mutined. And in this estate they continued long, committing all the insolencies that could be, to get money.

The generall Estates beeing assembled at Brussels, held opinion that they should be paied, but the councell at warre, and the kings councell called *de la Hasienda*, were of contrarie opinion, saying, that it was fit they should be punished, and that it were better to leuie new souldiers with that money, to punish them, and to make them an example to others: whereupon they resolued to raise two new regiments, the one vnder the earle of Biglia, and the other vn-
F der the baron of Rocnau, a knight of Malta, with some horsemen vnder the duke of Aumale, and the baron of Rhosne, and of Lorraine, beeing put in great hope of money to be sent out of Spaine.

Barand de Beir both colonels going forth on the eight of October with foureteene cornets of horse, of the garrisons of Breda, Berghen, and Geertruydenbergh, to doe an exploit in

Henault,

1602 Henault, whilest that the mutiners of Hochstraten were busie in the Wallon parts of Brabant, A
and that the archduke hauing beene at Venloo and Thoren was going from his armie. These
two colonels beeing within three miles of Mastricht, and comming to Bilson, they had in-
telligence giuen them of eight cornets of horse that had conuoyed the archduke, which lay
neere them, without any feare of the enemie, beeing the bands of ordinance of the earles of
Mansfeldt, Buren, and Busquoy, with three cornets of Wallons, and two of Italians; they
came in the night time to the villages where they were quartered, where they charged their
guards, and forced their quarters, some were slaine, some fled, and some were taken prisoners
in their beds: the captaines themselues were not there: there were fiue cornets taken, and one
burnt in a church: the spoile was great, they tooke about fiue hundred horse, and two hundred
prisoners, these cornets were brought to the Hage. Monsieur *Chalon* a bastard to *Rene of Cha-* B
lon, prince of Orange fled and saued himselfe.

Diuers ships of warre beeing sent out of the vnited prouinces, vnder the lord of Oxdam, to
serue the Queene of England, some of them in the winter time had charge to attend the com-
ming of sixe galleys which *Don Frederick Spinola* was to bring out of Spaine, to ioyne with
the rest which he had at Sluys in Flanders. At the first they were eight gallies, but two were
burnt by sir *Richard Lu∫on* and the English men, before Setuval in Portugal. The admirall
galley wherein *Spinola* himselfe was, was called saint Louis, the captaines name was *Cardina-*
lin, with another captaine called *Caſcalis d'Auila*, with a companie of souldiers. The vice-ad-
mirall galley was the saint *Ioan*, the captaine *Pedro de Vergas*, with two captaines, and two
companies of souldiers. The third galley was called *Padillo*, the captaine *Hoſſo*, with another C
captaine, and a companie of Portugals. The fourth galley was called the *Lucera*, the captaine
Calliados, with another captaine and souldiers. The fift galley was called saint *Philip*, the
captaine *Roderigo de Nernais*, with a companie. The sixt galley was called the *Incarnate*, the
captaines name was *Louis de Camoens*, with a companie: so as in all they had nine companies
of souldiers, whereof two were Spaniards, and seauen were Portugals, beeing nine hundred
strong, and a thousand and fiue hundred gallie slaues; each galley had three brasse peeces and
no more. And although the Netherlanders were aduertised of their comming, yet the lord
of Oxdam was forced to goe into Holland for victuals, leauing *Iohn Adrianſon Cant* his vice-
admirall in the moone, *Gerbrant Adrianſon Schal van Horne* in the Bausome of foure hundred
tunnes, *Hendrick Hartman* in the Lioneſſe of Rotterdam, and *Gerbrant Iohnſon* in the Hope of D
Enchuysen: which ships were commanded to saile westward for the Queenes seruice; but as
yet they staied there to meete with these gallies, and so did a shippe of the Queenes called the
Hope, wherein sir *Robert Mansel* commanded; with his pynace called the Aduantage, in the
which was captaine *Ionas*. All these concluded that the vice-admirall *Cant*, and *Gerbrant A-*
drianſon Schal should lie in the downes, where there also lay one of the Queenes shippes, cal-
led the Answer, commanded by captaine *Broadgate*: sir *Robert Mansel* himselfe lay hulfe seas
ouer, betwixt Douer and Callis, with his pynace, and the two Holland shippes not farre from
him.

A fight be-
tweene sixe
gallies and
certaine Eng-
lish and Hol-
land ships.

Vpon the sixt of October in the fore noone, sir *Robert Mansel* descried the gallies, and they
him; but beeing a mistie weather, they bent their course along by the coast of England: for if E
the hardest fell out, finding that two Hollanders ships were very neere, they meant to board
them (as some prisoners confest) little esteeming of two or three ships of warre; but it seemed
they had espied the Queenes shippe, and therefore they rowed backe againe, hoping, that
night beeing come, and beeing somewhat darke, they should passe by the one coast on the o-
ther, and so get into Dunkerke, or Nieuport: the which sir *Robert Mansel* perceiuing, hee sent
captaine *Ionas* with his pynace ouer to Callis, and the coast of Flanders, to aduertise the Ne-
therlanders fleet thereof, that they might attend these gallies and compasse them in, he him-
selfe doing his best to keepe them still in sight: the like did the two Holland ships, who by
winding and turning, had gotten betweene him and the gallies, and so chased them vntill the
sunne was almost set: in the meane time they shot off a great peece to warne those three F
shippes which lay in the downes; whereupon they set saile, and put to sea: sunne beeing set,
the gallies began to saile keeping vnder the coast of England: the two shippes of Holland
were now behind them: sir *Robert Mansel* obserued their course, and knowing they should fall
among those ships which laie in the downes, hee made ouer to the coast of France, to meet

with

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A with them, if they ſhould offer to croſſe ouer to the coaſt of Flanders; but hearing the ordnance goe off, hee made towards the Goodwyn ſands as faſt as he could, to encounter them there. 1602

The Queenes ſhippe, and the two Hollanders beeing ſomewhat neere vnto the galleys, ſhot violently at them, but the weather beeing calme, the galleys outrowed them; yet the wind riſing at northeaſt, they purſued them for the ſpace of two or three houres with all their ſailes vp.

The gallies paſt ſo neere vnto Douer cliffes, as certaine Turkiſh ſlaues, hauing found meanes to file their chaines aſunder, leapt into the ſea, and ſwamme to land, and ſo freed themſelues from ſlauerie and bondage. Sir *Robert Manſel* beeing neere vnto Goodwyn
B ſands, eſpied one of the gallies before him, and comming within his muſket ſhot, hee diſcharged thirtie great ſhot at her, and brake her ſprit ſaile; wherewith he heard the men make a pittifull crie, and ſeemed to come towards him, vnto whom he made offer to ſaue their liues, if they would yeeld: in the meane time the other fiue gallies came towards her, among the which he diſcharged all his ordnance; yet holding it no diſcretion in him to ſuffer his ſhip to be boarded by fiue gallies, and ſo well manned as they were, he gaue them leaue to paſſe away.

The foure ſhippes of Holland had them ſtill in chaſe, beeing thwart of Grauelyn, about tenne of the clocke at night, *Gerbrant Iohnſon Schal* of Horne with this ſhippe of foure hundred tunnes, met with one of the gallies called Lucera, running vpon it with full ſailes, be-
C hind the maſt, ſo as the gallie ſlaues ſate vp to the waſt in water, crying *miſerecordia*, and made no reſiſtance; then *Gerbrant* ſhot two demie cannons among them, wherewith many were ſlaine and wounded: the gallie could no longer vſe neither ſailes nor owers, neither could ſhee helpe her ſelfe, her poope beeing broken downe, and her rudder gone; whereupon captaine *Gerbrant* ſought by all the meanes he could to free himſelfe from her, fearing to bee boarded by ſo many men.

After that captaine *Hartman* in another ſhip of Holland, fell vpon the ſame galley, thinking that he had beene the firſt had ouertaken her, he ſaued aboue fourtie of her men, and ſo got from her againe, yet one of his men ſtayed in her. After that *Gerbrant Schal* boarded her againe, and fiue of his men leapt into the galley, but by meanes of the pittifull crying & calling
D out of his men, the gallie beeing readie to ſinke, he fetcht away his men with his boat, hauing no will, or fearing ſome greater danger, to ſaue any more: they ſtaied ſo long by the gallie (beeing about midnight) as they might ſee her maſts lying vpon the water, and preſently after ſunke. One of the gallies ſunke.

Iohn Adrianſon Cant the vice-admirall met with the gallie called Padillo, the which hee did ſtemme, and did great hurt vnto himſelfe: three other Holland ſhippes attending for them, hearing the ordnance go off, came in and charged her, wherewith ſhee ſunke, but they ſaued many of the men in their ſhips. Another gallie ſunke.

Thus theſe wearie gallies ſought to ſaue thẽſelues, making no reſiſtance, and yet were neere the land: the admirall draue vpon the land of Schouven, being chaſed by a ſhip before Weſt-
E capel, where he thought that by reaſon of the fowle weather, it muſt of force haue ſunke, whereupon hee left her: but *Spinola* who was in her, caſt much of his goods ouer board, and promiſing the ſlaues their liberties, at the laſt he got to Dunkerke. One of the gallies got to Callis without any hurt, but the ſlaues ranne away, two others beeing ſore beaten and ſhot through, ranne a ground vpon the coaſt of Flanders: of thoſe two which *Cant* and *Schal* ouerſailed, there was not one peece to be found: and afterwards the captaines contended who ſhould haue the honour of this action. The loſſe of the gallies.

Thus of *Spinola's* eight gallies, two were burnt in Portugal, two other were ſunke vpon the coaſt of Flanders, and the other foure were forced to runne a ground, whereby they were in a manner made vnſeruiceable: wherein Gods iudgements are to bee admired, for
F that thoſe were the ſame gallies wherein the Netherland ſailers had beene made ſlaue, and were forced to rowe.

And it is worthy the noting, of the ſhip wherein *Gerbrant Iohnſon* was captaine, which had ouerſailed the firſt gallie, called the Lucera, that the maſter had beene three yeares a

ſlaue

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1602 slaue in the same gallie, and in as great miserie as any man could endure; beeing put into it when as he came into Spaine with his shippe laden with marchandise, which beeing all confiscated, the men were put into the galleys, and were al shauen as other Turkish slaues are accustomed to be: wherein God shewed his iudgement in reuenge of his miseries, the galley wherein he had beene prisoner, beeing ouerwhelmed by him, and captaine *Colliado* who had tyrannized ouer him, hauing both his legges strooke off with a great shot, whereof hee afterwards died in captaine *Hartmans* shippe, seeing his galley sinke before his face, to his great griefe and vexation. A

This master beeing a lustie man, could neuer bee released for any ransome, vntill all the Netherland prisoners were exchanged for the admirall of Arragon.

Frederick Spinola saues himselfe with his treasure. *Frederick Spinola* preserued the greatest part of his treasure, which was esteemed to bee worth aboue two hundred thousand ducats, the which he caused to be presently minted at Antuerpe, with the archdukes stampe. B

In this defeat there were about a hundred and eightie prisoners, slaues, and others, fisht out of the sea, and carried into Holland: the gallie slaues had their libertie giuen them, with a sute of clothes, and a peece of money to carrie them into their countries, or where they pleased.

There were at the same time some seauen shippes of warre of Dunkerke at sea, the admiral whereof was so chased by the shippes of Zeeland a day and a halfe together, as in the end shee was forced to runne on ground neere vnto *Albertus* sconce, vpon the coast of Flanders, where the shippe burst, but they saued the ordnance and some other implements. The vice-admirall *Adrian Derickson* got into Dunkerke, hauing beene well beaten in the Spanish seas, by the English and Dutch, and lost aboue halfe their men. The herring Buisses went then to sea with ordnance and small shot in them (notwithstanding their wasters) wherewith they might make some defence, vntill the ships of warre came to relieue them. C

This yeare in Nouember the vnited prouinces intended to make an iucursion into the duchie of Luxembourg, for that they had refused to pay their contribution: the charge was giuen vnto *Lodowick Gunther* earle of Nassau, with these foure colonels, *Edmonds*, *Ghistels*, *Dommeruille*, and *Marquette*; he had two hundred French, two hundred English, two hundred Scots, two hundred Germans, and two hundred Netherlands, with three and thirtie cornets of horse, three field peeces, and fiftie waggons; that is, eight for the munition, foure for cont *Lodowick*, one for each colonel, and the rest for the horsemen. They went from Nymeghen the third day of Nouember, and came into the countrey of Iuilliers: and then they tooke saint Vit by composition; the souldiers swearing not to beare armes in the duchie of Luxembourg for the space of two moneths after, and to depart with their ensignes, armes, and baggage, and that the bourgers should compound for a reasonable ransome: and then for a moneths space they ranne ouer all the countrey of Luxembourg without any resistance, forcing them to pay contribution; for that *Peter Erneſt* earle of Mansfeldt, gouernor of the countrie had forbad them to pay any, for which cause many houses and villages were burnt, whereas they found no body at home to ransome them. D

The archduke sent certaine troupes thither, but for want of money they lay by the way, and did feed vpon the poore countrey men, and wasted the countrey, as if they had beene enemies. E

Cont *Lodowicke* brought many gentlemen and pesants prisoners with him, and among the rest, the abbot of saint *Huberts*, who were put to ransome. There was little else done all this winter.

In the moneth of August, monsieur *la Biche* gouernour of the towne of Hulst, made an attempt with two thousand men for the archduke, vpon Berghen vp Zoome, thinking to haue surprized it, the towne at that time hauing but a small garrison; but hauing marcht in the night time within halfe a mile of the towne, the gouernour of Berghen vp Zoome caused two peeces of ordnance to be shot off, to giue warning to them of Tertolen of the enemies approach; who finding themselues to bee discouered, returned presently. F

Ooſtend. But to returne to the siege of Ooſtend: the archdukes men seeing that their batterie vpon

A vpon the goullet wrought not that effect which they expected, and that notwithſtanding the ſhippes paſt in and out, they cauſed an engine to be built, which they called a float, the which is like a floore or plancher made of light boards, ſwimming vpon the water, with defences able to carrie a cannon, which ſhould ſtoppe the entrie of the ſaid goullet; the which they did thinke would alwaies riſe with the tide, and that it could not be carried away, nor broken: the which they brought vnto the brinke of the goullet, but the waues of the ſea brake it in peeces, and this inuention was as vnprofitable as the reſt. 1602

The archduke hauing publiſhed a proſcription (as wee haue ſaid) againſt his mutined ſouldiers, hee went to beſiege them in Hochſtraten, where hee brought them to great extremitie; notwithſtanding that they were well fortified with three ditches, and three ram-
B pars, whereas he found great reſiſtance. Monſieur *de Rhoſnes* ſonne was ſlaine there (who in his time had beene marſhall of the archdukes campe, and was ſlaine before Hulſt) yet they (finding themſelues preſt in this manner by the archduke) prouided for their ſafeties, and made an accord with prince *Maurice*, to take them into his protection, vntill they ſhould bee reconciled vnto the archduke; the which the prince accepted, knowing well enough, that without their troupes, and during their mutinie, the archduke could not greatly annoy the vnited prouinces.

Whereupon the prince went to relieue them, and raiſed the ſiege, and by that meanes did hold by prouiſion the ſaid caſtle of Hochſtraten, and that of Carpen, in the dioces of Cologne: for ſecuritie of which places, and of their perſons, the Eſtates put them in garriſon in
C the Graue; the which (hauing made their accord with the archduke) they deliuered into the Eſtates hands, who in like manner reſtored Hochſtraten and Carpen. And this was all the archduke got by his thundring proſcription.

You haue heard how that vpon the ſixt day of October, in the yeare 1599, *Enno* the new earle of Embden, was quietly inſtalled in his earledome; but afterwards by certaine practiſes he drew many gentlemen and others (who before had beene enemies to his father and himſelfe) to bee of his faction; namely, two gentlemen called *Yonkers van Kimphouſen*, and *van Riſom*, and ſome of the chiefe bourgers of Embden, as *Syndicus Dotia Wiarda*, the two bourgomaſters, and the ſecretarie: and he maried his daughter, beeing heire of Eſens, &c. to his brother *Iohn* earle of Embden, with diſpenſation from the pope, vpon promiſe to maintaine
D the Romiſh religion, and to bring in the Ieſuites, as hee had done in Paderborne, all his houſhold ſeruants beeing catholikes, beeing the religion which his father and predeceſſors had expelled out of the countrie: which made many to doubt that hee had ſome enterpriſe in hand for the king of Spaine, or for the archduke, to the preiudice of them of the religion in eaſt Friſeland, and the vnited prouinces, making his gouernment abſolute and monarchiall; who vnder pretence of aiding the emperour in the Turkiſh warres, raiſed chimney money, tributes, with other like burthens and taxations, ſeeking vnder hand to ouerrule the whole countrey.

And for that they of Noorden (a towne not farre from Embden) refuſed to inſtall him in the yeare 1602, for that the ſaid towne did belong vnto his mother, the king of Suethlands
E daughter, for her dowrie, denying alſo to paie thoſe extraordinarie exactions: wherefore cont *Enno* (hauing leuied many ſouldiers vnder the former pretence) went with three companies of foot, and two cornets of horſe before the towne of Noorden, their commaunder beeing *Yonker van William Kimphouſen*, who entred the towne, and diſarmed the bourgers: and then he commanded them to come into the market place, where hauing enuironed them by the ſouldiers, who bent their armes againſt them, a gybbet beeing ſet vp, their ſentence of condemnation was read; which was, That they had forfeited both their liues and goods, with al their priuiledges: but their liues were ſpared, paying him thirtie three thouſand Reeks dollers, and that for fiue yeares they ſhould pay chimney money: then hee cauſed the bourgers to goe vnder the gallowes, in ſigne that they had deſerued it. The crueltie of the earle of Embden.

F In the end they were forced to giue him fifteene thouſand dollers, and to deliuer him certaine perſons into his hands, to deale with them as he pleaſed, whereas he vſed certaine priuate gentlemen very cruelly: and vpon the ſecond day of Iune they, were forced to ſubmit and humble themſelues vpon their knees at his feet, and to craue pardon of him, and yet neuertheleſſe he carried many of them away priſoners: beſides, at the ſame time hee alſo baniſhed

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1602 baniſhed diuers of the chiefe magiſtrates and bourgers of Embden, by vertue of the emperours decree. A

They of Embden demand aid of the vnited prouinces.

In regard of theſe cruell proceedings of the earle of Embden, they of the towne of Embden ſent their bourgmaſter *Philip Sicken* and *Iohn Amelinck*, vnto the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces at the Hage, to make their complaints againſt the earle, for that (contrarie to the cõtract made at Delfziel) he had ſought to intreat them with all rigour and extremitie, threatning to deale with them, as he had done with them of Noorden; and that hee leuied many ſouldiers (vnder pretence to ſerue the emperour in the Turkiſh warres) more than hee could well pay; as alſo that hee had ſecret practiſes for the king of Spaine, to attempt ſomething againſt the towne, through the fauour of the ſaylers, who were much inclined vnto him: hoping thereby to attaine a neutrall trade into Spaine. Theſe things bred great iealouſies in the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, whereupon they granted aid vnto them of Embden; ſo as vpon Whitſonday, captaine *Crwope* entred into Embden with foure companies of Friſelanders, the riuer alſo beeing ſhut vp with ſhippes, euen at the very inſtant when as cont *Enno* was with his troupes within a mile of the towne, thinking to haue entrance by meanes of his fauourites: and at the ſame time there were certain deputies ſent from the eſtates to reconcile all matters, but it was in vaine. B

Hereupon the earle fortified the villages of Hinta and Larrels, with other villages, to command the riuer of Ems; and at Logherhorn he made a very ſtrong ſconce, with fiue great bulwarkes, and another ſconce at Eylſemerziel, to maſter them of Embden, and to keep the ſhips from comming to the towne. C

They of Embden ſeeing themſelues thus coopt vp by the earles ſconces, were ſuters all the ſummer vnto the vnited prouinces for aid; they beeing buſie at the ſiege of Graue; the which beeing taken, in the beginning of winter (giuing friendly aduiſe to the earle to deſiſt from his pretended enterpriſe) they ſent monſieur *de Bois* a gentleman of Brabant, with nineteen companies of foot, of diuers nations, and ſome cornets of horſe, the which paſſed the Ems the laſt of October, notwithſtanding that the earle had foure thouſand men; and firſt he beſieged the fort at Hinta, the which he battered and tooke by force: from thence hee went to Grietziel, which yeelded by compoſition: ſome other ſconces were abandoned: Knocke was yeelded with the ordnance: at the laſt *du Bois* came to the great fort of Logherhorne, in the which there were ſeauen hundred men, the gouernour was *Yonker William van Kimphouſen*, there D were in it ſixteene braſſe peeces, all cannon and demie cannon, and whole and halfe culuerins, with eight yron peeces, beeing well furniſhed with all manner of munition; the earle intending to make it his chiefe ſeat for the warres. Monſieur *du Bois* made his approaches betweene two bankes, which they ſhould haue let if they had beene ſouldiers: the fort was not fully finiſhed; ſo as the gouernour *Kimphouſen* ſeeing himſelfe in ſome danger, vpon the thirteenth of Nouember yeelded the fort by compoſition, to depart out of the ſame with their colours flying, armes, and baggage, to leaue the ordnance behind them, and to be conueyed to Lierort; all priſoners to be releaſed, and good quarter kept, with other conditions. Hauing taken al theſe forts in 3 weeks ſpace, monſieur *du Bois* returned to Embden, where he was honourably entertained, and the next day he went to field againe, to lodge his ſouldiers in the E villages during the winter time, and to force them to pay him contribution towards the entertainment of his troupes.

The vnited Eſtates did aduertiſe the electors and other princes of the empire (who were incenſed againſt them) what reaſon had mooued them to vndertake this courſe; beeing aduertiſed out of the archdukes court, that all this preparation made by the earle of Friſeland againſt the towne of Embden, tended to no other end, but to deliuer the towne vnto the Spaniard; whereby he might enter freely into the riuer of Ems, and into that hauen, and ſo haue meanes to ruine the vnited prouinces, and the borders of the empire: wherefore they had vſed all meanes poſſible to reconcile the earle, and the towne of Embden; but the earle had not onely broken the contract made at Delfziel, but to the preiudice of his neighbours had built F many forts along the riuer of Ems, vſurping that which was neuer allowed to his predeceſſors. Beſides, they had many other reaſons which mooued them to ſuſpect the earle and his brethren; for that of late one of them had beene ſent into Spaine, and did ſerue vnder the archduke; and for that the Spaniards did hold that the earledome of Friſeland did belong vnto them,

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A them,as appeareth by the articles of peace made at Veruins; beeing alſo daily informed from the court in Bruſſels,what great matters were expected out of eaſt Friſeland againſt the vnited prouinces: wherefore they intreated them to conceiue well of that which they had done, not onely for their owne,but alſo for their neighbours good; and to aſſure themſelues that they would not fauour nor aid them of Embden in any thing that might bee preiudiciall to the priuiledges of the empire,or emperour: but yet they could not forbeare to aſſiſt them in their great neceſſitie. 1603

Enno hauing receiued this loſſe,went to make his complaint to the imperiall chamber, leauing the gouernment of Friſeland to his wife, who was daughter to the duke of Holſtein, with *Tyuker Kimphouſen* and his councell,but the next ſummer the earle went into Holland,

B where a reconciliation was made.

In the latter end of the yeare, there was an enterpriſe made vpon the caſtle of Wachtendonc in Gueldres,by meanes of a fiſherman who carried ſtraw in his boat by the riuers of Niers into the caſtle: at one time he carried ten or twelue ſouldiers hidden vnder the ſtrawe; and after vnder another burthen of ſtraw did lay captaine *Lambert Paſman*, with 14 ſouldiers more: paſſing by the caſtle bridge,the fiſherman intreated the ſentinel (beeing acquainted with him)to lend him his hand,to leape on land,the which he did; but the fiſherman drewe him into the water,and ſlue him: then the reſt leapt out,and ſeized on the caſtle gate, with the helpe of thoſe that were there before: with whom there ioyned certaine ſouldiers of the garriſon of Gueldre,who lay neere to it in ambuſh. Monſieur *de Rihouen* the gouernour was

C taken priſoner: they of the towne could not preuent it,beeing ſo ſuddainly done; but within three houres after (with the aid of the garriſon newly come from Ooſtend) they intrencht themſelues againſt the caſtle;and captaine *Cloet*, and captaine *Quaet* hearing thereof, beeing thereabouts with their horſemen,they entred into the towne,& beſieged the caſtle: the which being in ſome want of victuals,within ſixe daies they compounded, and deliuered vp the caſtle,departing with their armes,and 20 wagons to conuey their hurt men, all priſoners to bee ſet at libertie,and captaine *Quaet* remaining gouernour,vntill monſieur *Rihouens* returne.

They of Ooſtend did annoy the archdukes campe all they could, hauing ſince the begin- Ooſtend.

ning of the ſiege,vnto the moneth of March,1603, ſpent aboue 100 thouſand great ſhot, ſending their cannon often into Zeeland to be changed,or new caſt. And vpon the 6 of Aprill

D they made an enterpriſe vpon the Spaniards ſentinels vpon the eaſt ſide: and as ſome of their men were vnder the platforme to hearken what they did,they were diſcouered,and preſently the alarme was giuen throughout all the campe, the which forced them to retire backe againe.

The thirteenth of April the wind was very high, the which blew downe many old walles, couerings of houſes,and the church ſteeple;vnder the ruines whereof there was a man ſlaine, and another had both his legges broken: all the Spaniards gabions on the eaſt ſide were in a manner ouerthrowne,and their new works vpon the goullet wonderfully ſhaken. The night following the Spaniards gaue a generall aſſault vnto the towne with great forces: they pulled vp ſome hundred piles at the halfe moone on the eaſt ſide, but they were repulſt and for-

E ced to retire. On the weſt part they did aſſault the Porc-eſpic, and brought two hogſheads thither full of pitch and rozen;but in the end they were repulſt. They gaue another aſſault to The Polder ſquare taken. the Polder rauelyn,from the which they were at the firſt repulſt;but they returned with ſuch furie,as they became maſters thereof, with the Polder ſquare, or Catte, Weſt-ſquare, and South-ſquare,although there were vpon the Polder ſquare a demie cannon, with ſome yron peeces,which were not idle. Hauing taken theſe places,they put all to the ſword,and in the morning they ſlue all that were liuing in cold blood; and then they hung vp a gunner, and threw his bodie out of the trenches in ſcorne: the aſſault continued foure houres.

The ſame day,beeing the foureteenth of April, at nine of the clocke at night, the beſieged made a ſallie vpon theſe Cattes or ſquares, from the which they were repulſt, whereas they

F loſt in theſe aſſaults,captaine *Friſt*,the lieutenant colonel of the Suitſers,two enſignes, one of Engliſh,and the other of Suitſers,and foure hundred men; whereas the Spaniard had almoſt 1000 ſlaine,which made them out of hope euer to win the towne by aſſault. The beſieged redeemed the bodie of the lieutenant colonel of the Suitſers,for a hundred dollers,the which was brought into the towne.

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1603 During all this time, there went many ſhips in and out to Ooſtend, bringing in ſouldiers, A
and great ſtore of munition, ſo as at one time there were 80 companies in the towne; yet did
they not paſſe freely, without the loſſe of ſome ſhips and men: whereunto the Eſtates men
were ſo well accuſtomed, as they did willingly expoſe themſelues to the hazard, little regar-
ding the enemies cannon. Wee may ſee what cuſtome can doe, as we haue ſhewed in the
ſiege of Leyden, whereas not onely the inhabitants, but euen the cattel did accuſtome them-
ſelues vnto the warres.

A fight at ſea with Spinola's gallies. On the ſeauen and twentieth day of May, early in the morning, the wind beeing eaſterly,
a high water & a calm ſea, *Dom Frederic Spinola*, generall of the gallies, by the archdukes com-
mandement (who omitted no opportunitie to annoy them of Ooſtend) went out of Scluſe
with eight gallies and foure fregates well appointed with ſlaues and mariners, and manned B
with two thouſand and fiue hundred musketiers. He firſt ſhewed himſelfe at the weſt end of
the ditch or hole of Scluſe, betwixt the ſands called the Franche-pol, rowing to the eaſt end
of the ſaid ditch. The ſhippes and gallies of the Eſtates, and of prince *Maurice* beeing admirall
generall, ſeeing what their intent was, weighed anchor, and hoiſt vp their ſailes, bending their
courſe eaſtward, although they had both wind and tide againſt them, beeing in a manner a
calme. *Spinola's* gallies hauing the aduantage both of winde, tide, and ſunne, went northward
beyond the Franche-pol, into the Welinge or Gulfe, turning their prowes againſt the fleet.
About fiue of the clocke, the eight gallies diuided themſelues into two equall parts, beeing a
little diſtant one from the other: beeing thus in order, they came furiouſly, and with great
cries, after their accuſtomed manner, to charge the Eſtates armie. The two firſt gallies did C
ſet vpon the ſhippe of *Ioos de Moor*, vice-admirall, called the Golden lyon: *Dom Fredericke*
Spinola commanded in one of theſe gallies, the which had no flagge vpon her maſt, but onely
aboue the captaines chamber. *Moor* defended himſelfe valiantly, and his ordnance did great
Spinola ſlaine. ſpoile vnto the enemie; ſo as *Spinola* himſelfe had his deaths wound, and died before he could
get to ſhoare. There were foure other gallies that purſued the ſhip of captaine *Legier Peterſon*
of Groningue, called the Segel-hondt, or flying dog: one of them tooke her on the right ſide
of the ſtearne, and ſtriking her with his ſpurre made her giue backe. At which time the maſter
gunner of the Dog gaue fire to a peece, which raakt through the gallies, and made a way, as
if a wagon had paſt through them, and ouerthrowne all it had incountred. The blacke
gallie of Dordrecht in the which *Iacob Michielſon* commanded, encountred with the other D
two gallies: this fight hauing continned a while, two of the gallies which were neere vnto
Legier Peterſon, forſooke her, and went to charge the gallie of Zeeland, called the Flight, in the
which *Cornellis Ianſen* of Gorrichom was captaine, who plaied his part as well as the reſt, and
without doubt had wonne great honour, if there had not fallen out an accident of fire in the
gallie. The other two gallies did alſo leaue *Legiers* ſhippe, and rowed againſt the blacke gal-
lie; one of the which, was *Spinola's* vice-admirall, carrying a flagge vpon her maſt. Theſe foure
had worke enough with the blacke galley, the which defended it ſelfe ſo valiantly, as not-
withſtanding they were all grapled vnto her, meaning to draw her into Scluſe, yet were they
forced to abandon her after a long fight. The blacke gallie being thus freed, it went to charge
thoſe gallies that were in fight with *Ioos de Moor* the vice-admirall. Another ſhippe of cap- E
taine *Quirin Hendricks* of Zirrixee, called the Old dog, although it were not in fight, yet did
ſhee much harme to *Spinola's* gallies, entring among the reſt, and ſeconding them with her
ordnance; and eſpecially againſt them that fought with the vice-admirall, and the blacke
galley.

The ſlaughter was very great, eſpecially in the Spaniſh gallies; neither partie ſhewing any
baſe cowardiſe, they were ſo eager one againſt another with cannon, musket, and harguebuſe
ſhot; and then they came to the halfe pike, two hand ſword, cuttelas, and other armes, that it
was a fearefull ſight to behold: ſo as in the end the Spaniards fainting, ſeeing ſuch great abun-
dance of blood runne out at the skupper holes of their gallies, they fled in great diſorder to
Scluſe; yet carrying backe all their gallies, beeing fauoured by the neereneſſe of their re- F
treat.

The number of the dead There died in this ſea fight, the generall *Frederick Spinola*, with aboue eight hundred of
his men, and a great number of them hurt.

Of the Eſtates ſide, there were ſixe and thirtie ſlaine; among the which, was captaine
Iacob

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A *Iacob Michelſon*, and his lieutenant; the viceadmirall *Ioos de Moor*, and captaine *Leger Peterſon*, with ſome threeſcore others, were hurt. In the viceadmirall, and in the gally of Zeeland, there were ſome Engliſhmen of the garriſon of Fleſſingue, who did exceeding well, of the which there were eight ſlaine, and ſome fifteene hurt. *Ioos de Moor* the viceadmirall, commaunded at this fight, in the abſence of the ſeignior *William van Haulſtein*, who was admirall vnder prince *Maurice*: he hearing the noyſe of the ordnance, parted preſently from Fleſſingue, with fiue ſhips of warre, and one fregate, to come and ſuccour his companie before the ditch, but the fight was ended, and the enemie retired, before he came. In this battaile the ſaying of the royall prophet *Dauid* was verified, *That victories proceeded not from the force and ſtrength of man, but from the ayd and aſſiſtance of God.* 1603

B *Elizabeth* Queene of England, of famous memorie, being dead, vpon the foure and twentieth day of March, and *Iames* king of Scotland called to the ſucceſſion of the crowne; vpon the 8 of Aprill the vnited prouinces did write a letter vnto the king of England, as followeth.

The vnited prouinces letter to the king of England.

Moſt high and mightie prince, as we were with great reaſon grieued in our ſoules, for the newes of the death of the moſt high, great, mightie, and ſoueraigne princeſſe, the queene of England, of moſt worthy and famous memorie, in regard of the great loue and affection ſhee did alwayes beare vnto our eſtate, and for the ayd which we did ſtill receiue from her princely bountie, for our defence and preſeruation, againſt the king of Spaine and his adherents, whereby the remembrance of her ſhall for euer remaine eternized in vs and our poſteritie: ſo were wee much comforted, and reioyced in our hearts, to vnderſtand, that your Maieſtie with a generall applauſe of the Eſtates of the whole country, was proclaimed the true and lawful heire, ſucceſſor, and king of the kingdomes of England, Fraunce, and Ireland; and the rather, for that wee aſſure our ſelues, that your Maieſtie comming to the ſucceſſion of the ſaid kingdoms, will not onely continue your princely grace, and accuſtomed fauour, but will alſo of your princely inclination, inherit the ſame princely affection towards vs and our eſtate, which the aforeſayd noble queene, of worthy memorie, hath left vnto you; thereby to continue your gratious ayd, and bountifull aſſiſtance, for our preſeruation, for the welfare of all Chriſtendome, and your owne good, againſt the common enemie, as we haue long hoped and expected the ſame. And in effect to ſhew the reſolution we haue alwayes had to pleaſe and ſerue your Maieſtie, ſo wee beſeech almightie God (for the firſt part of our dueties) to bleſſe your Maieſtie in this ſucceſſion, to his glorie, and the propagation of his holy word; to exalt your Maieſties gouernment, with all ſtate and happineſſe; and to giue your Maieſtie health and long life, not onely to the glorie and comfort of your owne kingdomes and ſubiects, and of our eſtate, but alſo to the good and peace of all Chriſtendom, againſt the inſatiable ambition of the Spaniards, and their adherents: To which end we moſt humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, ſeeing it pleaſed the aforeſaid queene of famous memorie, in her later dayes, to grant vs leaue to take vp certaine ſouldiers in England, for to fill vp and make compleat the Engliſh companies, that ſerue vnder vs, as wee likewiſe beſought your Maieſtie to ſuffer vs to doe the like in Scotland; for the Scottiſh companies: that it will now pleaſe your Maieſtie to grant vs the effect thereof; that wee may at this preſent take vp the ſaid ſouldiers both in England and Scotland, to be tranſported into the Netherlands, there to be imployed in our ſeruice, as the neceſſitie of our cauſe requireth, and eſpecially for the preſeruation of the towne of Ooſtend: wherein we refer our ſelues to your Maieſties conſideration, kiſſing your princely hands with all humilitie, beſeeching the almightie God, to preſerue your M. throne in al happineſſe & glory, and your princely perſon in long life & proſperitie. Dated as aforeſaid, & ſigned by the generall ſtates of the vnited prouinces.

The vnited Eſtates ſent embaſſadors into England.

Preſently after this letter, they ſent an honorable embaſſage into England, the embaſſadors were, *Henry Frederic*, earle of Naſſau, yongeſt ſonne to the late prince of Orange, *Walraue*, baron of Brederode, monſieur *Van Olden Barneuels*, counſellor for Holland, and *Iacob Valck*, treaſurer of Zeeland; beeing accompanied with diuers gentlemen, as the lords of Batenborgh, Schagen, Trelongh, Herdenbrooke, Borſelle, with many others. Theſe embaſſadors arriued in England the 14 of May, eight daies after the kings entrie into London, and vpon the ſeuen and twentieth of May they had audience; where, beſides their congratulating of the kings comming to his new kingdomes, they layed open vnto him the eſtate of their affaires, and craued a ſupply of ſouldiers, according to the contents of their letters: the

1603 which was deliuered both by mouth and writing: but for that it is but a repetition of that A
which hath gone before, I forbeare to insert it.

The kings answer to the vnited Estates

The king made them a friendly answer, in generall tearmes, excusing himselfe, that he was but newly entred into his kingdome, and beeing ignorant of the estate and power thereof, hee thought it requisite, first to settle his owne affaires, and to be fully informed of all particularities, beeing most conuenient rather to seeke peace than warre; and that with all friendly care and affection he would continue all loue and friendship with them, as his predecessor had done, with many other exceeding good wordes, wherewith the embassadours tooke their leaues.

The archduke hearing also of the death of the Queene of England, sent a gentleman called *Nicholas de Schosy* into Scotland to sound the kings mind, how he stood affected, whether B
to peace or warre; and hearing that he had beene alwaies inclined to a good peace, he sent to all the coasts of Flanders, commaunding them not to touch nor molest any English man, neither by water nor by land; but to vse them with all loue and friendship, and withall, to set all their English prisoners at libertie. And at the same time he sent an embassadour into England, which was *Charles* earle of Aremberg, knight of the golden fleece, chancellor of estate, and admirall generall for the archdukes, beeing accompanied with his sonne, the baron of Seuenberghen, the earle of Bossu, the baron of Robles, the lord of Wakene, the lord of Swevigem, the earle of Phirtburg, the baron of Neuele, with many other gentlemen, his embassage tending (besides congratulation) to mooue the king to a peace, and to crosse certaine designes of the vnited prouinces; and for that the plague was great in London, hee road west- C
ward with the king: whither also the king of Spaine sent *Iohn Baptista Taxis*, earle of Villa-mediana, his postmaster generall, in embassage, who still sollicited the king vnto a peace: whereupon the king sent master *Ralph Winwood* in Iuly, to be his agent in Holland, with commission to let the Estates vnderstand that the archduke had made offer of a peace vnto him, whereunto he would not giue any care, vntill hee made them acquainted therewith, and to vnderstand if they would enter into treatie.

In the meane time the earle of Basigny, sonne to the Lord of Boxtel, wrot twice vnto the vnited prouinces, desiring a passport for himselfe, and for the pentioner of Antuerpe, to come into Holland, from the Estates of Brabant; but they made him answer, that he should send his charge and propositions in writing, whereunto answer should be made: but he wrot againe D
for a passport to come in person, for that his commission might be better deliuered by word of mouth, than by writing; but he could not preuaile.

About this time, and whilest the armie lay before Oostend, there was great dislike and iarres among the archdukes souldiers; for the Netherlanders could hardly agree with the Spaniards, nor the Spaniards like of the Italians: *Dom Louis de Velasco* a gallant souldier, being generall of the artillerie, was made generall of the horse, and the earle of Busquoy generall of the artillerie; but there were many commaunders which refused to serue vnder *Velasco*, as the duke of Osluna, who had raised two companies of horse, the which he discharged, either through pride, or for want: *Dom Alonzo d'Avalos* desired passport to depart, and so did *Dom Augustin de Mexia*, chastellcyn of Antuerpe: at which time there were foure thousand E
souldiers leuied in Arthois and Henault by the duke of Arschot, and by commission from the archduke, with promise that they should be paied by the Estates of the countrey; but beeing almost readie to march, the archduke himselfe would needes receiue the money and pay them; which made the Wallons to shrinke and run away.

It was said the yeare before, that the earle of east Friseland, was in controuersie with the towne of Embden; whereupon this yeare in Marrh, he came into Holland, to the Estates of the vnited prouinces, whereas all matters were debated betwixt him and the towne, and at the last by the means of mediators, they were recõciled before the general Estates, the which agreement was comprehended in 15 articles, dated the 8 of April. There were two draughts made of this accord, the which were signed and sealed by the earle, and the towne seale of F
Embden put vnto them: & at their requests they were sealed with the Estates seale, wherupon the earle took his leaue. Vpon the 18 of April the Estates sent commissioners to Embden, to cause thẽ of the town to accept the contract. The commissioners did what they could to haue

the

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A the earle performe the accord,and to haue it ſigned at the meeting of the Eſtates of the coun- 1603
trey;but the earle ſtill ſought euaſions, and at the laſt made no account thereof; ſo as in the end the commiſſioners after much toile,returned into Holland, *reinfecta.* The reaſons were (as the earle ſaid) that the remitting of all ſpoils and wrongs done, contrarie to the emperours command,belonged onely to the emperour, and not to the parties: that the emperour had reſerued all difficulties touching the cauſes of Embden,vnto himſelfe, and therefore the parties might not by meanes of the vnited prouinces, make any alteration or interpretation ther-of: that the aforeſaid imperiall reſolution was giuen in forme of a ſentence,and to bee obſerued by oath by both parties;ſo as now they ought not to doe any thing to the contrarie, nor alter the ſame,and that there were diuers points contained there, which did onely belong vn-
B to the emperout himſelfe. But the chiefe obſtacle,as it hath ſince appeared, was in regard that the emperour diſliked of the earles going into Holland,and that he had ſought ſtrange mediators in his cauſes;wherefore he cauſed all the ſaid articles to be made void by *Charles Nutzel* his agent.

Whereupon the ſaid *Nutzel* and *Miximilian de Cochy*, were ſent from the emperour vnto the vnited Eſtates; but *Nutzel* beeing forced to ſtay in eaſt Friſeland,expecting (as he ſaid) another commiſſion, *de Cochy* came to the Hage vpon the fifteenth day of Iuly, and there had audience of the Eſtates: where he made a repetition of all the proceedings of the towne of Embden,and how they were reconciled; and that ſince they of Embden had begun to rebell: wherefore the Emperour had beene forced to ſend out certaine commaundements a-
C gainſt them,vpon eſpeciall petition, and had forbidden the Eſtates to aide them of Embden;yet ſince he had vnderſtood that contrarie to his commandement,they had aſſiſted them with ſome ſouldiers,and vpon Whitſonday laſt paſt had taken in the towne, and then made open warre in the countrey,taking diuers houſes and ſconces, and ſpoiling the whole countrey,forcing the inhabitants to pay contribution; whereof they deſired reſtitution. Hee alſo complained of certaine famous libels,and deriding verſes that were caſt abroad,deſiring them to forbid the publiſhing of their apologies in their iuriſdictions. And after ſome conference with the ſaid commiſſioner in the Hage, hee deliuered them a certaine reply touching the laſt argument,anſwering to euery article,to ſhew why it ought not to be performed.

This embaſſadour had his anſwer from the Eſtates the ſeauenth day of Auguſt, contai-
D ning a declaration of the wrongs which their enemies had done vnto the empire, and of the pretended monarchie of Spaine,who ſought to ſubiect all vnder them: and therefore in the peace at Veruins,they had reſerued certaine pretences and rights vnto the countrey of Embden,and had practiſed vnder hand to ſeize vpon the towne and countrey, and to appropriate it vnto themſelues: and that the marqueſſe *Ambroſio Spinola* had commiſſion to conquer it, and to withdrawe it from the empire,as they had done the countries of Gueldres, Zutphen, Vtrecht,Friſeland,Oueryſſel,and Groningue, wherein they proceeded without any oppoſition or interruption: and for that it would tend to the great preiudice and hindrance of the vnited prouinces,they could not refuſe to aid them of Embden;wherefore they intreated the emperour not to miſconſtrue their action.

E And touching the accord which had beene made betwixt the earle and the Embdeners, they ſaid that the earle came willingly,and of his owne accord,into Holland, deſiring them to be mediators for the making of a good peace; the which was done according to the contract made at Delfziel,wherein they had not done any thing that might in any ſort blemiſh the emperours honor & reputation, & that whatſoeuer had bin treated by thē as mediators, was contained in the emperours reſolution,and the aforeſaid treatie (beeing wel vnderſtood) the which was at that time but plainelier laid open and ſet downe; hoping that the emperour could not take it in ill part, &c. with other humble ſpeeches. Whereupon the Eſtates hauing defraied the embaſſadours charges during his aboad there,and honoured him with a chaine of gold worth 1200 gulderns, hee left the Hage, and ſo this buſineſſe of Embden was
F not ended,by reaſon of ſome iealouſies.

The beſieged in Ooſtend had certaine aduenturing ſouldiers, whom they called Lo- Lopers of Ooſtend.
pers, of the which, among other captaines, were the yong captaine *Grenu*, and captaine *Adam van Leeſt.* Their armes which they bore were a long and a great pike, with a flatte head at the neather ende thereof, to the end that it ſhould not ſinke too deepe

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1603 into the mud, a harguebuſe hung in a ſcarfe (as wee haue ſaid of *Frebuters*) a coutelas at his A
ſide, and his dagger about his necke, who would vſually leap ouer a ditch foure and twentie
foot broad, skirmiſhing often with the enemie, ſo as no horſemen could ouertake them, before
they had leapt ouer the ditches againe.

The ſecond of Iune theſe Lopers brought in foure priſoners, whereof one was a ſentinel
perdue. And two nights after, the beſieged made a ſallie vpon Luys-bos with a hundred men,
they wonne the enemies platforme and trench, and turned their owne ordnance againſt
them, wheras they cloyed two peeces, & ſlue the corps de guard, with the gunners and other
officers of the ordnance, whom they found there. The beſieged loſt there the lieutenant
of the colonels companie of cont *Erneſt* of Naſſau, the firſt lieutenant of *Hauſman*, the yong
baron of Sancy, a french man; and *Grouestein* colonel of the Friſons was hurt, with many B
more: ſo as in the end hauing a new ſupply from the campe, the beſieged were forced to re-
tire. They buried all them that were ſlaine together, the common ſouldiers both of the
towne and the campe were laied in the downes, and the men of command were buried in
the towne.

On the twelfth day of Iune, the beſieged ſet fire on the weſt ſquare, the which burnt all
night: and on the foureteenth day the Spaniard beganne to batter the halfe moones from
the Polder ſquare; among others, that of Slimmer, to the which the night following they
gaue an aſſault. The gouernour of Ooſtend fearing that if the enemie ſhould winne that
place, he would build a fort which might greatly preiudice and annoy the towne, for that it
ſhould take from them the means to tranſport their materials; and with all they might there C
make a bridge ouer the goullet, which no man could impeach, and by that meanes goe from
one campe vnto the other in leſſe than halfe an houre, whereas now they muſt imploy aboue
ſixe: hee reſolued with the councell of eſtate to preuent it by the beſt meanes he could. The
ſame night the enemie paſſing at Beck-aff, vpon a bridge of ladders, and other deuices, were
receiued by tenne or twelue musketiers, which played vpon them, and ſo gaue the alarme, re-
tiring withall vnto their troupes, where they attended the enemie, who arriued in a manner
with them, crying, *Kill, kill, it is wonne, it is wonne*; but being furiouſly charged by them of the
towne, they retired with more ſpeed than they came. If they had charged home vnto the
halfe moones, they had beene entertained in the like manner; for they were exceeding well
manned. The next day the beſieged found many dead, and a part of the enemies bridge D
broken.

On the thirteenth day of Iuly, colonel *Dorp*, who had beene gouernour of the towne, de-
parted early in the morning; and at the ſame time the ſeignior *Vander Noot* (who had com-
manded there in the beginning of the ſiege) returned, bringing with him 4 companies of his
Zeeland regiment. On the two and twentieth day, the beſieged did ſet fire of Luyſ-bos, the
which did burne vp all the bauins and other wood, and all the loopholes, and there was a
great fire in the middeſt of it, the Spaniards did what they could to quench it, but it was in
vaine. The next day the beſieged planted gabions without the halfe moone of the Polder,
with an intent to raiſe another halfe moone, but finding the ground too wet for that purpoſe,
they left it. E

Prince Mau-rice comes before Boiſle-duc. After that prince *Maurice* had freed the caſtle of Hochſtraten, which was beſieged by the
archduke *Albert*, thinking to force the mutined ſouldiers that held it to ſubmit themſelues, he
came with all his armie, beeing ſome 130 enſignes of foot, and 36 cornets of horſe, on the 18 of
Auguſt, before the towne of Boiſleduc, the which he did inueſt, and campt before and about
the village of Fucht, the which he fortified, and intrencht himſelfe after his accuſtomed man-
ner. And whereas the prince had before made a certaine accord with the ſaid mutiners, they
went and campt betwixt Boiſleduc and Heuſden, in the village of Vlumen, beeing ſome 13
cornets of horſe, and the reſt foot, to the number of 3500 men, one and other: who hauing
fortified the church of the ſaid village, the footmen were lodged in cabbins, and the horſemē
in the houſes. This troupe being wonderfully incenſed againſt the archduke, by reaſon of his F
proſcription, did then weare all greene ſcarfes, wherupon they were for a time called the *green*
Gueux; keeping that paſſage well and faithfully, by the which victuals came vnto the princes
campe. Beſides, their horſemen were ſtill in field, doing much miſchiefe to the archdukes
men, and great ſeruice to the prince, and the vnited Eſtates.

The

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A The third day, after that the prince was lodged at Fucht, the archdukes armie alſo approached, vnder the commaund of cont *Frederic vander Bergh*, who camped at Dykendonc and Oudwater, neere vnto the towne; ſo as the two armies were within musket ſhot one of another. But the prince being firſt arriued, had the choyce and aduantage of the ground, camping in a place which they call *Petter*, where there are certaine ſmall hills ſomewhat riſing: on thoſe that were neereſt vnto the enemies campe, hee planted certaine ordnance, the which did continually ſhoot into the archdukes campe, annoying it verie much, by reaſon of the ſcituation, and the neereneſſe of the place: yet the archdukes men did not forbeare to fortifie, hauing a great number of pioners: The prince did alſo fortifie with all ſpeed, ſo as within few dayes hee made admirable trenches within musket ſhot of Fucht port, be- 1603
B fore the which they of the towne had certaine halfe moones, which had beene made before: by the which port they of the towne made a ſallie on the two and twentieth day of the moneth, vpon prince *Maurice* his campe, the which was like to a ſimple skirmiſh, without any effect.

On the 23 day, three cornets of the princes horſe did in the open field charge the enemies horſemen, who were forced to retire with good ſpeed, ſome being ſlaine vpon the place, and ſome taken priſoners.

The prince, through the commoditie of theſe high hils, did ſo annoy the enemie, as cont *Frederic* was forced to abandon his workes begun, giuing the prince leaue to take them, and finiſh them: whereupon he went by a low way, and paſt the riuer of Hekel, vpon planks laid
C vpon maſts of ſhips, euen vnto Saint *Anthonies* port, whereas hee cauſed certaine ordnance to bee planted, making the paſſage of that port ſo dangerous, as the beſieged dammed it vp.

On nine and twentieth of Auguſt ſome foure thouſand men went out of the archdukes campe paſſing (before the port of Orten) the riuer of Dieſe vpon two bridges of boats which were brought thither, marching towards a place, called the Deutere, a quarter of an houres march from the towne, right againſt Saint *Iohns* port, where they began to fortifie, thinking by that meanes to hinder the princes approaches vnto the towne; who conſidering what aduantage this might giue vnto his enemies, hee reſolued to charge them, incouraging his French and Scottiſh men (whom hee had choſen to that end) who went earely on the ſecond
D of September from the campe, after that the enemie had had three dayes reſpit to fortifie. At the verie inſtant when they ſhould charge, prince *Maurice* cauſed an alarme to bee giuen throughout all his campe, which made cont *Frederic* thinke that he went to aſſayle him: during which alarme, an aſſault was giuen vnto the fort by the French and Scottiſh; but they were brauely repulſt, and with ſome loſſe: whereupon the prince ſent them certaine new companies to ſecond them; who returned againe with a great reſolution, and finding the defendants diſmayed, they forced it at the ſecond aſſault: Of which number few eſcaped, for the townes-men kept their port ſhut, ſo as moſt of them were ſlaine, or drowned in the waters neere adioyning, except ſome two hundred, which the princes men tooke priſoners, among the which there was an Italian marqueſſe, whom they thought to preſent vnto
E the prince, but he dyed of his wounds by the way. This fort thus woon, the prince went thither in perſon, and for the better ordering of things, he lodged there all night. But let vs returne to Ooſtend.

A fort of the Spaniards taken, with great ſlaughter of their men.

All the reſt of the moneth of Auguſt (at the ſiege before Ooſtend) was ſpent in doing the worſt they could one vnto another, either by their fire-workes, or with their ordnance, their aduenturers going forth many times, and bringing in priſoners: neither did the ſhips paſſe in and out free from danger. One among the reſt hauing thirteene ſicke men, and fiue women in her, going foorth, hauing her helme ſhot off, fell into the Spaniards hands, who hung vp the ſicke men, except one, which could not goe vp the ladder, him they ſlew: as for the women, after they had rauiſht them, and ſtript them, with all indignities, they ſent them backe
F vnto the towne. This was an act, among others, of Spaniſh martiall diſcipline.

Ooſtend.

Crueltie of the Spaniards.

On the laſt day of Auguſt, the aduenturers brought in a horſe man of the Spaniards, which they had taken priſoner, and two dayes after they brought in an enſigne, a corporall, and an enginer.

On

1603 On the nineteenth of September, fortie ships going out of the towne, there were six sunk, A
and two taken by the Spaniards, one of them being laden with stuffe of great value, the which was a good bootie for the enemie; and yet they hung vp the pilot of the said ship: in reuenge whereof, they of the towne hung vp the horseman which had beene taken.

During this moneth the gouernour caused the new hauen to bee repaired, making it more commodious for the ships, than before. The infectious sickneſſe which was in the towne, began to swage, the towne being better furnished with good phisitians and chirurgians, & being daily better fortified. At that time there entred eighteene companies of supplies, sending the sicke and wounded men backe into Zeeland.

On the thirteenth of October there appeared without the towne thirteene great barks, and foure ships, comming from Sluce. It seemed they would make another float vpon the goul- B
let: wherefore they of the towne made readie to receiue them: and as at night they brought one, they were forced to carrie it backe againe presently. These barks and ships were manned with the slaues of Sluce. And vpon the three and twentieth of the moneth, they brought another, which was great and thicke, the which they planted almost halfe neerer towards the East rauelin, than the rest; where they opened fiue loope holes, and shot furiously against the bulwarke of Peckel: so as the besieged were forced to retire their ordnance a little, hauing at that instant no other place, from whence they might shoot at this float, but the bulwarke of Peckel.

On the six and twentieth of October the Spaniards planted a peece of Ordnance behind their float, with the which they made foure or fiue shot vpon the East rauelin: but the tyde C
rising, they drew backe their canon with much trouble. The besieged did what they could to annoy this float, beeing much troubled to drag their ordnance from one bulwarke to another, to shoot at this float, which the enemie sought to strengthen all hee could, with peeces of wood, and beating in of pyles behind, to make it stand firme: bringing afterwards another float, which went from the end of the first vnto the banke of the goullet: but on the twentieth of Nouember there came a violent wind from the sea, which brake it quite, beeing before much shaken by the towne canon, so as there remained in a manner no signes thereof. Yet the Spaniards were not so contented: for on the fiue and twentieth day they planted another, which was also broken in peeces, partly with the wind, and partly with the towne canon, so as when there came a spring tide, the pipes were parted and dispersed here D
and there, whereof many beames and other stuffe did float vp to the town: and so this inuention proued fruitlesse.

Ambrosio, marquesse *Spinola*, (brother to *Frederic*, generall of the gallyes at Sluce, slayne in the last sea fight (as wee haue sayd) had an enginer, called *Pompee*, who did vaunt, That hee would make an artificiall bridge, on the which they should goe through the goullet to the assault: of which bridge wee will discourse by and by, as of a deere and too costly follie.

The seignior of Ghistelles gouernor of Oostend.

On the eighteenth of December, there came one and fortie sayles into the towne, euerie one in a manner touched with the enemies canon, and yet all of them were saued, except one which sunke, and another laden with victuals, was abandoned by the pilot, and yet it en- E
tred into the towne. With which ships, there arriued the seignior of Ghistelles, to bee gouernour of the towne, and the seignior *Vander Noot* gaue him place, and returned into Holland, on the three and twentieth day of the moneth, on which day the captaine of the blacke gallie came into Oostend, with an hundred and fiftie mariners which he brought with him.

On Christmas day, the Spaniards brought another float, which was not verie great, against the which they of the towne shot continually, day and night, with eight peeces of ordnance, and could not breake it, it was so strongly bound together; and besides they laboured at it continually. They brought also another float, on the West part, the which they planted in a certaine place which looked towards the Porc-espic, beeing better than the F
other, for that the water is not so broad, as in the goullet; but being neerer vnto the towne, it was easily fired.

At that time the marquesse *Spinola*, generall of the archdukes armie, cast and displaced aboue

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A aboue ſix hundred men, as well commaunders and captaines, as commiſſioners and treaſorers; whereof ſome had put to the kings account, or to the countrey, fiue ſtiuers for euerie bauin, whereas they bought them for halfe a ſtiuer. This was ill husbandrie: but as the prouerbe ſayth, *A princes treaſure is ſubiect to filching*. The Eſtates did not husband it after this ſort: for the maintenance of the armie, the Flemings did contribute twelue thouſand crownes a moneth, comprehending the munition, forrage, and ſtuffe for building, to bee deducted by the other prouinces out of their taxe, for the terme of ſix moneths, beginning the firſt of Nouember. And the better to incourage the ſouldiers, they promiſed (Ooſtend being taken) to pay them all their arrerages; and moreouer, to giue them foure moneths pay, with a paſport for any one to retire, that would demaund it. 1603

B It was alſo ſayd, That the archduke hauing reſolued in counſell, not to leaue the ſiege of Ooſtend, whatſoeuer it coſt him, hee demaunded how long the duke of Parma had beene before Antuerpe: and anſwer beeing made him, About eighteene moneths (although hee were not a full yeare) hee ſayd, Hee was not then eighteene yeares; and although we ſhould continue ſo long before Ooſtend, yet wee would haue it, yea if wee ſhould imploy all that is in the king of Spaines power: whereupon hee ſent for the reſt of his armie, which was at Kempen, expecting 14000 new Spaniards and Italians, to reenforce his campe, being reſolued to ſet vp his reſt before Ooſtend.

This Summer the princes of Germanie had aſſembled at the towne of Regensbourg, where the archduke *Mathias*, the emperours brother, repreſented the emperours perſon: An aſſembly of the Eſtates of the empire.

C at which aſſemblie, moſt of their conference was about a contribution to bee leuied for the warres againſt the Turke, the which ſhould bee for the entertainment of ſixteene thouſand foot, and fiue thouſand horſe, both Winter and Summer: wherein there were many difficulties propounded, eſpecially by them of the borders of the empire, which lay neere the Netherlands, touching their warres. Whereupon they did generally conclude, That there muſt bee ſome meanes put in practiſe, to draw them to a peace: but yet they could not agree vpon the articles, which ſhould bee propounded to both parties that were in warre; nor yet to threaten them by proclamation, to bee enemies vnto the empire, that would not accept of ſuch reaſonable articles as they ſhould propound vnto them.

D In the end they concluded, to ſend certaine embaſſadours to perſuade both parties, and that with the aduice and counſell of the princes electors of Cologne and Cleues; and that there ſhould bee a collection of money, whereby they might force them that would bee obſtinat.

The emperour at that time had ſent embaſſadours to the princes of Saxonie and Meubourg, who alſo had commiſſion to mooue the king of Denmarke, to bee a meanes for the making and concluding of a peace in the countries of the Netherlands: To which end the emperour ſent a letter to the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, bearing date the foure and twentieth day of December, in the yeare 1603, containing the great complaints of the borderers of the empire, eſpecially of the duke of Cleues and Iuilliers, not onely for the The emperour writes to the vnited prouinces.

E inſolencies committed by the ſouldiers of the vnited prouinces, but alſo by the mutinous ſouldiers, who at that time were harboured and maintained in their territories; ſhewing, that they had committed many oppreſſions and inſolencies: and that they for their parts had often proteſted and promiſed, That the borders of the empire ſhould bee no more ſo ſpoyled and waſted, but that their ſouldiers ſhould bee kept in good order and martiall diſcipline, and that ſuch as offended, ſhould bee puniſhed. Wherefore once againe (in regard that his requeſt was reaſonable and iuſt) hee thought it good and expedient to admoniſh, and ſtraitly to charge and commaund them, That reſtitution might bee made, for the oppreſſions and wrongs which had beene done, according to their owne letters and promiſes; and eſpecially, that order might bee taken touching the mu-

F tinous ſouldiers, which had ioyned with them, and were then vnder their protection, and had a place of retreat deliuered them; for that the princes electors, and others, at their laſt aſſembly at Regensbourg had reſolued ſpeedily to remedie theſe inſolencies by force: and therefore hoping that they (to ſatisfie and content the empire) would bee careſull

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1604 to preuent all future disorders, and to do that which equitie, right, and iustice required; where- A
in they should doe him a special seruice, the which hee would acknowledge with all grace and
fauour, &c.

Prince Maurice retires from Boisleduc

The vnited Estates hearing of the comming of these new souldiers (for whom they wrought dayly to make breeches, dublets, and other apparell; for that commonly (especially the Spaniards) they come all ragged, and almost naked) besides, that the archdukes commaunders had found meanes to put some souldiers into the towne of Boisleduc, being incamped neere vnto it, knowing well what obstinat people were in the sayd towne, hauing tryed them in the yeare 1601 (when as, vpon the like occasion, and for the extreame frosts, prince *Maurice* was forced to rayse his siege) the sayd Estates and prince *Maurice* were resolued to imploy their men and meanes otherwise, and to retire from Boisleduc B
before winter, and in the meane time to refresh their men, to bee the better disposed in the Spring.

Oostend.

Vpon the first day of Ianuarie 1604, according to the custome of the warre, they of Oostend, and the archdukes campe, did salute one another with their canon and musket shot, which cost many of them their liues: and on the sixt or seuenth day, the lopers or aduenturers, brought a corporall and two souldiers prisoners into the towne, by whom they vnderstood, that the archdukes campe was fortified with fiftie ensignes of foot, and seuen cornets of horse; and that they did expect the archduke to see a generall assault giuen in all parts of the towne (the which an Italian which came voluntarily out of the campe into the towne, did confirme) and that vpon the first darke night they C
would assault the halfe moone which is vpon the goullet, where they would imploy *Pompees* bridge. The which was made in forme of a chariot, vpon wheeles which were fifteene foot high, and six foot broad: The bridge was on the hinder part supported by a high crosse beame, halfe of which bridge before, was to bee drawne vp, and let downe, by two cables, which past thorough two pullyes, the which were fastened to both the ends of the crosse beame: That which did beare the bridge, was a great mast, beeing an hundred and fiftie foot long, planted before the chariot: The bridge was threescore paces long, and sixteene broad. But this engine was made vnprofitable by the towne canon, beeing nothing else, but an inuention to bring men to the slaughter, as that of the duke of Alua at the siege of Harlem, and of prince *Maurice* before the towne of D
Steenwicke.

