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FERNANDO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO,
DUKE OF ALVA.

*From the Original by Titian, in the possession
of the Duke of Alva, at Madrid.*

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required his own services to carry them into execution. Had the pacific course been taken, Feria, or more probably Ruy Gomez, would have been intrusted with the direction of affairs. Indeed, Montigny and Bergen, still detained in reluctant captivity at Madrid, strongly urged the king to send the prince of Eboli, as a man, who, by his popular manners and known discretion, would be most likely to reconcile opposite factions.⁶ Were violent measures, on the other hand, to be adopted, to whom could they be so well intrusted as to the duke himself, the most experienced captain of his time?

The king, it is said, contrary to his custom, was present at the meeting of the council, and listened to the debate. He did not intimate his opinion. But it might be conjectured to which side he was most likely to lean, from his habitual preference for coercive measures.⁷

Philip came to a decision sooner than usual. In a few days he summoned the duke, and told him that he had resolved to send him forthwith, at the head of an army, to the Netherlands. It was only, however, to prepare the way for his own coming, which would take place as soon as the country was in a state sufficiently settled to receive him.

⁶ "Ouy, et que plus est, oserions presques asseurer Vostre Majesté plusieurs des mauvais et des principaulx, voiant ledit prince de Heboli, se viendront réconcilier à luy, et le supplier avoir, par son moien, faire vers Vostre Majesté." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 519.

⁷ The debate is reported with sufficient minuteness both by Ca-

brera (Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. vii.) and Strada (De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 338). They agree, however, neither in the names of the parties present, nor in the speeches they made. Yet their disagreement in these particulars is by no means so surprising as their agreement in the most improbable part of their account,—Philip's presence at the debate.

All was now alive with the business of preparation in Castile. Levies were raised throughout the country. Such was the zeal displayed, that even the Inquisition and the clergy advanced a considerable sum towards defraying the expenses of an expedition which they seemed to regard in the light of a crusade.⁸ Magazines of provisions were ordered to be established at regular stations on the proposed line of march. Orders were sent, that the old Spanish garrisons in Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, should be transported to the place of rendezvous in Piedmont, to await the coming of the duke, who would supply their places with the fresh recruits brought with him from Castile.

Philip meanwhile constantly proclaimed that Alva's departure was only the herald of his own. He wrote this to Margaret, assuring her of his purpose to go by water, and directing her to have a squadron of eight vessels in readiness to convoy him to Zealand, where he proposed to land. The vessels were accordingly equipped. Processions were made, and prayers put up in all the churches, for the prosperous passage of the king. Yet there were some in the Netherlands who remarked that prayers to avert the dangers of the sea were hardly needed by the monarch in his palace at Madrid!⁹ Many of those about the royal person soon indulged in the same scepticism in regard to the king's sincerity, as week after week passed away, and no arrangements were made for his departure. Among the contradictory rumors at court in respect

⁸ "Comme si c'eust esté une sainte guerre." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 52.

⁹ Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 350.

to the king's intention, the pope's nuncio wrote, it was impossible to get at the truth.¹⁰ It was easy to comprehend the general policy of Philip, but impossible to divine the particular plans by which it was to be carried out. If such was the veil which hid the monarch's purposes even from the eyes of those who had nearest access to his person, how can we hope at this distance of time to penetrate it? Yet the historian of the nineteenth century is admitted to the perusal of many an authentic document revealing the royal purpose, which never came under the eye of the courtier of Madrid.

With all the light thus afforded, it is still difficult to say whether Philip ever was sincere in his professions of visiting the Netherlands. If he were so at any time, it certainly was not after he had decided on the mission of Alvá. Philip widely differed from his father in a sluggishness of body which made any undertaking that required physical effort exceedingly irksome. He shrunk from no amount of sedentary labour, would toil from morning till midnight in his closet, like the humblest of his secretaries. But a journey was a great undertaking. After his visits, during his father's lifetime, to England and the Low Countries, he rarely travelled farther, as his graceless son satirically hinted, than from Madrid to Aranjuez, or Madrid to the Escorial. A thing so formidable as an expedition to Flanders, involving a tedious journey

¹⁰ "Il répète," says Gachard, "dans une dépêche du 1^{er} septembre, qu'au milieu des bruits contradictoires qui circulent à la cour,

il est impossible de démêler la vérité." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i., Rapport, p. clvi.

through an unfriendly land, or a voyage through seas not less unfriendly, was what, under ordinary circumstances, the king would have never dreamed of.

The present aspect of affairs, moreover, had nothing in it particularly inviting, — especially to a prince of Philip's temper. Never was there a prince more jealous of his authority ; and the indignities to which he might have been exposed, in the disorderly condition of the country, might well have come to the aid of his constitutional sluggishness to deter him from the visit.

Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Philip, if he had ever entertained a vague project of a journey to the Netherlands, should have yielded to his natural habit of procrastination. The difficulties of a winter's voyage, the necessity of summing cortes and settling the affairs of the kingdom, his own protracted illness, furnished so many apologies for postponing the irksome visit, until the time had passed when such a visit could be effectual.

That he should so strenuously have asserted his purpose of going to the Netherlands may be explained by a desire in some sort to save his credit with those who seemed to think that the present exigency demanded he should go. He may have also thought it politic to keep up the idea of a visit to the Low Countries, in order to curb—as it no doubt had the effect in some degree of curbing—the license of the people, who believed they were soon to be called to a reckoning for their misdeeds by their prince in person. After all, the conduct of Philip on this occasion, and the motives assigned for his delay in his letters to

Margaret, must be allowed to afford a curious coincidence with those ascribed, in circumstances not dissimilar, by the Roman historian to Tiberius.¹¹

On the fifteenth of April, 1567, Alva had his last audience of Philip at Aranjuez. He immediately after departed for Carthagena, where a fleet of thirty-six vessels, under the Genoese Admiral Doria, lay riding at anchor to receive him. He was detained some time for the arrival of the troops, and while there he received despatches from court containing his commission of captain-general, and particular instructions as to the course he was to pursue in the Netherlands. They were so particular, that, notwithstanding the broad extent of his powers, the duke wrote to his master complaining of his want of confidence, and declaring that he had never been hampered by instructions so minute, even under the emperor.¹² One who has studied the character of Philip will find no difficulty in believing it.

On the twenty-seventh of April, the fleet weighed anchor ; but in consequence of a detention of some days at several places on the Catalan coast, it did not reach the Genoese port of Savona till the seventeenth of the next month. The duke had been ill when he went on board ; and his gouty constitution received no benefit from the voyage. Yet he did not decline the hospitalities offered by the Genoese nobles, who

¹¹ "Ceterùm, ut jam jamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem, aut negotia variè causatus, primò prudentes, dein vulgum, ditissimè provincias fefellit." Taciti Annales, I. xlvii.

¹² "Es la primera que se me da en mi vida de cosas desta qualidad en cuantas veces he servido, ni de su Magestad Cesárea que Dios tenga, ni de V. M." Documentos Inéditos, tom. iv. p. 354.

vied with the senate in showing the Spanish commander every testimony of respect. At Asti he was waited on by Albuquerque, the Milanese viceroy, and by ambassadors from different Italian provinces, eager to pay homage to the military representative of the Spanish monarch. But the gout under which Alva labored was now aggravated by an attack of tertian ague, and for a week or more he was confined to his bed.

Meanwhile the troops had assembled at the appointed rendezvous; and the duke, as soon as he had got the better of his disorder, made haste to review them. They amounted in all to about ten thousand men, of whom less than thirteen hundred were cavalry. But though small in amount, it was a picked body of troops, such as was hardly to be matched in Europe. The infantry, in particular, were mostly Spaniards, — veterans who had been accustomed to victory under the banner of Charles the Fifth, and many of them trained to war under the eye of Alva himself. He preferred such a body, compact and well disciplined as it was, to one which, unwieldy from its size, would have been less fitted for a rapid march across the mountains.¹³

Besides those of the common file, there were many

¹³ A magnanimous Castilian historian pronounces a swelling panegyric on this little army in a couple of lines: "Los Soldados podian ser Capitanes, los Capitanes Maestros de Campo, y los Maestros de Campo Generales." *Hechos de Sancho Davila*, (Valladolid, 1713,) p. 26.

The chivalrous Brantôme dwells with delight on the gallant bearing

and brilliant appointments of these troops, whom he saw in their passage through Lorraine. "Tous vieux et aguerrys soldatz, tant bien en point d'habillement et d'armes, la pluspart dorées, et l'autre gravées, qu'on les prenoit plustost pour capitaines que soldats." *Œuvres*, tom. i. p. 60.

gentlemen and cavaliers of note, who, weary of repose, came as volunteers to gather fresh laurels under so renowned a chief as the duke of Alva. Among these was Vitelli, marquis of Cetona, a Florentine soldier of high repute in his profession, but who, though now embarked in what might be called a war of religion, was held so indifferent to religion of any kind, that a whimsical epitaph on the sceptic denies him the possession of a soul.¹⁴ Another of these volunteers was Mondragone, a veteran of Charles the Fifth, whose character for chivalrous exploit was unstained by those deeds of cruelty and rapine which were so often the reproach of the cavalier of the sixteenth century. The duties of the commissariat, particularly difficult in a campaign like the present, were intrusted to an experienced Spanish officer named Ibarra. To the duke of Savoy Alva was indebted for an eminent engineer named Paciotti, whose services proved of great importance in the construction of fortresses in the Netherlands. Alva had also brought with him his two sons, Frederic and Ferdinand de Toledo, — the latter an illegitimate child, for whom the father showed as much affection as it was in his rugged nature to feel for any one. To Ferdinand was given the command of the cavalry, composed chiefly of Italians.¹⁵

¹⁴ "Corpus in Italia est, tenet intestina
Brabantus;
Ast animam nemo. Cur? quia non
habet."