At that time the East rauelin had beene in a manner ouerthrowne by the tempest, so as the enemie had better meanes to annoy the comming in and going out of the towne, than before; who brought another float vpon the West part by the sand hill, ioyning to the old hauen: yet from the fifteenth of Ianuarie, vnto the nineteenth of Februarie, there entred aboue an hundred and fiftie vessels, great and small, with foure canons, two minions, and ten companies of souldiers.

The first of March the wind was verie great at the West and North-west, with a furious tempest, the which did verie much harme vnto the towne. The tyde did rise so high, as many were forced to leaue their lodgings and houses, so as the most antient of E
the towne sayd, they had not seene the sea so high in fortie yeares. This storme continued vntill the fift day of the moneth; it did quite ouerthrow the rauelin on the East side, with the counterscarpe vnto the East gate of the towne. The *Stroo-dique*, that is to say, the dike made of straw, which kept the water from vnder the souldiers feet, was broken in diuers places. The Spaniards halfe moone, vpon the goullet, was not free, nor yet their Luyf-bos, whereof there fell betwixt the two batteries, aboue an hundred paces, euen to the foot of the rampar, with the principall batterie towards the sea, so as there was not any thing left standing: and had not their new worke beene, Luyf-bos had beene quite carried away with the water, with the souldiers, and all that was within it. The old towne of Oostend, had a good share in this wracke, and if the wind had not F
fallen somewhat the third day, the towne had beene in great danger. A great part of the sand-hill was quite ouerthrowne: the porc-espic was not touched, but the counterscarpe was quite carried away. The archdukes workes on the West side, and their new approches

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A ches towards the old ſquare and Weſt ſquare, were ruined, except that which they had new- 1604.
ly made vnder the halfe moone of the Polder, the which ſtood firme.

On the 6 of March the beſieged abandoned the fort of Beckaff, which the archdukes men perceiuing, they caſt themſelues into it: but ſoone after, fearing there was ſome hidden fireworkes, which might blow them vp, they forſooke it: and that day there were ſpent on both ſides, aboue 3000 great ſhot.

The one and twentieth day of the moneth, in the after noone, the ſeignior of Ghiſtelles, colonell, and gouernor of Ooſtend, was ſlaine with a muſket ſhot: being opened, they found that the bullet had pierced his heart. His bowels were buried in the towne, and his bodie was imbalmed, and ſent to Vtrecht. Colonell *Loon* was choſen gouernor in his place: And the next
B day M. *Dauid d'Orleans Ingeneur*, and chiefe controller of the fortifications, was hurt, being the moſt famous man of that facultie, in Chriſtendome: hauing giuen order for all things, he paſt into Zeeland. The ſeignior of Ghiſtelles gouernor of Ooſtend, ſlaine

All this moneth the Spaniards toyled at the ſap on the ſide of *Albertus* fort; ſo as *Catris*, maſter of the camp, with the Bourguignons, were lodged in the counterſcarp by the polders, whereas *Catris* was ſhot thorough the bodie with a muſket, whereof he dyed, *Rouville* his ſergeant maior hauing beene ſlaine the night before. The ſeignior of Torres was ſent to commaund in his place, who made a faire eſcape, hauing a grenado, or ball of wild-fire, fallen at his feet. Captaine *Lieſtre*, brother to *Catris*, was ſore hurt there, and ſo was the ſeigniour of Malaiſe, lieutenant colonell of the Liegeois; the ſergeant maior of which regiment, called cap-
C taine *L'Enfant* was ſlaine. You may ſee how daungerous it was to lye ſo neere vnto the towne.

The Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, and prince *Maurice*, hauing for the reaſons aboue mentioned rayſed their ſiege from Boiſleduc, ſeeing the archduke to continue his ſiege obſtinatly before Ooſtend, the which he held ſtraitly beſieged by land, and did daily importune it; and although hee had not much preuailed in his deſigne, notwithſtanding his great expence of money, and loſſe of men, they were reſolued, in the Spring, to draw their armie together, and to force the archduke to rayſe his ſiege, or at the leaſt to prouide him worke in ſome other place, ſo as hee ſhould bee conſtrained to leaue Ooſtend, and turne towards them, or to draw away ſome of his forces, and giue them ſome reſpit to breath, from his continual alarms
D and aſſaults, hauing beene now beſieged almoſt three yeares. For the effecting of which deſigne, the Eſtates and prince *Maurice* cauſed all ſhips and boats fit for that ſeruice, to bee ſtaid, both in the countries of Holland, Zeeland, and Friſeland, to the number of three thouſand at the leaſt, one and other; the which they cauſed to come to the townes of Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Gorchum, Schoonhouen, and other places. The rendez vous beeing giuen them before the caſtle of Ramekins in Walchren, which is one of the iſlands of Zeeland; they of Amſterdam, Horne, and Enchuyſen, did furniſh fiue hundred ſayle. It was an admirable thing to ſee the ſouldiers and mariners, which came to Dordrecht, for whoſe ſeruice the ſaid ſhips were made readie, as well to tranſport the men, as for the artillerie, munition of warre, prouiſion of victuals, wagons, horſes, ſackes to fill with earth, pipes full of freſh water, and
E all other things neceſſarie for ſuch an exploit as they had deſigned, being a goodly ſight to behold this equipage.

On the one and twentieth of Aprill prince *Maurice* parted from Dordrecht, with ſome foureteene thouſand men, of the which there were twentie cornets of horſe, being accompanied by all the ſhips of warre, and others, which were come from diuers parts; the which continued the whole day, from morning vntill night, before they were paſt. Being come to an anchor before the hauen of Middlebourg, and along the ſide of Arnemuyden, they were found to be three thouſand and fiue hundred ſhips of warre, beſides ſuch as carried munition, and the baggage of the armie: at which place the prince did conſult with the Eſtates, where hee ſhould land in Flanders.

F On the 24 of the moneth, the gates of the towne of Arnemuyden ſtood open all night, and proclamation was made by the drum, That euery ſouldier, vpon paine of death, ſhould preſently imbarke in the ſhip where he was appointed: the which being done, & hauing a wiſhed tide all the fleet paſt towards Ramekins and Fleſſingue, bending towards the coaſt of Walpen, the which is at the mouth of Sluce; and hauing a South-eaſt wind, they put themſelues

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1604 The armie lands. ſelues betwixt Cadſant and Walpen, in the blacke hole, whereas they landed, the place beeing verie neceſſarie and commodious, lying but two leagues from Fleſſingue, and one from Sluce. A

On the ſix and twentieth day they entred into the iſle of Cadſant, without any oppoſition. Such as were in guard in the blacke hauen, and in certaine other places, fled, ſo as the prince marched directly to the fort of Hoſſted: and hauing taken it, hee went to the fort of Lyppine, cauſing the captaine (who commaunded there) to bee ſummoned to yeeld the place. Who anſwered, That hee would firſt ſee the canon before hee did yeeld it. Whereupon the prince ſent him word, That if hee attended but one volley of the canon, hee would put all within the place to the ſword: yet for that the captaine had ſpoken like a ſouldier, the prince commaund two canons to bee brought, the which were no ſooner ſeene by the beſieged, but they yeelded. B

The prince maſter of the iſle of Cadſant Thoſe of the fort of Eaſt Vlyet, were alſo ſummoned to yeeld, who made no other anſwer to them that were ſent, but by the canon: but ſeeing the ordnance planted, in the euening, they yeelded, leauing within the fort their artillerie, munition, and victuals, beeing ſome ſix hundred men in it: ſo as the whole iſle of Cadſant, with all the forts, were in the princes poſſeſſion. In the meane time the reſt of the armie was buſie to diſcharge their ſhips in the ſaid iſland.

The archduke being aduertiſed of the princes landing in that quarter of Flanders, hee ſent ſome troupes from his campe before Ooſtend, who arriued the ſix and twentieth day, and intrencht themſelues in a halfe moone, on the Weſt part of the hauen of Sluce, to ſtop the princes paſſage. C

On the ſeuen and twentieth day the prince ſent home ſome of his ſhips, with ſouldiers, and with them the blacke gallie, towards the mouth of Sluce, to paſſe his men in ſhaloups: but the archdukes men beeing there, to the number of one thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, camped neere vnto the ſayd mouth or entrie, and their ordnance beeing planted euen with the water, they gaue them ſuch entertainment, as they were forced to retire, with the loſſe of ſome mariners: notwithſtanding the prince had two batteries on this ſide the hauen, either of ſix peeces.

The next day there was little attempted, but onely the prince aſſured himſelfe of the iſle of Cadſant, and the archdukes men wrought in their trenches and fortifications. The prince D cauſed certaine peeces to bee brought vnder the caſtle of Sluce, to annoy the gallyes which lay within the hauen, but they drew them into the towne, and then they ſhot little of either ſide.

Ooſtend. In the meane time the beſieged in Ooſtend, hauing good intelligence of the princes landing, began to reioyce, hoping to haue ſome reſt (as indeed they had for a little time) but they did not leaue to ſhoot their fierie bullets at a great bulwarke which the Spaniards had made, called *Loucquen Pot*, where the fire tooke; the which the archdukes men perceiuing, they drew forth their ordnance, and ſuffered it to burne.

Prince *Maurice* hauing done what hee deſired in the iſle of Cadſant, beeing loth to looſe any time, hee ſent to diſcouer the moſt conuenient places to enter into the maine of Flanders, E ſo as on the laſt of Aprill he paſt the water in perſon, which goes from Sluce to Iſendike, where being entred without any incounter, hee preſently tooke the fort of Coxie, and the lieutenant, with ten other priſoners: all thoſe which defended themſelues, were ſlaine. Some priſoners ſaid, That they were much amazed, and that they of Sluce did fortifie dayly, ſetting their gally-ſlaues to worke, who ſerue them to no other vſe in the towne.

The archduke in the meane time was conſtrained to diſperſe his forces, according to the aduice of his counſell, and of his Eſtates, and to diuide them into three troups: one before Ooſtend, the ſecond againſt prince *Maurice*, and the third againſt the incurſions of the mutiners, the which were about three thouſand foot, and one thouſand and two hundred horſe; to whom were ioyned a thouſand and ſix hundred of prince *Maurice* his horſe, and a F thouſand and fiue hundred musketiers, mounted on horſebacke, after a new inuention, ſet vpon cuiſſins, the which were made the winter before in Holland.

Prince *Maurice* making his approaches to beſiege the great fort of Iſendike, he changed his mind, reſoluing firſt to force three other forts, which lay neere vnto it, ſo as on the firſt of March

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A May hee camped before Saint *Marguerites* fort, againſt the which there were ſome hundred canon ſhot made betwixt noone and mid-night; the which did ſo amaze them, that although there were about two thouſand men, horſe and foot, with the peaſants, yet they abandoned the place the night following, ſauing themſelues by flight: And the like was done by them that were in S. *Katherines*, and S. *Philips* forts, notwithſtanding that in al theſe three forts there were 3000 foot, and 16 companies of horſe. 1604

On the third of May the prince did in like manner beſiege Iſendike, whereas hee intrencht himſelfe in ſuch ſort by land, as nothing could get in or out; cauſing his ordnance to be planted, and commaunding certaine ſhips of warre to put to ſea, and to lye before it, with certaine pinaces and long boats, to ſtop the paſſage, that nothing might go in or out; ſo as they were Iſendike beſieged;
B verie ſtraitly beſieged, both by land and ſea.

In the meane time the archdukes men which were on the other ſide of the hauen of Sluce, thinking now to haue a good opportunitie to recouer the iſle of Cadſant, they cauſed a great number of boats to be brought from Bruges, in the which (and in ſome others that were in Sluce) they did imbarke 2000 men. But they that were appointed to guard the iſland by the prince (hauing ſuffered about a thouſand of them to land) they charged them ſo furiouſly, as they put them to rout, moſt of them beeing Italians and Spaniards; who ſeeing themſelues ſo roughly entertained, crying *a la barqua, a la barqua*, they ſought to recouer their boats againe, where preſſing to enter haſtily into them, one of them was ouerwhelmed, and a great number drowned: ſo as they could take but eighteene priſoners, and eight boats. The priſoners were
C ſent vnto the prince.

On the eight day of May there came three ſouldiers out of Iſendike, vnto the princes camp, who ſaid, That they had want of all things in the fort, and eſpecially of freſh water: that if the canon plaid vpon them, they would not make any great reſiſtance. Whereupon the prince ſent to ſummon them the next day, by one of his owne trumpets, whom they ſlew with a muſket ſhot. The prince being much incenſed for this outragious act, committed againſt the law of armes (which doth not allow any ſuch exceſſe, vnleſſe the trumpet or drumme (beeing called vnto) doth not retire himſelfe) hee ſent a drumme, to demaund him that had committed this act; threatning them, That if they refuſed to deliuer him, hee would not receiue any one to mercie. Whereupon the beſieged ſent forth two of their captaines to excuſe the
D fact; ſaying, That they knew not who had made the ſhot: and beeing deſirous to enter into capitulation, the prince would neither ſee them nor heare them, vntill they had firſt deliuered him who had ſlaine his trumpet. In the end they preſented an Italian: and then the compoſition of this ſtrong fort was made vpon theſe conditions. Iſendike yeelded vpon compoſition.

1 Firſt, That the beſieged ſhould goe out of the fort with their armes, and as much baggage as they could carrie, their matches out, and their drummes ſilent.

2 That they ſhould leaue the ordnance, and all the munition of warre.

3 That for the ſpace of 4 moneths, they ſhould not carrie any armes in Flanders, againſt the prince nor the vnited Eſtates.

4 That they ſhould furniſh them with ſhipping, to carrie away their ſicke and hurt men
E vnto the hauen of Sas: which ſhips they ſhould bee bound to ſend ſafely backe againe; for the which they ſhould leaue two captains in hoſtage, vntill their returne. According to which accord they left the fort, on the 10 day of May, at fiue of the clocke in the after-noone, beeing 600 Wallons and Italians.

The next day the prince went with a thouſand foot, and ſeuen cornets of horſe, before a little ruined towne, intrencht with barricadoes, called Ardenbourg, lying betwixt Gant and Sluce, the which is another paſſage, ioyning to a land which is drowned by the ſea, in the which there was a regiment of Germanes, and ſome troups of horſe, to ſtop the paſſage; but they had as little courage and reſolution as the reſt, flying into the mariſhes behind, and abandoning withall, a good ſtrong caſtle, into the which there were two thouſand men put
F in garriſon, the which holds Sluce beſieged on that ſide. Thus the prince entred the ſecond time into Flanders, ſending his horſemen to ſcoure the countrey, euen vnto the ports of Bruges, Gant, and Courtray, from whence they brought good booties; ſo as the Flemings found themſelues more oppreſt now than euer, all the burthen of the war being (through their own fault) fallen vpon themſelues.

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1604 An enterpiſe in Brabant, made by prince Maurice and the ſquadron.

When as the vnited prouinces had reſolued, vpon the enterpriſe of Flanders (hauing contracted with thoſe of the Squadron of mutiners, who not long before were come out of Weſtphalia, where they had committed many outrages, and inſolencies, vpon the poore people, cleane contrarie to their contract made with the vnited prouinces, whereupon the countrey bordering thereabouts, had held an aſſembly at Eſſens, but to ſmall purpoſe) they procured them to make an incurſion with them into Brabant, and Henault, the prince hauing lent them certaine troups of horſe (as wee haue ſayd) led by the droſſart of Zeeland, who had three demie canons with him, meaning thereby to diuert the warres in Flanders. Theſe were appointed to goe by the countrey of Liege into Brabant, along by the cauſey, thereby to diuert the archdukes forces, and to keepe them from going ſtrongly into Flanders: the Squadron promiſing to ſpoyle all the villages in Brabant, and to force them to contribution; whereof they themſelues ſhould haue the one halfe, and the Eſtates the other, towards the maintenance of their warres. This being thus concluded, the Eſtates troups, on the nineteenth of Aprill, went into the countrey of Keſſel, and vpon the Meuſe: and vpon 21 day, the mutinous Squadron iſſued out of Graue, and marched towards the land of Cuyck, and ſo ioyned with the droſſart of Zeeland, from whence they marched in ſeuerall troupes towards Maſtricht, Stochem, Tongres, and Thienen: and yet before they parted out of the Graue, the archduke had offered them vnder hand, three fourth parts of their pay in readie money: and that they ſhold quit the fourth part, in regard of the ſpoyles which they had made, and the contributions which they had exacted from their neighbours, and other countries: the which three parts they ſhould receiue preſently after the account and reckoning ſhould be made: And that they ſhould deliuer vp the caſtles of Hoochſtraten and Carpen, and the ordnance of Erkelens: and that in the meane time they ſhould hold Hoochſtraten and Carpen, for their ſecurities.

Whereunto the mutiners made anſwer, That they would haue their full pay that was due vnto them; and for their ſecurities, Maſtricht, Venloo, or Rutemonde: and for hoſtages for the accompliſhing thereof, they demanded the earle of Fontenay, *Stephano d' Ibanna*, and *Dom Alphonſo d' Auales*: which done, they would reſtore Hoochſtraten and Carpen, with the ordnance of Erkelens. The archduke was moued to yeeld vnto their demands (for that there were ſome inconueniences doubted in Flanders: and beſides, there were 800 Spaniards more at Gemblours, readie to mutine, and to ioyne with them of Graue. Notwithſtanding this propoſition, the mutiners marched forward with the Eſtates horſemen, thereby to make the archduke the more willing to yeeld vnto their pay: and on the 28 of Aprill in the night, they came before Thienen, where the generall Eſtates would gladly haue had them to aſſault the towne in a weake place: but they followed their owne humors, cauſing a petard to be ſet vnto a port of the ſuburbes, the which they forced and ſpoyled: but in the meane time they within the towne went to armes (cont *Frederic* being newly come into the towne, had put all things in good order) ſo as they were forced to retire, with the loſſe of 30 men, and many hurt: yet they made certaine ſhot with their great ordnance, againſt the towne (but to no purpoſe) where one of their peeces burſt. And ſo parting from thence, they went to Hannyt, where they entred, on the nine and twentieth day, and there reſted certaine dayes; but they would not haue the villages forced to pay any contribution, but that which was behind; and yet they had promiſed the contrarie vnto the vnited Eſtates, that they might thereby giue no further cauſe of offence, expecting ſome compoſition to be made for them; ſo as the Eſtates horſemen could not doe otherwiſe, vnleſſe they would haue quarelled with the ſayd mutiners, for the which they had no commiſſion. During their abode at Hannyt, on the laſt of Aprill, *Herman*, earle *Vanden Berghe*, hauing obtained a paſport, entred into the towne of Graue, to make ſome other offer vnto them, and ſo to ſtay them from making any further inuaſion: but he returned the ſame day; which they that were abroad vnderſtanding, from that time forward they ſo carried themſelues, as they would not commit any more inſolencies; but ſought delayes to win time: for being mooued by captaine *du Bois*, and the droſſart of Zeeland, to march into Henault, and to doe ſome exployt there, they anſwered, That it was impoſſible for them to effect any thing with expedition, in reſpect of the ordnance, with other ſuch excuſes, and yet they durſt not diſcouer their pretence, which was not to make any offenſiue warre; but they perſuaded the commaunders, to goe from Hannyt to Hoy vpon the Meuſe, and to leaue their ordnance there, and ſo to march foreward: hoping by that meanes to draw them into the

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A borders of Liege, for certaine dayes, and to keepe them from Brabant, and ſo to free that prouince from the feare which their entrie had cauſed, the which might haue hindered their ſecret treatie with the archduke. 1604.

The Eſtates commanders ſeeing their determination, were forced to yeeld; yet, after that, they found, that the mutiners themſelues had aduertiſed them of Hoy, and willed them not to open their gates, thereby to haue ſome new colour of excuſe, and further delay; ſo as comming the fift of May before Hoy, the townes-men refuſed to open; ſo as they returned backe to Caſſy and by ſmal iourneyes approched neer vnto Henault, doing nothing vpon the way, but ſent out meſſengers, to get in the contributiõ which the villages did owe, without any further demaund, ſo as the Eſtates horſmen could hardly get any victuals: and ſometimes going
B forth to ſeeke ſome, they were ſlain. Vpon the 10 of May they entred into Henault, betweene Binche and Berghen, and there the Squadron did flatly deny to march any further; whereof captain *du Bois* and the droſſart did certifie prince *Maurice*, by their letters, being in Flanders, and got the Squadron to conſent to lye there certaine dayes; which ſtaid the archdukes ſouldiers from going out of Brabant into Flanders, fearing leaſt they ſhould follow them, or vndertake ſomething in their abſence: In the meane time the mutinous Squadron did nothing elſe, but ſeeke by all the meanes they could, to get in the arrerages of their contribution, without attempting any other thing with the Eſtates ſouldiers, which bred great iealouſie and ſuſpition.

The ſixteenth of May, the whole armie (that onely excepted which was left for the guard
C of the iſle of Cadſant) beeing diſlodged from Iſendyke, paſt by Ardenbourg, taking the way towards the towne of Dam, which is vpon the chanell which goes from Bruges to Sluce. Vpon the way, halfe a league from Dam, there is a water, which cannot eaſily bee waded thorough, for that it is deepe of mud; the which hath a little bridge and a ſluce, whereunto the tide flowes. *Dom Louis de Velaſco* had intrencht himſelfe at this paſſage, being foure thouſand horſe and foot; whereas the paſſage was ſo narrow, as two horſemen could hardly march in front. The fort was defenſible, and able to haue ſtaid the princes armie, yet after ſome reſiſtance, they quitted the place, and retired by Dam, vnto the other ſide of the riuer. They loſt at this charge two hundred men vpon the place ſlaine and hurt, beſides many that were drowned; among the which there were eleuen captaines ſlain and priſoners, where-
D of two were Italians, one of them *Spinola's* kinſman, and one Spaniard, a ſergeant maior verie ſore hurt, and more taken priſoners than were ſlaine.

The ſame ſouldiers being on the other ſide of the riuer, made a ſhew, as if they would once more attend the prince; and to that end they lodged themſelues in a place of more aduantage, than that which they had abandoned, hauing a great chanell, by the which the ſea did flow vnto the towne of Bruges; and beſides that, the riuer and the banks which did couer them.

On the eighteenth of the moneth, part of the princes armie hauing beene all night in bat- The prince campe before Sluce.
taile, monſieur *de Chaſtillon* hauing the point with part of his French regiment, thinking to go and charge them, he found that they had abandoned the place: So the ſame day, at night, the
E armie went and camped before Sluce: and vpon the 23 day S. *Georges* fort (which ſtands vpon the hauen of Sluce) was yeelded vnto the prince, but they left a peece of a match burning, the which at three houres end, ſhould haue ſet fire of nineteene barrels of powder; the which was diſcouered by one of their owne men comming forth. This paſſage being won, he cauſed the fort of Beckaff to be aſſailed, with ſome others without the towne, whereas they did fight valiantly, and aboue all, the Engliſh ſhewed great courage and reſolution. There the prince loſt the ſeignior *Vander Aa*, captain of his foot guards, who had his arme ſhot off with a canon, and was thruſt through the body with a pike by an Italian; yet in the end the princes men were maſters of all, euen vnto the towne ditches.

On the thirtieth of May, the archdukes men, being foure thouſand foot, and 2600 horſe,
F thinking to put ſome men, victuals, and munition of warre into Sluce, were charged, and put to rout by the prince, all their victuals and munition being taken: There were few ſlaine vpon the place, whereof the number is vncertaine, for that the country is ful of mariſhes. *Spinola's* gallies being to no vſe in Sluce, they took forth the ſlaues, & ſent thẽ out of the town, with ſome ſouldiers; who being incountred by the princes troups, were preſently amazed and diſperſed.

1604 About an hundred of these slaues being chained two and two together, fled vnto the princes campe, where they were well intreated, and sent away free into France. A

On the fift of Iune, being Whitson eue, generall *Spinola* gaue a furious assault vnto Oostend in three seuerall places, with the greatest obstinacie that might be. They renewed this assault thrice, and it continued eight houres. The Spaniards had made certaine mynes, the which did more hurt vnto themselues, than vnto the besieged, hauing giuen fire too soone. On the enemies side there were 800 men slaine, and 500 hurt; and among them the seigniour of Bossompiere, who had beene a great leaguer in France. Of the besieged there were about an hundred slaine, and some hurt.

On the seuenteenth of Iune the enemie gaue another assault, the which continued from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntill eight at night, in the which the Spaniards did win some rauelins of the polders, whereas they lost 150 men, and the besieged about an hundred; among the which there was a Scottish baron, and foure captaines: This baron did but newly arriue, who taking a halfe pike, ran vnto the rampar, to incourage the souldiers, where he was carried away with a canon shot. And although the besieged in these assaults behaued themselues verie well, yet their enemies lodged vpon the rampars of the polders, verie neere vnto the towne, where they intrencht themselues strongly. And at the same time, during the assault, there entred seuenteene companies into the towne, with munition and victuals, by the goullet. B

The mutiners reconciled to the archduke

The archduke hauing beene constrained to imploy a good part of his forces, to suppresse the insolencies and incursions of the mutiners, the which hee could not doe: hee therefore sought all meanes to reconcile them, the better to fortifie himselfe against prince *Maurice*, who lay before Sluce: the which he did, vpon promise, to pay them what was due, remitting all which they had leuied by way of contribution, with an abolition and pardon of all that was past, and reuoking and disannulling the proscription which was made against them: giuing them for their securitie and pay, the towne of Ruremonde in the countrey of Gueldres, in hostage, to euerie foot-man 12 pence a day, and to euerie horse-man 2 shillings 6 pence, vntil they had receiued their full pay. C

According vnto this accord made, with the consent of prince *Maurice* and the vnited Estates they deliuered vp vnto the archduke, the castles of Carpen & Hoochstraten, with the artillery which they had taken from Erkelens, and to the prince and the Estates, the towne of Graue, and the sixteene hundred horse, and fifteene hundred musketiers, which they had lent them, proceeding sincerely in all points: Wherein they discharged their duties, like true souldiers, and defaced the blot of rebellion, wherewith they had beene blemished. Moreouer, by their accord, they were not subiect to serue the archduke, vntill they were fully satisfied. And this was the good the archduke got by his proscription. D

The disposition of the princes campe before Sluce.

Prince *Maurice* hauing now no enemie in field, to make head against him, after that hee had taken Saint *Georges* fort, and the Spaniards hauing abandoned a halfe moone before the towne, wherein they left foure peeces of ordnance: hauing now no more obstacles, hee set downe the order of his campe, making his owne quarter on the North side, the which hee did fortifie with many trenches, and square forts, as well against the towne, as the enemie abroad. Cont *William* of Nassau, his cosin, gouernour of Friseland, had his quarter fortified almost like vnto the princes. Cont *Ernest*, brother to cont *William*, was somewhat further off, on the West part of the towne, intrenched and fortified as the rest, with a bridge vpon the riuer of Kreck, to goe to Sternenbourg, vpon the South-west. Within the drowned land, there were foureteene ships, and some barks, the which was the quarter of colonell *Vander Noot*, with some square forts. E

The prince hauing caused them of Sluce to bee summoned, their answer was, That they had store of powder and bullets for him. Whereupon it was told them, That the prince was sufficiently informed, that they wanted both the one and the other. And although that the prince had so straitly besieged Sluce, both by trenches, forts, and palisadoes, yet seuen hundred souldiers at one time, and eight hundred at another found a passage, and entred with some victuals and munition into the towne, through the drowned land, in view of the princes men; and yet they could not hinder their passage, by any meanes which they could vse. F

The

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A The prince wiſht there had entred more men, that they might conſume their victuals the ſooner; but fearing they ſhould bring ſome munition that way, he commaunded colonel *vander Noot* to keepe a guard in his ſhips, and where as the greater veſſels could not goe, he ſhould place boats, with fiue or ſix ſouldiers in either of them, to remaine there in guard; ſo as it ſeemed, that not any one could get in or out: whereupon there were foure or fiue meſſengers with letters taken in the ſame place. 1604

The beſieged ſeeing themſelues thus preſt, made certaine ſallies, but of ſmall importance; and to their loſſe, the princes canon being ſo planted againſt all their ſallies, as they could not peepe out of the towne, without the loſſe of many men.

Certaine ſouldiers come from the ſiege of Ooſtend, had taken their way whereas the reſt
B had paſt, where being gathered together, they called vnto them that were in the boats (thinking they had beene of their owne men) to paſſe them into the towne: who making no ſhew of any thing, being fortified with a ſufficient number of ſouldiers, well armed, went to fetch them. In the end theſe Spaniards finding their owne errour (but too late) cried out, Good « God, whither go we? we haue committed an errour which will coſt vs deere: we were blind, « or aſleepe, to put our ſelues thus infortunatly into our enemies hands. What reaſon had wee « to leaue a good countrey, to come into theſe curſed mariſhes, and to dye of hunger in a baren « meadow? Whereat the captaine of the ſhips begun to laugh, ſeeing them thus perplexed, to whom he ſaid, You are come ſomewhat too late in all things, eſpecially in matter of enterpri- « ſes, whereas time imports much: but diſpaire not, we will not leaue you here, but will bring «
C you to our ſtore-houſe of cheeſe, where wee will intreat you ſo well in that reſpect, as you « ſhall haue no cauſe to complaine: And I aſſure you, that if you will tell the truth vnto prince « *Maurice*, how it ſtands with the ſiege of Ooſtend, I will imploy my beſt credit to ſet you at li- « bertie: the which he did; for after they had beene examined, and payd their ranſomes, as ſoul- « diers, they were let go into Sluce. «

The prince vnderſtood from theſe priſoners, and others, That the archdukes men pretended to put great ſtore of victuals and munition into the towne; which was to depriue him of the moſt aſſured meanes to take it ſpeedily, whereon hee did chiefely ground his deſigne. To preuent this danger and inconuenience; beſides the approaches and fortifications of his campe (wherein the ſouldiers and mariners laboured continually) hee fortified the
D ſeigniour *Vander Noot* with ſome troupes, commaunding him in particular (for that the drowned land was his quarter, and did import him moſt) to haue a care that this conuoy entred not into the towne. The like charge was giuen by the prince to all the other quarters.

The beſieged expecting this conuoy, they ſent forth fifteene hundred gally ſlaues, and fiue hundred ſouldiers, at the verie inſtant, when as the tide was gone out of the drowned land; but they could not paſſe, by reaſon of the good order which the prince had ſet, and their carefull guard. Some foureſcore and ten of theſe ſlaues eſcaped; who came and yeelded themſelues at the princes campe, who after hee had asked them ſome queſtions, ſuffered them to goe where they pleaſed. In the meane time this conuoy approached ſecretly; the
E which being come vnto the drowned land, they were ſo entertained by the ordnance, as they were forced to retire, without putting any victuals into the towne.

Vpon this alarme giuen to the campe, the prince purſued them with a part of his armie, and hauing ouertaken them neere vnto Dam (in the ſame place where hee had defeated the others ſome dayes before) euen as they had cauſed ſome of their wagons to paſſe ouer, after that hee had ſhot two vollies, with two field-peeces, which hee had brought with him; hee charged them ſodainely: their horſemen, beeing a thouſand, fled to Dam, whither the footmen followed; and the carters left their horſes, to ſaue themſelues. Thus this conuoy was put to rout, of the which there were a great number ſlaine, and two hundred priſoners taken: they had an hundred wagons laden with meale and other victuals and munition;
F which they had laden at Bruges; all which was loſt, and ſerued to victuall the princes campe: who hauing intelligence, that there came another troupe of 3000 men, which were neer vnto Moerskerke, he marched directly to them: who hauing but notice of his comming, put themſelues in rout, of which there were many ſlaine, and 120 priſoners, with 18 wagons of victuals, which were carried to the campe.

The conuoy ouertaken by the prince, and defeated.

Another conuoy in rout.

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1604 The beſieged being out of hope of all reliefe, were amazed, and did trye if they could free themſelues of their vnneceſſarie mouthes, eſpecially of their ſlaues, whom they ſent once more out the ſame way; but they were beaten backe into the towne, as before, and yet ſome fortie of them eſcaped. A

There was another letter ſurpriſed from the gouernour vnto the archduke, whereby hee did aduertiſe him, That he was ſtraitly beſieged without the towne, but within he was incountred with two cruell enemies, hunger and gally ſlaues.

The beſieged and the beſiegers entertained one another daily with their ſhot, but they within the towne were better husbands, reſeruing their ſhot and powder at greater need, for an aſſault. There appeared dayly ſome of the archdukes troups, to giue courage to the beſieged, and to trye ſome meanes to ſuccour them: Once among the reſt there came 9 cornets of horſe towards cont *Erneſts* quarter, who ſeeing good guard kept, retired, through fauor of the night, without any exploit. B

The prince in the meane time, as well to keepe the ſouldiers occupied, as to be prepared for all euents, cauſed diuers trenches, platformes, and bridges to bee made, as well to paſſe ouer waters, as to goe couered vnto the aſſault. Sometimes a dike brake in the campe, which filled all their trenches with water, and made them worke for eight dayes to repaire it: during the which the beſieged ſeeing that the princes men ſhot not at them, they cryed out, *Where is now your canon, haue you layd it to pawne in the Lombard? begone ye beggers, begone.* To whom they anſwered, *You ſhall ſee it but too ſoone, to your loſſe, with the which wee will haue you ſhortly, and then wee will goe and rayſe the ſiege of Ooſtend*, with other ſuch ſouldier like threats. The beſieged had ſet a float neere vnto their caſtle, to plant ſome ordnance thereon: the princes men went thither with boats, but they were ſo entertained with musket ſhot, as they were forced to retire. C

The prince did often viſit his whole campe, and paſt into Cadſant, to ſet al things in order, cauſing his men to repaire and fortifie, where hee ſaw it needfull. His armie grew daily ſtronger in men, and ſouldiers arriued howerly, both Switſers and other nations, by bands of twentie, thirtie, or more. There came foure hundred Switſers at one time, the which, with others that came before, had their quarter vnder cont *Erneſt*. The lord of Termes arriued alſo, with a good troupe of French horſe, who was verie kindly entertained by the prince, and after they had walked about an hower with cont *William* of Naſſau, they ſupt together.

Many ſouldiers come to the prince.

There was verie good martiall diſcipline, and ſeuere iuſtice in the campe, which made all things verie good cheape; there comming great aboundance of victuals out of all parts of Holland and Zeeland. The campe ſeemed a good towne, and there was a ſtorehouſe well furniſhed with munition, and all other things neceſſarie. D

The beſieged ſhot much at the princes ſhips which lay in the hauen, to driue them out, or to ſinke them: but the captaines hauing commaundement to continue there ſtill, they vanquiſhed their importunat ſhooting by patience, ſo as they were forced to ceaſe, and to ſpare their powder. The princes men ſhot at the wind-mils within the towne, and beat them downe.

By reaſon of the inundation of the countrey, which was couered with water, the towne could not bee ſo ſtraitly beſieged on all ſides, as the prince deſired: for there are certaine medowes, and other places, which the ſea doth inuiron, or couer, at a high water, and the tide being ſpent, they are left drye: there they incountred daily, and ſtill ſome were ſlaine, or taken priſoners. Wherefore the prince, to ſpare his men, that he might be the better able to reſiſt the ſuccours which the beſieged attended, made a defence, that no ſouldier ſhould go to the war, without commaundement, vpon paine of death; cauſing a ſouldier to bee hanged, who had beene ſaued from the gallowes twice in one day, to giue example vnto the reſt. E

The vnited Eſtates commaunded publike prayers and faſting throughout all their prouinces, to craue aſſiſtance at Gods hand, in this important action. The prince did alſo command the like throughout all his armie, forbidding them to buy or ſell any thing that day, vpon paine of death. F

The beſieged in Sluce in great extremitie.

If the prince did preſſe the towne without, hunger did afflict them more within: among other neceſſaries, they had great want of wood to bake their bread, ſo as they were conſtrained to pull downe houſes to that end; which made them to practiſe all meanes to write vnto the archduke, and to acquaint him with the eſtate of the towne. A Spaniard went out of the towne

A towne on horſebacke, to trie if hee could finde a paſſage, but being diſcouered by the guards, he fled backe into the towne leauing his horſe behinde, the which was drowned. The next day he returned againe with eighteene musketiers, and hauing paſt the ſame way which hee viewed before, hee had layed his companie in ambuſh at a certaine paſſage: ſoone after there went eight Switſers whom they ſlue; which they of the campe perceiuing, they did inueſt them, and cut them all in pieces. The beſieged made alſo a ſallie, but the guards were ſo well placed, as they were ſtill forced to retire. 1604

The fourth of Iuly Cont *Henry Frederick* the princes brother, with Cont *Erneſt*, and *Lewis*, with ſome ſoldiers, being wearie to lye ſo long idle without any action, went euen vnto the gates of Dam, where as the ſentinell gaue the alarme preſently: theſe yong noble men ſtay-
B ing to braue it before the towne, were ſoone charged with the garriſon which was much ſtronger than themſelues, ſo as they were forced to retire with the loſſe of foure or fiue horſe.

The mutinous ſoldiers of Hochſtraten hauing made their peace, and compounded with the Archduke, being two thouſand ſtrong, they went to ſerue him in Flanders at the reliefe of Sluſe, where they ſhewed themſelues more forward than any, and diuers of them were ſlaine: but many of them hauing receiued their full pay, ran away, ſome home into their own country, others fearing puniſhment went and ſerued prince *Maurice*; among the which two of the chiefe being both horſemen, left their fellowes being in Roemonde, and went to the Graue, (their names were *Thomas Viller* and *Papouken*) with a good troupe with them, who vpon the 17 of Auguſt came before Sluſe to the princes armie, where they carried themſelues verie va-
C liantly; ſo as *Papouken* being baniſhed out of the vnited prouinces, for that he had been one of them that had ſold Geertruydenbergh, in regard of his valour and experience, was reconciled to prince *Maurice*. The mutiners ſerue the Archduke at the reliefe of Sluſe.

The prince aſſuring himſelfe to take Sluſe by famine, cauſed his batteries to ceaſe, for that he would ſpare his powder and ſhot.

And the Archduke weighing the neceſsitie of the beſieged, and the great importance of that place, meaning not to deferre it, after the taking of Ooſtend, as he had hetherto done, hee reſolued to ſuccour them: to which end he ſent the marqueſſe *Spinola* with a good number of the beſt ſoldiers which he had before Ooſtend. The prince knowing his victory to depend only on the preuention of theſe ſuccors, prepared himſelfe to reſiſt them, viſiting his campe
D often, and giuing order for the guards and fortifications, and for all things neceſſarie to receiue them, reſoluing to attend them in his trenches, and not to meet them. He ſent to all the tents and ſhops of marchants, pourueyers, and victualers, to know how many men they had, commanding them when the alarme ſhould be giuen, to come to a certaine place, where they ſhould be armed. They of the towne did often make ſignes with fire to them that came to ſuccour them, the which they might eaſily diſcerne. Spinola comes to relieue Sluſe.

On the 28 of Iuly, their ſuccours camped betwixt Bruges and Dam, being ten thouſand men, who conducted ſix hundred wagons laden with meale, and other prouiſions to relieue the towne: from thence the Archdukes men went before Mittlebourgh, the which they tooke by compoſition, yet the caſtle held out 4 or fiue dayes longer for the prince: then
E they paſſed cloſe by Ardenbourg, where as they skirmiſhed with the garriſon of the towne, where as there were ſome of the Archdukes ſoldiers taken, by whom they of Ardenbourg vnderſtood part of his deſignes, whereof they did aduertiſe the prince.

The 29 and 30 of the moneth, they ſhewed themſelues toward the quarter of colonell *Vander Noot*, and there tooke a little fort which the princes men had abandoned. In the meane time they played ſo furiouſly vpon them from three batteries, as they were forced to giue backe: they left ſixe and thirtie men in this fort, the which was preſently recouered by the princes men, and thoſe within it put to the ſword. The beſieged meaning to make a paſſage for their ſuccours, the next day made a ſallie with two hundred men, who carried a certaine bridge to caſt ouer the chanell, but they were driuen backe into the towne, without any ex-
F ploite doing. *Spinola* ſeeing that he could not enter into the towne by the quarter of *Vander Noot*, he ſent ſome part of his troupes to campe neere vnto the village of Lapſchuyre, by the which he thought to finde a more eaſie paſſage.

The prince knowing that the enemies deſigne was to caſt himſelfe into the towne by the fort of Pimſter Blom, in 48 houres he made a great trench to cut off his paſſage. Thoſe which laboured

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1604 laboured making some shew of feare, for that the enemies small shot played continually vpon them to hinder their worke, they were commanded not to giue ouer, vpon paine of hanging. *Spinola's* men made sundrie attempts to force the campe, but they were still repulst with losse. The prince seeing the enemie camped so neere him, caused 64. pieces of ordnance to be mounted betwixt the quarters of cont *Ernestus* and *Vander Noot*, commanding the cannoniers to discharge euery piece once in an houre both day and night; the which did a great execution, and slue aboue 500 men in 24 houres. A

The besieged in the meane time did all they could to fauour their succours, and did often send of their men towards *Spinola*; whereof some past, but most of them were taken by the way. *Spinola* also for his part omitted nothing that might be put in practise; hee caused certaine caualiers and batteries to be made in his trenches to shoot into the princes campe, especially vpon a bridge 400 paces long, the which was before the marriners fort, making a shew as if he would attempt to enter into the towne that way. The prince (to preuent this designe and the wild fire which they might cast vpon this bridge) fastened masts there with anchors, and shot furiously from thence vpon *Spinolas* pioners, the which disappointed that designe. B

Omitting to make a particular repetition of all the batteries, skirmishes, and ordinary exercises of souldiers before Sluce; in the end the number of *Spinolas* men decreased dayly, as well through the spoyle which the princes canon made, as by reason of other discommodities: and as it is an ordinarie thing, that one mischiefe drawes on another, the souldiers being tyred with such toyle, ran away to the prince in troupes of 40 or 50 at a time, the number whereof in a short space came to seuen or eight hundred men; beside those that did steale away by other means. The prince sent them which yeelded themselues vnto him into Zeeland, and so to passe from thence where they pleased. C

Spinolas men run away.

This did trouble *Spinola*, but the necessitie of the besieged did much perplex him, seeing there was no meanes to make a passage into the towne, but by a generall combat: wherefore he resolued to force the princes campe, and on the 6 of August, hauing discouered that cont *Williams* quarter was the weakest, he assayled it in the morning: his horsemen had euery one a musketier behinde him, they charged and entred the trenches, where they did fight valiantly on both sides; whereas the combat was doubtfull and cruell. At this fight they of the towne caused their bels to be rung, to mooue euery one to pray vnto God for the good successe of the archdukes armie: some cried out victorie alreadie: the aduantage inclined sometimes to one part, sometimes to another. In the end the princes men recouered their trenches, and forced *Spinolas* men to flye. There were a great number slaine of either side, but the greatest number were of the archdukes men, who were slaine in the retreat. At night *Spinolas* men presented themselues before the same place, as if they had an intent to charge againe, but seeing the princes men more resolute than before, they retyred. Yet *Spinola* not satisfied with this assault, hauing discouered a marish place toward Lapschuyre, where there were no ships in guard, he sent certaine men in a boat, who found the place full of stakes and piles, so as there was no meanes for their boat to passe: one of them cast himselfe into the water to swim into the towne, but being discouered by the sentinell, he returned. D

The great want in the towne.

Their wants were exceeding great within the towne; the best bread was made of all sorts of graine mingled, and the souldiers had three quarters of a pound a day allowed to euery one. There was some controuersie betwixt the gouernour and the generall of the galleys, for the distribution of bread, for that they gaue none vnto the galley-slaues, who labored more than the souldiers: they were forced to eat dogs and cats, and sometimes they might heare the women and children make lamentable cries: which made many without feare of danger to come and yeeld themselues at the princes campe, who receiued them courteously, and gaue them to eat. In the end, finding that it would make their victuals to last the longer, and would protract his victory, they hauing also stayed vntill the extremitie, and put him in hazard of a battaile, he did forbid them to suffer any more to passe; whereupon three offering to come forth, they made a signe vnto them with their hats to retire, the which they refusing to doe, they shot at them and slue them. Yet some few daies after there came a corporall forth with 12 souldiers, and yeelded themselues, to whome they gaue their liues. E F

They made a sallie of 40 men on the 14 day of August at night, and being in fight, there came 50 of the archdukes men to ioyne with them; but they found such resistance, as either of

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A of them was forced to retire from whence they came, without any great effect. This was done, to get a meſſenger to paſſe: and indeed a reſolute ſouldier during the fight, caſt himſelfe into prince *Maurice* his trenches, entertaining the ſentinell with words, that hee might get away; ſaying, That he was the round: the corporal being come at the ſentinels call, demanding the word, he ſlew him, and ſo paſt on. 1604

Spinola being well informed of the eſtate of the towne, and ſeeing that he could not releeue it, nor enter, as he had imagined, he retired in great haſt, without ſound of drum or trumpet, in the night about 10 of the clock, on the 16 of Auguſt: and the ſame night he went with al ſpeed by Ardenbourg, vnto Oſtbourg, where, without any ſtay, he went before S. *Katherines* fort, in the which there were 70 ſouldiers in garriſon for the prince; the which he battered, and tooke
B by compoſition. The beſieged did their dueties, and would not yeeld, vntill they had filled their ditches with dead men.

The prince being aduertiſed of *Spinola's* retreat, he tooke a certaine number of ſouldiers out of euerie quarter, and went after him. *Spinola* ſeeing himſelfe purſued, put his armie into battaile, neere vnto Oſtbourg, behind a dike. The prince charged him furiouſly, hauing giuen the point vnto his musketiers. In the end *Spinola* was forced to retire, leauing 300 of his men vpon the place. The prince loſt ſome 50. The ſame day the prince ſent to aduertiſe them of the town that their ſuccours were defeated: and his men burnt *Spinola's* campe. For all this *Spinola* fled not, but had another deſigne, meaning to enter into Cadſant, wheras the beſieged would haue made a bridge. He took S. *Philips* fort alſo by compoſition, hauing not then aboue 4000 men
C in his armie. The prince hauing obſerued his deſigne out of *Vander Noots* quarter, went to Caxie, by the which *Spinola* muſt paſſe, ſending cont *William* before, to hinder his paſſage at a certaine ſmall ſquare fort; the which *Spinola* did charge furiouſly: and the princes men made ſuch reſiſtance, as they ſpent al their powder and ſhot, defending themſelues a good ſpace with their pikes, halberds, and ſwords; who were in danger to be forced, but for the vertue and valour of cont *William* (who had withſtood the aſſault in his trenches, on the 6 of Auguſt, & now againe hé performed the dutie of a couragious ſouldier, and a valiant captaine, giuing a goodly example vnto his followers.) In the mean time the prince ſent them 4 freſh companies, with powder and ſhot, the which did ſo incourage his men, as they repulſt their enemie, and ſlew three or foure hundred vpon the place; among the which was the marqueſſe of Renty, of the
D houſe of Lalaine and Croy, *Alphonſo Borgias*, a commaunder of the Spaniſh foot, and monſieur *Maintenon*, a French man, with diuers other men of commaund; whoſe bodies, with the ſouldiers permiſſion, were ranſomed.

From thence *Spinola* went and camped before Iſendike; but in the end, ſeeing his number ſo decreaſed, and his ſouldiers ſo daunted with ſo many loſſes, hee retired, and effected not any thing, being the 18 of Auguſt. The ſame day the beſieged, being without all hope of ſuccours, they ſent an Italian captaine, called *Lippin*, vnto the prince, to demand 6 or 7 daies libertie, to aduertiſe the archduke of the eſtate of the towne, and to treat of their yeelding. To whom the prince anſwered, That he would giue them ſix weeks, as ſoone as ſix dayes. The women and children ſtood vpon the rampars, attending the princes mercie; who refuſing to giue any time
E vnto the beſieged, in the end *Lippin* beſought him to ſend three hoſtages into the towne, for their ſecurities, that ſhould come the next day out of the towne, to treat with him. They of Sluce demand a parle

The next day betwixt 8 and 9 of the clocke, the prince ſent *Elſt*, *Eskeren*, and a Frenchman, all three captaines: and there came vnto the camp *Lippin*, the ſergeant maior of the towne, & the earle of Styerems lieutenant; who trifling out the time in long diſcourſes, and impertinent demands, the prince ſaid vnto them, Chuſe one of theſe conditions, If you deliuer vp the towne on the 20 of this moneth, I will ſuffer you to depart with your armes, matches light, bullets in the mouth, colours flying, and all that belongs vnto ſouldiers. If you attend vntill the 21, you ſhall carrie away nothing but your ſwords. And if you ſtay vntill the 22, I will haue you at my diſcretion. The princes offers to them of Sluce.

F Hereupon two of the deputies, leauing the third in hoſtage, returned vnto the towne, with theſe conditions; and the night following they returned, betwixt 11 and 12 of the clocke, accepting the firſt condition: and the articles of accord were as followeth. The articles of the compoſition.

1 That all church-men might depart with their ornaments, goods, and all that belonged vnto them.

2 That

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1604 2 That the gouernour, captaines, officers, and ſouldiers, of what condition ſoeuer, alſo the captaines of gallies, and all other officers and free marriners of the ſaid gallies, might depart freely vnto Dam, with their baggage, armes, and colours flying, bullets in their mouthes, drummes ſounding, and matches light: and to that end they ſhould haue barks and boats to conuey them to Dam, for the which they ſhould giue hoſtages, vntill they returned. A

3 That the gouernour, and the ſeignior *Aurelio Spinola*, ſhould bee bound to deliuer into the hands of ſuch as his Excellencie ſhould depute, all the gallyes, barkes, and fregates, ordnance, powder, and all that belonged vnto them: as alſo the towne canon, munition for war, and all other engines and inſtruments, without any fraud or ſpoile done vnto them.

4 That the gally-ſlaues ſhould be all ſet at liberie, without any exception, and it ſhould be lawfull for them that would follow the garriſon, beeing once at libertie, to doe it freely. B

5 That all priſoners ſhould be deliuered without ranſom, vpon condition, That the gouernor, and the ſeignior *Aurelio Spinola*, ſhould procure, that captaine *Saye*, hauing been taken priſoner with the marriners, by them of Boiſleduc, & captaine *Iay* of Raed, being priſoner with his men in Viluoord, as alſo the three mariners of Breda, being priſoners at Gant, ſhall bee ſet at libertie, euerie one paying a moneths pay to thoſe that tooke them, and their charges: or for want thereof, the ſaid *Aurelio Spinola*, ſhall promiſe, vpon his faith and word, vnder his hand and ſeale, to put himſelfe priſoner into his excellencies hands.

6 That no man ſhalbe detained for any debt or money, which the bourgers haue lent vnto the gouernor and others, the gouernor promiſing to giue them ſatisfaction in the towne of Bruges. C

7 That all muſter-maſters, and other officers, which haue mannaged the accounts & paying of ſouldiers, may alſo depart freely with their mouable goods and papers touching their charges, not taking away any of the charters or regiſters of the towne.

8 That all officers and commiſſaries of the victuals, of the admiraltie, and of the king of Spaines armie, ſhall do the like.

9 That the gouernor ſhalbe bound to deliuer the caſtle this night into his Excellencies hands, that he may put 200 men into it.

10 That to morrow the garriſon ſhall depart out of the towne.

Made in the campe before Sluce, the 19 of Auguſt 1604.

What the prince found in the towne.

Behold how the vnited Eſtates tooke this towne of Sluce, by prince *Maurice*, their great captaine, and admirall generall, euen in view of the archdukes armie. There were found in it eleuen great gallies, wherof 7 were verie much ſhaken (but afterwards repaired by them) the reſt were verie good and new, with a great number of other ſorts of boats; 84 peeces of braſſe, and 24 of yron, with great ſtore of powder, bullets, and other munition for war; the which made them much ſtronger, both by ſea and land. D

And with theſe honourable conditions they departed out of Sluce, being about 4200 men, almoſt hunger ſtarued.

The Eſtates after this conqueſt, being contented for this yeare with the importance therof, ſpent ſome time in fortifying Sluce, and Iſendike, the which they did inlarge more than halfe, and haue made it a good towne, with a capable hauen: they fortified Ardenbourg alſo, and other places, in the which they haue many Ooſtends; and ſo much the ſtronger, for that they are neere one vnto another: Beſides, theſe places are more commodious to make war in Flanders, being in the heart of the countrey, and neere vnto Bruges, and other greater townes than Ooſtend, which is in a remote quarter, among the downs and ſand hils, the which they might block vp with forts, and ſo leaue it, as they did ſince the yeare 1599, whereas Sluce is the key of traffique. The newes of this loſſe was ſoone diuulged, the which cauſed great murmuring, and ſodaine alterations in the countries thereabouts. In Holland and Zeeland there was nothing but giuing of thanks to God, bonfiers, banquets, and ioy; yea at Ooſtend (whoſe end drew neere) the ſouldiers ſhewed their ioy with their canons and muskets. In the archdukes country there was nothing but heauineſſe, the people murmuring, and ſaying, That what they feared, was come to paſſe, ſeeing that Ooſtend held good after the loſſe of Sluce. Some did imagine, that the prince would go with his victorious armie, and raiſe the ſiege of Ooſtend, and that by meanes of the intelligences which he had in ſome townes, he would ſtrangely ſhake the archdukes affaires: But things fell out otherwiſe, as we will ſhew. E F

The

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A The archduke hauing loſt Sluce, reſolued to haue Ooſtend, rather to repaire his honour and loſſe, than to reape any fruits of his three yeeres labour, holding that his reputation was not in ſo great danger, as the good of his wiues countrey which he enioyed; whereas now there was no practiſe nor inuention omitted to take the towne: And the beſieged, being encouraged by the victorie of Sluce, made a wonderfull reſiſtance: there was a generous emulation, and miraculous deedes of armes. 1604

There were diuers mynes made, which wrought diuers effects, ſometimes hurtfull to the beſieged, and ſometimes to the aſſaylants. *Spinola* hauing made his approches, by mine and other deuiſes to Sandhill, he reſolued to giue an aſſault; but finding the Spaniards vnwilling, and to flye from all ſeruices, for the enuie that they bare vnto him and to the Italians, he made
B choiſe of the Germane regiments, vnder the earles of Folgia, and of Barlaimont, being moſt of them old ſoldiers and of great reſolution; who after great reſiſtance tooke Sandhill, and ſlue all that had not retired in time, the which was a great loſſe to the beſieged: it was ſaid, that *Spinola* gaue vnto theſe ſoldiers out of his owne bounty fortie thouſand gulderns to drinke, with great thanks and commendations.

The beſieged expected ſuccours daily, but they fayled them, as there is nothing more doubtfull than the euents of warre. There was great hazard in the reliefe of Ooſtend, the which although the ſiege had been raiſed, could hardly haue been kept, and in the end would haue wearied the vnited Eſtates, eſpecially wanting ſuccours from England, by reaſon of the peace concluded betwixt the kings of England and Spaine: beſides it might
C be dangerous for the Eſtates armie, if they ſhould faile in their attempt, or receiue any affront, whereby there would haue growne an inuitable miſchiefe, which was the diuiſion and weakning of their army, the which would haue giuen a great aduantage vnto the enemie: wherefore they reſolued to fortifie the towne of Sluce, with all their armie, the importance whereof made them not to apprehend the loſſe of Ooſtend.

The beſieged in Ooſtend hauing attended ſuccors a moneth after the taking of Sluce, and had ſent often vnto the vnited Eſtates, and to the prince aduertiſing them in what eſtate they were; and that the archdukes Germanes had taken a part of the towne, from whence in ſhort time they might cut off their hauen, and depriue them of the benefit of the ſea; they thought that without doing wrong vnto their honours, they might lawfully compound with ſo cou-
D ragious an enemy: beſides they had aduice from the prince, to make the moſt honourable compoſition they could, being of opinion that the Eſtates ſhould not charge themſelues any longer with that towne, ſeeing they had taken Sluce, which was held of farre greater importance, and ſo many other new forts conquered, the which they muſt furniſh. They of Ooſtend reſolue to compound.

According to which aduiſe monſieur *Marquet* gouernour of the towne of Ooſtend, with the councell of warre, entred into treaty with the marqueſſe *Spinola*; and hauing firſt ſent away their beſt ordnance into Zeeland, leauing ſome only for a ſhew, they yeelded the towne vnto the archduke, leauing it all ruined, and without inhabitants, after a ſiege of three yeeres and eleuen weekes (the which hath not been ſeene theſe many hundred yeeres in Chriſtendome) and departed the 22 of September, with their full armes, and marching like ſoldiers
E in battell, with foure peeces of ordnance, and munition for tenne ſhot, (the moſt honourable compoſition that could be) and paſsing along by Blankenbergh they went vnto the princes campe, being yet about Sluce, buſie in his fortifications. An honorable compoſition at Ooſtend.

The archduke hauing Ooſtend at command, would needs goe ſee in what eſtate the towne was; whereas they found nothing but hils of earth and trenches, and heapes of ſtones of the houſes and churches which had been ruined with the canon, where they had worke inough, to repaire, ſo as he was forced to entertaine his army there all the reſt of the ſummer, before he could bring it to any good order, and caſt downe his trenches, with many of the forts. For the repeopling of this towne, he graunted goodly priuiledges, and gaue land by inheritance, to them that would build and inhabit there, with immunitie of exciſes and cuſtomes for cer-
F taine yeares, and accommodating the garriſon as well as he could.

It is vncertaine what numbers were ſlaine during this ſiege of Ooſtend, yet it is ſayd, that there was found in a commiſſaries pocket, who was ſlaine before Ooſtend the 7 of Auguſt before the yeelding thereof, diuers remarkable notes and obſeruarions, and among the reſt what number died without in the archdukes campe of euery degree.

Maſters

1604

Masters of the campe	7.	Sergeants	1911.
Colonels	15.	Corporals	1166.
Sergeant maiors	29.	Lanspisadoes	600.
Captaines	565.	Soldiers	34663.
Lieutenants	1116.	Marriners	611.
Ensignes	322.	Women and children	119.

All which amount to 72124 persons.

Which number is not so great considering the long siege, sickness, and the cold winters vpon the sea coast, in so cold a clymat, fighting against the elements. It is vnknowne what number died in the towne, the which is thought was much lesse, for that there were not so many in the towne, who were better lodged, had more ease, and were better victualed.

At the same time about three hundred horse of the vnited estates, made a sudden incursion into the countrey of Luxembourg, whereas they surprized the towne of Arlon, the which they spoyled a whole day together at their pleasures: then carying away their bootie, and many good prisoners, they came to Duyts right against Cologne, where hauing shipt their goods and prisoners, they sent them by the Rhin into Holland, and they returned by land into the vnited prouinces, to their garrisons.

The marquesse Spinola goes into Spaine.

The Marques *Spinola* hauing (as we haue sayd) finished the siege of Oostend, and wonne thereby much honour and reputation, he was sent by the archdukes into Spaine, as well to giue an account of his actions, as to procure a new prouision of money, and to receiue the reward of his seruices from the king; the which were such, as at his audience in the kings chamber, his maiesty saluted him with the name of duke of Saint *Severino*, whereof he gaue him the title, he made him lieutenant generall to the archdukes in the Netherlands, gaue him the earledome of Vogira in the duchie of Milan in Italie, with a pension of twelue thousand crownes a yeere for his diet; commanding he should be put in the number of the Grandos of Spaine, besides other goodly rewards which the king gaue him.

The death of Lodowike earle of Nassau.

Sluce being taken, *Lodowike Gunther* earle of Nassau, who had maried the countesse of Walckenstein, and Broeke being sicke, died in Sluce: this *Lodowike* was the sonne of old *Iohn* earle of Nassau, and brother to *William* and *Erneste* earles of Nassau, being a gallant yong earle, and one that was much lamented, hauing been employed in many great enterprizes: and at the same time prince *Maurice*, and diuers others were also sicke.

In remembrance of the long siege of Oostend, and the winning of Sluce, there were certaine counters made in the vnited prouinces, both of siluer and copper, the one hauing on the one side the picture of the towne of Oostend; and on the other the townes of Rhinberke, Graue, Sluce, Ardenbourgh, and the forts of Isendyke, and Cadsant, with this inscription round about it, *Plus triennio obsessa, hosti rudera, patriæ quatuor ex me vrbes dedi. Anno* 1604. Oostend being more than three yeeres besieged, gaue the enemie a heape of stones, and to her natiue countrey foure townes. Another counter, hauing on the one side the siege of Sluce with this inscription. *Traxit, duxit, dedit. Anno* 1604. On the other side were the armes of Zeeland, and round about it, *Beatus populus cuius adiutor deus.*

The towne of Vtrecht did also make a triumphant peece of coyne, both of gold and siluer, where on the one side stood the siege of Oostend, and on the other the siege of Sluce, all the forts and hauens, and on both sides round about was grauen, *Iehona prius dederat plus quam perdidimus.* 1604.

The king of England being quietly seated in the royall possession of the crowne, the king of Spaine, and the archdukes had sent their embassadours into England to make an ouerture of a peace (as wee formerly shewed) and this yeere, on the nineteenth of May certaine commissioners came into England to that end, during the siege of Oostend and Sluce: for the Archdukes came the earle of Arembergh, sir *Iohn Richardot* president, and sir *Lewis Verreyken*, secretarie of estate; and for the king of Spaine came *Alexander Rouido*, doctor and councellor for the king in Milan, who had in his company as an assistant *Martin de la Falia*, Baron *Van Niuele*: but *Dom Ioan Fernandes de Velasco*, Constable of Castilia and Leon, duke of Frias, earle of Hara &c. councellour of estate, and for the warres, had only full power and authority to conclude for the king of Spaine; who remaining sicke at Wynoxberghen in Flanders, by vertue of his commission, gaue authoritie to *Ioan Baptista Taxis* earle of Villa Mediana,

A Mediana, and to doctor *Rouſdo* to treat. What followed in this treaty, I thinke it needleſſe to inſert here, being ſo well knowne to euery man. 1604

After the concluſion of this peace betwixt England, Spaine, and the archdukes, the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces called ſir *Noel Caron* their agent (then reſident in England) to come home into Holland, and to acquaint them with the eſtate of England ſince the peace with Spaine; whereupon the king gaue him letters of recommendation, with certaine inſtructions concerning the money which was owing by the vnited prouinces vnto the crowne of England, the king deſiring that embaſſadours ſhould be ſent ouer vnto him to that end, the which was done accordingly. The general Eſtates returned ſir *Noel Caron* back into England, giuing him the title of their embaſſador, and commiſſion to cary himſelfe ſo in all places: the B which made many to wonder, and the Spaniſh embaſſador to ſtorme, who preſently demanded audience, and made his complaint vnto the king of the wrong was thereby done vnto the king his maſter, who was diſhonored thereby, contrary to the league and friendſhip which was then betwixt them, deſiring that all acceſſe vnto the court in that quality, might be denied him, as being ſent from ſuch perſons as had traiterouſly fallen from their lord & ſoueraigne prince, with many other bitter words, and full of ſpleene. To whome the king of England made anſwere, That hee was not yet informed of any ſuch matter, and that when as hee ſhould be fully certified thereof, he would make him an honorable and a reaſonable anſwer: and afterwards vpon conference with his councell, he told the Spaniſh embaſſadour, that he had no knowledge of the Eſtates reſolution, but yet he thought it good to let him know, that C by the contract of peace made with Spaine, all neutrality with the Netherlands was allowed him: ſaying moreouer, that as he was no author of their ſeparation from Spaine, ſo would he not break the league and friendſhip, that hee found his kingdome to haue made with them; neither was it for him to cenſure the errours and faults of the Eſtates, (if there were any) nor to make anſwere for them: ſhewing him further, that hee was not reſtrained by the contract from giuing audience vnto any of their ſeruants, in what quality, or howſoeuer they would name him, leauing that to their diſcretions: and that he would ſhew himſelfe vnto them, as he had been accuſtomed to doe: and that it was no wonder if hee followed the example of other princes, who would not doe any thing that was inconuenient, and not beſeeming their mutuall friendſhip, who had already receiued their ſeruants by the names of embaſſadors, and D ſent theirs vnto them, with the like titles. With which anſwere the Spaniſh embaſſador contented himſelfe.

The vnited prouinces giue their Agent in England, the title of their embaſſador.

The Spaniſh embaſſadour complaines of it.

The kings anſwere.

This yeare in May *Peter Erneſt* earle of Manſfeld, gouernour of Luxembourg, died in the Netherlands, a man who in his life time had been in many honorable employments: and for that he was one who had managed many cauſes in the Netherlands, I thought it fit to make a briefe relation of his life.

Death of Erneſt earle of Mansfeld.

He was borne in the yeere 1517, and brought vp in the court of *Ferdinando* king of the Romanes, and afterwards emperour: at 18 yeres of age, in the yeare 1535, he was with the emperour *Charles* the 5, at the ſiege of *Thunis*, and was caruer to the emperour: in the yeare 1543, he came into the Netherlands, and commaunded a company of horſe before Landreſie: in E the yeare 1544, he was made lieutenant colonel of 1000 horſe, vnder the baron of Brederode, and had a company of 200 horſe for himſelfe: in the yeare 1545, he was made gouernour of the dukedome and earledome of Chiny and Namur: in the yeare 1546. he was made knight of the order of the golden fleece. Not long after in the French warres hee ouerthrew 1200 French foot and horſe, hauing but 50 horſe in the foreward of the emperours army before Aſpremont, and afterward tooke the ſaid caſtle of Aſpremont: in the yere 1552. being ſent by *Marie* queene of Hongarie regent of the Netherlands, as Generall of the army into Fraunce, he tooke the townes of Aſtenay, Montfalcon, Grenu, Pree, and others: after that being in the towne of Iocoy, he was beſieged and wounded, and the towne being taken, he was led priſoner into France, where he remained fiue yeares; and in the yeare 1557, he was ſet free vpon a F great ranſome. The ſame yeare he was ſent embaſſador from the emperour to an aſſembly of the princes in Germany. Hee was made marſhall ouer the Dutch regiments before Saint Quintins, where, in that battaile he gaue the firſt charge, and ouerthrew the enemy, where he was twiſe ſhot in the thigh: ſome hold opinion, that if he had not been, the battaile had not been giuen, nor yet won: in the yeare 1558, he was marſhal of the field in the king of Spaines

His life.

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1604 armie before Dourlans, where the king of Spaine was himſelfe in perſon. In the yeare 1565, he A
was ſent by the king of Spain with a fleet of ſhips into Portugall, to fetch the prince of Parma's
bride from Lisbon, whom he brought into the Netherlands. In the yeare 1566, in the begin-
ning of the troubles in the Netherlands, he was by the ducheſſe of Parma made gouernour of
Bruſſels; and was a meanes to moderat the ſaid troubles. In the yere 1567, he pacified the trou-
bles in Antuerpe, and continued gouernor there vntill the comming of the duke of Aluæ after
which time he did conuey the ducheſſe of Parma vnto Plaiſance in Italie. In the yeare 1569,
he was ſent into France by the king of Spaine, to aid the French king againſt the Huguenots,
where he won great honour at the battaile of Montcounter, where he had his right arme la-
med. In the duke of Aluaes time he had the charge of 2000 horſe in Luxembourg, when as
the prince of Orange was before Berghen in Henault. In the great commanders time he was B
marſhall of the campe, and commanded ouer 2000 horſe, at ſuch time as *Lodouike* earle of
Naſſau was ſlaine at Mockerheide. In the time of the Eſtates gouernment, he was with others
of the counſell of eſtate, taken by the tumultuous people, and committed to priſon, where he
remained fiue moneths, with great hazard of his life, beeing in danger to bee murthered
by the multitude. In *Dom Iohn* of Auſtria's time (when as a peace was made, and the Spaniards
to depart out of the Netherlands) he had charge to conuey a great number of them into Italy.
After that, the peace being broken, he tooke part with *Dom Iohn*, and ſo continued vntill his
death. In the prince of Parma's time, he was marſhall of the field, at the ſiege of Maſtricht; and
after that he went with ſome troups into Gueldres: then he was ſent into Henault, and made
gouernour of Arthois, Henault, Ryſſel, and Douay (vntill that the prince of Parma had perfor- C
med the contract made with them) where he tooke Cortrick, the caſtle of Queſnoy, Mor-
taigne, Saint Amant &c. In the ſaid duke of Parma's time, hee was ſent thrice to field, and
tooke Bouchain, Niuelles, Villeuoorden &c. Hee was with the duke of Parma at the ſiege of
Antuerpe, and did helpe to recouer Coeſteins dike from the Zeelanders; who had taken it
from the duke of Parma. He was twice choſen lieutenant gouernour and generall of the Ne-
therlands, and of Bourgoigne, and was gouernor generall after the duke of Parma's death,
wherein he continued, by commiſſion from the king of Spaine, vntill the comming of *Erne-
ſtus* archduke of Auſtria; after whoſe death, in the yeare 1594, he was againe made gouernour
for a time. And in the yeare 1597, vnder cardinall *Albertus* gouernment, he was made marſhal
of the field; the which he did execute, although he had beene gouernour himſelfe. Being very D
old, he retired himſelfe into his gouernment of Luxembourg, and there dyed, being 87 yeares
old. His bodie was buried in his chappell, by the old cloiſter of Saint *Francis*, in the towne of
His children Luxembourg. He maried with *Marguerite*, daughter to the baron of Brederode, by whom he
had three ſonnes and one daughter: the firſt was *Charles* earle of Mansfeldt, a gallant ſouldier,
who dyed in Hongarie (ſeruing vnder the emperour againſt the Turke) without iſſue. His ſe-
cond ſonne was ſlaine in a quarell betwixt him and the vicont of Gant. The third ſonne was
Octauius, earle of Mansfeldt, who was ſlaine before Knodſenbourg ſconce. His daughter ma-
ried, againſt his will, with *Palimedes*, baſtard to *Rene* of Chalon, earle of Naſſau, who was ſlaine
before Saint Defir, and in his mothers right was called prince of Orange and of Chalon. This
Palimedes had two ſonnes, both which ſerued vnder the archduke, the one dying of a wound E
which he had receiued; and the other being a colonell, was in ſuit with the baſtard ſon of *Peter
Ernest*, earle of Mansfeldt, touching the inheritance.

The archduke will not ſuffer the generall Eſtates of Brabant to aſſemble. This yeare, during the winter time, the prouinces vnder the archduke, ſought to haue the generall Eſtates aſſembled at Bruſſels; the which the archduke would not allow, for that the vnited prouinces had written vnto the chiefe townes in Brabant and Flanders, aduertiſing them of certaine deſignes of the archdukes: which letters were diſcouered by ſome of them vnto the archduke, whereupon he did forbid the receiuing of any ſuch letters; commanding they ſhould bee brought ſealed vnto him, which bred certaine iealouſies and diſtruſts, for that many had giuen him aduice, not to ſuffer the generall Eſtates to aſſemble, who without doubt would propound ſuch matters vnto him, as he ſhould be forced to yeeld vnto them; the F
which might be ſome blemiſh to his honour and reputation: whereof they of Holland had intelligence, by certaine letters which had beene intercepted, whereof they did aduertiſe the reſt: ſo as the aſſembly of the generall Eſtates would not be tollerated: yet euerie prouince aſ-
ſembled apart in their owne iuriſdictions. Out of Brabant they ſought to haue three hundred
thouſand

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A thouſand gulderns, which at the firſt the biſhops and prelats (in the name of the whole clergie) flatly denied, vntill they did ſee better order in the gouernment, and better diſcipline among the ſoldiers. They of Bruſſels refuſed to pay chimny mony, and ſo did they of Flanders: but there was ſome hope of a peace, and to that end certein articles of peace were diſperſed abroad, as if they had come from the king of Spain; and at that time there were both letters and embaſſadours ſent to the Hage in Holland. It was alſo reported that the marqueſſe *Spinola* at at his comming into Spain, had 300 thouſand gulderns a moneth promiſed him by the king, with other ſummes of money to pay the mutynous ſoldiers, and for the entertainment of the archdukes court: wherewith the Eſtates and the common people were put in good comfort, & ſo contented themſelues for a time. The archduke with the helpe he had from the prouin- 1604

B ces that were vnder his command, and by means of certaine bils of exchange that were come vnto him, he began to make preparation for the warre, for the yeare following, the which was very great, making new leuies of ſoldiers, both in Spain, Naples, Milain, Germany, & the Wallon prouinces, as alſo in England, Scotland & Ireland: which according to the treaty of peace made with England, might not be denied him. The archduke prepares to warre.

The vnited prouinces began alſo to thinke vpon their preparations, for that vpon the 16 of October paſt the councell of eſtate had informed the generall Eſtates what was to be done concerning the wars: deſiring that an armie might bee ſent to field in the beginning of the next ſpring, wherby they might fortifie ſuch places as they had gotten in Flanders: as alſo that The vnited prouinces prepare for warre.

C ſome courſe might be taken for the payment of all their arrerages of debts, the which could not be diſcharged the yeare before, for that their receits were leſſe than their diſburſements; and therefore they were growne indebted, the which muſt neceſſarily be paied: and although their great charge for the defence of Ooſtend, then ceaſed; yet they muſt fortifie their places in Flanders, and purſue their victorie, keeping the enemy occupied with an army in field, who gaue out that they would inuade the vnited prouinces with two armies together: wherefore they deſired, that the ordinary taxation of the 7 prouinces might bee collected, in the which three parts of Gelderland with Buren and Zutphen were accounted for one prouince. They alſo required 600 thouſand gulderns extraordinary, for wagons and horſes to draw them, and other charges of the armie for ſix months, with three hundred thouſand gulderns for the fortifications. That Ardenbourg was to be fortified with nine ſconces lying about Co-

D xie, Cathalyne, Ooſtbourg, and one by the houſe of Weelde, and a halfe-moone conſiſting of three bulwarks before Sluce, with diuers other ſmall ſconces; for the which they demaunded three hundred thouſand gulderns; and for warehouſes and other neceſſaries for them, other three hundred thouſand gulderns. They required alſo three hundred thouſand gulderns for the payment of the intereſt, wherewith the Receiuer generall ſtood charged.

There was a demand of 4 ſtiuers vpon euery barrel of beere, to be paied by them that drew it, and twenty ſtiuers vpon euery barrell of ſalt, towards the payment of the money due to the king of England; as alſo to haue conſideration of the general intereſt, and that they would continue the conuoyes & licences. To aid the admiralty with 400 thouſand gulderns, which

E they were in arrerages, notwithſtanding all booties and prizes. That they would conſent vnto 8000 gulderns for Drenthe, and 1300 gulderns a moneth for Linghen; all reparations to be therein contained. That the impoſt for ſalt, ſhould be paied by the panman, with the paſports and conuoyes: and the money comming thereof to be collected into one purſe. That the contributions of Holland and Zeeland, ſhold be collected, and the mony brought in before December: and that the prouinces might not be brought into any arrerages.

To this end vpon the firſt of Nouember, the Eſtates ſent vnto the prouinces to gather the monthly contribution, as followeth viz. of Gelderland & Zutphen monthly 28286 gulderns 2 ſtiuers, 7 deniers; of Holland, 337646 gulderns, 4 ſtiuers, 8 deniers; Zeeland, 83029 gulderns, 4 ſtiuers, 5 deniers; Vtrecht, 35131 gulderns, 18 ſtiuers, 7 deniers; Frizeland, 69721 gulderns, 16

F ſtiuers, 11 deniers; Oueryſſel, 16770 gulderns, 1 ſtiuer, 8 den. Groningue, 39271 gulderns, 16 ſtiuers, 2 deniers; Drenthe, 5368 gulderns, 4 ſtiuers; Linghen, 2792 gulderns, 6 ſtiuers, 8 deniers; Wedde, 350 gulderns. All which amounts (not accounting Deuthe, nor Linghed) vnto 609877 gulderns, 7 ſtiuers, and 2 deniers; which is the ordinary contribution of the vnited Eſtates monthly, not accounting the admiralty, nor other forcible impoſitions vpon extraor-

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1604 dinary cauſes: ſo as it ſeemed the vnited prouinces had reſolued to make an offenſiue warre A
the next yeare, and to that end they raiſed 100 new companies of foot, more than they had in
pay before, with 36 cornets of horſe: beſides, they had contracted with the marqueſſe of Auſ-
pach, for 1000 Dutch reiſters to bee newly leuied. They did alſo expect great aide from the
French king: they of France aduiſing them to go early to field, with 170 or 200 companies of
foot, and 36 or 40 cornets of horſe, that they might attempt ſomething before the marqueſſe
Spinola were ready. And this was their deſigne for the yeare following.

This winter and the precedent, there were great means made to procure a peace in the Ne-
therlands, eſpecially by the emperour and the houſe of Auſtria, who did affect it the more
in regard of the diuiſion of the empire; and the rather for that France and England had now
abandoned the vnited prouinces, but eſpecially for that the empire was much troubled with B
the Turkiſh warres, the which might be aided by the ſoldiers of both parties, if they could be
once reconciled: the let whereof was imputed to the vnited prouinces, for the archduke ſee-
med tractable, and willing to yeeld to any reaſonable conditions, ſo as he might retaine the ſo-
ueraignty. But being ready to enter into a treaty of peace, and the prouinces vnder the arch-
dukes gouernment in good hope thereof, the bad gouernment in Hongarie and Tranſiluа-
nia bred an open rebellion; ſo as *Stephanus Botſchkay* tooke vpon him to be their leader: and
beſides this diſordered gouernment, bad pay & mutiny of the ſoldiers, they ſought by means
of the Ieſuits, to force mens conſciences, and to alter their long reformed religion in ſo dange-
rous a time, of ciuill and forraine wars; and for that cauſe they grounded their rebellion vpon
the ſame foundation, which the Netherlanders had done, as breach of priuiledges, gouern- C
ment of ſtrangers, and conſtraint of conſcience, the which gaue cauſe of ſuſpition vnto the
Emperour, and the king of Spaine.

In the meane time there were many things propounded how a peace might be made: the
which for that it is a matter of great importance, I haue thought it fit to bee inſerted. One ter-
ming himſelfe a Netherlander, & yet dwelling out of thoſe countreys, ſets down his opinion
in three ſpeciall points, and firſt concerning the bad gouernment of the vnited prouinces. Se-
condly, that they will not be ſtill able to continue the wars: and thirdly, that they ſhalbe forced
to ſubmit themſelus vnder Spain, France or England. Of theſe 3 points he maketh a long diſ-
courſe; and alſo of the forces and qualities of each one in particular. If any man would argue
and maintain that it were the beſt courſe to yeeld the countreys ouer to prince *Maurice*, in re- D
gard of his great ſeruices done for the ſame, with perpetuall conſideration and league with
France and England, thereby to defend and ſupport the ſaid prouinces: hee was of opinion
that it would be too difficult a matter for prince *Maurice* to vndertake ſo great a quarrell with
the Eſtates of Holland and Zeeland; and that they which are ſo well ſeated, and at this preſent
in the gouernment would not willingly giue their conſents, vnleſſe they were forced therun-
to by the ſaid kings. Therfore he ſetteth downe a means how to ſettle the archdukes after ano-
ther maner in the ſaid Netherlands: which if it were not found good & conuenient, then they
ſhould deuiſe how to further prince *Maurice* in this deſigne. The meanes hee ſpeaketh of are,
That ſeeing the king of Spain and the archdukes are ſo vnited, as they are not to be truſted in
regard of the maxime of *pias fraudes*, holy deceits, that therfore to bring the 17 prouinces into E
a perfect vnion, they muſt procure the kings of France and England to bee mediatours to the
king of Spain to yeeld vp al his right abſolutely vnto the archdukes, vpon pain of breaking the
league with them: the emperor alſo, in regard of affinity, & France muſt likewiſe reſigne al ma-
ner of pretences, vpon condition that their heires males (after the maner of the Salike law) by
this or any other mariage of them both; and no other, ſhall ſucceed, and that after both their
deaths without heires males, that neither the king of Spain, nor the emperor (in regard of their
great ſuſpected powers) ſhold inherit the Netherlands, but it ſhould deſcend to the reſt of the
heires males of the emperors *Ferdinand* & *Maximilian*, with the like conditions: and if it ſo fell
out, that the ſaid ſucceſſor in the Netherlands were choſen to be emperor, he ſhould then like-
wiſe giue ouer his title to the Netherlands, vnto the next heires males of the ſame houſe: and F
that if the whole houſe of Auſtria ſhould chance to die, and be extinct, only the emperor and
the king of Spaine remaining, in that caſe it ſhould be lawfull for the ſaid prouinces to chooſe
themſelues another prince, where they pleaſed; that all the Netherlands might continue vn-
der one Lord and Prince.

It

A It should bee also necessary that the king of Spaine should giue security for the effecting thereof vnto one of the two kings aforesaid; which if hee refused, then the said kings of England & France with the Netherlands shold force him therunto, with the consent of the emperor; which he affirmeth is easie to be done, by many reasons by him alleaged; & for that cause men must take heede of the Iesuites maximes, or subtile fetches. He also maketh answere to many arguments obiected to the contrary by the Spaniards, who would not endure to be cut off from their patrimoniall inheritance: but Christian peace ought to perswade him thereunto, that so he may employ all his power against the Turke: therewith he setteth downe certein articles to be obserued in this peace, which are 6 in number; which if the king of Spaine will not agree vnto, and that the said articles were not liked on either part, then the kings of France B and England, shall seeke to put the said countreys (if it were possible) into the hands of prince *Maurice* of Nassau; but the other contract with the archdukes (he saith) were better: he sheweth moreouer, what profit all Christendome may expect and attend by the said peace, wherein we should neither feare pope nor Iesuite, but call a generall councell, whether it were with the good liking or otherwise of the pope; and according to the decrees thereof, to begin a war against the Turke, in such order as monsieur *la Noue* describeth, whereunto all other princes would willingly giue consent: and by that meanes the golden world would begin againe. 1604

Another being a catholike and vnder the archdukes gouernment setteth downe certaine reasons for a peace, as followeth. He sheweth the strength of the vnited prouinces which are compassed in with the seas, and great riuers that are nauigable, hauing great store of shipping, The second reason to mooue men vnto a peace, made by a catholike vnder the archduke. C therewith to prouide them of all things necessary: and on the other side hee setteth downe the difficulties whereunto the prouinces vnder the archdukes commaund, are subiect: As that their soldiers can hardly liue or get any thing from such an enemy, but would bee ouer chargeable to their owne countrey: that the aid which they had out of Spaine was great in shew, but in effect small, and was most of it drawne from the vttermost parts of Italy, and the deepest parts of Spaine, and that many times it was intercepted by the way, and being come, it did melt like snow against the sunne; that by protracting of the soldiers pay, mutinies did arise. That the vnited prouinces are alwaies first in the fields, and that they could thereby giue the first onset: that Spaine of it selfe is poore, that the Hollanders tooke his gold, siluer, and traffique from him at the Indies: that his mynes are drawne drie: that the yong king is D not so sparing as his father; and so his charges are greater, and by that meanes money grew scant, and mutinies daily increased, so as to pacifie the soldiers, and to giue them some contentment (besides their robbing and spoyling of the countrey) they are often paide twelue or fifteen stiuers a day for a footman, and foure & twenty stiuers a horsman, & not any other are full paid vnlesse they mutine; so as there hath not been any gouernour, but that hath had 2 or 3 mutinies in his time. He sheweth that since the archdukes gouernment there haue been 20 mutinies; as at Diest, Ardres, Carpen, Calais, La Chapelle, Weert, Chastelet, Dorleans, Cambray, the castle of Antuerpe, the forts of Saint *Andrew* and Creuecœur, the ships in the riuer of Scheld, in 2 fortes vpon the Scheld; the Sas of Gant, Sluce, Hulst, Hochstraten, and the fort of *Isabella* before Oostend, &c. and that these mutinies were likely to increase, for that E they make no musters, as they were wont to doe, allowing the soldiers 4 stuers a day: which the old soldiers perceiuing seeke to mutine, thereby to be paid the rest of their account; and when they are paid, they will be sure to haue securitie for their money receiued, or els fearing punishment, they run away, knowing that they may expect no preferment.

Furthermore, he setteth downe the Spaniards high minds, who will rather see the Netherlands goe to ruine, than they will yeeld; adding withall, that there is no likelyhood of peace to be made by men of seuerall religions, for that they had lately caused a poore woman to be buried quicke, hauing been better to haue banished her, seeing shee could neither teach nor preach.

Touching the attayning to a peace, by meanes of the warres; their mighty neighbours F would not endure it, the Spaniards high mind being suspected by all the princes of Europe: and that although the Hollanders were forsaken of all other princes, yet it was to be seene by the defence made in Oostend, what a taske it would be to vanquish them, most of their forts, lying on the sea coast, the which can hardly be besieged, or kept from relieue.

To conclude, seeing that he perceiued nothing els but disorder and despaire, he feared that

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1604 the French trumpets would in the end ſodenly awaken them, the cauſes of warres being as great between both the kings as euer; which he ſheweth by likelyhoods of enterprizes, by couert pretences and reaſons to moue them thereunto, and what were to be feared if the French men ſhould once ſhew themſelues vpon the frontiers; how hardly could it be preuented, but that vpon ſome conditions they would put themſelues into the French kings hands, & ſo they ſhould preſently be incloſed by the enemy, as by the Hollanders and the ſea, and by the French men, hauing nothing but Luxemburgh open, which might eaſily bee ſhut vp; ſo as there were no aide to bee expected but from heauen, which doth not open euery day to ſhew forth miracles: but ſetting miracles aſide, hee asketh, where they ſhould haue corne to to bake and brew withal, if the plough goe not, and where ſhould they get ſalt, wine, & munition if France were ſtopt; ſo as they ſhould then be as in a towne beſieged. A B

That the Hollanders ſeeking their owne profit, and winning certaine townes by force would alter the catholike Romiſh religion, which ought to be vpheld by all the meanes that may be.

Theſe things notwithſtanding, yet he doubted not ſo much of the matter, as long as there was one that knocked at their dore (meaning the French king) finding it in no ſort conuenient for the prouinces vnder the archdukes commaund, to agree with the Hollanders alone, doubting the ſucceſſe of the duke of Aniou; but with a mightier power, who ſhould be able to giue them peace, and to maintaine it, and to chaſe away the Spaniſh garriſons: wherefore he counſelleth them (to preuent ſuch miſchiefes as threaten to fall vpon them, to hold the catholike Romiſh religion, & to enioy an aſſured peace) to put the country into the French kings C hands, whereunto they ſhould find the Hollanders both ready and willing; and although the Hollanders would not agree thereunto, yet they ſhould bee vnited to ſo mighty a king, who would be able to defend them: and for that the ſame had in times paſt been moued vnto him, it was not to be doubted.

That the Spaniards (only intereſſed herein) were far from them, & had loſt the paſſage out of Italy, by means of the peace made with Sauoy: that they had garriſons but in 9 places, as in the caſtle of Antuerpe, Gant, and the Sas, Hertogenbuſch, Nieuport, Ooſtend, Duremond, Cambray, Ruremond, & Dixmuyden, & that in ſome of them there were but few ſpaniards; in other ſome they were mixed with other ſoldiers, and in the reſt the inhabitants were the ſtrongeſt; and that of all thoſe places there were but three that were ſtrong, yet would they not bee able D to withſtand ſo mighty a king. In this ſort he imbaſeth the archdukes forces, to whom he aſcribeth many ſpirituall vertues, but with ſome imperfections, who with the Infanta without children, would be wel content to be vnburthened thereof. The great grauity of the houſe of Auſtria, hindreth him from being familier with his ſubiects, and thereby much diminiſheth his authority.

He ſaith further, that all Chriſtendome (except Spaine) would like of that proceeding, and it would make traffique and trade of marchandiſe to flouriſh throughout al Europe.

Furthermore that the two mighty and diſunited kings, after the vniting of theſe countries could not well hurt or preiudice each other, as they did in times paſt, hauing the Pirenean mountaines, and the ſea for their frontiers; and ſo they would ſuffer Chriſtendome to liue in E peace, and conuert their forces againſt our common enemy the Turke: That the Netherlands ſhold depend & adhere vnto an aſſured gouernment, in regard of the Salique law, without being ſubiect to change: That the Frenchmens natures are better to be endured than the Spaniards & agree better with the Netherlands: and that ſuch conditions might be made, as al difficulties ſhould be preuented, and their priuiledges maintained, yea increaſed.

Touching religion, it was well ſeen & apparent, how orderly they are dealt withal in France, without forcing any mans conſcience; which in truth hath bought more men into the right way, than euer any force or violence (vſed to that end) did.

To conclude, he extolleth the fruits of peace, traffique and trade of marchandiſe: and touching the trade into the Indies, he referreth that to the Hollanders & Zeelanders themſelues. F

That all preferments, gouernments, ſtates and offices of the country, which now are in the hands of Spaniards, and other ſtrangers, ſhould be granted to none but naturall borne ſubiects of thoſe countreys. To be ſhort, he ſaith, that the Netherlands ſhould not be giuen to France, but rather France to the Netherlands, and that there were neither wals nor forts that could

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A could ſeperat the mutuall league and friendſhip of France and the Netherlands. This is their opinion, that would greedily ioyne the Netherlands vnto France. A third perſon, naming himſelf a ſtranger, and an vpright indifferent partie, who had nothing to win nor to loſe in the Netherlandss, ſetteth downe his opinion, touching peace, excuſing his boldneſſe, and diuides his propoſitions into 3 points. The firſt, Why both parties ought to ſeeke after peace: The ſecond ſheweth diuers means that are and may be produced to attaine vnto peace: The third, ſhewing which ſhould be the beſt means, and wherefore they are not to be reiected by neither of the parties. 1604

The third diſcourſe touching peace in the Netherlands, made by an indifferent partie.

Touching the firſt, he makes a learned diſcourſe, to ſhew the neceſſarie vſe of peace and vnitie. After war, peace ought to follow, although it coſt both parties deere, and therefore reaſon
B and neceſſitie ought to moue men thereunto. The Turke ought to be withſtood, and the tumults of Hongarie pacified. The euents of the Netherlanders long continued wars, ought to make them wiſe, after ſo many battails, and towns won and loſt; and ſo many enterpriſes made both by land & by ſea, without any end. The Netherlands is a theatre of war and ciuil broils. That men had ſeene the ſiege of Ooſtend continue ſo long, ſo furious, fierce, and bloudie, as it ſeemed vnnatural, and our ſucceſſors would hardly beleeue it, neither can we read of any ſuch; both parties being ſo earneſt and reſolute, as if the ſucceſſe therof wold haue ended thoſe wars. That at the laſt the vnited prouinces had loſt Ooſtend, but on the other ſide, they had profited ſo much thereby, as they had won 3 or 4 townes, and more forts, for it; and could annoy Flanders more than euer they did before. He ſaith, it is true, that the K. of Spain is a mightie prince
C of many countries & kingdoms, that he hath great alliances with the Romiſh Catholikes, and hath great numbers of men, and good ſoldiers; ſo as the Hollanders themſelues confeſſe, that they are not able to maſter him by force, and yet ſtrong ynough to withſtand him, and to defend themſelues: but on the other ſide we muſt acknowledge, that Holland and Zeeland, &c. in mens iudgements are inuincible countries, in regard of their waterie ſcituation, being inhabited by a people accuſtomed to the ſeas, and who by land feare not the Spaniards. And although the countries are but ſmall, yet they are able to raiſe great ſummes of money, drawing all other merchants for trade vnto them, by means of their merchandiſe and ſea-faring. Adding thereunto, their traffique into the Indies, the which increaſeth daily, ſo as now they care not for the prohibition of trade into Spaine or Portugall. And as they haue good ſtore of money,
D ſo they haue a great number of good ſouldiers and commanders, with leſſe charge than their enemies. They are not likewiſe without friends, both Catholikes & Proteſtants, which repine at the greatneſſe of Spaine: and although the kings of France and England haue peace with the archdukes, yet they would not willingly endure the Spaniſh gouernment there. Both parties that make wars, may take Germany and France for an example, where they may ſee, that religion will not be planted by the ſword; being forced, at the laſt, to let euerie man ſerue God in peace, as they would afterwards yeeld account for the ſame, and without ſcandalizing one another: wherby they found themſelues beſt at eaſe, and by that means kept their men, wealth, and trades, at home in their owne countrey. The Spaniards miſtake themſelues, to think to ſettle the Catholike Romiſh religion onely, in the Netherlands, & to chaſe away the Proteſtants
E with the Spaniſh Inquiſitiõ: the Netherlanders are of another nature. The learned are of opinion, That by force and conſtraint, men may make many hypocrites and Atheiſts, but no true Chriſtians. The Spaniards are perſuaded, that the vnited prouinces wil be weary of the wars, and that the common people (being to much burthened with taxes and impoſitions) will take armes, and compell the Eſtates to make peace; but the hope therof is ſmall, ſo long as they in Holland, Zeeland, &c. (liuing in the heat of war) flouriſh, & become as rich as if it were peace: And although they pay great contributions, yet they ſell their wares accordingly, with good gaine, and reaſonable vent. And although there are ſome that are diſcontented, yet the number of them is but ſmall. But to the contrarie, they of the vnited prouinces, are in good hope, that the prouinces vnder the archdukes command, will not be able any longer to beare their
F great burthens: for beſides the great exactions and oppreſſions of the ſouldiers, on both ſides, the ſea and nauigation is for the moſt part taken from thẽ, wherby the inhabitants growing poore, at the laſt they muſt ſeeke ſome meanes to free themſelues of the Spaniſh gouernment: But that is preuented, firſt by the great power of Spaine; ſecondly, by reaſon of the iealouſie betwixt the archdukes and the vnited prouinces; and thirdly, by the diligence of the clergie,

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1604 clergie, being againſt it, as biſhops, preachers, and Ieſuites, who forbid the people, vpon paine of damnation, not to ioyne with heretikes. Many make them beleeue, that the Hollanders (being maſters) would either by policie or power, chaſe away the Catholikes, and bring in the Reformed religion. Thus much for the firſt point. A

Touching the 2, How to find meanes to attain to a peace, he ſaith, That the King of Spaine had called the vnited prouinces to meet at Cologne, in *anno* 1579, and makes mention of the the principal articles treated of at that time: and how as then the prouinces of the Netherlands would haue had the authority of the general Eſtates eſtabliſhed, and the religious peace maintained, according to the pacification of Gant: and ſo they granted to acknowledge the king for their ſoueraigne lord. But ſince that time the caſe was altered, the prouinces by extremities and long wars, being eſtranged one from the other, ſince the murther of the prince of Orange, ſo B as now there was no dealing with Holland, &c. to acknowledge the K. of Spaine, or the archduke, for their ſoueraigne: for that they thinke it not good, to loſe their freedome which they haue ſo happily gotten; and that if they muſt of force do it, they had rather ſubmit themſelues into the hands of any other prince, than vnder Spaine or the archduke, whom they durſt not truſt, as being hardly induced to beleeue, that princes can forget forepaſſed iniuries. Whereupon he asketh, If a peace then will neuer be made, and the ſhedding of Chriſtians bloud neuer reſtrained, the which (to the great preiudice of their neighbors) had continued theſe 40 yeres? If there were any apparence, that the archduke in 10 yeares ſpace, could find the meanes to ouercome the Hollanders, it were an eaſie matter to let him go on in the recouerie of his right: but if we ſhould attend vntill the one or the other partie were vanquiſhed, we ſhold expect an C endleſſe worke. The vnited prouinces offer to make peace with the prouinces vnder the archdukes command, not comprehending the archdukes, or the K. of Spaine therin, againſt whom they ſay, they will defend themſelues, as long as they aſſaile them; but that it is not pleaſing vnto the other prouinces: neither would it be a full and effectual peace, but in the end breed an alteration, the king perſiſting to recouer his right, by all the meanes he can. There might be a truce or abſtinencie from war, made for 10, 20, or 30 yeares, vntill the ſplene and hatred of both parties were ſomewhat cooled and appeaſed: or elſe that a continuall abſtinence from wars on both ſides, might be concluded, each holding that he hath: and ſo liue in peace and friendſhip together, keeping garriſons vpon their frontiers, the king & the archduke ſurceaſing their pretenſions, vntill that God ſent them other meanes; liuing in peace, as France and Spain do, D the French king leauing his kingdom of Nauarre in the king of Spains hands. Touching truce or abſtinence from war, it were to be doubted, that the vnited prouinces wold not truſt them; and the other meanes were verie good, if the king and the archduke would hearken thereunto. But he ſaith, there is yet another meanes to end theſe bloudie wars, which had ouerthrowne and ruined ſo many townes, and bin the loſſe of ſo many ſouls and bodies, whereunto all the Eſtates proceedings ought to tend, and put to their helping hands. Old diſeaſes require other maner of cures than new: there muſt be a means found, that ſhould be acceptable vnto either partie. He acknowledgeth, That the vnited prouinces, and namely Catholikes themſelues are wholly eſtranged from the king of Spaine, ſo that neither he nor his houſe is not to expect any good ſeruice at their hands, for a long time. They haue experience of their owne countries E forces: they haue learned that which they knew not, and now were vſed to liue in freedome, and not accuſtomed vnto the yoke. They dayly read and heare their fathers tell, what fearefull cruelties haue bin vſed againſt them, and executed vpon their forefathers, friends, and companions, which is the cauſe of new hatreds, and ſtrengtheneth their rebellion: and, to bee briefe, their children ſuck hatred againſt the Spaniards, from their mothers breſts. What then ſhal the king of Spaine and the archdukes do with ſuch rebels? ſhall they (for their pleaſures) alwayes liue in armes, and troubles, vnprofitably ſpending their treaſures and reuenues? and ſhal a Spaniard ſay, That the king ſhall rather hazard and aduenture all his kingdoms and power, than leaue or loſe his right? But we muſt anſwer with a politike & true reaſon, and ſay, If men ſtand ſo much vpon their right, why go they not to recouer Thunis and Goletta againe? All honors F and dominions haue their caſuall fortunes and periods. The empire of Rome might well a-
Note. ford to haue that which belongeth vnto it. The time was when Spaine had not thoſe large limits which now it hath: who can ſay, or tell, whether he ſhall hold it ſtill? God giueth, and God taketh. The houſe of Auſtria long ſince made great wars againſt the Switſers, to bring them

A them vnder their ſubiection againe, but at the laſt they thought it better to leaue their right, 1604
than to labour in vaine, and to loſe both men and money. And if euerie man would ſeeke for his right with all extremitie, who ſhould liue in peace? But hee ſaith, Hee would not that the king and the archdukes ſhould ſimply reſigne their right (although neither the one nor the other euer yet poſſeſſed or enioyed any thing in Holland or Zeeland) but would rather haue them to imitat the example of the children of *Albert* duke of Saxonie; who, after that their father & they had long made war againſt thē of Groningue; finding that they were ſtil to begin againe, hauing to do with a ſtiffe rebellious people, they eſteemed them vnworthie to bee accounted their ſubiects, and ſo ſold them for a great ſumme of readie money, vnto the emperor *Charles* 5, with al the rights they had vnto them, & returned into their country of Meſnia, there
B to liue in peace. In like maner the K. of Spaine, being ſo much incenſed againſt the vnited prouinces, as he cannot affect thē; what can he do better, than by mediation of the kings of France and England, or of the princes of the empire, or by meanes of the prouinces which are vnder his command, than to purchaſe a peace vnto himſelfe? that is, hee ſhould compound with thoſe of the vnited prouinces, for a good ſumme of money, whereof the intereſt might yerely amount vnto as much, as in times paſt the vnited prouinces did yearely pay vnto the king towards his wars: and ſo to let them liue in peace and freedome, renouncing all right which he pretends ouer them. *Themiſtocles* once gaue profitable counſell vnto them of Athens, but for that it was not honourable, it was by *Ariſtides* aduice reiected. Now if this counſell be found both honourable and profitable for both parties, why ſhould it be reiected?

C Touching the vnited prouinces, he ſaith, That he ſaw no reaſon to the contrarie, why they ſhould refuſe it; but the K. of Spaine and the archdukes would not ſo eaſily be drawne vnto it, although they had no great reaſon to reiect it. Would it not be verie profitable for him, firſt to receiue a great ſumme of money (which ſhould be paid at certaine dayes, with intereſt for that which ſhould not be preſently paid) of the vnited prouinces, for the redemption of their freedomes; whereby he ſhould peaceably enioy the reuenues of the other prouinces, the which by meanes of a peace, would be inriched by trade and traffique, and ſo ſaue the great charges of continuall wars. The king of Spaine and the archdukes ſhould therby haue meanes to gather great treaſures, wherewith (in ſtead of the vnited prouinces, which is but a ſmall continent of ground) they might go and conquer new countries and kingdoms vpon the enemies of Chri-
D ſtendome. Concerning the honourableneſſe of this action, it were no diſgrace at all, but a great honour and commendation for them, throughout all Chriſtendome, that for the good and welfare of Chriſtendome, they had made a peace, and ended the miſeries of war, waſhing away the teares and bloud of poore men, and giuing them cauſe to praiſe and thank God, and to pray for their proſperities and welfares. For as men eſteeme the kings power to bee great, to ſeeke his right by armes, ſo would it tend to his greater reputation and honour, that hee had yeelded freely thereunto, without any compulſion, only in regard of the common welfare and peace. Hee ſaid further, That he had heard, that this king of Spaines father, before his death, had reſolued, to end theſe wars by ſome means or other; and that he ſaw no better courſe. But if it ſhould be alledged to the contrarie, That hereby men counſell the prouinces to diſioyne
E themſelues one from another: anſwer might be made, That they had alreadie beene diſunited many yeares, without any meanes of reconcilement: and that the Netherlands had not alwayes beene vnited, ſome of them hauing bin purchaſed: and therefore he might ſell them againe. And if any man would obiect, That others might follow the example of the Hollanders: anſwer may be made, That let them firſt ſtriue and withſtand the kings forces fortie yeres together, and then let them ſpeake. The king of Spaine alſo hauing peace with the vnited prouinces, and no enemie in Chriſtendome, will be more reſpected than he is now.

This was the counſel of this peace-maker, concluding with a petition vnto the prelats, noblemen, and magiſtrats, repreſenting the Eſtates, That they would put their helping hands thereunto, or elſe find out ſome better meanes, which might as eaſily bee effected by either
F partie.

Thus haue I declared, as briefly as I can, the aduice of theſe three counſellors vnto peace, the firſt being one that is fled out of thoſe countries, who would haue the archdukes ſetled there by authoritie of the neighbour kings. The ſecond a Romiſh Catholike, who to aſſure the Romiſh religion, would haue the Netherlanders giue themſelues to the French king, and driue

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1604 the Spaniſh forces beyond the mountaines. The third being a neutrall perſon, would haue the vnited prouinces, to buy their freedome of the king of Spaine or the archdukes. A

How theſe propoſitions of peace like the parties that are in armes one againſt the other, the reader may iudge by that which on both ſides hath ſince enſued, each partie ſeeking to doe as he thinketh good; for that at the ſame time there were certaine articles, to the number of 27, both printed & written, publiſhed abroad in the vnited prouinces, and in the other countries vnder the archdukes gouernment, eſpecially, as it is thoght, to procure the prouinces vnder the archdukes command, to liue in better hope, and more quietneſſe, attending peace, through the mediation of France and England; as alſo to diſappoint the aſſembly of the generall Eſtates. Which articles beeing preſumed to bee ſet forth by the archdukes procurement, at the ſame time there was an admonition written, and ſent out of Holland, to perſuade the people, not to credit any ſuch fained and deuiſed articles, which were made but for a ſhew. Which admonition, for that it ſheweth the truth of all the proceedings and cauſes of the wars, with their circumſtances, I thought it good to inſert, being as followeth. B

The admonition vnto the vnited prouinces, againſt peace.

It ſeemeth (O Netherlands) that this yere you ſhalbe hardly aſſailed, both by politike counſell, and by force of armes, and that the archduke *Albertus* of Auſtria, will imploy his power to vanquiſh you, and all cunning practiſes to circumuent you: but you need not feare his power, as hauing felt the vttermoſt force thereof, and valiantly withſtood it: but in regard of cunning practiſes, I thought it conuenient to giue you ſome counſell and forewarning, as being ſo much the more to be feared, ſeeing they come not openly, but wil couertly and ſecretly vndermine you. There is much ſpoken of the archduke and the Infanta's good natures, and of the inward affection and loue, which they beare vnto theſe countries; and that now you ought to lay aſide all miſtruſt and iealouſie, in that you ſhall not haue to do with a Spaniard, but with a naturall borne German prince; not with a king, who dwelling far from you, knowes little of you, and therefore reſpecteth you the leſſe, and who, in regard of his great power, you feare and are in doubt of; but with a prince, who ſhall dwell both with you, and amongſt you, as a father with his children, who hath no other countrey than this, no other treaſure nor riches, but that which he ſhall receiue from your hands, and therefore will not relye vpon his owne force and riches, but vpon the hearts and loue of his ſubiects, as the ground and foundation of his greatnes, who wil gouern according to the priuiledges and antient liberties of the country, and will force no mans conſcience. To conclude, one that wil cure al diſeaſes, and in an inſtant make you forget all forepaſſed troubles and miſeries. Theſe are faire gloſing ſpeeches, but firſt of all you muſt be aduertiſed, that theſe are not the words of the duke of Brabant, and of the Infanta themſelues, but in trueth, they are nothing elſe, but the common peoples talke, at firſt inuented and giuen forth, by cunning bad minded people, and ſince that receiued and diuulged abroad by ſome ſimple and honeſt men, who being deceiued, themſelues helpe to deceiue others, ſeruing onely to draw men on, and to circumuent them, thereby to driue you from the good counſell, and wholeſome admonitions, of thoſe that ſeeke your good, to make you hearken vnto their falſe and venimous diſcourſes: being aſſured, that you ſhal preſently be intrapt, as ſoone as they can get you to giue eare thereunto, although you knew of the deceit before, not much vnlike to the moath, that flying to the flame of the candle, burneth her wings. And you muſt aſſure your ſelues, that you cannot hearken vnto their ſpeeches, without great preiudice and diſgrace, no more than a yong modeſt maid can with honeſtie lend her chaſt ears to a lewd alluring tale: whereof in former times (to your great preiudice) you haue had good experience: which is, that there was neuer any treatie of peace made, but that whole prouinces, or ſome ſpeciall townes fell away: the ſaid treaties of peace being by the ſimpler ſort begun, with much hope of good proceedings, but in the end they euer found, there could be no good aſſurance made for their priuiledges: much leſſe for the religion, and yet ſome were by the like proceeding ſo deepely ingaged, as they could not free themſelues. As the examples of Gant, Bruges, & others, are yet freſh in memory: but with more diſgrace ſhal you be circumuented, if you ſuffer your ſelues to be drawn away, for that comming to the effect, you ſhall find, that theſe ſpeeches thus caſt abroad, are nothing elſe, but newes told in ſtreets and in mils. C D E F

The duke of Brabant will ſay, That his meaning was not ſo: and you by this preſentation which you imprint in your minds, are likewiſe deceiued. The truth is, you ſhall plainly find (obſeruing well the archdukes proceedings) that they are to be eſteemed idle ſpeeches, which

are

A are caſt forth in paſſage boats, and wagons (without any certaine author) when as men trauell abroad. For before his departure into Spaine, hee perſecuted the reformed religion in diuers townes, and amongſt the reſt, there was a yong maid buried quick: thereby taking away al reaſons, why they ſhould once doubt of his mind & reſolution touching religion, for that whatſoeuer had bin done to a man, might haue bin coloured with ſom other ſhew, if he had ſought or conſpired to do any thing againſt his perſon or the gouernment. 1604

Vpon the 10 of Ianuary 1599, he writ vnto the biſhop of Paterborn, in verie rough manner, ſaying, That if the religion were not forbidden, that his Catholike ſouldiers ſhould come thither, and that he would not keepe heretikes from ſpoyling, as it appeareth plainly by his meſſage ſent to the lady *Iſabella*, ducheſſe of Cleues, bearing date in Niuelles the 15 of September
B 1599, That in his preſence it was fully concluded, to ruine and ſpoile the king and the duke of Cleues enemies: for ſuch are his words. If the archduke vſed ſuch authoritie in a ſtrange countrey, where he had no command, what hope is there, that in the Netherlands (which the archduke and the Infanta hold to be their owne proper inheritance, wherewith they may deale as they thinke good) they ſhall haue the libertie of religion allowed them? or thinke you, that the duke in his voyage to Spaine, hath altered his mind, or that the pope of Rome (with whom he ſpake at Ferara) hath inſpired him with a more peaceable ſpirit? or that the Spaniſh Inquiſitors and Ieſuite counſell, haue turned his heart? Beleeue the contrarie, without al doubt and that al theſe do ſtil counſel him vnto a more ſtrict & ſeuere courſe. It may be, ſome wil ſay, That hap-
C ly he hath receiued other counſell and aduice, from his brother the emperor: But looke into the emperors actions, where you ſhall ſee, that the towne of Aix, which by vertue of the lawes of the empire, had long enioyed the exerciſe of both religions, was abandoned by him, in prey vnto the enemy; and who alſo did looke on, and ſaid nothing to the admirals proceedings, who vſed ſo great force and violence (againſt all right and reaſon) vpon the territories of the empire. Examin the actions of the reſt of the houſe of Auſtria, how the archduke *Ferdinando* not long ſince hath by force baniſhed the religion out of Styrmarke and Carinthia, which had bin allowed therein, ſince the time of the emperor *Ferdinando*, his grandfather, making no account of the complaints & proteſtations of the Eſtates of the countrey, but eſteemeth them as wind, which is an introduction to a ciuile war, and a meanes to loſe the whole countrie: wherin neither the authoritie of his grandfather and father, the bloudy wars in France and the Nether-
D lands, nor yet the neereneſſe of the Turke, that bordereth vpon him, can moue him to any tolleration touching religion: neither will he once remember how vnreaſonable a thing it is, to force and reſtraine his ſubiects in that, which the Turke himſelfe permitteth vnto his: which example agreeth with the anſwer made by the K. of Spaine, to *Charls* archduke of Auſtria: for that when as the emperor *Maximilian* (a peaceable prince, and no perſecutor of the religion, but temperat in all his actions) ſent his brother *Charls*, archduke of Auſtria, into Spain, to moue the king vnto the like temperance, ſetting before his eyes, the commendable example of the emperor *Charls 5* his father, who had allowed the religious peace in Germanie, and willed all men to obſerue it, before that the common people were brought into diſpaire, and were quite fallen from him: He made a full and a reſolute anſwer, That he would rather loſe the countrie
E for euer, than endure the leaſt wrong that might be offered touching religion. You know well alſo, in the peace of Cologne, in *an.* 1579, what fauor he granted to them of the religion; which was, that he would neither burne nor hang them, but that they ſhould be baniſhed out of the countrey, and muſt ſeeke for harbor and protection (like the Iewes, & misbeleeuing Heathen) in other countries. This is the meaning of all the houſe of Auſtria at this preſent: all moderation and mildneſſe dyed with the emperor *Maximilian*, and his ſonnes haue ſuckt a bitter hatred out of their Spaniſh mothers breſt, againſt the religion: and by their daily conuerſation with the Ieſuites, are more & more confirmed therin. This is that which in the contracts of mariage, made between the archduke & the Infanta (and was openly ſold in Brabant, ſo as there is no doubt of the authoritie therof) was ſo firmly ſet downe, That they ſhold make no alteration in
F religion, vpon paine of forfeiture of the ſaid countries, which in ſuch a caſe the king of Spaine may lawfully ſeize into his hands againe: ſhewing, without all doubt or diſſimulation, how firmely they will hold with the Inquiſition of Spaine touching that point: ſo that it would be a ten fold blindneſſe, and madneſſe in any man, to thinke, that the archduke & the Infanta (in regard they haue a vain hope at one time or other, to be maſters of Holland & Zeeland) would

conforme

1604 conforme themselues in religion, and grant them any libertie therein: for the prophesie saith, A
That necessarily the last Monarchy must be erected in Spaine, as in the beginning the one succeeded the other out of the East into the West, that is out of Asia into Grecia, & from thence to Rome; the which is so imprinted in the hearts of the king and the Spanish counsell, as they esteeme all meanes of accommodation to be needlesse, and do constantly beleeue, that they shall be masters ouer all, and at last, in spight of al the world, shall satisfie their desires. And they are perswaded, that by means of such accommodation in religion, they should break all correspondencie with the pope, and thereby ouerthrow all hope of their expected Monarchy. Neuertheless, if according to the necessitie of the time, hee seemeth to be any thing conformable therein, and granteth some libertie to religion, it will be no other thing for you, but for a while to saue you from ruine; the which shalbe broken againe, when as the Spanish and Iesuiticall B
counsell (whereunto he is so strictly bound) shal thinke the necessitie past; according to the old canon, That they are not bound to haue any faith or promise with heretikes, which they name rebels; who, as the Spaniards say, haue falsified their faithes both to God and to the king. Look what doctor *Ayda*, a Spaniard, auditor generall of the prince of Parma's armie, writeth in his booke of Martiall Law, printed in Antuerp; saying, That all contracts and treaties made betweene the prince & his subiects, that beare armes against him, are of no force nor power: and that the subiects cannot helpe the same; but they shall do wisely, by humble petitions to craue pardon at their princes and lords hands, and to commit their cause to his discretion. Which Spanish doctor, you ought heartily to thanke, for his so true, round, and vpright dealing with you, and to gouerne your selues thereafter: if not; at some time or other, you may wrongfully C
complaine, that you were deceiued, for that doctor *Ayda* can plainly tell you, that he had warned you thereof before, and that you despised his counsell. But to returne to our former matter. Marke what good meanes they haue on the other side, to deceiue you, and to make al promises (with a grace and faire shew) to be of no effect: for that when you shall haue obtained any freedome in religion (which neuertheless shall neuer be) the duke of Brabant may plainly say thus vnto you, Seeing I haue let you enioy the freedome of your consciences, because you haue alwayes said, That God onely ought to rule ouer the same: yet at the least shew me obedience in other worldly matters. And so, if he can by your simplicitie attaine thereunto, to place all the officers, judges, and magistrats, in towns and prouinces, that he may haue the forts and strength in his owne power, and become master of the whole: then assure your selues, to D
haue the yoke laid vpon you: no man being so simple, but that perceiueth, that the archduke in few yeares (for it is a poore host that cannot forbeare one reckoning, much better princes and kings, that haue long armes) will bring the matter to such a passe, and so well conforme the Estates to his appetite and will, as they themselues will make petitions, and intreat to bee released of the exercise of the religion, in such sort as he shalbe moued to breake his word, and to alter the articles, not of himselfe, but at the earnest suit of the Estates of the country. Thus much you are in this respect to expect, touching religion, and the libertie thereof, being the first and weightiest point. And touching the priuiledges of the countrey, I can tell you, that the archdukes heart and intent, is far from these faire shewes, and great commendations: For proofe whereof I will not lead you far, but by his own actions will shew you; and say, That if he were E
from his heart addicted to gouerne and rule so fatherly, as it is giuen forth, and to redresse the complaints of the prouinces in this respect, he would at least begin to make some shew of this good resolution vnto the Estates of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, and Henault, the which now for these 20 yeres together, haue sued, and longed to bee freed and discharged from all strange souldiers: that the counsell might bee all of Netherlanders, and the offices giuen to naturall borne subiects: being verie apparant, that although they haue neglected their common countries cause, and like slaues submitted themselues vnto the Spaniards, they are not trusted in any thing of weight, but thrust out of the counsell, and strangers preferred before them, who command in their castles and forts, vsing all disorders, and threatning the Estates with forcible contributions, and that so impudently, as in Antuerpe they haue forced the bourgmasters, to ap- F
point certain strumpets to serue their turns, making them their bawds. And is not this a sufficient forewarning, wherby you may conclude, that the archduke for your sakes (whom hee calleth heretikes & rebels) wil not shew any fauor, when he sheweth so little vnto thē, that like obedient subiects humbly fal vpon their knees? he cannot do otherwise, nor make any alteration

in preiudice

A In preiudice of the King of Spaine, of whome he holdeth theſe countries as in fee, and with other hard conditions (according to the contents of the contract of marriage) hath bound the ſame with vnſpeakeable Infraction of the ſaid Prouinces freedome vnto the Crowne of Spaine, thereby to inioy the Kings aid, and on the other ſide faithfully to aid him to the erecting of his pretended Monarchie. 1604.

It is well knowne vnto them that theſe countries beeing ſeperated from Spaine, and inioying their liberties and freedomes, ſuch a Monarchie can neuer be raiſed; and therefore they haue long ſince reſolued (whatſoeuer it coſt) to reforme the priuiledges of the Netherlands, that without hinderance of the ſame, all the power and meanes of the Prouinces (whether it bee money, ſhips, hauens, forts and all other
B thinges) may be vſed to the ſubiecting and conquering of the neighbour countries, as Germany, France, England, and all others, as their actions not long ſince put in practiſe did ſufficiently declare; how neere they would haue attained to their pretence, if they had had the Netherlands abſolutely vnder their command; whereby you may conceiue what pollicie is vſed, when men make you beleeue, that the Arch-duke (in regard of his weakeneſſe) is leſſe to bee feared, and that from henceforth you ſhall haue to doe with your owne Prince, and not with the King of Spaine, and other ſtrangers; and that therefore you ought to laye all diſtruſt aſide; whereas now it ſhall bee worſe for you then euer, in ſteed of one, you ſhall haue to doe with two, and in ſteed of one that is far of from you, to whome all thinges muſt bee written ouer Seas,
C and his reſolution to bee attended in matters of great importance; you ſhall alwayes haue the Archduke readie to imbrace all occaſions to ſurprize you.

By meanes of the Kings abſence, and the ſtaying for his reſolutions, wee haue often ſeene many diſſeignes made voyd and lye dead, but the Arch-duke alwaies ſitting ſtill by you, and looking vnto you will alwaies bee liſtning and prying into all occaſions, and will ſtrike when he ſeeth his time, to your miſerable deſtruction and ouerthrow: much leſſe alſo ought you to ſuffer your ſelues to bee deceiued by vaine wordes, that the Arch-duke is deſcended of Duch blood, and is no Spaniard: but I ſay that beeing borne of a Spaniſh mother, ſo ſtrictly bound vnto the King of Spaine, ſo Catholikely giuen of him-ſelfe, and perſwaded and incenſed by the Ieſuits, you haue cauſe to expect leſſe grace, fauour and courteſie to releeue your miſerable Eſtates, then of any
D naturall Spaniard.