Borgnet, Philippe II. et la Belgique, p. 60.

¹⁵ No two writers, of course, agree in the account of Alva's forces. The exact returns of the amount of the whole army, as well

as of each company, and the name of the officer who commanded it, are to be found in the Documentos Inéditos (tom. iv. p. 382). From this it appears that the precise number of horse was 1,250, and that of the foot 8,800, making a total of 10,050.

Having reviewed his forces, the duke formed them into three divisions. This he did in order to provide the more easily for their subsistence on his long and toilsome journey. The divisions were to be separated from one another by a day's march; so that each would take up at night the same quarters which had been occupied by the preceding division on the night before. Alva himself led the van.¹⁶

He dispensed with artillery, not willing to embarrass his movements in his passage across the mountains. But he employed what was then a novelty in war. Each company of foot was flanked by a body of soldiers, carrying heavy muskets with rests attached to them. This sort of fire-arms, from their cumbersome nature, had hitherto been used only in the defence of fortresses. But with these portable rests, they were found efficient for field service, and as such came into general use after this period.¹⁷ Their introduction by Alva may be regarded, therefore, as an event of some importance in the history of military art.

The route that Alva proposed to take was that over Mount Cenis, the same, according to tradition, by which Hannibal crossed the great barrier some eighteen

¹⁶ A poem in *ottava rima*, commemorating Alva's expedition, appeared at Antwerp the year following, from the pen of one Balthazar de Vargas. It has more value in a historical point of view than in a poetical one. A single stanza, which the bard devotes to the victualling of the army, will probably satisfy the appetite of the reader:—

“Y por que la Savoya es montañosa,
Y an de passar por ella las legiones,
Seria la passada trabajosa
Si a la gente faltassen provisiones,
El real commissario no reposa,
Haze llevar de Italia municiones
Tantas que proveyo todo el camino
Que jamas faltó el pan, y carno, y vino.”

¹⁷ Ossorio, *Albæ Vita*, tom. ii. p. 237.—Trillo, *Rebelion y Guerras de Flandes*, (Madrid, 1592,) fol. 17.—Leti, *Vita di Filippo II.*, tom. i. p. 490.

centuries before.¹⁸ If less formidable than in the days of the Carthaginian, it was far from being the practicable route so easily traversed, whether by trooper or tourist, at the present day. Steep rocky heights, shaggy with forests, where the snows of winter still lingered in the midst of June; fathomless ravines, choked up with the *débris* washed down by the mountain torrent; paths scarcely worn by the hunter and his game, affording a precarious footing on the edge of giddy precipices; long and intricate defiles, where a handful of men might hold an army at bay, and from the surrounding heights roll down ruin on their heads;—these were the obstacles which Alva and his followers had to encounter, as they threaded their toilsome way through a country where the natives bore no friendly disposition to the Spaniards.

Their route lay at no great distance from Geneva, that stronghold of the Reformers; and Pius the Fifth would have persuaded the duke to turn from his course, and exterminate this “nest of devils and apostates,”¹⁹—as the Christian father was pleased to term them. The people of Geneva, greatly alarmed at the prospect of an invasion, applied to their Hu-

¹⁸ So say Schiller, (*Abfall der Niederlande*, s. 363.) Cabrera, (*Filipe Segundo*, lib. vii. cap. 15.) *et. auct. al.* But every schoolboy knows that nothing is more unsettled than the route taken by Hannibal across the Alps. The two oldest authorities, Livy and Polybius, differ on the point, and it has remained a vexed question ever since,—the criticism of later years, indeed, leaning to still another route, that across the Little St.

Bernard. The passage of Hannibal forms the subject of a curious discussion introduced into Gibbon's journal, when the young historian was in training for the mighty task of riper years. His reluctance, even at the close of his argument, to strike the balance, is singularly characteristic of his sceptical mind.

¹⁹ “A suidar da quel nido di Demoni, le sceleraggini di tanti Appostati.” Leti, *Vita di Filippo II.*, tom. i. p. 487.

guenot brethren for aid. The prince of Condé and the Admiral Coligni—the leaders of that party—offered their services to the French monarch to raise fifty thousand men, fall upon his old enemies, the Spaniards, and cut them off in the passes of the mountains. But Charles the Ninth readily understood the drift of his proposal. Though he bore little love to the Spaniards, he bore still less to the Reformers. He therefore declined this offer of the Huguenot chiefs, adding, that he was able to protect France without their assistance.²⁰ The Genevans were accordingly obliged to stand to their own defence, though they gathered confidence from the promised support of their countrymen of Berne; and the whole array of these brave mountaineers was in arms, ready to repel any assault of the Spaniards on their own territory or on that of their allies, in their passage through the country. But this was unnecessary. Though Alva passed within six leagues of Geneva, and the request of the pontiff was warmly seconded by the duke of Savoy, the Spanish general did not deem it prudent to comply with it, declaring that his commission extended no further than to the Netherlands. Without turning to the right or to the left he held on, therefore, straight towards the mark, anxious only to extricate himself as speedily as possible from the perilous passes where he might be taken at so obvious disadvantage by an enemy.

²⁰ The Huguenots even went so far as to attempt to engage the reformed in the Low Countries to join them in assaulting the duke in his march through Savoy. Their views were expressed in a work

which circulated widely in the provinces, though it failed to rouse the people to throw off the Spanish yoke. See Vandervynckt, *Troubles des Pays-Bas*, tom. ii. p. 194.

Yet such were the difficulties he had to encounter, that a fortnight elapsed before he was able to set foot on the friendly plains of Burgundy,—that part of the ancient duchy which acknowledged the authority of Spain. Here he received the welcome addition to his ranks of four hundred horse, the flower of the Burgundian chivalry. On his way across the country he was accompanied by a French army of observation, some six thousand strong, which moved in a parallel direction, at the distance of six or seven leagues only from the line of march pursued by the Spaniards,—though without offering them any molestation.

Soon after entering Lorraine, Alva was met by the duke of that province, who seemed desirous to show him every respect, and entertained him with princely hospitality. After a brief detention, the Spanish general resumed his journey, and on the 8th of August crossed the frontiers of the Netherlands.²¹

His long and toilsome march had been accomplished without an untoward accident, and with scarcely a disorderly act on the part of the soldiers. No man's property had been plundered. No peasant's hut had been violated. The cattle had been allowed to graze unmolested in the fields, and the flocks to wander in safety over their mountain pastures. One

²¹ Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. pp. 350-354. — Ossorio, *Albæ Vita*, tom. ii. p. 232. et seq. — *Hechos de Sancho Davila*, p. 26. — Trillo, *Rebelion y Guerras de Flandes*, fol. 16, 17. — Cabrera Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 15. — Meteren, *Hist. des Pays-Bas*, fol. 52. — Lanario, *Guerras de Flandes*, fol. 15. — Renom de Francia, *Altorotos de Flandes*, MS.

Chronological accuracy was a thing altogether beneath the attention of a chronicler of the sixteenth century. In the confusion of dates in regard to Alva's movements, I have been guided as far as possible by his own despatches. See *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. iv. p. 349, et seq.

instance only to the contrary is mentioned,—that of three troopers, who carried off one or two straggling sheep as the army was passing through Lorraine. But they were soon called to a heavy reckoning for their transgression. Alva, on being informed of the fact, sentenced them all to the gallows. At the intercession of the duke of Lorraine, the sentence was so far mitigated by the Spanish commander, that one only of the three, selected by lot, was finally executed.²²

The admirable discipline maintained among Alva's soldiers was the more conspicuous in an age when the name of soldier was synonymous with that of marauder. It mattered little whether it were a friendly country or that of a foe through which lay the line of march. The defenceless peasant was everywhere the prey of the warrior; and the general winked at the outrages of his followers, as the best means of settling their arrears.

What made the subordination of the troops, in the present instance, still more worthy of notice, was the great number of camp followers, especially courtesans, who hung on the skirts of the army. These latter mustered in such force, that they were divided into battalions and companies, marching each under its own banner, and subjected to a sort of military organization, like the men.²³ The duke seems to

²² Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 354. — Ossorio, *Albæ Vita*, tom. i. p. 241.

²³ Meteren, *Hist. des Pays-Bas*, fol. 52. — Old Brantôme warms as he contemplates these Amazons, as beautiful and making as brave a

show as princesses! “Plus il y avoit quatre cents courtisanes à cheval, belles et braves comme princesses, et huit cents à pied, bien en point aussi.” *Œuvres*, tom. i. p. 62.

have been as careless of the morals of his soldiers as he was careful of their discipline; perhaps willing by his laxity in the one to compensate for his severity in the other.

It was of the last importance to Alva that his soldiers should commit no trespass, nor entangle him in a quarrel with the dangerous people through the midst of whom he was to pass; and who, from their superior knowledge of the country, as well as their numbers, could so easily overpower him. Fortunately, he had received such intimations before his departure as put him on his guard. The result was, that he obtained such a mastery over his followers, and enforced so perfect a discipline, as excited the general admiration of his contemporaries, and made his march to the Low Countries one of the most memorable events of the period.²⁴

At Thionville the duke was waited on by Barlament and Noircarmes, who came to offer the salutations of the regent, and at the same time to request to see his powers. At the same place, and on the way to the capital, the duke was met by several of the Flemish nobility, who came to pay their respects to him; among the rest, Egmont, attended by forty of his retainers. On his entering Alva's presence, the duke exclaimed to one of his officers, "Here comes a great heretic!" The words were overheard by Egmont, who hesitated a moment, naturally dis-

²⁴ "Ninguna Historia nos enseña haya pasado un Exército por País tan dilatado y marchas tan continuas, sin cometer exceso: La del Duque es la única que nos la hace ver. Encantò à todo el mundo."

Rustant, Historia del Duque de Alva, tom. ii. p. 124. — So also Herrera, Historia General, tom. i. p. 650. — Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 15. — Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 354.

concerted by what would have served as an effectual warning to any other man. But Alva made haste to efface the impression caused by his heedless exclamation, receiving Egmont with so much cordiality as reassured the infatuated nobleman, who, regarding the words as a jest, before his departure presented the duke with two beautiful horses.—Such is the rather singular story which comes down to us on what must be admitted to be respectable authority.²⁵

Soon after he had entered the country, the duke detached the greater part of his forces to garrison some of the principal cities, and relieve the Walloon troops on duty there, less to be trusted than his Spanish veterans. With the Milanese brigade he took the road to Brussels, which he entered on the 22nd of August. His cavalry he established at ten leagues' distance from the capital, and the infantry he lodged in the suburbs. Far from being greeted by acclamations, no one came out to welcome him as he entered the city, which seemed like a place deserted. He went straight to the palace, to offer his homage to the regent. An altercation took place on the threshold between his halberdiers and Margaret's body-guard of archers, who disputed the entrance of the Spanish soldiers. The duke himself was conducted to the bedchamber of the duchess, where she was in the habit of giving audience. She was standing, with a few Flemish nobles by her side; and she remained in that position, without stirring a single step to

²⁵ "Comme le Duc le vid de long, il dit tout haut; Voicy le grand hereticque, dequoq le Comte s'espouvanta : neantmoins, pource

qu'on le pouvoit entendre en deux façons, il l'interpreta de bonne part." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 53.

receive her visitor. Both parties continued standing during the interview, which lasted half an hour; the duke during the greater part of the time with his hat in his hand, although Margaret requested him to be covered. The curious spectators of this conference amused themselves by contrasting the courteous and even deferential manners of the haughty Spaniard with the chilling reserve and stately demeanor of the duchess.²⁶ At the close of the interview Alva withdrew to his own quarters at Culemborg House,—the place, it will be remembered, where the Gueux held their memorable banquet on their visit to Brussels.

The following morning, at the request of the council of state, the duke of Alva furnished that body with a copy of his commission. By this he was invested with the title of captain-general, and in that capacity was to exercise supreme control in all military affairs.²⁷ By another commission, dated two months later, these powers were greatly enlarged. The country was declared in a state of rebellion; and, as milder means had failed to bring it to obedience, it was necessary to resort to arms. The duke was

²⁶ "Vimos los que allí estábamos que el Duque de Alba usó de grandísimos respetos y buenas crianzas, y que Madama estuvo muy severa y mas que cuando suelen negociar con ella Egmont y estos otros Señores de acá, cosa que fué muy notada de los que lo miraban."

A minute account of this interview, as given in the text, was sent to Philip by Mendivil, an officer of the artillery, and is inserted in the Documentos Inéditos, tom. iv. p. 397. et seq.

²⁷ This document, dated December

1. 1566, is not to be found in the Archives of Simancas, as we may infer from its having no place in the Documentos Inéditos, which contains the succeeding commission. A copy of it is in the Belgian Archives, and has been incorporated in Gachard's Correspondance de Philippe II. (tom. ii. Appendix, No. 88.) It is possible that a copy of this commission was sent to Margaret, as it agrees so well with what the king had written to her on the subject.

therefore commanded to levy war on the refractory people, and reduce them to submission. He was moreover to inquire into the causes of the recent troubles, and bring the suspected parties to trial, with full authority to punish or to pardon as he might judge best for the public weal.²⁸ Finally, a third commission, of more startling import than the two preceding, and which, indeed, might seem to supersede them altogether, was dated three months later, on the 1st of March, 1567. In the former instruments the duke was so far required to act in subordination to the regent, that her authority was declared to be unimpaired. But by virtue of this last commission he was invested with supreme control in civil as well as military affairs; and persons of every degree, including the regent herself, were enjoined to render obedience to his commands, as to those of the king.²⁹ Such a commission, which placed the government of the country in the hands of Alva, was equivalent to a dismissal of Margaret. The title of "regent," which still remained to her, was an empty mockery; nor could it be thought that she would be content to retain a barren sceptre in the country over which she had so long ruled.

²⁸ To this second commission, dated January 31, 1567, was appended a document, signed also by Philip, the purport of which seems to have been to explain more precisely the nature of the powers intrusted to the duke, — which it does in so liberal a fashion, that it may be said to double those powers. Both papers, the originals of which are preserved in Simancas, have been inserted in the *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. iv. pp. 388-396.

²⁹ "Par quoy requerrons à la dicte dame duchesse, nostre seur, et commandons à tous nos vassaulx et subjectz, de obéyr audict duc d'Alve en ce qu'il leur commandera, et de par nous, come aiant telle charge, et comme à nostre propre personne." — This instrument, taken from the Belgian archives, is given entire by Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, tom. ii., Appendix, No. 102.

It is curious to observe the successive steps by which Philip had raised Alva from the rank of captain-general of the army to supreme authority in the country. It would seem as if the king were too tenacious of power readily to part with it; and that it was only by successive efforts, as the conviction of the necessity of such a step pressed more and more on his mind, that he determined to lodge the government in the hands of Alva.

Whether the duke acquainted the council with the full extent of his powers, or, as seems more probable, communicated to that body only his first two commissions, it is impossible to say. At all events, the members do not appear to have been prepared for the exhibition of powers so extensive, and which, even in the second of the commissions, transcended those exercised by the regent herself. A consciousness that they did so had led Philip, in more than one instance, to qualify the language of the instrument, in such a manner as not to rouse the jealousy of his sister,—an artifice so obvious, that it probably produced a contrary effect. At any rate, Margaret did not affect to conceal her disgust, but talked openly of the affront put on her by the king, and avowed her determination to throw up the government.³⁰

She gave little attention to business, passing most of her days in hunting, of which masculine sport she was excessively fond. She even threatened to amuse herself with journeying about from place to place,

³⁰ "Despues que los han visto han quedado todos muy lastimados, y á todos cuantos Madama habla les dice que se quierre ir á su casa

por los agravios que V. M. le ha hecho." Carta de Mendivil, ap. Documentos Inéditos, tom. iv. p. 399.

leaving public affairs to take care of themselves, till she should receive the king's permission to retire.³¹ From this indulgence of her spleen she was dissuaded by her secretary, Armenteros, who, shifting his sails to suit the breeze, showed, soon after Alva's coming, his intention to propitiate the new governor. There were others of Margaret's adherents less accommodating. Some high in office intimated very plainly their discontent at the presence of the Spaniards, from which they boded only calamity to the country.³² Margaret's confessor, in a sermon preached before the regent, did not scruple to denounce the Spaniards as so many "knaves, traitors, and ravishers."³³ And although the remonstrance of the loyal Armenteros induced the duchess to send back the honest man to his convent, it was plain, from the warm terms in which she commended the preacher, that she was far from being displeased with his discourse.

The duke of Alva cared little for the hatred of the Flemish lords.³⁴ But he felt otherwise towards the regent. He would willingly have soothed her irritation; and he bent his haughty spirit to show, in spite of her coldness, a deference in his manner that must have done some violence to his nature. As a mark

³¹ Ibid., p. 403.

³² Ibid., p. 400.

³³ "En todo el sermón no trató cuasi de otra cosa sino de que los españoles eran traidores y ladrones, y forzadores de mugeres, y que totalmente el país que los sufría era destruido, con tanto escándolo y maldad que merecía ser quemado." Ibid., p. 401.

³⁴ Yet there was danger in it, if, as Armenteros warned the duke, to leave his house would be at the risk of his life. "Tambien me ha dicho Tomás de Armenteros que diga al Duque de Alba que en ninguna manera como fuera de su casa porque si lo hace será con otable peligro de la vida." Ibid., ubi supra.

of respect, he proposed at once to pay her another visit, and in great state, as suited her rank. But Margaret, feigning or feeling herself too ill to receive him, declined his visit for some days, and at last, perhaps to mortify him the more, vouchsafed him only a private audience in her own apartment.