But now you may aſke me, what will be the iſſue? ſhall wee ſtill bee diſtruſtfull? and ſhal we caſt away al hope of euer obtaining a good peace? Heere-vnto I make anſwer, that ſubiects muſt indure and beare much wrong and iniury at their Princes hands, before they riſe vp in armes againſt them, not onely for their conſcience ſake, (ſeeing that God hath made them ſubiects vnto them, and alſo commandeth them to be obedient and ſubiect euen vnto Infidell and Heathen Princes and Magiſtrates, and to pray for them) but alſo in reſpect of other worldly conſiderations, and for that ciuill armes borne by ſubiects againſt their Princes (although their caſe be good and lawfull) doe often times breed more miſchiefe, then the tyranies of Princes, which men thereby
E hope to withſtand; and may well be likened to a Phiſition, who curing of one diſeaſe, breedeth a worſe, and many times bringeth the ſicke patient into danger of death: Wherefore they ought to arme them-ſelues with patience ſo long as there is no other meanes or councell to be had: but when the ſubiects with all their patience, and long ſufferance cannot preuaile, and the wrongs offered them by the Prince are ſo great, as all diuine and humaine lawes permit them, to deny him obedience, as you with all poſſible and earthly meanes, humilitie, patience, prayers, intreaties and humble petitions haue to the vtmoſt acquitted your ſelues, and not till then (forced through meere extremitie) forſaken your Prince, when as he (in ſteed of anſwering your petitions)
F cauſed your Ambaſſadors to bee put to death; filled your townes and Prouinces with Spaniſh executioners, and brake the articles whereunto he was ſworne at his inſtallment, ſeeking to rule both ouer your ſoules and conſciences; then I ſay there is no other councell nor meanes for the ſubiect that hath forſaken his Prince, but to be couragious in fighting to defend his freedome, as before he was humble in induring wrongs,

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1605. „ arming himselfe with a constant and fitte distrust against the deuises and practises of A
„ his Prince, for that the naturall enmitie that is betweene the Cat and the Mouse, can-
„ not bee more vnreconcileable, then the ingrafted hatred and wrath of a great incensed
„ potentate and Prince against his subiects, by whom hee findes himselfe to bee left
„ and reiected:
„ You shall finde no examples neither in ancient nor moderne histories, that the
„ subiects which once haue fallen from their Prince, or that defended their owne free-
„ domes, or were fallen into greater slauerie and misery, could euer finde any meane to
„ worke their reconciliation, and to procure restitution to their former estates, vnlesse
„ that their territories and countries were so strong and mightie, as they had their owne
„ assurance within themselues, thereby at all times to force the agreement made to be B
„ held and obserued, and to with-stand the Princes attempts which hee should make to
„ the contrary. Some say, there was neuer any warre seene nor heard of, but at the last
„ it was ended by peace, and that quarrels ought not alwayes to continue and bee with-
„ out end. I acknowledge that also to bee true, and desire by my counsell to leade you
„ vnto a good, happy, and an assured peace, for that peace is obtained either by an accord
„ or by victory. Potentates and Princes may helpe themselues by both the said meanes;
„ and when victory denieth it them, they may seeke to make an agreement, and being
„ made, trust therevnto; for that by meanes of hilles and valleys, or deepe seas, they are
„ commonly seperated one from the other, whereby one cannot so hastily inuade the
„ other, each of them hath his gouernment apart, and holdeth his sword and strength in C
„ his hand, to bee his owne warrant, as soone as hee shall finde any cause of distrust; but
„ betweene you and the reconciled enemy there are no walles to part you. You must
„ lay your heads in his lap, deliuer vp all your aduantage, armes, and gouernment, and
„ haue no meanes at all of warrant, assurance, or trust, but at your deadly enemies dis-
„ cretion and mercie, which in so hard a case is dangerous to proue. And therefore
„ you must seeke by victorie to get peace, with resolution, either to dye valiantly, or
„ couraigously to obtaine the victorie. The third meane or midle way, of againe recei-
„ uing the once lawfully forsaken and disauowed Prince, diuerse countries and nations,
„ (whereof too many examples are extant) haue hardly attained vnto, but by meanes
„ of valiant and couragious continuance in armes, which some haue wisely chosen, and D
„ haue in the end obtained a desired peace and rest, whereof I will set downe a fewe
„ examples, which are very well knowne vnto euery man, and as yet fresh and perfect
„ in memory.
„ By this meanes the Switzers being hardly dealt withall by the house of Austria,
„ would no more subiect themselues vnder the same yoake, but by meanes of their con-
„ stant resolution, they obtained such freedome, as at this day they are seene to flou-
„ rish; and yet their warres continued not any thing the longer. God Almighty by his
„ wonderfull prouidence, ordered the matter in such sort, as the house of Austria it selfe
„ refrained from armes, and in tract of time had neede of the ayde and assistance of the
„ Switzers, who after they had made warres together for the space of a hundred yeares, E
„ and many times made peace and truce for a time, which was alwayes broken by the
„ house of Austria: at last *Sigismond* Duke of Austria made a perpetuall peace, per-
„ mitting them to enioy their full freedome, the which the Emperour *Maximilian* the
„ first, and *Charles* the fift (both of the house of Austria) did afterwards ratifie and
„ confirme, and had great ayde and assistance from the Switzers in their Italian warres.
„ In like case also they of Denmarke would by no meanes bee perswaded to accept of
„ *Christian* King of Denmarke, whom they had driuen out of the countrie, although
„ the Emperor *Charles* the fift his brother in lawe and others, both by armes and intrea-
„ties imbraced the cause, and yet neither the Switzers nor the Danes had not so waigh-
„ tie, lawfull, nor well grounded a cause for the leauing of their sayd Princes, nor yet F
„ endured the hundred part of the oppressions and wrongs, nor shewed so much pati-
„ ence as the Netherlanders: but the example of the Machabees (which is found in the
„ holy Scriptures) is most agreeable with your case concerning religion, for they would

not

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A not be any more vnder the yoake of *Antiochus*, whom they had reiected but conti- " 1605.
nued so long in armes vntill the Prince him-selfe became weary, and suffered then to "
liue in peace, so you by a valiant resolution and continuance in armes are to expect and "
hope for a great furtherance and blessing from God almighty, who thus long hath so "
wonderfully assisted you, and will still helpe and assist you, in regard that you are com- "
pelled to fight, not onely for your old and commendable fredomes and liberties, but "
also for his and his Churches honor. Now al men of any sound iudgement wil conceaue "
whether the present Estate of the Netherlands at this day, be not like vnto that, and "
it is to be hoped that the King of Spaine and the Archduke *Albertus*, will at the last by "
your constant resolutions, be brought to the consideration of the bad aduise and coun- "
B sell which they haue thus long followed, and be weary of this pestiferous warre, (being "
a canker eating into their tresure, and ouerslipping and neglecting of other notable oc- "
casions and conquests, and great danger and trouble for many of their countries and "
kingdomes) and will giue place to better counsell, as their progenitors did in respect "
of the Switzers, suffering the Netherlands peaceably to enioy their freedom and re- "
ligion, and vse there aid and friendshippe in other actions which may procure them "
ten times more profit, where-vnto all Spanish nations that border on the seas, "
(in respect of their necessary trade and mutuall trafficke) will be great furtherers, and "
by humble petitions (if they see your constancy still resolute to continew,) moue the "
King to yeeld therevnto, for that without doubt they indure more trouble, and hinde- "
C rance by the prohibition of sea-faring, then the Netherlanders, other-wise the King "
that last died would not haue permitted the same for so many yeares euen in the heate "
of all his warres. "

This is the true, and onely meanes to attaine vnto an assured peace and quietnesse, "
all other meanes and agreements are mixed with many cares and suspitions, the com- "
mon nature of men cannot subiect them-selues after the leauing and reiecting of their "
King, neither can he put any assured trust or confidence againe in you, nor you in him, al- "
though (in regard of your good nature, and vpright heartes) you suffer your selues to be "
perswaded to cast of all feare and distrust, (wherin alwaies the weakest haue the greatest "
cause) and to iudge other mens hearts by your owne, hoping that men will deale in "
like-sort without faulse-hood with you, as you do with them, and yet there is no- "
D thing more certaine then that the said distrust will neuer be remooed out of the King "
and the Arch-dukes hearts, which no man knoweth better then their owne counselors "
that speake so much of casting of all distrust, for they will alwaies put their nobility "
in mind, of that which you once haue done, and that you will attempt to do it againe "
at some other time, counseling them therefore by preuention so to shorten and clip "
your wings, and to put such a bit into your mouth, as they may be assured and out of "
doubt thereof. These arguments, and naturall reasons grounded vpon mutuall care "
cannot by any meanes be taken from you, for say that the Emperor, the Pope, the King "
of France, England and other Princes make promises, and bind them-selues, that the "
Articles concluded shall bee truly and fully obserued and kept, what will that helpe "
E you? you must neuer the lesse lay your head in your reconcled ennemies lap, you must "
liue vnder his fauor and at his deuotion, but when soeuer you are executed, or other "
wise oppressed, and haue no meanes nor power to helpe your selues, which of these "
cautions will you charge with his promise? before what iudge wil you plead your cause? "
who shall serue execution vpon the principall debtor or the suerty? paraduenture you "
thinke, that if the Pope warrenteth the contract, and put his seale there-vnto, with de- "
claration that the old cannon (which is not to hold any faith with heretickes) in that "
respect shall bee of no force, that as then you are well assured, but say that the Pope "
that now is did it, who shall assure you that his successor will confirme it? may he not "
F say, my predecessor erred, I haue the the power to breake (as being voyde and of "
none effect) what so euer is done against the Catholike Religon let it bee done by "
whome soeuer it will? but bee it that the Poope saith not so, may not the King of "
Spaine him-selfe maintaine, and say that vppon many waighty reasons, hee being "
a soueraigne monarch, (who is not subiect to any iudge what soeuer,) may discharge "

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1605. „himselfe of his contract and dispence there-with; according to the argument of A
„ Docter *Ayala* aforesayd, as in effect the King that last died brake and recalled al his con-
„ tracts made for certaine years with the Italian marchants? and thus you shall finde your
„ selues intrapped on euery side whereseoeuer you turne you.
„ As touching the securitie of Princes and Potentates, it is meere follie once to
„ thinke, that any sureties will beginne or vndertake for to make warres in your be-
„ halfe, no man halteth for an other mans lameneſſe, the charges and the troubles
„ of warres are so great, as no man will take them in hand for the loue or profit of
„ strangers, yea men feare to enter thereinto, although they should thereby reuenge
„ their owne wrongs.
„ Looke into the Articles of peace made betweene the Kings of France and Spaine B
„ in the yeare of our Lord 1598. haue not the Spaniards by taking of townes vpon
„ the confines of the Empire, by ouer running Cleaue-land and other neighbour coun-
„ tries, and by ransaking, spoyling and offering of a thousand wrongs broken the
„ same? and yet France will not make any warres in the behalfe of those coun-
„ tries: looke into the example of the Queene of England, of famous memorie late de-
„ ceased, that although the King of Spaine, sought by many practises and open
„ force to inuade her crowne and countrie, yet how vnwilling shee was neuerthe-
„ lesse, to assaile him with a iust offensiue warre, but was content to defend her owne,
„ notwithstanding that by your aide, and with halfe charges shee might haue assured her
„ Estate. What hope haue you then to expect that any forraine Prince (when soeuer C
„ you shalbe oppressed, and that the charges must onely fall vpon him) will reuenge your
„ wrongs?
„ To speake of the Emperor it is needeleſſe, for that no man is so simple as not to
„ conceiue that there is more partialitie then trust to bee expected at his hands. But
„ you say, the Emperor and the Princes of Germanie, yea and the whole Empire doe
„ of themselues offer to imbrace our cause, and as good mediators will procure vs a
„ good peace: shall wee distrust both enemies and friends, and heare no mans
„ counsell?
„ I answere, that you haue more then to many reasons, to suspect all whatsoeuer,
„ that commeth from the Emperor, not onely in regard of his neereneſſe of bloud vnto D
„ the King of Spaine and the Arch-duke, but in respect of his owne actions and pro-
„ ceedings against them of the Religion of Aix, and namely against his owne subiects
„ in Bohemia, Hungaria, Austria, Slesia and other his countries, hauing also winckt at
„ the Admirall of Arragons actions, and left the oppressed subiects of the borders of the
„ Empire comfortleſſe. As touching the Empire, and the Princes thereof, although that
„ many of them are well to be trusted, yet diuers of them depend vpon the Pope, and con-
„ sequently on Spaine.
„ In the yeare of our Lord 1598. you saw the bad agreement that was amongst
„ them, and the sloweneſſe they vsed in helping and comforting of their oppressed
„ members, togither with the badde gouernment of their affaires, by reason of the E
„ great number of diuerslie affected leaders. All of them togither, by their Amba-
„ sages, and admonitions, seeke to procure a peace, for the profit and commoditie
„ of the Netherlands, but much more for their owne, perswading themselues, that
„ by the Netherlandes warre they receiue some hurt and preiudice, and fall into ma-
„ ny extreamities, seeking and desiring therefore to cease them, let the Religion and
„ your preuiledges doe as they may. And whensoeuer artciles should bee broken,
„ they will doe much lesse for you, then they haue done for their vnited companions
„ and members of the Empire, negligently ouerslipping the great daunger that ap-
„ procheth them, as soone as the Netherlanders (which God forbid) should bee brought
„ into subiection, and they that vnderstand the same, (as there are some,) will neuer F
„ giue you counsell, to liue vnder the Spaniardes subiection, but will humblie thanke
„ you that you still continue as a stronge bul-warke for them, and turne awaie the
„ warres.
Touching other Princes of Christendome there is no hope to be had, in regard of their
weakeneſſe.

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A weakenesse. Therefore, beloued Netherlanders, helpe your selues, and God will help you, be not deceiued by cunning practises, seeing you haue by armes maintained your cause so long, put not your trust in any man, but in the vprightnesse of your cause, and Gods assured aid, who for these 37. yeares in strange alterations, and feareful accidents, hath vpholden, defended, and brought you to this present estate; & from henceforth by his mighty hand shall lead and conduct you: if you hold fast by his word, and will follow his starre of direction, as the wise men in the East did, thinke often vpon things past, & set former actions before your eyes, and therein, as in a cleare glasse you shall rightly learne to know Gods mercies shewed vnto you: were not the first beginning of these troubles wonderfull and strange? In *anno* 1566. there rose such a zeale in the chiefe 1605.
B Noblemen of the Netherlands, to defend the liberties of their native country, as they bound themselues there-vnto? There was such an assemblie of the common people in all townes by thousands, such a common hatred against the Inquisition, as all Christendome spake thereof, and made men iudge that nothing could stoppe or hinder the violence of such a streame. But by Gods prouidence (who would try and proue your constancies, confounding all this great shew and hope, by the subtile direction of a woman, and the fearefull approach of the Duke of Alua, which sepetated the vnited
C Gentlemen, and caused the common people to flye or to hide them-selues) The Duke of Alua comming with a handfull of soldiers in regard of the great numbers of the Inhabitants of the Netherlands, without any contradiction, did what hee pleased in cutting off heades, hanging and burning, and building of Castles: some of the great Princes fledde the country, some did helpe to further and fortifie his cruelties, no man durst striue against it, or once put forth his hand, as if they had all beene bound of senceless, and as then the hope of any releese was much lesse, then the feare of any opposition, and the dispaire more greater, then the ioye and content was in the beginning.

The Prince of Orange with the aid of his friendes in germany, and some releese of such as fledde out of the countrie, twise brought a good number of horse and foote with him, which without feare might haue gone against the Turke; past ouer the Meuze, entred into the heart of the country, & gaue some new hope, but his power, and your com-
D fort was of as smal continuance, as a fire of straw. The Duke of Alaes crueltie (especially after the first enterprize) was more strengthned then impaired, and in the second, (which was partly grounded vpon the fauor and aid of France) the French men soone fell from him, and murthered those of the religion, whereby the Prince perceiued, that hee had leaned to a deceitfull reed, that not onely fayled him, but thrust him through the hand. He was forsaken of the Dutch soldiers, and so if there were any hope resting, it was soone taken away: but when as the case seemed desperate in regard of men, God appeared vnto you with some comfort, who stirred vp the hearts of them of Holland with a new zeale, to receiue the Prince of Orange, and to re-
E sist and withstand the Duke of Alua, to the great admiration of all worldy wise men, who esteemed it for madnesse, that Marchants, Saylers and Fishermen, and a nation who (in regard of their continuall and long peace) were vnaccustomed to armes, and as vnfitte (as it seemed) for the warres (as a Cow to daunce) esteemed so little of the Duke of Alua, as they thought it needlesse for them to put garrisons into their townes, durst begin so stout a peece of worke, against the power of such a King, against the most renowned Generall or Leader of an Armie in Christendome, to whome all the other Prouinces (which had the greatest part of Noblemen and Gentlemen amongst them and such as had borne armes in the French warres) had submitted, bowed and kneeled; besides that hauing no other support to relye on
F but a Prince who had beene forced to leaue the field, who was abandoned by his soldiers, and was refused entrie into any of the townes of Brabant, Flanders, and others, and which is more who acknowledged his owne weakenesse, and least they should be deceiued, fore-warned many of their townes that they should ouer-rule their zeale, and not bee so hastie, but first to prouide for money, victuals, munition and other necessaries, make strong their townes and then shew them-selues as enemies, sending

1605. „ them word also, that if they had not good regard to them-selues, they might bee ouer- A
„ runne, before they could send them soldiers to aid them; who can esteeme this but for
„ a wonderfull worke of God? who helpeth not when there is least need, but sheweth his
„ power in assisting when men are almost in dispaire, that they may onely ascribe the
„ glory vnto him, and praise and thanke him the more.

„ All particuler accidents, whereby GOD almighty (during the warres in Hol-
„ land) hath shewed his gratious aid and mighty power, as when after the losse of Har-
„ lem, hee sent the spirrit of dissention amongst the Spanish armie, that the towne of
„ Alckmaer had time to breath, and to defend it selfe: when miraculously hee wrought
„ the releeuing of Leyden, when with a short thawe he set at libertie the frozen shippes
„ of war in the Zuyder-Zee, and presently againe caused the Riuer to freese, when they B
„ being vnfrozen were past by Horne, with other strange effects, which for breuitie sake
„ I will omit; it is a sufficient wonder, that this weake, vnatmed and as vnaccustomed a
„ nation to the wars, as any whatsoeuer vnder the cope of heauen, without any other Po-
„ tentates aid, could for the space of foure yeares togither, withstand the great power
„ of such a Monarch, who was so much incensed with bitter hatred and spleene against
„ this small Prouince, as he left his great aduantage, which the victory wonne by *Don*
„ *Iohn* at Lepanto had giuen him against the Turke, to reuenge his wrath conceiued
„ against them of Holland and Zealand; and to that end hee made a truce with the
„ Turke, and maintained peace with all his neighbours thereabouts, that hee might
„ heere imploy all his forces and treasor, hauing also as great and strong an armie, C
„ composed of a number of old experienced soldiers of diuers nations, as Spaniards,
„ Germaines and Italiens, and of braue commanders with aboundance of Ordinance,
„ Munition, Victualls and all other necessaries for the warre as euer was seene: in these
„ foure yeares it was seene, that by reason of the Kings mighty power and force,
„ and the weakenesse of the parties defendants, which were not accustomed to armes,
„ many townes and Forts were beseeged and taken, the rest seeming in a manner to
„ wauer, so as they of Holland and Zealand were glad to hearken to the peace of Bre-
„ da, where the country people were offered libertie to sell their goods, and to go
„ and dwell in other places out of the countrie, where-vppon they chose rather to
„ fight and die valiantly in their owne countrie, then to wander comfortlesse in strange D
„ Regions.

„ But when the enemie after the winning of Ziriczee, thought to set his foote vp-
„ pon their throates, and that hee held the victory assured in his owne hands, and
„ that some of the neighbours grieued, and others laught and thought that as then
„ they should suffer the punishment of their follie. To conclude when all the wise men
„ of the world, thought Gods helpe to be furthest from them, it was neerest vnto them,
„ who prouided in such sort as the other Prouinces which seemed to sit vnder the great
„ Kings grace and protection, were more impatient to beare the great oppressions of
„ the soldiers their friendes, then Holland and Zealand were to indure the bloody
„ blowes and woundes of their deadly enemies, vsing a kind of releefe, whereon the E
„ wisest and sharpest witted of them all neuer dreampt off, which was that both Ab-
„ bots and Prelates with diuers others, who had all that time aided the enemie to sub-
„ uert the religion, and the liberties of Holland and Zealand, now vnexpected, relee-
„ ued and deliuered them out of their necessitie and trouble, making the peace at
„ Gant with them, from the which (that your eyes and hearts might againe bee with-
„ drawne from mortall ayde, and relye more vppon GOD) they fell againe, and
„ remayned no longer constant therein, but vntill that their countriemen and those
„ of the religion had gotten their heads aboue water, and taken breath: after that
„ you sought other forraine ayd, the which how much greater they were in outward
„ appearance, and worldly respect, the greater blow they gaue vnto your Estate, F
„ some made the shippe euen to cracke againe, some ranne it almost on
„ ground.

„ You are alwayes much bound to praise and commend the affection of the fa-
„ mous and praise worthy Queene of England, although some of hir Commanders
brought

A brought your Estate for a while into no small combustion: the best, most assured, & most constant ayd you had alwaies from your selues, yet before all things you must craue it at GODS handes, who till this time neuer fayled you at all. 1605.

What better assurance of his fatherly regard and care for your preseruation, can you haue, then that hee hath defended you, contrary to all mens expectations, not onely against the power and force of forreyne enemies, but also against so many domesticall deceipts, practises and treasons, your owne protectors and Gouernors sought to deceiue you; as the Earle of Renebergh in Freezeland and Ouerissell, the Earle of Bergh in Gelderland and in the Earldome of Zutphen, and the Prince of Chymay in Flanders.

B The chiefe of your Deputies, sent to the treatie of Cologne in *anno* 1579. as the Duke of Arschot, the Lord of Grobbendoncke, and the Abbot of Maroles, were better affected to the enemie then to you, and sought to deliuer you into their handes, but all their long pretended councell, and (as they thought) most secretly contriued, Gods powerfull hand confounded, and like *Achitophels* wisdome brought it to nought. It is not impossible in mans iudgement, that the losse of so many townes, so many treasons, so many crosses in battailes giuen in the field, as at Hardenberge heath, at Gemblours, at Northoorn, at the Borentang, at Boxum and elsewhere: The losse of the strongest townes in the countrie, which were partly taken by force and famine, and some willingly falling from you, could not ouerthrow

C yours, nor better the enemies state? You see the people by meanes of ouerthrowes and other losses, became vigilant, wiser, and more prouident: all your losses were to your furtherance, and the enemies victories turned to his owne hurt: the populous and rich townes of marchandise vnder his command, by his triumphes, in the twinckling of an eye became poore, desolate and empty both of men and tafficke: yours in all crosses and aduersities, had meanes to increase and inrich themselues, Villages became Townes, and weake Townes made inuincible; those that before were great and strong, you were forced to make them more spatious & greater, because they could not comprehend the multitude of people which sought to inhabit within them.

Euery yeare you haue built an innumerable number of shippes of war, made in-

D finite store of Ordinance, all manner of weapons, munition, and other necessaries for the warres; but aboue all the experience of the warres increaseth, and teacheth you rightly to know how to vse that power and meanes which God hath giuen you. You haue reduced your contributions into good order, GOD sheweth you how to trade in strange countries, which before were not knowne by you, and blesseth the same euery yeare more and more, in dispight, and to the subuersion and hinderance of the Kingdomes of Spaine, and with no small admiration of all nations, who thereby see, that God withdraweth the trade and trafficke from the King, and the whole countrie of Spaine, and directeth it vnto you, and giueth you such power at Sea, as you are able to inuade Spaine and other places: To the contrary they see that

E all the Kings proceedings goe backeward, that the cancker and curse is falne into his treasor, that hee notwithstanding all his money of the Indies, must breake his credit with the Marchants and disauow his contracts, that hee is continually vexed with mutinies of soldiers that are vnpaid, they see clearly that as now their reputation and name is greater then his power; that hee must indure that you inuade and braue him in his owne countries and Hauens; and that in steed of striking terror into others, hee himselfe must feare. Finally hee must needes bee blinde, that from these wonders doth not acknowledge his fatherly blessings vnto you, and his wrath and displeasure vppon the Kings house, who acknowledgeth not the honor, power and dignitie wherein it is placed by God, but to the rooting out of his word, and

F Church, to the procuring of all troubles in Christendome, and to the ouer-running of strange countries, where-vnto they had no right, wherein they haue shedde much Christian bloud, for the which God is iustly offended.

Therefore oh Netherlands, seeing you haue for so many yeers defended your freedomes of soule and body, and likewise spent so much blood and treasor in the sayd

1605. „ quarrell, and caused your name and fame to bee spread abroade throughout all the A
„ world, now at the last leaue not of your labour, when the greatest wants and greatest
„ dangers are past. That which remaineth (with the helpe of God) is but small, now
„ you doe dayly see your enemies decay both in power and riches, and their ruine appro-
„ ching. You haue seene the end of King *Philip* the second; that with all his treasure,
„ wise counsellors, great respect, authoritie and experience, and continuall labour for
„ thirtie yeares together, lost more then hee gotte from you. Much more hope is there
„ then, that by Gods grace you shall goe thorough with the cause to your honor, against
„ his sonne, whose counsell, authoritie, and experience is nothing comparable vnto
„ that of his Father, who findeth the spring of his treasures exhausted and drawne drie,
„ and his credit weakned, whose impostes and reuenues (by meanes of forbidding trade B
„ and traffike, and your happy new trade) decrease, and his charges increase, for that con-
„ tinually both by Sea and by land, vppon the coast of Spaine and others his king-
„ domes, hee must arme against you, and withall thinke vpon his owne defence, where-
„ as his father onely practised and deuised how hee might ouer-come and vanquish
„ you.

„ Suffer not your selues (as in the beginning you were deceiued by the Duches of
„ of Parma) to bee againe now at the last circumuented with policie and faire speeches,
„ for the treasure of Spaine will not come so abundantly vnto them as it hath done,
„ neither shall they bee able to drawe it from the bare and impouerished Prouinces,
„ (which through their gouernment will soone bee wearied, and seeke some alteration) C
„ bee not slacke yet for a short time to continue your liberall contributions; for the free-
„ dome that is bought therewith, is not to bee valued by any treasure: you neede not so
„ to feare and apprehend their forces, for that you haue not to do with the Duke of *Alua*,
„ with *Don Iohn*, nor the Duke of Parma, whose wise conduct, experience in armes, dili-
„ gence and fortune was to bee feared, whome you nettertheless haue valiantly with-
„ stood, but with yong and vnexperienced Commanders and Leaders, vnder whose go-
„ uernment you may already marke an alteration in the enemies marshall discipline and
„ counsels, and consequently in his proceedings: whereas to the contrary you are blest
„ of God, with such a generall of your Armie, as you neuer had before, whose seruice
„ the Empire of Rome requireth against the Turke, and such a one as the King of Spaine D
„ with all his treasure (although it were ten times greater) cannot equall. You haue the
„ fauour and good will of all neighbour Princes and Potentates, who although they aide
„ you not with open armes, yet they wish your good, for the feare they haue of the Spa-
„ niard, so as all furtherance is on your side. The enemies Prouinces lye open to you,
„ and yours by meanes of the riche water, land, and strong townes shutte from them.
„ His hauens in Spaine, Indies, Brasilia and America, are knowne vnto you, and easily to
„ bee sayled vnto, so as at your pleasures, you can enterprise any thing against them:
„ but hee hath prooued and tryed, that your Hauens and Sea-townes, need not to care
„ for his fleetes. Sea-faring, meanes for money, experience of the warres, and autho-
„ ritie, are increased amongst you, and decayed with him; your cause, the longer, the E
„ more it is fauoured; his from yeare to yeare is worse, because hee incenseth first
„ one and then another, as not many yeares since hee did vppon the Lords of the
„ Empire.

„ Besides all this, you are to put your trust in the equitie of your cause, and in Gods
„ fauour, who here-to-fore hath sundry times assisted you in greater necessitie: whom
„ you (besides incurring the shame and disgrace of all the world, both to you and your
„ posteritie) shall offend, and make him with-drawe his fauours from you; if that for-
„ getting his benefits, and distrusting his fauour, now without cause, either to spare your
„ purses, or vpon an immagined further rest and ease, you will leaue and forsake his
„ word and true religion, as the *Gargasens* (because of their Swine) intreated Iesus F
„ Christ to depart out of the countrie: for that as God and *Belial* cannot agree toge-
„ ther, so cannot you by meanes of the true religion at this time, obtaine a peace with
„ the King of Spaine, the Arch-duke *Albertus*, and the *Infanta*, (whome I place all in
„ one degree) but through your valiant resolution and continuance in armes, you

now

A now remaine assured of religion and your freedome, and in time are also to hope of " 1605.
a good peace with Spaine and all his friends, no lesse then that which the Switzers ob- "
tained from the house of Austria, where-vnto God almightie send you his grace, with "
wise counsell, and mutuall loue and vnitie. "

And you Romish Catholikes, (amongst whome I know that there are many that "
wish and desire the freedome of your natiue countrie) bee not perswaded that in re- "
garde of your religion, your burthens and charges vnder the Spaniards gouernment "
shall bee any thing diminished; for there will bee still some cause of offence found "
against them that haue any thing to loose, as beeing friends and wel-willers to Pro- "
testants: were it onely but for that they haue not done their indeuours, made resi- "
B stance, nor borne armes against their neighbours and kinsmen. This is the crime of "
omission, for the which the whole nation of the Netherlands were condemned by the "
King and the Spanish Inquisition, and the execution thereof committed to the Duke "
of Alua; as the Histories written by Catholikes themselues, in honor of the King suf- "
ficiently declare. "

This is that which *Vergas* President of the bloudie councell, in the Duke of Aluas "
time sayd. *Heretici fraxerunt templa, Boni nihil fecerunt contra, ergo debent omnes pati-* "
bulare; that is, The heretickes brake downe the Churches, the good did not seeke to "
hinder nor let them, and therefore they must all bee hanged. For these reasons *Iohn* "
Baptista Taxis in *Anno* 1595. wrote vnto the King from Brussels; that his Maiestie "
C ought by no meanes to consent by any contract of peace, that the Spanish garrisons "
should depart out of the countrie, for that it would bee a blemish to his authoritie, "
for sayd hee, your Maiestie cannot build vpon those of the Catholike religion, in re- "
gard that deuotion is onely found amongst a few old men and women, which cannot "
fight, the rest will altogether thrust their heads into one hood. And although *Taxis* "
had not so plainly shewed this distrust which is had of you, vnto the King and his "
counsell, yet the deeds themselues declare it; for all the world knowes, that the No- "
blemen of the Netherlands (notwithstanding their reconciliation with the King) are "
not trusted, but with hearts griefe, must see, yea and frette that the Spaniards are "
preferred not onely to bee Councellors, but to the highest dignities, to gouernment, "
and other preferments, and they despised, reiected, and badly dealt withall. It preuai- "
D led *Lamorall* Earle of Egmont nothing at all, that hee laboured to chase away the "
Preachers, and that in all things hee shewed himselfe to bee a deuoute Catholike: "
for notwithstanding all this hee lost his head. His sonne, who to winne more credit "
with the Spaniards, openly sayd, that his Father had his iust reward, being in pri- "
son was despised, and after long imprisonment, was at last hardly released by the King "
in exchange with a Gentleman called *Mounsieur la Noue*, and others likewise were re- "
leased by the like vnequall exchange. "

And when as the Baron *De Selles*, *Champigni*, the Bishop of Ypre, and the Lord of "
Auchi were prisoners to the Estates, the Duke of Parma was so slowe in seeking "
their deliuerie, as the Barron *De Selles* dyed in prison with melancholie and griefe, "
E complaining that he and his brother the Barron *De Noircarmes* seruices were badly "
rewarded. The Barron *Van Hese* was beheaded vpon a surmised crime, many others "
were made away here and there in diuers places, as *Vrias* was, and little lamented. "
Charles Earle of Mansfield had such strong Pepper giuen him by the Spaniards, that "
hee left the Kings seruice in the Netherlands, and went to serue against the Turke in "
Hungarie where hee dyed. It is needlesse to rehearse many examples; you see before "
your eyes, how that they of Antwarpe, Gant, and other places, haue gotten nothing by "
liuing like faithfull Catholike subiects vnder the King, for that notwithstanding "
they must bee slaues to the Spanish nation, and beare the intollerable abuses, "
F wrongs, molestations & iniuries, of the Spanish garrisons, & yet their complaints can- "
not be heard, nor any iustice done vpon the offenders; which may serue for an example "
and fore-warning vnto all Catholiks, that haue dwelt in the vnited Prouinces, vnder the "
command of hereticks, (as the Spaniards & Iesuits call them) what good intertainment "
they were to expect, if the Spaniards were absolute maisters, & yet they haue a stroger "

and

1605. „and a more assured argument, to confirme the same, from the example of their Estates A
„ of the Kingdomes of Naples and Arragon, and the Duchie of Millan, who haue with-
„ stood the inquisition, not because they had any sauor of the true Religion, but for that
„ they perceaued, that no man could liue so catholikely, but he should be subiect vnto the
„ proceeding thereof, and that it serueth for a meanes, without exception of any priue-
„ ledges, iurisdictions, freedomes, and countries customes, to iudge all persons and for
„ all causes whatsoeuer, as it manifestly apeareth by the history of *Anthonio Perez*,
„ with whom the King being so much offended, as hee could not apease his wrath against
„ him, because according to his countries priueledges, hee was to bee cald in question
„ before the Iudges of Arragon, and not by any other strange Iudges, hee caused him
„ to bee prosecuted by the inquisition, although hee were not accused of any matter B
„ touching Religion.

„ A Gentleman of Spaine, borne in Salamanca, and that came with the Duke of Alua
„ out of Spaine, beeing in my house, sayd openly, that in their towne their was no
„ man of any estate or quality, but would gladly loose one of the ioyntes of his fingers,
„ that hee might bee released of the feare they haue of the inquisition. The marchants
„ of Lisbone beeing the greatest Catholikes in the world, at King *Philips* first com-
„ ming into Portingall, sought to buy out that feare of the inquisition, onely craving this
„ small fauour, that the inquisitors should commit no man to prison, without making
„ them acquainted with the cause, and letting them know their accusers; that they
„ should adiorne them to appeare in open court, and that no man should bee condem- C
„ ned vpon any witnesses depositions, without giuing a copie thereof vnto the par-
„ ties condemned; that they might answere therevnto and disproue the witnesses.

„ Finally, they sought nothing els but reasonable audience before they were con
„ demned, and an ordinarie course of lawe, according to all right, equitie and reason,
„ but it might not bee graunted vnto them of Lisbone (although they offered two
„ milions and a halfe, and would gladly haue giuen foure) for the inquisitors would
„ not bee brought to such a straight, but would hold their vnrestrained power and li-
„ bertie, to condemne euery one that they once catch within their nets, although
„ they haue no other witnesses then the prisoners owne sworne enemies, or some base
„ villaines, which otherwise will not bee credited for a matter of three guildens, or els D
„ such as they themselues haue subborned, as *Annas* and *Chayphas*, did against Christ,
„ and yet they did better then the inquisitors doe, because they brought the witnesse
„ before him.

„ The generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces beeing well acquainted herewith, al-
„ though they were Catholikes, yet could not allow of the bringing in of Bishoppes, per-
„ ceauing that it tended not so much to the aduancement of the Catholike religion, as
„ to ouerthrow the priueledges of the countrie, and to bring in an absolute gouernment,
„ where, at the assemblie of the Estates of the countrie, they sit, and ouer-rule them, and
„ by that meanes would looke into all mens proceedings, thereby to demynish the anci-
„ ent libertie of voices, and of the speaking for their priueledges. E

„ In the yeare of our Lord 1576. the catholike Prouinces, yea and many Abbots,
„ and Prelats themselues, finding this decay of their preueledges, for the defence thereof
„ made a contract with Holland and Zeeland, although God did suffer, (for the sinnes of
„ the country which as yet were not punished) that some fell from them againe, whereof
„ many beholding the bad successe, were much greeued thereat. Therefore bee not so
„ mad nor blind, to let this insupportable yoake, (against the which they of Arragon, Na-
„ ples, and Millan stroue, and resisted) with faire promises to be brought in among you,
„ thinke for certaine that the inquisition shall bee more rigorously executed in these
„ countries then in any other places, for that the true Religion hath here beene longer
„ exercised, and hath taken deeper roote then els where, so as the Spaniards esteeme all F
„ the Inhabitants of the country to be heretikes: and I tel you true, that you shal in many
„ parts be in worse case then those of the religion, for they, knowing that there remaineth
„ no grace nor mercy for them, will make away, and with distrust and fore-sight arme
themselues against it, but you, by means of your ouer much credulity shal fall into their

nets,

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A nets, fire, and sword when you least thinke thereof, and when you speed best, although euery man escapeth bodyly punishment, yet with vnspeakeable greefe hee shall behold, the ouerthrowing of the countries lawdable freedomes and priueledges, and shall not once dare to looke vp, nor speake one word against it, but the Spaniards will raile at them and call them *Viliacos, Lutheranos, Tradidores &c.* 1605.

As often as you behold your children, you shall with sighes thinke, that you bring them vp to bee slaues vnto the Spaniards, and that your successors, and posterities, shall see an vnspeakeable alteration in the estate of the countrie. The riches, trade, and seafaring, (which by their good policy, iustice, and priueledges is much augmented) shall by altering thereof also decay, and be carried into strange countries, as it is already dri
B uen out of Brabant, Flanders, and other Prouinces, considering that euery man seekes to rule freely. The Spaniards and the Arch-dukes counsell, will by all secret and open practises seeke to deminish the glory and welth of the country, they will bee glad to see the Inhabitants imploy themselues to till and plow the land and to milke their Cowes, neither will they grieue that the number of shippes and rich Marchants decaies, for that in their iudgements it hath beene the meanes, which brought the Prouinces to so great welth, and hath so long maintained the warres; and that the meaner sort of subiects are more tractable to bee gouerned. You see already that the Arch duke and the Infanta, by their contract of marriage are bound to forbid your trade into the East and
C West Indies. Herein you haue an example of Portingale, where King *Philip* at his first comming to that crowne considering, that the sayd country was as strong of ships and saylers as al the territories of Spaine, & that the same in time might blemish his authoritie and absolute command, hee purposely disarmed and weakened them at sea: and reiecting the Portingall pilots and masters of shippes, he imployed all other nations in them; so as many saylers of portingall giuing themselues to tilling the land and other labors, the old dying, and the number which increased but small, in nineteene yeares, the marriners were so decaied, as the King himselfe, in setting out of his fleetes found the want of them.

Thus shall the Spaniards weaken and disarme the Netherlands, which haue prouided them so much worke, for these thirty yeares, that so they may not feare the like resistance. They will put the old resolutions againe in practise, thereby to bring all
D the countries (with their seuerall rights, customes and priueledges) vnder the lawes of one absolute Monarchie, and roote out all the markes and memory of the Netherlands freedomes: and causing you to leaue your owne naturall language, they will bring in the Spanish tongue, as they haue already done in the Indies.

To conclude they will make such an alteration, as with in these fiftie yeares men shall not know their owne natiue country. Beleeue it for certaine, that this is no vaine fable, but a true forwarning, built vpon a good ground. Learne at the last, that they vnder pretence of the catholike Religion, couer their ambition, and oppression; be not otherwise perswaded, but that you are to feare all the fore-passed euells, not onelie from the Duke of Brabant, but also from the King of Spaine,
E who although he beareth the name, yet the Spanish Councell, spirit and resolutions, (in matters of importance, whereon the Estate of the countrie, and the welfare of the same dependeth) shall alwaies gouerne. Wherefore cast away all diuision and distrust which strangers entertaine amongst you, thereby to ruine you: liue in vnitie with those that haue spent so much bloud for the liberties of their natiue countrie, and seeke not to burthen the freedome of your conscience, but suffer God and the holie Ghost to rule ouer them, beseeching him to moouе euery mans heart to seeke after the right way of saluation.

Vpon the fifteene of may Prince *Maarice* hauing gathered his horse and foote toge-
F ther marched towards Berghen vp Zoom, causeing 80. companies of foote to be shipt in Zeland, vnder the conduct of *Ernestus* Earle of Nassaw, (as it seemeth) to make an enterprise or to besiege Antwerp, if he could be master of the point of Flanders on the other side of the riuer, but the winde being stronge, & contrary in some reaches of the riuer of Scheld; *Ernestus* could not land his men as he was appointed, (as al enterprises are

An enterpise made by Prince Maurice vpon the riuer of Scheld and Antwerp.

subiect

1605. subiect to water, wind and weather) yet he valiantly passed by the Spanish sconces, A
called Peerle and Ordam, which furiously shot vpon them; it seemeth that if Cont *Ernestus* could haue brought his shippes to *Cloppers* bancke or dike, and there haue landed certaine companies of men, they might haue done what they intended, but the winde beeing contrary, and they thereby driuen to shoare, they sought with certaine shallops and great boates to land some men on Flanders side, but beeing somewhat slow in the execution, they were easily repulsed frrom thence by a small number of the enemy, wherein the night did much helpe them, which made the soldiers to doubt that the Spaniards were much stronger: where-vppon they were somewhat abasht, and the rather for that they had no Ordinance with them: for although that the Marquesse *Spinola* had beene gone with certaine soldiers into the land of Waes, to view *Issendicke* Fort, B
that hee might attempt some thing against it; yet by meanes of an intercepted letter brought to *Mounsier van Rollegum*, Gouernor of the crosse Sconce, there were more men placed there, by *Don Inigo de Mendoza* Gouernor of the Castle of Antwerp, to the number of three thousand, with some Ordinance, who fell vppon this small number of Prince *Maurice* his men, which were sette on land (lying behinde the bankes) they
The States men defeated. beeing not aboue three hundred, whereof part fledde againe into their shallops and boates, the rest were defeated and slaine, whereof fourescore were taken prisoners and carried into the Castle of Antwerp, amongst the which was Captaine *Legier*, Lieutenant to Captaine *Le Croix*, and a Sargeant. The Burgonians had almost taken Collonell *Dorp*, but he leaping into the water saued him-selfe, not without great dan- C
ger of his life: it is thought that there was not aboue one hundred slaine, whereof one was Captaine *Michael Tutelaer* and his Lieutenant *Francis*, sonne to *Francis Tutelaer*, some of the shallops were suncke and burnt. This was done vpon the seauenteenth of Maie in the morning, when as Earle *Ernestus* thought to haue made a bridge ouer the Scheld, about Ousterwele, their ships of warre, and others being come within sight of Antwerp; but their enterprize failing by reason of the wind and other accidents, Cont *Ernestus* went with all his men and shipps to Ousterweele on Brabant side, where hee landed them, and marched towards Eckeren, where Prince *Maurices* armie then
The Gouernor of Ordam sconce slaine. was, who went backe againe to Berghen Vp-Zoome, the ships with their prouision sailed backe againe, shooting against the fort aforesaid, and they at them, at which time the D
Gouernor of Ordam was slaine.

This attempt bred a great alteration in Antwerp, the rich beeing in great feare, and the poorer sort wishing the enemies might haue good successe, euery man according to his humor. Notwithstanding that *Spinola* had at least eight thousand men thereabouts, and vpon Flanders side: presently there-vpon the prices of all victuals did rise, many men packt vp such things as they had and fledde to Mechelen and Brussels, but there were foure companies of horsemen sent presently into the towne, the which were lodged in such Innes as had good fourage, without any cost or charge to the Bourgers; but when they heard of the enemies retrait the horsemen also left the towne. E

Wouwe Castle beseeged. Prince *Maurice* parting from Eckeren, beseeged the Castle of Wouwe, which lyeth in a marish ground a League from Berghen vp-Zoome, a very strong Castle, being the Marquesse of Berghens chiefe house: the which a French man lying there in garrison for the Estates, sold some eighteene yeares agoe vnto the Prince of Parma, and it since became a harbour & retreat for theeues. This garrison did wonderfully annoy the ships, which past betweene Holland and Zealand, beeing alwaies readie on
Prince Maurice tooke the Castle of Wouwe. the water, to take such ships as for want of winde were becalmed, and forced to stay or lye at anchor, setting vppon them with certaine Scutes which they kept hidden vnder the water, taking the passengers and saylers out, and carrying them to Wouwe, where they kept them til they paid their ransomes: here the Prince planted his ordinance before it, they within the Castle slue some of his men which were busied about their F
workes, but fearing to be forced, and that the Arch-dukes would not hazard an armie to releeue them, vppon the thirteenth of Maie they yeelded it vp vpon composition, hauing aboue eighty fiue men in it, amongst the which foure of them were of those which had sold Gheertrudenbergh and were banished from thence, who were excluded

out

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A out of the capitulation but the Marquis of Brandenbergh begged their liues. Marquis *Spinola* caused some of the Captaines of Wouwe to be executed for that they gaue it so lightly ouer. In the meane time the Marquis *Spinola* drew all his forces neere-vnto Antwerp, and lodged at Merexen and Damme, and the horsemen at Berchen and Wilricke, and by that meanes defended Antwerp, and made a bridge ouer the Scheld, from the towne wharfe vnto Flanders side, by which meanes hee might ioyne his diuided forces (which laie in Brabant and Flanders) vpon any occasion together as neede required. 1605.

The admonition to the Netherlands, to dissuade them from a peace, being published, about the same time the Emperor sent *Maximilian de Cochi* his commissioner to the B Hage to demaund a pasport for certaine Ambassadors which should bee sent from him to intreat of a peace betweene the Archdukes and the Estates of the vnited Prouinces. This *Maximilian de Cochi* had the yeare before declared vnto the generall Estates in the Hage, how carefull and desirous the Emperor was of the welfare and common good of all Christendome, in regard that hee found it to bee so much thretened by our Arch-enemy the turke, together with his rebels in Hongary and elsewhere: to which end he now required a pasport from the states, for certaine Ambassadors to be sent from him and the Princes of the Empire, with certaine soldiars to come from Cologne and go backe againe: The which bread some iealousie in the Estates, as if they sought by their comming with so great a number, to breed some alteration and tumult among the C common people, for that all men did affect and desire peace, and that generally they sought to be vnburthened of their long continued contributions and exactions, wherewith they were tired, where-vpon the Estates sent him an answer in writing, giuing him to vnderstand, that they had receiued the Emperors letters bearing date the second of Aprill, as also the letters from the heigh and mighty Princes, the Archbishoppe of Mentz, and *Christierne* the second Duke of Saxony, Electors: *Wolphe Dieterich* Archbishoppe of Saltsbourg, *Philipe Ludwighen Palt∫graue*, and the Bourguemaisters and councells of the townes of Cologne and Nuremberg, by the hands of *Maximilian de Cochi*, one of the Emperors houshold, together with a proposition in writing touching a peace to be made with Spaine and the Archdukes; shewing, that they had often found D it by experience, what harme and preiudice the vnited Prouinces had before that time receiued by the like treaties of peace, which had beene propounded, and offered to bee made, by the intercession of the Emperor and the Princes of Germany: and that therefore they found it not fit nor conuenient for them, to enter into any such treaty againe, being well knowne that the Spaniards and their adherents sought by all practises and deuises to conquer and subdue the Netherlands, and to make it their *Sedem belli*, and from thence inuade their neighbour Princes, and the poore subiects of the Empire, and to prescribe them lawes, hauing conceiued a generall monarchy in their imaginations, with this supposition (as a Maxime of Estate) that neither Christendome nor the whole world could be well gouerned, vnlesse the Pope of Rome were supreame E head and gouernor in spirituall causes. This being duly weighed and considered, they said, there could not any good grow nor be expected from such treaties, but rather great harme and preiudice to the Emperor and to the whole Estate of Germany, whereof they said they would not be the Authors, being well informed how much it did import all Christendome: and therefore they besought his Imperiall Maiesty and the Princes of the Empire, in all honorable and humble manner, not to trouble themselues therewith. And to the end the Emperor, the Princes and townes might bee the better assured of the sincerity and good meaning of the saide generall Estates, they protested before God, the Emperor, and all Kings and Princes. &c. that the long and bloudy warres where-with the Netherlands had beene punished and afflicted F for the space of forty yeares, by the force and armes of the Spaniard, was not more greuous to any one then vnto them, and none wished more to bee quietly gouerned, and in the feare of GOD, then they, and that there was not any nation vnder the Sunne whatsoeuer, that would more gladly enioy such goods as they had gotten by their honest endeauors and labour, (both without and within the country) then the

The Emperor sends for a pasport to the Hage, for his Ambassadors to treat of a peace, which they refuse.

The Estates answer to the Emperor who refuse his request.

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1605. Netherlanders: but seeing that with all their long patience, they could not turne A
the Spaniards hearts, nor diuert their forces, who sought the ruine and subuersion
of all their priuiledges, with the losse of their liues and goods; notwithstanding any
mediation and intercession of the Emperor and the Empire, they had beene forced
to take armes in hand, and to defend themselues both by Sea and land, with vari-
able fortune, attending the helpe and assistance of GOD, after many offers of
peace: and therefore by the aduise and councell of neighbour Kings and Princes,
they had taken their last resolution, and setled the gouernment of the Netherlands
in peace, beeing freed and discharged from all othes made vnto the King of Spaine,
according vnto the force of their priuiledges: And therefore all vnpartiall Kings,
Princes and common-weales, did hold and esteeme the vnited Prouinces for a free B
estate, which are qualified, and endeuour to gouerne and rule their countries in
popular order and forme, or by the election of a Prince: and in that qualitie the
sayd Estates had made diuerse contracts and leagues with sundry Kings, Princes,
and common-weales, and had for the space of foure and twentie yeares, by the e-
speciall grace of GOD, and the assistance of mightie Kings, Princes and common-
weales, and by their owne great care and dilligence, taken vpon them a free go-
uernment against all the force and power of their enemies, with an intent to main-
taine the same happily, and so to end these long and bloudie warres. To which end
they had (in the yeare of our Lord 1600.) begunne to treate with the Estates
of those prouinces, which are vnder the Archdukes command, for the good of C
the whole Netherlands in generall, the which was done by word of mouth in
Berghen vp Zoom.

And againe this yeare of our Lord 1605. by Letters, the which were
carelesly and negliently deliuered vnto the Arch-dukes, whome they with-out
offence to GOD and their honors, cannot esteeme but enemies to the Nether-
landers; knowing well, that seeing they doe acknowledge the sayd Arch-duke and
the *Infanta* for their Soueraigne Princes and gouernors; they must also of necessi-
tie acknowledge the King of Spaine, the Councell of Spaine, and the Spanish
Inquisition. And as for their Netherland causes, they were gouerned and ruled
altogether by the Spanish and Italian Commanders and Protectors, as it hath of D
late appeared and beene seene, by a Commission giuen vnto the Marquis *Spino-
la*, to the disgrace of the Arche-dukes, Prelates, Lordes and Estates of the Ne-
therlands.

But if they sought by that treatie to bring the sayd Estates of the vnited Pro-
uinces, to consent to any thing against their obteyned, and till then continued go-
uernment and rights, tending to the dishonor of God, and preiudiciall to their safe-
ties (from the which they prayed him to defend them) they humbly intreated his
Imperiall Maiestie, and the sayd Princes and Townes, not to aduise them to any
thing that might tend to the furtherance and aduancement of their Spanish des-
seignes, not onely in respect of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, but for the gene- E
rall good of all Christendome.

But if the vnited Estates by the ayde and assistance of the Emperors Maiestie, Prin-
ces, Estates and commonalties of Germanie, for the maintenance and support of their
resolued, vndertaken, and now for many yeares continued gouernment, might ob-
taine the meanes to chase away from their frontiers, all such as seeke the subuersion
of the Netherlands, they would acknowledge it for a great grace and fauour,
whereof if they might bee assured, they would vppon their request, make a more
plaine and ample declaration, and let them know by the effects, how much they
did grieue at these bloudie warres. But if the sayd Treatie tended to no other end,
they then intreated the Emperor, Princes and Townes, in regarde of the good of F
the Netherlands, and the reputation of the whole Empire, to take their refusall of a
passport, with the time and place of meeting in good part.

Touching any wrongs done, or insolencies committed by their souldiers vpon the
frontiers of the Empire, as also concerning the raising of new licences, tolles and
other

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A other Impoſts, they ſayd, that they did hope to take ſuch a courſe, as they ſhould haue no iuſt cauſe of complaint: But in the troubleſome time to giue ouer any townes and Fortes, which they for the good and ſeruice of the Empire, and to withſtand the enemies inuaſion, had beene forced to take (to their great charge) and till then held: they did preſume that the Emperor, Princes and Townes, would hold it to bee contrarie to all pollicie and lawes of Eſtate: and ſo much the rather, for that the Marquis *Spinolas* deſſeigne was to paſſe his armie ouer the Rhine, from whom the frontiers of the Empire were to expect no better then they had found, at the hands of the Admirall of Arragon, in the yeare 1598. 1605.

This was the Eſtates anſwer vnto the propoſition made by the Emperor, Princes B and Townes, deſiring *Maximilian de Corthi*, to make a fauourable report of their ſayd anſwer, their letter bearing date the laſt of May, 1605.

In March this yeare Cont *Frederic Vanden Berghe*, Brother to Cont *Herman*, had a certaine enterpriſe vpon Rhinberk, the which beeing diſcouered, fayled, ſo as hee was forced to retire, yet without any loſſe of his men. A vaine enterpriſe vpon Bercke.

This yeare in Aprill the King of England ſent his Ambaſſador into Spaine, to ſee the King ſweare the peace; and at the ſame time hee ſent *Edward* Lord *Seymor* Earle of Hertford, ſonne to the Duke of Somerſet, vnto the Archdukes, to the ſame effect: who arriuing at Dunkirke with a gallant traine of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were honourably receiued there by *Diego Ortes* Gouernor of the Towne: The Baron C of barbanſon, brother to the Earle of Arenbergh, Captaine of their Highneſſe Archers, attended him there. All the Ordinance of the Towne was ſhotte off in a manner againſt the Eſtates ſhippes of warre which laye before it, who in like manner to doe the Earle honor, diſcharged all their Ordinance: Hee had the like reception giuen him at Nieuport by Dom *Pedro d'Alega* the Gouernor, and at Bruges by *Monſieur de Croſelles* (of the houſe of Montmorencie) Gouernor of the Towne, and great Bayliffe of Franke. Thether the Earle of Buſquoy Maiſter of the Ordinance was ſent to entertaine him. The Earle comming to Aloſt, hee was mette by the Earle of Ligny, the Baron of La Baſtie a French-man, with diuerſe other Gentlemen; whether the Duke of Aumale ſent a Gentleman with letters of congratulation vnto the Earle. The Earle of Hertford ſent to the Archduke out of England.

D The Earle approching neere vnto Bruſſells, within a mile of the towne, hee was firſt mette by the Duke of Aumaule, then by the Duke of Arſchot the Marquis *Spinola*, two Poland Dukes, the Marquis of Hauerec, the Earle of Aremberg, the Prince of Paleſtrina, the Prince of Caſerte, *Dom Louis de Velaſco*, Cont *Theodore Trivulce*, Cont *Frederick Vanden Berghe*, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen. The next day after his arriuall at Bruſſells, hee was viſited by the Marquis of Laguna, ſonne to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, Ambaſſador for the King of Spaine with the Archdukes.

At the Earle of Hertfords comming to Bruſſells, the Archdukes were attended on with great eſtate, wherof I will make ſome particular relation: and firſt of the *Infantaes* E ladies without any diſtinctiō of precedence. Firſt there was the Lady *Iohanna* of Chaſſincourt her Chamberlaine: the chiefe of her Ladies of honor, were the Counteſſes of Vſedale, Buſquoy and La Fere: her Maides of honor were the Lady *Claudia Catherina Liuia* her Sewer, and couſin to her Chamberlaine, the Lady of Croy her Caruer, the Lady of Selles, the Lady of Montmorencie: the Lady *Maria Manuel* a Spaniſh Ladie, the Lady *Magdeline de Bye*, the Lady of Marle, the Lady *Vincentia* of Ferrara, the Ladyes *Ermeſyna* and *Clara*, daughters to the Earle of Aremberghe, the Lady of Balanſon Couſin to *Varambon*, the Lady *Marguerite* of Bourgondie, Couſin to the Earle of Buſquoy, with twelue other waighting women, moſt of them Spa- F niards. Ladyes attending on the Infanta.

There were then alſo preſent (to honor the *Infanta*) the Counteſſe of Mansfeldt, daughter to the Earle of Egmond, the Counteſſe of Aremberghe, the Marqueſſe of Berghen, the Counteſſe of Egmont, the Counteſſes of Barlaimont, Lalaine, Solue,

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1605. Bossu, Fontenay, Berghe, Bye, Essingen, Fressin and Bruay, the Countesse of Saint Aldegonde, the Countesse of Bassigny, and the Countesse of Malespina. The Lady of Brabanson, the Lady of Liekerke, the Lady of Terrayse, the Lady of Blancheual, the Lady of Liques, the Lady of Chassey, the Lady of Liliers and diuers others. A

Attendance vpon the Arch duke.

Vpon the Archduke their attended the Earle of Essengen, the Earle of Saint *Aldegond*, the Marquis of Monte-negro his Mayordomo, *Don Pedro de Ponce*, the Vicont *Octauio* his chiefe chamberlaine, *Don Gaston Spinola* vice chamberlaine, *Don Innigo de Mendosa*, *Don Diego de Mexia*, *Don Diego d' Acuna*, *Don Alonzo d' Avalos*. *Don Inigo de Borgia*, Brother to the Duke of Gandia and Captaine of the Castle of Antwerp, the Earle *Enenbergh*, Cont *Frederic vander Berghe* captaine of the garde, the Lord of Brabanson, brother to the Earle of Arembergh, captaine of the Archers with many others. B

Besides al these attendants, there were diuers knights of the order of the golden fleece, as the Duke of Arschot, the Marquis of Haurec, the Earle of Aremberg, the Marquis *Spinola*. There were also the Earle of Egmont, the Earle of Solme, the Marquis of Robaix sonne to the Earle of Ligny, the Marquis of Renty sonne to the Earle of Solme, the Earle of Busquoy, Henin, Hochstrate, Rassingen, Isenburgh, Bee, Euerbergh, Bossu and Fresin, most of them young Earles. The Lord of Seuenbergen Sonne to the Earle of Arembergh, the Lord of Chalon Nephew to the Earle of Mansfeldt, the Lord of Wesemael, the Lord of Vendesy of the house of Montmorency. C

Of strange noblemen there were the Duke d' Aumale, the Duke of Ossuna, *Don Iohn de Medicis* base brother to the Duke of Florence, the Prince of Caserta a Neopolitaine, the Prince of Palsterino a Columnese, the Marquis of Malespina of the house of Paluoisin, Cont *Thedore Trinultio*, *Don Louis de velasco* generall of the light horsemen, with many other Spaniards and Italiens, that were commanders in the army. With this Attendance the Arch-duke receiued the English Ambassador, with all honor and state; but whilest they were feasting and merry at Brusselles Prince *Maurice* had an enterprize vpon Antwerp, so as *Spinola*, *velasco*, *vanden Bergh*, *Busquoy* with many cmomanders were forced to packe away speedely for the defence of the country. The Earle of Hertford hauing seene the Arch-duke sweare to the contract of peace, leauing Sir *Thomas Edmonds* there for Ambassador leeger; tooke his leaue of the Arch-dukes, hauing performed his legation and charge with great honor and bounty; from Brusselles he went to Antwerp, and so into Zeeland, where hee tooke shipping for England. D

Prince *Maurice* hauing taken Wouwe castle, hee made a generall muster of his army and vpon the second of Iune hee past ouer the Scheld into Flanders and landed neere to Isendike, leauing the forts vpon the riuer well apointed of men, as in Lillo there was *Abel van Catz* bailife of the marquisate of Campuere, making a shew as if hee would haue beseeged the Sas of Brugges, and so drawe the war into the enemies contry, but Prince *Maurice* could begin no seege, for that the Marquis *Spinola*, was still at his heeles redy to charge him, by meanes of the said bridge ouer the Schelld, which Prince *Maurice* doubted at the first, and therein hee was of a contrary opinion to all the estates, holding it more profitable for them to go to the Rhine; and for that cause to assure his conquest of Sluice, Isendike, Ardenborgh, and the sconses thereabouts, hee lodged his army at Watervliet, for that there were some speches giuen forth that the Arch-dukes had an intent to beseege Sluce, and with the great number of men which they expected from al places they would with a second army beseege Rineberke, and yet keepe a flying campe to preuent all dangers. E

Prince *Maurire* insconsed him-selfe very strongly at Watervliet, and to let him from attempting any thing against Sas and other forts *Spinola* came with all his power to campe by him, in a place full of wood, where they could hardly come one at the other, but onely by bankes, where they made sconses one against the other, euery day seeking some aduantage. F

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A The Generall Estates of the Vnited Prouinces, beeing aduertised of a Fleete of shippes which was preparing at Lisbon in Portugall, to bee sent into the Netherlands, they also made readye their shippes of warre, which attended them in the narrow Seas betwixt France and England, but in the end this great Fleete proued to bee no more but eight shippes in all, with some twelue hundred men in them, thinking to land them at Dunkerke, Ostend or Neuport. But the Estates shippes hauing discouered them on the fourteenth of Iune, they charged them, and sunke some, the rest retired them-selues vnder the Castle of Douer in England: where they landed their men, and stayed there aboue sixe moneths before they durst crosse the Seas for feare of the Estates shippes. In the end (hauing lost many of their B men, and receiued some number of Irish-men, the Estates shippes hauing wayed their Anchors) they all recouered Dunkerke. 1605. Ships & men come out of Spaine: defeated by the Estates shippes.

In this moneth of Iune, the Towne of Meurs belonging to Prince *Maurice*, was by certaine traytors fired, on the which the enemie had an enterprise; the which the Gouernor discouering, hee did forbid them to open the gates, for the sauing of any thing: Where-vppon the whole Towne (except some foure or fiue houses) was burnt, the Gouernor desiring rather to preserue the gates, walles and fort for the Prince, then the houses, and lette it fall into the enemies handes. Meurs set on fire by traitors.

In Iulie following the Marquesse *Spinola* sent a good part of his Armie out of Flanders, causing it to march towards the Riuer of Rhyne, vnder the command of C the Earle of Busquoy, the which past a League aboue Cologne, going from thence to lodge at Dugts a Village opposite vnto the towne; and some dayes after in Keysers-Weert, where hauing gotten a passage to passe the rest of *Spinolas* men ouer the Rhyne, they turned head towards Friseland. The Marquis Spinola marcheth towards Friseland.

The Estates hearing that *Spinola* was past, and what course hee intended, they presently gathered together all their troopes out of their garrisons of Berghen, Breda and other places; giuing them their Rendezuous at Berke vppon Rhyne: Whether came also such companies as were in Flanders; who seazed vppon the Iland right against the towne, on the fourth of Iuly: Vppon the which day all the Burgers of Weezel which were able to beare Armes, were mustered, the which the young-D men also of the said towne did the next day, promising and swearing to assist and succor one an other, with all their meanes, bloods and liues. And if there were any that would transport their goods to any other place of safety that it should bee taken as good prize as their enemies goods. The Estates bring their armie neere vnto Rhyne-bercke.

Cont *Henry Fredericke* of Nassau, Brother to Prince *Maurice*, and *Ernestus* of Nassau his cousine, passing the ninth of the moneth with three thousand foote close by the Towne of Weezell, and Collonel *Edmonds* Generall of the Scottish men, with tenne Cornets of horse, approaching the rest of their troopes which were before Bercke, they made new fortifications without the towne, if happily the Marquesse *Spinola* should come and beseege it, as it seemed he had an intent. On the nine and twentith day of the moneth there was such a great storme of rayne E and hayle in the camppe before Bercke and thereabouts, as in the memory of man the like had neuer beene seene before, it continued aboue a quarter of an houre: There fell hayle-stones of a most strange fashion poynted, and they were as big as Hennes egges. The bridge which they had made vppon the Rhyne to passe from one quarter to an other, was broken with the great violence of the wynde, and was carryed downe the streame, with the carts, wagons and men that did guide them, whereof some were drowned.

On the fourth of August the Marquesse *Spinola* parting from Keysers-Weert with three thousand horse & two thousand foot, he left the Earle of Busquoy with fiue thou-F sand foote and eight hundred horse along the Rhyne, to guard these new Forts which hee had taken, and marcht him-selfe towards Essen in the countrie of Westphalia, and from thence to Dorsen where he past the bridge, and then to Coesvelts, & Grenou, from whence he marcht towards Oldenzeel in the country of Oueryssell (the which was held by the Estates) with an intent to beseege it, the which hauing inuested, and

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1605. Oldenzeel yeelded to Spinola by compoſition.

knowing well that it was not very ſtrong in one place, he planted his Canon there, A and began to batter it. The beſeeged (beeing but foure companies of foote) knowing the weakneſſe of the towne, and that they ſhould not be long able to reſiſt his forces, beeing better aduiſed then to caſt away them ſelues wilfully, and the Bourgers beeing loath to haue their Towne ruined with the Canon, and them-ſelues in the end ſackt and ſpoyled, they compounded with the Marqueſſe, vpon condition that for ſixe daies ſpace they ſhould haue free libertie to carry what-ſoeuer they would out of the Towne, and whether ſoeuer they pleaſed them-ſelues, and that the ſoldiers ſhould not carry Armes of ſixe moneths againſt the King of Spaine nor the Arch-dukes: In which towne he left Cont *Herman vanden Berghe* for Gouernor, with 14. Companies of foote and 2. Cornets of horſe. B

Spinola beſeeged and tooke Linghen.

Spinola hauing taken Oldenzeel, he ſent his armie vnto Linghen belonging by inheritance to Prince *Maurice*, which as then was but ill fortefied, and weakely furniſhed of a garriſon, the which hee reſolued to beſeege with all the ſpeed hee could: but the ſcituation of the place gaue him ſome cauſe to doubt, for that hee found hee ſhould hardly gette from thence vnleſſe hee made his paſſage with his ſword, and wonne a victory with his honour, in regard that hee ſhould bee followed and incloſed round about, but at the laſt hee thought it expedient in all haſte to ſette vppon the Towne and to make tryall thereof, wherein as hee him-ſelfe writte, hee found an old Gouernor who ſeemed to haue forgotten his occupation, and certaine young Captaines who as then had not well learned it, who ſcarce daring to looke ouer the walles C

The indiſcretion of the Gouernor & Commanders in Linghen.

leaſt they ſhould bee ſhotte, were more buſied to make their walles higher, thereby to defend them-ſelues againſt the Ordinance, then to keepe their enemie out of their ditches, the which they neglected, and although the towne were well flanckt in euery place, yet they ſuffered them to come to their ditches before their Ordinance was orderly plac'd, and to cutte off the water, filling the ditches with faggots, hurdles and plancks, and ſo to paſſe ouer them to the point of a Bulwarke, before they had diſcouered it; who beeing once lodged there, they within knew not what to doe, wanting both men and knowledge to defend them-ſelues; ſo as beeing in feare, and ſuppoſing the danger to bee greater then it was, within few daies after vppon the eighteenth of Auguſt they concluded to ſend out a Drumme, to parle with the enemie, before D that *Spinola* had made a full breach, or that hee thought it time to ſummon them to yeeld. For which cauſe hee granted them the beſt conditions that might bee to gette the garriſon out of the towne as ſoone as hee could, knowing that Prince *Maurice* was

Linghen yeelded by compoſition.

marching towards him, and ſo (as they of Oldenzeel had done) they yeelded the towne vnto him vppon theſe conditions: That Collonell *Martin Cobben* Gouernor of the Towne and Caſtle, ſhould yeeld it vp vppon condition that the ſoldiers ſhould depart with their Coullors flying and ful armes, and might carry away what goods they could in ſixe daies, and the Burgers in eight, except the Artillery, munition of warre and other prouiſion. Where-vpon *Collonel Cobben* went forth with eight Companies, and preſented himſelfe before Prince *Maurice*, who reproched him bitterly for his baſe E cowardiſe, cauſing him to bee put in priſon, with ſome of his Captaines and chiefe Officers of the ſaid Towne, the which were ſent priſoners to the Hage, to iuſtefie themſelues before the Generall Eſtates where they had Couſins ynow to free them from any great puniſhment. *Spinola* there-vppon beeing as it were halfe drunke with that ſodaine victory, knew not well what to do, but for certaine daies lay there and attempted not any thing, hauing the way open to haue done ſome other exployts, giuing his enemie leyſure to fortefie him-ſelfe and to prouide for all the places lying thereabouts. While both the armies lay in Friſeland, the Arch-duke finding him-ſelfe to

An enterprize made vpon Berghen vp. Zoome by Mounſier Hericourt.

bee ſtrong of men which yet remained in Brabant, he reſolued to enterprize ſomething againſt Berghen vp-Zoome, giuing the charge thereof vnto Mounſier *Herricourt, de la Biche* Gouernor of Hulſt, and *Iohn Terrail* a French man, who made profeſſion to be very expert in making of Petards and forcing of townes therewith, for the effecting of this diſſeigne, there were aboue foure thouſand footemen and three companies of horſemen gathered togither at Beueren in the land of Waes, vpon *Blockers* dike, giuing F

forth

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A forth that they had an enterprise to doe In Cadsant, hauing all thinges prepared to that purpose: vppon the one and twentith of August, it being a great procession as then in Antwerp they kept the gates shutte, and about euening made out with certaine horsemen, causing the footemen to bee sent out of Flanders at Callo, and so in the morning before day gotte before Berghen vp-Zoome, passing along by the drowned land, called then Northland, through the Hauen of the Towne when it was a low water, and presently entred into the fortification lying without, called Beckaff, with a thousand men, the Sentinels giuing the alarme, shotte twice at them, but the Guard in that place beeing not strong ynough to resist so great forces, left it, retyring them-selues behinde the Houwerf-dike, vnder the Palisadoes of the B water-milles, and defending them-selues vnder the wings of the towne. The enemie hauing gotten that place, they deuided them-selues into two parts, the one part breaking downe the Palisadoes before the Sconce, which was made for the defence of Saint *Iohns* gate, they tooke it, who thinking that as then they were within the Towne, cryed, *Ville gaigne, courage, viue la messe*, with such like wordes, but the Townes-men with the soldiers valiantly defended them-selues, both with their shotte and other short weapons, and when their pouder fayled them, they fell to it with stones, whereby the Spaniards were forced to giue backe, and to flye away before the water begun to flow. The other part of the Spaniards went along vppon the banke of the Hauen, beneath to the foote of the sayd outward worke, where in C short time they caused two strong gates which were without the water-gate to bee forced with their Petards, by the which they entred with their troopes to go to the water-gate, to the which (after they had throwne downe certaine Palisadoes or defences of wood) they made fast a Petard, but it fayled, and there the maister of those workes and many others were slaine with stones, and vppon the gate the Lieutenant of Captaine *Barnard Pluchart* was shot, whereof hee dyed, and diuers others, but the Petard fayling, they fighting long, but to no end at all, the water beginning to flow they were forced to retire. 1605. Berghen in danger.