Yet at this interview she showed more condescension than before, and even went so far as to assure the duke that there was no one whose appointment would have been more acceptable to her.³⁵ She followed this, by bluntly demanding why she had been sent at all. Alva replied, that, as he had often intimated her desire for a more efficient military force, he had come to aid her in the execution of her measures, and to restore peace to the country before the arrival of his majesty.³⁶ — The answer could hardly have pleased the duchess, who doubtless considered she had done that without his aid, already.

The discourse fell upon the mode of quartering the troops. Alva proposed to introduce a Spanish garrison into Brussels. To this Margaret objected with great energy. But the duke on this point was inflexible. Brussels was the royal residence, and the quiet of the city could only be secured by a garrison. "If people murmur," he concluded, "you can tell them I am a headstrong man, bent on having my own way. I am willing to take all the odium of the

³⁵ "Despues de haberse sentado le dijo el contentamiento que tenia de su venida y que ningun otro pudiera venir con quien ella mas se holgara." Ibid., p. 404.

³⁶ "Que lo que principalmente traia era estar aquí con esta gente

para que la justicia fuese obedecida y respetada, y los mandamientos de S. E. ejecutadas, y que S. M. á su venida hallase esto en la paz, tranquilidad y sosiego que era razon." Ibid., p. 406.

measure on myself.”³⁷ Thus thwarted, and made to feel her inferiority when any question of real power was involved, Margaret felt the humiliation of her position even more keenly than before. The appointment of Alva had been from the first, as we have seen, a source of mortification to the duchess. In December, 1566, soon after Philip had decided on sending the duke, with the authority of captain-general, to the Low Countries, he announced it in a letter to Margaret. He had been much perplexed, he said, in the choice of a commander, as she could have been; and it was only at her suggestion of the necessity of some one to take the military command, that he had made such a nomination. Alva, was, however, only to prepare the way for him, to assemble a force on the frontier, establish the garrisons, and enforce discipline among the troops till he came.³⁸ Philip was careful not to alarm his sister by any hint of the extraordinary powers to be conferred on the duke who thus seemed to be sent only in obedience to her suggestion, and in subordination to her authority. — Margaret knew too well that Alva was not a man to act in subordination to any one. But whatever misgivings she may have had, she hardly betrayed them in her reply to Philip, in the following February, 1567, when she told the king she “was sure he would never be so unjust, and do a thing so prejudicial to

³⁷ “Podráse excusar con estos diciéndoles que yo soy cabezudo y que he estado muy opinatre en sacar de aquí esta gente, que yo huelgo de que á mí se me eche la

culpa y de llevar el odio sobre mí á trueque de que V. E. quede descargada.” *Ibid.*, p. 408.

³⁸ *Supplément à Strada*, tom. ii. p. 524.

the interests of the country, as to transfer to another the powers he had vested in her."³⁹

The appointment of Alva may have stimulated the regent to the extraordinary efforts she then made to reduce the country to order. When she had achieved this, she opened her mind more freely to her brother, in a letter dated July 12. 1567. "The name of Alva was so odious in the Netherlands that it was enough to make the whole Spanish nation detested.⁴⁰ She could never have imagined that the king would make such an appointment without consulting her." She then, alluding to orders lately received from Madrid, shows extreme repugnance to carry out the stern policy of Philip⁴¹; — a repugnance, it must be confessed, that seems to rest less on the character of the measures than on the difficulty of their execution.

When the duchess learned that Alva was in Italy, she wrote also to him, hoping at this late hour to arrest his progress by the assurance that the troubles were now at an end, and that his appearance at the head of an army would only serve to renew them. But the duke was preparing for his march across the Alps, and it would have been as easy to stop the avalanche in its descent, as to stay the onward course of this "man of destiny."

The state of Margaret's feelings was shown by the chilling reception she gave the duke on his arrival in Brussels. The extent of his powers, so much beyond

³⁹ "Tenendo per certo che V. M. non vorrà desautorizarmi, per autorizare altri, poi che questo non e giusto, ne manco saria servitio suo, se non gran danno et inconveniente per tutti li negotii." Cor-

respondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 505.

⁴⁰ "Il y est si odieux qu'il suffirait à y faire hair toute la nation espagnole." Ibid., p. 556.

⁴¹ Ibid., ubi supra.

what she had imagined, did not tend to soothe the irritation of the regent's temper; and the result of the subsequent interview filled up the measure of her indignation. However forms might be respected, it was clear the power had passed into other hands. She wrote at once to Philip, requesting, or rather requiring, his leave to withdraw without delay from the country. "If he had really felt the concern he professed for her welfare and reputation, he would have allowed her to quit the government before being brought into rivalry with a man like the duke of Alva, who took his own course in everything, without the least regard to her. It afflicted her to the bottom of her soul to have been thus treated by the king."⁴²

It may have given some satisfaction to Margaret, that in her feelings towards the duke she had the entire sympathy of the nation. In earlier days, in the time of Charles the Fifth, Alva had passed some time both in Germany and in the Netherlands, and had left there no favorable impression of his character. In the former country, indeed, his haughty deportment on a question of etiquette had caused some embarrassment to his master. Alva insisted on the strange privilege of the Castilian grandee to wear his hat in the presence of his sovereign. The German nobles, scandalized by this pretension in a subject, asserted that their order had as good a right to it as the Spaniards. It was not without difficulty that the proud duke was content to waive the contested privilege till his return to Spain.⁴³

⁴² "Elle est affectée, jusq'ua fond de l'âme, de la conduite du Roi à son égard." *Ibid.*, p. 567.

⁴³ Vandervynckt, *Troubles des Pays-Bas*, tom. ii. p. 207.

Another anecdote of Alva had left a still more unfavorable impression of his character. He had accompanied Charles on his memorable visit to Ghent, on occasion of its rebellion. The emperor asked the duke's counsel as to the manner in which he should deal with his refractory capital. Alva instantly answered, "Raze it to the ground!" Charles, without replying, took the duke with him to the battlements of the castle; and as their eyes wandered over the beautiful city spread out far and wide below, the emperor asked him, with a pun on the French name of Ghent (*Gand*), how many Spanish hides it would take to make such a *glove* (*gant*). Alva, who saw his master's displeasure, received the rebuke in silence. The story, whether true or not, was current among the people of Flanders, on whom it produced its effect.⁴⁴

Alva was now sixty years old. It was not likely that age had softened the asperity of his nature. He had, as might be expected, ever shown himself the uncompromising enemy of the party of reform in the Low Countries. He had opposed the concession made to the nation by the recall of Granvelle. The only concessions he recommended to Philip were in order to lull the suspicions of the great lords, till he could bring them to a bloody reckoning for their misdeeds.⁴⁵ The general drift of his policy was perfectly understood in the Netherlands, and the duchess had not

⁴⁴ "Seu vera seu ficta, facile Gandavensibus credita, ab iisque in reliquum Belgium cum Albani odio propagata." Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 368.

⁴⁵ See his remarkable letter to

the king, of October 21. 1563: "A los que destos merecen, quitenles las caveças, hasta poderlo hacer dissimular con ellos." *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, tom. vii. p. 233.

exaggerated when she dwelt on the detestation in which he was held by the people.

His course on his arrival was not such as to diminish the fears of the nation. His first act was to substitute in the great towns his own troops, men who knew no law but the will of their chief, for the Walloon garrisons, who might naturally have some sympathy with their countrymen. His next was to construct fortresses, under the direction of one of the ablest engineers in Europe. The hour had come when, in the language of the prince of Orange, his countrymen were to be bridled by the Spaniard.

The conduct of Alva's soldiers underwent an ominous change. Instead of the discipline observed on the march, they now indulged in the most reckless license. "One hears everywhere," writes a Fleming of the time, "of the oppressions of the Spaniards. Confiscation is going on to the right and left. If a man has anything to lose, they set him down at once as a heretic."⁴⁶ If the writer may be thought to have borrowed something from his fears⁴⁷, it cannot be doubted that the panic was general in the country. Men emigrated by thousands and tens of thousands, carrying with them to other lands the

⁴⁶ "Les Espagnols font les plus grandes foules qu'on ne scauroit escrire; ils confisquent tout, à tort, à droit, disant que tous sont hérétiques, qui ont du bien, et ont à perdre."

The indignant writer does not omit to mention the "two thousand" strumpets who came in the duke's train; "so," he adds, "with what we have already, there will be no lack of this sort of wares in the country." Lettre de Jean de

Hornes, Aug. 25. 1567, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 565.

⁴⁷ Clough, Sir Thomas Gresham's agent, who was in the Low Countries at this time, mentions the license of the Spaniards. It is but just to add, that he says the government took prompt measures to repress it, by ordering some of the principal offenders to the gibbet. Burgon, Life of Gresham, vol. ii. pp. 229, 230.

arts and manufactures which had so long been the boast and the source of prosperity of the Netherlands.⁴⁸ Those who remained were filled with a dismal apprehension, — a boding of coming evil, as they beheld the heavens darkening around them, and the signs of the tempest at hand.

A still deeper gloom lay upon Brussels, once the gayest city in the Netherlands, — now the residence of Alva. All business was suspended. Places of public resort were unfrequented. The streets were silent and deserted. Several of the nobles and wealthier citizens had gone to their estates in the country, to watch there the aspect of events.⁴⁹ Most of the courtiers who remained — the gilded insects that loved the sunshine — had left the regent's palace, and gone to pay their homage to her rival at Culemborg House. There everything went merrily as in the gayest time of Brussels. For the duke strove, by brilliant entertainments and festivities, to amuse the nobles and dissipate the gloom of the capital.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The duchess, in a letter to Philip, September 8. 1567, says that a hundred thousand people fled the country on the coming of Alva! (Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 357.) If this be thought a round exaggeration, dictated by policy or by fear, still there are positive proofs that the emigration at this period was excessive. Thus, by a return made of the population of London and its suburbs, this very year of 1567, it appears that the number of Flemings was as large as that of all other foreigners put together. See *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Bruxelles*, tom. xiv. p. 127.

⁴⁹ Thus Jean de Hornes, Baron de Boxtel, writes to the prince of

Orange: "J'ay prins une résolution pour mon faict et est que je fay tout effort de scavoir si l'on poulrast estre seurement en sa maison : si ainsy est, me retireray en une des miennes le plus abstractement que possible sera ; sinon, regarderay de chercher quelque résidence en desoubz ung aultre Prince." *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, tom. iii. p. 125.

⁵⁰ Göthe, in his noble tragedy of "Egmont," seems to have borrowed a hint from Shakespeare's "blanket of the dark," to depict the gloom of Brussels, — where he speaks of the heavens as wrapt in a dark pall from the fatal hour when the duke entered the city. Act IV. Scene I.

In all this Alva had a deeper motive than met the public eye. He was carrying out the policy which he had recommended to Philip. By courteous and conciliatory manners he hoped to draw around him the great nobles, especially such as had been at all mixed up with the late revolutionary movements. Of these, Egmont was still at Brussels; but Hoorne had withdrawn to his estates at Weert.⁵¹ Hoogstraten was in Germany with the prince of Orange. As to the latter, Alva, as he wrote to the king, could not flatter himself with the hope of his return.⁵²

The duke and his son Ferdinand both wrote to Count Hoorne in the most friendly terms, inviting him to come to Brussels.⁵³ But this distrustful nobleman still kept aloof. Alva, in a conversation with the count's secretary, expressed the warmest solicitude for the health of his master. He had always been his friend, he said, and had seen with infinite regret that the count's services were no better appreciated by the king.⁵⁴ But Philip was a good prince, and if slow to recompense, the count would find him not ungrateful. Could the duke but see the count, he had that to say which would content him. He would find he was not forgotten by his friends.⁵⁵ This last assurance had a terrible significance. Hoorne yielded at length to an invitation couched in terms so flattering. With Hoogstraten, Alva was

⁵¹ Vera y Figueroa, Vida de Alva, p. 89.

⁵² Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 578.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 563.

⁵⁴ "Qu'il lui avait peiné infiniment que le Roi n'eût tenu compte de monseigneur et de ses services,

comme il le méritait." Ibid., ubi supra.

⁵⁵ "Que s'il voyait M. de Hornes, il lui dirait des choses qui le satisferaient, et par lesquelles celui-ci connaîtrait qu'il n'avait pas été oublié de ses amis." Ibid., p. 564.

not so fortunate. His good genius, or the counsel of Orange, saved him from the snare, and kept him in Germany.⁵⁶

Having nothing further to gain by delay, Alva determined to proceed at once to the execution of his scheme. On the 9th of September the council of state was summoned to meet at Culemborg House. Egmont and Hoorne were present; and two or three of the officers, among them Paciotti, the engineer, were invited to discuss a plan of fortification for some of the Flemish cities. In the mean time, strong guards had been posted at all the avenues of the house, and cavalry drawn together from the country and established in the suburbs.

The duke prolonged the meeting until information was privately communicated to him of the arrest of Backerzele, Egmont's secretary, and Van Stralen, the burgomaster of Antwerp. The former was a person of great political sagacity, and deep in the confidence of Egmont; the latter, the friend of Orange, with whom he was still in constant correspondence. The arrest of Backerzele, who resided in Brussels, was made without difficulty, and possession was taken of his papers. Van Stralen was surrounded by a body of horse, as he was driving out of Antwerp in his carriage; and both of the unfortunate gentlemen were brought prisoners to Culemborg House.

As soon as these tidings were conveyed to Alva, he broke up the meeting of the council. Then, entering

⁵⁶ According to Strada, Hoogstraten actually set out to return to Brussels, but, detained by illness or some other cause on the road,

he fortunately received tidings of the fate of his friends in season to profit by it and make his escape. De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 358.

into conversation with Egmont, he strolled with him through the adjoining rooms, in one of which was a small body of soldiers. As the two nobles entered the apartment, Sancho Davila, the captain of the duke's guard, went up to Egmont, and in the king's name demanded his sword, telling him at the same time he was his prisoner.⁵⁷ The count, astounded by the proceeding, and seeing himself surrounded by soldiers, made no attempt at resistance, but calmly, and with much dignity in his manner, gave up his sword, saying at the same time, "It has done the king service more than once."⁵⁸ And well might he say so; for with that sword he had won the fields of Gravelines and St. Quentin.⁵⁹

Horne fell into a similar ambuscade, in another part of the palace, whither he was drawn while conversing with the duke's son Ferdinand de Toledo, who, according to his father's account, had the whole merit of arranging this little drama.⁶⁰ Neither did the admiral make any resistance; but, on learning

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 359.—Ossorio, *Alba Vita*, tom. ii. p. 248. Also the memoirs of that "Thunderbolt of War," as his biographer styles him, Sancho Davila himself. *Hechos de Sancho Davila*, p. 29.

A report, sufficiently meagre, of the affair, was sent by Alva to the king. In this no mention is made of his having accompanied Egmont when he left the room where they had been conferring together. See *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. ii. p. 418.

⁵⁸ "Et tamen hoc ferro sæpè ego Regis causam non infelicitè defendi." Strada, *de Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 359.

⁵⁹ Clough, Sir Thomas Gresham's correspondent, in a letter from

Brussels, of the same date with the arrest of Egmont, gives an account of his bearing on the occasion, which differs somewhat from that in the text; not more, however, than the popular rumors of any strange event of recent occurrence are apt to differ. "And as touching the county of Egmond, he was (as the saying ys) apprehendyd by the Duke, and comyttyd to the officers: whereuppon, when the captane that had charge [of him] demandyd hys weapon, he was in a grett rage; and tooke his sword from hys syde, and cast it to the grounde." Burgon, *Life of Gresham*, vol. ii. p. 234.

⁶⁰ *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, tom. i. p. 574.

Egmont's fate, yielded himself up, saying " he had no right to expect to fare better than his friend." ⁶¹

It now became a question as to the disposal of the prisoners. Culemborg House was clearly no fitting place for their confinement. Alva caused several castles in the neighborhood of Brussels to be examined, but they were judged insecure. He finally decided on Ghent. The strong fortress of that city was held by one of Egmont's own partisans; but an order was obtained from the count requiring him to deliver up the keys into the hands of Ulloa, one of Alva's most trusted captains, who, at the head of a corps of Spanish veterans, marched to Ghent, and relieved the Walloon garrison of their charge. Ulloa gave proof of his vigilance, immediately on his arrival, by seizing a heavy wagon loaded with valuables belonging to Egmont, as it was leaving the castle gate. ⁶²

Having completed these arrangements, the duke lost no time in sending the two lords, under a strong military escort, to Ghent. Two companies of mounted arquebusiers rode in the front. A regiment of Spanish infantry, which formed the centre, guarded the prisoners; one of whom, Egmont, was borne in a litter carried by mules, while Hoorne was in his own carriage. The rear was brought up by three companies of light horse.

Under this strong guard the unfortunate nobles were conducted through the province where Egmont had lately ruled " with an authority," writes Alva's

⁶¹ Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 359.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.—Hechos de Sancho Davila, p. 29.—Ossorio, *Albæ Vita*, tom. ii. p. 248.—Vandervynckt,

Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 223.—Documents Inédits, tom. iv. p. 418.

⁶² Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 226

secretary, "greater even than that of the king."⁶³ But no attempt was made at a rescue; and as the procession entered the gates of Ghent, where Egmont's popularity was equal to his power, the people gazed in stupefied silence on the stern array that was conducting their lord to the place of his confinement.⁶⁴

The arrest of Egmont and Hoorne was known, in a few hours after it took place, to every inhabitant of Brussels; and the tidings soon spread to the furthest parts of the country. "The imprisonment of the lords," writes Alva to the king, "has caused no disturbance. The tranquillity is such that your majesty would hardly credit it."⁶⁵ True; but the tranquillity was that of a man stunned by a heavy blow. If murmurs were not loud, however, they were deep. Men mourned over the credulity of the two counts, who had so blindly fallen into the snare, and congratulated one another on the forecast of the prince of Orange, who might one day have the power to avenge them.⁶⁶ The event gave a new spur to emigration. In the space of a few weeks no less than twenty thousand persons are said to have fled the country.⁶⁷ And the exiles were not altogether drawn from the humbler ranks; for no one, however high, could feel secure when he saw the blow aimed at men like Egmont and Hoorne, the former of whom, if he

⁶³ "Toutes ces mesures étaient nécessaires, vu la grande autorité du comte d'Egmont en ces pays, qui ne connaissent d'autre roi que lui." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 582.