The Gouernor Sir *Paul Bax*, shewed him-selfe in euery place where need required, from the beginning to the ending, incouraging the soldiers and townes-men to D doe their best, and giuing order for all thinges necessary, notwithstanding by all likelihood, (without Gods prouidence) the Towne was in great danger, for that but halfe of the garrison were then in guard, nor once suspecting any such enterprize, their enemie approaching with Petards and strange Instruments of warre, where-with in short time they brake downe both Palisadoes and gates, by the which they might presently passe with whole troops, and had almost put their enterprise in execution, before the soldiers and Burgers could get to the gates, the towne was so great, euery man being also at rest suspecting nothing. The Spaniards intent was (being wel assured that the towne had but a weake garrison) the water-gate being opened, to cause the sayd 1000. men to march in two parts, the one part along the walles to the Steenbergh gate, the other Southward to the Bosch gate, to open these ports, & so let their men in, E where their horse-men and some foote-men shewed them-selues and gaue an alarme: but the Inhabitants (God be thanked) with great valour and resolution withstood them. The enemie in the opinion of many men committed a great error to leaue the outward work as easily as they had gotten it, not keeping it to try their fortune, & by renuing of their forces, to haue assayled the towne with more strength: of the enemie there were 30. men slaine, one being a Captaine, and 20. men taken prisoners by them of the towne, by whom they vnderstood that there were 200. men hurt at the least: when they fled they left all their munition for the wars behind them, with as many armes and weapons which they cast from them, as would arme 400. men; within the towne there F was but one man found slaine, and some hurt. The Spaniard repulst from Berghen.

The same day the Lord of Grobbendonke Gouernor of Boisleduc made an enterprize vppon the towne of Graue with sixteene hundred men, and diuers wagons and boats, thinking with his boats to put two hundred men into one of the Bulwarks & with a bridge made of dryfats and pipes to gette to the walles, but comming neere vnto the An enterprize vpon Graue made by the Gouernor of Boisleduc.

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1605. towne his enterprise was discouered, and so hee was forced to goe backe againe without attempting any thing, the like enterprises were attempted vpon Thiel and other places. A

Notwithstanding that the aforesaid enterprise made against Berghen vp Zome failed, yet the sayd enterprisers, *viz.* *Monsieur la Biche*, *Du Tarrail*, and *D'ette*, who had beene Gouernor of Wouwe, would once againe aduenture an other enterprise against the sayd towne, thinking to repaire their former error, whereof they had made tryall to their costs, who being fiue thousand foote, and fiue companies of horsemen, vpon the nineteenth of September, a moneth after the first enterprise, set forward. Sir *Paul Bax* Gouernor of the towne, vnderstanding that diuerse Souldiers were assembling about Antwerpe and Brussels, euery day sent some of his horsemen out, to know the enemies intent, whereof some vpon the nineteene of September mette with certaine Spanish horse-men by Stabrooke, where some of them were taken, others gotte away, and about noone newes thereof was brought vnto the towne: At euening there were more horse-men sent forth at the shutting of the gates, who about ten of the clocke at night came before the towne againe, and calling to the Sentinell, told him that the enemie with his whole power was at Raesberch with Boates, Bridges and Munition, and as they thought had great troopes, or a whole armie. Wherevpon the Gouernor about eleuen of the clocke at night, caused certaine peeces of ordinance to bee shotte off, and a Beaken to bee set on fire, that the Sconces at the end of the Hauen of the towne, as also they of Tertolen, Wouwe and Steenberghen, should bee ready to defend them-selues: By meanes of this shooting, the Spaniards (who were come thether in the beginning of the night) deferred their enterprise till two of the clock in the morning, in meane time both parties kept them-selues very quietly, they within the towne placed soldiers, and Burgers round about vpon their walles, and two companies in the market place, ready to releeue all places where need required. About two of the clocke after mid-night, those that were appointed to assaile the towne on the North-side, being come thether, and the way being long, they shotte two fierie arrowes into the ayre ouer the towne, thereby making a signe that they should all assaile the towne at one instant, at which time they assailed it in fiue places together, *viz.* at the Nunnes Bulwarke, the Steenberghen gate, the Orange Rauelin, and with a Bridge layde ouer the New-hauen, and at the Polder called Saint *Iames* polder, all with great force and furie, respecting not the Ordinance, Muskets and small shotte out of the towne, marching as if it had beene an Yron wall; they them-selues not shooting much: at the Steenberghen gate they vsed great force, where they thought to let in their horsemen, where (in lesse then halfe an houres space) they had forced open three gates, cut downe the draw-bridge, and broken the Portcullis, so as there rested nothing but the inner-gate to bee forced open, which the Burgers fortified, and mured vp with earth, wagons, and trees, which they placed against it, and by that meanes kept them from entring the Towne, casting stones downe vpon them from off the gate.

Bergen vp zoom once againe assailed by the enemy, vpon the 20. of Septemb.

B C D E

The Spanish Drummes strooke vp an alarme before the sayd gate, as if they had beene within; where-vpon their horse-men came before the towne, sounding their Trumpets, as if the gates had beene open, the Townes-men stood vpon the walles with their coulours, incouraging one the other, and giuing their enemies all the spightfullest words they could. *Claes Laytsen* Captaine of the company of Amsterdam, who was in garde in the Forte called Beckaf, by the Polder, behaued himselfe valiantly, forcing the enemie with his Musket and great shotte (as they marched along) to retire, and slew diuerse of them, the which they carried with them in the wagons, where-with they had brought their Bridges, Hurdles and other furniture, which they were forced to leaue behinde them. F

The like happened to them at the Rauelin, where they had two and twenty men slaine; at the Bosch gate their powder failed, but the Bridges were ready, and they had gotten ouer the Palisadoes, and a hundred of them at the least were climing vp the walles, before they within the towne could discouer them, the night was so

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A ſo darke, by reaſon that it rained, but the Burgers continually burning Pitch and ſtraw, and caſting it ouer the walles, by the light thereof ſhotte off their Ordinance, ſo as at laſt they were all forced to retire. It was ſtrange to ſee the women and children helpe the men and ſoldiers that fought, who climing vp the walles, brought powder, lead, piche, ſtones, and the ſtrawe from their beds; and laying the children out of their Cradels, caried ſtones in them vp to the walles; this the ſtouteſt ſort of women did: the reſt beeing of weaker complection, went along through the ſtreetes, and kneeled before their doores, lifting vp their hearts, eyes, and hands to heauen, in that ſort fighting by prayers and ſighes vnto GOD, which mooued the Souldiers to greater courage. 1605. The endeuors of them within the towne.

B The Townes men and inhabitants without reſpecting of what religion they were, (whereof many were well knowne to bee Romiſh Catholickes) failed not one with the other to runne to the walles, and made all the reſiſtance that poſſiblie they could to repulſe the enemie. Sir *Paul Bax* reade into euery place vpon his horſe, holding his Bridle and Courtelax in the left hand, and a Piſtole in his right hand, with a garde about him, commanding all that was neceſſarie to bee done. The Bougue-maiſters, and alſo the Miniſters of the reformed Church, did what laye in them, and ſhewed not to bee ſlackeſt, but armed themſelues and went to the walles to reſiſt the enemie, and to animate the Souldiers to bee reſolute.

In this ſort the Spaniards hauing attempted to ſurprize the Towne, and finding
C great reſiſtance, vntill day light, at laſt they were forced (with their loſſe) to retire to Antwerpe, leauing about a hundred men dead behinde them, the which were buryed in three pittes. It is ſayd that the Barron of Amerſteyn, a Noble man of Stiria, was ſlaine there, and nine Captaines. The Burgers going out of the gates, in great rage, kild diuerſe of the Soldiers which laye wounded without the towne, and had hidden them-ſelues.

In the way to Antwerpe, there were many of the Souldiers found which dyed of the wounds they had receiued before the Towne, and it was knowne that they had laden ſixe and thirtie Wagons (which they brought thether with Bridges, Petards, Ladders, Hurdels, and other munition, and left it all behinde them,) full of dead and wounded men, where-with they filled all the Hoſpitalls that were
D there-abouts. They within the Towne loſt but one of their Souldiers, and had ſixe other of them wounded, but many burnt; and ſo they gaue vnto GOD moſt hearty thankes for their happy deliuerie. The vnited Prouinces would haue found this to haue beene a great loſſe vnto them, and therefore they tooke great care to prouide better for it, for that after this enterprize the Spaniards bragged that they ment to make a third attempt, or elſe to beſiege it with a great armie, where-vpon the Eſtates of thoſe Prouinces, ſent eight companies more into it, but Prince *Maurice* ſending fiue companies thether out of his armie, thoſe eight were ſent backe againe into Flanders. The Spaniard retires from Berghen.

Whileſt that Marquis *Spino'a* was buſie on the other ſide of the Rhine, the
E Earle of Buſquoy, who (as wee haue ſayde) was left behinde with fiue thouſand foote and eight hundred horſe, went to beſiege the towne of Wachtendonke in the countrie of Geldres, the which hee tooke by compoſition on the ſixe and twentie of September, the Souldiers departing with their full armes and baggage. All this time the Arch-dukes forces beeing ſo great, and diſperſed on either ſide of the Rhine, the Eſtates were forced to keepe good garde in many places, and to haue them well furniſhed: ſo as Prince *Maurice* could not draw any armie to field, but kept himſelfe cloſe. Yet they made hotte warre at ſea againſt the Shippes of Dunkerke, ſo as Captaine *Moy-Lambert* of Rotterdam with a Shippe of warre
F of Enchuyſen, tooke the Admirall after a long fight, who choſe rather to bee ſlaine there, then to yeeld himſelfe to their mercy: to whome the Eſtates (for that hee was not cruell, nor yet their vaſſaile, but of Antwerpe) would haue granted his life: yea they did grieue at his obſtinacie. Wachtendonk taken by the Spaniards.

There

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1605. There were fortie of his men hanged at Rotterdam, and the reſt at Enchuyſen, for A
that they were their naturall borne ſubiects, or had formerly ſerued the Eſtates, the
which happened in October.

About this time Prince *Maurice* vnderſtanding, that *Spinola* had lodged fourteene companies of Ruiters and eight companies of foote men, in a village called Mulhem vp the riuer of Roere, by the houſe of Brooke, the which were led by the Earle *Theodoro Trivultio*, Lieutenant generall of the horſemen, hee reſolued to ſet vpon them, and vpon the eight of October in the euening went out of his army, with all his horſe, and foure and twentie companies of foote, of diuers nations, which hee cauſed to bee carried in wagons, apointing his brother *Henricke* Earle of Naſſaw to haue the foreward and with him *Marcelis Bax*, each with eight cornets of horſemen. Prince *Maurice* him- B
ſelfe following with the reſt and three field peeces, their concluſion, was that *Bax* ſhould ride thorow the Roere, and on the backe ſide of the village charge the Spaniſh quarter; and Earle *Henrick* with other eight companies of horſe, and the foote men ſhould ride to the village, which doing they found the Boome open, and therefore ſtood ſtill to ſtaie for the foote men, in the meane time the Spaniards tooke an alarme, and left the village, and went to the houſe of Brooke, which by policie they had taken, but if they had ſodenly charged the enemies, they would without doubt haue ſoone ouerthrowne them, for Earle *Henricke* riding through the village, found them in the Roere buſied to paſſe ouer, but by his ſtanding ſtill, they tooke courage, and charged Cont *Henricks* horſemen, putting ſome of them to flight, but for that Prince *Mau-* C
rice followed them, with the reſt of the horſe and foote, their flight was ſtopt, and the Spaniards by that meanes paſt the Roere, whom Prince *Maurice* gaue charge to follow, ſo as not onelie moſt part of the horſemen, but certaine troupes of Engliſhmen of Sir *Horatio Veres* regiment ouer-tooke them.

In the meane time *Marcellus Bax*, paſt ouer the Roere with his horſemen, to ſtoppe the paſſage: but comming thether, hee found the Spaniſh horſemen ſtanding to watch them, or els to goe on with ſome conuoy: hauing a good number of foote-men. Where hee put the horſemen to flight, but beeing releeued by their foote-men, they made head againe, (the waie beeing of aduantage for the footemen) ayded alſo by them of Miulhem, but they were once againe forced to giue backe, ſo as at D
laſt *Bax* found himſelfe to bee charged by one thouſand horſe at the leaſt, with whom for the ſpace of an houre and a halfe, hee held plaie onely with foure hundred horſemen, chargeing and recharging one the other ſo valiantly, as *Bax* kept his ſtanding, wondering that no man came to ſecond him; at laſt Cont *Henricke* came thether, whom *Bax* intreated to charge the Spaniardes which ſtood vpon the Roere, and hee would ſecond him, the which they both did with great reſolution, but *Don Lewis De Velaſco* hauing in the meane time gotten an other companie of horſemen together, at laſt Cont *Henrickes* horſe were againe ſhamefully put to flight, abandoning their Lord, who ſo reſolutely ledde them on, the which would haue brought the whole armie into diſorder and confuſion, if the reſolution of Sir *Horatio Vere* E
with foure good companies of Engliſhmen, and one of the Scottes (belonging to the Lord of Backlough) had not beene verie great, who made a ſtand, and with their, pikes withſtood and repulſt the enemie, and were not once broken, notwithſtanding the enemies furious charges. At laſt a troupe of Frenchmen ledde by Mounſier *Dommerville* came to releeue them, where hee was ſlaine: Earle *Hen-ricke* beeing thus abandoned by his horſemen hee went with ſome few that were left to *Baxes* troupes, vpon whom all the Spaniſh horſemen fell, ſo as they doubted howe they ſhould ſaue themſelues, charging the enemie ofter times verie va-liantly; where the Earle to his great honour and commendation ſo valiantly charged a Spaniſh captaine, as hee bent his piſtoll vpon him, which hee likewiſe did to him, F
but both fayled: wherewith the Spaniſh captaine thought to haue taken hold of the Earles ſcarfe, and for to haue pulled him to him; the which *Bax* perceiuing, hee bent his piſtoll at him, thinking to ſhoote him into the face, but with ouer great haſt hee ſhot him lower in the armor, and their they ſat both on horſe-backe, hardly

be-ſted

A be-sted amongst their enemies, and but weakely releeued, by meanes of the noise and cries which the Earles horsemen had caused amongst them; they had manie shot made at them, but in the end *Baxes* Nephew came and releeued them, and by that meanes they gathered some horses together, and once againe charged the head of a troupe, but were againe put backe, and in that sort they fought for the space of seauen houres. 1605

In the meane time Prince *Maurice* came on with three field peeces, and some troupes of footemen, which as then were more necessarie then the horsemen, who beeing ledde on by Cont *Ernestus* and collonel *Marquette*, they discharged a volley Earle Theodoro Trivultio slaine.
of shot amongst the Spaniards, at which time, Earle *Theodoro Trivultio* was slaine, bee-
B ing Lieutenant generall of those troupes, a braue souldier and of a Noble house: and therewith certaine horsemen led on by the Earle *Henrick* giuing a new charge, the Spaniards were once againe put to flight, and were driuen vp a hill; some ranne into the wood, and many saued themselues in the house of Brooke, which at the first they tooke by policie, but it was taken from them againe, and for want of good order, they recouered it againe, and so it serued them for a good retraict, many were taken and slaine in the flight, and diuers horses wonne, but such as fled into the wood, heareing of *Spinolaes* comming from Roeroort with the whole armie gathered together againe.

After this long and tedious fight, Prince *Maurice* hearing of *Spinolaes* approch hee
C caused his men to returne, willing *Bax* to staie there to fauour the retraict, as hee did, but was ill seconded by the other horsemen, the Spaniards hauing gotten fresh supplies fell vpon them againe; and the horsemen getting ouer Roere, the Spaniards fell vpon the English foote, who valiantly defended themselues, as long as they had any powder, but the Earle of Chastillion, standing with two troupes vpon the Roere, about a hedge, shot so fiercely, as the Marquises horsemen were forced to retire, and so they made an orderly retraict, the Spaniards following them still shooting, but comming to a heath, they left each other, where as Prince *Maurice* called for those horsemen which had fled, giuing them many reprochful speeches, and shewed them what confusion they had made amongst his men, whereas he put his greatest trust
D in them, and by that meanes mist so good and faire an occasion to ouerthrow his enemy.

It was thought in this fight, there were about fiue hundred of *Spynolas* men slaine, whereof one was the Earle *Theodoro Trivultio*, (whose body beeing imbalmed was the next yeare sent vnto Milane where hee was borne) and *Gambarotta* and others of account, amongst the prisoners one was *Nicholas Doria* cousin to *Spinola*, and others, hauing two cornets taken from them; and of Prince *Maurices* side they lost two Ensignes, and about two hundred men, amongst the which Mousier *Dumdeville* was one, and certaine captaines: the prisoners were Mounsier *de Bethune*, (who was presently exchanged for *Nicholas Doria*,) as also captaine *Sald*, captaine
E *Pigot* and captaine *Ratclif*, but Sir *Henrie Carie*, a gallant Gentleman (and Maister of the Iewell house to the King of England, after his father) was put to a great ransome, for that hee serued as voluntarie, and was not contained in the quarter.

This was donne vpon the nineth daie of October, which gaue Prince *Maurice* great cause not to put so great confidence in his horsemen, beeing as then but weake of foote, so as after that hee durst not by any meanes hazard the like againe.

This Winter there was little done in the Netherlands touching the warres, onely 1606.
that the garrisons on either side made many enterprises one vpon an other, as vpon Marquis Spinola goes into Spaine.
Nuys, Graue, Erckelens, & Deuenter, especially ouer the Ice during the frost, but they
F tooke no effect, the feare thereof beeing the cause which made the generall Marquis *Spinola* to staie longer in the Netherlands then hee thought to haue done, so as it was the first daie of Ianuary before he tooke poast to passe through France into Spaine, where on the waie hee was hindered by sickenesse, and beeing in Spaine hee found more want of money then hee expected, by the bad traficke in Spaine,

for

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1605. for that the East and West Indian fleetes were not come, as also in regard of the dearth in Spaine, whereby al the Spanish ryalles were paied and carried away for corne, which was brought thether in great aboundance out of France, England and other countries, so as in Spaine they were forced to vse most copper money, the which was wont to bee as plentifull of siluer as any other countrie. A

A sentence pronounced against the gouernor and captaines of Linghen for yeelding vp the towne.

In this winter also the counsell of warre assembled in the Hage to giue their censure vpon the gouernor and captaines of Linghen, for that they had so basely yeelded vp the towne, this counsell consisting of the Earles, *Henricke*, *Ernest*, and *Iohn* of Nassaw, the young Earle of Solms, the Lord *Vander Noote*, gouernor in Flanders, *Emerie van Lidie*, gouernor of *Williams Stat*, Mounsier *van Lookeren*, with some English and Scots Colonels, and other captaines with Collonel *Warner du Bois*, as president, which met the last of Ianuary. B

They of Gelderland, with certaine of the Barron *van Hemerts* kindred, who was beheaded in the Earle of Leicesters time, by rigor of lawe, said that if they were not beheaded, that then the said Barron of Heemert had great wrong offered him, for that hee had endured three assaultes giuen against the towne of Graue, and receiued aboue a thousand eight hundred cannon shot, whereas they to the contrary suffered three bridges to bee laid ouer the towne ditches in the daie time, without any resistance, and that therefore, if they would proceed seuerely against the one, and not against them, they should then haue good cause to apeale against the Iudgement giuen vpon the Barron *de Hemert*. This counsell sitting tell the 11. day of February, at last they gaue sentence, that the gouernor of Lynghen called *Marten Cobbe*, and captaine *Iohn Witte* should bee dismist, and with ignominy declared vncapable euer after to beare armes, and that the Drosart *Albert* of Irersome, *Iohn Ruysch*, *Iohn van Dyck*, *Ernestus Mellinga*, *Nicholas Andaert*, and the Licentiate Iuthiema should bee deposed from their places, & cassiered, and should serue vnder such companies as they should be appointed vnto, to recouer their credits againe if they could. C

This sentence was much spoken of, for that many were of opinion, that if at the first these men had beene censured, they had beene likely to haue lost their heads, but so much time passing ouer before they were iudged, and for that their action was not found to proceed of malice, but of meere cowardise, or want of experience, had saued their liues, whervnto also the weakenesse of the countrie at that time was some helpe, who could hardly punish them hauing many friends. D

In the beginning of this springe Count *Ernestus* of Nassau was called by Duke *Henry Iules* of Brunswicke to bee Lieutenant of his army against them of the towne of Brunswycke, in whose aide the Hans townes of the East countries leauied certaine men. The said Duke gaue vnto Cont *Ernestus* one of his daughters in marriage, the which was celebrated at Wolffenbuytell where the Duke keepes his court. The Barron of Barbanson, brother to the Earle of Arembergh did leauy at that time for the Arch-duke a regiment of three thousand Germaine foote; the Earle of Busquoy one of two thousand fiue hundred Wallons, and the Lord of Luxembourg an other of the like number, which was to fortefie them vpon the iealousie they had of the duke of Bouillon brother in law to Prince *Maurice*, least he should haue some secret intelligence with the French King, and that both of them (hauing ioyned their forces togither) should fall vpon him. For as the duke beeing in disgrace with the King, was retired to Sedan, where hee leauied men for his defence; so the King made preparation of an armie to goe and assaile the duke, but by meanes hee was reconciled to his Maiestie vpon these distrusts, the Arch-dukes sought to fortefie their army with new leauies: sending one part of all his forces into Luxembourg, and an other into Henault, Arthois, Namur and other frontier countries, but the Duke beeing reconciled to the Kings fauour, the King dismist his army, and the Duke discharged his men. E

The Arch-dukes in iealousie of the Duke of Bouillon.

The Earle of Busquoy hauing gathered some troupes togither in march about Keesers-weert, he made shew as if hee would build some new fort vpon the Rhine, neere vnto Berck. But vpon the foureteenth day of the month about mid-night, hee surprized the towne of Brevoort; the gouernor and some of the souldiars (seeing the townes F

thus

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A thus taken) retired into the Castle, which they defended against the enemy. The E- 1606.
states horsemen which had conuoyed Cont *Ernestus* towards the Duke of Brunswick were by good hap returned the day before out of Germany into those quarters, who presently cut of the enemies victualls, so as the pesants could not bring them any thing vnto the towne. Cont *William* of Nassau gouernor of Freezland and Groning, hearing of this surprize and that the Castle held good for the Estates, sent presently all the horse and foote hee could gather sodenly toge ther in his gouernment, who went and beseeged them that had surprized the towne: Cont *Henry Frederec* of Nassau was also sent from the Hage, and captaine *du Bois*, hauing charge to command all the forces they could get of Breda, Berghen and other places to follow them. Prince *Maurice* And abandoned againe.
B meaning to bee there present him-selfe parted from the Hage the twenty one of the month, carrying all his owne horses with him, with his tents and all his other bagage fit for such an exploit. But as they were vpon the way they had newes that the enemy had beene forced to abandon the towne againe, where-vpon he determined to returne to the Hage.

In the begining of the yeare 1606. *Philip* Earle of Hohenloo, Baron of Langerbergh, Lieutenant generall of Holland, Zeeland, West Freeseland, Bomell and Thielwert. &c. being sicke of a long lingering disease, which grew to be a generall lamenes both of hand and feet, so as hee could not stire nor helpe him-selfe, died at Iselstein vpon the fift of March, being aboue fifty yeares of age. A man of a tall comely stature, Philip Earle of Hohenlo died.
C and of good experience in Marshall affaiers, but somewhat stout and hasty, hauing serued about thirty foure or thirty fiue yeares in the Netherlands in great and continuall troubles, especially after the death of the Prince of Orange, when as the vnited Prouinces were wonderfully perplexed, Prince *Maurice* his sonne being then very young, so as then there was not any man that seemed able to take ther cause in hand to direct their marshall affaiers, and to be tutor to Prince *Maurice*, but onely this Earle to whome euery man had a respect, to the end he should vndertake their affaiers, in regard of his authority and credit amongst the soldiers, as also for his skill in marshall affaires, being also very rich, and withall very bountifull and affable; hee married the eldest daughter of the Prince of Orange borne by the Contesse of Bu-
D ren, who died without children, his lands hee gaue to his brothers children, whereof *Ernestus* Earle of Hohenlo was then in the Netherlandes with him, and commanded his cornet of horse, being a gallant young gentleman of great hope; his funerall was apointed to be kept at Iselstein vpon the 6. of April, with the accustomed ceremonies, where Prince *Maurice* and others of the house of Nassau were present, with the Deputies of the general Estates, the counsel of Estate, and the counsel of Holland and others; but by reason of the taking of Breuoort it was put of for a while, his body was set in a coffin in the Church of Iselstein vntill his kindred came out of Germany to fetch it, and so carried it to the country of Hohenlo.

The Arch-duke being freed of the feare he had of the French King, the garrisons of
E Flanders attempted a certaine enterprize vpon Sluce being conducted by *Frederik Vanden Bergh* which was very secretly vndertaken, but not fortunately effected.

Not long before there were two Spaniards who hauing for a time serued in Sluce, ranne from the Estates againe and gaue intelligence to them of Flanders, how that the watch house without Sluce which stood vpon the bridg of the East gate was burnt downe, so that as then there was no gard held, that bridg serued to come from Coxy, Cadsant, and from all the parts of the drowned land into the towne, being very long, with two draw bridges and a good pale on the one side, but onely where the sconses which had beene broken downe stood, thinking it very difficult that the enemy should attempt any thing on that side, in regard that the drow- An enterprise made against Sluce by the Archduke.
F ned land was round about fortefied with sconces, being almost impossible for them to passe that way.

The towne gate as then was very weake, being onely of double plankes nayled one vpon the other, and along by it but a slight low wall, which they might easely climbe ouer. *Mounsier vander Noot* the gouernor of the towne being partly aduertised of an

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1606. enterprise to be made vpon that part of Flanders, had sent to all the sconces and forts round about to giue them warning thereof, he him-selfe talking his ease, not once fortefiing his gards neither had he any suspition, for which his negligence hee was afterwards much blamed. It was an enterprize well managed and better executed then that which was led by *Mounsier de Terrail*, but by GODS prouidence wounderfully preuented, for that few men might easely haue effected it, there being a large plaine within the gate, which lay beteewne the towne and the castle, where they might all haue put them-selues in bataile. A

The petardiers of *Terrail* with some others being well informed of this scituation, they concluded that on the west side, vpon the twelth of Iune there should be a slight alarum giuen, and that therevpon they should assaile the East gate, their number being three thousand sixe hundred or three thousand seauen hundred men, all old expert souldiers and most Walons, which by night past through the drowned land, hard by the crab sconce, and were not once discouered. B

Wherevpon it chanced, that the Sexton of the great Church, or of the great clocke, which was heard through all the towne, about ten of the clocke at night, went vp into the steple without a candle, and as GOD would (by a meere accident) ouerwound his clocke which was the reason it strooke not all that night, so as the soldiars on the West side, knew not when to begin their alarum, and fearing to be discouered and betraied, stood still. They at the East gate hauing stood aboue an houre watching behind the countrscharfe, and not discouered, hearing no alarume giuen on the West side, were afraid, doubting to bee intrapped and knew not what to do, but at last by the perswasion of the Petardiers who were desirous to be at their worke, they resolued to goe forward. C

The Petardier caused three of his men to swimme ouer, and commanded each man to doe a seuerall worke, the first with a small petard to breake open the locke of the first draw bridge, the second to doe the like to the second draw bridge, and the third with a great petard to breake open the gate, hauing a great space betweene it and the drawe bridge, and they were all three effected accordingly, the two lockes of the drawbridges being broken, the gate also flying open, and the drawbridge being let fall, the soldiers marched forward, as many as cold marche one by an other vnto the gate within the gate there was sixteene or seauenteene men in the gardhouse commanded by the gouernor *Mounsier van Neots* Sargeant, which Sargeant hearing some noise, went to hearken at the gate, and with the blow of the petard was slaine, those that were in gard came all out, and seeing no man aduance towards them they put to the gate againe as well as they could: in the meane time (as I said before) the bridge stood full of soldiars, who had nothing but there cortelasses and pikes, (which was a graat error in them, as hauing more neede to haue beene musketiers) but they stood still looking one vpon the other, being much abasht, not onely for that they heard no alarume from the West side, but for that they saw no great resistance made against them. D

The Petardier speaking vnto them and crying, *March forward the gate is open*, but they within hauing some respeit, the gate being halfe open into the which they thrust with their pikes there came presently to ayd the court of gard, (who had shot of their peeces) an English Captaine with about sixteene soldiars and Gentlemen, who lay not farre from the gate, but halfe dresst, and presently after that diuers others, as the captaines *Iooſt*, *Brouſaulx*, *Haultaine*, and an other, euery one with there redieſt men, and not long after the gouernor him-selfe also came, most part in their shirtes, so as if the enemy had charged them furiously, and presently clome vp the walles, although it had bin done at the first but with ten or twelue men (as it is thought) they should haue beene maisters of the towne, but they were so afraid of some treason for that the clocke strucke not and euery man within the towne was so still and quiet as they were afraid to aduance and go forward. They within the towne taking courage to them-selues being ignorant what was done without, presently placed ordinance and E

shot

A shot crosse ouer the bridge which caused the ennemy to giue backe, they within the gate also discharging their peeces furiously vpon them, the Englishmen (hauing nothing on but their breeches and their corselets vpon their shirts) were the first that sallied forth vpon the enemy, that was vpon the bridg, and were not much hurt by their pikes, who for that they had no muskets were furiously charged by them of the towne, for they that were in the formost rankes could not giue backe, being compelled by those that were behind them to stand close in order, the bridge being very long most of them were forced to leape of from it into the water, or else to fall downe, where the pales were burnt, so as many of them were drowned; And so they which were behind were forced to fly; the Englishmen (who besides the watch) were the first that sallied forth against the enemy, had the best purses and booties, whereby most of them going out halfe naked came into the towne againe with good apparell. Thus the Archdukes soldiers were forced with great confusion to flie from an interprize which was well plotted, well conducted, but badly executed: it may bee through want of some commanders of authority amongst them, leauing all their petards and preparation, and most part of the soldiers their armes being esteemed sufficient to arme a thousand men, and were forced to fly through such a passage, as many left their shoes sticking fast in the mud; there were fifty sixe buried in one graue within the gate, besides those that were drowned and smothered, not accounting them which were slaine by the sconces without, one of the two spaniards which had fled, and descouered the weakenes of towne vnto the enemy, was found dead vpon the bridge, some prisoners wer brought into Sluce, most of them being hurt, one being a Ieiuit, (who had at least fourteene or fifteene wounds) hee confest that hee had come thether of meere zeale to say the first masse in the towne, hee said also, that he perceaued well that GOD would not as yet send that misfortune vnto the towne, in regard of their blody and cruell resolution, which was to murther all that were within it. No enterprize could be easelier nor better concluded then this, and whereon so much depended, and yet was it most easely preuented and chiefely through feare, hauing no man of authority to command them, nor to free them of those doubts, nor that had the foresight to clime vp the walls and the gate, which were very low, whereby they might easely perceaue, that there was no plot laied to intrappe them, but the feare which had seazed on their hearts (the which commeth from God) gaue them within meanes to giue the alarme, and to resist them. 1606.

Not long after there was a drumme sent into the towne for certaine prisoners, who said that the enemy mist foure or fiue hundred of their men, and they within very few: After this enterprize there was a faire halfe Moone made at Sluce before the said gate to preuent the like attempts. This enterpise falling out thus vnfortunately, *Terrail* (with his petardies) made great complaint thereof vnto the counsell of warre, saying that they had opened the gate, and that the soldiers durst not enter, whereupon the counsell of warre caused some of them to be aprehended and committed to prison, whereof three were openly beheaded for the same in Brussels vpon the nineteene of Iune, one being a Captaine called *Cruycklenborgh*, another was Sergeant Maior of the Irishmen, and one *Wael Rasoir* who had serued long time vnder the Spainard. *Cruycklenborgh* being a yong gentleman of good parentage in Brussels was much lamented, and great meanes were made vnto the Archduke for his life, who being much importuned by his friends, willed them to repaire vnto him againe after noone; in the meane time they were all three beheaded before noone, by commandement from the counsell of warre, and that which caused the matter to be more spoken of, was, for that it happened euen at such time as the Earle of Busquoy was married in the court at Brussells vnto the cousin of the Earle of Biglia. Colonell Challon was discharged of his Collonells place and a company of horsemen giuen him, the soldiers of the Netherlands murmured much at this rigor vsed by the Archduke, saying, that although the Spaniards and Italians committed neuer so many offences yet they could keepe their heads vpon their shoulders, *Mounsier de Terraile* with the rest of his petardiers hearing what murmuring speeches were vsed among

Certaine captaines and soldiars punished by the Archduke for failing of the enterprize before Sluce.

1061 the souldiers by reason of that execution, feared least they would secretly doe him A
some mischiefe in regard thereof, for which cause hauing made some friends vnto
the French King his maister to pardon him, hee left the Netherlands and
went into France, but after committing a murther in France, hee fled againe into the
The castle of Wouwe and Hogheslrate razed. Netherlands. About this time in the beginning of sommer it was agreed betweene the
Archduke and the vnited Prouinces (the better to releeue the countries on both sides,)
that the castle of Wouwe, and the castle of Hoch-strate (fortefied by the mutinous es-
quadron,) should be razed, as being both a like iniurious vnto the countries, the which
was as then done. The 20. of Iune there was a great quarrell and tumult in Antwerp, be-
tweene the Netherland sailors and the Spanish garrison in the castle, about a whore or
An vprore in Antwerp. some such like matter, wherein some Spaniards were hurt and a sayler slaine: the say- B
lers accompanied with the Burgers ran in heapes to the Oue and the Minte, not farre
from the castle, against whom the Chastelaine of Antwerp presently marched forth
with 400. Spaniards in three troupes, and entered the Oue with such fury as if they
would haue slaine all they found, whereupon the drummes did beat an alarum in al pla-
ces about the towne, and the streets were stopt with wagons, the people crying out and
saying that the Spaniards ment to make themselues masters of the towne, whereupon
the Burgers with all speed barricadoed the streets with wagons and other things; and
the Boyes began to cry, *kill, kill*, so as it was likely there would haue beene great bloud-
shed. Wherewith the Burgers beeing moued and vp in armes, the Burguemasters with
great intreaties and promises appeased them, and caused the Castelaine with his soul- C
diars retire into the Castle againe, and so the matter was pacefied: the next day the Cas-
telaine and the Burguemasters, debated the matter before the Archduke in Brussels,
where they had an answere giuen them. About this time there was a Burgers wife
Two women murthered by a Spaniard in Gant. of Gant (being great with child) with her sister, murthered by a Spaniard, for that shee
had sent her daughter away, whom he followed, and (as hee said) thought to haue mar-
ried, which Spaniard after hee had done the deed, went to saue himselfe in a cloister,
where because the porter would not let him in, before he had gotte licence of the Prior
so to do, he snatcht a candle sticke out of his hand, and strooke him therewith, where-
vpon the people running thether, they tooke him and bynding his hands and feete, laid
him in the street, vntil that the officers (being made acquainted therwith) came & apre- D
hended him, for the which not long after he was beheaded, notwithstanding many high
words vsed by the gouernor of the castle, who among other speeches said, that it was
not conuenient they should put one of the Kings seruants to death for the murther of a
woman or two, which would haue caused a tumult among the people, if they had not
feared such an inuasion, as they did in the yeare of our 1576. Vpon the 21. of Iulie, *Don
Iohn de Silua* captaine of a cornet of horse, and one of the counsel of warre to the Arch-
duke, boldy entering into the Earle of Barlaymonts house, who had married the daugh-
ter of the last Earle of Lalain, with who the said *don Iohn* was too familierly acquainted)
was by the sayd Earles seruantes assailed and wounded in nine or ten places of his body,
and almost slaine, whereof notwithstanding the Archduke had giuen him warning, to E
auoide any such occasion, but he trusting to his owne manhood, armes, or proud sto-
make, neglected it; being hurt in that manner, he was taken and committed to prison in
the castle of Antwerp by the Archdukes command, but after being cured of his wounds,
he got out from thence and went into Spaine.

The one and twenty daie of Iulie in the morning, the Earle of Busquoy comming
from Moocke with three thousand foote and fiue and thirty shalops or boates laden in
wagons to the Wahal, at Keeckerdom he had planted two demy cannons, by meanes
& vnder the fauor whereof he thought to put his boats into the water, and so to passe
ouer, and also in the mart shippe of Keeckerdome, wherein he shipt the Spaniards of
Don Inigo de Borgias regiment, and some of *Pompeio Iustinianios* the Italians regiment, F
with a choise companie of sixe speciall men out of euery bande in his armie, and with
them hee ment to passe ouer the Wahal at Keeckerdome aforesaid aboue Nimmeg-
hen, and as they were putting off, vnder the fauour of the ordinance, each boate
hauing some fiftie men in it, and sixe boates going out before them, beeing almost
ouer,

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A ouer, collonel *du Bois*, (who came thether the night before, hauing heard newes there- 1606.
of at Nimeghen) marched to the water ſide, with two companies of Frenchmen, commanded by Mouſier *Roques*, and two companies of Engliſhmen ledde by Sir *Thomas Harwood* and captaine *Iohn Vere*, and two halfe companies of horſemen, the one collonel *Edmonds*, the other Sir *Iohn Ratclifes* who had newly receiued the company from *Richard Arthure* an old ſouldier, who beeing ſickely, had made it ouer vnto him with which companies he withſtood the Spaniards landing; who ſought all the places thereabouts both below and aboue, to goe to ſhore, where the fight continuing betwixt them about an houres ſpace, at the laſt (hauing ſought all the meanes they could to paſſe) they were compelled to put backe againe in great diſorder, one hindring of
B an other, with the loſſe of a hundred of their men, wherof fiue were captaines, as the ouerlopers reported: and of *du Bois* men, thirty were ſlaine and wounded; and ſo the Earle of Buſquoy went backe againe, to his army at Moockle, which he there fortified in an Iſland lying in the Meuſe. It is ſince vnderſtood that his intent was to enter into the Betuwe, and to incampe himſelfe, on the ſide of the Rhine, either aboue or beneath Arnhem, and that then *Spinola* ſhould alſo come to the Rhine, and ſo to ioyne both together, which had beene a great furtherance for them, wherein *du Bois* did the vnited Prouinces verie good ſeruice at that time, for which cauſe Prince *Maurice* cauſed good watch to bee kept in euery place, by water and by land, both with horſe and foote, eſpecially along by the Iſel, or where their enemies might haue the beſt meanes,
C to get ouer, placing ſhippes of warre in gard vpon the riuers, who kept watch with halfe their men in ſhalops, as alſo in herring boats, which ſayled too and fro, and euery houre brought newes what the enemy did, ſo as Prince *Maurice* had at leaſt a hundred companies of men lying all there abouts.

Th's enterpriſe of the Earle of Buſquois fayling, and the enemy thereby brought to a new reſolution, *Spinola* laie ſtill at Lochem, vntill the laſt of Iulie, thinking to giue Prince *Maurice* a ſodaine blow, and to that end went with his army towards Bronckhorſt and Doesborgh. In the meane time ſending an other troupe of ſouldiers to Almeloo, where as then hee was gathering togither a certaine number of boates to bring his ſouldiers downe the riuer to Bercklenmeers bridge, and ſo into the Black-
D water betweene Saſſelt and Swol, meane time the garriſons of Linghen and Oldenzeel came thether to him, hoping with them and by the aide of the ſaid Scutes, vpon the ſecond daie of Auguſt earlie in the morning to paſſe ouer the Black-water and to enter into Maſtenbroke, and ſo to beſeege Swol, and by the ſame meanes to take Geelmuyden lying vpon the South-ſea: but *Warmeloo* Droſſart of Salant, who laie in Swol, vnderſtanding thereof, went forth with three companies of foote and a cornet of horſemen, and ſo valiantly withſtood them, as after a long fight *Spinolaes* men were let of their paſſage, and forced to retire, and that in great haſt, fearing that their enemy had beene ſtronger, many of the men of both ſides beeing ſlaine and onely by their obſtinacy.

Spinolaes enterpriſe to get into Suidet ſea.

Spinola ſeeing that this paſſage alſo could not bee gotten, was forced to procede to
E his third reſolution, and ſo vpon the third daie of Auguſt, hee went with his armie before Grol, whereinto Prince *Maurice* had put the young Lord of Dort with eighteene companies of men: beeing about thirteene or foureteene thouſand men ſtrong, at their firſt comming they were entertained with skirmiſhes; but after that hee made his trenches, and the tenth day of Auguſt he tooke two halfe moones, which ſtood without the towne by force, where hee had at the leaſt ſixe hundred men ſlaine and wounded, whereof ſome were of his owne kindered, and eigth or ten captaines with many officers, and amongſt the reſt two Earles of Embden, viz. Earle *Iohn* of Redbergh, and his brother Earle *Chriſtopher* were wounded, they within alſo had much hurt, and loſt captaine
F *Appel vander Scharen* Lieutenant to collonel Dort.

Grol beſieged by Spinola.

In the winning of thoſe halfe moones, *Spinola* ſhewed great rigor and cruelty againſt his men, driuing them like beaſts, both to fight and to dig vnder the enemies ordinance, by meanes of his horſemen who followed with their cortelaſes drawne, yet notwithſtanding they were thrice put backe, but the fourth time hee won them with the

1606. counterscarfes, and cutte of some part of them of the towne, so as they could not A
gette in againe, which done he placed his Ordinance for the batterie vppon the sayd halfe Moones: And beeing by that meanes close by the ditches of the towne, with all the speed and courage they could vse, they filled them vp with such stuffe as they could gette, and so vppon the thirteenth of August gotte to the walles of the towne, and also to their mynes wherein the pouder was alreadie placed, where they fought hand to hand in three seuerall places, they also shotte downe all the parapets of the walles, and began to vndermine them. The reason of this hastie and furious proceeding was, for that *Spinola* had taken certaine messengers with letters sent to them of Groll, willing them to withstand the enemie valiantly, and that they should bee releeued within three daies, as hee also vnderstood by the soldiers, which dayly B
went to Prince *Maurice* from all places, for that hee had sent for *William* Earle of Nassau out of Freezeland, to come with all the men that hee could spare, and for Colonell *Edmonds* out of Reinbergh; Collonell *du Bois* from the Betouwe, and the soldiers of Deuenter and Swoll, which all marched to Doesborgh, with Ordinance, Munition and all other preparations for an armie. Where-vppon *Spinola* vsed all the dilligence hee could to winne the towne, determining vppon the fourteenth of August to assault it in three places at once, and to that end in great pride hee placed his men in order of battaile, and made a terrible show, and there-with hee willed a Trumpet to certifie them within the towne, that hee would giue them but one houres time to bethinke them-selues, which if they refused, hee would put them all to the C
sword, for that hee sayd hee would and must haue the towne, &c. Where-vppon they within (namely the Burgers) being much abasht, fell downe at the young Gouernors feete, desiring him to consider of their generall weakenesse, so as the Gouernor vnaduisedly at their request, was content to hearken vnto a composition without once shewing Prince *Maurices* letters to the soldiers, who promised they should be releeued vpon the sixteenth of August, and there-vpon he and the Captaines without any great need, yeelded vp the towne by composition, and so issued out with 18. Ensignes, displayed, being about 1200. sound men, & 100. wounded, and 15. or 16. horsemen of *Batenborghs* companie.

Groll yeelded to Spinola.

Within it also there was a companie of New-geusen who (like to them that sold D
Gheertrudenbergh) were prescribed and banished in all places, but for that the composition was made for them also, they went forth and deuided them-selues amongst the other companies. The Bourgers had two moneths time giuen them to consult whether they would stay or depart the towne, and so the garrison went out from thence in great hast with bag and baggage, hauing but two houres time granted them to doe it, for feare of Prince *Maurices* comming, and to that end had wagons giuen them to bring them to Zutphen, where they arriued the next day at noone: And although *Spinola* was much commended for his good order and discipline, yet that garrison past not without ransacking of the men and some wagons. There was about a hundred men slaine in Groll, but many more without, some sayd eight or E
nine hundred, & that by reason of the great haste vsed by *Spinola* to win the towne, for that at the same time Prince *Maurice* was gone to Doesbourgh; where-vpon the 15. of August when all the Ordinance and Munition was laden ready to march forward to releeue them, he had newes that the towne of Grol was taken, where-vpon presently hee dispersed his army, and sent euery man vnto his garrison, therewith to furnish al places, staying to see what further attempt *Spinola* would make.

Spinola hauing soone (beyond all expectation) gotten that towne, euen at such time as his armie had great want of all necessaries, and (by reason of the aboundance of rayne which then fell) was hardly lodged, his enemie beeing in field, ready to attempt some great exployte, and hee beeing but meanely intrencht, was F
forced to lye there, to repayre the walles of Groll, who in regard of his great want of victualls, was constrayned to retyre to the Rhyne againe, and there-vppon, determined to beseege Reinbergh, willing the Earle of Busquoy to breake vp his army at Moocke, and to inuest Reinbergh on Gelder side; the which he presently did

A did, first passing by Nimmeghen, as if hee would haue done some-thing there-abouts, causing some suspition to rise, as if hee meant to doe some-thing against Berghen vp Zoome in Brabant, by sending some of his men to *Monsieur Groblendonck*, but hauing giuen the peasants charge to cast downe all his trenches at Mooke, vpon the twenty of August hee past along by the Rhine, and sodenly set vpon a ship of warre, which tooke no great regard vnto himselfe, where-as the Captaines wife had her head smitten off, hee himselfe and his Lieutenant with diuerse Saylers being taken prisoners. 1606.

In the same manner also there was a Galey burnt by Boisleduc, through the negligence of the Captaine, in the beginning of September; which Galley lay before Herdrighsvelt, to let all incursions. Vpon the ninteenth of August *Spinola* raised his armie
B before Groll to go to the Rhine; which Prince *Maurice* vnderstanding, vpon the twentie of August went to Deutechom, and to Eltenbergh. The one and twenty of August the Earle of Busquoy inuested Reinbergh towards the land beneath the towne, and shut vp the riuer: and to that end, vpon the foure and twenty of August, he brought twelue Shalops into the water, where-with he caried his men ouer the Rhine, and made a battery of two Canons, to let the passage, where hee placed the Saylers of Antwerpe, and the same day *Spinola* went to Lippe to passe ouer there. Reinbergh besieged by Spinola.

In the meane time Prince *Maurice* sent his brother Cont *Henrick* of Nassaw with seuen and twenty companies of horse, and foureteene companies of footmen to meete them & to set vpon part of the Earle of Busquoyes men, which were marching from Mooke
C and other places, but they marching towards the Meuse, and so to Venlo. Cont *Henrick* could not come at them, wherfore according to his further commission, he past forward to Rhein-bergh: and vpon the fiue and twenty day of August at night, put the said foureteene companies of foote into Rheinberge without any incounter, because as then the Earle of Busquoy had not inuested the towne round about: with those foureteene companies there past foure-score French Gentlemen of qualitie into the towne, one of them being *Monsieur de Sonbyse*, brother to the Duke of Rohan, cousin to the French King, and *Monsieur de Varennes*, who were excellently well mounted, and behaued themselues valiantly. Cont *Henrick* left the towne well furnished of all things necessary, vnder the gouernment of *Monsieur Van Vtenhoone*, and the trenches
D vpon the Weert and ouer the Rhine, were committed to the charge of Sir *William Edmonds* a Scotish Colonel, as being necessary to be well garded.

The Marquis of Ausbach of the house of Brandenborgh, being come to Prince *Maurice* with certaine horsemen, and hee perceiuing that *Spinola* would besiege Reinberghe, and to that end had past ouer the riuer of Lippe, vpon the eight and twenty of August he followed him with his armie, to get hard by Wesel, that he might incampe himselfe betweene Wesel and Bislicke, and to that end he presently sent for ship-Bridges; there to make a Bridge ouer the Rhine: and vpon the nine and twentie of August he past by Emericke, and so to Dornick, (where hee vnderstood that *Spinola* made a Sconce at the mouth of the riuer of Lippe, to let him from passing ouer;) and vpon the thirty of August he went to Wesel and there insconced himselfe.

E Reinbergh being round about besieged, vpon the eight and twentie of August, they within sallied out of the towne ouer the Rhine vpon *Spinolaes* quarter, being lead by some French Gentlemen, in very good order, and to the great losse of their enemies. After that they made another salie out vpon *Busquoyes* quarter, where they were driuen in againe by the enemie with sixe hundred horse, but the Ordinance of the towne plaied so vpon the horse-men, as they made a great spoile amongst them; at which time the Cont of La Flesche one of the French Gentlemen, venturing too boldly amongst the enemies, was taken prisoner.

In the meane time *Spinola* had made his bridge from Roewort ouer the Rhine, some-
F what aboue Reinbergh, and caused great store of Fagots and other furniture to bee brought thether, to assaile the trenches ouer the Rhine, at which time also Prince *Maurice* in-sconced himselfe, staying for his ship-bridge that was to come vp against the streame, and by that meanes lost his opportunitie and meanes to relieue the Trenches which were before Reinbergh, for that before hee was well in-sconced, and

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1606. had gotten his shippe, it hapned that Collonell *Edmonds* (who had then commaunde A
Collonell Edmonds slayne at Rhyne bercke. of the sayd trenches In the Weert, and ouer the Rhyne, vppon the third of September) was shotte into the head (as hee lookt ouer the wall) whereof hee dyed, beeing an old experienced soldier and one who had serued the States long, and Collonell of a regiment of Scottish men, a man of meane quallitie, but by his seruice aduanced to much credit, presently after his death, they within the said intrenchments began to bee in doubt that they could no longer hold the same, and vppon this imaginarie feare they resolued the next night after to leaue them, and to put their men into the Weert, and into the towne, which they did, breaking downe their bridge, and by that meanes *Spinola* gotte great aduantage, much incumbring Prince *Maurices* seeking to releeue the towne, who at the same time hauing receiued some shippe-bridges, was busied about making his bridge ouer the Rhyne, and to cause the English regiment vnder their Collonell Sir *Edward Cicile* to make a trench for the keeping of his bridge: besides the losse of the great intrenchment ouer the Rhyne; they of Rembercke left diuers other workes, lying without the towne, as Cont *Ernestus* old quarter, and the sconce of Hollestrate, which gaue the enemie great aduantage, and would haue beene the meanes to haue procured a releefe vnto the towne with more ease, where-vnto the long detraction of Prince *Maurice* did much helpe, for that it was the tenth of September before hee battered the sconce at Lippe, and beeing put backe from thence with a light skirmish, hee went into his quarter againe, but attempting the same againe vppon the twelfth of September, hee put ouer and there insconced C
him-selfe, and on the thirteenth of September brought the most part of his forces ouer the Riuer of Lippe, and assayled *Spinolaes* sconce, vpon the mouth of Lippe, the
Reasons why Prince Maurice would not charge the enemies Camp before Rhynebercke. which (presently after they saw a peece of Ordinance) yeelded vp, from whence there went two hundred and seauenty men: The sconce was made with sixe points, but not fully finished: and although all Prince *Maurices* men were very willing to charge the enemie, neuertheless Prince *Maurice* by-reason that hee was not there intrenched, and without victuals, and for that *Spinola* lay well insconced, as also that the wayes to come to him were well couered and very close, and for that *Spinolas* Campe was fortified by foure Regiments (brought thether by *Fredericke* Earle of Bergh) the which had bene taken vp about Liege) hee put all his willing men into his quarter againe, leauing some D
in the sconce which hee had taken, the which hee caused to bee fortefied, and made a bridge ouer the Lippe. From that time a doubt began to rise that Prince *Maurice* could not releeue the towne, for that the waies were to much couered, and *Spinolas* campe lay well insconced, the which was the more probable for that vppon the sixeteenth of September about euening Prince *Maurice* sent all his horsemen out of his Campe with Cont *Henricke* to put eleuen companies more into Meurs, besides the sixe companies that were in it, which Cont *Henricke* that night happely performed. Many men discoursed strangely of Prince *Maurices* resolution, for that hee releeued not Reinbergh, but therein (as many men iudged) consisted many difficulties, because it was not well to bee releeued but with a battaile, which is vncertaine against an enemie E
which had aduantages, and was stronger then hee, and winning a battayle hee could gette no more but the releeuing of the towne, and losing the battayle hee should put the countrie in danger: On the other side if they sought by approches to gette neere to the enemie, hee should indanger his armie, and giue the enemie occasion by night (on the Riuer) to go downe and enter into the Beteuwe, and so bring his proceedings to a worse Estate; whereas hee thought hee did well to keepe the heart of the Countrie from inuasion, and yet held his armie whole, ready vpon any good occasion to hazard further, and so let *Spinola* strike of the tippes of his hornes, which might well be repaired, and could not infect the bodie within, nor bring it to the vttermost extremitie: In the meane time they within the towne made many sallies, and amongst the rest vppon F
the seauenteenth of September, at which time they sent out three horsemen with letters from the Gouernor, the which past cleane through *Spinolas* campe, the letters certefying Prince *Maurice*, that the enemie approched very neere vnto them on the luyt gate side, so as they could hardly hold out sixe daies longer.

The

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A The thirteenth of September they wrotte againe that the enemie had taken all their fortifications from them without the Luyt gate, and that they had gotten to the ditches of the towne, and had wonne the defences without the Castle gate, and that they were also gotten to the Bulwarke of the towne; so as hee saw not how to saue all the boates, shippe-bridges, and shippes that were there, and that their powder would sodainly fayle them, but notwithstanding all this, vpon the foure and twentith day of September they made a sallie, and tooke a halfe Moone againe from the enemie, which they before had lost, where they tooke certaine prisoners: where-vpon *Spinola* sent a Trumpet to the towne, for which cause they ceased their shooting (which otherwise neuer left off day nor night) which made all the places B round about to suspect that they were in parle, but it was but a short prolongation of time. 1606.

But Prince *Maurice* (notwithstanding all these aduertisements) resolued not to releeue the towne, holding it impossible, and so lay still, thinking it best for him to keepe his armie in safety, and not to consume it by ouer-venturing vppon the enemie, in seeking meanes to releeue the towne, and to no end. Vppon the sixe and twentith day of September, the Deputies of the generall Estates came into the Campe, to know Prince *Maurices* minde and resolution, or else to moue him to vndertake the releefe of the towne, where-vnto they vsed a long perswasion, but hee would not bee brought there-vnto, esteeming it both impossible and vnnecessary, where of one C of his chiefe reasons was, that, that the Towne was not to bee releeued, but along by the East side of the Rhyne, and by bringing the armie neere, which could not bee done by any sodaine enterprize, but by approaches, by which meanes Prince *Maurice* feared, that *Spinola* would leaue Reinbergh, and on the one side keepe his armie still in alarme, and on the other side seeke to doe some exployt in the Betouwe, whether Prince *Maurice* should bee forced to go to ayd it, and in such a case his armie (beeing mixed with the enemies) could not well gette from them without confusion; besides hee sayd that to bee alwayes readie, and to haue meanes to ayd those places that were of most importance, hee thought it best to keepe his Armye free and whole: which reasons by those which had experience in warres were well allowed of, and thought to bee of great importance, for that men must alwaies haue a care D to keep woundes from their hearts. Therefore seeing that they could not releeue the towne, diuers of them propounded a question, whether by leauing it off, they might not attempt something else of consequence, many beeing of opinion that Prince *Maurice* had committed an error for that hee had not beseeged Grol, when hee saw hee could not helpe Reinbergh, but that was not so much vrged, some reasons leading to the contrary; at last they resolued to enterprize something against Venlo, to see in the meane time if they could gette it, to which end it was agreed that Cont *Henricke* with twelue hundred horse and sixe thousand footemen should attempt it, and that the same night it should bee attempted, Prince *Maurice* with the rest of the armie should lie in the way, that leadeth from Reinbergh to Venlo to preuent them that vpon E the alarum giuen at Venlo would aduenture to go thither from the enemies campe.

The Estates send to perswade Prince Maurice to releeue Rhynbercke.

To this end Cont *Henricke* and Cont *Earneſt* with their troopes vppon the last of September departed out of their campe to Grawenweert, from thence to turne againe to Venlo, and vpon the first of October in the night to take their enterprize in hand, Prince *Maurice* also went from the campe the same night to the aforesaid way, but there hapned a great alteration in the meane time, for that they of Reinbergh, beeing out of hope of releefe, and perceiuing that the enemie had gotten so neere vnto the towne, as they were in great danger thereof, vpon the same day beeing the first of October they compounded with *Spinola*, to yeeld the towne vnto him. Cont *Henricke* be- F ing before Venlo with his Petards, brake open the gate before day light, but the alarme was to soone giuen within the towne, for that the same euening there was a company of horsemen ledde by Mounsier *Van Etten* Generall of the victuals, come into the Towne, whereby it hapned, that some of Cont *Henricks* men beeing alreadie entred into the Towne, were by the sayd horsemen (with some

An enterprize vpon Venlo.

losse

1606. losse) driuen out againe, and forced to retire. Prince *Maurice* also lay on the waie A
but to no end, for that *Spinola*, had commanded that no man should that night go out of
the campe.

Reinbergh yeelded to Spinola.

They of Reinbergh agreed with *Spinola* to depart the towne with armes and bag-
gage like souldiers, and with three peeces of ordinance that laie in the Weert, as also
the new Geusen, or Saint Andreas souldiers, but they must leaue al the shippes, puntes,
bridges, and the rest of the ordinance, and so vpon the second daie of October, there is-
sued three thousand men, with three companies of Ruyters; with the dead bodie of
general *Edmonds*, it is thought there were fiue hundred lost within the towne, both
dead and wounded: The French gentlemen also departed from thence with their ho-
nours, as also the gouernor and the Lord of Sweten: it seemeth that the greatest B
cause of the giuing ouer of the towne was, that they saw no hope of releife, and there-
fore without staying to trie the vttermost extreamitie, they made a composition in
time, pretending some feare to want powder, whereof at the first they had great store,
and had beene verie prodigall, for they had aboue a hundred thousand pound of pow-
der, which as then they had brought to thirty thousand pound, and therewithall they
had a kinde of feare, so as they durst not trie the last euent of armes.

The Spaniards losse at the siege of Rhine-berck.

It was thought there were many of the enemies slaine before the towne, and amongst
the rest three Engeneurs or maisters of the fortifications, & *Pompeio Romano* their chiefe
Engeneur wounded, before it also was slaine Collonel *de Tores* who had the regi-
ment of *Catrice*, and the Lieutenant Collonel of the Barron of Achicourt, with diuers C
others of great quality, as the cousins of *Spinola* and the Earle of Busquoy. Their
losse of men was found to bee so great, at also by reason of the disease and wetnesse
of the weather, as their companies at the musters were found to bee but fortie or
fiftie strong, so as many regiments (as amongst the rest two Italian regiments, one
Cont *Guydo* S^t. *Georgios*, the other *Pompeio Iustinianios*) were lesse by a third part then
they should bee.

By meanes of the winning of this towne, *Spinola* had great aduantage, and much
helpe, for thereby hee had meanes to haue victualls follow him from the towne of
Cologne and the country of Cleaue, and all little inough, by reason that the waies
(by meanes of the great store of raine that had fallen) were so foule and deepe, as D
they had no fourage for their horses, the corne in many places with the raine and
foule wether beeing beaten flat vpon the ground, and by the many and diuers
enterprises made by the souldiers on both sides a great number of places
were vtterly ruined and spoiled, and therefore the shippes, ship-bridges, ponts, and
ordinance which they got in Reinberghe, came well to passe for them, *Spinola* was
in all places commended for the good order and discipline hee obserued amongst
all his souldiers, and in these Netherland warres no man better deserued it,
which was the cause, that his army was not euill thought-on in the newterall
countries.

The losse of Reinberghe caused no small feare in the vnited Prouinces, each E
towne obseruing and iudging of his owne weakenesse: that maxime or oppinion
long holden by them beeing then broken, which is, that a towne which is besieged,
beeing well furnished with good store of braue souldiers, and seconded with an army to
aide them, might bee esteemed inuincible, but these our warres haue many and often
times prooued the contrary, for which cause many faint-hearted people complained
of the long warres, and the great charges thereof, wherevnto it was a great fur-
therance, that the old, stoute, resolute men, which had felt the Spanish yoake, were
most of them dead, and that the gouernment of the state is not now in the hands of such
zealous persons.

Prince Maurice goes before Grol.

The Marquis *Spinola* hauing wonne honour in the taking of Rhine-Berck, went F
and lodged his armie in the countrie of Iuilliers, in the Dioceese of Cologne and there-
abouts: the which Prince *Maurice* vnderstanding, hee raised his campe and marcht
with all speed before Grol, with an intent to recouer it againe, lodging his men in
the towne ditches, without any one cannon shot.

But

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A But *Spinola* aduertised of this desseigne, hee presently gathers his forces together, and what with faire promises, and some little money, he perswaded them to march, for the freeing of that Towne: which the Prince vnderstanding, and winter drawing on, hee raised his campe, and so both the Armies returned to their garrisons to winter and rest their men; this was in Nouember. 1607.