⁶⁴ Ibid., ubi supra. — Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.

⁶⁵ "L'emprisonnement des deux

comtes ne donne lieu à aucune rumeur; au contraire, la tranquillité est si grande, que le Roi ne le pourrait croire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 575.

⁶⁶ Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 359.

⁶⁷ Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 260.

had given some cause of distrust, had long since made his peace with the government.

Count Mansfeldt made haste to send his son out of the country, lest the sympathy he had once shown for the confederates, notwithstanding his recent change of opinion, might draw on him the vengeance of Alva. The old count, whose own loyalty could not be impeached, boldly complained of the arrest of the lords as an infringement on the rights of the *Toison d'Or*, which body alone had cognizance of the causes that concerned their order, intimating, at the same time, his intention to summon a meeting of the members. But he was silenced by Alva, who plainly told him, that, if the chevaliers of the order did meet, and said so much as the *credo*, he would bring them to a heavy reckoning for it. As to the rights of the *Toison*, his majesty has pronounced on them, said the duke, and nothing remains for you but to submit.⁶⁸

The arrest and imprisonment of the two highest nobles in the land, members of the council of state, and that without any communication with her, was an affront to the regent which she could not brook. It was in vain that Alva excused it by saying it had been done by the order of the king, who wished to spare his sister the unpopularity which must attach to such a proceeding. Margaret made no reply. She did not complain. She was too deeply wounded to complain. But she wrote to Philip, asking him to

⁶⁸ "Que, s'il apprenait que quelques-uns en fissent, encore même que ce fût pour dire le *credo*, il les châtierait; que, quant aux privilégiés de l'Ordre, le Roi, après un

mûr examen de ceux-ci, avait prononcé, et qu'on devait se soumettre." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 578.

consider "whether it could be advantageous to him, or decorous for her, whom he did not disdain to call his sister, that she should remain longer in a place of which the authority was so much abridged, or rather annihilated."⁶⁹ She sent her secretary, Machiavelli, with her despatches, requesting an immediate reply from Philip, and adding that, if it were delayed, she should take silence for assent, and forthwith leave the country.

The duke of Alva was entirely resigned to the proposed departure of Margaret. However slight the restraint her presence might impose on his conduct, it exacted more deference than was convenient, and compelled him to consult appearances. Now that he had shown his hand, he was willing to play it out boldly to the end. His first step, after the arrest of the lords, was to organize that memorable tribunal for inquiring into the troubles of the country, which has no parallel in history save the revolutionary tribunal of the French republic. The duke did not shrink from assuming the sole responsibility of his measures. He said, "it was better for the king to postpone his visit to the Netherlands, so that his ministers might bear alone the odium of these rigorous acts. When these had been performed, he might come like a gracious prince, dispensing promises and pardon."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ "Ad eò contracto ac penè nullo cum imperio moderari, an utile Regi, an decorum ei quam Rex sororem appellare non indignatur, illius meditationi relinquere." Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 360.

⁷⁰ "Il vaut mieux que le Roi

attende, pour venir, que tous les actes de rigueur aient été faits; il entrera alors dans le pays comme prince benin et clément, pardonnant, et accordant des faveurs à ceux qui l'auront mérité." *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, tom. i. p. 577.

This admirable coolness must be referred in part to Alva's consciousness that his policy would receive the unqualified sanction of his master. Indeed, his correspondence shows that all he had done in the Low Countries was in accordance with a plan preconcerted with Philip. The arrest of the Flemish lords, accordingly, gave entire satisfaction at the court of Madrid, where it was looked on as the first great step in the measures of redress. It gave equal contentment to the court of Rome, where it was believed that the root of heresy was to be reached only by the axe of the executioner. Yet there was one person at that court of more penetration than those around him, the old statesman, Granvelle, who, when informed of the arrest of Egmont and Hoorne, inquired if the duke had "also drawn into his net the *Silent one*,"—as the Prince of Orange was popularly called. On being answered in the negative, "Then," said the cardinal, "if he has not caught him, he has caught nothing."⁷¹

⁷¹ "An captus quoque fuisset Taciturnus, (sic Orangium nominabat,) atque eo negante dixisse fertur, Uno illo retibus non incluso,

nihil ab Duce Albano captum." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 360.

CHAPTER II.

CRUEL POLICY OF ALVA.

The Council of Blood.—Its Organization.—General Prosecutions.—Civil War in France.—Departure of Margaret.—Her Administration reviewed.

1567.

"THANK God," writes the duke of Alva to his sovereign, on the twenty-fourth of October, "all is tranquil in the Low Countries."¹ It was the same sentiment he had uttered a few weeks before. All was indeed tranquil. Silence reigned throughout the land. Yet it might have spoken more eloquently to the heart than the murmurs of discontent, or the loudest tumult of insurrection. "They say many are leaving the country," he writes in another despatch. "It is hardly worth while to arrest them. The repose of the nation is not to be brought about by cutting off the heads of those who are led astray by others."²

Yet in less than a week after this, we find a royal

¹ "Grace à Dieu, tout est parfaitement tranquille aux Pays-Bas." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 589.

² "Le repos aux Pays-Bas ne

consiste pas à faire couper la tête à des hommes qui se sont laissé persuader par d'autres." Ibid., p. 576.

ordinance, declaring that, "whereas his majesty is averse to use rigor towards those who have taken part in the late rebellion; and would rather deal with them in all gentleness and mercy³, it is forbidden to any one to leave the land, or to send off his effects, without obtaining a license from the authorities, under pain of being regarded as having taken part in the late troubles, and of being dealt with accordingly. All masters and owners of vessels, who shall aid such persons in their flight, shall incur the same penalties."⁴ The penalties denounced in this spirit of "gentleness and mercy" were death and confiscation of property.

That the law was not a dead letter was soon shown by the arrest of ten of the principal merchants of Tournay, as they were preparing to fly to foreign parts, and by the immediate confiscation of their estates.⁵ Yet Alva would have persuaded the world that he, as well as his master, was influenced only by sentiments of humanity. To the Spanish ambassador at Rome he wrote, soon after the seizure of the Flemish lords: "I might have arrested more; but the king is averse to shedding the blood of his people. I have the same disposition myself."⁶ I am

³ "Os habemos hecho entender que nuestra intencion era de no usar de rigor contra nuestros subgetos que durante las revueltas pasadas pudiesen haber ofendido contra Nos, sino de toda dulzura y clemencia segun nuestra inclinacion natural." Documentos Inéditos, tom. iv. p. 440.

⁴ The ordinance, dated September 18. 1567, copied from the Archives of Simancas, is to be

found in the Documentos Inéditos, tom. iv. p. 439. et seq.

⁵ "Statimque mercatores decem primarios Tornacenses è portu Flissingano fugam in Britanniam adornantes capi, ac bonis exutos custodiri jubet." Strada, De Belgico, tom. i. p. 361.

⁶ "Mais l'intention de S. M. n'est pas de verser le sang de ses sujets, et moi, de mon naturel, je ne l'aime pas davantage." Corre-

pained to the bottom of my soul by the necessity of the measure."

But now that the great nobles had come into the snare, it was hardly necessary to keep up the affectation of lenity; and it was not long before he threw away the mask altogether. The arm of justice — of vengeance — was openly raised to strike down all who had offended by taking part in the late disturbances.

The existing tribunals were not considered as competent to this work. The regular forms of procedure were too dilatory, and the judges themselves would hardly be found subservient enough to the will of Alva. He created, therefore, a new tribunal, with extraordinary powers, for the sole purpose of investigating the causes of the late disorders, and for bringing the authors to punishment. It was called originally the "Council of his Excellency." The name was soon changed for that of the "Council of Tumults." But the tribunal is better known in history by the terrible name it received from the people, of the "*Council of Blood*."⁷

It was composed of twelve judges, "the most learned, upright men, and of the purest lives" — if we may take the duke's word for it — that were to be found in the country.⁸ Among them were Noircarnes and Barlaimont, both members of the council of state. The latter was a proud noble, of one of the most an-

spondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 576.

⁷ "Novum igitur consessum iudicum instituit, exteris in eum plebisque adscitis; quem Turbarum ille; plebes, Sanguinis appellabat

Senatum." Reidani Annales, (Lugdunum Batavorum, 1633,) p. 5.

⁸ "Les plus savants et les plus intègres du pays, et de la meilleure vie." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 576.

cient families in the land, inflexible in his character, and stanch in his devotion to the crown. Besides these there were the presidents of the councils of Artois and Flanders, the chancellor of Gueldres, and several jurists of repute in the country. But the persons of most consideration in the body were two lawyers who had come in the duke's train from Castile. One of these, the doctor Del Rio, though born in Bruges, was of Spanish extraction. His most prominent trait seems to have been unlimited subserviency to the will of his employer.⁹ The other, Juan de Vargas, was to play the most conspicuous part in the bloody drama that followed. He was a Spaniard, and had held a place in the council of the Indies. His character was infamous; and he was said to have defrauded an orphan ward of her patrimony.¹⁰ When he left Spain, two criminal prosecutions are reported to have been hanging over him. This only made him the more dependent on Alva's protection. He was a man of great energy of character, unwearied in application to business, unscrupulous in the service of his employer, ready at any price to sacrifice to his own interest, not only every generous impulse, but the common feelings of humanity. Such, at least, are the dark colors in which he is portrayed by the writers of a nation which held him in detestation. Yet his very vices made him so convenient to the duke, that the latter soon bestowed on him more of his confidence than on any other of his followers¹¹; and in his correspondence with Philip

⁹ Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 300.

¹⁰ Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.

¹¹ Viglius, who had not yet seen the man, thus mentions him in a letter to his friend Hopper: "Imperium ac rigorem metuunt cujus-

we perpetually find him commending Vargas to the monarch's favor, and contrasting his "activity, altogether juvenile," with the apathy of others of the council.¹² As Vargas was unacquainted with Flemish, the proceedings of the court were conducted, for his benefit, in Latin.¹³ Yet he was such a bungler, even in this language, that his blunders furnished infinite merriment to the people of Flanders, who took some revenge for their wrongs in the ridicule of their oppressor.

As the new court had cognizance of all cases, civil as well as criminal, which grew out of the late disorders, the amount of business soon pressed on them so heavily, that it was found expedient to distribute it into several departments among the different members. Two of the body had especial charge of the processes of the prince of Orange, his brother Louis, Hoogstraten, Culemborg, and the rest of William's noble companions in exile. To Vargas and Del Rio was intrusted the trial of the Counts Egmont and Hoorne. And two others, Blaseré and Hessels, had the most burdensome and important charge of all such causes as came from the provinces.¹⁴

The latter of these two worthies was destined to occupy a place second only to that of Vargas on the bloody roll of persecution. He was a native of Ghent, of sufficient eminence in his profession to fill the office of attorney-general of his province under

dam Vergasi, qui apud eum multum posse, et nescio quid aliud, dicitur." Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 451.

¹² "Une activité toute juvénile."

Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 583.

¹³ Ibid., ubi supra.

¹⁴ Bulletins de l'Académie Royal de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 58.

Charles the Fifth. In that capacity he enforced the edicts with so much rigor as to make himself odious to his countrymen. In the new career now opened to him, he found a still wider field for his mischievous talents, and he entered on the duties of his office with such hearty zeal as soon roused general indignation in the people, who at a later day took terrible vengeance on their oppressor.¹⁵

As soon as the Council of Troubles was organized, commissioners were despatched into the provinces to hunt out the suspected parties. All who had officiated as preachers, or had harbored or aided them, who had joined the consistories, who had assisted in defacing or destroying the Catholic churches or in building the Protestant, who had subscribed the Compromise, or who, in short, had taken an active part in the late disorders, were to be arrested as guilty of treason. In the hunt after victims informations were invited from every source. Wives were encouraged to depose against husbands, children against parents. The prisons were soon full to overflowing, and the provincial and the local magistrates were busy in filing informations of the different cases, which were forwarded to the court at Brussels. When deemed of sufficient importance, the further examination of a case was reserved for the council itself. But for the most part the local authorities, or

¹⁵ Vandervynckt, *Troubles des Pays-Bas*, tom. ii. p. 242.

Hessels was married to a niece of Viglius. According to the old councillor, she was on bad terms with her husband, because he had not kept his promise of resigning

the office of attorney-general, in which he made himself so unpopular in Flanders. (*Epist. ad Hopperum*, p. 495.) In the last chapter of this Book the reader will find some mention of the tragic fate of Hessels.

a commission sent expressly for the purpose, were authorized to try the cause, proceeding even to a definitive sentence, which, with the grounds of it, they were to lay before the Council of Troubles. The process was then revised by the committee for the provinces, who submitted the result of their examination to Vargas and Del Rio. The latter were alone empowered to vote in the matter; and their sentence, prepared in writing, was laid before the duke, who reserved to himself the right of a final decision. This he did, as he wrote to Philip, that he might not come too much under the direction of the council. "Your majesty well knows," he concludes, "that gentlemen of the law are unwilling to decide anything except upon evidence, while measures of state policy are not to be regulated by the laws."¹⁶

It might be supposed that the different judges, to whom the prisoner's case was thus separately submitted for examination, would have afforded an additional guaranty for his security. But quite the contrary; it only multiplied the chances of his conviction. When the provincial committee presented their report to Vargas and Del Rio,—to whom a Spanish jurist, auditor of the chancery of Valladolid, named Roda, was afterwards added,—if it proposed sentence of death, these judges declared it "was right, and that there was no necessity of reviewing the process." If, on the contrary, a lower penalty was recommended, the worthy ministers of the law

¹⁶ "Letrados no sentencian sino en casos probados; y como V. M. sabe, los negocios de Estado son muy diferentes de las leyes que

ellos tienen." *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 52, note.

were in the habit of returning the process, ordering the committee, with bitter imprecations, to revise it more carefully!¹⁷

As confiscation was one of the most frequent as well as momentous penalties adjudged by the Council of Blood, it necessarily involved a large number of civil actions; for the estate thus forfeited was often burdened with heavy claims on it by other parties. These were all to be established before the council. One may readily comprehend how small was the chance of justice before such a tribunal, where the creditor was one of the parties, and the crown the other. Even if the suit was decided in favor of the creditor, it was usually so long protracted, and attended with such ruinous expense, that it would have been better for him never to have urged it.¹⁸

The jurisdiction of the court, within the limits assigned to it, wholly superseded that of the great court of Mechlin, as well as of every other tribunal, provincial or municipal, in the country. Its decisions were final. By the law of the land, established by repeated royal charters in the provinces, no man in the Netherlands could be tried by any but a native judge. But of the present court, one member was a native of Burgundy, and two were Spaniards.

It might be supposed that a tribunal with such

¹⁷ "En siendo el aviso de condenar á muerte, se decia que estaba muy bien y no habia mas que ver; empero, si el aviso era de menor pena, no se estaba á lo que ellos decian, sino tornabase á ver el proceso, y decianles sobre

ello malas palabras, y hacianles ruin tratamiento." Gachard cites the words of the official document. *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 67.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68. et seq.

enormous powers, which involved so gross an outrage on the constitutional rights and long-established usages of the nation, would at least have been sanctioned by some warrant from the crown. It could pretend to nothing of the kind, — not even a written commission from the duke of Alva, the man who created it. By his voice alone he gave it an existence. The ceremony of induction into office was performed by the new member placing his hands between those of the duke, and swearing to remain true to the faith; to decide in all cases according to his sincere conviction; finally, to keep secret all the doings of the council, and to denounce any one who disclosed them.¹⁹ A tribunal clothed with such unbounded power, and conducted on a plan so repugnant to all principles of justice, fell nothing short, in its atrocity, of that Inquisition so much dreaded in the Netherlands.

Alva, in order to be the better able to attend the council, appointed his own palace for the place of meeting. At first the sittings were held morning and afternoon, lasting sometimes seven hours in a day.²⁰ There was a general attendance of the members, the duke presiding in person. After a few months, as he was drawn to a distance by more pressing affairs, he resigned his place to Vargas. Barlaimont and Noir-

¹⁹ "Qu'ils seraient et demeuraient à jamais bons catholiques, selon que commandait l'Église catholique romaine; que, par haine, amour, pitié ou crainte de personne, ils ne laisseraient de dire franchement et sincèrement leur avis, selon qu'en bonne justice ils trou-

vaient convenir et appartenir; qu'ils tiendraient secret tout ce qui se traiterait au conseil, et qu'ils accuseraient ceux qui feraient le contraire." Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 56.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

carmes, disgusted with the atrocious character of the proceedings, soon absented themselves from the meetings. The more respectable of the members imitated their example. One of the body, a Burgundian, a follower of Granvelle, having criticised the proceedings somewhat too freely, had leave to withdraw to his own province;²¹ till at length only three or four councillors remained,—Vargas, Del Rio, Hessels, and his colleague,—on whom the despatch of the momentous business wholly devolved. To some of the processes we find not more than three names subscribed. The duke was as indifferent to forms, as he was to the rights of the nation.²²

It soon became apparent, that, as in most proscriptions, wealth was the mark at which persecution was

²¹ Belin, in a letter to his patron, Cardinal Granvelle, gives full vent to his discontent with "three or four Spaniards in the duke's train, who would govern all in his name. They make but one head under the same hat." He mentions Vargas and Del Rio in particular. Granvelle's reply is very characteristic. Far from sympathizing with his querulous follower, he predicts the ruin of his fortunes by this mode of proceeding. "A man who would rise in courts must do as he is bidden, without question. Far from taking umbrage, he must bear in mind that injuries, like pills, should be swallowed without chewing, that one may not taste the bitterness of them;"—a noble maxim, if the motive had been noble. See Levesque, *Mémoires de Granvelle*, tom. ii. pp. 91—94.