The mutines of Dyest continued all this time in their mutinie, seeking to drawe contribution from all the frontiers, euen out of Germanie, vntill they were payed. The which the Prince Elector of Mentz vnderstanding, hee caused a dyet of the Circles to bee held at Ouerwezel, to prouide some meanes to stop their incursions, but there was nothing effected: but in the end the King of Spaine and the Arch-dukes, The mutines of Dyest.

B were forced to giue them contentment. More-ouer *Dom Ihon de Medicis*, hauing three and twentie companies of foote, and foure Cornets of horse, entred into the countrie of Mont Iean, belonging vnto the Duke of Cleues, and so into the Duchie of Iuilliers, his men were Italians, and new come, committing all the spoiles and insolencies they could deuise. This did adde more to the miseries of those quarters, who had nothing common with the warres of the Netherlands.

In Ianuary 1607. the mutines of Dyest made a roade euen vnto the suburbes of Liere, the which they sayd was friend to the King of Spaine and to the Arch-dukes, and therefore subiect to contribution as well as the Netherlands, whereof they came to doe execution; by Lont-recht, as they call it, (which is as much to

C say as Militarie Iustice.) But the Townes-men (who are giuen to armes) tooke armes and chased them away, with the losse of foure of them, and fiue and twentie of the mutines, which made them retire, spoiling some farmes there-abouts. But in other places they did so terrifie them with threats, as they forced them of the Duchie of Iuilliers to giue them ten thousand ryex Dallers, they of Cologne seauen thousand, the Abbot of Duyts eight thousand, and that within eight or ten daies, vpon paine of military execution. They did also taxe the Abbat of *Cornelis* Munster at sixeteene thousand ricx Dallers, but he refusing it, did leuie men, & muster vp all his subiects to resist them. But soone after there came an assignation out of Spaine for six hundred thousand Ducats. to bee paied in sixe moneths: so as the mutines were satisfied according to the agree-

D ment they had made with the Archdukes', and had leaue to depart freely where they pleased, yea eight hundred of them that were last proclaimed, were to depart the countrie within foure and twenty houres. So as such as were in Flanders, retired some to Calais, and some into Picardie, for that their heads were rated, euery one according to his qualitie. These are the preiudiciall fruites of mutinies, who in the end (after much harme and mischiefe done) must needs be payed.

To end the troubles betweene the Earle of East-freezeland and the towne of Embden, this yeare certaine mediators tooke vpon them to deale therein; as the King of England, by a Gentleman called Mr. *Ralph Winwood*, now a Knight, who lay at the Hage for the said King, and certaine Deputies for the Estates, as *Iohn Baiel*, *Iacob Boëlissen*, *Vitus Caninga*, and *Abel Coenders van Helpen*, who propounded certaine articles vnto both parties, as to hold and obserue the last treatie made in the Hage, and all other treaties, decrees, and contracts to remaine in full force, with-out preiudice or innouation of those of Embden, and touching ciuill actions, namely the order concerning money, and the yearely acknowledment of all that is contained in the first article of the accorde made, as also the ciuill controuersies and actions, concerning the iurisdiction, they should bee left to the disposition and deciding of the cordinary iudge, with-out preiudice to any man. Peace made betweene the Earle of East-Freezeland & the towne of Embden.

E

That they of Embden, according to the decree made in the Hage, should restore the Ordinance and other things which they had gotten.

F Further, that they of Embden should suffer the Earle to enter, and yeeld vnto him the impost of the wines, and the iust halfe of the forfeitures that should bee made; vntill those matters were otherwise determined and decided. That the Commander and those of the garrison should maintaine them-selues by Hunting, Fowling and Fishing, as well by land as by water, and to that end and purpose the Earle should

without

1607. without refusall giue the Burgers of Embden conuenient letters for the seas, and intreat for the prisoners, that they with their shippes and goods might bee released in euery place. That the Earle should promise to suffer them of Embden to enioy the benefit of neuteralitie, both by water and by land, and to doe all that belonged vnto a good Lord and Soueraigne Commander. Lastly, that all extraordinary exactions should cease and be called in againe; and all offences and iniuries should bee remitted and quite forgotten, and from thence-forth a good peace and vnity entertained on both sides. These are the principall points that were set downe and propounded vnto both parties by the said Committies, and with their consents agreed vnto, the which were found and confirmed by them to be reasonable and good, hoping they should bee held and well obserued: and if it fell out that the said Earle, or those of Embden, did breake this accord, the said Committies should mooue the King and the generall Estates, to reuenge such iniuries by force, and by no meanes permit any thing to bee done to the contrary: this was concluded in the Hage, vpon the tenth of Nouember 1606. and signed by the said Committies: after the which they of Embden deliuered the Earle his Ordinance and other munition which had beene taken from him. A B

1607. Vpon the tenth of Ianuary 1607. the Earle caused the said agreement to be openly proclaimed.

The last of Ianuary 1607. at the earnest request and intercession of the Townesmen of Groning, it was agreed by the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, that the Castle made there to keepe the towne in awe, should bee opened and throwne downe towards the Towne, at such a time when as euery man did iudge it was not to bee done: for the effecting whereof an Ingeneur was sent thether vpon the third of Februarie. C

The castle of Groning broken downe.

The Earle of Brooke murthered by the Spaniards.

This yeare the yong Earle of Brooke a Nobleman of great hope, riding out of Holland to the house of Brooke vnto his brother, with a small conuoye of horse-men, was intercepted and watched for in the way, by certaine Spanish Souldiers (vpon hatred which in times past they had borne vnto the Earle his Father, and yet had reuenged it at their pleasures,) vpon the way as he went by Wesel, with foureteene horsemen, the Spaniards mette him, first taking his Secretarie who roade before, and him they stabd with Bodkins, to make him tell them the trueth of his Lord; who being thus tormented, was forced to confesse his comming after, then there followed two of the Earles pages, whom they presently slue, for that they would not confesse any thing of the Earle; after that came the Earle with foure horse-men, and some Gentlemen, vpon whom the Spaniards fell, and becausse he would not yeeld himselfe, they shotte him into the body, and after cruelly murthered him, giuing him diuerse wounds after that hee was dead, doing the like to some of the Gentlemen that were with him; yet some of the company escaped. This acte was much abhorred by all the country there-abouts. D

The 7. of February Cont *Henrie* assembling a good number of horse-men of the vnited Prouinces, and certaine footmen (which he set vpon peasants horses) he thought there-with to charge two regiments of *Spinolaes* horsemen lying dispersed in the countrie of Limborgh: And vpon the eight of February hee began to set forward, but the said regiments vnderstanding thereof, got into the next towne there-abouts, whereby that enterprise was disapointed. Where-vpon Cont *Henrick* returning back againe, fell vpon a small towne called Erckenlens, wherein *Frederick Vanden Berghe* lay. E

Erckelens taken and spoiled by Henrick Earle of Nassaw.

And vpon the eleuenth of February in the morning, by the meanes of a Petrad, he entred it, and tooke the Earle of Berghe prisoner, and about fiftie of his horsemen; the rest being out of the towne: and for that the Burgers of the said towne during the time of their newtralitie, had vsed much crueltie and hard dealing against the soldiers which serued the vnited Prouinces, as also being then strengthened with a garrison of their enemies, he suffered it to be spoiled, and after burnt it, and so they departed with the bootie gotten therin. F

The King of Spaine & the Estates prepare to warre at sea.

As the King of Spaine had prepared a great fleete of shippes, of all sorts, well manned with Soldiers, and furnished with all things necessary, meaning to annoy the vnited Prouinces all he could. So likewise the vnited Prouinces being duly informed thereof, they

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A they for their parts did also arme to sea twenty seauen shippes of warre and foure for victualls and munition. Of which fleet they made *Iames Hemskerke* of Amsterdam Admirall, whose wisdome, courage and experience, together with his loyallty and loue to his country, was well knowne to all the world by his many good seruices. 1607.

Vpon the twenty fiue of March hauing all things redy, hee sailed out of Texel with sixteene shippes of warre and one pinace, with whome there ioyned the foure victuallers, there came three also from Enchuysen, and three from Horne making twenty two shippes of Warre: vpon the twenty seauen day they came vnder the Ile of Wight, where they found three shippes more of Zeeland, and fiue of Rotterdamme with an other pinace of Amsterdam. There was a forth shippe of Zeland runne on ground, B so as they tooke the men and munition out of it, and put them into other shippes. On the twenty nine day they set saile from the Ile of Wight, and two daies after the Admirall *Hemskerke* (hauing all his fleet together) went on with an Easterly winde towards Portugall and Spaine, so as on the tenth of Aprill they came vnto the height of thirty six degrees neere vnto the riuer of Lisbone. There the Admirall called his captaines and councell aboard, where they resolued to enter into that riuer with their whole fleet, and to set vpon the carraques and gallions which they should finde there. But the Admirall being certenly aduertised by his spies (which hee had sent into Lisbon in an English shippe) that the carraques were most of them gone forth, and that there remained but eight or nine, not halfe furnished and without artillery. More- C ouer hauing intelligence from certaine French shippes comming from Saint *Lucars* and from Cabiz, that there were sixteene gallions gone towards the West Indies, and ten others well appointed lying in the straight of Gibraltar, with many other shippes appointed for warre, attending there such of the vnited Prouinces shippes as should come out of Italy and the Leuant seas, which they knew were many. This made the Admirall to take a new resolution to goe and visit this fleet euen in the straights. Then they bent their course towards *Cape Saint vincent*, where they turned on the left hand, and lost sight of one of their company: there they met with a shippe of Flushing, which came through the straights on the twenty day, telling him that he past through the Spanish army in the night, and being out of the Straight, they semed to him in the morning as if they would take their course towards Cadiz, for that they could D not ly within the straight, the wind being Easterly.

The Estates shippes sally towards Spaine.

They resolue to enter into the riuer of Lisbon.

The Admirall hearing this, continued his course, and on the twenty foure of Aprill they past close by the riuer of Saint *Lucars*, and the Baye of Cadiz but they could not learne that any shippes were entred, where the Admirall had fully resolued to charge them, were it in the riuer of S. *Lucars* or in the Bay. The same day he had certaine in- The Estates shippes go to seeke the Spanish fleet. telligence of the Spanish fleet, by a Frenchman which came out of the road of Gibraltar, who duly informd him of the strength and Estate of the Spanish army. At night (for that the wind was westerly) thy bent their course southward, towards the coast of Barbary, from whence in the morning they turned againe towards Spaine: when the Admirall came into the narrowest part of the straight, he called all his Captaines a- E board, letting them vnderstand what the French man had said vnto him, where they did aduisedly consult of their affaiers, and in the end resolued to set vpon the Spanish fleet, appointing euery one his place how hee should fight. The Admirall *Hemskerke* with Captaine *Moye Lambert* should charge the Admirall, the Vice-admirall *Alteras* with captaine *Bras* should vndertake the Spanish Vice-admirall, and so euery two shippes of warre should take a galleoun to taske, the two Pinaces and a barge were appointed to lie out at sea, to charge any ship or gallioun that should offer to fly, but the foure victualers should lie a loose. The Admirall hauing set all things in good order, hee incorraged the Captaines, recommending vnto them the honor and profit which F this victorie would bring vnto their country, telling them that hee would bee the first, and intreating them to lay aside all feare, where-vpon they did all sweare ioyntly vnto him that they would follow him and obey him vnto the death: where vpon euery one departed to his ship. Then they sailed towards Gibraltar to seeke the enemy, whome they descouered about noone, being at anchor in the Baye of Gibraltar, within cannon

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1607, shot of the towne and Castle. A

The number of the Spanish fleete.

They were in all twenty one, that is nine great gallioun and foure shippes of warre, with a great shippe of Lubecke of foure hundred lasts, who was come into the roade, to stay for a winde to goe to Cadiz, their were foure French shippes, and three prizes, two of Enchuysen and one of Rotterdam; all which shippes they had manned with soldiars, to attend the Estates army; for the Duke of Medina Sidonia hearing that they had past before his riuer and before Cadiz, he presently dispacht a post to Gibraltar, to aduertise the Spanish fleete of the comming of the Estates men, wishing them to stand vpon their gard: They had the like aduertisment sent from Cadiz, so as the same day they did fortefie their army with three hundred men, of the which there were a hundred caualiers, which came voluntarily to serue the Admirall, so as the Admirall B had about seauen hundred men abord his shippe, and the Viceadmirall some foure hundred and fifty, as it was since vnderstood by prisoners. The gallioun were well appointed with brasse ordinance, and euery one had two hundred and fifty soldiars at the least, besides marriners. The Admirall was *Don Iuan Aluares d' Auila*, borne at Esturges, an ancient knight, who had long serued the King of Spaine at sea, euen all the time of *Don Iohn* of Austria, his shippe was the Saint *Augustine*, of eigh hundred tonne: the Admiralls sonne (bearing his owne name) was Captaine of that galleoun; the names of the other Galeouns I omit for breuity sake, the repetition being not greatly necessarie.

The Admirall *Hemskerke* hauing the Spanish fleete in sight, hauing praied vnto C God, and set things in order, hee bent his course directly towards them, and caused his flag to be nayled fast to the toppe of his maine mast, that it might not be dismounted, promising a hundred rialls of eight to any one of his men that should bring the Spanish Admiralls flag, exhorting his men to shew their valours and resolutions, promising them they should freely enioy what-souer they should take from the enemy, without any question, the which (together with their Admiralls resolution) did so incourrage them, as they thought the time long vntill they were ioyned with the ennemy.

The Spanish Admirall hauing in like manner descouered the States fleet, he called for the Maister of a shippe of Rotterdam, a prisoner whome he set at liberty, and D shewing him the Estates shippes, he asked him if he thought they durst come vnto him, where-vpon the other answered. Sir with your good fauor I thinke they dare do it: The which the Admirall could not beleeue, seeing he had so great aduantage, lying vnder the fauor of the towne and Castle, yet when hee perceiued that they came with full sayles towards him, hee caused his cable to be cut, (for he lay at the point) and retired more into the Baye, towards the towne, so as he had the Viceadmirall and three other galleouns to couer him, the which the Admirall *Hemskerk* perceiuing, he went on his course, leauing the Viceadmirall and the galleouns on his left hand, causing an anchor to be set on the toppe of his prowe, redy to let downe: commanding they should not let it slippe before that hee was grappeled to E the Spanish Admirall, forbidding them also to shoot, vntill they were very neere vnto the enemy, and so hee sayled towards the Admirall; being in the head of him, the Spainard made the first shot, but did no great harme; the Admirall *Hemskerke* answered him with two peeces from before, and presently grapled with the Spaniard, letting slippe his anchor.

The Spaniard with the second shotte he made slue a young Gentleman, and the boullet passing on by misfortune strooke of the Admirall *Hemskerkes* left thigh The Admirall Hemskerke slaine. close to his body, where-with hee fell, and the same boullet carried away a gonners hand, where-with he was ready to giue fier. This valiant Admirall fealing death approching, incouraged them that were about him all he could, intreating them to pro- F ceed as they had well begon, and to put an other in his place, then recommending his soule to GOD, hee gaue vp the ghost. And thus this braue Captaine died like a right soldiar in his armes.

In

A In the meane space they shotte so furiously of eyther side, both with their Canon and Muskets, as they could not see for smoake. Captaine *Lambert*, who had charge to second his Admirall (whose death was not knowne vnto the rest, vntill the victory was assured) charged the Spanish Admirall first in poupe, making a great spoile of his men, then hee came in flanke behinde the Admirall *Hemskerke*; annoying the Spaniard all hee could with his Ordinance. It is a hard matter to describe how furiously they did fight on both sides. For although the Estates shippes were not halfe so well manned as their enemies, yet hoping of victorie they did fight like Lions, and partly to bee reuenged of that which the Spaniards had made them suffer, as well in prison, as in their Galleys, and other-wise. 1607.

B When as the Admirall *Hemskerke* went on first to charge the Spanish Admirall, all the other Shippes followed him, according to their direction, the Spanish Vize-Admirall was grappled with, and (after halfe an houres fight) set on fire, during this charge, and as the fire begunne, there was one of the Estates men fetcht downe the Vize-Admirals Flagge, and carryed it into his shippe, for which valiant act hee had fiftie ryals of eight giuen him as the Admirall had promised: but the fire increased in such sort, as the Estates shippes could hardly free themselues from fiering, so as they burnt some part of their sailes: but no man fought to quench the fire in the Spanish Vize-admirall burning downe to the Keele. Such as escaped the fire cast themselues into the water, and were most of them slaine, the rest C were all in a manner taken prisoners. The Spanish Vize-admirall burnt.

A Galleon which lay behinde the Spanish Vize-admirall was also in fight with three of the Estates shippes, after some fight *Lange Hendricke* one of the Estates Captaines was slaine with a Musket shotte. They of the Gallion seeing their Vize-admirals Flagge downe, they presently planted one vpon their missen Mast, but it was soone pulled away by a Hollander, and the Galleon fired, which burnt euen vnto the water: an other Galleon was so plyed with the Canon, as it was soone sunke. A Galleon burnt.

The rest of the Spanish Fleete beeing retired more into the Baye with their Admirall, seeing how the game went, plyed the Hollanders with their Canon, who answered them in like manner, but yet they neuer came to handie blowes, nor to graple, but in the end one of the Spaniards with much shooting, and inconsideratly, set D fire of his owne shippe, which driuing downe, fired an other that was before him; the rest terrified with these fiers, cutte their Cables and ranne on ground, seeking nothing more then to saue their liues. And among others the Lubeck shippe was set on fire.

All this time the Spanish Admirall was in fight with two shippes, which did so plye him with their Ordinance, as hee left shooting, putting forth a white Flagge in signe of a parlee, the which stayed not the batterie. In the meane time, another Galleon being in fight, was set on fire, the men thinking to flie in their boates to their Admirall, who made no more resistance, came vnto the Admirall of Holland. One of the Estates Trumpeters went vp and pulled away the Spanish Ad- E miralls Flagge, for the which hee had a hundred ryalls of eight as the Admirall *Hemskerke* had promised. The Spanish Admirall being thus vanquished, hauing lost many men, they threw themselues by ten or twelue at a time into the sea seeking their safety by swimming, but the Hollanders being in their boates slue all they met withall in their furie, so as the dead carcases did lye floating in the Baye, as if it had beene in a champian field. This battaile began about three of the clock in the after noone, and ended foure houres after in the euening, when as the Estates had a full and absolute victorie. This hardie and dangerous battaile was attempted by the valour and great resolution of the Admirall *Hemskerke*, and happily ended by ten or twelue shippes at the F most. The next day morning the Spanish Admirall being runne a ground vpon the Sandes, they of the towne went forth, cut downe her maine Mast, & then set fire on her, easing the Hollanders of that paine. The Spanish Admirall offers so yeeld. The Estates win the battaile.

It was an admirable and fearefull thing to see these Gallions and shippes burne, especially when the fire came to the poulder, then it was like vnto a horrible thunder,

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1607. The Sea and land were couered with smoake for a long time, like thicke cloudes which mounted vp to heauen. A

Besides the Admiralls *Gallion* there were fiue others burnt, with an other great shippe of warre which the Spaniards had taken at Sea, and that of Lubecke: There was an other Gallion sunke, the other two ranne a ground, the which were so battered and torne as they were not fitte for any more seruice. There was also run a shoare a French shippe, that of Roterdam, and one of Enchusen, and al the rest of the Spaniards ships of war were run a ground here and there neere vnto the shoare.

Their losse of shippes.

There were not aboue fifty Spaniards prisoners, who confest that there were 4000. men in their armie, of the which there were 2000. lost at the battayle, among the which was their Admirall, and many other Captaines and Gentlemen, whose names could not be recouered. Among the prisoners was *Don Iohn Aluarez D'Auila* the Admirals sonne who was carryed into Holland. Of the Hollanders side, the Admirall Hemskerke was slaine at the first charge, with some 100. men, and about 60. hurt. B

Their losse of men.

On the 26. day the Estates ships withdrew them-selues a little from the towne and Castle, and drest their hurt men, as well as they could: during their abode there, they might see many soldiers both horse and foote vppon the sands, running towards Gibraltar, for they did confidently beleeue that the Estates men would make an attempt to spoile the towne, where they were in such feare, as they began to pack vp their baggage, and to flye away.

On the seauen and twentith day the Estates armie past ouer to the Coast of Barbarie, saying so neere the Towne of Ceuta and other places belonging vnto the King of Spaine, as they shotte at the shippes, many of them beeing on horse backe fearing their descent. But they past on vntill they came vnto the Rode of Tituan, a strong Towne fiue Leagues from Ceuta, belonging to the Moores, there to repare their shippes which had beene spoiled with the Canon: comming before the towne they were curteously intertained: The Gouernor with many Turkish Gentlemen, went aboard to welcome them, offering them all friendship and assistance, and sending Oranges and Lymons, with diuers other sort of fruites to refresh them, shewing great signes of ioy for their victory. Those that were a shoare were much honoured of all men. The Gouernor offered to lend them good numbers of horse and foote, if with their ships they would attempt any thing vppon Ceuta, but they excused them-selues vpon other disseignes. C D

Their shippes beeing well repayred, and all things in good order, the Vice-Admiral *Alteras* was made Admirall, and *Peter Werhoef* was Vice-Admirall: then they tooke councell which way they might annoy the enemie more: in the end they concluded that the Vice-Admiral with part of the Fleete should go to the Islands to seeke their aduenture, and the Admirall with the rest should lye vppon the Coastes of Spaine and Portugall, and two of their victuallers with a shippe of warre, should carry backe the Admirall *Hemskerkes* body imbalmed into Holland, who arriued at Amsterdam the fift of June, where three daies after hee was interred with an honourable Military pomp, as his loyaltie and great seruices done vnto his countrie had well deserued: his body was carryed by twelue Captaines, beeing accompanied with all rites and Ceremonies belonging vnto such a Commander, and followed by the Councell of the Admiraltie, Magistrates of the townes, Collonels, Councel at war, Captaines, Officers, Gentlemen, Marchants aduenturers to the East Indies, with al the chief Burgers of the towne, in very good order. E

The resolution of the Estates ships after the battaile.

The Admiral Hemskerke buried at Amsterdam.

The generall Estates for a perpetual memorie of his seruices, caused a goodly tombe to be built vp for him, with his armes ouer it, and on the West side there was a faire table of Iette, in the which were grauen in golden letters, the painful voyages and vertuous acts done by him in his life time. F

Mounsier Hurt and master Iohn Geuart make an offer of peace or truce to Holland.

It had long beene sought and practised in the Netherlands how to attaine vnto a Truce or surceance from armes, but the Vnited Prouinces remembring what happened to *Sextus Pompeius*, sonne to *Pompeius* the great vpon his Treatie with the Emperour *Augustus*, they alwayes feared it, yet at the last it brake

A brake forth after a ſtrange manner. In May 1606. *Monſieur Walraue van Wittenhorſt*, 1607.
Droſſart of the land of Keſſel, came for that purpoſe to the Hage in Holland, but as then he could effect nothing touching the ſame, nor yet once haue audience granted him: after that in December following he came into Holland againe with one maiſter *Iohn Geuart* Licenciate in the lawes, and Secretarie of Tournhout, making knowne to ſome of the Eſtates that they had inſtructions dated In May, containing that the Archdukes were wholy addicted, to ceaſe the long continued bloudy warres, and to reduce the countrie vnto a good peace, vpon ſuch reaſonable conditions, as the Prouinces ſhould be well content there-with, which was, that they knew the vprightneſſe of their intents, and that they deſired nothing elſe but that which was their owne, and that
B therefore they were content that the Eſtates themſelues ſhould aske what they thought conuenient to demand of them for their owne ſecurities, wherein they would giue them all reaſonable ſatisfaction, and that if they would hearken therevnto, or to a truce for many yeares, they ſhould appoint time and place, and they would agree there-vnto, yea although they thought it not good to haue it openly done, but ſecretly, and by few men there-vnto appointed, and that their meaning was not to circumuent them, &c.

Beſides this the Archdukes had written a letter of the 12. of December 1606. that they had once againe ſent the Gentlemen aforeſaid into Holland, to make an offer of a treatie of peace, and that if they were more addicted to a truce then to a peace, they ſhould certifie their mindes therein. The Archdukes (in regard of their great affection
C & deſire to peace) might willingly hearken there-vnto. Wher-vpon they began to deale priuatlie one with an other, but for that they had no letters directed vnto the generall Eſtates, they thought it not good to make the matter openly knowne, before they had further commiſſion from the Archdukes, for which cauſe in December, the ſayd *Geuarts* went in all haſt to Bruſſels, & from thence brought a Commiſſion from the Archdukes, bearing date the third of Ianuary 1607. containing a charge impoſed vpon the ſaid *Monſieur Van Horſt*, and Secretary *Geuarts*, that they at the firſt aſſembly of the Eſtates, ſhould in their behalfe ſignifie vnto them, that they were ready to hearken vnto a peace, and for the treating thereof, were content to appoint Commiſſioners, & to giue the Eſtates all reaſonable contentment, or that if they would rather hearken vnto a
D truce, that the Archdukes were alſo content to do it, for ſuch time as ſhould be agreed vpon. Who being come vnto the Hage vpon the ninth of Ianuary with this Commiſſion, they preſently began to craue audience for the ſame of the generall Eſtates, and vpon the tenth of Ianuary they ſpake with Prince *Maurice*: and after that vpon the thirteenth of Ianuary, they had audience giuen them by the generall Eſtates, where they declared the effect of their charge and commiſſion, deſiring the Eſtates withall to remember and call to minde the doubtfull euents of warre, and there-vpon to diſpoſe themſelues to a good peace or truce, thereby to reduce the countries vnto quietneſſe and to their ancient proſperitie, &c.

The States anſwer to the Archdukes Commiſſioners touching peace.

Where-vnto, vpon the ſeauen and twenty of Ianuary, anſwer was made them, (after
E ſome rehearſall of that which had paſt in former times) that the Eſtates perceiued that the Arch-dukes ſtill continued in their groundleſſe pretences, of hauing right and lawfull title vnto the vnited Prouinces; whereas they affirmed before all the world, and know it to be euident and apparent, that there was no manner of title to be pretended by the ſaid Archdukes vnto the ſaid vnited Prouinces, but onely by force and bloodie warres, and that to the contrary the ſayd generall Eſtates, vpon good and lawfull pretences by them alwayes held and maintained, and without doubt preſume the ſame to bee grounded vpon right and reaſon; and to the vnitie made amongſt the ſayd Netherland Prouinces, hoping once againe to reduce and ioyne all that which
F by force and practiſes had beene taken from the ſayd vnion, with violation of the ſolemne decree, whereby the Netherlands, by ſo inuincible and lawfull reaſons, are declared to bee a free ſtate, which decree from the fiue and twenty of Ianuary 1582. thetherwards by diuerſe publike acts and declarations, and by the mightieſt Kings and Potentates of Europe had beene confirmed. And for that cauſe they had determined to

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1607. endeuour with all the force and power they could make, to recouer the same, and that A
as then for that time they could giue no further answer therein, then such as in former
times they had made to the Emperors Maiestie and other Princes, which was, that
they held it for a Maxime, that they could not by any godly, honourable, nor as-
sured meanes, deale with those that contrary to the aforesaid decree, maintained and
would affirme them-selues to haue right vnto the vnited Prouinces, or that continued in
the said pretence, protesting against al the wrongs that the said Prouinces or members
thereof, in proceeding with so lawful a cause might sustaine therereby. Here-with the
said Commissioners departed, to make report of their proceedings, after which time
the said Mounsier *van Horst* wrot a letter vnto the Estates to certefie thē that the mea-
ning & intent of the Arch-dukes was not, by that treaty to get or pretēd any aduantage B
vpon or against the vnited Prouinces, but to let them remain as they are, & that if they
were content to treat in that manner, he would be content to hearken there-vnto, as be-
Iohn Neyen provinciall of the Fryers sent into Holland to treat of a peace in the Arch-dukes behalfe. ing ready to do it. In the end of February, one *Iohn Neyen* Prouincial for the Franciscan
Friers (son to *Marten Neyen* who had bin wel acquainted with *William* Prince of Orāge)
came from Brussels into Holland, as Deputy from the Arch-dukes; who at his first com-
ming staid very quietly at Rysswicke, from whence he certefied the reason of his com-
ming; which was to know the cause why the proceedings of Mounsieur *van Horst* tooke
no effect, and after that he had particularly spoken with Prince *Maurice*, he had licence
to come to the Hage, where he had conference with diuers persons, and also had audi-
ence of Prince *Maurice*, to whom he said that the Arch-dukes meaning was not, by the C
treatie of truce or peace to make or strengthen his title better, nor yet worse, but to
treat with the Estates in such qualitie as they were. Where-vpon it being giuen him
to vnderstand, that the Arch-dukes must acknowledge that State to be a free State, be-
fore they could enter into any treatie with him, the said Frier *Iohn Neyen* took vpon him
to bring the Arch-dukes there-vnto, thereby to shun al further blood-shed &c. And to
that end vpon the 9. of March he departed in Prince *Maurices* Pinnace, and went to the
Scheld and so to Antwerp. A fit man to deale with a free nation, being eloquent and wel
spoken, and (in outward apparance) simple and without deceipt.

By the mediation of this Deputie imployed by the Arch-dukes (who vppon the 17. of March returned to the Hage againe) it was so wrought on both sides, as they resol- D
ued to proceed to a treatie, vpon the receit of this declaration following.

The Arch-dukes declaration touching the freedomes of the vnited Prouinces and their desire to enter into a treaty of peace.

„ The Arch-dukes haue thought it conuenient to certefie the generall Estates of the
„ vnited Prouinces, of their offer, which is, that they (desiring nothing more, then to see
„ the Netherlands togither with the good inhabitants of the same, free from the miseries
„ of these bloody wars) vpon good deliberation declare by these presents, that they are
„ content to treat with the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, in qualitie, and
„ holding them for free countries, Prouinces & States, where-vnto they pretend not any
„ title: whether it be by way of perpetual peace, or truce, and abstinance from armes for
„ 12. 15. or 20. yeares, at the choyce of the said Estates; al vpon reasonable conditions.
„ In the which conditions, whether it be by conclusion of a general peace, or a truce and E
„ abstinance from wars, it shall be agreed that each partie shal hold that he hath, vnlesse
„ that by them & the Estates (thereby to accommodate the Prouinces by exchanging of
„ any townes and places) by a common consent it shal be otherwise agreed vpon: as also
„ concerning the manner and assuring of mutuall nauigation, trafficke, commerce
„ with their dependances, togither with their interuentions, consents and confirmations
„ of that which shal be granted and concluded vpon: and further hauing duly considered
„ of the Estate and scituation of the vnited Prouinces, and desiring to deale sincerely and
„ without deceipt with them, as also to giue the sayd Estates time to consider and resolue
„ vpon that which shall bee most conuenient for their good and best preferment. They
„ are content that such persons as are borne in the Netherlands & by them to be appoin- F
„ ted as Deputies, shall be assembled with the like number of Deputies appointed by the
„ said States, at such time & place, as the said States shal chuse: and that the things before
„ mentioned may the better be performed, whether it be by a continuall peace or a truce
„ for a time, they are content that for the space of eight moneths next insuing, there shal

bee

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A be a truce and abstinance from all beseegings or surprizings of townes and fortes, in- 1607.
uasions or taking of prouinces or quarters, or making of new sconces, so that the Estates "
aforesaid will agree vnto this prouisionall truce, within eight daies after the sight heere- "
of, and before the first of September next insuing, deliuer their mindes in writing (tou- "
ching the truce aforesaid, togither with the time and place which they shall chuse) vn- "
to the said Arch-dukes. Dated in Brusselles vnder the hands and seales of their High- "
nesses, the 13. of March. 1607.

Where-vnto the Generall Estates made answer by an other declaration as followeth.

The generall Estates as States of free Countries and Prouinces, (wherevnto the "
B Arch-dukes pretend no title at all) desiring also nothing more, then to settle a chris- "
tian, honourable and an assured end and release of the miseries of this warre, vppon "
due deliberation, and by the aduice of his Excellencie, and the Councell of Estate, "
haue accepted of the declaration made by the said Arch-dukes, who therein declare "
the aforesaid vnited Prouinces, to bee free countries, where-vnto they pretend not "
any title, as also of the truce and abstinance of armes (for the time of eight moneths "
next insuing, beginning the fourth day of Maie) from all beseeging and surprizing "
of townes or fortes, inuading or taking of Prouinces or quarters, with the making "
of new sconces, and doe in like manner allow of the offers, and presentations made "
by the Arch-dukes, concerning the communicating and report to bee giuen vnto "
C those to whome it appertayneth, and to certefie the same by writing vnto the sayd "
Arch-dukes &c. Before the first of September next insuing: so that the said Arch- "
dukes &c. on the one side, and the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces in quali- "
tie as aforesaid on the other side, haue faithfully promised, and by these presents "
doe promise to hold and maintaine the said declarations and prouisionall truce, "
and to restore and repaire all wrongs directly or indirectly done, in or concerning "
the same: and the said Arch-dukes &c. promise within 3. moneths next insuing, to pro- "
cure the like consent and agreation touching this matter from the King of Spaine, for as "
much as concerneth him, and to deliuer the same vnto the said generall Estates, to- "
gither with all generall or particular renunciations and the assurances belonging "
there-vnto. In witnesse whereof there were two writings made both of one tenor, "
D signed and sealed by the Arch-dukes, togither with the common and accustomed "
signature of their Secretarie, and by the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, in the qua- "
litie aforesaid, sealed with their great Seale, and subsigned by their Secretary, giuen "
in Brussels, & at the Hage the 24. of Aprill, 1607. vnderneath there stood, I *Iohn Neyen* "
Commissarie general haue signed these presents, and I *C. Aertsens*, as Deputie for the "
generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces. This was done vpon the 10. 11. 12. of April, "
but so that vppon the 24. of Aprill, letters of assurance were to bee deliuered on both "
sides, vnder their great Seales, the cõtents, words, sillables & distinctions agreeing with "
the Act aforesaid; they were so dated as aforesaid, that they might both agree, & there "
with the Monke vpon the 13. of Aprill went to Brusselles, and was by Prince *Maurices* "
E Pinnace brought to Delfs Hauen. This agreement was with all speed first certefied vn- "
to the Gouernors of townes, and forts in Holland; and vpon the 13. of Aprill the decla- "
ration insuing was sent vnto euery particular Prouince and towne, commanding a ge- "
neral day of praier & fasting to be made throughout al the country vpon the 9. of Maie "
following. Against the 24. of April the general Estates sent their commission of agree- "
mẽt & accord vnto Lillo, vpon the conclusion of a truce made for 8. moneths, by their "
Commissarie *Dericke vander Does*, there to deliuer it vpon the receipt of the like com- "
mission sent from the Arch-dukes, to which end also the Frier came to Lillo, hauing set "
downe the same agreement vnder the act of commission: but for that *Vander Does* made "
F some doubt to receaue the same in that manner, the Fryer rode in al hast to Brussels, "
to haue it made in the same order as the Estates had done theirs, and therein vsed "
such expedition, as it was effected on the eight and twentith day of Aprill: the com- "
missions and agreements were deliuered on both sides, at which time *Verdoes* had a "
chain of gold giuen him for a reward frõ the Arch dukes, but for that the said Frier *Iohn* "

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1607. *Nayen* had commission to make some further explication of the said treatie and truce for eight moneths, hee desired to go to the Hage, where-vnto *Verdoes* had no commission, but finding that he had no answer of his letters sent vnto the Estates, he tooke the sayd Fryer *Iohn Nayen* to the Hage with him, where (after some consultation) vppon the eighth day of Maie, hee had audience of the Estates, and had further conference with them about the interpretation of the truce, and there-vppon they concluded vppon an other Act, bearing date the first of Iune, declaring thereby that the truce concluded for eight moneths should also hold good in the North Seas, and in the Chanell betweene France and England, to the Sorlinghs, which should begin the fourteenth of Iune, from the which time all prizes (not beeing shippes of warre) should bee restored againe: That after that the King of Spaines agreation should bee sent out of Spaine, all the shippes of warre should bee commanded to depart from the Coast of Spaine, and that all prizes taken there within sixe weekes after that, should bee restored againe: and that during the truce, the places following on the States sides, should bee free from all inuasions or incursions what-soeuer, *Viz.* the Emes, Dullaret, the country of Wedde, Drente, Couoerden, the Riuer Vande-vechte to Beeumund bridge, the Newe-vecht to Swoll, from Swoll to Koten, from Koten downe the Isell to Isleoort, and the countries North and Westward lying behinde them, from Isleoprt to the Rhyne as farre as Grauen-weert and the Countrie lying on that side West-ward from the said towne of Grauenweert along the wall to Gorcum, and the countries lying North and West, the Meuse from the Towne of Graue to Gheertrudenbergh and all the countries lying Northward on that side the Merweed, and further all streames and waters betweene Holland and Zealand, with the Islands seperated by ebbes and floodes, with Lillo and Scluse, both to bee included: and on the Arch-dukes side, the Countries of Luxembourgh, Namur, and all the Countries lying beyond them, and in Brabant all that lyeth beyond the Dummer and Grethe to the Schelde, In Flanders all that lyeth beyond the Leye, passing ouer the small Riuer of Mande, beyond Roetselad to Dixmuden and Nieuport, and so to the Sea, within the which limits no hostilitie should bee vsed, but what wrong soeuer was done should be recompenced and restored againe; but without the said limits no man should trauell without a passeport, and that the soldiers might freely passe along not making any armies, neither might they surprize any townes or places. And therewith the Fryer vppon the 5. of Iune departed from the Hage, hauing offered to Secretarie *Arteſens* a good present, but he would not accept thereof, vnlesse he had lycence so to do from the Estates and Prince *Maurice*.

Heere-vppon throughout all the whole Netherlands there was great ioy, euery man hoping, wishing and praying, to bee once released from these long and bloody warres: the report thereof beeing spred abroad in the neighbour countries, it moued great admiration at such a sodaine truce, and bred much suspition, all men wondring much what might bee the cause that moued them there-vnto: Men could not bee perswaded that the Arch-dukes would so much imbase them-selues, neither yet the vnited Prouinces; as to seeke it, or that the one should offer so much, and the other giue credit there-vnto: But it was so secretly done, as it bred great admiration, for that no King nor Prince heard thereof, neither by their Ambassadours nor messengers, for in Holland few had to doe there-with, and at Brusselles only the Arch-dukes, *Spinola*, the President *Richardot* and *Vereycken* the Secretary, and some few others knew thereof. Where-vpon the Nobilitie and the Councels of particular Prouinces complained much that they were not made acquainted therewith. The like also was done in the Netherlands, where it was said that the French King sought to agree with the Estates concerning the taking of the Soueraigntie of the vnited Prouinces into his hands, which the vnited Prouinces would not yeeld vnto, only they thought it good to put certayne townes into his hands, for his securitie, thereby to procure further ayd from him.

The French King sent Ambassadors into the vnited prouinces.

For this cause the French King sent the President *Ianin*, Mounsier de Roussy, and Mounsier *Buzenuall* as Ambassadours into the vnited Prouinces, who arriued there vppon

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A vpon the foure and twenty day of May, and vpon the eight and twenty of the same month had audience, where first, they showed what aide their King had giuen vnto the vnited Prouinces, and then they complained that the Estates had delt so secretly with their enemy concerning a truce, without their Kings aduice, offering withall their Kings fauor and further aide vnto them, with a presentation of an ordinary prouision to aide them, as long as they continued warre, or if they made a peace, that hee might deliuer his aduise therein, and giue consent to the effecting thereof. To which end they desired them to appoint certaine deputies on their behalfes, that might treate with them touching all causes, not onely concerning the Estate of the countrie, and the meanes thereof, but also touching the reasons and considerations, that might bee B most necessary and conuenient to be propounded in the treaty of peace, and best to preserue their Estate in freedome. Wherevnto there were certaine committies appointed out of euery Prouince, as for Holland Mounsieur *Barneuelt*, for Zeland Mounsieur *de Maeldere*, & so of other Prouinces, who vpon the 29. of May with Mounsieur *de Beye*, the treasorer (hauing full instruction) they began to conferre with the French ambassadors, and concluded that they should stay there, in the Kings behalfe to aide them in the treaty of peace, and to further the same. The like aide and assistance they desired of the King of England, who willed them first to send certaine deputies vnto him to giue him full instructions of their Estate, and meanes, to which end in Iuly they sent *Iohn Berck* counselor, and pentionar of the towne of Dort for Holland, and for Zeland Sir *Iacob van* C *Maldere* knight, into England, accompanied with their ordinary ambasador Sir *Noel Caron* who vpon the 16. day of Iuly had priuat audience of the King, and after that seuerall times of his councell, beeing well and honorably entertained and feasted in euery place, especially in London, with the King and the Prince at Marchant-taylors hall, where they were honored with certaine freedomes belonging vnto the sayd company of Marchant-taylors, whereby did appeere the old mutuall affection, and inward contracts of friendship made betweene the Netherlands and the Realme of England, at last they tooke their leaues, of the King and the Prince, with satisfaction according to their desires, and promise from the King, to aide the vnited prouinces both with counsell and otherwise especially in their proceeding with the treatie of peace; promising to send Sir *Richard Spencer* and Sir *Raphe Winwood* ambassadors into the vnited Pro- D uinces, and so the ambassadors (hauing either of them a chaine of gold giuen them, one of them being also made knight) tooke shipping and vpon the tenth day of August ariued in Zeeland.

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The States of the vnited Prouinces sent ambassadors into England.

I showed before that within three monethes, the King of Spaines agreation of the truce made for eight monthes was to bee brought vnto the Estates out of Spaine: and to that end the Archdukes vsed all the dilligence they could, to procure the same; which at the last was obtained, and vpon the sixteene day of Iuly *Spinola* wrot vnto the Estates of the vnited Prouinces to certifie them that his Secretary *Birago* had brought the said agreation out of Spaine, desiring a pasport for Mounsieur *Vereycken* to come into Holland, to deliuer the sayd agreations, and withall to proceed to some pointes E touching the treatie in hand: which letter vpon the eight day of Iulie was by *Spinolaes* trumpet brought to the Hage, and the next day a pasport was made accordingly, whereby the sayd *Vereycken* vpon the foure and twenty day of Iulie came to the Hage, and that daie had audience of the generall Estates, where hee shewed them the King of Spaines agreation, placed vnder the acts made the foure and twenty day of Aprill and the first of Iune, written in Spanish, bearing date the last of Iune: the contents thereof being that his Maiesty hauing seene, the contents of those acts, sent him by his deare brother and sister, the Archdukes *Albertus* and the Infanta *Clara Eugenia*, Princes and soueraigne Lords of the Netherlands, touching the truce and abstinance from armes F for the space of eight monthes, with ceasing from surprising of all townes and forts, inuading of countries, and making of new forts, during the said time, as also of an intent on both sides to cause certaine deputies to assemble together about the concluding of a generall peace, or long truce, as the same at large declareth, hauing well and duelie considered thereof, declareth, that not to restraine, withhold nor any

The King of Spaines agreation sent vnto the vnited Prouinces.

waies

1607. wayes to hinder the good that is to be expected thereby, hee not onely hath commended, approued, and ratified the aforesaid abstinance from armes, and by these presents doth commend, approue, ratifie and confirme in all points the said abstinance from armes, as much as it concerneth him, promising vpon his Princely word and faith, to hold and maintaine the same in euery point, as well as if he had consented therevnto at the first, and that the matter had beene begun and treated by his consent and authoritie, without any contradiction of the same. In witnesse whereof he had signed the same, & sealed it with his seale, dated in Valiodolid the first of Iune. That which stood vnder the act of the first of Iune, was of the same substance and almost *verbatim*, as neere as might bee, but both the acts vnder the which those agreations stood, were written in French, wherein (especially in the acte of the foure and twenty of Aprill) in the chiefest and most substanciall clause, there was forgotten or left out these words. *Vnies en qualite, et comme les tenans pour pais, prouinces, &c.* The aforesaid agreation being also written in paper, sealed with the small seale, and signed *Io el Rey*: and to auoide all further difficulties, a motion was made that the Estates would countermaund and eall home all their shippes of warre from the coast of Spaine. The Estates for their partes disliked much, that by the said agreation the Arch-dukes should bee termed Soueraigne Lordes of all the Netherlands, and withall they found out the aforesayd error, not knowing whether ignorantly or of purpose it had beene so omitted; and there-vpon they showed him with what abuse such a fault had beene committed in the principall acte, which hee confessed to haue beene perceiued and found out also in Brussels, saying, that it was but the writers fault, who in coppying the same, negligently omitted a whole line; and for that the agreation was generall, the Arch-dukes thought good to send it, onely to let them know what diligence they had vsed therein; promising faithfully, if they would content them-selues there-with, that it should bee presently procured, if the Estates would desire it: neuer-the-lesse, hee desired sixe dayes respite to write vnto Brussels, and from thence to receiue further Commission, which was granted him: and there-vpon hauing receiued the same, vpon the second of August, hee promised the Estates to cause the sayd agreation to bee made in an other forme, and that therefore they had reason to bee satisfied for that time, seeing that the Arch-dukes had written into Spaine, to certifie the King of the difficultie therein, insisting with-all to haue a resolution from the Estates, to countermaund their shippes from the coast of Spaine, and that they would vouchsafe to pleasure the Archdukes therein.

Here-vpon certaine dayes were spent in consultation, and diuerse conferences were had with the sayd *Veryken*, and at the last vppon the eight of August, an answer was giuen him by word of mouth, and afterwards deliuered him in writing, containing, that the Estates declared and held the respectiue agreation to bee imperfect and defectiue, not onely in qualitie and forme, but also in the substance thereof, for that so many words were left out, that it was not written in French, nor signed by the King, nor yet sealed with his great seale, as also not containing an agreation of the whole proceedings, but restrained onely to certaine points, and that they made no mention of the approouing and declaration of the freedome of the vnited Prouinces, as the Arch-dukes had done, and that therefore touching the rest of the propositions, they could make no further declaration, before the first of September next ensuing, and therefore they deliuered him a writing in Dutch, French and Latin, whereby they showed that they vnderstood that the King was to make the agreation before they could enter into any further treatie, and that therefore to make a further declaration, as much time would bee spent, as had past before from the foure and twentie daie of Iulie to the first of September, and that neuertheless they were content in honour of the Archduke, to countermaund all their shippes of warre from the coast of Spaine, and that truly and effectually, and that all the prizes by them taken within the space of sixe weekes, beginning vpon the foure and twenty of Iuly should not bee allowed for good, but should bee restored againe.

with

A the which answere the sayd *Vereycken* vpon the twelfth day of August went to Brussels. 1607.

The truce continewing for eight monthes aforesaid both by sea and by land, both for Spaine and the Netherlands, it gaue a great hope to all the country people, that the matter would in the end bee brought to a peace or a long truce, but some men of good iudgement held it to be a matter of greater difficulty, and that it was so ernestly followed on either side, that so they might get some aduantage, and thereby aduance their owne cause, and that it would not so lightly, nor without more rumor bee ended on either side.

Whilest this businesse about peace, or truce was in hand, and that the Neighbour
B Kings and Princes, with the countries of Iuilliers, Cleaue, Leege, and East Freeseland busied and troubled themselues therewith, many oppinions, conceites, and discourses were made, touching the same. The greater sort, which extol the greatnesse of Spaine could not bee perswaded, nor beleeue, that the Archdukes should euer procure any agreation or consent therevnto from the King of Spaine, in such sort as it was promised, but rather thought, that there was some other meaning and intent: others to the contrary said that the hundred and fiftie mylions which the King had spent, the aboundance of bloud which had beene shed, the great mutenies, great want of money, the King of Spaine finding himselfe continually assailed and compassed about with such strong fleetes at sea, which were likely to take all trade by sea
C from him, or to incomber him much; whereby hee must of force hold the Islands and the Indies fast bound vpon Spaine; with such like difficulties, and other considerations, which might cause that great King to conceiue many doubtes; especially in respect of a great rich company, which the vnited Prouinces were about to make for the West Indies, which should continue for the space of sixe and thirty yeares, wherein some great misterie or secret laie hidde, which might either make his Indies rebell or els they would assaile them in the weakest places, and thereby giue all his treasorors cause of doubt, that his treasure which vseth to come from the Indies would bee cut off, and so giue him no more credit, whereby hee should bee compelled necessarily to fall into greater charges to arme and defend his farre distant Islands, and so by that meanes diuide his power farre a
D sunder. The opinions of the Netherlands, touching the treaty of peace.

They said moreouer that it was wisely, & circumspectly and necessarily done of the King and the Archdukes, willingly to giue ouer and yeelde vp their soueraignite, (as it was giuen forth) to the vnited Prouinces, finding that they were not by any other meanes of perswasions, practises, or power to bee brought to any treatie, for that their weakenesse, or any greater disgrace or losse, which they might chance to haue, might force them to seeke to bee protected by France, in which protection there was great daunger, that at the last they should bee driuen out of all the Prouinces, and therefore they thought it best, to seeke to possesse the better part quietly, with a neighbourly peace, at the least till a more conuenient time, rather then to suffer the
E French King to inrich himselfe with the Netherlands, which would depriue Spaine of all authority, respect, and credit.

The Netherlanders for their partes, (as there are many deepe witted, and prouident men amongst them) could not beleeue, that it was done *bona fide*, and therefore that proceeding was cleane against their mindes, doubting that in the end they should bee forced to fall againe vnder the subiection of the Spaniard, vnder the name of the house of Burgondie, imagining that the ground thereof had beene layd long since, and that the truce or peace was but a breathing vnto them. They could not likewise conceiue, how they should preserue their estate; maintaine the grouernment of the Pro-
F uinces in vnity, withstand all difficulties that might arise: neither yet how to continewe their meanes and taxations, especially if the Archdukes should ease the contry people thereof in their Prouinces; how they should maintaine their authority at sea, if the conuoies and lycences ceased; and holding them still, how the trade of marchandise might bee continewed amongst them, that were wont to Considerations of the Netherlanders touching a peace.

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1607 goe thether, where they were least burthened with exactions: neither how they should keepe souldiars in good order and discipline, not beeing imploied and exercised in armes; nor how religion should bee maintayned in the same estate it was: or how to bring the common people againe to beare armes, when they shal once haue felt a sauor and tast of peace, if it fell out that their aduersary should not hold his word; neither yet how to pay the great debts of the countrie, the paiement whereof is commonly raised by the warres: nor how they that were in gouernment, should bee armed against the Spanish corruptions, which were already discouered, with diuers other things: these were the discourses and reasons of those that were of best and deepest iudgement. A

In the meane time the Netherland fleete was still vpon the coast of Spaine, which men sought to comprehend in the treaty of agreemēt, that they might be called home; that so the fleete in Spaine might freely passe too and fro from the East and West Indies, for that they had beene forst to vnlade some of their shippes which had beene laden for the Indies, and to set them out for men of warre, for the defence of Spaine against the Hollanders, which could not be comprehended in the act of the first of Iune, but it was then consented and granted to countermand the said shippes, as soone as the King of Spaines approbation should be sent, and that in the meane time they should not be releeued, with any new supplies or victualls which was in effect as much as if they were countermanded, for that want of victuals, wold bee an occasion to make them diminish their number and come home againe, not regarding the doubt and suspition which men had in all places, that the King would not fully yeeld to that which had beene concluded, and the rather, for that they made readie shippes of warre in all places of Spaine, as at St Lucars, Cadiz, Lisbon and the Groine, the straights of Gibraltar being full of Gallies, which bred great iealousie, as if they ment to attempt some thing against Ireland, England, the Netherlands, or Embden, others thought they would goe into Barbarie, or to Alarach. At Duynkerke in Flanders they made great hast to build the ten great shippes, (part of the thirty which they had vndertaken to make,) whereon they set fiue hundred men on worke, being Spaniards, Italians and Netherlanders, each man his seuerall worke, some of them beeing of 200. tonne, the least was of a hundred and fiftie tonnes, but by the answere of the eight day of August, it was consented, to countermand the aforesayd fleete, and that after the time then set downe, they should take no more prizes, and therefore many men thought they would soone come home. B C D

Great preparation of ships of warre in Spaine.

The mutinous souldiers vnder the Archdukes made many incursions in the country, the Archduke seeking all the meanes hee could to pacefie them, and in August hee got grant of sixe hundred thousand duckets, to bee paid by a hundred thousand ducketsa month for the space of sixe monthes, (which had long beene promised) to pay the souldiers withall the Archduke also sought to discharge all his vnnecessary troupes, as Wallons and others. The Spaniards and Italians were put in garrison in seuerall places, and a great part of them at Dornick, where they were some what strictly lookt vnto, and might not increase their numbers, for that when they were desirous to goe out of the towne, euery one had a token of lead giuen him, without the which no man might enter into the towne: at Cortrick also there were two or three hundred, & more in other places, the richest townes gaue money to be vnburthened of garrisons, the vnited Prouinces also discharged many of their souldiers, such as they might spare, as Englishmen and some high Duches, which wanted many of their number, they also discharged many ships of all sorts, but they beganne to prepare some ships for the East Indies, thereby to continue and assure that trade. E

The ships of Emden arested in Spaine.

This yeare many shippes sailed out of Embden to Italy and Spaine, which in Spaine and Portingall were most staied and arested, vnder some pretence, either that they were partners with the Hollanders or els rebels against their Earle, from whom notwithstanding they had letters of lycence, testimonialls, or atestations, but that would not serue their turnes vnlesse they brought particular letters from the Earle, otherwise they were esteemed to be gotten by force, and fauour of the Hollanders or Englishmen; some of them notwithstanding were set at libertie, but the rest to the number of thirty F

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A which (were many for one towne) were hardly intreated, and the men put into the gal- 1607.
lies, others were compelled to ſerue the king there in his warre or in his ſhippes which
went to the Indies and Breſill. Theſe newes cauſed a great vprore in Emden amongſt
the common people, for the loſſe of their ſea-faring men, whereof many had wiues and
children in the country, which made a great aſſembly of women and children about
the magiſtrate: The Earle himſelfe came thether with certaine Lords his friends, which
bred a ſuſpition, that he ſought to cauſe ſome tumult, his bretheren Earle *Chriſtopher*
and Earle *Iohn* being both with him, with the garriſon of Linphen, where-vpon the
vnited Prouinces ſent about two thouſand men thether, the which were lodged in the
ſuburbes of Emden and there abouts, and withall they ſent a trumpet to the Earle,
B with a letter as followeth.

Right Honorable; our actions haue giuen a ſufficient teſtimonie, with what a ſin- "
cere intention, wee haue euer laboured (to our great trouble and charge) and doe "
ſtill continue, to reconcile all controuerſies and diſlike betwixt your honorable father "
Earle *Edzard*, your ſelfe, and the Eſtates of Eaſt-Friſeland: when as in the yeare "
1595. by the contract made in Delfzile, at the requeſt of your ſaid father, your "
ſelfe, and the Eſtates of Eaſt-Friſeland, wee had vnder-taken and bound our ſelues "
to bee Vmpiers therein, your Lordſhippe knowes that in the yeare of our Lord "
1603. at the making of the contract at the Hage, at the inſtant requeſt of the De- "
puties of the towne of Emden, by your Lordſhipps conſent, and good liking, we once "
C againe bound our ſelues to maintaine the ſame, and to oppoſe our ſelues againſt all "
contradiction, and alſo that in the treaty at the laſt meeting of the Eſtates of Germany, "
vpon the laſt of Nouember, by the interceſſion of Sir *Ralfe Winwood* Ambaſſador for "
the King of England, and our Deputies, in the behalfe of the ſaid Kings Maieſtie and vs, "
it was agreed that if any thing were done contrary vnto the ſame, that ſome order "
ſhould preſently bee taken therein. "

Know yee therefore my Lord, that wee beeing certainely informed that by your "
honors meanes and directions, not one penny of money will bee had towards the "
payment of the garriſon within the Towne of Embden; that through want of pay, "
the garriſon might bee brought into a mutine, and ſo the Towne of Embden fall "
D into a tumult: beſides that by your Lordſhippes meanes, the contributions which "
are willingly granted by the country are not come to the hands of the appointed rent- "
maiſter, for the cauſes where-vnto they are aſſigned (according to the generall reſo- "
lution). That your honor alſo hath made many enterpriſes, and cauſed them to bee "
executed, without the conſent of the country, contrary to the Emperors reſolution, "
and the former contracts: and alſo that it is confidently ſpoken in Embden, that by "
your honors direction, a great number of ſhippes which ſayled into Spaine, are "
there arreſted, their goods attached, and the men committed to priſon, and hard- "
ly intreated: and alſo that by your honors permiſſion, the ſoldiers of the garriſons of "
Linghen, and ſuch like places in the Earldome of Eaſt-Freeſeland, haue runne "
E through the ſaid country, and committed great inſolencies againſt the Inhabitants "
thereof, taking diuers of the townes men of Embden priſoners, all directly againſt "
the ſaid contracts. Seeing then that by vertue of our contract made with your honor, "
wee are determined to take the ſaid matter in hand, and to preuent all dangers which "
may enſue in the like; Wee haue thought it good, to ſend you this letter by our "
Trumpet, earneſtly deſiring, that your honor for the reparation of things that are "
amiſſe, and of all other inconueniences, would preſently, or at the furtheſt within "
foureteene dayes after the receipt hereof, giue order without any further delay, that "
there may bee fortie thouſand Gildens prepared, towards the payment of the garri- "
ſon of Embden: and that the money riſing of the willing contributions, may bee de- "
F liuered into the hands of the rent-maiſter, and left with him, to bee imployed for "
ſuch vſes as it is appointed, according to the reſolution: that all enterpriſes made in "
the countrie, without the lawfull conſent of the Eſtates, ſhall bee forborne and not "
attempted, and that which hath beene wrongfully taken from any man, and without "
conſent, reſtored: that alſo without delaye, your honor will preſently doe your beſt "

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1607. „ indeuour, for the discharging of the Ships, Saylers, and other persons of Embden, A
„ which are stayed and imprisoned in Spaine. And lastly, that the souldiers of Linghen
„ and such like places, may bee kept out of the Earledome of East-Freezeland: which
„ if your honor faileth to doe, wee declare our selues guiltlesse of that which wee shall
„ bee (to our great griefe) forced to doe, beeing the necessarie meanes to vrge your
„ honor to reason, and to maintaine your honorable promises, and to prevent all future
„ troubles and inconueniences, desiring nothing else, but that which shall bee fitte for
„ your honor and your subiects good, well-fare, and quietnesse, as knoweth GOD,
„ whom wee beseech to inspire your Lordships heart with some good motions, for
„ the well-fare of your selfe and your subiects. From the Hage the third of Iuly,
„ 1607. &c. B

Herevpon ensued no great effects, but that the Earle of East-Freezeland sent *Hans Hendricke Stamler*, to make complaint thereof vnto the King of England, and to craue his intercession vnto the Estates of the vnited prouinces, to stay them from any forceable proceedings, from whome hee receiued a fauourable answere: and to the Hage he sent Doctor *Dothia Wyarda*, some-times Sindick of the towne of Embden; *Monsieur van Kinphausen*, and Doctor *Thomas Francius*, who excused the Earle, and sayd, that hee desired to obserue the contracts and agreements made, and had giuen no cause to the contrary vnto them of Embden, but that they had conceiued a needlesse feare, which proceeded from their owne guilty consciences, which had made them to send C for souldiers, with some other friuolous allegations. The towne of Embden (for the furtherance of their cause, and to moove the Estates to proceed in their desseigne) sent *Vbbo Reinets* their Burgomaister and Sindick, *Samuell van Winghene* councellor, and *Daniell Althingh* Secretarie, in regarde they found that the Earle intended to keepe them in continuall alarme, and to put them vnto great charges, and by that meanes to bring them into debt, and so to drawe the Burgers vnto him: With them they brought diuerse Letters of licence, giuen by the Earle vnto the Saylers of Embden bearing date in Elens the sixt, and the thirteenth of February; one contradicting another, and some beeing of no force, vnlesse they shewed other particular letters: but at the last euery thing was ended and ordered by the generall Estates, with ad- D monition vnto them (according to the contracts) to liue in vnitie and peace, and the towne put in hope that the Estates would bee carefull of their good and preseruation.

Presents offered vnto Artsens by Fryar Iohn Nayen.

Vpon the twelfe of May, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand sixe hundred and seauen, when Fryer *Iohn Nayen* the Commissioner for the King of Spaine, was vpon his returne towards Brussels, before his departure out of Holland, hee wrote a letter secretly vnto *Cornelis Artesens* Secretarie to the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, desiring to speake with him, his wife, or sonne, before hee went out of Holland, and withall appointed him a secret place of meeting: *Artesens* vpon the receite of this Letter (suspecting they would seeke to corrupt him with some presents) E went presently to Prince *Maurice*, and others of the chiefe of the Estates, shewing them this Letter, with the circumstances and contents thereof; assuring them that the Fryer intended thereby to winne him by some offers and gifts, asking their aduice how hee should carry him-selfe therein; and whether hee should goe himselfe, or that hee should send any other (the messenger in the meane time staying for his answer.)

Where-vpon Prince *Maurice* and the Estates thought it very fitte and availeable for the seruice and good of the countrie, to discouer the aduersaries desseigne in this action, that hee should goe secretly thether, to heare what hee would propound vnto him, and that if hee offered any gratuitie, hee should accept it, if it were gi- F uen as a bribe to corrupt him, but if it were done onely, to craue his furtherance for the dispatching of the Treatie as then to bee made, hee should refuse it; giuing him withall expresse commandement, to keepe it close and secret vnto him-selfe,

whereby

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whereby hee should do the countrie great seruice, with these directions *Arteſens* vpon the foureteene day of May went vnto the place appointed by the letter, and was secretly brought to Frier *Iohn Nayen* in Saint Agathes Cloyster in Delfe. Where hee entertained him verie kindely, giuing him thankes for the great seruice hee had done vnto the Archdukes, for that the first motion of the treaty of peace was begunne by him, whereby they found, that it had brought him into a great suspition, and dislike, amongst the common people, and that for the same cause hee was hardly censured by them. 1607.

Frier Nayens perswations vsed to Arteſens.

In regard whereof hee sayd that the Archdukes thought themselues ingaged in their honours to bee thankefull vnto him, beeing of themselues so nobly minded, as they would not faile to shewe their bountie vnto all those that should doe them any seruice, with many such like perswasiue words, promising to doe for him, his children, or friends whatsoeuer they would desire at their handes, and for a beginning and assurance of their Princely disposition, hee said, that hee had expresse commission from the Archdukes, to restore his house vnto him, which hee had in Brussels, with his patrimoniall lands and goods that were confiscated, that hee might dispose thereof at his owne will and pleasure, giuing him to vnderstand withall that Marquis *Spinola* (in regard that hee fauored the cause) held himselfe verie much beholding vnto him, for which consideration hee had sent him an obligation vnder his hand, whereby hee promised that if a truce were concluded, for aboue nine yeares, or a generall peace, to giue him fiftie thousand crownes whereof hee should receiue fifteene thousand crownes in readie money, to bee paide in Amsterdam, to the handes of any one that hee should nominate or appoint, recommending himselfe and the sayd affaires to his good discretion.

And for his owne particular hee sayd, that seeing it had pleased the Archdukes and the Marquis to honour him so much, as to thinke him fit to bee imploied therein: and for that the matter had proceeded so farre that hee for his part, and in his owne behalfe, would giue some particular testymonie of his loue towardes the said *Arteſens*, and to that end, would bestowe vpon his wife a Ring of Gold with a Diamont therein: protesting and assuring him of the sincerity, vprightnesse, and worthinesse of the sayd Archduke, and the Marquis, as also of his owne: the which notwithstanding was otherwise censured by many.

Wherevnto *Arteſens* made answere, that hee most humbly thanked the said Archdukes, for their great fauour shewed him; and especially for the restitution of his house and patrimoniall lands, in regard that at the reduction of the towne of Brussels vnder the King of Spaines obedience, hee had great wrong offered vnto him, in this point, for that hee was debarred the benefite of the contract, which was graunted vnto all the Burgers of the towne, whereby they were inabled for to enioye their landes and goods, notwithstanding that hee at the same time was imploied about some seruice that then was to bee done for the Estates, for the assembling of the Generall Estates: and that touching their further bountie, hee sayd, that hee had done no more in that action then hee was bound vnto in loue and duetie, with other such like excuses; and therefore hee besought the sayd Archdukes and the Marquis that it would please them to hold him excused, if hee did not accept their bountifull presents, which seemed rather to bee giuen, to corrupt him, then as a recompence for any seruice done by him; and that therefore hee neither could nor might accept them, nor yet the Ring which hee offred to giue him for his wife, giuing the Frier great thankes for his courtesie therein, and offering all seruice for his part, which hee could or might doe for them and him, alwaies excepting any thing whatsoeuer, that might tend to the breach of his oth, and blemish of his reputation &c.

Arteſens answere to the Frier and his excuses.

Wherevnto the Frier replied; that the presents aforesayd, could not bee any waies held to bee done in manner of corruption; considering the sincere and vpright intents of the sayd Archdukes, Marquis *Spinola*, and himselfe, who affected nothing more, then sincerely and without any fraude to bring the warres vnto an

1607. end; with many other good wordes to perswade him to bee a furtherer vnto the same &c. A

Wherevpon, at last hee accepted of the restitution of his house and lands, together with the obligation; making much difficultie to receiue the Ring with the Diamont for his wife; but beeing much vrged and intreated therevnto, hee tooke it, with promise to giue the best direction therein that hee could, his oth and credit alwaies preserued, and therewith they departed.

Arteſens report made to Prince Maurice and his opinion therein.

The same day, *Arteſens* made report vnto Prince *Maurice* and to the Estates of all that had past betwixt them, offering to deliuer them the obligation and the Diamont, but Prince *Maurice* would not receiue them; neuertheless hee aduised them to take some course for the receit of the money, and withall that the matter should bee kept verie close and secret. But *Arteſens* did often solicite the Prince and the Estates to bee discharged thereof, the which they still refused to take into their custodie, telling him, that hee had no cause to doubt any danger, seeing that hee had not done any thing but by speciall commission, wherein hee had discharged himselfe, by discouering the offers that were made him, as in duetie hee was bound; and that order was to bee taken about the receiuing of the money, wishing that they might get all the enemies treasure into their handes by such meanes, esteeming the Diamond to bee well worth sixe thousand Gilders: at last it was resolued vpon, that the matter should bee imparted to the generall assemblie of all the Estates. B C

This businesse passing ouer for certaine daies together without any further resolution, from the foureteenth to the twelfth day of May, there was an other letter sent from the Frier *Iohn Nayen*, vnto the sayd *Arteſens*, whereby hee wondred verie much that hee heard not from him, nor had any assignement to whome the fifteene thousand crownes should bee payde, *Arteſens* hauing receiued this letter, went vnto the Estates againe to acquaint them therewith, but for that Prince *Maurice* had the second time refused to receiue the obligation and the Ring, beeing still of opinion (if they thought good to keepe the matter secret) that it was best for them to receiue the money; it was resolued amongst them, to make both the generall Estates acquainted therewith, and the ambasadors of France and England, by which meanes the matter was diuulged vnto the common people, wherevpon *Arteſens* vnderstanding that hee was charged and taxed to haue beene corrupted by the enemie, he desired the generall Estates that hee might be discharged of the obligation and the Ring of Gold, and vpon his request so made vnto them they tooke order, that the treasuror generall should keepe the said obligation and the Ring, with the Diamond, which was taken out of the gold, and valued, till further order should bee taken therein, and that the said *Arteſens* should haue an act made in his behalfe and for his iustification, the which was published accordingly, bearing date the seauenth daie of Iulie in the yeare of our Lord and Sauiour. 1607. D

Notwithstanding all this, *Arteſens* fell into great suspition, and it was giuen out that hee had beene corrupted by the enemy, for the which cause, and to free himselfe from all imputation and blame, hee caused an appologie to bee printed in his name, whereby hee excused himselfe vnto all the common people, and therevnto hee ioyned a coppie of the act aforesayd, made by the generall Estates in his behalfe, his apologie bearing date the twentie daie of Iulie in the yeare of our Lord and Sauiour. 1607. E

Presents giuen by Iohn Nayen deliuered backe againe.

When as Mounsieur *Vereycken* came last vnto the Hage with the act of agreation, Mounsieur *Barnauelt* Councellor for Holland, let him vnderstand, what presents had beene giuen by *Iohn Nayen* the Frier, as is before mentioned, which were deliuered to Mounsieur *Vereycken* by the Estates, who willed him to take them with him againe, and restore them vnto those that sent them, desiring the Archdukes, that if they ment to proceede sincerelie in the treatie of peace, and sought nothing els, that they would offer no more such presents, vnto any of their subiects of what Estate or qualitie soeuer they were: F

saying,

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A saying, that the generall Estates, and the Counsell of Estate of the vnited Prouinces did consist of so many seuerall persons, as they could hardly bee corrupted by presents, or promises, and that if any of them, were but once suspected, they would double their number &c. Whereupon *Vereycken* excused the Arch-dukes, and layd the blame thereof vpon the Friar *Iohn Nayen*, saying, that it proceeded from himselfe; and that their highnesses were not acquainted therewith, imputing it vnto the couetousnesse of the spiritualty, who iudge of other mens humors by their owne, with such like words. 1607.

In the month of September, the Netherland shippes of warre which had lyen vpon the coast of Spaine, according to the contract, came all home with their prises, and so
B the contract for truce at sea, was on both sides agreed and concluded, and Prince *Doria* was appointed by the King of Spaine to keepe the straights of Gibraltare.

In this month the gouernor of Graue called Mounsieur *Silendsky* was taken prisoner as he past along by the Meuse, to goe to Vorne, relying to much vpon the truce, the which notwithstanding could not helpe him: hee was brought prisoner to Boisleduc, where hee hath continued long for that they demaund to great a ransome. Mounsier Sidlenskie gouernor of Graue taken prisoner.

The three and twenty day of September colonell *Warnart du Bois* president of the counsell of warre, a valiant souldier ryding with his wife to the Faire at Gheldermaetsen and hauing there made good cheere, in the euening beeing not farre from
C Est by Tielerweert was set vpon by certaine of the enemies, as hee was in his Wagon, and for that hee would not yeeld himselfe prisoner, they shot him into the bodie, and tooke his sonne prisoner, a thing much to bee lamented, that such an old experienced captaine, who had past so many daungers, would bee so careless of his owne safetie, and come to so vnfortunate an end. Mounsieur du Bois slaine by the enemy.

The Spaniards and other mutinous souldiers in Diest, for that they were not paid, did much harme in Brabant and other places, and sent a protestation into Brabant, that if they were not satisfied within certaine daies, they would set the gates of Diest open, to entertaine all such souldiers as were vnpaide, and so make a generall mutenie, which they had bound themselues vnto the Archduke not to doe: within Herentales they were most horse-men, whereof a great part mutined in the month
D of October, but they were kept from any attempt by certaine Irish souldiers which did serue vnder the Gouernor there, for the which some were punished. The rest of the souldiers that were vnpaide committed great insolencies on the Countrie, murthering and spoyling the poore people, most of the Spaniards and Italians lying and feeding vpon the costs and charges of the country pesants. About the last daie of August (as I sayd before) the Archduke got an assignation for sixe hundred thousand Dukets a month, for which cause the Arckdukes counsell sought to gette the whole summe to be paide at one time, offering (as it is reported) to cut off the interest thereof after eight in the hundred, and in Nouember they tooke Councell how to satisfie them of Diest. The Archdukes also intreated the Estates of their Prouinces,
E to yeeld to the paiement of seauen hundred thousand gilders, towards the discharging of the murinous souldiers, which at the first they refused, but in the end they were content to paie a moitie thereof being three hundred thousand gilders, wherewith they of Diest were satisfied. The mutinus souldiers of Diest in Brabant.

About this time it was reported that the Archduke *Alberus* made great meanes to bee made King of Romaines by the aide and procurement of the Electors the Archbishoppes of Cologne and Liege, with whom hee had manie conferences sent to him by messengers, and in the month of October the Archdukes went to Bins, to hunt and take their pleasures, but it seemeth that beeing there
F they had some certaine conference about the matter aforesayd with the Electors of Ments and Trier also, but it is said that the King of Spaine is much against him, and seeketh by all the meanes hee can to preferre his brother the Archeduke *Ferdinand* of Stiria therevnto. The Archduke Albertus seekes to bee King of Romaines.

The foureteene day of October the Estates of the vnited Prouinces receiued a

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1607. letter from the Marquisse *Spinola*, certifying them that the agreeation from Spaine was come, desiring passe-port for Fryer *Iohn Nayen*, and for *Monsieur Verreyken*, to come into Holland to deliuer the same, which passe-port being sent vppon the foure and twentie of October they arriued at the Hage, and vppon the fiue and twentith day had audience of the generall Estates, where they presented the newe ratification or agreeation made by the King of Spaine, dated in Madrill the eighteene of September, written in Paper, and in the Spanish tongue, signed *Io el Rey*, sealed with a seale like vnto a Proclamation, and vnderneath signed *Andreas de Prada*, containing an insertion of the Declaration made by the Archdukes in Spanish, also ill fauouredly written, and vnder that was written as followeth. A

The second agreation made by the king of Spain touching the peace.

That where-as in the aforesaid Treatie, the Archdukes had promised vnto the Estates to deliuer them their letters of ratification and agreation like vnto theirs, with all generall and perticuler renunciations and obligations: hee therefore vpon due deliberation and aduise, of his owne certaine knowledge, and absolute kinglie power and authoritie, for the effecting of the sayd promise, and for the assurance of the principall treatie of peace, or long truce, had made vnto the sayd Estates, and by these presents did make the like declaration, which the Archdukes had formerly made, as much as in him laye, and that hee declared himselfe to bee content, that in his name, and in his behalfe, the said Estates should bee treated withall, in qualitie, and as holding them at this present for free Countries, Prouinces, and Estates, to whom hee pretended no title at all, and thereupon hee accepted, allowed, and confirmed all and euery point, conteined in the aforesaid Declaration, made by the sayd Archdukes, promising by the faith and worde of a King, to cause the same to bee obserued and kept effectually in euery point, as if the same had at the first beene made and decreed by his Princely will and authority without any contradiction: promising reparation & satisfaction of any thing done therein to the contrary: and that all things needfull shall bee faithfully performed and done, binding himselfe there-vnto by his Princely worde, with-all perticuler and generall renunciations and obligations requisite there-vnto, and that presently after the conclusion of the sayd peace or long truce, hee would send all necessarie aprobation for the securitie thereof, in the best manner and forme that may bee, that in the end the Estates may haue full satisfaction in all things which they request. B C D

But with-all hee declared, that if the cheefe treatie of peace, or of long truce, there to bee treated of and handled, should not take effect, concerning the matters in controuersie betweene both parts, as well touching religion as otherwise, that then his aforesayd declaration and agreeation should bee of no force, but remaine as if it had neuer beene made, and that by vertue thereof it should not bee vnderstood nor interpreted, that hee had or would loose any of his right or title, nor the Estates thereby to haue any aduantage, but that all things should remaine in the same state they were, and euery man to haue his due, and that from thence-forth it should be lawfull for each party to doe as they thought good. E

Friar Iohn Nayens speech vpon the deliuery of this aprobation.

"With this agreation (hauing deliuered a copie thereof in Spanish, French, "and Dutch,) Frier *Iohn Nayen* made a long discourse of the sinceritie and vp-"rightnesse of the King of Spaine in that respect, and that hee had caused the "same to passe through the hands of his councell, that it might bee the freer "and more assured to take effect; although hee should dye: wherein hee sayd, "hee was much to bee commended, in that hee expressed the true and vpright "intent and meaning of his direct dealing therein, promising no more, nor bind-"ing himselfe no further, then hee meant to performe, and cause to bee effected, "whereas other-wise if hee had meant to deale deceitfully, hee would not haue "done so, but rather haue made the agreation with-out any explication, where-"as now to make knowne his iust proceeding, hee had declared his full pleasure "and intent, there-by to shunne and auoyde, that which here-after might seeme "to bee brought in question. F

Monsieur

A Mounsieure *Verreyken* also made a very long speach touching the sincerity and direct dealing of the Arch-dukes concerning that poynte, and of the greate inclination and desire they had vnto peace, which was plainely to bee seene by their proceedings therein: and how earnestly they had endeuoured themselues to doe all thinges which the Estates had by any meanes desired, or could in any sort pretend. 1607. Auditor Verrikens declaration touching the dukes proceedings.

The general Estates hauing receiued the copie of the said agreation, and perused the same, they found it to be very badly and negligently written, by leauing out of many wordes, and some defects to be in the writing of many wordes, which were not placed as they ought to bee; and also in the forme, not being signed with the Kings name nor
B written in French. And after they had imparted the same vnto the Ambassadors of France and England, vppon the seauenteenth day they had further conference with the sayd Fryer *Iohn Nayen* and *Verreyken*, to acquaint them with the sayd defects, and to knowe if there were no other agreation to bee expected; who letting them vnderstand that there was no other agreation to bee had from Spaigne; but that in the proceedings with the principall pointes of the treatie, all doubtes and difficulties might bee better seene into, and preuented vpon good deliberation, and after diuers consultations had with his Excellencie and the Ambassadors aforesaid. The states resolution vpon the agreation.

Vpon the second of November, they resolued to giue the Deputies an answer; which
C was that the said letters of agreation (according to the declaration of the Deputies) not only in the wordes and stile, but also in the sealing, insertion, and omission of many words, were not conformable to the promises made, and that by the last clause thereof (besides the propositions of Fryer *Iohn Nayen*) there might be pretended a disanulling of the sollemne promises thereby made, it being not to be contradicted: That the sayd King, and the Arch-dukes with their Councels know well, that the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, as being Estates of free countries and Prouinces (where-vnto the aforesaid King and Arch-dukes pretend no soueraignty) by the grace of God almighty, and the said assistance of such Princes as are allyed vnto them, can finde good
D meanes to maintaine and vphold the welfare, estate and gouernement of the sayd countries, and the Inhabitants of the same, without making any mention thereof in the principal treaty concerning peace or truce, notwithstanding any thing which might bee pretended or propounded by the King or Arch-dukes, to the contrary; vnlesse they would crosse or seeke to disanull the aforesayd sollemne and formall promises. The States answer vpon the approbation.

And although there might some question be made, whether vppon the said letters and propositions, they might proceed to a treatie; Neuertheless to the end this worke (begun for the freeing of those countries from these long continuall and bloody wars, and the setling of a godly, honourable, and an assured peace) may not be hindred, they would shew the said letters (as much as concerneth the approbation of the promises
E made by the Arch-dukes, and the like declaration of the said King whereby he declareth that he is content, that in his name and in his behalfe, a treatie shal be made touching peace or truce with the generall Estates, in qualitie, and as holding and acounting them for free countries, Prouinces and Estates, where-vnto he made no claime; besides all generall and particular obligations which are requisite and necessary) vnto the Prouinces, townes and members of the same respectiuely, and within sixe weekes next ensuing, giue intelligence vnto the said Deputies, whether they intended thereupon to enter into any treatie or not, with expresse protestation, from thence-forth neuer to make any question to any poynt of the aforesaid letters, which might bee vnderstood to be directly or indirectly against the said agreation and declaration togither with
F the promises of the said Arch-dukes.

And if it were founde fitte and conuenient, vppon the sayd agreation and declaration (or vppon any other that within the sayd time, acording to the promises made, might bee sent out of Spaine and deliuered vnto the said Estates) to enter into a treatie, the Estates were of opinion, that neyther in the said Kings be-

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1607. halfe nor the Arch-dukes, there should be any thing propounded or pretended that might bee preiudiciall to the state, welfare and gouernement of the vnited Prouinces or the Inhabitants thereof, contrary to the sayd promises: And that the Arch-dukes will take order within tenne daies after the receipt of the saide aduertisment to send their committies (with instructions according to the originall offers) to the Hage, fully instructed and authorised, and also to vnderstand the Estates intent to deliuer their meanings plainely and effectually. A

And there-vppon to make a short and briefe resolution, and that the Estates in that respect would appoint certaine Committies with the like authoritie to treat with them. This answer being made it was giuen to the said Frier *Iohn Nayen* and to *Vereyken* vpon the third of Nouember, and there-withall, they were demaunded whether they would deliuer the Originall letters of agreation, whereat they made some doubt, whether they might leaue them with the Estates, or carry them backe againe to Brusselles, and therefore they desired respite for certaine daies wherein Fryer *Iohn Nayen* might go to Brusselles, to fetch a further commission concerning that point, which being graunted them, the Fryer went from the Hage vpon the fifth of Nouember, & the fourteenth of the same moneth returned againe, and vpon the fifthteenth hauing audience giuen vnto him and to *Verriken* by the Estates, they gaue them to vnderstand that they had commission to deliuer the said letters, taking a note from the Estates for the receipte thereof, (declaring there-with, that the Arch-dukes had there-by performed their promise) and with a promise of re-deliuering the said letters, if the treatie went not forward; but the Estates found some difficultie therein, for that they were of an opinion that the Arch-dukes had not performed their promise, nor procured such letters (without any restraint, or appendix) as were promised, and that they were not to promise any restitution of an act, which made it selfe voyd and of no effect, if the treatie went not forward; the which vppon the sixteenth of Nouember they made knowne vnto the Deputies who seemed to consent with them, saying, that they in like manner vnderstood it to be so, and that they had written so much vnto the Arch-dukes, but finding that the Estates persisted therein, they once againe desired a further time for certaine daies, that the Fryer might repaire once more to Brusselles, for a full and absolute commission, which was graunted them, and so vpon the seauenteenth of Nouember he went to Brusselles, and vpon the nine and twenty of the same moneth returned to the Hage, with commission to deliuer the said letters as in the end they did, absolutely without any exception or promise to bee made by the Estates; and so vppon the twenty of December they returned backe againe to Brussels, hauing made no speach vnto Fryer *Iohn Nayen* touching the aforesaid presents, where-with he had busied him-selfe.

B

C

D

The Arch-dukes Committies make a difficulte to deliuer the agreation in writ.

The generall Estates or their ordinary Deputies vppon the tenth of Nouember departed from the Hage, euery man to make knowne in their seuerall Prouinces the said last agreation sent by the King of Spaine, and to assemble the Estates of their particuler Prouinces, and to vnderstand from them, whether they were of opinion (vpon the said letters, and as they were made) to enter into a treaty of peace or not, & against the tenth of December to meete againe, euery man to shew his commission touching that point. Before their departure vppon the tenth of October they had receiued a letter from the Emperour, wherein he declared what charges and paines his father the Emperour *Maximillian* and him-selfe had beene at, and taken to bring the affaires of the Netherlands to a good end, and finall peace, wherefore he did now wonder they would attempt to deale therein without his aduice, or at the least without making him acquainted there-with, as seeming to haue a pretence to make the Vnited Prouinces a free state, whereas notwithstanding the Estates thereof knew well, that the said Netherlands, depended vpon him and the holy Empire, as by the ancient records of the Empire and the first institutions he could proue, and that therefore the Estates were to remember, that in regard it was a respectiue member of the Empire they might not vndertake any thing touching the same without his consent, as beeing the chiefe member of the said Empire, and that if any thing were done or attempted

E

A letter sent by the Emperor to the States touching a peace.

F

to

A to the contrary whereby the nature and propertie of the members of the Empire might bee altered and changed, that it was of no effect, according to the ordinances and statutes of the Empire: Desiring therefore to vnderstand from them, in what estate the matter stood, and how they ment to proceed therein, that hee and the Empire might vphold their rites and priuiledges; requiring also that they would not proceede in any thing without his consent; or to permit any thing to bee done, that might tend to the preiudice of him and the Empire: Which letter by some was thought to be written for an insinuation, thereby in time to pretend some cause of nullitie and disabling of all that which the Estates should conclude with the King of Spaine and the Arch-dukes B touching the peace, and to make vse thereof, when they shall thinke it most necessary and fitte for them. 1607.

The King of Denmarke sent Ambassadors into Holland to be of Councell with the Estates about a peace.

The third of December *Iacob Vlefelt* Counsellor of the Empire, and Amptman of the Castle of Hagens-kow, and *Ionas Charasius* Doctor of both the Lawes, Ambassadours for the King of Denmarke, arriued at the Hage with a good traine of Gentlemen, who vppon the sixth of December had conference with the generall Estates, shewing the affection which their King bare to the Vnited Prouinces, and that their commission was to aid and assist the Estates with their Councell in their treatie of peace.

The Arch-dukes hauing made a reconing with the mutinous soldiers of Diest, C and there-vppon giuing them satisfaction according to the contract made; hee deuided them into diuers companies, and put them into seuerall places: after which hauing committed no newer offence, he caused them al to be brought out of their seuerall quarters; to haue a certaine decree of banishment made against them, and openly published, which was to depart out of the Arch-dukes countries within twenty houres after, vpon paine of death.

The letter of banishment beeing as followeth.

A letter of banishment made by the Archduke against the mutinous soldiers of Diest.

It is manifestly knowne vnto euery man, how long the last mutenie in Diest hath continued, and the great and inestimable summes of money it hath cost vs, besides the D troubles and insupportable burthens and wrongs that our poore subiects haue sustained thereby: Neuertheless wee haue indeauored so much as at the last wee haue made a full account and reckoning with all those that haue beene partakers in the said mutinie, and payd euery one of them whatsoeuer hee could aske, to their full contentments, and withall forgiuen them, and by these presents doe forgiue them all whatsoeuer they haue done against vs, by meanes of the said mutenie. Neuertheless wee with the King our brother (beeing not bound to entertaine any man in our seruices longer then wee shall thinke good) hauing a further care of our estates, for diuers good considerations, haue resolued that it will bee more aduancement to our seruice, and quietnesse to our subiects, to send them out of the country, and to commaund them (as by these presents wee doe expresly com- E maunde.) That within foure and twenty houres after the publication hereof, they depart out of all our Countries and Territories, and not to staie any longer time therein, nor to enter or come into them againe, vppon payne of hanging, willing and commaunding as well all our louing subiectes, as others seruing vnder vs (the aforesayde time beeing expyred) to sette vpon them, and to vse all the rigour and hostilitie against them that they could; as against such as are disobedient vnto vs, and are banished persons withall. And that if any of them shall bee so careless (contrary vnto this our commaundement) to remaine still in those our Countryes, our will F and pleasure is, that such persons as can apprehend any of them, and either liuing or dead deliuer them; either to the handes of *Ferdinando Boischot* one of our Priuie Councell, and Auditor generall of our armie, or to the Iustices of any of our Townes, they shall haue for a reward for euery head the summe of fiue and twenty crownes, paid them by the handes of the said Auditor generall, finding them also

1607. also, vppon the same payne aforesayd, not to staie, dwell or remaine in the countries, townes and Kingdomes of the King of Spaine, for that his meaning is not to vse their seruice any longer, and therefore wee commaund all our Iustices, Officers and others our subiects, to gouerne them-selues herein according to this our Proclamation, without any fauor, partialitie or detraction whatsoeuer. Dated in our towne of Brusselles the fourth of December. 1607. A

By force of this proclamation, many of the said mutinous soldiers which could not get presently out of the country, were in diuers places slain & hanged, which although it were done by them for an example of punishment of the like mutinies, yet it bred a iealousie in many men of iudgement, that by the like reasons of state, other proceedings and contracts might in the like sort be broken and made voyd.

The Ambassadors of Brandenbourgh come to Hage to aid the States in the treaty of peace.

The nineteenth of December *Ieronimus van Diskow* and *Erbghebessen vp Quees*, Ambassadors for the Elcteor of Brandembourgh came to the Hage to assist the Estates in their treaty of peace, who in long time after made no motion, for that their commission was restrayned, to the comming of the Palsgraues Ambassadors, and to deale with them and not without them, which Ambassadors came not thither so soone. B

The generall Estates consultations and resolutions about the treaty of peace.

The twentith of December, the Deputies of the generall Estates beeing for the most part altogether, or else hauing sent their opinions touching the treatie aforesaid, euery man shewed his authority and commission, which for the most part tended to this end: that notwithstanding the defects of the aforesaid letters of argreation, yet that they might enter into a treatie with the enemies Deputies concerning a peace or long truce, alwaies insisting vppon the chiefe poynte, which is their freedome of the countrie, and not to yeelde vnto the enemy in the least poynte thereof, nether yet in matters of state, nor concerning religion. And after much disputation amongst them, and diuers conferences held with Prince *Maurice*, *William* Earle of Nassau and the Councell of Estate, as also with the Ambassadours of France, England and Denmarke, (for that the Ambassadors of Brandenbourgh excused themselues for the reasons aforesaid) at the last vppon the foure and twentith day of December they wrotte vnto the Arch-dukes, that they (according to the protestations and declarations sette downe in their answer made the second of Nouember, from the which they ment not to varrie) were content to enter into a treatie with their Deputies in the Hage, and that to the same end they should send seauen or eight persons, (instructed according to their offers) to the Hage so as they might be aduertised before frō the Arch-duke that their meaning was to send within tenne daies after the receipte of their letter vnto the Hage, the like or a lesse number of persons (qualified as aforesaid) and with full commission and authoritie, not onely in the King of Spaynes behalfe, but also for the Arch-dukes, to make a good and short resolution, and agreement about the treatie aforesaid. And for that the truce made to the fourth of Ianuary next insuing was almost expired, they desired the Arch-dukes to consider whether it were not expedient to prolong the same for a moneth or sixe weekes more, if they thought it good to enter into the said treatie vppon the conditions aforesaid, where-vnto they sayd those their letters should serue for a consent, if the Arch-dukes would send their consent there-vnto, not onely in their owne but also in the King of Spaines behalfe. They also sent the coppy of their letters to Eryer *Iohn Nayen* and *Verreyken*, with request to deliuer the originall letters vnto the Arch-dukes: and that if they would consent to send any Comissioners, that it would please them to write their names, number, and the day of their departure from Brusselles, to the end they might send them conuenient passeports: and so they sent the chiefe letters by *Graue Maurices* Trumpet by the way of Seuenberghen, and an other Trumpet (by reason of the frost) with a copy thereof ouer the Dussen, that if one fayled the other might be deliuered. C D E

The Palsgraues Ambassadors come to the Hage to aide the States in their treaty.

The 29. of December *Hippolitus de Coly* Councellor to the Elector and chiefe Iudge of Heydelbergh, Ambassador for the Palsgraue of Rhyne came to the Hage, to aid the Estates also in that treatie. F

With these accidents, deliberations, difficulties & resolutions touching the affaires of

A of the Netherlands, this yeare of 1607. ended; leauing to the beginning of the next yeare, an vniuersall expectation in a manner of all the worlde, for the pacefiing of the troubles in the Netherlandes, and the ceasing of the long continued bitter warres: Wherein either partie politickly seemed to seeke his owne aduantage. 1607. The state of the Netherlands and the cause that moued them to the treaty of peace.

The Vnited Prouinces pretended by that treatie to bee free States and Prouinces, wholy released and freed from the Soueraignty, claime and pretences of Spaine, and consequently of the warre begun to maintaine the same, and that they from henceforth (as a free commen wealth, where-vnto no man pretended any right) would gouerne and rule them-selues, according to their owne pleasures, freedomes and
B priuiledges, and the rather for that the enemie (hauing wholy yeelded vp his right) should from thenceforth haue no pretence nor coullor to make any more warre against them: and with this hope all those (which seemed to bee so much inclyned there-vnto) were fledde (and the rather for that they saw that this busines by most mens iudgements was vnlikely to bee brought to any good end) that by armes they lawfully might recouer againe all the townes and Prouinces which (since the Vnion made at Vtrecht) had forsaken them: and therefore notwithstanding the contract and promise made by the said Vnion, they thought it better to yeelde to necessitie, and by an honourable agreement to saue all the parcels thereof, which they as then inioyed, especially when as they might doe the same with such credit and ho-
C nour, and thereby to attaine the expected end and freedome which they so long had sought.

Wee haue formerly declared how that the Emperor wrotte a letter vnto the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, touching the treatie of peace; wherein hee seemed as if hee had an intent to breake it off, and by that meanes to disanull all that the generall Estates had done or should do concerning the same. Where-vpon the Estates made an answer vnto the Emperor bearing date the second of Ianuary 1608. Certefiing him that they held it very strange his imperiall Maiestie had not beene informed of their proceedings in that action, neither from his Nephew the King of Spaine, nor his brother the Arch-duke *Albertus*, where-with if they had beene ac-
D quainted, they would not haue beene so forgetfull to certefie him thereof: saying moreouer that they were well assured, that on their behalfe, both before and after the gouernment of the Arch-duke *Mathias*, diuers petitions had beene exhibited vnto the Emperor, Princes, and Estates of Germany, to craue his and their protection against the violent oppressions of the Spaniards, and that to their great hinderance no aid might be obtained either from the said Emperor nor the Empire, being also wel knowne that in *Anno* 1579. at the motion and request of the Emperour, and the Deputies of the Empire, there was a treaty of peace made at Collogne concerning the Netherlands, but they finding that their enemie during that treaty of peace, drew downe his greatest forces into the said Netherlandes to their great hurt and pre-
E iudice, for which consideration, as also in regard of the forepassed violation of their priuiledges, cruelties and great oppressions vsed against the decreed conditions of aceptation, they were constrayned in *Anno* 1581. (lawfully according to the lawes and priuiledges of the Netherland Prouinces, and for the necessary defence of those Prouinces, Townes and Inhabitants of the said Netherlands which are vnited togither) to vndertake the vttermost and last remedie for the freeing of the sayde Netherlandes by a sollemne decree, and so to discharge and vnburthen the Inhabitants thereof of all bondes and othes, whereby they were bound to shewe obedience vnto the King of Spaine: Since which time, the aforesayd Vnited Prouinces by all Neutrall parties and by many Kinges, Princes and
F common wealthes, haue been held and accounted for free Estates, and such as had power to rule and gouerne amongst them-selues as free common wealthes, or to chuse other Princes or Lordes ouer them, and that in that qualitie since the eight and twentith of Ianuary last past they had made many contracts of Leagues & Alliances, with diuers Kings and Princes, and with the extraordinary assistance and ayd

The Estates answer to the Emperors letters. 1608.

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1608. aide of the ſayd Kings, defended their Prouinces from great dangers both by ſea and A
by land, againſt all the power of their enemies, and yet notwithſtanding they had made
knowne both vnto the Emperor, and other Kings and Princes; as alſo to the Eſtates
of the Prouinces now vnder the Archdukes commaund, how much they were greeued
and did lament the calamities which the Netherlanders and their neighbours, were by
the ſayd warres forced to indure, and that they deſired nothing more, then an aſſured
Godly, and honorable peace; which they thought would not otherwiſe bee well ef-
fected then by maintayning the ſaid decree, that the vnited Prouinces are free coun-
tries, as in the yeare of our Lord 1605. they had at large written vnto the Emperor,
& the Princes of Germany, thereof, and that in the yeare of our Lord 1606. The Arch-
dukes in their propoſition of a treaty of peace had ſo acknowledged them, whē as they B
made them a reſolute anſwere that they could not enter into treaty of peace with any
man that would not acknowledge the freedom of the ſayd vnited Prouinces, the which
they had gotten held and enioyed ſo many yeares: wherevpon the Archdukes, firſt ſe-
eretly, and after that againe by formall writings ſigned and ſealed by them, declared
that they were content to treat with the Eſtates of the ſayd vnited Prouinces, as E-
ſtates of free countries; wherevnto they made no pretence of ſoueraignty, with pro-
miſe not to doe any thing either directly or indirectly againſt their ſayd declaration,
and within three monthes then next enſuing, to procure letters of agreation and the
like declaration vnto the ſaid Eſtates, from the King of Spaine, which hath ſince beene
done, as the Emperor by the acts ſent with their ſayd letter might plainely perceiue, C
and that their hope was, that the Emperor and the Princes of Germanie, according to
their great and good affection alwaies borne vnto the vnited Prouinces, would not
onely like well of their ſayd proceedings, but alſo bee a meanes to further ſuch things
as tended to the aſſurance and fortefying thereof, and that they ſhould not needeto
write any other anſwere vnto the chiefe points of the Emperors letter, or touching
the diſanulling of their proceedings pretended by his Maieſties letters: Touching the
prerogatiues of the Empire they made no mention, whether it were for that they
would certefie him onelie of all the courſe of their proceedings in this action, and diſ-
ſemble the reſt, or for that they ment by ſilence to procure more furtherance vnto
themſelues, as to bring the caſe in queſtion; or that there might bee ſome other thing D
yet ment thereby.

The Archdukes anſwere ſent to the Eſtates touching the peace. The ſeauenth of Ianuary the trumpets ſent by the Eſtates vnto the Archdukes, returned againe to the Hage, with letters from the ſayd Archdukes, bearing date the laſt day of December before, written in French, certefying them that by their letters bearing date the three and twenty day of December they vnderſtood their reſolution to conferre and enter into treaty with their deputies, and to continue the truce for a month or ſixe weekes, and that thereby they deſired to know their wills and intents: wherevnto they made anſwere, that they had appointed the ſayd perſons that till then had beene vſed in the ſayd affaires to bee deputies for the ſayd treatie of peace, and that they ſhould depart from Bruſſels vpon the fifteene of Ianuary, that the ſame euening they might bee at Antwerp, if two daies before they will ſend them paſports, and aduice that the ſhippes ſhould bee ready at Lilloe, for them and their traine: and that by the letters ſent them by Frier *Iohn Nayen* and *Vereycken*, they ſhould know the names and qualities of thoſe that were appointed to bee ioyned with them in commiſſion concerning the ſaid peace, and that touching the continuation of the truce, that they were content it ſhould bee prolonged ſixe weekes more, promiſing thereby, both in the King of Spaines behalfe, and their owne, to cauſe it to bee kept and maintained without any contradiction. *Iohn Nayen* the Frier and *Vereycken* alſo wrote letters to the Eſtates of the ſame date, certefying them that the deputies named and appointed, ſhould bee ready to depart from Bruſſels vpon the fifteene of Ianuary, ſo they might F
haue their paſport two daies before, and aduice that ſhippes layd ready for them at
Lilloe; deſiring rather to come by water then by land, and that the ſayd deputies
were the Marquis *Spinola*, preſident *Richardot*, Secretary *Mancicidor*, Frier *Iohn Nayen*
and *Vereycken*.

The deputies names that were to treate of peace for the Archdukes.

These

A These Deputies appointed to come to the Hage for the Archdukes, caused diuerse of the states to growe iealous, for that there was not any one Netherlander amongst them, and that no such persons were appointed to enter into the said treatie as were promised by the first offer that was made, because that in a certaine note sent in the letter written by the States to Frier *Iohn Nayen* and *Vereyken*, they had giuen a larger limitation therein, then otherwise was intended, and for that the Archdukes them-selues seemed to like well thereof, after some conference had concerning the same, it was at last agreed, that they would let such Committies come, as were then deputed, and that conuenient pasports to that end should be sent them, to the which purpose diuers conferences were had by the States with the Ambassadors of forreine Kings and Princes. 1608.

B The States of the vnited Prouinces being fully resolued to enter into treaty of peace or long truce with the Archdukes Commissioners, vpon the ninth of Ianuary caused a generall day of prayer and fasting to bee held throughout all the vnited Prouinces, to praise and thanke God for his great mercies showed vnto the said Prouinces, & withall to desire him, that their action taken in hand might tend to his honor, and the defence and preseruation of the countrey, together with the wel-fare of the same. A generall fast in the vnited Prouinces, to desire God to blesse their action of treatie of peace, &c.

It was said before, that the Archdukes deputies desired to come into Holland, rather by water then by land, but for that the frost was great they could not doe it, for which cause the States hauing dispatched their pasports for the said Deputies, sent them by land to Antwerpe by certaine Trumpeters, and with-all wrote their letters to *Iustinus* C *van Nassaw* gouernor of Breda, and to *Marsellus Bax* gouernor of Bergen vp Zoome, to will them to go as farre as Antwerpe to meete them, and to conduct them to Breda, and Gertrudenberghe, and so to the Hage, for that they had sent the said deputies their pasports to come that way; but in regard of the cold wether and for that Marquis *Spinolaes* lueries for his mē were not yet ready, the time was so long protracted, as the said gouernor set not forward till the 24. of Ianuary, and then they went towards Lire, for that the Deputies for the Archdukes tooke that way, whether it were for that they would goe right ouer the heath, or to diuert the said gouernors from comming to Antwerpe, which is a towne full of inhabitants; desiring rather to haue them goe to Lide, being a towne of garrison, and so the said gouernors went to Lire vpon the 26. of Ianuary, where they were well intertained by *Don Alonso de Luna*, gouernor of the towne, but they found not the Archdukes deputies there, for that it was the next day in the euening before they came, and so vpon the 28. of Ianuary they departed from thence with a great traine of attendants and carriage, and went to Hoghstrate; Marquis *Spinola* for his owne gard, hauing 180. horsemen with him. The 29. of Ianuary they entered into Breda, where they were honourably receiued, all the garrison standing in armes, and euery man as well prepared as they might be, the horsemen without the towne & the footmen within, Marquis *Spinola*, *Richardot* & *Mancicidor* were lodged in the castle, and the rest in the towne, and were well intertained and feasted. The next day being the last of Ianuary about noone they came to Gertrudenberge, where they were also wel E intertained, and from thence *Spinolaes* horse-men returned: that euening hee and the rest of the Deputies past ouer the Ice from Beesbos and the Merue in 190. Sleads to Dort, where the Magistrates of the towne receiued them without the gates, with such a multitude of people, as if halfe Holland were come thether to see them, and that night and the next day in the morning they were honorably feasted and intertained by the towne. The last of Ianuary after dinner they went to Rotterdam vpon Sleads, along the Merue and Meuse Banke, and were well receiued and intertained there by the Magistrates of the towne, and with a great concourse of people: and for that their traine was very great, and their carriage much, they sent the most part thereof before them to the Hage. The Marquis him-selfe and the rest of the Commissioners went that F fore-noone to Delf, where by the Magistrats & the like concourse of people they were honorably receiued but not feasted, because they had broken their fast at Rotterdam, and were certified that Prince *Maurice* was comming to meet them, and therefore after dinner they went towards the Hage, where Prince *Maurice* & his brother *William* Earle of Nassaw, & diuers Lords & Gentlemen met them at Riswick with 8. coaches: at their Pasports sent to the deputies of the Archduke to come into Holland.

The entrie of the Archdukes deputies into Holland, & their entertainment in euery place.

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1608. meeting betweene Riswicke and Horne-bridge, they all on both sides went out of A
their Coaches saluting each other, with indifferent pleasant countenances: which
done, Marquis *Spinola* went vp into Prince *Maurices* Coache, and there satte
downe in the hinder part thereof, and on the right hand of the Prince, and in the fore-
end sat *Mancicidor* and *Henry* Earle of Nassau, and on the sides *Richardot* and *William*
Earle of Nassau, the rest with other Lordes and Gentlemen went into the other
Coaches; Marquis *Spinola* hauing three Coaches and diuers other wagons appointed
for him and the rest of the Deputies, at which time there was such a concourse of
people of all degrees and qualities both of the Hage and other places as all the way
both by water and land on both sides (the frost beeing very great and the yce able
to beare them) was filled with the multitude, only to see the Marquis *Spinola*, more for B
noueltie then any other reason, not one considering or remembring that hee and
the rest were the same persons, that for so many yeares togither, had sought by all
the meanes they could practise to ruine and destroy them, and wholy to subiect their
Country and estate. Most part of that countrie people are so forgetfull, blunt and
foolish, and therefore ceased not to come to the Hage from all Townes and places
thereabouts (as if they should haue gone to a generall triumphe) onely to see the
Deputies. At their entry into the Hage, two Trumpets went before the Mar-
quis, sounding their Trumpets passing along the streetes, as if they had entred
in triumphe, to no small admiration of many men of good account, that were well-
willers to the country, who seemed to bee very much discontented thereat: In this C
great concourse of people, there were some which are imployed in the gouerne-
ment of the country and in the assemblie of the Estates: So hard a thing it is for those
people to refraine from their foolish customes. Marquis *Spinola*, *Richardot* and
Mancicidor were lodged in a faire house in the Hage, which standes by the Viuer-
bergh, (the which belonged to a Soliciter for diuers companies of Soldiers, cal-
led *Goswine Meuerskens*) and Fryer *Iohn Nayen*, and *Vereicken* In the house of
Wasenare.

The names & titles of the Arch-dukes Deputies.

The names and titles of the Deputies were as followeth. *Don Ambrosio Spino-*
la Marquis of Benaffro, Knight of the order of the golden Fleece, Councellor
for the King of Spayne in his Priuie Councell and for the warres; and Generall D
of his armie: Sir *Iohn Dedonsel* otherwise called *Richardot* Knight, Seignior of Barley,
Counsellor of Estate for the Arch-dukes, and President of their priuie councell:
Iohn de Mancicidor, Councellor and Secretary of the warres for the said King: Fryer
Iohn Nayen generall of the order of Saint *Francis* in the Netherlands, and Sir *Lois*
Vereicken Knight, Auditor to the Arch-dukes, and principall Secretarie of Estate
for the said Arch-dukes. In this sort the Deputies were brought into Holland euen
into the heart of the countrie, where they might haue a 1000. meanes to discouer and
learne the scituation and humors of diuers particuler places and persons; and to
bee instructed therein; the which (as some men thought) shoulde alwayes bee
a very greate aduantage for them, whether this Treatie of peace tooke any E
effect or not.

Discourse touching their comming to the Hage.

Many men here-vppon made diuers strange discourses, thinking it to bee
contrary to the Estates former gouernement to suffer an enemie, yea and a
chiefe Commaunder of the enemies forces and Armies to enter in that sort
into the heart of the countrey, there to discouer both the vnitie and diffention,
strength and weakenesse, the consent of the people to the gouernement, and their
detraction from the same, and that thereby they had meanes giuen them to incite
diuers euill affected persons to reuolt from them. Others were of opinion that
it was a great ouersight committed by the Estates, to enter into a treatie concerning
so great and weighty a matter, with such Deputies as were bound vnto such instruc- F
ons, from the which they might by no meanes varie: and that they ought not (knowing
it before hand) in any wise to deale with them. But the Estates of the vnited Pro-
uinces being better acquainted with their owne affaires then other men, thought it
their best course; thinking that the curiositie of the common people was not so
great

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A great, as in regarde thereof they should neglect their duties for the defence of the countrie. 1608

And to the end that the vnited Prouinces might make the better vse, and reape the more benefit by the said treatie, and thereby preserue their estate, long before the comming of the sayd Deputies, they made diuerse motions vnto the Ambassadors of France and England, to the end that their maisters might enter into an assured and firme defensiue vnion, tending to the vpholding and maintenance of peace, (if it should so fall out that it were concluded and agreed vpon) and the freedome of the countries, and on the other side, to ayde and assist one another, if the said peace should not bee obserued, or that it were broken by the Spaniards or the Archdukes meanes; A league made by the generall Estates with the French king.

B which the sayd Ambassadors certified vnto their Princes: and to that end, vpon the three and twentith of Ianuary, there was a league made betweene the French and the aforesaid generall Estates, containing diuerse meanes and conditions, whereby they might ayde one the other, if the said peace were made, and after that broken either by the King of Spaine or the Archdukes.

The second of February Prince *Maurice*, with diuerse Lords and Gentlemen, went to salute and welcome Marquis *Spinola*, and the rest of the Deputies, with many complements: after that the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, went also to congratulate their comming, at which time they onely vsed a ceremoniall kinde of welcomming them, and so departed presently againe. After that the French Ambassa- Seuerall congratulations & welcomes giuen vnto the Deputies of the Archdukes, and the like done by them to others.

C dors went to salute Marquis *Spinola* in his Chamber, at whose comming to the sayd Chamber, the rest of the Deputies, went to the Chamber doore, to meete them, who hauing saluted the sayd Marquis and the rest, and taking their leaue each of other, the Marquis himselfe accompanied them to the Chamber doore, and so left them, causing the rest of the Deputies to bring them to the streete doore of his lodging, where their Coaches attended them, which the French Ambassadors disliked, thinking that the Marquis did it, as if hee thought him-selfe of greater state then they, in regarde of his place. The same day also the Ambassadors of England went to visite and welcome him, whome hee in like manner receiued, intertained, and suffered to depart, which they also disliked. The next daye after hee was saluted by the

D Ambassadors of Denmarke, of the Palsgraue, of the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and others.

The third of February, the Archdukes Deputies inuited *Earneſt*, and *Iohn* Earle of Nassaw, the young Earle of Hohenloe, the Lord of Chastillion, *Iustinus* of Nassaw, Captaine *Bax*, and diuerse others, to dine with them, where they were honorably intertained and feasted; and the same day after dinner, they went to the Court to salute Prince *Maurice* and his brother, with *William* Earle of Nassaw, where there past many congratulations and complements betweene them, from thence they went to see the French Ambassadors in the President *Ianins* lodging, who receiued them at the doore of their Chamber, and at their departure conducted them to the doore againe, and from thence caused them to bee accompanied by *Monsieur de Russy* to

E the streete doore, where their Coaches attended them: They also went to salute the Ambassadors of England at Sir *Richard Spencers* lodging, who also in like manner receiued them at the entery of his Chamber, and when they departed brought them no further, as the French Ambassadors had done before, each shewing thereby that their Princes were of no lesse Maiestie then the King of Spaine, to whose Deputies they were not to yeelde in any point of preheminence.

The fourth of February, *Iohn van Burgh*, Landt-Vooght of Hessen, Ambassador for the Lantgraue of Hessen, came to the Hage, to assist the Estates in their sayde

F Treatie, with the rest of the Ambassadors, who with in few dayes after had audience of the generall Estates, to whome hee deliuered the great loue and affection which his maister bare vnto the sayd Estates. Marquis *Spinola* during the time of his aboade in the Hage, was most sumptouously serued and attended on in his house; In his dining chamber there stoode two stately great Candlesticks of siluer, the which Spinolaes great magnificence during his abode in the Hage.

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1608. standing vppon the flower before the table which reached much higher then any A
mans head, in the which at night they sette great waxe candles that gaue light
ouer all the table: At his meales hee was serued with a rich cupboord of plate: his
Chamber was richly hanged with cloth of Arras, and the like Carpets on his boord,
and in his Chamber there was a cloth of Estate by the Table, but hee satt not vnder
it, and alwayes when hee went to dinner or supper, all his Plate with other siluer
ornaments were brought forth as if it had beene a Goldsmiths shoppe. At noone &
at night hee suffered euery man that would to come into his house, that they might
see him as hee satte at his meate, and euery day there was Masse saide openly in his
house, wherevnto euery man that woulde might resort, vsing as greate state as if
hee had beene a mighty Prince. And although many men were of opinion that it B
was a dangerous example, to suffer so great a resort of people to flock about his house,
yet the States would not in any sort seeme to hinder or lette the same, whether it
were for that they would minister no occasion of dislike or offence vnto him there-
in, or for that they esteemed not thereof, thinking it a matter of small importance to
preiudice them or their Estate.

The Estates sent to Marquis Spinola to know whether he would enter into treaty with them.

The generall Estates of the vnited prouinces, thinking it time to enter into the
treatie of peace or truce, which was intended vppon the fourth of February, they
sent to Marquis *Spinola* and the rest of the Deputies to congratulate them, and with-
all to aske them if they had any thing to propound vnto them, or whether they desi-
red onely to speake with their Deputies: where-vnto they made answer, that they C
had nothing to say vnto the generall Estates, but onely at their first comming to sa-
lute them, for which cause vppon the fifth of February they sent vnto them to know
if they would come vnto their councell Chamber on foote or in Coaches, and if it
pleased them to come on foote, that then they would cause them to be honourablie at-
tended on, or otherwise they would expect their comming to the Court; but they
made answer they would ride in Coaches, and the same day in the forenoone came
to the Court, where a conuenient number of the States themselues with Prince
Maurice receiued them at their comminge out of their Coaches, and so conducted
them to the Councell Chamber, where when they should enter, the Marquis shew-
ed great honour to Prince *Maurice* and would needes haue him to go first into the D
Chamber; at this Assemblie there was nothing done but onely salutations and con-
gratulations vsed on both sides, and at their rising vp, the States asking them when
they would proceed to the treaty of peace or truce, *Richardot* made answer that they
were ready and prepared to enter thereinto as soone as they pleased, and so for
that time they departed, being conducted out of the Councell chamber by the Prince,
William Earle of Nassau, the Barrō de Brederode & others, and when they came to the
dore the prince caused the Marquis to go first out, & that day they din'd with the prince.

The names of the Deputies nominated & appointed by the States to sit vpon the treaty of peace.

The Marquis *Spinola* being gone out of the Councell chamber, the Estates resolued
to determine vppon the electing of their Deputies, which were to bee chosen amongst
them to enter into the said treaty, and after some conference had between them, at the E
last they nominated for the commonaltie in general of the vnited Prouinces, *William*
Earle of Nassau Gouernor of friseland, and *Walraue* Baron of Brederode, Vianen
Ameyden &c. And for euery one of the seauen Prouinces one, as for Gelderland
and Zutphen, *Cornelis van Ghenet* Seignior of Koeuen and Meynerswicke, Vi-
cont and Iudge of Nymeghen: for Holland and West-Freezeland Sir *Iohn van olden*
Barneuelt Seignior van Timple, Aduocate of Holland, Keeper of the Seale, and Recor-
der of the said countries; for Zealand Sir *Iaques de Mallidere* knight, Seignior van Heyes
representing the Gentlemen of that Prouince: for Vtrecht *Nicholas van Berke*, chiefe
of the saide Prouince in their Councell; for Freezeland, Doctor *Gellius Helle-*
ma, Councellor in their Court: for Oueriſſell, *Iohn Sloethe* Seignior van Sa- F
licke, Drossart of Venlo, and Chastelaine of the Kuynder: and for Groning
and the Territories thereof, *Abel Koenders Thoebelphen*, and others that assisted
them, and at the same time they set downe certaine instructions concerning
two or three pointes onley, whereon they shoulde treate, and withall deliuered
them

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A them a procuration to proceed therein, most by the counsell, and instructions to be giuen them by Sir *Iohn van Olden Barneveldt*, as being the wisest and most experienced amongst them in matters of Estate. 1608.

The sixt day of February, the deputies for the Archdukes, and the generall Estates made their first assembly in the Hage, in a Chamber expressely appointed for that purpose, whereon each side hauing giuen seuerall saluations, and shewed their procurations or commissions to enter into treaty, the Archdukes deputies shewed a procuration from the King of Spaine, bearing date the tenth day of Ianuary, and a procuration from the Archduke dated the twelfth day of Ianuary, the first made in Madrill, and the second in Brussells, which caused no small suspition to rise amongst B the deputies for the Estates, that the sayd Spanish procuration was made vpon a blanke signed, and withall it was graunted vnto the Archdukes alone, and to such as they should substitute: but the Archdukes procuration nominated no substitutes: Againe in the Spanish procuration, the Archdukes were named heires and soueraigne Lords of the Netherlands; otherwise the said procuration was sufficiently made to giue them full power to enter into treatie with the Estates (touching peace or a long truce), in quality, and as holding and esteeming them to bee free countries and Prouinces, wherevnto hee made no pretences of soueraigntie, so as the peace were concluded in such manner and forme, and vpon such conditions as the Archdukes should thinke conuenient, to the honour of GOD, and the peace and welfare of Christendome, but vnderneath there stood at large and word for word C the same clause and exception, which was set downe in the principall approbation made at the first, if the peace should not bee concluded, as well concerning Religion as otherwise. The 1. assemblie.

The Archdukes procuration also was large inough, but in some places there were certaine preiudiciall clauses inserted, as amongst the rest, that the King of Spaines procuration was the same, and with the like declaration, as the Estates themselues had desired it should be. Which neuer-the-lesse was not so, for that the Estates expressly protested against it, as also that the same made no mention of the aforesayd Spanish procuration dated the tenth daie of Ianuary, but of an other procuration dated the eighteenth daie of September before, whereof they shewed no coppie, and that D daie there was nothing further done, but onelie the viewing and deliuering of their procuration, and so they brake vp for that time and departed: when as the Archdukes deputies came to the Court in their Coaches, they were receiued by the deputies of the Estates, and so conducted into the counsell Chamber, and going out were accompanied by them againe to their Coaches.

Vpon the eight day of February, the deputies on both sides met againe, at which time the Archdukes deputies made some exception to the procuration giuen by the Estates to their deputies, aleadging that it was not ample inough, but restrained to an instruction which they sawe not, which in such treaties they sayd was not vsuall, for that procurations made in that kinde ought to bee ample and sufficient, E but the deputies resolued them therein, and said that it was made in that sort for that they were appointed to cause each article that should be agreed on, one after the other to be ratefied by the Estates. The 2. assemblie.

The Estates deputies for their partes also shewed what difficulties they found in the Archdukes procurations, (which were such as are before declared) wherein they were likewise satisfied, saying that they were fully authorised in all pointes concerning the sayd treatie, and that they would shew and deliuer the Estates a conuenient act of substitution. And amongst other things spoken off, the Estates deputies asked them, if they had full power and commission giuen them to acknowledge F the vnited Prouinces to bee free countries, and to treate with them in that qualitie, wherevnto they freely and flatly said, I; and that therefore it was all one to them what title the sayd Prouinces in that respect would take or attribute vnto them-selues, yea although it were the title of a Kingdome. Wherevnto the Estates Deputies replying, asked them, why the Archdukes then bare the

armes

1608. armes of those Prouinces in his coate armor? whervnto they made answere, that, it was no strange nor new matter, for that in the same manner the King of Spaine wrot himself King of Ierusalem, the French King named himselfe King of Nauar, and the King of England bare both the name and armes of King of France, and diuers others in like sort, neuertheless they desired the deputies for the Estates, that what title soeuer they would atribute vnto themselues, they would haue such respect as it might bee done without any disgrace or blemish to their King and Princes reputations. A

The 3. assemblie. The leauenth day of February, they assembled together againe, wherein the Estates deputies propounded the first article concerning the freedome of their Prouinces, and that the King of Spaine and the Archdukes should from thence-forth leaue off and wholy desist from all their pretences to the soueraignty of the vnited Prouinces, as also of Drente, Linghen, and other places vnder their commaund: and which the sayd Estates as now hold and enioye, not onely for themselues, but for their heires and successors, together with the title and armes thereof: which article the Archdukes deputies desired to peruse and to take aduise therein, and so for that time they departed, sending presently a coppie thereof with all speed vnto Brussells, wherevnto vpon the thirteene day of February they receiued an answere, and in the meane time they made their complaint vnto the Ambasadors of France, England, and others, touching the strictnesse of the sayd article. B

The 4. assemblie. The thirteene day of February after dinner, they met againe in the Councell Chamber, where they declared their consent and approbation as it was set downe; with this exception, so as all the rest of the pointes and articles (that should bee propounded) were concluded, wherein they sayd that they hoped the Estates also would doe some thing for the King of Spaine and the Archdukes, touching the traficke into the Indies seeing that from that time forth they should bee friends in respect thereof, and that the sayd Prouinces should haue their free trade and traficke into Spaine, and amongst other things spoken of betweene them concerning the same, at the last they sayd that the trade into the Indies was the chiefest cause that mooued the King of Spaine to make such large offers vnto them and to enter into that treatie of peace. C

The 5. assemblie. The sixteene day of February, the deputies on both sides met in counsell againe, where the Estates deputies propounded two articles more, the one concerning the forgiuing and forgetting of al forepassed iniuries, and that no reprisales nor arrests should bee made nor suffered to bee made, but onelie for perticuler debts that might bee made on either side: the second for free trade and traficke in all the Kingdomes, Hauens, Townes and Countries of both parties, with protection, and no more nor further molestation to bee vsed as if they were naturall borne subiects: But presently the Archdukes deputies, made answere, that they neither ment nor vnderstood, that vnder the title of free traficke, the trade into the Indies, nor any part thereof was to bee comprehended, but that to the contrary the subiects of the vnited Prouinces, should presently desist from the same, which the Estates deputies would not yeeld vnto, thinking it should bee a great preiudice vnto the freedome of the vnited Prouinces, and their free trafick by sea, as also that their Estates would not by any meanes consent to leaue the same; and for that the Archdukes deputies did verie earnestly vrge the contrary, they brake off for that time without doing any other thing that day, and so they disagreed in that point, which afterwards was with great vehemency debated betweene them on both sides, the Archdukes deputies saying, that the King and the Archdukes would not sell the aforesayd title of free countries and Estates for nothing, but rather determined to make them pay well for that title, hoping by that meanes to abate and deminish a great part of the Estates power, and much to aduance their Princes welth and traficke. Whereby euery man iudged that in time the subiection of their Estate would ensue, which as then seemed to bee so much aduanced and honoured with that title of freedome: and for that cause many men beganne to murmur thereat, especially the Marchants which trade into the East Indies who perceiued D E F

A perceiued thereby that the Archdukes deputies ſought to take their trafficke from them, and ſo to impouerish the ſayd vnited Prouinces, and therfore they aſſembled together in the Hage, and made many publicke and particuler declarations vnto the ſtates, townes and prouinces concerning the ſame; as alſo vnto the Ambaſſadors of forreine Princes, ſhewing the great preiudice and hinderance which might growe by that point, and how hurtfull it ſhould bee vnto the whole Eſtate of the vnited Prouinces, as alſo what great trafficke and riches came vnto thoſe countries by the ſayd trade: what great returnes they had from thence: how by that meanes they drew vnto thoſe countries all their neighbour Princes ſubiects, money and meanes: and that without any charge to the countrie they entertained a great number of mightie B ſhipps, furniſhed with ordinance, munition, Saylers, and other things neceſſarie, ſuch as were not to bee found in many other kingdomes beſides; and in regarde whereof, they were much reſpected and eſteemed by many Princes and great Potentates, which peraduenture would not much care for their friendſhip, when they ſhould once perceiue theſe Prouinces to bee reduced vnto ſuch tearmes as they could neither much hurt, nor pleaſure them: and to that end they deliuered diuerſe and ſeuerall aduertiſements, ſome as Merchants, concerning their trade alone, others ſomewhat tending to the Eſtate of the countrie, amongſt the which one principally was worthy the noting, in regarde of many good conſiderations therein ſet downe, whereof ſome perticularities were, *viz.* That friendſhippe, commerce, and trafficke, C are neceſſarie conſequences of peace, according to the lawes of Nature, of all Nations and of all times; commerce and trafficke beeing euident ſignes of peace and friendſhip, which are neuer refuſed nor denied but vnto an enemy.

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Reaſons aledged by the Indian Marchants of the vnited Prouinces why they ſhould not leaue off their trade.

So as neuer any example was found, where any peace was concluded and agreed vppon, with exception of commerce and trafficke, the which ſhould bee no peace, but a kinde of baniſhment; which is neuer vſed but againſt enemies and malefactors.

Furthermore, that wee who muſt liue by the Seas, and are the greateſt Merchants, and beſt Sea-faring men in the world, ſhould bee forced to leaue the vſe of the greateſt part of the Sea, and of the richeſt part of the whole trafficke of the D world, were one of the greateſt diſgraces that could bee giuen vs, and eſpecially to ſeeke to reſtraine vs from other kingdomes and countries, where-vnto hee hath no pretence of Soueraigntie, nor ouer the Sea, whereon no man hath command, but the vſe thereof (*Iure gentium*) is free and open for all men, and wherein no man hath any particuler iuriſdiction.

This without doubt would bee a manifeſt ſubuerſion of our eſtate, which in theſe chargeable and great warres, could not bee maintained without free trade and trafficke at Sea, it beeing the onely meanes which GOD hath giuen vnto vs for our maintenance, and ſo conſequently, as much as our Sea-faring and trafficke ſhould deminiſh, ſo much in proportion would the power of theſe Prouinces decay; for E that our townes and inhabitants cannot bee maintained, much leſſe can wee haue any power by the particuler meanes of the rents and reuenewes of theſe countries, as other great countries and kingdomes may haue, but all our wealth muſt come from the Sea and Sea-faring.

And for that it appeareth by many declarations made, that the trade to the Indies exceedeth all our other traffickes by ſea, what-ſo-euer that is vſed by vs, both for the principall ſtocke, number of good Saylers, and power of Shipping, it followeth conſequently, that wee leauing off our Indian trade, ſhould deminiſh more then halfe our trafficke, not onely by Sea, (with-out the which wee cannot maintaine our eſtate,) but alſo by land, for that all our power and well-fare (for the F reaſons aforeſayd) muſt come from the Seas, and trafficke.

Which beeing duely conſidered, it manifeſtly appeareth, that (although no Marchants doe trade and trafficke, nor any man goeth to Sea, but for his owne perticuler gaine and commoditie) the common wealth ſhould bee much more hindered, and

receiue

1608. receiue more preiudice thereby then the particular members thereof, for that beſides that the common wealth conſiſteth of the particuler members, of the ſame who make the ſayd common-wealth; and that the ſame is powerfull and mightie according to the priuate Eſtates of the ſubiects and members thereof, yet is it moſt certaine that the particuler members can liue without the publike Eſtates, but the publike not without the particuler, for that the particuler members may goe into other countries, where they may as well trade into the Indies, as in theſe countries, but the common-wealth muſt remaine ſtill, and ſee it ſelfe weakened in power, according to the deminiſhing of the trade thereof, for that poportionaly and of neceſſity, as much as the power thereof decreaſeth; ſo will the number of Inhabitants, and wealth of the country decreaſe. A B

Beſides all this, it is to bee conſidered that the ſaylers, which are imployed in the trade of Marchandiſe by certaine priuate perſons, are verie manie, that without any charges or burthen to the countrie are kept and maintained in worke, and daylie at ſea, verie readie at all times to bee imployed about any important affaires of the Countries good, without the which it is impoſſible to maintaine any power by ſea, as by example wee ſee, that the greateſt Kingdomes haue no power at ſea according to their great wealthes, but onelie according to the traficke which their countries vſe.