²² The historians of the time are all more or less diffuse on the doings of the Council of Troubles, written as they are in characters of blood. But we look in vain for

any account of the interior organization of that tribunal, or of its mode of judicial procedure. This may be owing to the natural reluctance which the actors themselves felt, in later times, to being mixed up with the proceedings of a court so universally detested. For the same reason, as Gachard intimates, they may not improbably have even destroyed some of the records of its proceedings. Fortunately that zealous and patriotic scholar has discovered in the Archives of Simancas sundry letters of Alva and his successor, as well as some of the official records of the tribunal, which in a great degree supply the defect. The result he has embodied in a luminous paper prepared for the Royal Academy of Belgium, which has supplied me with the materials for the preceding pages. See *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux Arts de Belgique*, tom. xvi. par. ii. pp. 50—78.

mainly directed. At least, if it did not actually form a ground of accusation, it greatly enhanced the chances of a conviction. The commissioners sent to the provinces received written instructions to ascertain the exact amount of property belonging to the suspected parties. The expense incident to the maintenance of so many officials, as well as of a large military force, pressed heavily on the government; and Alva soon found it necessary to ask for support from Madrid. It was in vain he attempted to obtain a loan from the merchants. "They refuse," he writes, "to advance a *real* on the security of the confiscations, till they see how *the game* we have begun is likely to prosper!"²³

In another letter to Philip, dated on the twenty-fourth of October, Alva, expressing his regret at the necessity of demanding supplies, says that the Low Countries ought to maintain themselves, and be no tax upon Spain. He is constantly thwarted by the duchess, and by the council of finance, in his appropriation of the confiscated property. Could he only manage things in his own way, he would answer for it that the Flemish cities, uncertain and anxious as to their fate, would readily acquiesce in the fair means of raising a revenue proposed by the king.²⁴ The ambitious general, eager to secure the sole authority to himself, artfully touched on the topic which would be most likely to operate with his master. In a note

²³ "Hasta que vean en que para este juego que se comiença." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 598.

²⁴ "Car l'incertitude où celles-ci

se trouvent du sort qu'on leur réserve, les fera plus aisément à consentir aux moyens de finances justes et honnêtes qui seront établis par le Roi." Ibid., p. 590.

on this passage, in his own handwriting, Philip remarked that this was but just; but as he feared that supplies would never be raised with the consent of the states, Alva must devise some expedient by which their consent in the matter might be dispensed with, and communicate it *privately* to him.²⁵ This pregnant thought he soon after develops more fully in a letter to the duke.²⁶ — It is edifying to observe the cool manner in which the king and his general discuss the best means for filching a revenue from the pockets of the good people of the Netherlands.

Margaret, — whose name now rarely appears, — scandalized by the plan avowed of wholesale persecution, and satisfied that blood enough had been shed already, would fain have urged her brother to grant a general pardon. But to this the duke strongly objected. “He would have every man,” he wrote to Philip, “feel that any day his house might fall about his ears.”²⁷ Thus private individuals would be induced to pay larger sums by way of composition for their offences.”

As the result of the confiscations, owing to the drains upon them above alluded to, proved less than he expected, the duke, somewhat later, proposed a tax of one per cent on all property, personal and real. But to this some of the council had the courage to ob-

²⁵ “Porqué creo yo que, con la voluntad de los Estados, no se hablarán estas, que es menester ponerlos de manera que no sea menester su voluntad y consentimiento para ello. . . . Esto irá en cifra, y aun creo que seria bien que fuese en una cartilla á parte que descifrarse

el mas confidente.” Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 590.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

²⁷ “Para que cada uno piense que á la noche, ó á la mañana, se le puede caer la casa encima.” *Ibid.*, tom. ii. p. 4.

ject, as a thing not likely to be relished by the states. "That depends," said Alva, "on the way in which they are approached." He had as little love for the states-general as his master, and looked on applications to them for money as something derogatory to the crown. "I would take care to ask for it," he said, "as I did when I wanted money to build the citadel of Antwerp,—in such a way that they should not care to refuse it."²⁸

The most perfect harmony seems to have subsisted between the king and Alva in their operations for destroying the liberties of the nation,—so perfect, indeed, that it could have been the result only of some previous plan, concerted probably while the duke was in Castile. The details of the execution were doubtless left, as they arose, to Alva's discretion. But they so entirely received the royal sanction, — as is abundantly shown by the correspondence, — that Philip may be said to have made every act of his general his own. And not unfrequently we find the monarch improving on the hints of his correspondent by some additional suggestion.²⁹ Whatever evils grew out of the male-administration of the duke of Alva, the re-

²⁸ "Esto se ha de proponer en la forma que yo propuse á los de Anvers los cuatrocientos mill florines para la ciudadela, y que ellos entiendan que aunque se les propone y se les pide, es en tal manera que lo que se propusiere no se ha de dejar de hacer." Documentos Inéditos, tom. iv. p. 492.

²⁹ Thus, for example, when Alva states that the council had declared all those who signed the Compromise guilty of treason, Phi-

lip notes, in his own handwriting, on the margin of the letter, "The same should be done with all who aided and abetted them, as in fact the more guilty party." (Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 590.) These private memoranda of Philip are of real value to the historian, letting him behind the curtain, where the king's own ministers could not always penetrate.

sponsibility for the measures rests ultimately on the head of Philip.

One of the early acts of the new council was to issue a summons to the prince of Orange, and to each of the noble exiles in his company, to present themselves at Brussels, and answer the charges against them. In the summons addressed to William, he was accused of having early encouraged a spirit of disaffection in the nation; of bringing the Inquisition into contempt; of promoting the confederacy of the nobles, and opening his own palace of Breda for their discussions; of authorizing the exercise of the reformed religion in Antwerp; in fine, of being at the bottom of the troubles, civil and religious, which had so long distracted the land. He was required, therefore, under pain of confiscation of his property and perpetual exile, to present himself before the council at Brussels within the space of six weeks, and answer the charges against him. This summons was proclaimed by the public crier, both in Brussels and in William's own city of Breda; and a placard containing it was affixed to the door of the principal church in each of those places.³⁰

Alva followed up this act by another, which excited general indignation through the country. He caused the count of Buren, William's eldest son, then a lad pursuing his studies at Louvain, to be removed from the university, and sent to Spain. His tutor and several of his domestics were allowed to accompany

³⁰ Cornejo, *Disension de Flandes*, fol. 63., et seq. — *Hist. des Troubles et Guerres Civiles des Pays-Bas*, pp. 133-136. — Docu-

mentos *Inéditos*, tom. iv. pp. 428-439. — *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, tom. iii. p. 119.

him. But the duke advised the king to get rid of these attendants as speedily as possible, and fill their places with Spaniards.³¹ This unwarrantable act appears to have originated with Granvelle, who recommends it in one of his letters from Rome.³² The object, no doubt, was to secure some guaranty for the father's obedience, as well as to insure the loyalty of the heir of the house of Nassau, and to retain him in the Catholic faith. In the last object the plan succeeded. The youth was kindly treated by Philip; and his long residence in Spain nourished in him so strong an attachment to both Church and crown, that he was ever after divorced from the great cause in which his father and his countrymen were embarked.

The prince of Orange published to the world his sense of the injury done to him by this high-handed proceeding of the duke of Alva; and the university of Louvain boldly sent a committee to the council to remonstrate on the violation of their privileges. Vargas listened to them with a smile of contempt, and, as he dismissed the deputation, exclaimed, "*Non curamus vestros privilegios*,"—an exclamation long remembered for its bad Latin as well as for its insolence.³³

It may well be believed that neither William nor his friends obeyed the summons of the Council of Blood. The prince, in a reply which was printed and circulated abroad, denied the authority of Alva

³¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 13.

³² "Non-seulement afin qu'il servit d'ôtage pour ce que son père pourrait faire en Allemagne, mais

pour qu'il fût élevé catholiquement." Ibid., tom. i. p. 596.

³³ Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 372.—Vandervynckt, Troubles de Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 261.

to try him. As a knight of the Golden Fleece, he had a right to be tried by his peers; as a citizen of Brabant, by his countrymen. He was not bound to present himself before an incompetent tribunal,—one, moreover, which had his avowed personal enemy at its head.³⁴

The prince, during his residence in Germany, experienced all those alleviations of his misfortunes which the sympathy and support of powerful friends could afford. Among these the most deserving of notice was William the Wise, a worthy son of the famous old landgrave of Hesse who so stoutly maintained the Protestant cause against Charles the Fifth. He and the elector of Saxony, both kinsmen of William's wife, offered to provide an establishment for the prince, while he remained in Germany, which, if it was not on the magnificent scale to which he had been used in the Netherlands, was still not unsuited to the dignity of his rank.³⁵

The little court of William received every day fresh accessions from those who fled from persecution in the Netherlands. They brought with them appeals to him from his countrymen to interpose in their behalf. The hour had not yet come. But still he was not idle. He was earnestly endeavouring to interest the German princes in the cause, was strengthening his own resources, and steadily, though silently, making preparation for the great struggle with the oppressors of his country.

³⁴ Strada, ubi supra.—Vander-vynckt, *Troubles des Pays-Bas*, tom. ii. p. 243.—Aubéri, *Histoire de Hollande*, p. 25.

³⁵ Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 159.