Our fore Fathers, in times paſt vndertooke diuers great quarrells to maine-taine their ſea-faring and traficke, which as then was verie ſmall, for that their whole principall ſtocke was not to bee compared to the value of the bare ſhippes with the furniture thereof that now goe into the Indies; and beeing now ſo great and mightie at ſea (as it manifeſtly appeareth) wee ſhould doe our ſelues great wrong and iniury, by our owne conſents to ſuffer our ſelues to bee baniſhed from the two third partes of the world. C

Wee ſhould buy this title to deare, for that in ſteed that wee ſhould thereby bee honoured, it would purchaſe vs a great reproch and contempt, not onelie amongſt the inhabitants of the country, but alſo out of the land, both of our friends and foes: our inhabitants might iuſtly bee offended therewith, when they ſhould ſee that wee left of our trade, and that they were compelled to depart out of the countrie and Prouinces, our friends and alies would thinke and perſwade themſelues, that they were to expect neither faith nor troth at our handes, when they ſhould ſee vs forſake our owne inhabitants and countrie men, to obtaine a bare title of freedome. D

Moreouer finding vs to bee ſo much weakened of our power at ſea; (which is the eſpeciall thing whereby wee might aide and aſſiſt them) they will make no account of vs: ſo as entering into this treatie of peace vpon the confidence wee haue of our friends, and ſuch as are allied vnto vs, wee ſhall finde our ſelues vtterly deceiued. To aleadge that wee ought to content our ſelues with the ſame traficke at ſea which wee had before the beginning of the warres, is nothing els but that men would gladly ſee vs in the like weake ſtate for power and meanes, as wee were at the beginning of theſe warres, for the better effecting of their deſignes, from the which God defend vs. E

It is alſo againſt reaſon, that wee ſhould leaue that trade: for although that before the warres, wee did neither aduenture nor traficke into the Indies, yet, wee had both right and freedome to doe it, *Iure gentium*, which was not taken from vs by any man, for the King of Spaine was bound by oth to maintaine theſe countries and the inhabitants thereof in the freedome of their trade and traficke, of the which without doubt the free vſe of the ſea, are, and traficke throughout the whole world was the maine point, and it was neuer brought in queſtion nor once ſpoken of, vntill the yeare of our Lord. 1596. When as the King of Spaine made an expreſſe article touching the ſame, in the tranſportation of the Netherlands, vnto the Infanta, F

and

A and yet we remaine as free as euer wee were before the warres; the free nauigation and traffique into the whole world lyeth open for vs, whereof wee cannot bee depriued, without force and violence: which beeing otherwise done, were contrarie to the meaning of the Estates, for that they being freely and resolutely determined, not to enter into any treatie of peace, before they were assured of a full and absolute graunt of the freedome of these countries, vnder the king of Spaine and the archdukes hands and seales, the said king of Spaine and the archdukes, made promise by their seuerall declarations, to treat with vs, as with free countries, whereunto they pretend no maner of soueraigntie, and yet now by this treatie they will cut off the greatest trade we haue. 1608

It is also expresly mentioned, That each partie should hold that hee presently possesseth,
B vnlesse by the common consent of both parties, it were thought good, and found requisite to exchange certaine places; and now they would take from vs the most important possession that wee haue, which is, the possession and free vse of the two third parts of the sea, and the whole world: They will put vs from the places of traffique, which wee vse at the Indies, with the greater halfe of our nauigation and power by sea, without giuing vs any other places for them.

To obiect, That in regard thereof they renounce and acquit vnto vs, all their pretence of soueraigntie vnto these countries, they promised to do that by their letters, and that they would not take any thing from vs, but by exchaunge, and wherein wee should our selues giue our consent.

C To conclude, if wee looke into the ground of this matter, wee shall find, that it was in vaine for vs to maintaine so long warres, and to haue consumed so great a treasure, and so much of our bloud, to maintaine our freedome, if with our owne consents wee will make our selues seruile, and banished from the two third parts of the whole world. It was also needlesse for vs, to oppose our selues against the power and forces of our enemies, if wee will consent and yeeld to this article, That wee should not traffique with al nations, and which is more, not with those which are not subiect vnto the king of Spaine. It was likewise madly done of vs, to oppose our selues against the raysing of the tenth penie, which would haue driuen all trade of merchandise out of the countrey, when as we of our selues shall giue ouer the two third parts of our traffique and trade by sea.

D The reasons and considerations that might yet be added hereunto, are innumerable, but these seeme to bee sufficient to conclude, That although wee doe sincerely, and from our hearts desire a godly, honourable, absolute, and generall peace, yet wee would bee loth thereby to abandon the greatest and most profitable trade wee haue, and by that meanes to fall into greater miseries than euer: and yet wee protest, that wee are content to persist in our generall resolution, and the letters giuen vnder the hands and seals of the king of Spain, and the archdukes, and not to deale otherwise, than by this treatie, to hold and maintaine our freedomes, liberties, priuiledges, and antient customs, together with all that which at this present time we possesse and enioy, without the which wee would neuer haue begun nor entred into this treatie.

E These in effect are the principall reasons, alledged by the companie of Indian merchants, why they should not grant to leaue off the Indian trade, with many others, which for breuitie sake I here omit.

But for that the gouernment of the vnited prouinces consisteth of many parts, amongst the which there are many men, that esteeme not much of forraine trade and traffique, or at the least, not so much, but that they are of opinion, That the preseruation and maintenance of the tilling of the land, and the inhabitants of the Champian countrey, concerned them more, they could not enter into so good consideration touching the same, as was requisit and necessarie to bee had; wherefore the wisest men, and such as were of greatest vnderstanding, and of soundest iudgement, determining so to accommodat the matter,
F as both the one and the other might receiue some contentment thereby, for that cause had many meetings and conferences with the deputies of the aforesaid king of Spaine and the archdukes; as vpon the nineteenth, three and twentieth, and seuen and twentieth of the

Diuers mens opinions concerning the Indian trade.

1608 moneth of Februarie, and vpon the fourth day of March: at the which assemblies nothing A
was done therein, but each partie resolutely held their owne opinions, and would not yeeld
one vnto the other; maintaining them with many arguments and reasons concerning matter
of state, and also with great resolution and earnest pretences; in such sort, as the Estates of
the vnited prouinces, who for the most part were of opinion, That they ought not to yeeld
vnto the deputies of the king and the archdukes in that point, nor in any wise to desist from
the same, at the last they resolued to propound three meanes vnto the said deputies of the
said king and the archdukes, hoping by the one of them, to bring them to consent and yeeld
thereunto; which were, either by that treatie of peace wholly to graunt them their traffique
to the Indies, and the dependances thereof, or by way of truce to permit and suffer it for cer-
taine yeares; or to leaue all those countries lying beyond the Tropicke of Cancer in wars, B
and either partie to take such aduantage as hee could, in those countries, without seeking a-
ny amends or recompence against their aduerse partie, on this side the Tropicke, for any
wrongs or iniuries they should receiue in those parts.

But the deputies on the contrarie side, wholly refused those offers, first alledging, That
it was altogether contrarie to their commission, which expresly forbad them to yeeld vnto
the sayd trade and traffique to the Indies. Secondly, That the king of Spaine and the arch-
dukes, were princes which were addicted vnto peace, and not to warres, and therefore
know not how they should graunt or consent to so strange and monstrous a contract, where-
by both warres and peace should alike and at one time bee coucluded. And touching the
meane or the middle course, they say, they were of opinion, That something might C
bee graunted therein, so as the Estates of the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands would
consent and agree, that at the end and terme of the said yeares, they would desist, and leaue off
the said trade. But for that the Estates of the vnited prouinces declared, That they had not
such intent or meaning, but at the end of the sayd yeares, each partie should remaine as
they were at the first, and at their owne free choyce, nothing was done in that point at
that time.

The Estates of the vnited prouinces finding the obstinacie of the deputies of the sayd
king of Spaine and the archdukes, made a shew, as if they would make a motion touching
their trade into the West Indies, and to that end sent for the merchants of the West Indian
trade causing them to assemble together, to see what difficulties might be propounded therin, D
and thereby to further the same.

But the deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, made no account thereof,
esteeming it to bee but a scarre-crow, to put them in feare, and therefore still they persisted in
their first resolution, making their complaints to the embassadours of the neighbour princes
then resident in the Hage, holding that point to bee auncient and inuiolable for the estate
of their princes, as if they had taken and held them prisoners, they could not bind them to har-
der conditions.

The Estates also for their parts, made their complaints to the said embassadors, alledging,
That they being by the said princes held and esteemed for free countries, the said princes
sought to impose many conditions vpon them, which the prouinces vnder their owne com- E
mand, could not suffer nor indure.

In the end of Februarie the princesse of Orange came to the town of Hage in Holland, by
the procurement of the Estates of the vnited prouinces, bringing with her out of France, an
hundred and twentie fiue thousand crownes in readie money, where shee was visited and
welcommed by the most part of all the embassadors, and also by the deputies for the king of
Spaine and the archdukes.

The sayd deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, perceiuing that they could
not bring that point touching the trade to the Indies, to any end, or good conclusion, at
the last they declared, That they would conclude vpon a truce to bee made for twelue
yeares, and that to the same end and purpose they were content to proceed to frame other F
articles, and in the meane time to bee doing therwith, or with any of the other points.
Whereupon the deputies for the Estates of the vnited prouinces, made a motion, to

A haue all the points and articles ſet downe at one time, which on both ſides might be propoun- 1608
ded concerning that treatie. But they made anſwer, That it was both inconuenient and vn-
reaſonable to be done, as alſo that they were neither warranted, willing, nor prepared thereun-
to: and that ſome of them commended the making of peace with Fraunce and England,
which was not any part of their charge; but that they were readie to deale with other poynts,
and to treat of them one after another, as it is vſually done in all ſuch treaties: and that follow-
ing that order and common rule, they were content to deale with the points of limitation of
their borders on either ſide, touching free commerce and traffique in the prouinces of the
Netherlands, and for the reſtitution of goods and lands, ſeized vpon on either ſide: and
thoſe beeing determined, and diſpatched, to proceed vnto other points. Whereunto anſwer
B was made them by the Eſtates deputies, That on the Eſtates behalfes, there was nothing of-
fered nor propounded, that was vnreaſonable or inconuenient, concerning the deliuering vp
of all the articles which were to bee propounded on both ſides; ſo that the Eſtates for their
parts, to fulfill them, were readie, and to deliuer all the articles that might bee demaunded:
yet not intending thereby to exclude or debarre each other, from propounding any more
articles, that might bee, or were neceſſarie to bee intreated of, touching the peace, which
they vnderſtood ſhould bee free, and at either of their choyces; but onely that they might
vnderſtand, what would be propounded and demaunded on either ſide.

Whereupon the king and the archdukes deputies tooke time to conſider thereof, and for
that day departed; ſeeking thereby (as it ſeemed) on both ſides to get ſome aduantage one of
C the other, that the moſt politike might giue better inſtructions therein vnto their fellow de-
puties: for that ſome of them were of opinion, That it would bee a great furtherance vnto
them, to know before hand, what their aduerſe partie meant to propound touching the ſaid
treatie.

The ſeuenth of March the deputies met in counſell againe, where, after many proteſta-
tions (that it ſhould bee no preiudice vnto either partie, touching any thing that ſhould bee
produced or found neceſſarie to bee propounded and conferred of betweene them, but that
either of them might notwithſtanding remaine in the ſame eſtate they were) at the laſt the
Eſtates deputies for their parts, deliuered eight and twentie points or articles, which they as
then propounded: and the deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, ſeuen. The
D articles propounded by the Eſtates, were ſet downe as plainely as they might bee done, there-
by declaring their intent, with vpright and true Netherlanders hearts, that their aduerſe par-
ties might plainely and manifeſtly vnderſtand their meanings. But the ſeuen articles deliue-
red vp by marqueſſe *Spinola* and his fellow deputies (who peraduenture deall more warily
than the deputies for the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces) were obſcure, generall, ſhort, and
briefely ſet downe, ſo as they could hardly conceiue what they meant thereby, or what they
would ſeuerally and particularly include, treat of, or deſire of the Eſtates, in or by the ſame, poſ-
ſibly eſteeming it to bee a point much tending vnto their honours, that they exceeded the
Eſtates deputies in iudgement concerning that treatie, the ſaid Eſtates deputies hauing giuen
them all their meanings in ſeuerall and playne articles, and they to the contrarie paying
E them with a number of obſcure tearmes, from whence few or no particularities might bee
gathered.

And for that the reader may ſee what the articles on both ſides were, and giue his iudge-
ment, I will inſert them verbatim as they were giuen foorth, and the rather, for that I con-
iecture this treatie cannot bee ended in any ſhort time, as men in the beginning did hope
and expect: And for that this booke cannot bee finiſhed and concluded, with the deſired,
good, and honourable peace, that hath beene ſo long attended, I will ſhew what each par-
tie, vnder the pretence and colour of the ſayd articles, produced and ſet downe in the ſayd
treatie, and in what manner, and how farre foorth they haue diſputed and proceeded
F therein.

The articles deliuered by the deputies of the Eſtates of the vnited prouinces, were theſe
hereafter following.

1 Firſt, for traffique and trade of merchandiſe to bee made on both ſides, in the Nether- The articles of peace deliuered by the Eſtates.
lands, indifferently.

1608 2 Touching the assurance of trade and nauigation, and the dependances thereof, in the countries belonging vnto the king of Spaine, the archdukes, and the Estates. A

3 Renunciation of repriſals, with the dependances, and alſo for that which ſhal be made repriſals hereafter.

4 Touching the limitation of the borders and frontiers of either ſide, with that which dependeth thereon.

5 Whether it ſhall preſently be agreed vpon, about the exchanging or demanteling and rafing of certaine forts.

6 Touching the abandoning or ruining of the forts of Rodeort and Homburch, and of the towne of Berck, with the Weert, and the forts thereabouts, lying vpon the borders of the Rhine. B

7 The diſannulling of al ſentences, decrees, proſcriptions, and other acts made againſt the lords and others, of all quarters whatſoeuer, in regard of any confederations, vnions, religion, wars, and other matters thereunto belonging.

8 Reſtitution of lordſhips, and other lands and tenements, belonging to the prince of Orange (of famous memorie) deceaſed, for the contentment and ſatisfaction of the ſaid princes heires; not onely for that which hath beene done by the Eſtates of Brabant and Flanders, with the towns and members of the ſame, but alſo for that which is further demanded by certaine articles, which prince *Maurice* hath giuen vnto the Eſtates in writing.

9 Reſtitution of all lordſhips, lands and tenements, belonging vnto other noblemen, gentlemen, and all manner of men of meaner qualitie, taken from them by confiſcation, for the C
cauſes aforeſaid, not onely in the Netherlands, but in the dukedome of Luxembourg, and the earledomes of Burgondie and Charolois, with the dependances: And likewiſe of ſhips that were ſent out for trade of merchandiſe, and were arreſted or taken by the king of Spaine, the archdukes, or the Eſtates, ſince the 24 of May 1607.

10 Touching order to be taken for the reſtitution of goods arreſted either by creditors or debtors, in regard of the cauſes aforeſaid, and ſold to the preiudice of the ſaid parties.

11 Touching the arrerages of the rents of the lands confiſcated, and kept from the right owners, during the wars.

12 Touching the diſannulling of all gifts, teſtaments, and other ſuch like things, which in regard of confederation, religion, and warrs, with the dependances thereof, haue beene found D
to be made, to the preiudice of any man.

13 Concerning order to be taken for the paiment of debts, and other charges, made by the treatie of the old vnion.

14 The retyring of all foreine ſouldiers (being in ſeruice vnder the king of Spaine and the archdukes) out of all the ſaid archdukes countries, for that without their departure out of the countrey, the differences which then were to bee determined and debated, could not bee ended.

15 That the lawes of the Inquiſition, and burthening of mens conſciences, ſhall not bee vſed againſt faylers and merchants, that goe into Spaine, and other the kings and the archdukes dominions, nor againſt any other of the inhabitants of the vnited prouinces, that E
trauell thither: and that in their ſhips, they ſhall bee free to vſe their owne religion, and that for religion no ſhippes, merchandiſes, nor goods, ſhall bee ſubiect to confiſcation.

16 That the inheritances of ſuch as are dead inteſtat, and ſuch as hereafter ſhall die, in the countries belonging to the king of Spaine, the archdukes, and the Eſtates, ſhall come and diſcend vnto the right heires, whether they haue continued, or ſhall continue on the one or the other ſide; and that euerie one ſhall bee held and accounted for legitimat heire, according to the cuſtomes of the prouinces, where the actions (that ſhall fall in queſtion to bee decided) ſhall be tried.

17 The antient priuiledges of townes, vſed therein before the warres, ſhall on both ſides F
remaine firme in the ſame maner that they then were, without any exception.

18 That if any new controuerſie ſhould ariſe (which God forbid) the faylers, merchants, and their factors, ſeruants, and other inhabitants, ſhal on both ſides haue ſix moneths time freely

A ly to withdraw themselues, with their ships, goods, and satisfaction of their debts due vnto 1608
them; the time of the six monethes to begin presently after there should bee warning thereof giuen.

19 That if any thing (on both sides) bee done or attempted against this treatie, it shall be duely and fully satisfied and recompenced, and yet the sayd treatie shall remaine inuiolable.

20 That all prisoners on both sides shall bee set at libertie, without paying any ransome.

21 All ciuile actions not publikely decided shall remaine in full force, and no prescription to be alledged nor allowed, notwithstanding the warres.

B 22 Assurance to bee giuen for the particular treaties made, concerning the generall treatie.

23 A generall and speciall renouncing, derogation, and assurance to be made, for the keeping and holding of all and euerie point of the treatie.

24 A request to bee made to the emperour and the princes of Germanie, the kings of Fraunce, England, and Denmarke, to maintaine that which shall bee agreed vpon in this treatie.

25 The acknowledging of the potentates, princes, commonweals, and townes, to bee friends and allies, and to be included in the treatie.

26 Order to be taken about the prince of Portugals cause.

C 27 Approbation, publication, and registring, to be made of the treatie.

28 That all such things as may be propounded for the cleere exposition of the articles, on both sides, shall and may be produced and allowed of.

The articles propounded in the behalfe of the king of Spain and the archdukes, were seuen, which were written in French, the contents being as followeth. The archdukes articles.

1 Concerning limits.
2 The restitution of lands and goods.
3 For traffique out of the countries.
4 For vniformitie in the moneyes.
5 To keepe a generall course on both sides, for priuiledges and freedoms giuen to the En-
D glish merchants, touching traffique and trade of merchandise, as otherwise.
6 Concerning religion.
7 Concerning the affaires of neighbour princes.

As soone as these articles were deliuered on both sides, the king of Spaine and the archdukes deputies marking the number of the articles that were presented vnto them by the Estates deputies, sayd, That it would bee so tedious a worke, as it could not bee finished in a short time: and *Richardot* reading the point concerning the paiment of the debts of the vnion, said, Wee haue no money to pay debts; for all our money is consumed in the warres. The Estates deputies for their parts also, finding that their aduerse partie made an expresse article touching religion; and thereby remembring, that the same point concerning religion,
E was particularly specified in the Spanish procuration, and all the rest mentioned in generall termes; they desired the kings and the archdukes deputies, to make an explication of their intent and meanings, that they might know their minds therein, and whether by that article they intended, to compell the Estates, to leaue their religion; the which (as beeing free Estates and countries) they had, or should haue: and whether they thought, that as yet they had any right of soueraigntie ouer those countries, whereby they might prescribe them lawes: or whether their meaning was, vnder that article, to set downe onely, how the subiects on either side should behaue themselues, when they should come in any place vnder their aduerse parties commaund, where any other religion than that which they professe, shall bee vsed? But they could get no explication thereof from the sayd depu-
F ties; saying, That it beeing one of the last articles, they would make them an exposition thereof, when they came vnto it. And being much vrged thereunto, they sayd, That they had sent a messenger into Spaine for that purpose, and that they could make no explication neither of the one nor the other, vntill such time as they should receiue an answere thereof

1608 againe, or some larger commission from thence: and so for that time they brake vp the A
counsell.

The Spanish and the archdukes deputies, hauing in this manner gotten all the Estates articles, as they were particularly set downe, into their hands, sought to respite and prolong the time for a while, that so they might fully aduertise their princes, not onely what the Estates desire and intent was touching the treatie, but also of the humors of the prouinces, gouernments, and inhabitants thereof, or as much as they had learned, and vnderstood of such persons, of diuers places, quarters, and qualities, as came vnto them by meanes of the free accesse that was permitted: which their intent was first discouered by certaine words and speeches cast forth by their followers and seruants; and after that plainely vnderstood, at their meeting, made vpon the eleuenth and twelfth of March, wherin much was spoken, protested, B
argued, and debated, touching the matter of truce, the traffique into the Indies, and the manner, order, and freedome of the traffiques to be made into the kingdomes and countries of the king of Spaine, and the archdukes, in Europe: and after much disputation had between them, *Spinola*, and the rest of the deputies on their side, desired the Estates deputies, to make an article apart, concerning trade and traffique into Europe, and what assurance should bee giuen therein; and another article concerning traffique into the Indies, which they said they would send into Spaine and Brabant, that so they might get a further and larger commission touching the same, with exception, that the said articles should bee so qualified, as they in Spaine might like thereof, and not receiue more offence thereby, and that their princes reputations might not bee thereby impaired. C

And for that they did not well vnderstand the point propounded, touching traffique to Antuerpe, and other townes and places vnder the archdukes obedience, they desired the Estates, to permit *Martin de la Faille*, with two or three other merchants of Antuerpe to haue accesse vnto the Hage, that they might ioyne with them in consultation about that point, that so it might bee fully resolued vpon. Wherein the Estates deputies desired time to consider thereon, and after much consultation had about the drawing of the said articles, and the assurance to bee made, they were of opinion, That their best securitie was, to haue readie money deliuered into their hands: And after they had well considered thereof, they caused two articles to bee drawne, the one for nine yeares trade into the Indies, and the other touching their trade and traffique in Europe: and at last they concluded, to demaund for their D
securitie of traffique in Europe, from the king of Spaine and the archdukes, the summe of fifteene hundred thousand duckets, to be deliuered in readie money in the vnited prouinces, as a caution thereof: and that the Estates for their parts, would leaue the summe of fiue hundred thousand duckets in readie money, either in Spaine, or in any other countrey, for an assurance of the other traffiques.

The said articles being drawne and set downe, vpon the seuenteenth of March, in the afternoone, the deputies on both sides met together, whereas the deputies for the Estates deliuered the Spanish deputies the said two articles, drawne by them; which they tooke, and said they would consider thereof, and for their parts, they deliuered a long discourse to the Estates deputies, touching traffique to Antuerpe, and other places vnder the archdukes obe- E
dience, containing their opinions, how they vnderstood the same, and with what libertie and freedome it should bee permitted; which was, That their ships being full laden, might freely sayle out, or from any of their townes, to any kingdome or countrey in Europe, and with their ladings come backe againe, and passe through the Estates streames, without any further trouble or let, than hath of antient time beene vsed; as also to vnlade their wares and merchandises in the Estates streames, into their owne ships, or warehouses, by their owne men, and so to carrie the sayd wares from thence againe, without any further charge: and that no right of staple shall take place against any goods or wares, if they belong vnto the countries and prouinces, wherein the places of staple are contained. Against the which the Estates deputies protested, and especially touching the point, concerning the staple right: F
and after much conference and disputation had betweene them touching the same; as also about the articles and other things, each partie tooke time to consider thereof: The Spanish deputies saying, That they could not in any sort determine nor conclude vpon

that

A that treatie, before they had sent into Spaine, to haue their commission amplified, and for that the last prolongation of the truce began to expire, they said they were content to prolong the same againe for two moneths more, beginning vpon the first of Aprill; which the Estates deputies consented vnto, and thereupon prolonged the said truce vntill the end of the moneth of May. 1608

The 20 of March the said deputies assembled together againe, where the deputies for the king and the archdukes, mooued many difficulties touching the article concerning the time of nine yeares to be allowed for the Indian trade, saying that they could not allow thereof, much lesse permit, that in the said act any mention should bee made of the tropicke of *Cancer*, which goeth round about the world, & which in that case would breed a canker in Spaine; &
B withall they deliuered vnto the Estates deputies a certain draught concerning the same, made to their most aduantage, whereupon much disputation and contention grew again between them, for that therein they seemed to adde such a condition, as at the end of the said 9 yeares, the vnited prouinces should haue small hope of any further trade into those parts, and that within the said nine years also, they should loose a good part of the said trade: yet the Estates deputies receiued the said draught to consider thereon. And proceeding further to the point of securitie, the Spanish deputies said, that it was neuer heard of before, that any money should bee deliuered for caution in such a case, and therefore they could not allow of that point, to be set downe in such order, and the rather for that they had consumed all their money in the warres, and therefore knew not how to get any more money, or to put in any such
C securitie; neuertheless *Richardot* said, that the marquesse had credit enough, if hee would become caution for the same, and so in iesting manner seemed to refuse that point touching securities: yet notwithstanding many men were of opinion, that it was a matter of great importance. Touching the article for traffique in Europe, they made no great question, for that they expected certaine marchants to come from Antuerpe, about the same, whose pasports they laboured with great instance to procure.

The Estates finding that the article touching their trade into the Indies, was not well liked of by the deputies for the king and archdukes, and hauing that in their hands which they had deliuered vnto them, thought it not good to stand too much vpon their owne opinions, neither yet in that respect to breake the treatie, begunne with good hope and expectation of so
D many men; but rather to yeeld somewhat in that respect, & to accomodate themselues neerer vnto the desires of their aduerse parties: and for that cause they consulted seriously amongst themselues touching that point, to see how they might best frame the same, that so the countrey might not be wholly debarred from the said trade, but at the end of the said 9 yeares, they might remaine in as much freedome concerning the same, as they did before; wherein many difficulties were propounded by diuers men, beeing of opinion, that whatsoeuer should not be well and plainely expressed in that article, the vnited prouinces should be depriued thereof, as in the like cases it commonly falleth out with the weakest partie, for that the mightier partie doth presently take and iudge the obscure points to tend to their most aduantage, and so seeke to put them in practise, whereas the weaker partie (which is loath to be-
E gin warres againe) cannot withstand it, but of force must endure it, especially in a gouernment consisting of so many parts and members, as the gouernment of the Estates is, whereas the members that beare no part of the losse, are hardly to be persuaded, in regard of their own, & other mens hurts and hindrances (which neuertheless are sometimes by many persuasions and iealousies woone to stirre therein) to grant to the disbursing of any great summes of money, or to begin warre; and therefore their strict standing vpon the niceneſſe of that article, was not so well liked of by all the prouinces. They also agreed to make an other draught touching their trade in the Netherlands, and other parts of Europe, thereby also to reduce it vnto a neerer conformitie, & more agreeable vnto the writing deliuered vnto them by the Spanish and the archdukes deputies, which hauing done, they caused pasports to be drawne for
F two or three marchants of Antuerpe. After that, the deputies on both sides met againe vpon the 25 of March, in the afternoone, where the said draughts were againe read and considered of, but the Spanish deputies would not as then accept of them: so as after many disputations had betweene them, they brake vp for that time, to the end that euery man might consider the better thereon.

1608 The Estates deputies vnderstanding better the Spanish deputies meaning, what they chiefly desired, and would be brought vnto in that respect, once againe perused and mended their said draught, which they restrained and limited, as neere as the said article might by any meanes be drawne and deuised with least preiudice; and while they were busied about it, *Richardot* (thereby to stirre vp and persuade such persons as were against it, vnto a better liking thereof, and to dispose their mindes thereunto) desired to speake with them (which they allowed him) who beeing alone amongest them, beganne to complaine of the Estates precisenesse in that point, saying that the marquesse and he were much grieued, that they had beene employed in that matter concerning a treatie of peace, seeing they were like to loose their labours, for that the Estates in those points sought onely to haue their owne willes, and thereby would be the cause to hinder and breake off so good an action, as the making of peace was and would bee, desiring them therefore most earnestly, so to set downe and accommodate these articles touching the traffique into the Indies, and the trade and traffique in the Netherlands and Europe, in such points and tearmes, as in Spaine they might bee liked and accepted of; whereas to the contrarie it was to bee expected, that they would not onely bee disliked, but wholly reiected, and that thereby the said treatie would presently bee broken off, for the which hee seemed to be so much grieued, as the teares fell from his eies, thereby to mooue them thereunto; producing withall, many reasons why the Estates ought rather to bee a meanes to further the said treatie, than by ouer much precisenesse to cause it to bee broken off and made fruitlesse: which speeches vsed by him were no small meanes to mooue them to frame the said articles in a more indifferent manner; and the rather, for that many men were of opinion, that it behooued them to drawe vnto an end, that they might see the vttermost aduantage and benefit that the prouinces were to expect from and by the said treatie of peace, and what burthens the Spaniards and archdukes would offer to impose vpon these countries, in recompence of the title by them giuen and graunted vnto those prouinces, especially for that many of them were of opinion, if that they could make the vnited prouinces free from all pretences of soueraigntie of the house of Burgondie, and withall procure a peace and discontinuance of and from those long and bloodie warre (for that cause onely vndertaken and maintained) that then they had fought a good fight; and brought the matter to the desired end, and their shippe to a safe and an assured port: and for that cause they drew the said articles to as strict points and tearmes as possibly they could deuise by any meanes.

And so vpon the last day of March, in the afternoone, they met together on both sides, where they sate long, and there the last draughts of the said articles were read and deliuered; and after many discourses had betweene them touching the same, thereby to shewe the reasons thereof, the marquesse determined to send them into Spaine by frier *Iohn Neyen*, asking thirtie eight daies time to effect the same; for that as hee past through Fraunce he was to stay there certaine daies, and hoped in that time, to bring a finall answer out of Spaine touching the same.

The substance of the act for trade into India, whereon they stood most.

The substance of the article made concerning traffique to the Indies, whereon the greatest disputation arose betweene them was, that the inhabitants of the vnited prouinces, should continue their nauigation into the Indies after the manner of marchants, and traffique there for the space of nine yeares, from the time of the truce graunted and set downe, if that the treatie proceeded and were fully finished and determined; and to that endit was agreed that the said nine yeares should beginne on this side the cape *de bona speranza*, vpon the first day of September, in the yeare 1608, and on the other side of the said cape *de bona speranza*, vpon the first day of September, in the yeare 1609: and that they should traffique into all the places, hauens, townes, and forts of the Indies, which at the end of the aforesaid truce, shall not absolutely be vnder the power of the king of Spaine, nor his lieutenants: and in those places, hauens, townes, or forts, that are belonging vnto the said king of Spaine, they shall neither enter nor traffique into them, but by the licence and consent of those that haue authoritie and shall commaund therein, for the said king of Spaine, vnlesse it bee vpon some great extreamitie, in which case they shall bee vsed there like friends, as the subiects of the king of Spaine in like manner shall bee vsed in the townes, forts, and places

that

A that belong vnto the said States: And that during the said nine yeares, all acts of hostilitie vsed in those parts, shall cease, as well betweene the subiects of the king of Spaine, the archdukes, and those of the Estates, as of all the kings, lords, towns and places, that shal as then be in friendship and league with the one or the other partie; whose names shall within three yeres bee certified by the king of Spaine and the archdukes vnto the Estates in the Hage: and on the Estates behalfe, the sayd names shall also bee certified vnto the said king and archdukes within the said time, in the towne of Brussels, as it is inserted and set downe in the treatie: and that all wrongs and dammages done, and suffered to bee done, to the contrarie, shall bee demaunded, sued for, and repaired, in the places where they were done and committed, or in the places where those that haue done the said wrongs and iniuries, dwell and remaine, without dealing or medling therein in any other places or forts, or by repriſals, than onely in the places aforesaid. And that two yeares before the time of expiration of the aforesaid nine yeares, the king of Spaine, and the Estates of the vnited prouinces, shall send commissioners vnto the towne of Brussels, to end that trade in friendly and quiet manner. 1608

B

Touching the article made concerning traffique in the Netherlands, there was another draught made (but not agreed of, nor yet determined, for that the merchants that were expected frō Antuerp, were not come) seruing for a more ample interpretation of the article of free traffique, mentioned in the treatie, the contents thereof being, That the inhabitants vnder the archdukes and the Estates, should mutually traffique and trade together, after the manner of merchants, in all their prouinces, islands, townes, and places, with friendly intertainment and protection; and to the same end all their ships shal be admitted in euerie hauen of the said countries, on both sides, to vnlade, buy and sell their wares, rig and victuall themselues, and there shall stay, or depart from thence, as long as they please, and when they will, and not be charged to pay more conuoy money, tolls, or other customes, than the inhabitants of the said places, or any other nation, that are licenced to pay the least tolls, &c. And that all ships of Antuerpe and other places, sailing out to other kingdomes, and returning from thence again, shall with their full ladings, haue free passage at sea, paying all the aforesaid conuoyes, tolls, and customes, as the subiects of the said countries doe, without difference of ships or wares, or exception to whom they doe belong: the right of the staple for wines, onely remaining in the antient manner, as it was before the wars. That the merchants on both sides, by their owne men and seruants, or others, may lade, vnlade, and go with their ships where and whither they will, without difference or respect more of the one than the other. That the ships of Antuerpe, or other places, shall and may freely anchor and stay for wind or companie, or lade and vnlade in the streames and riuers of Holland and Zeeland, without any other disturbance as aforesaid: which fraught, taking in, or vnlading, shall be done from boord to boord, in such ships, and by such labourers as they were accustomed to be done before the warres. That all merchants, passengers, and other men trauelling into, and through the said countries on both sides, shall haue the like freedome for their owne chests, and other carriage, without entring the same in the toll or custome houses. That such goods as any merchants shall lay vp in the warehouses, or leaue in the hands of their factors, when time serues to bee transported, or else for that they find no conuenient ships, shall pay no more custome nor charges, than those wares that shall bee deliuered ouer from boord to boord. That the particular graunts, priuiledges, freedomes, and exemption of prouinces, quarters, townes, villages, colledges, places, or persons, graunted before the yeare 1566., and whereof euerie one, or any of them were possessed in the same yeare, and which are not contrarie hereunto, shall bee holden, maintained, and continued. That no higher tolls nor customes shall bee payed, nor in any other places than were accustomed before the troubles in those countries, and where the same were vsually payed. That all letters of mart and repriſals, graunted either in Spaine or the Netherlands, and made before the day of the date hereof, shall bee reuoked, and held of no force nor effect, vnlesse they bee vsed against such as shall doe contrarie to this treatie: and that no other letter or forme from henceforth shal be graunted, but vpon open deniall of iustice, to the vttermost sought and required; and that it bee euidently found and pronounced to be so.

Touching the article of truce in the Netherlands, which also was so much debated.

C

D

E

F

These

1608 These and other articles which were made and drawne in this treatie, and receiued by the deputies of Spaine, to bee sent thether by frier *Iohn Neyen*, I thought good to set down at this time, not to bee esteemed as matters freely past and agreed vpon, but that euerie man may thereby perceiue, how little the estates are enclined to ambition, in the articles propounded by them, and how willing and readie they are to accommodate themselues in matters that do altogether concerne their estate, or that may serue to procure vnto them an vpright, reciprocall, and free traffique in all places; and likewise to admit the same, that in time they may shew their affection, to the like and reciprocall trade and traffique: and that they seeke not to further themselues therein, more than other countries, which are not so necessarily bound vnto trade and traffique by sea, as these prouinces, but haue other certaine means to maintaine their estates: And that if the king of Spaine should peraduenture not like of, nor yeeld to the sayd articles, that thereby the reader might the better iudge, in whom the greatest fault consisted, either in those that haue declared and pronounced the said prouinces to bee free countries, and yet will wholly debarre them from a naturall and common freedome; or in those, who hauing right to maintaine and preserue all the parts and points of their freedome, yet neuertheless, to bee free from the miseries which are incident vnto the warres, had rather quit and relinquish a great part thereof, and content themselues with a small portion, thereby to shew the desire they haue to leaue the bloudie warres, and all ambition and desire of vaine glorie.

The States deputies inuited to dine with the marquesse Spinola.

The Spanish deputies hauing receiued the aforesayd expositions, of the articles before propounded, marquesse *Spinola* caused frier *Iohn Neyen*, to inuite the eight deputies (appointed by the Estates to treat of the peace) to dine with him, vpon the first day of Aprill, and with them sir *Iohn van Sanren*, who had beene somewhat imployed in the same; and at other times (as it was reported) had beene a student with frier *Iohn Neyen*: at which dinner they all dranke hard, specially frier *Iohn Neyen*, whether it were to shew himselfe to bee vpright and plaine in his dealings, and in the middest of his drinke to vphold, that the king of Spaine and the archdukes proceeded vprightly in that treaty, without any intent to circumuent them; or for that he would entertaine the sayd deputies in friendly manner, and make them good cheare, according to the manner of the Netherlands. After this frier *Iohn Neyen*, the next day, being the second of Aprill, went to Brussels, not respecting the weather, which as then was verie stormie and windie.

This matter thus brought to this point, and being vnderstood by diuers persons, how much the deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, laboured to debarre these prouinces from the whole Indian traffique, with all the dependances thereof, they made many bookes concerning the same, which were printed and set forth, one vnder the title of an aduertisement or forewarning, another vnder the name of a dreame, or conference, and diuers others; all for the most part tending to forewarne such as were in authoritie, and were put in trust to deale in the sayd treatie, to take heed of corruption, and of diuision and disorder in the countrey, as also from all the practises of Iesuites, and others, that seeke not the peace and quietnesse, but rather the disturbance of the countrey: which bookes were the better to be borne withall, for that (in so great and vncertaine an alteration of an estate, as is now likely to happen in these countries) they proceeded from such men, as are well willers to their countrey, and which take no pleasure in warres, but with all their hearts wish and desire peace, so it may bee honourable, godly, and well assured for them, yet could perceiue nothing else, but that vnder the shadow thereof, some secret practises might bee wrought, tending to the ouerthrow and subuersion of these countries; the which otherwise in a publike gouernment, such as is vsed in the Netherlands, is not well nor easily to be hindered: whereof the reader by the bookes themselues, shall haue better tast and information, which for that they are not pertinent vnto the hystorie, I thought good to omit, and referre the reader vnto the bookes themselues, which are extant.

By meanes of fryer *Iohn Neyens* departure for Spaine, many men began to find, that the treatie of peace was likely to continue long, for that they were to stay fortie dayes for his returne backe againe; and were the more easily mooued to beleeue it, for that during his absence, little, or rather nothing at all, was done by the rest of the deputies, that thereby they might

A might not discouer themselues, for that they were vncertaine whether their princes would accept and allow of those articles, and againe that they were to haue a more ample commission, to treat of so many articles, as the Estates had propounded and deliuered vnto them, and that therefore they would so manage their businesse, either by themselues, or by others, as that frier *Iohn Nayen* should be returned backe againe, before they would proceed any further in the treatie: and it fell out well to the purpose for them, that in the beginning of Aprill the Estates for the most part repaired to their own prouinces, and the Estates of Holland also for a time; so as thereby it rather seemed to be delayed off, by the absence of the Estates themselues, than by the deputies for Spaine; for that they alwaies gaue forth that they were readie to proceed in the treatie, although that in long time they had not once sought to enter into any confe- 1608
B rence or meeting.

Meane time there came a flying newes out of Brabant, that vpon good Friday there was a dispatch brought thither out of Spaine, the contents thereof being, That the king of Spaine would not graunt nor allow these countries any traffique at all into the Indies, nor to any places thereof, and that the Estates subiects were presently to desist and leaue off the same; and secondly, That the king would haue his deputies insist and vrge free exercise of religion, and grant of churches for the papists, & those of the Romish religion, that were in the vnited prouinces, and that openly and in all places; or otherwise, that they should leaue off and breake vp the said treatie. Which newes made many men (that were in good hope of the treatie of peace) to be much disquieted in mind; perceiuing that the proceedings and consequences
C thereof were so dangerous, as without the hazarding of the whole state of the countrie, they could not graunt that point vnto those of the Romish religion, at the request and motion of the enemies of the countrie, but it could not bee vnderstood long after, whether this answer out of Spaine were of such effect or not: yet they found that marquesse *Spinola* and the rest of the deputies were not much pleased, when they had receiued the said answer, or were aduertised thereof.

Many embassadours of forraine princes, as those of Munster, Cleue, and Cologne, when they perceiued the long proceedings of the treatie, tooke their leaues and departed from the Hage; the like did many earles and other noble men, as the earle of Benthen, the earle of Hohenloo (cousin to that earle of Hohenloo, which had done so great seruice to the Estates in
D former times) and others.

We haue shewed before, that frier *Iohn Nayen* was gonne into Spaine, and that hee was to returne againe within fourtie daies after; who not comming at the day appointed, gaue many men cause of great suspition, and the rather, for that it was giuen out by some of the king of Spaines ministers and seruants, that the king was not resolued to leaue his soueraignitie, but to hold it still, and to further the Catholike religion: and how that in Fraunce the Spaniards boasted what great aduantage and profit they had gotten by the treatie of peace late made, reporting the same to be much more than they expected, with such like words: the frier comming not againe, and *Don Pedro de Toledo* embassadour for the king of Spaine, beeing come into Fraunce, not onely to make certaine propositions of mariage, but also to intreat of this
E peace. The Estates of the vnited prouinces attended the returne of president *Iamin* embassadour for the French king in the Netherlands, who till the comming of the said *Don Pedro de Toledo*, was staied by the king in Fraunce: but the said king hauing giuen audience to *Don Pedro de Toledo*, he presently sent president *Iamin* backe againe into Holland, with letters of credit, who vpon the seauenth of August arriuing in the Hage, the next day had audience of the generall Estates, where he shewed them what great affection the king his master bare vnto the preseruation and maintenance of their estate, as well in peace as warres, and how that *Don Pedro de Toledo* in the name of the king of Spaine his master, had made complaint vnto the French king, touching the aid and assistance which the said king gaue vnto the vnited prouinces, contrarie to the treatie of peace made at Veruins, and what disliking the said king of
F Spaine had therof, offering all kindnesse and friendship in the king his masters name, vnto the French king, for the preseruation of their particular estates, if he would leaue off to assist, and abandon the said vnited prouinces: whereunto he said, that the king his master made answer, that he could by no meanes leaue them, and that his alliance with them was not contrarie to

the

1608 the ſaid treatie of peace made at Vervins, alledging that the king of Spaine for his part, had A
done much againſt the ſaid treatie, or at leaſt permitted it to be done by his miniſters, which
he declared vnto them at large, ſaying alſo, that the king aduiſed them to make a peace if it
might be concluded vpon reaſonable conditions, and that to the ſame end they ſhould with
all ſpeed moue the deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, to proceed to a con-
cluſion thereof, And that they ſhould not ſtay any longer for the returne of frier *Iohn Neuen*,
for that there was no apparance nor likelihood that they ſhould get any further or other co-
miſſion, than they had alreadie, but rather a worſe: and for concluſion hee ſaid, that the king
(in the meane time to ſupply their neceſſities) had granted to ſend them the ſumme of 100
thouſand crownes.

Whereupon the Spaniſh deputies were mooued by the Eſtates to come to a finall conclu- B
ſion, but they made anſwer, that as yet they had no further commiſſion from their princes,
than at the firſt, but daily expected the ſame; which the generall Eſtates vnderſtanding, they
reſolued not to treat with them any more, and to that end they commanded their deputies to
deliuer vp their commiſſion: the which vpon the three and twentieth of Auguſt was cancel-
led; withall declaring and ſhewing by writing vnto the archdukes deputies, what they had
done to procure a good peace, concluding with a proteſtation, that they could by no meanes
find it requiſite nor good for the eſtate of the ſaid prouinces, and the inhabitants thereof, to
treat any further therein with the ſaid deputies, and that it was a great griefe vnto them, that
contrarie to their expectations and deſires, that treatie was ſo vnprofitably broken off, and
yet neuertheleſſe comforted themſelues, that they were excuſable both before God and all C
the world, in that the bloodie and long warres continued in the Netherlands, were not chan-
ged into a Chriſtian, honourable, and an aſſured peace, for the ending of all the calamities, mi-
ſeries, and troubles, which haue happened and fallen vpon the ſaid Netherlands, and their
neighbours, together with the good inhabitants of the ſame, by meanes of the vniuſt preten-
ces of their aduerſaries: which declaration was made vpon the 23 of Auguſt, in the yeare
1608.

This reſolution, proteſtation, and farewell beeing deliuered vnto the archdukes deputies
vpon the 25 of Auguſt, they made complaint thereof vnto the embaſſadours of forraine prin-
ces then reſident in the Hage; whereupon the ſaid embaſſadours conſulted together, to ſee if
they could bring both parties to agree vpon ſome truce for many yeares; and to that end a- D
bout the beginning of September, preſident *Iaſin*, in the name of all the kings and princes
embaſſadours, made this propoſition vnto the generall Eſtates.

An admonitiō giuen (by all the embaſſadors reſident in the Hage) vnto the generall Eſtates touching a truce for many yeares.

Your lordſhips may well ſuppoſe with what care, affection, and ſinceritie, the kings & prin-
ces that ſent vs hither, haue vſed all the meanes and furtherance they could to aid you to at-
taine vnto an aſſured peace and tranquilitie, and to obtain all whatſoeuer they thought might
tend to your good and benefit therein; which notwithſtanding our continuall paines taken
to ſtay here with you, and therein to yeeld you our beſt aid and counſell, it hath prooued
fruitleſſe, to our great griefe and diſcontents, and likewiſe (as wee are aſſured) of the princes
that ſent vs hither, who were alwaies perſuaded, that the iſſue of this treatie would haue pro-
ued more ſucceſſefull than it is found to bee: and as their chiefeſt intents were to aid you to E
" make a peace that ſhould be abſolute and effectuall, iudging the ſame not onely to bee profi-
" table, but altogether neceſſarie for your eſtate; to the ſame end they gaue vs commiſſion, that
" if at the firſt it would not ſo fall out, that then we ſhould propound a truce to be made for ma-
" ny yeares, as ſoone as we ſhould ſee the treatie of peace to be broken of, in regard that it wil be
" much more profitable for you, than to returne to ruinous and bloodie warres: and for that
" it is now time to propound the ſame vnto you, wee haue thought it good to counſell and ad-
" uiſe you to incline your ſelues thereunto, ſo as you may obtaine ſuch conditions, as may pro-
" cure profit and aſſurance vnto your eſtate; without the which, our princes deſire not to
" mooue or counſell you thereunto: and to the ſame end we thought good to ſet downe theſe
" three articles. F

" 1 That the truce ſhall be made with you, as with free countries, whereunto neither the
" king of Spaine, nor the archdukes pretend any ſouereignitie.

" 2 That during this truce, you ſhall haue and enjoy free traffique into the Indies, as
" well

A well as into Spaine, and also in the Netherlands, and in euery place vnder their obedience. 1608

3 And that you may hold and enioy that which at this present you possesse, and that so you proceed to the rest of the conditions, which with reason may be had and graunted.

Wee partly foresee and iudge, that it will bee hard to obtaine these conditions from those princes with whom you haue to deale; for that seeing a peace doth not like them, it is to bee thought, that a truce with the like conditions will not please them: which if they reiect and refuse, then will the entring againe into armes on your side be excusable, and the willingnes and endeauours of our princes, to cease this miserable warre, shall be thereby well knowne, so as they shall haue a better subiect and cause to imploy their forces and meanes for your main-
B tenance and defence: but to the contrarie, if they seeme willing thereunto, then we counsell you to embrace it, because your refusall and denying thereof, would giue them much cause of disliking; the which wee find would be as beneficiall and auaileable for you (if you conclude it, as we wish you should) as in a peace it selfe: certifying you also, that our kings haue giuen vs in charge to tell you, that they are content to be bound for the performance and maintaining of the said truce, as they were also willing to haue done the like concerning the treatie begun by you, if a peace had beene made.

And in the meane time you shall haue meanes to settle your affaires, to pay your debts, and to reforme and amend your gouernment; and lastly, continuing well vnited together, the truce will be as a full and an effectuall peace, and thereby in time you shall enioy all the effects
C and furtherances, yea and many more, than peace it selfe would haue affoorded vnto you: but to the contrarie, if you begin warres againe, we see so many difficulties and dangers therein (beeing so well informed of the great aid that you shall need, not onely to maintaine your warres, in hope of your good proceedings, but also to defend your selues) as your best friends would be very doubtfull to supply your wants; but by meanes of this truce you may free your selues of all these charges, dangers, and difficulties.

We know well, that at this present you are much disquieted with the proceedings of your aduersaries, but this disquietnesse ought not so to diuert & alter you, as you should contraict to wisdome and reason leaue and forsake that counsell, which is most profitable and safest for you, and not suffer your selues by any motion of choller to do that which should bee hurtfull
D and preiudiciall vnto your estate.

This is the counsell my lords, that the princes your good friends giue vnto you, who are readie to ioyne with you, and to hazard themselues in your affairs; but yet you must remember (that if you enter into armes againe) that they cannot aid you, vnlesse they themselues fall into the hazard of warres; which all wise princes desire to auoyd as much as possibly they may, and neuer desire to enter thereinto, vnlesse by compulsion and great necessitie they are constrained, or that they expect some great benefit to be gotten thereby. It is euident that this warre is not necessarily to be vndertaken by you, if by a peace for many yeares you may free your selues thereof: and it is most certaine, that if you enter into warres, you shall beeis meanes to put both your selues and vs to great charges, and be a cause of great hurt and spoile!
E It is our intents and meanings to giue the like aduice vnto the archdukes deputies, and if they refuse to yeeld vnto a truce, we will then tell them plainely, that our princes for your good & defence, will doe all that which belongeth vnto true and faithfull allies.

This being likewise imparted vnto the archdukes deputies, *Spinola* and the rest desired
F daies time to peruse their instructions, and thereupon to returne an answer: and after foure daies were expired, they made answer, That their commission from the king of Spaine contained no point nor article of truce, vpon any such conditions as were propounded, and that therefore they could not deale therein, without expresse commission from Spaine: and for that cause they desired sixe weekes longer time to procure the same; but if in the meane time the Estates would enter into treaty touching the same, they said they hoped that for assurance as imported the archdukes, they should giue them full contentment. And vpon the ninth of September, they gaue certain articles vnto the Estates, which were, That the archdukes were content to enter into a treatie of truce, for seauen yeares, as well by sea as by land: That either side should enioy and possesse that which they then held: That during the said time the

king

1608 king of Spaine shall graunt them free traffique into Spaine, and that the said king of Spaine A
within two moneths after the conclusion of the truce, should declare whether he would cõprehend the Indies within the truce or not, and if that the king of Spaine were to be ioyned in this action, they desired twentie daies longer respite, and continuance of the said treaty, and that the said kings and princes should be aiders and assisters to keepe and maintaine the said truce, in like sort, as if an absolute peace were made.

This dilatorie answer being receiued, the generall Estates were of diuers opinions amongst themselues: & for that president *Ianin* embassador for France thought it expedient to let them stay the propounded time that was set downe by them to expect an answere out of Spaine; some of them resolued to grant so much time, but they of Zeeland, and many others, were of another opinion, for that they had not kept any time by them demanded and limited, & with- B
all finding the peace to be in a desperate and doubtfull estate, they thought it best for them, not to hold their enemie any longer within their countrey, wherein they had so many catholike friends, and might procure many more, which might tend greatly to their hurt and preiudice: and so at last they fully agreed vpon a generall resolution, which vpon the thirteenth of September they caused to be deliuered vnto them in writing, the contents thereof beeing as followeth.

The general Estates of the vnited prouinces (hauing duely considered of that which hath beene propounded in their full assembly, first vpon the ninth, and after that vpon the 11 of September, by the embassadours of Fraunce and England, together with those of the princes electors, and others of Germanie, that they would graunt vnto the deputies for the archdukes C
sent into Holland to treat of a peace, longer time of staying in the Hage, vntill the last of this moneth of September, to attend a more ample commission out of Spaine) doe to that end by these presents declare, that they had rather see the departure of the said deputies for the archdukes, towards Brussels, there to attend for their said further commission, for certaine good reasons deliuered by them vnto the said embassadors in their generall assembly vpon the 11 of September, and for diuers other considerations; but calling to mind how much they are bound vnto the said kings and princes, they are content (to pleasure them) that the said deputies shall stay here to attend their said commission, vntill the last day of this present moneth: which commission must be made to confirme the freedome of the vnited prouinces, not onely by the king of Spaine, but also by the archdukes, and that without any restriction, or condi- D
tions, and withall to acknowledge that the said confirmation shall not continue onely for the said time of truce, but for euer, to the contentment of the said general Estates, so as the said deputies for the archdukes, shall dispose their affaires hereafter: and for want of such full commission, to depart vpon the first of October, without seeking any further delay, neither of the said embassadours, nor of the Estates, if they cannot obtaine the same. Dated in the Hage the 13 of September, 1608.

Whereupon the deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, hauing receiued no other answer from their princes, and finding that their departure was so absolutely and so resolutely determined and set downe, they made preparation to depart, complayning that they had so strict a day giuen them and withall protested, that they were sorrie that a peace could E
not be made, doubting not, that if the Estates would haue had a little more patience, they should haue attained to a good end: this done, the deputies of the generall Estates went euery man home to their owne houses, they of Zeeland openly protesting that they would appeare no more there, vnlesse the Spanish deputies were gone out of the countrey, or that they could shew an absolute commission. Vpon the last of September, when they were readie to depart, marquesse *Spinola* and the rest of the deputies were inuited to dine with prince *Maurice*, whither they all came, except auditor *Verreicken*, for that he was hurt in one of his legges, and was carried in a coach from his lodging: after dinner, prince *Maurice* and the rest of the lords went with them to Riswicke, and there taking his leaue, he left his brother *Henrie* earle of Nassau to conduct them to Delft hauen; where the same euening they tooke shipping in F
prince *Maurices* pinnace, accompanied by diuers gentlemen, as *Emery van Lier* gouernour of *William Staet*; *Haulzaine* admirall of Zeeland, and others, who brought them to Antwerpe, and returned backe againe; from thence they went to Brussels, where they found the people

in

A in great expectation and deſire of peace; but all the comfort they could giue them was, that they were in good hope it would be concluded. 1608

Thus ended this long and fruitleſſe treatie of peace, betwixt the deputies for the king of Spaine and the archdukes, and the deputies for the generall Eſtates of the vnited prouinces (the which had filled all Europe with expectation) to the great amazement and griefe of many good men, which did hope to haue ſeen an end of theſe long, ruinous, and bloodie warres, and the concluſion of a good, firme, and honourable peace, or long truce. But ſeeing the hearts of kings are in the hands of God, who directs all their actions and reſolutions as he thinketh beſt, let vs Netherlanders (hauing compaſſion one of anothers miſeries) pray inceſſant-
B ly vnto him to inſpire theſe princes and Eſtates with mild and peacefull ſpirits, for the finiſhing of this good worke (if it may be) for his glorie, and the good of the countrie; whereby there may enſue a Chriſtian peace, quietneſſe, and vnitie in the Netherlands, on either ſide, and loue each to other, refraining to ſhed blood: and laſtly, that the Netherlands may thereby attaine vnto their ancient and flouriſhing eſtate and gouernment, God well ſerued, and euery man to enioy his owne freely, and without feare; the which the Lord God of his mercie graunt.

FINIS.



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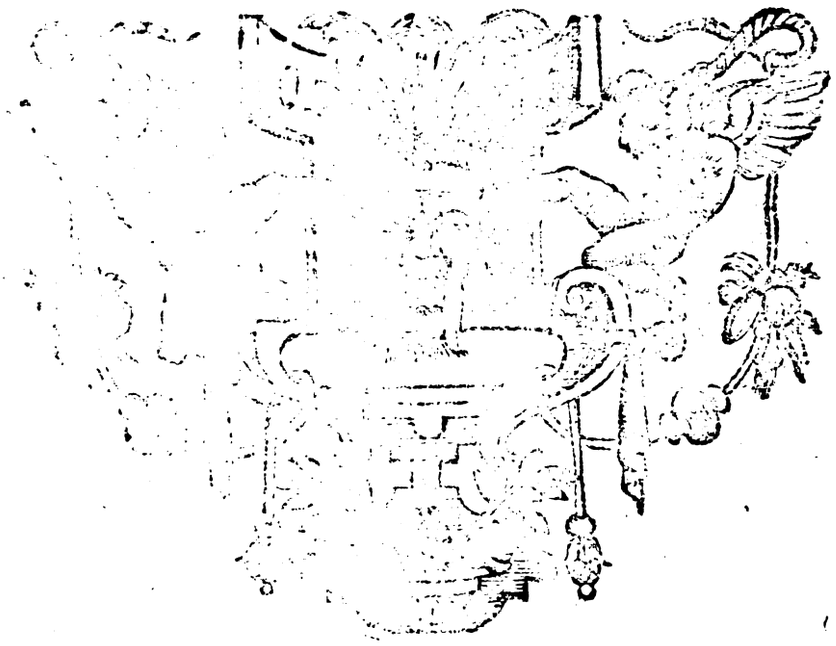

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ERRATA.

Page 149. line 18. for haue make read haue made. page, 210. line, 2. for want ſuccors want of ſuccors, *ibid.* line 27, for *Abert* read *Albert*, p. 230, l, 12 for except read accept, p, 277. line 32, for 4000, Stephanos read 4000. Spaniards, p, 335. l. 47 for Bunen, Brunen. *ibid.* l. 48, for *Daurſt*, *Erneſtus*, p, 360. l, 51. for ſtatures, ſtatues p. 370. l. 46 for refuſe to his duty, refuſe to do his duty, p, 381. l. 49. for *ſalus ſpirans minarum*, *ſaulus ſpirans minarum* pag, 390 l. 37, for that had not bin the preſentation of our petition, had not the preſentation of our petition bin, p, 398, l. 11. for apoſtume impoſtume, pag, 418, li, 10, for what wrong e was, what wrong was done, pag, 421, lin, 53, for into the riuer, to the riuer, page, 42 , l. 27, for ſaying ſaid, pag, 45 . l 52, for and had written, and haning written, p, 46 , l. 10. for oppreſſe to read to oppreſſe, p, 474, li 29, for ſlaied him ſlaine him, pag, 410, l. 24 of the Audenarde Delethe, p, 532. l, 23, noriſhing, for noriſher, p, 535 l. 13, Valencia, for valenciennes, p, 540, line 24. landed for laden, p, 542, l. there wants, (the ayre and ſea were ſo full of fire, flame,) and ſmoake, p, 543, lin. 8, the for they, *ibid.* l, 1 , they for the. p, 545, l. 28, and buſied, for being buſied, *ibid.* l. 31. newly, for lately, *ibid.* 50. there for three p, 546 l. 46 ſailes for ſaylers. p, 547, l 24. to of the towne, for out of the towne, *ibid.* line 29, heads for hearts. p, 550, l. 53, well found, for were found, p, 557. l, 35. yee for yea. p. 555. l. 46, points, for parts *ibid*, li. 55. as were, for as it were, p, 562, l. 48, haue ſpent, for haue beene ſpent, p, 563 lin 9, wonderfull there, for wonderfull thing there *ibid.* l. 20 and to, for or to, p, 568. l. 14, about for about. p, 572, l, 7. *paria* for *parui*, p, 576. l. 37. D'*Alua*, for D'*Alua*. p. 582 l. 17, garden or parlor of Holland, for garden or parke &c. pa. 790. l 14, for Buguoy read Buſquoy p, 798. l. 46, for, 200. re. 200 thouſand, pa 801. li. 29. for the Eſclarte of the Cautere, read the orifice or mouth of the wound p, 830 l. 46, for diſſwading, perſwading, p, 834. l. 9, for that charge, that had charge, p, 844. l. 19. for, excelled, exceeded, *ibid.* l. 23, for affected inclined, p, 845 lin. 55. for *Bloyde Boyde*, p, 847. for no leſſe no more, p, 852, l. 10. for franck country, franch countie. p, 862. l. 15 for they conforme they would, p, 895. l. 13. for Zeland, Holland, *ibid.* 46. for honorable, excellent. p, 911, l. 13. for letter better, *ibi.* 21, for gotten by an, gotten an *ibid.* 39, for the noble councel re. the councel, p, 914 l 3, for Menes, Meurs, p, 923. l. 10. for by her, to her. p, 937 line 49, for neuer profit, neuer bring profit, p, 55 , for we, who draw, p, 943. l. 52, for battered , betraied *ibid.* p, 952. l. 1 points for po nts, *ibid.* 12, for as hereafter we ſhall ſhew, re. as we haue ſhowne, p, 962, l 7, for though. to, re. though good to. *ibid* l 34 for *Iacob* re. *Iames*. pa, 564. l. 4, for with the loſſe, re. without the loſſe. p: 969. l. 18, law for loue, page, 970. line 16, leaue for law, and lymit him, page. 971 line 15. ſufficient, for ſufficiently. page 974 line 42. that is, for that it is. pa, 976. line 22. miſſliked, for miſſled, *ibid* line 38. the for their. *ibid.* line 35 then it, for then if. p. 986. l. 45, in his hands, for in her. pa. 988. l. 30. himſelfe for herſelfe, p, 989. l. 45 preuenting for pretending. p. 990. l. 55, Scotland for Soet eland p. 991. l. 3. make for made. p. 994. li 22. for 1588. re 1586, p. 995 li. 29. review for renew. 998, l 30. 2000. faylers for ſouldiars. p, 1001. l. 46. they cheefee. for their chiefe. *ibid.* 22, ſuſpecting and to be left out. p, 1002. l. 17. ſame vice-ad. for ſame day the Vice-admirall 1005 l. 1. ſo kept, for and ſo kept. p. 1046. l. 23. boate for beate. p. 1175. l. 39. entring any part, for into any part. *ibid.* l 47. with danger of the *Spaniards*, for without danger. page 1170. l. 31. beeing to anotomy, for beeing conſumed to an. pa, 1308, l. 35. *Ibanna* for *Ibarra*. p, 1319. l. 49, *Iocoy*, for *Iuoy*, *ibid.* *Ayda* for *Ayala*, p, 1337. line 16, it is not, for is it not, p, 1346, l, 14, Solme for Solue.

The expoſition of ſome words vſed throughout the whole courſe of the Hiſtory.

Droſſart. A Deputy lieutenant for a Prouince. *Eſcouuetè.* A Baylife for the leauying of fines. *Schepen.* A Iudge in ciuil and criminal cauſes. *Seating.* Scotting or taxing. *Rouard.* Gouernor of a Prouince.

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